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SLOVAKIA'S SETTLEMENT TOWARDS THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

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The study analyses the state of Slovakia's settlement in the late Middle Ages, particularly from 1511 to 1530. Its genesis since the mid-13th century is explained, particular emphasis being laid on the development in the 15th century and within this upon urban settlements and the Wallachian colonization, which intervened in the structure of mountain landscape.

The end of the Middle Ages is a significant turning point also in the development of Slovakia's settlement. It closes a long period, in which the development of settlement tended, on the whole, to be increasing both in the qualitative sense (development of urban settlements) and in the quantitative one (rise of new rural settlements in a territory non-settled, or thinly settled before). Since the 2nd third of the 16th century, when Turks controlled over southern and central parts of the Old Hungary, the settlement in southern Slovakia, chiefly in the territory between the Váh and Hornád rivers, suffered very much from their inroads. Great damage was caused also by plundering on the part of the underpaid anti-Turkish mercenary troops. The settlement declined, many settlements became fully extinct. By the end of the 16th century 56 settlements in the Komárno, 18 in the Ostrihom, 33 in the Hont, 64 in the Novohrad, 62 in the Gemer and 6 in the Abov comitats became extinct.

Slovakia's medieval settlement reached a considerable extent as early as towards the end of the 14th century, which was above all a consequence of the colonization activity in the 2nd half of the 13th and in the 1st half of the 14th centuries, this being of an agricultural character. The number of settlements, as compared with the state in the mid-13th century doubled by the end of the 14th century: From the last two decennia of the 14th century we can know 3,580 settlements, from which 106 were urban. Of course, this number may be considered approximate only. The actual state may have been something greater.

Settlement of that period was concentrated predominantly to lowlands and intramontane basins. Of the former it was above all the Danube Lowland. As compared with the state of the mid-13th century its settlement was denser on

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the whole. The settlement conditions in the East Slovakian Lowland show a great growth of rural settlements. This phenomenon is distinct particularly in areas out of the Medzibodrožie (an area between the Tisa, Latorica and Bodrog rivers), because this was relatively densely settled as early as the mid-13th century. The low-lying basins possessed a relatively dense settlement network as early as the mid-13th century. However, also here the number of settlements much increased by the end of the 14th century. This holds true about the South Slovakian Basin (Juhoslovenská Kotlina), the Košice Basin, but also the Považské Podolie Valley. Of the basins of the middle height degree the Hornád and Zvolen Basins were relatively densely settled in the mid-13th century. In the following period settlement recorded a further increase, so that the settlement pattern changed clearly by the end of the 14th century. In both the basins a significant network of urban settlements arose. Other two basins, namely the Upper Nitra (Hornonitrianska) and Žilina Basins were only little settled in the mid-13th century. Nevertheless, in the following period their settlement increased substantially thanks to the lively rush of colonization, so that they appear densely settled by the end of the 14th century. The high-lying basins (excepting the Orava Basin and the Horehronské Podolie (Upper Hron Valley) belonged to the most settled areas of Slovakia towards the end of the 14th century. The medieval settlement network in the Turiec (Turčianska), Liptov and Poprad Basins had substantially been formed up at that time. Nor urban settlements missed here, although they were not able to equal the fore towns of Slovakia in significance. Minimal number of settlements [3] was in the Orava Basin. Nevertheless, Slovakia's settlement was not confined only to the lowlands and basins mentioned towards the end of the 14th century. Just as in the mid-13th century, it was spread also in lower mountain ranges, particularly in the Slovenské Stredohorie, Slovenské Rudohorie and Nízke Beskydy Mts. As compared with the state of the mid-13th century, also here one can notice substantial progress in settlement. Most significantly it manifests itself in the Nízke Beskydy Mts, in particular in the Ondavská Vrchovina Mts, where settlement was more intensive than in the Laborecká Vrchovina Mts.

The settlement development in the 15th century and in first decennia of the 16th one possessed, on the whole (in view of the entire territory of Slovakia), an increasing course. As compared with the state towards the end of the 14th century the number of settlements increased by 213.

The development of urban settlements in the 15th century is characterized by deepening their differentiation and forming new monarchic townlets. A new kind of urban settlements is being completed, which passes through a differentiation already in the previous period. They are free royal towns. At the same time, however, many urban settlements, after passing from the king's property to the hands of church and laic feudal lords, were derogated from their privileged positions and consequently also their economic development was retarded. The number of royal towns and townlets was reduced substantially. A positive feature in the development of urban settlements is the rise of new townlets, which developed particularly on their monarchs' initiative.

Towards the end of the Middle Ages 19 settlements possessed the status of free royal towns. According to economic activity of population, or economic basis, prevailing, they may be divided into two groups: To the first group those belonged, in which trade (particularly long-distance one) and handicraft pro-

duction prevailed. They were: Bardejov, Bratislava, Kežmarok, Košice, Krupina, Levoča, Prešov, Sabinov, Skalica, Trenčín, Trnava and Zvolen. Of them the most significant were the so called tavernic towns, namely Bardejov, Bratislava, Košice, Prešov and Trnava. The second group was formed by mining towns: Banská Belá, Banská Bystrica, Banská Štiavnica, Kremnica, Lubietová, Nová Baňa and Pukanec. A fore place belonged to Banská Bystrica (the centre of a Fuggerian-Thurzoan copper-works with a wide economic hinterland), Banská Štiavnica (the foremost producer of silver in the Old Hungary) and Kremnica (seat of the most significant Old Hungarian mint).

In founding new rural settlements, particularly since the 2nd half of the 15th century, also pastoral people take part, which settled on the Wallachian Law. They were engaged particularly in sheep breeding, to which they utilized mountain meadows and pastures until that time unemployed or only little cultivated. Older settlement in mountain areas, accompanied with grub felling of forests, intervened in particular the promontories. Wallachian colonization penetrated deeply to the mountains. Next to the sheep breeding Wallachian population was engaged also in other activities, particularly in later phases of the Wallachian colonization. It pursued cultivation of agricultural crops on mountain fields, in the environs of mining towns it was engaged in colliery, timber felling and processing. The Wallachian colonization went forward from east to west along both the sides of the Carpathians. In part it run as a spontaneous movement of Wallachian population, which looked for new pastures for their herds, in places it was organized by feudal lords. Initially the Romanian element asserted itself in it, later it was in particular Ruthenian-Ukrainian population, which penetrated to Slovakia from the Lithuanian Great Principality and the Polish Kingdom. Since the 15th century also indigenous population took part in the Wallachian colonization, above all the Slovak subject people. Since its beginnings in the 14th century up to the end of the Middle Ages the Wallachian colonization was only of a slight extent in Slovakia and to a more remarkable extent it influenced only settlement in northern part of the Zemplín, Šariš and Gemer areas, i. e. in the Nízke Beskydy and Slovenské Rudohorie Mts. Wallachians frequently settled in older settlements, or also they dwelled with their herds in temporary settlements (in sheep chalets). They made large damages in forests particularly in young growths, and thus negatively intervening in the structure of the mountain landscape.

Nevertheless, the development of settlement in the 15th century and in first decennia of the 16th century is not characterized only by the rise of new settlements and by settling areas till then unpeopled. There was a negative aspect here, namely the depopulation of settlements. On the basis of investigations done until now one can make only an approximate idea about the extent of that phenomenon. Of settlements that are documented as settled in the last two decennia of the 14th century 323 became extinct by the end of the Middle Ages. Of course, the actual number of extinct settlements was much greater, since there were also such ones arose and became extinct in the course of the 15th century. In particular one can get an idea about the process of depopulation of settlements in Slovakia in that period only in a more detailed examining the changes in the structure of settlement, and this both as far as concerning the number of extinct settlements and their distribution in the time and space.

Towards the end of the Middle Ages, namely from 1511 to 1530, we know 3,793 settlements in total in Slovakia. Of them 19 were free royal towns, 14 towns, 154 townlets, 3,606 villages and hamlets. Also here holds good for settlement in this period the statement that it concentrated predominantly in lowlands and intermontane basins. In settling the Danube Lowland, East Slovakia Lowland and Záhorská Nižina Lowland no larger changes occurred as far as it is concerned the amount of concentrated rural settlements as compared with the state towards the end of the 14th century. Remarkable was a concentration of small settlements in the Žitný Ostrov Island in the space between Šamorín and Dunajská Streda, which is of an older origin. The Danube Lowland had a significant network of urban settlements. Those older of them spread on its border, forming contacts with mountain ranges. The dominant position was in the case of Bratislava and Trnava, which arose on crossing of important trade routes. Remarkable are also changes in the structure of urban settlements in the East Slovakian Lowland. Here in addition to the four older townlets (Kráľovský Chlmec, Michalovce, Veľké Kapušany and Vranov nad Topľou) there are more Leles, Oborín, Pavlovce nad Úhom, Sečovce, Sobrance, Trebišov and Zemplín. Some of them possessed a central function as centres of comitat administration, but due to the influence of Košice they kept out of the long-distance trade and thus did not developed to towns.

In settlement of low-lying basins remarkable changes (in the positive sense) occurred only in the Juhoslovenská Kotlina Basin. Several rural settlements appeared in addition and new townlets arose (Dolná Vinica, Gemer and Lučenec). Košice and Prešov lying in the Košice Basin reinforced their previous position of the most significant centres of long-distance trade and handicraft production and thus gained the status of free royal towns.

The basins of the middle height degree were densely settled as early as the end of the 14th century. Towards the end of the Middle Ages their settlement differed only little from this state. New townlets were formed in them. In the Hornád Basin Krompachy appeared in addition to older urban settlements among which Levoča and Spišská Nová Ves were most significant. Levoča retained its superiority among the towns of the Spiš area, but after a part of the Province of the XXIV Spiš towns had been reserved for Poland in 1412, its administrative central function as centre of the Province was weakened. In the Hornonitrianska Kotlina Nitrianske Pravno and Oslany were transformed to townlets. Prievidza as the most important centre of handicraft production persisted economic centre of the basin on. In the Zvolen Basin the most significant town was Banská Bystrica as one of main centres of handicraft production in Slovakia and seat of an important copper-works. Next to this also Zvolen and Ľubietová developed to free royal towns (the latter thanks to the mining industry). In addition to the older town Slovenská Ľupča, Poniky appeared. In the Žilina Basin Žilina possessed its dominant position on.

Concerning the high-lying basins some remarkable changes appeared only in the structure of urban settlements. In the Turčianska Kotlina Basin Slovenské Pravno appeared in addition to older townlets (Martin, Mošovce, Sučany, Turany and Kláštor pod Znievom). In the Liptov Basin the older towns Ružomberok and Partizánska (Nemecká) Ľupča retained their leading position before the townlets Liptovský Mikuláš and Hybe. By the end of the Middle Ages also Liptovská Sielnica, Liptovská Teplá, Liptovský Trnovec, Okoličné and

Vrbica developed to townlets. In the Poprad Basin the significance of Kežmarok increased (it became a free royal town), Podolíneć retained its position of town, and Matejovce, Poprad, Spišská Belá, Stráže pod Tatrami, Veľká and Veľký Slavkov appeared in addition to the older townlets Ľubica and Spišská Sobota. Settlement in the Horehronské Podolie advanced to east as far as Bačúch. The economic centre was the town Brezno. Settlement of the Orava Basin changed only slightly. It was formed only by five settlements, of them Trstená and Tvrdošín were townlets.

Settlement in lower mountain ranges, as compared with the end of the 14th century, got better on the whole. Positive changes manifested themselves most strikingly in the Laborecká Vrchovina Mts, but they are distinct also in the Ondavská Vrchovina Mts. In the northwestern part of the latter one of the most significant towns of Slovakia, namely Bardejov was formed as early as the 14th century. Also settlement of the Javorníky Mts advanced. On their eastern margin, just near a significant trade route the townlet Kysucké Nové Mesto developed since the 14th century. In the mountain ranges of the Slovenské Rudohorie Mts our most significant mining centres developed, namely the free royal towns Banská Štiavnica, Banská Belá, Kremnica and Nová Baňa as well as the important centre of handicraft production Krupina.

The Západné Beskydy Mts were completely unsettled further on (an area of later dispersed settlement) and as to the Stredné Beskydy Mts settlement improved only little.

In the light of investigations done till now settlement at the end of the Middle Ages shows as the most developed in the whole of the Middle Ages. Whether this was a fact, it will be shown only through a more profound research of the settlement in the 15th century. It is possible that the medieval summit was reached as early as the 2nd half of the 15th century, or also earlier. It is, however, probable that the state of settlement at the end of the Middle Ages represents the summit of settlement rate of Slovakia in the 16th century. A comparison with the state of settlement in 1598 could bear witness to it. Despite settlement of some areas of Slovakia went on also after 1530, particularly in the Slovakia-Poland border, the total balance of settlement is negative, which may be explained particularly by extinction of settlements in southern Slovakia in consequence of Turkish devastation.

Supplement 1

URBAN SETTLEMENTS IN SLOVAKIA IN 1511—1530

Free royal towns (*liberae regiaeque civitates*):

1 Banská Belá, 2 Banská Bystrica, 3 Banská Štiavnica, 4 Bardejov, 5 Bratislava, 6 Kežmarok, 7 Košice, 8 Kremnica, 9 Krupina, 10 Levoča, 11 Ľubietová, 12 Nová Baňa, 13 Prešov, 14 Pukanec, 15 Sabinov, 16 Skalica, 17 Trenčín, 18 Trnava, 19 Zvolen.

Towns (*civitates*):

20 Brezno, 21 Gelnica, 22 Komárno, 23 Nitra, 24 Partizánska (Nemecká) Ľupča, 25 Podolíneć, 26 Prievidza, 27 Rožňava, 28 Ružomberok, 29 Smolník, 30 Spišská Nová Ves, 31 Stará Ľubovňa, 32 Šamorín, 33 Žilina.

Townlets (*oppida*):

34 Babiná, 35 Bánovce nad Bebravou, 36 Bátovce, 27 Beckov, 38 Beluša, 39 Bernolákovo (Čeklís), 40 Bobrovec, 41 Bojnice, 42 Bratislavské Podhradie, 43 Brezovica, 44 Bystrany, 45 Bzovík, 46 Čachtice, 47 Čalovo, 48 Častá, 49 Devín, 50 Dobrá Niva, 51 Dobrá Voda, 52 Dobšiná, 53 Dolná Vinica, 54 Drienov, 55 Dunajská Streda, 56 Dvory nad Žitavou, 57 Fiľakovo, 58 Gabčíkovo, 59 Gemer, 60 Hanušovce nad Topľou, 61 Hniezdne, 62 Hodejov, 63 Hokovce, 64 Holíč, 65 Horné Saliby, 66 Hronský Beňadik, 67 Humenné, 68 Hybe, 69 Chtelnica, 70 Ilava, 71 Jasov, 72 Jelšava, 73 Jur pri Bratislave, 74 Kapušany, 75 Kláštor pod Znievom, 76 Košeca, 77 Kráľovský Chlmec, 78 Križovany, 79 Krompachy, 80 Kurima, 81 Kysucké Nové Mesto, 82 Lednica, 83 Leles, 84 Levice, 85 Lipany, 86 Liptovská Sielnica, 87 Liptovská Teplá, 88 Liptovský Mikuláš, 89 Liptovský Trnovec, 90 Lubic, 91 Lučenec, 92 Maďarský Svodín, 93 Martin, 94 Matejovce, 95 Michalovce, 96 Mníšek nad Hnilcom, 97 Modra, 98 Moldava nad Bodvou, 99 Mošovce, 100 Nálepkovo (Vondrišiel), 101 Nesvady, 102 Nitrianske Pravno, 103 Nové Mesto nad Váhom, 104 Nový Hlohovec, 105 Oborín, 106 Okoličné, 107 Oslany, 108 Pavlovce nad Uhom, 109 Pezinok, 110 Plaveč, 111 Plešivec, 112 Pliešovce, 113 Podlužany, 114 Podunajské Biskupice, 115 Poniky, 116 Poprad, 117 Považská Bystrica, 118 Predmier, 119 Púchov, 120 Pusté Sady, 121 Radošovce, 122 Rajec, 123 Ratková, 124 Rimavská Baňa, 125 Rimavská Seč, 126 Rimavská Sobota, 127 Rozhanovce, 128 Rusovce, 129 Sása, 130 Sebechleby, 131 Sečovce, 132 Seňa, 133 Senec, 134 Senica, 135 Sereď, 136 Slovenská Lupča, 137 Slovenské Pravno, 138 Smolenice, 139 Sobrance, 140 Solivar, 141 Spišská Belá, 142 Spišská Sobota, 143 Spišská Stará Ves, 144 Spišské Podhradie, 145 Spišské Vlachy, 146 Spišský Štvrtok, 147 Stará Turá, 148 Starý Hlohovec, 149 Starý Tekov, 150 Stráže pod Tatrami, 151 Stropkov, 152 Sučany, 153 Svinica, 154 Šahy, 155 Šaštín, 156 Šintava, 157 Štítnik, 158 Štírovo (Parkan), 159 Štvrtok na Ostrove, 160 Švedlár, 161 Tekovské Lužany, 162 Topoľčany, 163 Trebišov, 164 Trstená, 165 Turany, 166 Turňa nad Bodvou, 167 Tvrdošín, 168 Varín, 169 Veličná, 170 Veľká, 171 Veľká Bytča, 172 Veľká Guta, 173 Veľká Ida, 174 Veľké Kapušany, 175 Veľké Pole, 176 Veľký Slavkov, 177 Veľký Šariš, 178 Vranov nad Topľou, 179 Vrblica, 180 Vrbové, 181 Vyškovce nad Ipľom, 182 Zemplín, 183 Zlaté Moravce, 184 Žarnovica, 185 Želiezovce, 186 Žiar nad Hronom, 187 Žitná.

Juraj Ž u d e l

OSÍDLENIE SLOVENSKA KONCOM STREDOVEKU

Koniec stredoveku je významným medzníkom aj vo vývoji osídlenia Slovenska. Uzavára dlhé obdobie, v ktorom vývin osídlenia mal vcelku vzostupný trend, a to tak v zmysle kvalitatívnom (rozvoj mestských sídel), ako aj kvantitatívnom (vznikanie nových vidieckych sídel na území prv neosídlenom alebo len riedko osídlenom). Od druhej tretiny 16. storočia, keď Dolné Uhorsko ovládli Turci, osídlenie na južnom Slovensku, najmä na území medzi Váhom a Hornádom veľmi trpelo ich vpádmi. Osídlenie upadlo, mnohé sídla úplne zanikli.

Stredoveké osídlenie Slovenska dosiahlo už na sklonku 14. storočia značný rozsah, čo bolo predovšetkým dôsledkom kolonizačnej činnosti v 2. polovici 13. a v 1. polovici 14. storočia, ktorá mala prevažne roľnícky charakter. Počet sídel v porovnaní so stavom v polovici 13. storočia sa do konca 14. storočia zdvojnásobil.

Vývoj osídlenia v 15. storočí a v prvých desaťročiach 16. storočia mal vcelku (so zreteľom na celé územie Slovenska) vzostupný priebeh. Vývoj mestských sídel v tomto období charakterizuje ich diferencácia a utváranie nových zemepanských mestiečiek. Dotvára sa nový druh mestských sídel, ktorý sa už zreteľne diferencuje v predchádzajúcom období — slobodné kráľovské mestá.

Na zakladaní nových vidieckych sídel najmä od 2. polovice 15. storočia sa zúčastňuje aj pastiersky ľud, ktorý sa usadzoval na valašskom práve. Zaoberal sa hlavne chovom

oviec, k čomu využíval dovtedy nevyužitú alebo len málo obhospodarované horské lúky a pasienky. Valašská kolonizácia od svojich počiatkov v 14. storočí do konca stredoveku mala na Slovensku len skromný rozsah a pozoruhodnejšie ovplyvnila len osídlenie v severnej časti Zemplína, Šariša a Gemera, to znamená v Nízkych Beskydách a v Slovenskom rudohorí.

Koncom stredoveku, v období rokov 1511—1530 poznáme na Slovensku spolu 3743 sídel. Z toho bolo 19 slobodných kráľovských miest, 14 miest, 154 mestečiek, 3606 dŕhín a osád. Osídlenie sa sústreďovalo prevažne v nížinách a v kotlinách, ale bolo dosť intenzívne aj v nižších pohoríach, najmä v Slovenskom stredohorí, Slovenskom rudohorí a v Nízkych Beskydách. Vo svetle doterajších výskumov sa osídlenie na konci stredoveku javí ako najvyvinutejšie v celom stredoveku.

Мапа 1. Осídlenie Slovenska v rokoch 1511—1530. 1 — slobodné kráľovské mestá, 2 — mestá, 3 — mestečká, 4 — dediny a osady.

Číslovanie mestských sídel na mape zodpovedá ich číslovaniu v Prílohe 1 Mestské sídla na Slovensku v rokoch 1511—1530. Na mape nie je vyznačených 229 neskôr zaniknutých sídel, lebo nepoznáme ich presnejšiu polohu.

Príloha 1. Mestské sídla na Slovensku v rokoch 1511—1530.

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ЗАСЕЛЕНИЕ СЛОВАКИИ В КОНЦЕ СРЕДНЕВЕКОВЬЯ

Конец средневековья является важной вехой также в развитии заселения Словакии. Им заканчивается длительный период, во время которого развитие заселения имело все возрастающую тенденцию как в качественном (развитие городских населенных пунктов), так и в количественном отношении (возникновение сельских поселений на территории ранее не заселенной или редко заселенной). Начиная со второй трети 16 века, когда Нижней Венгрией овладели Турки, заселение южной Словакии, главным образом на территории между реками Ваг и Горнад, страдало от их нашествий. Заселение прекращалось, многие поселения полностью прекратили свое существование.

Средневековое заселение Словакии уже в конце 14 века достигло значительных размеров благодаря колонизации во второй половине 13-го и в первой половине 14-го веков, имеющей преимущественно сельскохозяйственный характер. Количество населенных пунктов в конце 14 века, по сравнению с состоянием к половине 13 века, удвоилось.

Развитие заселения в 15 веке и в первые десятилетия 16 века имело в общем (учитывая всю территорию Словакии) возрастающую тенденцию. Развитие городских населенных пунктов в этот период характеризует их дифференциация и образование новых феодальных городков. Формируется новый вид городских населенных пунктов, дифференцировавшийся отчетливо уже в предшествующий период — сводные (вольные) королевские города.

В процессе образования новых сельских поселений, главным образом со второй половины 15 века, принимает участие также народ пастухов, поселяющийся на валашском праве. Валашская колонизация от своего начала в 14 веке вплоть до конца средневековья на территории Словакии достигла небольших размеров. Более отчетливо она повлияла лишь на заселение северных участков Земплина, Шариша и Гемера, т. е. в Низких Бескидах и в Словацких Рудных горах.

В конце средневековья, в 1511—1530 гг., на территории Словакии насчитывалось

в общем 3793 населенных пунктов, в том числе 19 вольных королевских городов, 14 городов, 154 городков и 3606 деревень и поселков. Заселение концентрировалось, преимущественно, в низменностях и котловинах, но сравнительно интенсивным оно было также в низкогорных областях, главным образом в Словацком среднегорье, в Словацких Рудных горах и в Низких Бескидах. В свете до сих пор проводимых исследований средневековое заселение Словакии достигло максимального развития в конце средневековья.

Карта 1. Заселение Словакии в 1511—1530 гг. 1 — вольные королевские города, 2 — города, 3 — городки, 4 — деревни и поселки. Нумерация городских населенных пунктов на карте отвечает их нумерации в Приложении № 1 к публикации „Городские населенные пункты Словакии в 1511—1530 гг.“. На карте не приведено 229 поселений, прекративших свое существование позднее, так как нам неизвестно их местоположение.

Приложение № 1. Городские населенные пункты Словакии в 1511—1530 гг.