

Košice castle in the optics of written sources

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Abstract

The torsos of the former castle are located approximately four and a half kilometers as the crow flies from the center of Košice. We call this site Hradová. The name Hradová probably originated from the designation of the castle, which is located on its territories. The presented study provides comprehensive information on the historical and constructional development of the little explored fortification complex in the former Abov county. The structural overview of the historical development of the castle complex is based on both a source and a literary basis. The paper is also aimed at popularizing the facts using a graphical attachment in the form of ideal 2D reconstructions.

Keywords: castle, Košice, sources, 2D, reconstruction

Introduction

To this day it is possible to see the remains of some of the castle's masonry (on the north, west and east side) and the most significant part of the Košice Castle System of a triangular tower with a triangular shape. The former professor of geography J. Martinka described the geographical position of Hradová in a prose-like manner as follows: "Hradová seems to be a magical plain about 250 meters from the level of the Hornád, which is underwent its steep slope reaching 466 meters above sea level. It is 2500 meters long and 1400 meters wide. From the north it is impassable, deep, close to Hradová, with rock formations and waterfalls Hradný jarok, from the west it is called Suchá dolina, from the south it is Čermefa valley and from the east it is Hornád."¹

A similar formal characteristic of Hradová with the possibility of foundations of Košice Castle² was also suggested by O. R. Halaga, based on the plot maps from the 18th but mainly from the 19th century: "Hradek", ("Pod Hradek"), "Veliký Hradek", "Hradkov jarok", respectively "Hradecz Potok"³ and northern along the Kavečianska road "Sztrazsna"

¹ MARTINKA, J. Hrad Sokolfa nad Košicami. In *Zborník muzeálnej slovenskej spoločnosti*, 1931, Vol. 25, No. 25, p. 110.

² See more: HALAGA, O. R. Počiatky Košíc a zrod metropoly. Košice: Mesto Košice, 1992. 96 p. ISBN 80-85174-57-X.

³ Archív Mesta Košice, Štátna moc, správa a samospráva, Magistráty do roku 1945, MP II 5/3, II 6, IIIa 113, III/j 43.

(Strážna).⁴ According to the author, both Hradek and Strážna are probably outposts of the Košice Castle, with the task of controlling the trade route from the Čermeľ Valley towards Spiš.⁵

From a bird's eye view, the "hypothetical castle at Hradová" had the priority role, given its strategic location,⁶ to guard the trade line leading from present-day Poland (Galicia) through eastern Slovakia (Torysa valley through Košice mountain) to northern Hungary (Northeast Tisza, Borsod). This trade route provided the buyers not only with Krakow, Wroclaw or Lvov, but also with Czech cities. However, part of this section led from the south upstream of the Hornád River,⁷ from which it slightly turned south of today's Krásna nad Hornádom, approximately nine to ten kilometers from the present-day city center of Košice and continued upstream of Torysa to the north.⁸

In the later era (during the oligarchy of the Omodeans), the aforementioned fortification system was intended not only to protect, but to control (probably also forfeit) domestic and foreign buyers and merchants heading to the city of Košice.

The question of the very existence of the castle (Hradová) above Košice was for a relatively long period unexplained and unresolved. Several criteria predetermined this status, such as:

- inaccurate localization by Hungarian and especially Hungarian experts,
- Czechoslovak historiography could not identify the castle complex until the first decade of the 20th century,
- historical connection with the neighboring castle Sokol,
- unfinished archaeological research from the beginning of the 1990s.

These reasons, in their final form, reflected the absence of an artistic-historical description of the castle system, which stands out above the largest metropolis of eastern Slovakia. On the other hand, its fortification system, due to its territorial size and extent, is probably one of the largest castle complexes (forts), which are identifiable in the Carpathians. The combination of terrain and human building assets over time has created the impression of a megalomaniacal building, as the estimated length of the castle is doubtful about 570 to nearly 600 meters, and covers an area with a surprisingly large area of around 5.5 to 5.8 hectares.⁹

⁴ Archív Mesta Košice, Štátna moc, správa a samospráva, Magistráty do roku 1945, MP II 4/42.

⁵ HALAGA, O. R. Košice – Balt: Výroba a obchod v styku východoslovenských miest s Pruskom (1275–1526). Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1975. p. 116–120.

⁶ HALAGA, O. R. Pakty vzájomnosti obchodných stredísk Krakova a Košíc. In *Historický časopis*, 1988. Vol. 36, No. 2, p. 159–174.

⁷ Stadtarchiv Karlsruhe, Prise par l'Armée, Plan da la ville Cachau, signatúra BB Hfk Bd, p. 39.

⁸ DUCHOŇ, J. Úvahy o najstaršom územnom vývoji mesta Košíc. In *Historický časopis*, 1991, Vol. 39, No. 3, p. 295.

⁹ See more: PLAČEK, M. – BÓNA, M. Encyklopédia slovenských hradov. Bratislava: Slovart, 2007. 161 p. ISBN 978-80-8085-287-0.

Territory Hradová & the earth Cossa

Under its own name Hradová was probably referred to a mountain or hill with a dominant fortification object – a fortified settlement, later a castle. The situation of the fortification system is located in the Košice territorial region, called Vyšné Košice (“Superior Cassa”, “Kassa”), on an elevated part, apparently separated from the territory called “Cossa”. As the archivist of L. Kemény claimed, the “land of Kosice”¹⁰ formed before the division one territorial unit, but due to property – administrative and mainly military fighting divided into Vyšné Košice (“Superior Cassa”)¹¹ and Nižné Košice (“Inferior Cassa”).¹² It should be stressed that the equivalent for Nižné Košice in the oldest primary sources has not been preserved and the whole area was still referred to as the Scythe (Cassa, Cossa).¹³ The reunification of Vyšné and Nižné Košice into one unit comes between 1270 and 1275, which was still walled up in 1290 by strong walls.¹⁴

The original territory of Koša (“terra Cosa nuncupata”) stretched from Čermel, Pstružník to the central part of the Myslavský brook.¹⁵ The boundary line of the area in the northeast was the Torysa River, while the southern boundary was bordered by the western slope of the Hornád River. Since the end of the 12th century, there was a relatively strong military and political pressure (the then Hungarian king probably between 1190–1200, already in possession of “Techan”, today’s Tahanovce as a neighboring settlement)¹⁶ by the royal guards from the south, which gradually lines moved towards today’s village of Kysak.¹⁷

¹⁰ KEMÉNY, L. Száz év Kassa legrégebb történetéből. Kassa: Ries Lajos, 1893, p. 4–5.

¹¹ Archív mesta Košice, Tajné oddelenie, A 1 („...*terram Superior Cassa nuncupatam*...“): 1261.; Archív mesta Košice, Tajné oddelenie, A 2 („...*terre Superior Kassa*...“): 1275.

¹² See more: TIMON, S. Cassovia Vetus et Nova Cassoviae: Typis Academicis per Joannem Henricum Frauenheim, 1732, p. 58–71; KAPRINAI, S. Hungaria diplomatica temporibus Mathia de Hunyad II. Vindobonae: J. T. Trattner, 1771, p. 19; KORABINSKY, J. M. Geographisch – Historisches und Produkten – Lexikon von Ungarn. Pressburg: Weber a Korabinsky, 1786, p. 30; TUTKO, J. Kassa szabad királyi városának történelmi évkönyve. Kassa: Werfer Károly, 1860, p. 32–33; KRONES, F. X. Zur ältesten Geschichte der oberungarischen Freistadt Kaschau. Wien: Gerold, 1864, p. 16–18; SZERDAHELYI, G. Celebrium Hungariae urbium et oppidorum chorographia. Cassovia: Typis Collegii Academicum Societ. Jesu., 1770, p. 126.

¹³ KEMÉNY, L. Száz év Kassa legrégebb történetéből. Kassa: Ries Lajos, 1893, p. 4–5.

¹⁴ SZERDAHELYI, G. Celebrium Hungariae urbium et oppidorum chorographia. Cassovia: Typis Collegii Academicum Societ. Jesu., 1770. 126 p.; KORABINSKY, J. M. Geographisch-historisches und Produkten Lexikon von Ungarn. Pressburg: Weber und Korabinskyscher Verlag, 1786, 284 p.; PLATH, J. Kaschauer Chronik – Ausführliche Geschichte der Königlichen Freistadt Kaschau seit ihrem Ursprunge des 7. Jahrhunderts Kaiser Heraclius Zeitepoche (610–641) bis zum Programme der Feierlichen Begrüssung des ersten Lokomotivs im Kaschauer Bahnhofs. Kaschau: Nando Steller-Šteliar, 1860, 15–16 p.

¹⁵ See more: HALAGA, O. R. Počiatky Košíc a zrod metropoly. Košice: Mesto Košice, 1992, 97 p. ISBN 80-85174-57-X.

¹⁶ NAGY, I. – VÉGHELY, D. A Zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára. Vol. I. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1871, 13 p.

¹⁷ GYÖRFFY, G. Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza. Vol. I. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966, p. 145–146; POLLA, B. Doterajšie výsledky historicko-archeologického výskumu v Krásnej nad Hornádom. In *Nové Obzory. Vol. 13*. Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo v Košiciach pre Múzeum Slovenskej republiky rád v Prešove, 1976, p. 173–174.

This military pressure became even stronger in the first decade of the 13th century, thanks to the Abov family who gradually acquired their property throughout the Košice basin and became border neighbors (from the south-east they had territories in the form of present-day villages Krásna and Olšany; and Buken (from the north again Ťahanovce), “with the people of Kosice”).¹⁸

Probably military pressure was not the only reason for the construction of the fortification, as researcher O. R. Halaga based on documentary annals states that “people named Koša” refused to pay taxes to the king because of their hereditary¹⁹ land and also the loss of hereditary territory throughout the lowland.²⁰

For this reason, the original inhabitants of the surveyed site were probably forced to build a fortification building – a refugial fort in Vyšné Košice. Fort represented a certain protection of its own existence (political and economic independence),²¹ as well as protection of the oldest trade routes, and it also served as a cult and certainly as the right center. Some researchers assumed that the fortified settlement at Hradová was formed before the divided (about 1200 years ago) from the “territory of the Koša” into two territorial separate units, but this is not possible on the basis of written sources.

In the first half of the 20th century, when minor archaeological research was carried out, it was found that the basic part of the fort has a triangular shape, part of the peak is very close to the bank of the Hornád River. One arm was even in the rocky part of the natural terrain; Jankova dolina.²²

Fort described in detail J. Martinka, in a similar version “...from the fort only four walls have been preserved, which are focused on each other, which gradually reduce. The lowest part of the fort is the largest in terms of dimensions, with a height of about 6 to 8 meters. The second part (step) is higher by 250 meters and the height doubted about 3 to 5 meters and 425 meters long...”²³ It is only 2-3 meters high and is 355 meters long. This part consists of two parts. The first part pulls on the hillside. The second one deviates from the previous one in the knee and goes further in the form of a stone grave to the very rocky black.

¹⁸ GYÖRFFY, G. Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza. Vol. I. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966, p. 42; VARSÍK, B. Osídlenie košickej kotliny I. Bratislava: Slovenská Akadémia vied, 1964, p. 92–145.

¹⁹ SZENTPÉTERY, E. Scriptorum rerum Hungaricarum. Vol. I. Budapest: Typ. Reg. Univ. Litter. Hung., 1937, p. 125–127; ENDLICHER, L. (J). S. Rerum Hungaricarum Monumenta Arpadiana. Sangalli: Scheitlin & Zollikofer, 1849, p. 57.

²⁰ HALAGA, O. R. Počiatky Košíc a zrod metropoly. Košice: Mesto Košice, 1992, p. 101. ISBN 80-85174-57-X.

²¹ HALAGA, O. R. Počiatky diaľkového obchodu cez stredné Karpaty a košického práva skladu. In *Historica Carpathica*. Vol. 4. Košice: Východoslovenské múzeum v Košiciach, 1973, p. 3–28; HALAGA, O. R. Právny, územný a populačný vývoj mesta Košíc. Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1967, p. 20–24. ISBN 83-024-67; ELIÁŠ, Š. Románska doba. In *Košické historické zošity*. Vol. 4. Košice: Štátny oblastný archív, 1994, p. 10–11. ISBN 978-80-967274-2-1; BOHÁČ, Z. K otázke využitia zasvätení kostelů v oboru historickej geografie. In *Československý časopis historický*, 1968, Vol.16, No. 1, p. 583–584.

²² ŽUPČÁN, L. Existoval vôbec Košický hrad? In *Studia Historica Nitriensia*. Vol. 15. Nitra: Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre/Filozofická fakulta, 2010, p. 229–335. ISBN 978-80-8094-836-8.

²³ MARTINKA, J. Hrad Sokol'a nad Košicami. In *Zborník muzeálnej slovenskej spoločnosti*. 1931, Vol. 25, No. 25, p. 111.

The fourth part (degree) of the terrain is the highest situated (higher from the previous 120 meters), but the size is the smallest, it is 94 meters long. All mentioned parts of the hillfort start from the slope of Jankova dolina (which has approximately 1.1 kilometers in length and a depth of 53 meters) to the rocky zone.²⁴ The Hradová site with a fortified settlement and a later stone castle testify to the significant settlement of this region just before the 13th century.²⁵

The area of Vyšné Košice, probably with its own fortification architecture, had a much more strategic importance in the first half of the 13th century; in an era before colonization, than the southern district, which was in the hands of the king in the form of a royal market settlement, a mansion (with the task of profit and income to the king), evoking subduing and absorbing military.²⁶

According to O. R. Halaga's thoughts, the Slavic population of Košice might have called Hradová as Gradna (ground) or Gradova (mountain or mountain) before 1200, although historically it is not quite possible to document it.²⁷

In the colonization era in the history of Košice's territorial territory, incoming German immigrants referred to the area near Gradova/Hradová, or probably Košice itself as "Gasuoh".²⁸ The Germanic designation Gasuoh characterized a forested area with a large number of muddy fields, or marshes in which the colonization itself was quite difficult. In addition to the natural attribute of the country, their domestic residents, neighbors, also caused great difficulties for newly settlers.

The German, but especially later Hungarian speaking population of newcomers – immigrants honored the ancient traditions of the site (because they did not come into empty space). Through the linguistic pronunciation of Gradova, "somehow" goes through a systematic continuity from the letter g through y to h, and today's term Hradová comes into being.²⁹ Košice Germans (Sasi), who had a strong representation in the vicinity of Košice, commonly used the name Hradová. The fact remains that Hradová had its today's designa-

²⁴ See more: MARTINKA, J. Hrad Sokofa nad Košicami. In *Zborník muzeálnej slovenskej spoločnosti*. 1931, Vol. 25, No. 25, p. 112; ŽUPČÁN, L. Existoval vôbec Košický hrad? In *Studia Historica Nitriensia*. Vol. 15. Nitra: Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre/Filozofická fakulta, 2010, p. 230–231. ISBN 978-80-8094-836-8.

²⁵ DUCHOŇ, J. Úvahy o najstaršom územnom vývoji mesta Košíc. In *Historický časopis*, 1991, Vol. 39, No. 3, p. 295.

²⁶ See more: HALAGA, O. R. Počiatky Košíc a zrod metropoly. Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1993, p. 113–116 s. ISBN 978-80-85174-57-1; HALAGA, O. R. Právny, územný a populačný vývoj mesta Košíc. Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1967, p. 24–26; RUSNÁK, R. Dve stredoveké parcely v Košiciach. In *Slovenská archeológia*, 2011, Vol. 59, No. 1, p. 149–188.

²⁷ ("...terra Gradna (Garadna) cuius particula terre dicto castro et alia particula iobagionibus eiusdem castris pertinebat..."). GYÖRFFY, G. Az Árpád-kori szolgálonépek kérdéséhez. In *Történelmi Szemle*, 1972, Vol. 15, No. 1, p. 261–321; HALAGA, O. R. Počiatky Košíc a zrod metropoly. Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1993, p. 90. ISBN 978-80-85174-57-1.

²⁸ KRONES, F. X. Zur ältesten Geschichte der oberungarischen Freistadt Kaschau. Wien: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1864, p. 8–11; KEMÉNY, L. Száz év Kassa legrégebbi történetéből. Kassa: Ries Lajos, 1893, p. 35–37; BOROVSKÝ, S. – SZIKLAY, J. Magyarország vármegyéi és városai. Vo 1. Abaúj-Torna vármegye és Kassa. Budapest: Apollo, 1896, p. 35–37.

²⁹ HALAGA, O. R. Vývoj jazykovo – národnostnej štruktúry Košíc. In *Historický časopis*, 1982, Vol. 30, No. 3, p. 589–590.

tion at the beginning of the 15th century, because even in the oldest Košice city books did not preserve another paragon for the original Slovak designation Hradová, always registered only in a foreign form, mostly in Latin, German and Hungarian versions.

Almost all chroniclers, historians and writers who recorded the history of the city of Košice had no doubt about the existence of the castle complex at Hradová, not only because of the remnants of the walls, but also from the designation itself “Mons castri” (Castle on top or mountain castle).³⁰

According to the researcher O. R. Halaga: “...unambiguous clarity of the name Hradová, led to a complete agreement in its translation (trilingual translation in language mutations is based only on the descriptive nature of the site) from (to) Latin as Mons Castri, to German as Burgberg (The name Burgberg (Purgberk)³¹ appears in many documents of an economic nature. In a similar economic – agricultural spirit, Hradová (Várhegy) also occurs in Hungarian or Hungarian language versions.”³² The Hungarian language and the dialect are settled in Košice in the first half of the 16th century, thanks to officials who were deliberately installed in the town’s self-government with the help of the usurper of the Hungarian crown Ján Zápoľský. Approximately from this period (1542), a record has been preserved that writes about “...certain vineyards that lay on top of Várhegy, which we can see...”³³

The later designation of Hradová always appears in the records in connection with vineyards, such as: in the oldest court protocol of the city of Košice it is described that “...Ján Fulnek had his vineyards on the hill Hradová”. Košice Castle³⁴ was preserved in 1571, when the burgess of Košice Károly Deák bought his vineyards in the mentioned locality: “...under the mountain of the ruined ancient castle Košice...”³⁵ The condition of vineyards and gardens has not changed to this day your wine parcels.

The location of Hradová is a significant element above the metropolis of Košice itself. The question of the origin of the castle complex at Hradová is still very dilemmatic, because there is no reliable starting point. Many authors (historians, archivists and archaeologists) have started to solve the question of the origin of the castle since the end of the 90s of the 19th century, but mainly in the 20th century, however, they expressed only hypotheses, which confirmed only a narrow circle of essence. The researchers believed that up to two castles were probably built in the Hradová locality, pre-historic (situated in the south) and historic (situated in the north).

³⁰ Archív mesta Košice, Štátna moc, správa a samospráva, Magistráty do roku 1945, H pur 1, f. 36, f. 94. HALAGA, O. R. Acta iudiciaria civitatis Cassoviensis 1393–1405: das älteste Kaschauer Stadtbuch. München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1994. (p. 1843, p. 4642).

³¹ Archív mesta Košice, Štátna moc, správa a samospráva, Magistráty do roku 1945, H pur 4, p. 227. (“...den Weyngarten des Genannten Pauli an dem Purgberk ligenden...”).

³² Archív mesta Košice, Štátna moc, správa a samospráva, Magistráty do roku 1945, H pur 6, p. 48. (“...in ea vineae, quae videlicet sita est in Varhegy...”).

³³ Archív mesta Košice, Štátna moc, správa a samospráva, Magistráty do roku 1945, MP III/a 12: 1847, MP III j 49: 1896.

³⁴ Liber actorum iudicum (1394 – 1405). In VARSÍK, B. (ed.). Osídlenie košickej kotliny I. Bratislava: Slovenská Akadémia vied, 1964, p. 179 (,...Johnnes Fulnek obstinuit vineam suam in Monte Castri...“).

³⁵ Archív mesta Košice, Štátna moc, správa a samospráva, Magistráty do roku 1945, H her 1, p. 227. (,...sub monte dirutae arcis vetustae Cassoviensis...“).

The question of the existence of such a fortification whole arises solely of linguistic and etymological character.

Authors such as L. Kemény and G. Osváth were based on the idea that in the speech of the original Slavs the mentioned locality Horné, ie Vyšné Košice, was first described as Hradová, because it represented the area with a prehistoric castle.³⁶ This reasoning was confirmed by another Castle at Gemer (Tisovec) where the remains of a prehistoric castle complex were uncovered in the form of a natural, pagan castle. L. Kemény, reinforced this thesis by the fact that the Hungarian name for the then Košice as “Fel-Kassa” is the youngest name.³⁷ According to the author, this designation originated only because of a stable geographical representation of the town and its parts, which were much historically older than the very foundations of the medieval-feudal town. However, it should be noted that there are no traces of the prehistoric castle in the oldest primary sources and even in the first chronicles of Košice.

Even in the first preserved document depicting the border lines of Vyšné Košice (“...terra Superior Cassa...”) fortified settlement, or castle is not mentioned at all. This document, dating back to 1261, details only the border lines of the territory, which are owned by new German settlers, colonists named Samphleben and Obl from the Hungarian ruler.³⁸

From the later 14th century metaing documents (years 1347 and 1352) it is possible to analyze in detail within the surveyed territory of Vyšné Košice internal possessions and objects such as plowed land, forests, meadows, rolls, vineyards, plots of water, mills, settlements, these include the farmyard, or even the Košice Castle (“...castrum Cassensis...”).³⁹

Uncertainties in the identification of Košice Castle

The views of the first construction of the stone, feudal castle complex are diametrically opposed. A significant reason for this act was the long-term identification of the Košice Castle at Hradová, with the neighboring castle complexes in the Sokol area. Many scientific researchers from the second decade of the 18th century to the present day tried to confirm and refute the parallel identification and explanation of the differences between these two castle complexes.

While researchers such as J. Martinka and B. Varsik were convinced of the castle at Hradová that they were the remains of the fortification complex Sokol, scientists such as J. Tutko, F. X. Krones, D. Csánki and O. R. Halaga warned of mistakes and started from younger primary secondary sources. Already D. Csánki pointed out that the castle complex

³⁶ See more: KEMÉNY, L. Száz év Kassa legrégebb történetéből. Kassa: Ries Lajos, 1893, p. 5; OSVÁTH, G. Adalékok Kassa város közjogi helyzetéhez és közigazgatási szervezetéhez I. Lipót koráig. Kassa: A. Vitéz, 1918, p. 10–11.

³⁷ KEMÉNY, L. Száz év Kassa legrégebb történetéből. Kassa: Ries Lajos, 1893, p. 5–6; VARSIK, B. Osídlenie košickej kotliny I. Bratislava: Slovenská Akadémia vied, 1964, p.178–179.

³⁸ Archív mesta Košice, Tajné oddelenie, A. Cassovia, p. 1.

³⁹ Archív mesta Košice, Tajné oddelenie, A 13 (“...munimenta et edificia castris Cassensis...”); Archív mesta Košice, Tajné oddelenie, B 3.

with its own accessories belonged to the Šariš stool and the name of the castle has undergone many modifications and modifications in the Latin and Hungarian languages.⁴⁰

The mentioned researcher was based on a documentary base from 1429, when the following settlements (villages) belonged to the Šariš stool: Biskád, Tepličany, Kostol'any nad Hornádom, Malá Vieska, Veľká and Malá Lodina, Ružín, Rokecany and Sokol.⁴¹

F. X. Krones, who identified the castle Sokol in today's village Sokol, lying north of Košice, also adhered to these conclusions.⁴² J. Tutko in his work dating from the 19th century states that the local (local) population of the village Sokol, the torso of the famous castle located in a place called Hrádok ("Hradek").⁴³

The researcher B. Varsik pointed out the very location of the site (the location of the preserved architectural remains) is located quite deep in the wooded mountains. Secondly, the approach to a possible construction or other reconstruction due to the rugged natural terrain would be too complicated, directly impossible. For this reason, the researcher thought that it was only a small, short-term building suitable only for royal hunting with falcons, which were a frequent accompanying act in the site.⁴⁴

The typical natural item of the site corresponds to falconry as a craft during the period of the feudal Kingdom of Hungary. Falconry as a craft itself was highly popular in Sokol and also developed at an extremely high level. This fact is also pointed out by J. Martinka, based on a documentary basis from the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries from the surveyed region, which characterize the site, such as the historical territory of falconers (falconarii), birds (draucarii), predators (venatoria).⁴⁵ And others. It is interesting to note that some officials from the territory who were in the service of the king for their willingness and especially for their loyalty received a titular formula, such as: the main dressing gown of falconers ("falconariorum"), mayor of swordsmen ("comes liciscariorum"), head of the Municipality of Turol ("comes venatorum bubalinorum") and the like.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ See more: CSÁNKI, D. Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában. Vol. I. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1890, p. 284; VARSIK, B. Osídlenie košickej kotliny I. Bratislava: Slovenská Akadémia vied, 1964, p. 175; KARÁCSONYI, J. Alsó-Eperjes vár tartománya. In *Századok*, 1903, Vol. 37, No. 7, p. 670–672. Even B. Varsik himself drew attention to the fact that although the village of Sokol itself lies in the Saris stool, the castle Sokol in the Abov stool. The author specified his hypothesis on the basis of a document dated in 1423, which states that the castle Sokol is located in the Abovian stool ("...quandam possessionem nostram Kalachyan vocatum ad castrum nostrum Zakalya appellatum in comitat Abawyuariensi habitum..."). Archív mesta Košice, fasciculus (zvázok): Kavečany, č.1; but already in the following preserved document from 1429 it is located in the neighboring Šariš stool ("...castrum nostrum Zakolya vocatum in comitatu de Saros situatum..."): Archív mesta Košice, fasciculus (zvázok), Ťahanovce, p. 1.

⁴¹ Archív mesta Košice, Tajné oddelenie, fasciculus (zvázok) Zakalya, p. 1.

⁴² KRONES, F. X. Zur ältesten Geschichte der oberungarischen Freistadt Kaschau. Wien: Akademie der wissenschaften, 1864, p. 16–17.

⁴³ TUTKO, J. Szabad Királyi Kassa Városának Történelmi Évkönyve. Kassa: Werfer Károly, 1861, p. 63.

⁴⁴ VARSIK, B. Osídlenie košickej kotliny. Vol. I. Bratislava: Slovenská Akadémia vied, 1964, p. 172.

⁴⁵ MARTINKA, J. Sokoliarstvo na Slovensku. In *Slovenské pohľady*, 1927, Vol. 14, No. 5, p. 316–317.

⁴⁶ MARTINKA, J. Hrad Sokol'a nad Košicami. In *Zborník muzeálnej slovenskej spoločnosti*, 1931, Vol. 25, No. 25, p. 127.

The written sources mention the feudal castle Sokol as Falcon as "...Zacula..." from 1311⁴⁷ (however, the document does not mention the castle, although many later authors mention the year 1311, the year of the first construction of the castle), "...Zakalya..." from 1330,⁴⁸ "...Zakala..." from 1333,⁴⁹ "...Zakalya..." from 1338 to 1368, "...Zakolia..." from 1382⁵⁰ or "...Zokol..." from 1405.⁵¹

The probable origin of the original castle complex dates back to the period 1303/04 to 1310/11,⁵² because it is not mentioned in the document from 1297. However, the author F. Uličný remarked on the marginalization of the Sokol Castle that, according to his considerations, one of the members of the aristocratic family of Rozhanovce, probably Rajnold (Reynold), who had his family seat in the given location at that time.⁵³

At present, the more logical basis of the hypothetical dating is the period between 1301/02 and 1304/05 attributed the beginning of construction to the Omodej family, especially to the Palatine Omodej himself, who at the beginning of the 14th century had huge territorial possessions in this locality. This hypothesis has a relatively rational basis, since palatine Omodej had a large amount of funds and, as is now known and countered (to a large extent sold)⁵⁴ a strategic, commercial link between Košice and Krakow. Strong control, even at times of power attacks by the oligarch, led initially to minor revolts, which eventually resulted in an uprising against the Palatine Omodej. The main intention of the Palatine Omodej was to gain control of the entire East Bohemian region as quickly as possible (at that time he already had the Abov, Novohrad, Zemplin, and probably Turnian chairs), especially over the feudal city of Košice, which he had been trying for years, but unsuccessfully. This initiative is also evidenced by part of the preserved document Omodej.⁵⁵

Disagreements between Omodej and Košice residents, i. "Košice burghers" even more resulted from 1303. A year later, in 1304 based on the claims of older Hungarian historians, Košice militarily occupied the palatine Omodej.⁵⁶ It should be recalled that there is no well-preserved relevant instrument on this act. The situation of the Omodeans was greatly com-

⁴⁷ Archív mesta Košice, Tajné oddelenie, fasciculus (zväzok): A. Cassovia, p. 7.

⁴⁸ Archív mesta Košice, Tajné oddelenie, fasciculus (zväzok): Zakalya, p. 3.

⁴⁹ NAGY, I. Hazai okmánytár. Vol. III: Ország fejedelmi okmányok. Győr: Sauervein, 1866, p. 55–56.

⁵⁰ Archív mesta Košice, Cassovia, p. 18073.

⁵¹ Magyar Országos Levéltár – Budapest (MOL) Diplomatikai Levéltár (DL), p. 9077; MALYUSZ, E. Zsigmondkori oklevéltár. Vol. II. Budapest: *Levéltári közlemények*, 1954, p. 4170.

⁵² PLAČEK, M. – BÓNA, M. Encyklopédia slovenských hradov. Bratislava: Slovart, 2007, p. 268–269. ISBN 978-80-8085-287-0.

⁵³ ULIČNÝ, F. Vznik hradov v Šariši. In *Nové Obzory*. Vol. 24. Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo v Košiciach pre Múzeum Slovenskej republiky rád v Prešove, 1982, p. 104–105; MOL, p. 735; WENZEL, G. Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus Continuatus. Vol. 12. [DVD-ROM]. Budapest: Arcanum, 2009, p. 12–14. ISBN 978-963-631-198-8.

⁵⁴ HALAGA, O. R. Počiatky Košic a zrod metropoly. Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1993, p. 306; COSMA, J. Omode nádor fiaí és Kassa városa. In *Turul*, 1911, Vol. 25, No. 2, p. 87–90.

⁵⁵ FEJÉR, G. Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis. Vol. VI, 3. Budae: Typis Regiae Scient. Universitatis Ungaricae, 1844, p. 339.

⁵⁶ KARÁCSONYI, J. A hamis, hibáskeltű és keltezetlen oklevelek jegyzéke 1400-ig. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1902, p. 129. (p. 220).

plicated by the coronation of Charles Róbert of the Anjou family as a Hungarian ruler in 1310 and also by the figure of Cardinal Gentile de Montefiori.

Historians between 19 and 26 September 1311 suppose the beginning of Košice rebellion.⁵⁷ The result of the rebellion was the capture of Omodej, and subsequent beheading by the Košice people in October 1311, as well as the writing of the bond, t. j. to seal the resignation and the commitments to the King of the Omodeans, their relatives and allies.

After the death of Omodeja, the family longed for revenge, but they were again defeated in the famous battle of Rozhanovce. After this period, the Košice burghers directly forced the cessation of all the architectural monuments built by the Omodeans in the respective territory, even the king took away their family castles with their accessories, including Gönz Castle, Slanec Castle, Old Abov Castle and Sokol.

Since that time, the Drugeth family became the new owners of the Sokol domain and were loyal followers of the royal Anjuol family. The first owner of the family was Filip Drugeth, who was characterized by extraordinary bravery in the battle of Rozhanovce. From the era of his reign in the castle, several documents and complaints against the castle lords have been preserved. The most memorable, however, is the deed that investigated the violent (military) conquest of property, known as “Clenberg”⁵⁸, from a nearby landlord. Castle castellan Beke (a), son of Pretov was sentenced to death after investigation and subsequent sentence.⁵⁹

The king made it possible for the younger brother to exercise his property rights after the death of Filip Drugeth. The castle estate of Sokol is acquired by Villerm (in Hungarian historiography also appears as Viliam) Drugeth. With the castle estate and accessories Villerm has from 1330 to 1341.⁶⁰ At the time of its ownership Sokol Castle flourishes in the field of architectural achievements of the current time. From this decade, the charter describing the profits⁶¹ of the castle castellan was preserved in the person of Master Pouch, son of George from the Pyscaros estate.

However, the most important document remains testament – the will of Villerm Drugeth from his lifetime. The testament is an interesting paragraph regarding the exposure of new castles between 1328–1329/30 between them and the castle Sokol, although the document reminds the existence of an older castle (perhaps fortified in today’s concept) of 1310/11 and 1312, which was the clue of the royal territory in the site known as the Black Forest.⁶²

⁵⁷ Archív mesta Košice, Tajné oddelenie, p. A.7; TUTKO, J. Szabad Királyi Kassa Városának Történelmi Évkönyve. Kassa: Werfer Károly, 1861, p. 218–219.

⁵⁸ NAGY, I. Anjou-kori okmánytár. Vol. IV. Budae: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1882, p. 16.

⁵⁹ See more: SEBŐK, F. Anjou-kori Oklevéltár. XXV. 1341. Budapest/Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2004, p. 10. ISBN 978-96-398-631-01; MALYUSZ, E. Zsigmondkori oklevéltár. Vol. II. Budapest: Levéltári Közlemények, 1954. p. 2869; NAGY, I. Anjou-kori okmánytár. Vol. IV. Budae: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1882, p. 67.

⁶⁰ WAGNER, K. *Analecta Scepusii sacri et profani*. Vol. III. Posonii et Cassoviae: Landerer, 1778, p.205 – 206.

⁶¹ NAGY, I. Anjou – kori okmánytár. Vol. III. Budae: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1883, p. 474.

⁶² TUTKO, J. Szabad Királyi Kassa Városának Történelmi Évkönyve. Kassa: Werfer Károly, 1861, p. 63; KRONES, F. X. *Zur ältesten Geschichte der oberungarischen Freistadt Kaschau*. Wien: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1864, p. 14–16.

Archaeological research, as well as written documentation, pointed out by M. Lamiová-Schmiedlová and O. R. Halaga confirmed the existence of an older fortification formation in the form of a fortified settlement, as well as a younger feudal stone castle in the Sokol domain. "...led a high-altitude route with branches from Košice to Krompachy, Spis Castle, Gelnica and Bela. Even after verifying the deed from the time of Ladislav IV. Already in 1410 was found the main line with side branches. The royal commission in the period underlined the existence of the castle Sokol in the village Sokol..."⁶³

In the history of Sokol Castle a significant moment is the new owner, in the person of Bodislava (Budislava), son of Gregor, son of Kuriak,⁶⁴ who got the mentioned territory into his possession. From the very beginning, the Croatian (Slavonian) nobleman began to settle a large number of "his people – subjects", for whom he needed to create an independent settlement – a village. For this reason, he began a massive grubbed up forest area between Cermel and Trout's offspring.⁶⁵ In this respect, however, there was a lawsuit between Bodislav and the city of Košice, claiming forests (as part of the territory belonged to the territorial unit Kavečany), which Košice burghers probably already bought between 1347 and 1352, from descendants to Samphleben and Obla.⁶⁶

This lawsuit even caught up to the king himself, who finally decided in 1364 in favor of the city of Kosice. In the same year, new boundary lines were enacted, which were to specify the territory belonging to the castle estate Sokol and in particular to the city of Košice. However, Bodislav and his successors did not tolerate the court's constitutional protocol (they refused to lose their inheritance and claim from serf benefits from their subjects) for this reason there was a new lawsuit and subsequently a regulation in 1368.⁶⁷

Due to the absence of primary sources from the next decade of the existence of the castle Sokol, it is quite difficult to determine how the estate was acquired by the then Hungarian king Sigismund of Luxembourg. The year of the king's own gains is doubtful around 1380/81, because after the consolidation of Hungarian domestic policy, the royal castle Sokol had already donated to the Bubek family (Detrich, in Hungarian historiography, Ditrich and son Juraj) in 1387.⁶⁸

⁶³ SLIVKA, M. Opevnené sídla v oblasti stredného Považia. Vol. 21. Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo v Košiciach pre Múzeum Slovenskej republiky rád v Prešove, 1979, p. 138–139; LAMIOVÁ – SCHMIEDLOVÁ, M. Príspevok k otázke hradu Sokol. In *Archeologické rozhľady*, 1963, Vol. 15, No.1, p. 777–778; HALAGA, O. R. Počiatky Košíc a zrod metropoly. Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1993, p. 248. ISBN 80-85174-57-X.

⁶⁴ NAGY, I. at al. *Codex diplomaticus partius*. Vol. VIII. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1880, p. 269; SCHWANDTNER, G. *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres ac genuini*. Vol. I. Vindobonea: Trattner, 1746, p. 177–178; LUCII, G. *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*. Vindobonea: Trattner, 1758, p. 134.

⁶⁵ Archív mesta Košice, A. Cassovia, p. 16.

⁶⁶ See more: Archív mesta Košice, A Cassovia, p. 13.; Archív mesta Košice A Cassovia p. 14.

⁶⁷ NAGY, I. at al. *Hazai oklevéltár*. Vol. II. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1879, p. 285–286.

⁶⁸ See more: MÁLYUSZ, E. *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár*. Vol. I. Budapest: Levéltári Közlemények, 1951, (p.) 76 and p. 1138; HALAGA, O. R. *Acta iudiciaria civitatis Cassoviensis 1393-1405: das älteste Kaschauer Stadtbuch*. München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1994, (p. 568, and p. 710).

The Bubek family, until violently with the help of Sokol Castle, collected customs duties on trade lines, between 1388/89–1391/92.⁶⁹ The brutality of collecting customs duties and charges is also reflected in the years 1403–1405, when the Bubeks ordered a review. They did not even respect the duty exemption or continue to question the territorial unit Kavečany. The city of Košice filed a complaint about the practices of the noble family, especially of the then castellan of the castle of Sokol. The result was the removal of the Bubek family. The withdrawal was also supported by the fact that Detrich's brother, Imrich Bubek, had organized an uprising in Croatia. However, the Bubek family acquired the castle dominion again between 1406/07 and 1419, but already in 1420 the castle Sokol mentions again as royal.⁷⁰ Since the beginning of 1422/23 the city of Kosice tried to obtain a disputed land plot Kavečany, which would eliminate any disputes with the castle estate Sokol or their castellans. The city of Košice took the opportunity that King Sigismund of Luxembourg was indebted from the beginning of the accession to the Hungarian throne. In this spirit, it took the opportunity to become creditors of the castle Sokol, for financial assistance to the king. Already in 1423 the city of Košice stands as a business intermediary in donating the castle Sokol between the king and the Paloczi family, specifically Matúš (in older historiography appears as Matej).

B. Varsik states that Matthew (and brother Imrich)⁷¹ acquired on 28 October 1423 the castle with the estate and the surrounding villages as: "...Sokol, Kostofany nad Hornádom, Mala Vieska, Rokycany, Bykzad, Ruzin, Mala Lodina, Velka Lodina, Tepličany, all located in the Šariš stool, then the toll from Margecany and the toll from float wood on the Hornád, selected in the village of Sokol..."⁷², whereby it excludes (certain) some of the property from the village of Kavečany.⁷³

The Paloczi family (or the family from Pavloviec) with the castle dominion has until 1427, or 1428, when the order of the king himself comes the exchange of property in other stools.⁷⁴ The increase in the financial debt of the Hungarian ruler Sigismund of Luxembourg against the city of Kosice forced the king to take a radical step, i.e. to donate the castle estate and its villages to the Košice people. It happened on 1 October 1429, when the city council of Košice forced the document to demolish the castle with immediate effect.

The demolition of Sokol Castle from the side of the town of Košice was rational.⁷⁵ The main reason was the incredible number of legal disputes not only with the former owners of Sokol Castle, but also with the castle castellans who did not respect the legality of business tolls, customs and fees. In addition, Košice burghers still remembered the palatine of Omodej and his sons, who militarily occupied Košice itself and also many times brutally ambushed buyers, merchants and passengers to Kosice and Krakow. Bodislav, of the Kuriak family, did not behave otherwise, not to mention the noble family of the Bubeks.

⁶⁹ MOL, DL, p. 9077.; MÁLYUSZ, E. Zsigmondkori oklevéltár. Vol. II. Budapest: Levéltári Közlemények, 1954. p. 4170.

⁷⁰ MOL, DL, p. 11 422.; MÁLYUSZ, E. Zsigmondkori oklevéltár. Vol. II. Budapest: Levéltári Közlemények, 1954, (p.) 1778; p. 3722; p. 3778.

⁷¹ MÁLYUSZ, E. Zsigmondkori oklevéltár. Vol. II. Budapest: Levéltári Közlemények, 1954. p. 4934.

⁷² MOL, DL, p. 12 092.

⁷³ Archív mesta Košice, Tajné oddelenie, kartón Kavečeny, p. 1 and p. 2.

⁷⁴ MOL, DL, p. 12 092.

⁷⁵ Archív mesta Košice, Tajné oddelenie, kartón Zakalay. p. 1.

The demolition, the ruin of Sokol Castle, however, is sufficiently complicated because the bases lack written sources. Even later secondary sources are not quite clear and trustworthy.

Antonio Bonfini, one of the court historians of the Hungarian ruler Matheus Corvinus, outlined the destruction of the Sokol castle in the following wording: "...Ján Jiskra of Brandýs turned the Spiš field into a desert with his raids and brigands; conquered Prešov, Šariš, Clistichium and many other cities. But the city of Clistichium was hard to conquer, only by mines, for it lay on a prominent hill. Clistichium was threatening the city of Košice several times, from where there was always a company of Sparks for military prey, where they suffered relatively losses and there was a great bloodshed."⁷⁶

Historian Samuel Timon, in his work on the demolition of the castle Sokol, as well, "...and this castle also felt the fury of a stranger. After playing with Juraj's exertions for a long time, he finally undermined the mines, casting the castle into ruins, capturing it with force and leaving nothing hostile in it. Then more buildings were razed from the ground, and the guard slaughtered; they spared neither age nor condition, nor sex; the castle was still destroyed by fire and iron, and all of this took place in 1449."⁷⁷

The author's statement is interesting, because on the basis of preserved primary sources from 1440 the castle Sokol is mentioned as a ruin ("...castrum dirutum seu locom castris Zakolya vocati..."),⁷⁸ in the gift certificate of the Hungarian king Vladislav Jagelo, who donates the territory to John and Nicholas Perynii.

Already in the late Middle Ages, a relatively accurate identification of the location of the castle at Hradová and the position of Sokol Castle came. This argument is confirmed by documents and later cartographic materials. Almost all Košice notaries, at the behest of the Municipality of Košice, deposited documents concerning exclusively the Sokol castle estate with all its accessories with a Y signature.

Written documents, which depict the territory of Vyšné Košice with the castle complex, in turn stored separately and marked the signature of T.⁷⁹

This status was probably due to frequent disputes over the formation of the Kavečian area.⁸⁰ Preserved remnants of cartographic reports from the end of the 17th century document the activities of Košice geometrists, who not only differentiated the torsos of both castle systems, but also drawn into map appendices concerning the whole surroundings of Košice.

⁷⁶ BONFINI, A. *Rerum Hungaricarum Decades*. In KULCSÁR, P. (ed.). *A magyar történelem tizedei*. Budapest: Ballasai Kiadó, 1995. 341 p. ISBN 963 – 506 – 040 - 8.

⁷⁷ TIMON, S. *Cassovia Vetus et Nova. Cassoviae: Typis Academicis per Joannem Henricum Fraunheim, 1732*, p. 67 – 69.

⁷⁸ Archív mesta Košice, Tajné oddelenie, kartón Pereni, p. 4.

⁷⁹ Štátny regionálny archív v Košiciach, Štátna moc, správa a samospráva, Abovská župa, („...*Elenchus iurium et privilegiorum civitatis Cassoviensis...*“), K pur 4, p. 31.

⁸⁰ See more: Archív mesta Košice, Tajné oddelenie, Mapové oddelenie, č. II/1; HALAGA, O. R. *Právny, územný a populačný vývoj mesta Košíc*. Košice : Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1967, p. 19 - 20. ISBN 83-024-67.

Košice castle

The exact dating of the birth of Košice Castle at Hradová is a difficult task, as the existing hypotheses about the origin of the castle are not only very different, but also their time span is diametrically different. The oldest reflections on the origin of the Košice castle date back to the Roman era. The dating dates back to the 1st to 6th centuries after Christ, when the construction of Košice Castle mentions a Roman duke, respectively General Cassius (or Cassio, Cassios, Casso). These reflections date back to the end of the 15th century, and his later advocates were A. Bonfini,⁸¹ S. Timon,⁸² G. Szerdahelyi,⁸³ as well as later researchers from Košice, such as J. Tutkó, and J. Plath. The vast majority of these authors were of the opinion⁸⁴ that Cassius was not only a possible founder of the castle, but also the later town of Cassion, or Cassovia, or today's Košice. Despite these claims, which have no real historical basis at all, even the very character of a Roman citizen, merchant or general in the form of Cassia is quite debatable. The hypothetical period in which the above mentioned Cassius may have militarily interfered with the selected locality doubts the range of Roman emperors' governments from Hadrian (117-138) to Antoninus Pius (138-161). At present, the government of Antoninus Pius is being considered, as the finding of several finds, in the form of coins in the respective locality from the given period of the reign of the said emperor, is recorded.

The spirit of the ancient founding thinking about the birth of Košice Castle, the town can be traced to the first known Košice chronicle. The author of the chronicle, Mayor Wass, dates back the existence of the castle at Hradová to the reign of the Eastern Roman Emperor Heraklion (610-641). The chronicler seemed to be well aware that the locality of the castle at Hradová is located in Vyšné Košice, ie the former "old Košice", thus creating the impression of the antiquity of the site. This hypothesis was adhered to by almost all later chroniclers when describing the history of Košice. Authors such as F. X. Krones, I. Henszlmann and others came up with the idea that in the period of the migration of nations, it was not possible to consider establishing new places, because the territory was under the constant power machinery of various feline Germanic or nomadic tribes. Only some high-rise places could provide some protection at that time, such as the typological castle at Hradová.⁸⁵

The Latinization of the surveyed site is basically best recorded in the work of Antonio Bonfini. In describing the history of the Kingdom of Hungary, the historian recorded the

⁸¹ BONFINI, A. *Rerum Hungaricarum Decades*. Posonii: Typis Royerianis, 1774. Decas I., lib. I, p. 28.

⁸² TIMON, S. *Cassovia Vetus et Nova*. Cassoviae: Typis Academicis per Joannem Henricum Frauenheim, 1732, p. 9.

⁸³ SZERDAHELYI, G. *Celebrium Hungariae urbium et oppidorum chorographia*. Cassovia: Typis Collegii Academici Societ. Jesu., 1770. p. 125.

⁸⁴ FERRARIUS, S. *De rebus Ungaricae Provinciae Sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum*. Vienna: R. G., 1637, p. 512–513.

⁸⁵ PLATH, J. *Kaschauer Chronik – Ausführliche Geschichte der Königlichen Freistadt Kaschau seit ihrem Ursprunge des 7. Jahrhunderts Kaiser Heraclius Zeitepoche (610–641) bis zum Programme der Feierlichen Begrüssung des ersten Lokomotivs im Kaschauer Bahnhofe*. Kaschau: Nando Steller-Šteliar, 1860, p. 14–15.

following figure of "...castellum Harnad..."⁸⁶ in the fighting between 1311 and 1312 near Košice, because he was not sure about the location of the town or castle Clistichium. This figure, however, speaks only of the encampment of the royal army, rather than mentioning the castle. It should be emphasized that the author himself did not visit the site and even with a brief description of the history of the city of Košice is not entirely clear when he thought of the city of Vyšne and Nižné Košice and when he emphasized information about the castle or hillfort.⁸⁷

The ground plan layout of the city of Košice has been an important foothold at the localized Košice Castle from time to time in the city chronicles and records. L. Thuróczi in his work also informed about Košice Castle as follows: "It was two Košice. Some were called Vysne, whose remains can be seen from today's city north on a high hill. The second one is modern Košice, and they are called Nižné. Who could say whether both arose at the same time, whether one of them is older and who is it? Apparently Vyšné Košice, because they started to be built by walls and towers for fear of nomadic Tatars."⁸⁸

Another author, Jesuit S. Timon, commented the following factual facts about the Košice castle: "You will not deflect the riddles of the year of foundation of the settlement, whether it was a castle or just a town, even if you examine all written landmarks; we put the first beginnings of Košice Castle for the fifth year of the ninth century after Christ."⁸⁹

The opinion of Košice historian J. Tutkó, the author of one of the Košice chronicles on the Košice Castle itself is as follows: "From the beginning to the end of the century, Vyšné Košice, or Cassa Superior, was a castle far from Nižné Košice, or Cassa Inferior. The town of Nižné Košice was covered by a stone wall at the end of the 13th century, while Vyšné Košice still named the castle in the second half of the 14th century and as such it was demolished in the 15th century."⁹⁰

At present, a general historical consciousness is embedded in the hypothesis that the likely Košice Castle originated from the commission of Omodej from the noble family of the Abovites.⁹¹ The castle was probably a military base for his retinue. The construction of the castle unit itself doubts between 1302/03 and 1309/10, but certainly before 1307, when construction activities stopped slightly. Researcher M. Slivka noted in his monographs that after 1307 Omodej did not continue in the construction of the Košice Castle.

The authors of later Košice chronicles such as J. Plath and J. Tutko recalled several times about the siege of Košice by the Omodej's, and pointed out that shortly before the battle at Rozhanovce, there was a siege by the Spiš Saxons on the Cassa Fortress at Hra-

⁸⁶ BONFINI, A. *Rerum Hungaricarum Decades*. Posonii: Typis Royerianis, 1774. Decas II., lib. IX. ("...rex vallem capit et non procul ab Harnado castello metatur...").

⁸⁷ See more: TUTKO, J. *Szabad Királyi Kassa Városának Történelmi Évkönyve*. Kassa: Werfer Károly, 1861, p. 8–18.; WICK, B. *Kassa története és műemlékei*. Kassa: Wiko, 1941, p. 20–85.

⁸⁸ THUROCZI, L. *Ungaria suis cum regionibus compedio data*. Tyrnaviae: Societatis Jesu, 1768, p. 171.

⁸⁹ TIMON, S. *Cassovia Vetus et Nova*. Cassoviae: Typis Academicis per Joannem Henricum Frauenheim, 1732, p. 9.

⁹⁰ TUTKO, J. *Szabad Királyi Kassa Városának Történelmi Évkönyve*. Kassa: Werfer Károly, 1861, p. 9.

⁹¹ See more: ELIÁŠ, Š. *Hradová*. In *Košické historické zošity*. Vol. I. Košice: Štátny oblastný archív, 1991, p. 8; HARMINC, I. at al. *Súpis pamiatok na Slovensku*. Vol.2. Bratislava: Obzor, 1968, p. 83.

dová.⁹² This important historical fact would then be confirmed by the fact that the Omodeans family did not honor the promise of the 1311 agreement (the widow and sons of Omodej's undertook not to interfere with the free enjoyment of the Black Forest between Gelnica, Sokol and Vyšné Košice)⁹³ after the violent death of the Omodej which would continue to own the area of Vyšné Košice – Superior Cassa. After the defeat of the Omodejovs near Rozhanovce in 1312, the situation around Košice settled relatively.

Another fate of Košice Castle in Hradová in the light of Hungarian documents appears only with the reign of Louis I. the Great. After obtaining the territory of Vyšné Košice, the townspeople of Košice gained new privileges from the ruler, which they drafted in the manner of the then privilege. In the above mentioned privilege, there was not missing information about the castle (fortress) at Hradová, for which they wanted to restore the shine. It committed itself not only to the maintenance but also to the repair of the castle complex. They would receive the necessary funding from the burghers (and the Jews); "...when one of Košice's burghers dies without testament, his property is to be divided into three parts and two of them are to be spent on the fortifications and buildings of the Košice Castle".⁹⁴

In this spirit, the Košice Castle at the Castle not only protected the region but also the fortified city of Košice. The task of Košice burghers after the following years was probably to complete the remaining architectural objects of the castle, but mainly to deal with the neighboring castle complex Sokol. This act does not take place until 1428/29.⁹⁵

In the following years, Košice Castle is not mentioned in documents at all. The situation in the Kingdom of Hungary after the death of Sigismund of Luxembourg is sufficiently hectic. The Hungarian throne lacks a sovereign capable of resolving conflicts and economic stagnation in the country. In this decade in the history of Hungary, quite capable military commanders in the person of magnates come to power. Many of them at the end of the 1540s to the 50s of the 15th century have a strong mind about the strong, gloomy city of Košice, which still has the extended stone castle in its power. The end of the existence of Košice Castle comes with the reign of Ladislav V.

The interests of the ruler Ladislav V were represented (protected) by the Czech leader Ján Jiskra of Brandýz, who was in alliance with the city of Košice. This fact led to frequent struggles, the conquest of the city of Košice Hungarian lords. The attacking enemies were aware of the defense of the city of Košice (very heavily besieged), which was primarily associated with the castle Vyšné Košice.⁹⁶

⁹² TUTKO, J. Szabad Királyi Kassa Városának Történelmi Évkönyve. Kassa: Werfer Károly, 1861, p. 24; PLATH, J. Kaschauer Chronik – Ausführliche Geschichte der Königlichen Freistadt Kaschau seit ihrem Ursprunge des 7. Jahrhunderts Kaiser Heraclius Zeitepoche (610–641) bis zum Programme der Feierlichen Begrüssung des ersten Lokomotivs im Kaschauer Bahnhofe. Kaschau: Nando Steller-Šteliar, 1860, p. 55.

⁹³ HALAGA, O. R. Počiatky Košíc a zrod metropoly. Košice: Mesto Košice, 1992. 96 p. ISBN 80-85174-57-X.

⁹⁴ Archív mesta Košice, Tajné oddelenie, p. 3.

⁹⁵ MOL, DL, p. 12 092.

⁹⁶ KEMÉNY, L. Száz év Kassa legrégibb történetéből. Kassa: Ries Lajos, 1893, p. 24–28. ("...als Cassa berandt was etc. Von den Hungern...", "...die fynde zogen vom Galgenberg bis uff den berg zu Zychelssdorf...").

Many authors, including O. R. Halaga, attribute to this defensive alliance the destruction and demolition of the castle. Demolition comes in the summer months in 1445 joined by Juraj Rozgoň on a higher order, probably the then usurper of the country.⁹⁷

The graphic design of Košice Castle at Hradová is still questionable. The oldest foundation of the castle complex is located in the Vienna Picture Chronicle. The picture of the castle was created as part of the description of the events that took place during the Rozhanov battle in 1312. The author inserted the appearance of Košice Castle between two hills. The actual appearance of the castle is depicted as a square (tall and especially powerful) with distinctive protruding towers. Openings such as doors, gates and firing parts in the castle walls or in the towers are depicted in a Romanesque style. The researcher from Košice, O. R. Halaga, pointed out that the illuminator of the Vienna Picture Chronicle depicted almost all architectural monuments (churches, monasteries and others) in Romanesque type at the relevant time. era between 1260/61 to 1300/01.⁹⁸

Another depiction of the Košice Castle at Hradová has been preserved on cartographic materials dating back to 1780.⁹⁹ The main appearance of the castle is an oval, or ellipse, where three side objects, one larger-dominant, and two smaller architectural elements, are appropriately highlighted.¹⁰⁰ Even later historians and graphic designers preserved the elliptical form of the castle complex when creating the basic ground plan (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2). According to available data (J. Martinka), the perimeter of the castle complex (possible fortifications) was at least 1106 meters long.



Fig. 1 Attempt to reconstruct Košice castle (L. Župčán)

⁹⁷ HENSZLMANN, I. Kassa városának ó-német stílusú templomairól. Budapest: Argumentum, 1846, p. 15.

⁹⁸ KARDOS, T. – BERKOVITS, I. Die ungarische Bilderchronik. Chronica de gestis Hungarorum. Budapest: Corvina, 1961, p. 250–251.

⁹⁹ Východoslovenské múzeum v Košiciach, Zbierka máp a plánov, Plan von der Festung Caschau (10.02.1715), Východoslovenské múzeum v Košiciach, Zbierka máp a plánov, Warhefter Entwurf und Grundriss der Vestung Caschau(v) sambt der umliegenden Situation im Mertzten: 1747; Archív mesta Košice, Tajné oddelenie, Zbierka máp a plánov, signatúra II/5 (Plan der Umgebung von Kaschau: 1857.

¹⁰⁰ Archív mesta Košice, Tajné oddelenie, MP II, 2/1.



Fig. 2 Attempt to reconstruct Košice castle (L. Župčán)

J. Martinka described the basic form of preserved remains of the castle in this spirit: “...the height of the walls is not the same in all places. The site is 4.8 meters high where the walls of the towers, but the prevailing height is 2 or 3 meters. The original size of the wall, deduced from the size of mainly external and internal foundations, could range up to a height of 10 meters, but certainly a height of 6 to 8 meters. Of particular note is the thickness and width of the walls. The walls are average 2.8 to 3 meters thick and in places have a thickness of up to 3.5 meters.”¹⁰¹ The basic analysis of the castle wall was also performed by L. Kemény, according to which the thickness was doubtful about 3.2 meters¹⁰² and according to M. Slivka analysis up to 3.8 underground.¹⁰³

Before the analysis of J. Martinka, the Košice archivist L. Kemény characterized the Košice castle as follows: “...the remains of the former castle have been preserved to this day. These are mainly the remains of the walls at Hradová, which we call Slavian word as a fenced place. There was a building in the Hradská highlands, divided into several courts. The inner courtyard was approximately 300 meters. From the south it was restricted by a perpendicular rock; the builders added a wall of broken stone, whose thickness is up to 320 meters, which enclosed the fortress. The wall that enclosed the inner castle was fortified by a round and triangular tower. From the west and from the east were joined deeper courts, which also protected the rock from the south, but still were mostly embraced by a thick stone wall. The two side yards were larger than the inner courtyard or the main courtyard...”¹⁰⁴

The basic pillar of Košice Castle is the inner circle of the castle, which was strengthened by a triangular and round tower. One part (wing) of the triangular tower was directly in-

¹⁰¹ MARTINKA, J. Hrad Sokola nad Košicami. In *Zbornik muzeálnej slovenskej spoločnosti*, 1931, Vol. 25, No. 25, p. 135–136.

¹⁰² KEMÉNY, L. Száz év Kassa legréégibb történetéből. Kassa: Ries Lajos, 1893, p. 15.

¹⁰³ SLIVKA, M. – VALLAŠEK, A. Hrady a hrádky na východnom Slovesnku. Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1991, p. 143. ISBN 80-85174-42-1.

¹⁰⁴ KEMÉNY, L. Száz év Kassa legréégibb történetéből. Kassa: Ries Lajos, 1893, p. 100.

served into the castle side and the two remaining walls (wings) extended outwards. According to the analyzes, it is possible to document that two protruding smaller, smaller-sized walls were probably built of stones with a length of 150 to 180 centimeters. According to J. Martinka's measurements, the dimensions of the triangular tower were as follows: 13.2 meters; the dimensions of the two protruding walls were 15 meters and the inner wall was approximately 15.75 meters. According to the statement by M. Slivka, who carried out further analysis of the ground plan of the tower, there were doubts in the dimensions of 15 x 15 x 15.7 meters. The thickness of the extended walls was approximately 3.2 meters and the internal 2.8 meters. The walls of the tower protruded by 4.6 meters. According to the author, there may have been an underground passageway in the eastern part of the tower.¹⁰⁵

From the triangular tower to the east, a perimeter wall with a length of approximately 35 meters stretched. The perimeter walls were interrupted in one place by an 8 meter opening, which evokes the main gate system (Fig. 3, Fig. 4 and Fig. 5).



Fig. 3 Attempt to reconstruct Košice castle (L. Župčán)

¹⁰⁵ Finding report of the archaeological research of Hradová dated 12 March 1978 by Michal Slivka. The document is deposited in the Archaeological Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Nitra.



Fig. 4 Attempt to reconstruct Košice castle (L. Župčán)



Fig. 5 Attempt to reconstruct Košice castle (L. Župčán)

The second important part of the inner castle was a round tower, located at the western end. This round tower ended the southern and also western castle perimeter wall of the

wall. The basic dimensions of the tower, according to the findings were as follows: outside diameter doubted from 11 to 12 meters and inside from 4.5 to 5 meters. The wall thickness of the round tower doubted around 3 to 3.5 meters.¹⁰⁶ However, according to the findings of M. Slivka, "...the inside diameter of the round tower was 5.8 meters and the outside diameter was 2 meters. The tower was located northwest on a descending rock massif. The tower has a relatively thick wall, approximately 3.2 meters and is made of solid blocks of 120 x 40 x 100 centimeters."¹⁰⁷ From the ground plan of the round tower it can be clearly seen that it was the widest at the very foundations and narrowed slightly upwards. There were probably floors inside the tower. According to its analogy, the round tower was not only an observation post, but it was also probably a guard, because of its difficult to reach position. To the inner castle from the east, but also the west were joined by two lower architectural buildings, probably the courtyard, which provided the economy. Next to these courts, the researcher J. Martinka also identified other architectural elements, four towers. One of these towers was part of the southern wall. Its outside diameter was 13 meters and the inside diameter was 8 meters. The second tower was already outside the walls, just north of the triangular tower with an outside diameter of about 15 meters. The third was relatively close to the previous tower, reaching a diameter of 7.8 to 8 meters. The fourth, by the way also the round tower was located especially south, in front of the castle system. Its basic outside diameter doubted around 13 to 14 meters.¹⁰⁸ According to J. Martinka, they were the perfect defense mechanism. M. Slivka, however, expressed the opinion that they are rather brick wells, with the task of supplying water.

Summary

All the above facts, whether in terms of historical or architectural perception of details, clearly document the difference between the castle systems between the Košice Castle in the castle and the castle system Sokol. However, it is important to highlight a number of related facts, such as:

- the territorial (chotary) extent of the castle estate Sokol, within the documentary base it is possible to record from the then settlement Sokol to Kavečany,
- Hradu the name of the castle passed from a certain period to the settlement itself (municipalities),
- written sources from the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, to a large extent recorded by Sokol Castle on Hrádok Hill,
- the localization of Hradová Castle is located in the territorial part of Vyšné Košice – Superior Cassa, which the city of Košice has bought since 1347, from the descendants of Sampleh and Obl,

¹⁰⁶ MARTINKA, J. Hrad Sokola nad Košicami. In *Zbornik muzeálnej slovenskej spoločnosti*, 1931, Vol. 25, No. 25, p. 136–137.

¹⁰⁷ SLIVKA, M. – VALLAŠEK, A. Hradu a hrádky na východnom Slovesnku. Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1991, p.143.

¹⁰⁸ MARTINKA, J. Historicko-geografický pohľad na rajón VSŽ. In *Acta geologica et geographica Universitatis, Geographica. Vol. IV*. Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 1964, s. 210.

- the town of Košice acquired the castle estate of Sokol in 1429, which was finally demolished between 1439–1440.
- After the researcher F. Uličný confirmed that the city of Košice has never called the position of Hradová the name Sokol, but always a foreign name – more or less in translations. Autor the aforementioned author also noted that in the delimitation of the new borderlines of the Black Forest extending between the cadastral area of Gelnica, the estate of the castle Sokol and the cadastral of Košice (Vyšné Košice) the new agreement did not concern the castle estate Sokol
- Already in the Middle Ages the Košice notaries and cartographers (surveyors) identified separately the location of the Castle and especially the location of the castle Sokol, which they inevitably stored in the archives labeled T (Castle) and Y (Sokol). The current analysis of preserved historical materials is sufficient to confirm the existence of the castle complex Košice nad Hradovou, which historically survived the fall (demolition) of the neighboring castle Sokol. The initial construction activities of the refugial fortified settlement probably contributed to the reconstruction into a castle complex, although some of the basic attributes of the castle structure are sometimes absent.

The mentor of Košice was replaced by O. R. Halaga right on the topic of the research: “...Hradová in Vyšné Košice over time (after the reconstruction of the oligarchy of the Omodejov and after adjustments in the second decade of the 14th century), supplemented the defense mechanism of the city walls. The Košice population was concentrated among the walls and the location of Hradová, which ensured proper security and flourishing not only of market activities and the city of Košice itself.”¹⁰⁹

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¹⁰⁹ HALAGA, O. R. Počiatky Košíc a zrod metropoly. Košice: Mesto Košice, 1992, p. 110.

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