HISTORICAL „SALT ROAD”

(Research within the framework of the Hungarian-Ukrainian “Salt Road” project (HUSKROUA/1702/3.1/0091))

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INTRODUCTION

Salt is one of the most valuable and popular Carpathian basin minerals, which had been mined for many centuries in Maramures, Transylvania and on the eastern side of the mountains. Since ancient times it has been an essential element of daily nutrition (40 % of the total), canning food, especially meat (35 %), meeting the needs of livestock (25 %). Thus, it is believed that the average adult needs about 6 g of salt per day, small cattle — 5–15 g, and large cattle — 25–30 g. However, depending on lifestyle, age, diet, climatic conditions and physical activity, these values can vary. (Kavruk, 2011).

Salt mining arose simultaneously with human society, but the demand for the mineral increased significantly with the development of animal husbandry. Cattlemen had noticed that salt affected the growth of animals, bone strength, quality of meat and milk, made the skin of animals stronger and more adapted to natural conditions, affected the reproductive function of livestock (Hahn,1993, p. 15).

The easiest way to obtain this mineral was to use water from saltwater springs. In areas close to them it was transported by traders in small barrels from house to house. In particular, in Maramures such salt water was used for cooking until the 19th century. In Šariš region, where salt deposits contain a significant number of impurities, salt was extracted in the form of a solution and boiled in clay pots. In other regions of the Kingdom of Hungary with cleaner mineral deposits, cooking salt at home had not become widespread.

The development of surface salt yields became more productive and therefore more profitable. With the depletion of reserves, more expensive deep mining technologies had to be introduced, which remained unchanged from the Middle Ages until the early 20th century.

Rock salt had always been the most popular among the population. Its extraction, transportation and distribution were usually taken care of by the state. Until the early 20th century, peasants preferred large chunks of the mineral, which could be purchased in village shops and markets. The Wallachians, who traded salt in the markets, often exchanged it for grain, salo (fat) and lard (Kirner, 1964, p. 107). Rock salt was stored in attics and crushed in mortars or by hand mills immediately before use.

Western European public opinion in the Middle Ages clearly and unanimously believed that Hungary was a large, powerful and extremely rich country. “The territory of Hungary is large, and its strength is immeasurable," — the chronicler summed up this statement in one sentence in the early 14th century. The mention of the incredible wealth of this region was a constant necessity for a positive assessment of the country. During the

repeated passage of the Crusaders through Hungary many could feel that the country had plenty of food, and this experience provoked fascinating descriptions even from those authors who were clearly at enmity with the Hungarians. In the eyes of Ottó I Bishop of Freising, the beauty of the flourishing Carpathian basin, the fertility of its lands seemed a paradise of God. "This province, which has long been called Pannonia because it is surrounded on all sides by forests and mountains, is a plain inside, as far as the eye can see, intertwined with rivers and streams, groves rich in various species of wild animals, and, as we know, it enjoys the innate beauty of its location as much as it is rich in fertile land, so we can almost believe that this is the very paradise of God […]" (Ottó, 1913, 107). Wealth was also reported in detail by the authors of the following centuries, who gave a long list of local animals, fish, minerals or fruit. Elek Fényes in 1847, describing the state of the country, highlighted many mineral resources and emphasized: "[…] the territory is excessively rich in minerals, and the cost of extraction puts a huge amount of money into circulation […]" (Fényes, 1847, 161). Extremely important for centuries, rock salt in the Carpathian basin is found in three areas, in large deposits mined over the past millennia: in the salt mines of Transylvania, the salt mines of Maramures and the northern salt mines near Prešov. In our guide we will introduce readers to the role of rock salt in the Carpathian basin and its history. This territory covers mainly the north-eastern counties of historical Hungary, which are currently located in four countries. Most of the Maramures County is located in modern Romania, but the most important mines and historic mining towns can be found in modern Ukraine.

CHAPTER 1. HISTORY OF RESEARCH AND SOURCES

1.1. Theoretical framework of historical research of salt production.

Salt mining is one of the mining industries of the Kingdom of Hungary. Mining required serious professional knowledge and organization, as well as significant investment. Extraction and delivery of salt to consumers required serious administration. Due to its exceptional economic significance, we can see works on this topic in the Hungarian historical literature of the 19th century. Among the researchers of this period, Balázs Orbán in his works repeatedly covered the history of salt production in Transylvania. (Orbán, 1986). After his return to Transylvania, a prominent representative of Hungarian ethnography realized that having traveled halfway around the world, he knew nothing about his homeland, about his people. He began a huge work: he put on rags and between 1862 and 1868 he travelled around the whole territory of Székely Land on foot, by cart, on horseback, visiting more than five hundred villages. In the old scriptures he described everything he saw, heard, experienced and

found. Thus, in six years the main work of Balázs Orbán - "Description of Székely Land from a historical, archaeological, natural and ethnological aspect" - was born, which was published in six large-scale volumes over six years. His vast and accurate collection of materials, descriptions of old buildings, sculptures, written memoirs, jewelry and textiles, customs, geographical and personal names, memoirs are an essential and often the only source of ethnography and historical science. To this can be added the writing of the next ten years of his work, which was published in 1889 under the title "The city of Turda and its environs." Describing the salt region of Székely Land and presenting the salt mines in Turda, the author gives a vivid picture of mining methods in the 19th century.

Gustav Wenzel's guide on the history of the mining industry in Hungary is still one of the most important scientific studies, as the author not only listed the medieval salt mines, in terms of extraction and trade in rock salt

but also published a number of charters. At the turn of the 19th-20th centuries the author was an active participant in the study of Hungarian economic history (Wenzel, 1880).

In the historical literature of the end of the century, Sándor Takács devoted several short works to the past of salt production in Hungary. The author published in journals such sources, which had disappeared in recent centuries, but were important for researchers in terms of extraction and trade in rock salt (Takács, 1899; 1906; 1961). In his outstanding works on the economic history of the first half of the 20th century, Béla Iványi was much involved in the administration of medieval salt production and the commercial characteristics of the product. Based on his works, we get a vivid picture of the functioning of the salt monopoly of the late Middle Ages. (Iványi, 1911). Iványi's works were of a great help for the historiography of the period between the two world wars, as Bálint Hóman paid special attention to Hungarian mineral resources in his work on the economic policy of the era of Charles I Robert (Hóman, 1921). As for salt regalia, using the experience of foreign literature, outstanding were the results of Oskar Paulinyi, who carefully analyzed the sources of the 13th century, so his published results are still considered the starting point for scientific research (Paulinyi, 1924, p. 627-647). An influential historian in the course of his work found that one of the most important groups of income of royal power throughout the Middle Ages were regalia. This was especially true in those areas through which the royal government was able to lay its hand on some arteries of economic life. The salt regalia of the Hungarian kings was one of the last, the practical implementation of which meant for our kings the exclusive right to extract and sell salt. This might have been due to the fact that the areas with the highest content of rock salt belonged to the royal possessions, and the royal production was

concentrated in the hands of organizations under its control. In contrast to the largest salt-producing areas of the country, the elements outside the royal economy were represented only by areas of secondary importance, mostly only by land received as a gift from the royal part. With the involvement of Maramures mines and thanks to the final equipment of the local salt mines, at the beginning of the 14th century this share shifted even more in favor of the royal economy. Another factor was the restriction of trade in royal salt or its subsequent retention solely as the prerogative of the king. The ruler had the right to do so as a landowner who cultivated the area containing salt. However, with dual powers - landlord and government - at the time, he could control it to the extent that no other landowner could. This control could be appropriate only if it included salt that did not come from the royal mines. However, this control could be applied only because it was exercised by royal officials. Control was usually combined with the obligation to have confirmation. And from here it took only one step to ensure that the royal authorities, whose sphere of authority as a landowner originally extended only to the salt of the royal salt mines, considered salt in general royal property. But the most important element of all this development is the traditional policy of the royal government, which recognized the economic and financial importance of salt. On the one hand, it maintained the material conditions for the development of salt areas, but on the other hand, its sequence inevitably led to the expansion of the dominant position of the royal salt monopoly on the regalia.

The links between rock salt mining and trade became the focus of scholarly interest in Andràs Kubinyi's 1988 publication (Kubinyi, 1988). In the study the author considered the formation of a salt monopoly, the organization of salt-related economic management, as well as a list of salt warehouses. He clarified the important links between salt warehouses and urban development, which were very useful for researchers of the era. The socio-historical approach is not accidental, because it was at this time that Elemér Mályusz's book on Hungarian society in Transylvania, in which he also covered the situation of salt miners, was published (Mályusz, 1988, 81-84).

Recently, research has also been written on salt mining and trade in the Árpáds era, which dealt with relations before the period of the "Discovery of the Fatherland" (Gábor Vékony), as well as the economy of churches and monastic orders. (Boglárka Veisz, Beatrix F. Romhányi) The most important work of economic and historical significance for the last three decades is connected with the name of István Draskóczy on the issue of rock salt extraction and trade. According to a famous historian, since the Middle Ages, salt mining had been one of the most important sources of income for Hungarian kings. The formation of salt

regalia can be dated to the first third of the 14th century. The two largest salt-producing areas were in Transylvania and Maramures, headed by salt warehouses. Reviewing the medieval income from salt and the history of government in the 15th-16th centuries, the famous historian-economist clarified the economic role of the state during the late Middle Ages (Draskóczy, 2018). In the most recent historical works, in addition to the traditional Transylvanian aspects, the economic and social consequences of the extraction and trade of Maramures rock salt have become increasingly important, which have further expanded the scope of interpretation of this topic. (László Glück, László Szabolcs Gulyás) In their works the authors look for answers to the place of the five so-called "crown cities" of Maramures - Khust, Vyshkovo, Tyachiv, Dovhe Pole, Sighetu - in the city network of the Kingdom of Hungary, as well as reveal what factors can be attributed to the formation and preservation of their special position. According to them, three factors became important in the development of cities in the region: the movement of settlers, legal guarantees of royal ownership and the economic consequences of salt production (Glück, 2013, Gulyás, 2014). In addition to the historical literature, in 2005 geologist Károly Réti wrote another brief study with a broad outline of the development of salt mining in Maramures, and recently, together with János Tóth, they compiled a monographic history of salt mining and rock salt trade in Hungary, which also included many medieval data.

1.2. Research of the Maramures salt region: bibliographic review

The histories of the counties of Maramures, Ugocsa, Ung and Bereg are closely intertwined, the economic, political and cultural developments of these lands were very similar. Colonization, registration of administrative units and urbanization processes were pursued according to a similar scenario. At the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, in the region the Maramures county came to the fore with its rich salt deposits and a network of free royal towns, which ensured the sustainable development of the region for quite a long time.

Accordingly, the study of the history of the region is quite diverse, the dominant position is occupied by such issues as the time of settlement of these lands, ethnic composition and scope of settlements, among which salt production was the key one, time and conditions of settlements and castles - administrative and economic centers of royal power.

The availability of medieval sources, the lion's share of which has already been published or is available in digital format on the home pages of archival institutions of neighboring countries, has greatly facilitated the work of historians. And although a

comprehensive study of the economic history of the region in the Middle Ages and early modern times still does not exist, during the 18th to 21st centuries there has been many works that to some extent touch on this issue, respectively, it is appropriate to begin studying the salt road with a brief bibliographic review.

The first work on the history of Maramures was “Historia Comitatus Maramarosiensis” by Mátyás Béla, perhaps the most prominent scientist of Hungary in the 18th century. Unfortunately, the description of the county, written in 1724, was not included in the publication of the “Notitia Hungariae novae historico-geographica” and still remains in the form of a manuscript (a copy with the author's corrections is kept in the library of Esztergom Cathedral (Esztergomi Főszékesegyház Könyvtára). To write his works, the author used many manuscript sources of both secular and ecclesiastical nature, tried to obtain originals, or at least copies of city privileges, etc.

Among the researchers of the history of the Maramures region at the beginning of the 18th century were representatives of the local intelligentsia: priests, teachers, officials of magistrates and the salt chamber. At the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, the works of Innokentiy Simonchicz, a monk and teacher at the Sighetu Gymnasium of the Piarists, appeared. "Noctium Marmaticarum vigiliae" (Máramarosi északák virrasztásai, Night Vigils in Maramures) is a collection of articles on the history of the region. Unfortunately, except for a small part, which is devoted to the history of Sighetu, the work was not published (Simonchicz, 1806). The manuscript of his history of Maramures was transferred to the National Library of Hungary in 1803, and was later used by researchers such as István Siladi, Gustav Wenzel, Ferenc Toldi and others. Unlike Mátyás Béla, Simonchicz in his collections often quotes and sometimes rewrites medieval documents, some of which are now lost. The author devotes an entire "De Salinsis Marmatiae" section to salt extraction (Simonchicz, De Salinsis Marmatiae, OSZK, Quart. Lat. 273, p. 120 /). He believes that the Maramures mines operated before the Tatar invasion, ie until the middle of the 13th century, and the region began to develop precisely due to the extraction of the mineral. Extremely interesting is the chronological table given in the manuscript, which lists the owners of salt mines from ancient times to 1703, ie from the Avar khans to the princes of Rákóczi.

From the pages of the diary we can also learn about the events of the strike of Sighetu miners in 1551, the successful completion of which is proved by the so-called Tyachiv invitation letter, the Latin text of which was also included in the manuscript along with the joint seal of five Maramures crown cities.

In addition to Catholic monks, the Protestant intelligentsia, which at that time lived mainly in cities, had a significant influence on the development of the culture and history of the region. Among them was Peter Gary, a Hungarian Reformed writer, a teacher in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and later the director of the Sighetu Reformed School. His work on the history of Khust Castle, unfortunately, also remained only in the form of a manuscript, and from the point of view of some researchers the work is "local in nature and of little importance." Hungarian Reformed authors included János Tóth, a resident of Khust, a Maramures lawyer and landowner who in the 1850s, inspired by the ruins towering over the city, also wrote his own history of the region. Unfortunately, his work has not yet been published, but the manuscript was quite popular, and János Tóth is mentioned in the popular science publications of the time as a "chronicler of the history of the county." (P. Szathmári, 1863, p. 334).

The first professional historian interested in the history of Maramures was Gustav Wenzel, one of the most prominent figures of Hungarian historical science of those days, the compiler of the multivolume edition of “Árpádkori Új Okmánytár”. Gustav Wenzel studied many sources on the history of the county and published them with his own comments (Wenzel, 1857). In addition to the documents stored in Budapest archival institutions, the author attached the materials of the Leles Convention, to the jurisdiction of which the region belonged, and examined in detail the articles of the city privilege of 1329.

The surge of interest in the history of the native land among local researchers is observed after the revolution of 1848-1849 and in the era of the Austro-Hungarian compromise (Kiegyezés). Prominent figures of the era include István Siladi, the director of Sighetu Reformed Lyceum, who marked the beginning of collecting archival documents from the region's private and departmental archives, thus laying the groundwork for a single county archive. Siladi was to have been the author of a monograph on the early history of Maramures, but, unfortunately, managed to write only a short study of the 12th-13th centuries (Szilágyi, 1889) and to publish separate documents.

András Komáromy, a researcher of the history of Ugocsa region, dates the emergence of the county back to the 12th century and also notes that royal castles did not exist here during this period, as well as during the next century, as the region was sparsely populated. Since the landowners were here exclusively for hunting, there was no need to build fortifications, they appear only during the last Árpáds. In addition to the actual history of the fortifications of Ugocsa and Maramures, the author covers various aspects of political, economic, cultural life of the region, pays much attention to local noble families and relations

between them (Komáromy, 1893; 1894; 1896). At the same time, he managed to avoid a typical mistake characteristic of the historiography of the 19th century, which was one-sided coverage of the history of castles, exclusively from the point of view of the military-political aspect.

Among the representatives of the local Romanian intelligentsia of the era, first of all Ioann Migali and his collection of documents are worth noting. “Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. and XV. századból ». It included letters from the family archives of local aristocratic families, documents of the county archives and the Leles convention, but it also duplicated some, already published sources of the 14th-15th centuries. The collection was to be the first step in writing a monograph on the committee.

Among the representatives of the Romanian historiography of that time is the Greek Catholic priest Joseph Pop. He became the author of the "Adalékok Máramaros történetéhez" history of Maramures in Hungarian (Pap, 1909), one of the important components of which was the actual history of Khust Castle. The chronological framework of the work covers the period from the Middle Ages to 1776 and gives a truly holistic picture of the history of the region, which, although without a formalized scientific apparatus, has certain features of scientificity. The author is critical of the generally accepted idea of building Khust Fortress in the Laszlo era around 1090 (András Vái, Gábor Váradi) and dates it to the first written mention in 1353 (Pap 1909, pages 22-24). He believes that with the development of Khust Castle Vyshkovo and Nyalab gradually lose their strategic importance, the former declines, and the latter becomes the center of the dominion. Khust fortification was to protect the crown cities, salt mines, trade routes and navigation on the Tisza River. The author also considered the ownership of salt mines after the Catastrophe of Mohacs, the collapse of the Kingdom of Hungary, the policy aimed at centralizing the management of Ferdinand's mines, the activities of Khust castellan Kristóf Kávási (Pap 1909, p. 63-71).

After the World War I, formerly unified Upper Hungary was divided between several states (Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary), respectively, and sources on the history of the region were in the archives of different countries. However, research continued into the interwar period. One of the most complete works of this time is the monograph by István Szabó, devoted to the history of the county adjacent to the Maramures salt region - Ugocsa (Szabó I., 1937). In the first part, the researcher deals with the environment, factors and the process of colonization of the county, gives the relationship and characteristics of nationalities (Hungarians, Slavs, Romanians) living in these lands. The second part is devoted to settlements on the territory of the county.

In 1940, a short article by Zoltán Szabó (Szabó Z., 1940) was published on the colonization of the Maramures region, in which the author examines the stages, coexistence and territories of settlement of representatives of different ethnic groups. He talks about the participation of different nationalities in Dózsa rebellion, the revolution of 1848-49 and provides statistics on economic activity of the population as of 1939.

On the basis of an extensive source base, using the popular methods of ethnic and social history of the time, the history and ways of colonization of the Maramures county were studied by the Hungarian researcher of the first half of the 20th century Vilmos Bélay. The author examines the history of Maramures from early times, ie from the period of colonization, touches on the issue of salt production, the emergence of different ethnic groups in the region. The origin of Khust Castle dates back to 1351 and notes that Khust became the center of the royal county, into which the noble county formed here earlier gradually transformed (Bélay, 1943, 26). He also considers the jurisdiction of Khust castellan, notes the close connection between the salt warehouse and the dominion, and believes that the positions of a head of the salt warehouse and a zhupan (the head) of the Maramures county were usually held by the same person. Bélay's research goes beyond the Middle Ages, the author brings it to the 18th century.

In his multivolume on the historical geography of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, György Györffy systematized the available data on settlements known from the Arpadovich era and presented them by counties in alphabetical order. The first volume of the publication was published in 1963, a total of four were published (Volumes II-III, 1987, Volume IV, 1998), containing information on 34 counties. From the point of view of our study, the first and fourth volumes are rather interesting, they include information on Bereg and Maramures counties, respectively (Györffy, 1963; 1998).

The work of Erik Fügedi named "Castle and Society in the Kingdom of Hungary in the 13th-14th Centuries" (Fügedi 1977) became epoch-making in the study of the history and theory of castle building in Hungary. This is in fact a detailed database of medieval fortresses in historic Hungary, which includes, among others, most of the fortifications of the northeastern region. In the introductory sections, the author summarizes the results of his research, focusing on such issues as the stages of construction, legal regulation, property rights, management organization, and so on. Erik Fügedi believes that the castle in Khust took over the role of a defensive fortress from Vyshkovo, and was built after the uprising of palatine Kopos, ie after 1318. The author emphasizes the strategic importance of the

fortification, which was built near the confluence of the Rika river to the Tisza (Fügedi, 1977, page 144).

Researchers of the second half of the 20th century did not overlook the problem of salt extraction. In the 1980s, Zoltán Kovássy's publications on mining origin in medieval Maramures, on the social status and organization of salt miners appeared in professional publications (Kovássy 1986). Among the sources used by the author the key place is occupied by the manuscripts of Innocentius Simonchicz.

In the field of research into the economic and social history of Maramures in the early 21st century, László Glück is worth being mentioned in the first place, as he devoted a number of publications to the development of salt mining and trade (Glück 2008; 2009; 2012). His dissertation research also concerns Maramures, namely the development of social relations of the crown cities in the early modern era. The author considers, among other things, the status of salt miners, working and living conditions of workers involved in production, salaries, and so on. The basic source of research is the urbaria of Khust dominion of the 1600s (Glück, 2013).

A similar theme was chosen by Nyíregyháza historian László Szabolcs Gulyás. In his recently published monograph on the development of Maramures cities in the Middle Ages, he analyzes the privileges granted to crown cities and self-government, the problems of colonization of the region, economic development (mostly through the prism of salt mining) of magistrates' jurisdiction and the legal status of towns (Gulyás, 2014). Khust Castle, which, according to other researchers, dates back to the first half of the 14th century, refers to the charter of 1353 and emphasizes that it took over the role of Vyshkovo in protecting salt mines and trade routes, and notes that the castle gradually became the center of the great royal dominion, which arose in the territory of Maramures (Gulyás, 2014, pages 21-22).

Continuing the economic topic, it is worth mentioning Boglárka Weisz's works, devoted to trade, communications and, above all, the development of customs in the Arpadovich era (Weisz 2006; 2013). In addition to theoretical issues, survey of species, organization of duty collection, rights to duty-free trade and fairs, the researcher publishes a database of customs posts of the 12th-13th centuries in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary.

Extremely interesting is the study of Maramures salt mines by Hungarian geologist Károly Réthy. In the pages of "Bányászattörténeti közlemények" in 2010 in three articles the author presents the history, geological features of salt mines in Solotvino (Ukraine), Coștiui

and Ocna Șugatag (Romania), chemical composition and properties of the mineral extracted here (Réthy, 2010).

In his works, Emese Szoleczky examines the problems of the role of Khust Castle in the defense system of the Kingdom of Hungary, the issues of iconography of the castle, gives a detailed overview of individual events or stages in the history of the fortress (Szoleczky 2002; 2005; 2008). E. Soletsky's dissertation, which was defended in 2005, is dedicated to the history of Khust Castle. Particular attention is paid to economic (development of salt mining, trade, logistics), military (garrison, armaments, military action, emphasizing the passive nature of defense) aspects, stages of construction of the fortress. In a separate section, the author examines the history of Khust dominion and its role in the material support of the fortifications, the life of the inhabitants of the castle, and even gives an overview of fiction dedicated to the castle. In the appendices, in addition to the documents of Berehovo branch of State Archives of Zakarpattia region, we can view a letter from the Italian architect Cesare Porto depicting the castle, a brief history of the castle by Peter Gary, excerpts from memoirs, diaries, etc.

Among the modern Zakarpattia Hungarian-speaking researchers of Maramures it is worth mentioning the teacher of Berehovo Ferenc Rákóczi II Institute György Csatáry, who focuses on publishing archival documents on the history of the region. The author recently published a directory of archival documents of five Maramures crown cities located in Berehovo branch of State Archives of Zakarpattia region (Csatáry, 2011).

László Zubánics explores the problems of the origin and early history of castles in the region in his local lore collections. (Zubánics, 2007; 2015). Unfortunately, L. Zubanych's local lore researches are exclusively popular science, without a properly designed scientific apparatus. Berehovo researcher Gustav Székely also repeatedly published articles on the colonization of the region, the emergence of administrative units and fortifications (Székely 2010; 2013).

Unfortunately, the Ukrainian-language literature on the history of the Maramures salt region is not so rich, the vast majority of publications are popular science. Among reference publications it is worth mentioning first of all the multi-volume "History of cities and villages of the Ukrainian SSR". The publication contains information, among other things, about the largest centers of salt production in the regions, the beginning, methods of industrial salt production, transportation routes, the situation of the population involved in production, although highlighted in the traditions of Soviet historiography with special emphasis on class inequality and social struggle (History of cities… 1982).

A number of popular science publications, newspaper articles and booklets are devoted to Solotvino salt mine, which, among other things, and they contain some information on the history of salt production and trade, although the main emphasis is on current issues (Solotvyno… 1978; Turianitsia 2017).

Considering the history of the fortifications on the salt road, it is also worth mentioning several new publications. Recently, with archaeologists reviewing the main periods of fortification activity in Northeastern Hungary, works by domestic architects with confirmed dating sources began to appear, such as an article by Kyiv researcher Bogdan Seregiy on the main stages of the history of Khust Castle (Seregiy, 2018).

One of the most complete and diverse can be considered a monographic study by archaeologist Joseph Kobal. In addition to the history of Kvasovo Castle itself, presented using a huge layer of archival sources and materials of archaeological excavations, the author considers the issue of localization in the vicinity of the village of another, known from medieval charters, fortification - Beregvár (Kobal, 2019).

1.3. Sources of the history of rock salt mining in Hungary

The most important source of medieval historical research is the charters left over from that time. Since the 16th century the number of suitable for use charters has rapidly grown, with their help we can get a clear picture of the individual privileges of the city and the organizational structure of institutions governing the production of salt and trade in it. However, insignificant domestic sources overestimate the role of reports of foreign travelers, ambassadors, geographical works and scientific treatments. The work called "Descriptio Europae Orientális" deserves the first place here. According to the author, "[...] *the country's land is extremely rich in grain, wine, meat, gold and silver* [...]. *In some places it has very high mountains; in the Transylvanian areas there are huge salt mountains, from which salt is extracted as a stone, which is sent to all corners of the country and even to the surrounding countries.* " Although this work is already available in two printed versions, it has not yet taken a worthy place among our most important sources. So far, only a few studies or estimates, that analyze certain data in this document, have been published. Nevertheless, the description is a true depiction of political ideas that emerged at one of the most exciting stages in Hungarian history, during the change of throne between the Arpad and Anjou dynasties, and is at the same time in many cases a treasure trove of irreplaceable data about the then state and history of the Balkans and Central and Eastern Europe. The time of writing can be limited with relatively high accuracy, it can be dated February or March 1308. The author of

the work is probably the same, Andréas Hungaricus, who previously recorded the story of the triumphant struggle of the King of Naples and Sicily - Charles I of Anjou (Borzákné, 1988, p. 13-27).

The large number of Italian-language reports of the 15th and 16th centuries also confirms the significant economic role of the Italians in the Hungarian economic management of that period. Along with this, perhaps one of the most valuable sources is the writings of the Venetian ambassadors to Hungary, who closely reported on the state of the country. Diplomats periodically reported on their actions in letters. When they returned home, they had to make a thorough report and present it to Signoria. In these reports, they had to report not only on their activities, but also on the country where they served. Of particular value is the Diario (diary) of Marino Sanuto, which he was keeping from 1498. Sanuto, who held leading positions in the republic, had access to valuable, at the time classified documents, the text or content of which he copied into his diary (Draskóczy, 2014, p. 75-92).

Researchers know that a collection of documents from the Austrian State Archives (Hofkammerarchiv) contains a German-language manuscript from 1528, which contains a report on the current state of some mountain towns in Upper Hungary (mostly the Southern Spiš county). Its author, Hans Dernschwam (or János Dernschwam in Hungarian, because, despite his foreign origin, he spent most of his life in Hungary) held a leading position at Thurzó-Fugger company in Hungary. The document, interesting in many respects, was first published by the Slovak historian Jozef Vlachovych in 1964 in a work entitled "Slovak Copper in the XVI-XVII Centuries". It is worth saying a few words about the identity of the author, and give an explanation of the question mark in the title. Hans Dernschwam was born on March 23, 1494 in Brüx (now Most, Czech Republic). He was a descendant of a wealthy patrician family. From 1507 he studied at the University of Vienna and from 1509 at the University of Leipzig. In 1510 he received a bachelor's degree. In the early 1510s he went to Italy, where he joined the circle of Tamás Bakócz, with whom he came to Hungary in 1514. In Buda he came to the court of Wladyslaw II and became secretary to Girolamo Balbi, the trustee of the king of Italian descent. In 1517 he became an employee of Elek Thurzó and moved to Banská Bystrica. Thurzó appointed him head of the mint in Baia Mare, and in 1520 took him to Buda. In 1525, he became treasurer of the Thurzó-Fugger mining company, at a time when, as a result of political agitation by those who sided with János I Szapolyai, the Buda agency and Fugger warehouses were devastated, and mines and other facilities were sequestered and revoked their copper mining licenses. Dernschwam helped restore the Fuggers' interests and took part in negotiations for a long-term lease with Louis II. The result

of the negotiations was that in 1526 the Fuggers regained the right to operate the company in Banská Bystrica for another 15 years. As a trustee of Anton Fugger, in 1528-29 he became the head of the Transylvanian salt warehouses, and in 1529-49 in Banská Bystrica he became the head of the Fugger company. In 1553, with a delegation led by Antal Verancsics, he went to Istanbul and the Sultan's residence in Asia Minor, Amasya, from where he returned in 1555. He amassed a large library, which his heir sold to the Viennese court, and thus it has survived to this day. He conducted excavations at Transylvanian salt mines. He rewrote Roman inscriptions, this collection also passed to future generations. He died in 1568. Dernschwam wrote his work "Report on Salt Mining in Transylvania" in 1528, which extensively describes the rock salt production of that period. The text clearly shows the extraction process, trade, transportation network and the socio-economic impact of rock salt (Dernschwam, 1984, 77-105).

Another well-known author of works on the mining industry, Georgius Agricola, also described the extraction of rock salt. His work "On Mining and Metallurgy" (De re metallica) clearly stands out among the works of the late Middle Ages. To assess the technical and historical significance of the work, it is necessary to know that its structure is similar to a textbook. In contrast to the description of a complete, integrated production process, he prefers to describe the details of the work process, and all this in a simple form, in the form of elementary acquaintance. However, it provides accurate and detailed descriptions of these technological details. Tools, vehicles, drive mechanism, hoists, trolleys, pumps, crushers and mixers, blowers, taps, as well as kilns, blast furnaces, trays and parts of the above mentioned equipment appear in the text with amazing detail, careful refinement and illustrations. We can feel Agricola's desire for clarity and visibility. In the sixteenth century, mining processes, and especially metallurgical and chemical processes involving precious metals, were strictly confidential everywhere. This is not surprising, as significant economic interests have been jeopardized by the emergence of thematic materials on technological processes (Agricola, 1986).

Acquaintance with the sources of the 16th century ends with the text of György Werner, who was born in Silesia. The author studied at the Universities of Krakow and Wittenberg, and lived in Hungary since 1519. He was secretary to Louis II and later worked as a delegate to the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce in Upper Hungary. In the 1540s, he oversaw the extraction of Maramures rock salt, so he could write about the area as a well-informed person. In his work «*De admirandis Hungariae aquis hypomnemation»*, published in 1551, he wrote in detail about the salt springs around Prešov, about the peculiarities of the

mining industry of the Maramures region, and compared Hungarian and Polish minerals. Werner's descriptions show a thorough knowledge, they cover him as a specialist in this field (Póka, 2011, p. 323-341).

Along with textual sources, maps of the Hungarian warehouses of the 18th century are a good reference point for the discovery of rock salt mining. Strict conditions during the Turkish conquest did not allow for regular astronomical observations and geodetic measurements, which would be necessary for the correction of maps of Hungary. Under these conditions, Count Luigi Marseille decided to begin measurements to map the Danube and surrounding areas. Based on these measurements, the first geodetic reference points were born, along which the refined lines of the Danube valley were determined. The map was issued at the expense of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce during the national liberation war of the Hungarian people led by II. Rákóczi Ferenc. The map, also made by the Warehouse order, is a detailed map (warehouses) from 1768, depicting Tiszaújlak. At this time, the Habsburg government built a salt department in the village. The appearance of the cargo port on the Tisza River and the area transferred to the warehouse clearly illuminates the divisions of the most important administrative organization in the region. The map was compiled by János Jozef Grosschmidt, a sworn-in surveyor in the Maramures salt mines region (Papp-Váry, 1990, p. 88; p. 114).

1.4. Geographical conditions of the Upper Tisza region

First of all, let's get acquainted with the conditions of historical and natural geography that characterized the north-eastern region of Hungary. Let's start with the fact that the modern Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg region was created during the regional division in 1950 as the Szabolcs-Szatmár region. Its territory has changed greatly over time, especially dramatic were the changes in borders after the First World War.

In the Arpad era, this territory was divided by three counties - Boršov, Szatmár and Szabolcs. During the Tatar invasion, the primary structure of the administration disintegrated, the Bereg county was formed from the eastern parts of the Tisza River, and at the same time, thanks to the territory of the former Boršov county, the territory of the Szabolcs County grew. Szabolcs was a large administrative unit, the largest in the country east of the Tisza. It included some of the settlements of Bodrogköz (the area between the Bodrog and Tisza rivers) and Taktaköz (the area between the Takta river and the Tisza river), starting in the west from Tiszacsegei, and in the south reaching the settlements of Kardszag, Nádudvar, Püspökladány and Debrecen. The northern and western borders of the Szatmár region can be

clearly defined, as they coincide with the borders of Boršov and Szabolcs. Defining the eastern borders is more problematic, as the county organization reaches the territorial units of Ugocsa and Maramures region only in the 14th century. The boundaries created in this way remain almost until the era of dualism. Due to the reorganization of the administration in 1876, significant changes took place within the regions, especially with regard to the Szabolcs county. The Hajdú county was formed primarily from the settlements of the hajdúks and due to the administrative relocation of other Szabolcs settlements (Kerekes, 1982).

Reconstruction of the territory itself, based on modern geographical conditions, was not an easy task. Related sources from the Middle Ages and the beginning of the new era are incomplete and accidental, we do not have reliable high-resolution maps until the beginning of the 18th century. An outstanding work depicting the conditions of that time is a hand-drawn map of Imre Tarnai Milec from 1773. This simple map illustrates the water network, with individual marks showing the salt mines and the boundaries of their areas of activity. The map even shows the routes of salt transportation with red lines. Economic maps spread in the Kingdom of Hungary after the expulsion of the Turks. In order to define new boundaries and to clarify disputes that arose during the legal process, landowners often measured their lands and mapped their territories. Especially from the middle of the 18th century, after the revival of state settlements, employment and training of surveyors in Hungary accelerated. Moreover, during the reign of Maria Theresa (1740-1780), between 1766 and 1774, by landowner's decree, landlord urbariums began to be inspected. Under the leadership of the royal commissioners, new state urbariums were established in each settlement, to which some serf estates and censuses were attached, which contained a list of burdens before the landlord. The maps of the serfdom clearly depicted the hydrography of the area, the network of roads, external structures and objects that helped in orientation (Papp-Váry, 1990). Maps of the first military topographic measurement also provide useful information about the former road network of this region. The military measurement of the Habsburg Empire was carried out in 1764 by order of Maria Theresa. According to the order, "[...] *the experience of the recently ended war has convincingly demonstrated the importance of [...] rural knowledge*." Topographic measurement of the territory of historical Hungary began in 1766 with the production of a map of the Maramures county, which was under threat of Tatar invasion. After that, the counties of Upper Hungary and Transylvania were measured. These works lasted until 1787, when the inner districts of Austria and Hungary were opened. With the advent of certified county maps, hydrographic drawings and water regulation from the

beginning of the 19th century, we already have a clear picture of the transport systems of the Carpathian Basin.

We can form an idea of the appearance of the Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg region in the 18th century on the basis of the work of András Seksti (Vö. László, 1985, 237-264). His works have been preserved in the form of handwritten and printed maps, drawings. "*His work in the field of water cartography, had probably been the largest in Alfeld, before the appearance of the works of prominent Hungarian water engineers - József Beszédes, Pál Vásárhelyi.*" His maps are eloquent sources of presentation of the then natural conditions. They reflect the still intact ancient hydrography. Many names for "*river waters that no longer exist today, such as Körtvély, Kék-Kálló*" are left for posterity. "*He is one of the most significant engineers and most active cartographers of the second half of the eighteenth century."* However, there is not much biographical information about him in the professional literature. A nobleman András Sexty was born in 1759. His father was a nobleman János Seksti, his mother's name was Catalin. Although we do not have information about the exact place of his birth, the biography of one of his descendants mentions that the family came from the Gemer county. According to contemporary sources in Gemer, families named Sexty lived in several settlements. Ivan Nagy considers Slavošovce to be the original seat of the family. He probably spent his childhood and finished elementary school in his native county. According to the information provided to the general meeting of the Szabolcs county, he received his higher education at the University of Buda, where he passed the exam in geodesy with an exemplary result. As the metric books of the University of Buda have been preserved in an incomplete volume, we cannot reconstruct the exact year of his studies. It is assumed that it may have been around 1780. After graduating from university, he underwent an internship under "*the notorious Samuel Krieger*." After Krieger's death, he was appointed surveyor of the cities of the Hajdú county. From there, in May 1783, he applied to the Szabolcs county, where he was accepted, and from then until his death he worked as a county engineer.

At this time, the country employed about forty engineers. Due to the preparatory measures for the regulation of rivers, mapping of Hungarian waters and drainage of inland waters and swamps, there was a need to use surveyors. Therefore, during the implementation of his administrative reforms, Joseph II assigned one engineer to each county. Since the center of the county at that time was Nagykálló, it is assumed that he originally lived there with his wife, the noblewoman Maria Anna Mayersky. From the marriage he entered into between 1783-1790, he had three sons. However, the name of András Sexty can be found in the 1797 censuses of Nyíregyháza.

From these records alone, it can be inferred that his house may have been near an evangelical church. András Sexty's salary in 1786 was set at 400 R forints per year. Prior to that, there were daily and quarterly forints per day. In 1790, in accordance with the resolution of the counties and the resolution of the Board of Governors № 6394 the salaries of county engineers, including Sexty, were reduced to 300 forints. Appealing against this decision, he wrote about his living conditions: "*Since I do not have my own household, most of my meager salary, not to mention other needs, was barely enough to buy bread, firewood, candles and other household items."* The Board of Governors rejects the petition on the following grounds: "*If the increase were allowed, others from other coounties would have the opportunity to ask for an increase in their salaries*." We have no data on the further formation of his salary.

During his life András Sexty was engaged in many different activities. In addition to mapping, this consisted in the design of the public buildings of Nyíregyháza, which was on the path of development, in geodetic measurements in accordance with the needs of the county and the population, as well as in active participation in public life of the city. Sexty, as a cartographer, created the most eternal by his actions. His works include projects and works on the regulation of the Tisza River. Since the regulation of the Tisza, unlike the Danube, was an exclusively Hungarian task, over time it lagged far behind the latter. The first maps of the Tisza region were made by Mikoviny and his students before 1750. However, they had not yet served hydrographic purposes. "*In the second half of the eighteenth century, some counties were already working on regulation, sometimes without the help of engineers*." On May 27, 1783, the Governing Council issued a circular instructing the engineers of the county to develop the detailed maps necessary for the regulation of the Tisza. On January 5, 1784, the Governing Council reiterated the above order in its decree № 394 addressed to the counties, stating that in the absence of these maps and in the event of non-compliance with river leveling, regulatory work would be ineffective and no work plan could be drawn up. Based on the natural conditions of the time, Szabolcs county belonged to those whose large area was covered with swamps, lakes and rivers. In the paintings of the time of Joseph II on the left bank of the river Tisza, on the territory of the Szabolcs county you can see several smaller and one huge wetland (stretching to Hortobágyi). A large-scale floodplain began in the area of the settlements of Büd and Szentmihályi, the water and swamp world of which spread through Hortobágyi all the way to the Nagy-Sárrét region. As a result, he received many wonderful and great tasks, which he performed at a high level.

The maps, left for us, can be grouped as follows:

1. Records that arose during the mapping of the Tisza River. Some of them, including the one made in 1796, which depicts the settlement of Fényeslitke (“Mappa exhibens Situatio-nem Territorii Possessionis Fényes-Litke proportionaliter subdivisi”), do not disclose river regulation projects. Its value lies in the fact that it has such hydrographic names, swamps, smaller lakes, which had been in the area before the regulation period. Others include projects to regulate the Tisza riverbed. The first, compiled in 1784, contains a section of the river between the settlements of Cigánd and Dombrád with projects for cutting the river bend. A detailed 17-page map of the Tisza was developed at the end of the 18th century and depicts the territory of the Bereg county from its eastern border to the Borsod county. They already show the projects of flood protection dams.

2. A separate group is formed by maps that deal with the removal of inland waters and swamps. This is e.g. map from 1822 entitled "*Mappa qua remonstratur de Zabolcs accuratus situs et ductus Canalis* ". On it you can see two noteworthy channels. These are the canals that led from Vásárosnamény through Hajdunanas to Tokaji, and from Nanas in the other direction to the Hortobágyi River. This map shows the areas bordering the region, the rivers Szamos, Bodrog, as well as neighboring sections of the river Tisza, along with the direction of water flow. He also prepared a project to drain the swamps near Ujfeherto and Geszteréd. According to the project, he intended to solve the derivation by digging a channel, for which he planned 5841 manual day tasks.

3. Another category of maps can include those that show settlements or parts of any of their boundaries. For example, the 1806 map of Sexty, which is kept in the archives of Caroli, which shows the estates of the churches of the city of Nyíregyháza ("Mappa qua remonstratur situs Tuguriorum Parochialium, in Terreno Nyiregy-háziensi")

4. A separate group consists of drawings that he personally copied based on the original, or where he appears as a control engineer. Among others, he is the engineer-supervisor of four works by Ferenc Ryomysh and maps from 18 segments of the Tiszaszentmárton estate.

5. For the „Hungarian Atlas” work by Görög-Kerekes Sexty drew a section of the Szabolcs county and Hajdú county, his name appears on the list of 35 county engineers of the Görög Foundation. Smaller maps were made on the basis of their drawings. Two types of maps and a copper engraving were made in the atlas of the Szabolcs county and Hajdú county, which appeared in only four editions in Pest and Vienna. The engraving of 1793 was made by Berken (János Samuel Berken), and the engraving of 1802 and its additional copies were made by the Viennese engraver Benedicti Hieronymus. This was done because Görög

wanted to use the latest hydrographic data of engineer Sexty. He was the first to improve the city of Nyíregyháza in 1792. He restored the modern Incedi Lane. It was then that Béla, Dob, Róka and Kidyo streets were opened. He connected the streets with narrow passages, small streets called passages. These are: Gymnasium Lane, Csillog Street, Róka Street, the section of Sarkantyú Street between Ádám Vay Street and Ószőlő Street. Sections of Ernő Kiss and Vecsey streets between Szarvas and Er streets. Lanes from Debrecen Street through Virág and Csipke Streets to Szarvas Street. They were mainly used for pedestrians, but also helped to control traffic.

A separate part of his work consists of documents related to the design of public buildings. In 1791 he evaluated the works of the newly built town hall in Nyíregyháza. And it is the remaining document that confirms the assumption of Gyula Koroknay that the „Kiskorona" pharmacy in Nyíregyháza, the birthplace of Gyula Benczúr, was never a town hall, so the building measured by the Sexty engineer could have been the one that Ferenc Mituch, an officer in the county of Caroli, later exchanged for his house and rebuilt into a landowner's estate. On behalf of the parish, he made a project of a teachers' school built in 1807. The designed building was to have had two floors, two entrances, two wings, professors' apartments, but only one floor was built, and even not completely. Funds for the construction consisted of donations offered by citizens. Among the donors was the name of András Sexty with the amount of 100 R forints. He also designed an apartment for a surgeon in the settlement of Ujfeherto. From each project there are drawings and cost estimates. In addition to the above, he carried out a number of geodetic works on behalf of the county and the city of Nyíregyháza. In 1823, the city decided to evaluate the residential lands belonging to the residents, as their number did not correspond to the area established and allocated at the time of settlement. Related engineering tasks were also entrusted to András Sexty.

Intentions to drain the area in the 18th century, as well as the widening of canals and drainage in the first half of the 19th century, were unsuccessful as drainage was attempted by gravity. In the time of Sexty, there were no appropriate economic and social conditions for the elimination of the ancient lake, swamp. Work on the so-called county ditches began in 1806, but these were only the first steps. Work on flood protection and regulation of rivers in the 19th century had no results due to their isolation until 1846, before the implementation of the projects of Pál Vásárhelyi. However, records and projects about the Tisza River by András Sexty and his contemporaries were of great help in the implementation of this project. These maps of Sexty increasingly depicted the rich hydrographic network of the Nyírseg area.

When, in 1803, the Board of Governors was looking for a royal adviser, Ferenc Götz, an experienced surveyor to open a ditch on the Szamos River, the choice fell on András Sexty. This confirms that he was once respected in his profession. His maps are still a much-needed source of historical geography. His personality and activities are part of the history of the county and the city of Nyíregyháza. After forty-four years in the Szabolcs county, he died in December 1827 at the age of 68. According to the metric record of the Nyíregyháza Evangelical Church, he was buried on December 5 in Nyíregyháza.

In the twentieth century, as a result of the Treaty of Trianon, radical changes took place, especially in this region. Under the new framework, its territory, as a border county, underwent significant truncation. While the Szabolcs county underwent a slight separation of territories, Szatmár lost almost three-quarters and Bereg lost more than seven-eighths of its former territory. The stability of the administration made it necessary to reorganize the regional system in accordance with the new situation. The legal settlement of 1923 was aimed at this. As a result, the Szabolcs and Ung counties were merged, and Szatmár, Ugocsa and Bereg acted as separate administrative units. Then the process of territorial reunification from 1938 briefly rewrote the order approved in 1923. The ordering of 1950 chose a completely new direction in the history of public administration in Hungary, after the current system of county administration was transformed into a system of regional councils. At the same time, instead of the previous 25 administrative units, 19 were created. The Szabolcs-Szatmár region was formed by the union of the former Szatmár-Bereg and Szabolcs counties, so that of the latter, eight settlements were annexed to the Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén region, and seven to the Hajdú-Bihar region. The then-created Szabolcs-Szatmár region acquired its modern name Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg in 1989.

After that, let's consider the natural and geographical features of this region. The Nyírseg and Upper Tisza regions are a part of a large siltation created by the rivers of the Northeastern and Eastern Carpathians. Its territory to the east and southeast extends beyond the territory of modern Hungary. The formation of the mostly flat Nyírseg and Upper Tisza regions in primitive times was determined by subsidence due to volcanic activity, which later was flooded by the sea. Over time, this sea became shallower, and its water got fresh, and eventually the lake dried up completely, and the water flowing from the north and northeast, filled the area. As a result of further sifting, the fast streams brought even more coarse sediments to the plain. This process of replenishment was later continued by fine-grained siltation, which served as the basis for the typical for this area drifting sand. The rivers of the region changed their direction from time to time, which was due to the movement of land

masses and subsidence. As a result of the movement of the Tisza riverbed, the Nyírseg region was depleted of water, and its surface was formed by winds that carried sand with them.

Despite the flat nature of the Nyírseg and Upper Tisza regions, some of their areas have a variable shape. The territory of the latter is determined by the inspired work of water and wind. The former river valleys were replenished in many places, but lakes were formed in several places, in the depths covered with drifting sand. Along with this, the drifting sand created a variety of surface shapes. Typical sand dunes of the landscape can be seen north of the Kisvárda-Vásárosnamény line in their most beautiful form, where their height reaches as much as 20 meters. The role of watercourses in the territory is especially decisive, their changing course battered the surface in different ways. As a result of this variability, dead channels were formed. In addition, the image of the landscape is determined by living channels, river ridges and sandy islands.

In the general image of the Bereg lowland the determining factor was the temporary change of the Tisza riverbed, so the existence of dead riverbeds and dead channels is the merit of the largest river in the region. Typical formations of the region are former volcanic cones, such as Mount Tipet, also known as Kaszon Hill (179 m) and Tarpa Hill (164 m), which clearly stand out from the surrounding plain.

The surface of the plain Szatmar region with slight differences in height was mainly formed by the river Szamosh, which created small protrusions with the help of deposited siltations. The surface of the plain edge is also divided by abandoned riverbeds, some of which are completely filled or are a reservoir throughout the year. On the Szatmár Plain, in the western part of the Szamos River, which stretches all the way to the Nyírseg region, is the Ecsedi swamp, which was replenished at the end of the 19th century and put under the plough.

Finally, we must recall Rétköz, the surface of which was determined by surface watercourses. In addition, a characteristic phenomenon of the landscape are created by drifting sand mounds. The general picture of the area was determined by huge swamps, which were eliminated during flood protection, and the area was involved in agricultural cultivation.

If we look at the climate of the study area, we get the following result. The climate of both the Nyírseg and Upper Tisza regions is very different from the region of Inner Alfeld. In the first two regions, less summer heat is observed, as well as fewer hours of sunshine. Here, the average temperature in January, compared to various areas of Alfeld, is the lowest, and spring comes later. However, within the study area, there are sharp differences between some regions. Simply put, moving north - approaching the Northeastern Carpathians - the temperature, like the number of hours of sunshine, decreases. The number of severe winter

days in the Nyírseg region is less than along the Upper Tisza. At the same time, the above-mentioned territory is much drier (its inner parts within the territory of the modern country belong to the poorest areas for precipitation) than those that stretch further north. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that Nyírseg is higher than all the surrounding areas, so watercourses do not flow here, but from here. Moreover, as we have already seen with the change of direction of the Tisza and Számos rivers, this area did not receive water flowing from the Carpathians. Summing up, from the above we can determine that Nyírseg, in contrast to the Upper Tisza region, is a region poor in natural waters.

Soil properties in the studied areas have the following characteristics. Drift sand is especially characteristic of the southern part of the Nyírseg region, it is also found in the north, but here in the forested areas brown forest soils (so-called brown soils) were formed. In the plains between the sandy ridges, on the muddy sand, a very rich in nutrients meadow sandy soil was formed, but here we can also find sod and saline soils. In the Upper Tisza region, rivers, coming from their banks, played a significant role. Nutrient-rich siltation was diverse, its composition differed in the case of each stream. Almost half of the Bereg plain consists of fertile meadow soils. In the case of the Szatmar Plain, in addition to meadow, there are also marshy soils. From the agricultural point of view, they are of variable importance, clay, loam and low-humus layers covering large areas, less fertile. Peat-swamp and meadow soils, the composition and fertility of which are variable, mainly cover the territory of Rétköz (Lóki, 2002, p. 25-27).

Natural and geographical factors usually determine the economy of the area. It should be added that for a long time the characterized area was covered with extensive forests. At the end of the 18th century, while the stock of wood in the Alfeld territory was about 5%, before that on the Szatmar plain it was more than 60%, and on the Bereg Plain this figure was not much less, and even in the Nyírseg region it reached 30%. And if we add to this the fact that the region is poor in mineral reserves, it is clear that fishing, hunting and agriculture prevailed here. Urbanization was low, the largest settlements of the Middle Ages and the first centuries of the new era do not exceed the level of development of settlements. To illustrate the above, let's look at how Pál Magda sees the northeastern areas in the early 19th century[1]. According to the description of the Bereg county: *"Although many different grains grow on the plains, this is not enough. Between the mountains there is a lot of oats, more corn, a lot of hemp, a lot of fruit, and in some places wine, namely Múzsa wine. Both the mountains and the region are covered with vast forests [...]. Many pigs are fattened, cattle is also grazed, and there are many wild animals. There are many rivers, namely the Tisza, which is rich in fish.* In

describing the Szatmar county, the author emphasizes*: "the waters of the river: the Tisza, on which the inhabitants of the county, who live nearby, transport timber, wooden utensils and fruit. Szamos is God's punishment in this region, salt was once transported on it, but after that navigation was impossible due to the erected dams. Land fertility is different. [...]. Since most of the Nyírseg district is sand, and it is located on an elevated place, so it is not endangered by water elements, suitable for growing, especially rye […] In forest areas, a large number of pigs and cattle are bred, and on the plain mostly sheep […]. Known, above all, delicious Szamos sterlet […], bees are bred along the lower reaches of the river Szamos. [...].*

The whole county is rich in fruit. Saturated with sugar juice plums are plentiful. It is used to make the famous plum vodka (slyvovytsya). It is also dried and is in great demand. Sweet cherries already form whole forests. Chestnuts are plentiful and they have a good harvest. In the areas between the Tisza and Számos most trees grow, below in Nyírseg region, hemp is everywhere. You can safely plan the tobacco harvest at 10,000 quintals a year." In his description of the Szabolcs county, he also depicts the peculiarities of the landscape: *"The air, due to the large number of swamps, cannot be healthy. Drinking water is also not very good. The region is famous for growing a variety of grains. So much rye is probably not grown anywhere in the country like here. […] And watermelons grow in abundance here, from the sale of the famous watermelons Szabolcs people have not bad money. And a lot of tobacco is grown, among which the best and most famous is from Rakamaz. Cattle is in the southern parts. There is much fish in the Tisza, even pigs are fed with it. […] There is nowhere as much saltpeter in the whole country as in Szabolcs. Many boil it in Nagykálló and Nyíregyháza. There can be no minerals where there are no mountains"* (Magda, 1819, 438-453). Pal Magda's description shows an almost exclusive advantage of agriculture in the study area. In his work, he points out that there is a low level of industrial activity, and there are almost no raw materials. This deficiency included salt and played a key role in the food supply.

It should be noted here that in the territory of the modern region of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg the consumption of non-rock salt was widespread. Instead, the use of potassium nitrate (*nitric acid salt*) was common. Saltpeter (nitrate) is an old Hungarian chemical name. The name comes from the Latin chemical name "*sal nitrum*". And the name "sal nitrum" comes from the Latin chemical name nitrum. The first word of the phrase "*sal nitrum*" undoubtedly means "salt", but there is already uncertainty about the meaning of the second component "nitrum". For example, the editors of popular Latin-Hungarian dictionaries did not have the same opinion about it. Here I refer to the editors of only two very famous dictionaries. Their

number could very easily be increased. Ferenc Pápai Páriz in his dictionary, published in 1767, defines both words "nitrum" and "sal nitrum" - saltpeter. Indeed, Henrik Finaly in his dictionary since 1884 had already attributed to them the definition of natural soda. The authors of various historical and linguistic dictionaries - Gábor Szarvas, Zsigmond Simoni and Gyula Zsolnay (and here I mention only a few) - regarding the words "*nitrum*" and "*sal nitrum*" agree with the statement of Ferenc Pápai Páriz. I do not think we are mistaken if the marked difference between the statements of Henrik Finaly and Ferenc Pápai Páriz is explained, among other things, by the decline in interest in the ceased production of saltpeter. However, because these nitrates are considered a salt of nitric acid (HN03), they are also called potassium nitrate. Such salts are: potassium nitrate (KN03), sodium nitrate or Chilean saltpeter (NaNOH), calcium nitrate or lime nitrate or Norwegian nitrate (Ca (NOs) 2). These salts can also be formed naturally in the soil.

The abovementioned salts are the most common in the soils of the former Szabolcs county. Among them in the past the most popular was potassium nitrate. It was the main raw material for the production of gunpowder. That's why they tried to create it artificially. Many produced it in Szabolcs. As the most famous after that it was called saltpeter. With this in mind, I used the name saltpeter instead of potassium nitrate in the title of my study. The chemical formula of saltpeter (potassium nitrate) is KN03. So, it was formed due to the chemical combination of potassium, nitrogen and oxygen. It contains one potassium atom, one nitrogen atom and three oxygen atoms. Together they form a nitrate molecule. The combination of these atoms can occur naturally or artificially. In the first case, human labor is limited to the operations of collecting and purifying the formed nitrate. In the latter case, the chemical compound is created by man.

The first and last data on the digestion of Szabolcs saltpeter - from 1620 and from 1881. Documentary data of 1620 show that the digestion of saltpeter in the county in the mentioned period was already a well-developed folk industry. Thus, it is most probable that saltpeter was digested in the territory of the Szabolcs county as early as the 16th century.

Considering the circumstances, we can assume that the development of nitrate digestion in the county dates back to about 1574, when the castle of Nagykálló gained increased importance in defense and became a border fortress. One of the important proofs of this is that the center of making of Szabolcs saltpeter was in Nagykálló, especially in the castle of Nagykálló. From here they gave advice for saltpeter manufacturers. It was here that there was a delivery point for more or less ready saltpeter.

According to a letter from prince Ferenc Rákóczi to Sándor Károlyi, the Nyírseg people were a decisive factor in the production of saltpeter in 1703. Accordingly, we can conclude that in the time of the kurutz, Nyírség was considered to be the most important Hungarian region for the production of saltpeter.

In the county, in areas outside Nyírség, nitrate began to be extracted a century or two later. Not because the inhabitants (serfs) allegedly became convinced over time that the method of Nyírség production could be applied in other areas of the county. In these places, nitrate manufacturers had already experimented with another method of production: here they had already tried to extract nitrate not from the soil of gardens and pastures, but from the lands of residential buildings (Vö. Nyárády, 1960, p. 17-214).

1.5. The role of salt in historical Hungary

Salt plays an extraordinary role in people's lives. Among other things, this is confirmed by folk art in its own peculiar way. In a folk tale about salt the old king asked his daughters how much they loved him. The father became uncontrollable with anger when the youngest replied that she loved him as people love salt. The denouement of the story shows a cruel father, who chased his child away, realizing that without this spice food is inedible.

The moral of the story of the importance of salt does not require special explanations, even for a modern person. However, this axiom had a special truth in the human life of the past. Think about the fact that at that time this mineral product was used not only as a seasoning for food, but also for its preservation. Especially where animal husbandry was developed, the need for salt per year was quite significant. Data from the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the new era show that salt consumption per capita in Western Europe was 10–12 kg. Similar data can be obtained by studying domestic use. Thus, at the end of the 18th century, the annual need for salt in Szatmár county, taking into account the number of animals kept, was a little more than 10 kg. While humans consumed 3.5–4 kg of salt per year, cattle consumed 6–8 kg and horses - 5-6 kg. It should also be noted that the demand for salt from the population of the Szatmár region was lower than average. The need for animals here could be met thanks to saline pastures and salt water, which, if necessary, could also be a solution for humans. If we look at the data for the whole country, we can see that at the end of the Middle Ages the annual needs of Hungary with three million people in it could be about 30 thousand tons. This huge amount of mineral product, apart from small production in Solivar near Prešov which was obtained from wells by boiling, was provided by production from two territories: Transylvania and Maramures. Of these, Transylvania was the most important center of salt production, extraction in the mines of Maramures began only in the later centuries of the Middle Ages. Then the situation gradually changed, the last of the territories became a priority. In the second half of the 19th century, Maramures gave half of the domestic production, and then at the beginning of the 20th century the production of Transylvanian territories increased again. The government, by maintaining a salt monopoly created in the late 14th century, sought to reap significant benefits from the transportation and distribution of white gold. The end result was worth the effort after the state, having its own monopoly, enjoyed huge profits (equal to several times the cost). It actually determined the price, based on real costs, itself. During the weakening of the central government the role of private individuals, who received significant profits from the sale of salt, increased. In any

case, the supply of salt to the population required a great deal of organizational work, in which the state played a significant role.

On the other hand, Zsigmond Móricz illustrates the impact of rock salt on people's lives in his novel „My Life”. The serf, who begins to be a merchant, almost always disappears in the eyes of the villagers. He still thinks in keeping with a village. The serf, as a merchant, is not yet engaged in anything other than that which is valuable for peasant life. He buys and sells animals, later switches to grain, from a cattle and horse trader he becomes a wheat agent for one of the purchasing guilds. Fruit, cabbage, onions, peppers and all weather-resistant grains, as well as livestock food is a suitable occupation for him. But for the peasant trader there was a range of goods that he did not deal with, such as rabbit and bull skin, bones and rags, as well as specialty store goods, clothing and citrus fruits, spices, iron. These goods were not included in the range of serf merchants. To my father, who bought a whole herd, it never occurred to buy a few quintals of sugar and then sell it. Salt, yes. Salt is known to be sold mainly for animal needs; in the neighboring village of Tiszaújlak there was a salt store, where they bought cubes of salt, which can be stored under unpretentious conditions and sold later. My father also bought salt, a whole raft, and I remember that once what he bought was a commodity under the counter, and at night someone reported it to the Újlak financiers, but by the time they came, he had already known about it, and the salt had been gone by then. Only water in one or two wells was unfit for drinking for a long time.

CHAPTER 2. HISTORY OF MARAMURES SALT REGION

2.1. Ancient times

Coverage of the issue of salt extraction on the territory of Maramures in ancient times in Ukrainian historiography remains a "white spot", we do not know specialized scientific works. Only in generalized works on the ancient history of the region there are brief mentions that salt deposits were developed here. However, this issue is already well considered by researchers from other countries, a number of works have been published. In particular, let's mention the articles of the English researcher Anthony Harding, for example: "Salt exploitation in the later prehistory of the Carpathian Basin" (2015) or Romanian Aurel Rustoiu "The Salt of Maramureşand the Dacian Settlements alongside Upper Tisa" (2005) and Valeriy Kavruk "Tin and Salt in the Carpathian Basin in the Bronze Age" (2011; 2012). Separately, among the existing works, the book "Explorations in Salt Archeology in the Carpathian Zone" stands out (Budapest, 2013). Its authors are Anthony Harding and Valery Kavruk with contributions from other researchers. This book presents a study of salt archeology in Central and Eastern Europe based on fieldwork conducted between 2003 and 2012. The authors conducted a detailed survey of the monuments in several countries, described the ancient technology of salt extraction and presented a series of results of radiocarbon analysis.

There are works that to some extent affect this issue, although they are devoted to another topic. For example, the Dacian settlements of Maramures: "Dacii din Maramureş. Aşezări fortificate şi relaciii intercomunitare la sfârşitul epocii fierului" (Rustoiu Aurel, 2019) or ceramics of the La Tène era: «Ceramica Latène D cu grafit din judeţ Sălaj» (Pop Horea, 1994).

Thus, the available materials give us the opportunity to make certain generalizations, and they undoubtedly indicate that in the basin of the upper reaches of the Tisza, salt mining began in antiquity. One of the first such places was the Solotvyno deposit, which is one of the largest in the Carpathian area. It is safe to say that there are a number of ancient mines in the eastern part of Zakarpattia near the villages of Dobryanske, Novoselytsya, Tereblya, Solotvyno and others. It is noted that the earliest and easiest way to extract salt was to dig pits, the depth of which reached several tens of meters (Kotigorosko, 2008, 199-200; History, 1982, p.468). Late Bronze Age finds were discovered in some of them at the end of the 19th century. For example, in Coștiui (Romania) it was a bracelet and a Celtic ax (Kovássy, 1986). Roman coins of the Empire period were also found in the tunnels (Kotigorosko, 2008, 200).

The presence of such artifacts directly in the places of development of salt deposits makes it possible to talk about its extraction at least from the late Bronze Age and the active continuation of fishing in later times.

There are also ancient salt mines in Maramures, which are associated with underground mining. Thus, in particular, between the villages of Novoselitsa and Solone (since 2015 united with the village of Hanychi) in Tiachiv district in 1817 during drainage works in the process of developing a salt deposit at a depth of 13 m an artificial cave with a length of 9,5 m and a width of 3.8 m was discovered, and in its southern part there was another one 13 m in diameter and 4.7 m high. Here a number of items were collected, mostly wooden ones, which in ancient times were used to mine salt (ladder, trough, hammer, shovels, etc.). A recent radiocarbon analysis of the artifacts found here indicated the Late Bronze Age. (Kavruk, 2011, 18-19; Kavruk, 2012, 19; Harding–Kavruk, 2013).

In addition, near these ancient mines in 1846–1847 abandoned square vertical shafts were discovered, the walls of which were fortified with wooden logs. (Kavruk, 2011, 19).

The answer to the question “Could the beginning of industrial production of salt really date back to such ancient times?” can be found in an archeological site near the settlement of Hallstatt (Austria) discovered in 1846. The huge cemetery found here with a rich burial equipment gave its name to an entire era in Europe. The data show that the locals maintained lively trade contacts with quite remote areas and this contributed to their economic prosperity. And most importantly, in addition to the cemetery, the local salt mines are well-known around the world. (Kazakevych, 2006, 39-40; thereaderwiki.com/de/Hallstatt_(Archäologie)). They had functioned since the 14th century BC, and subsequent mining of “white gold” spread for centuries.

Scientists have been able to recreate the original appearance of these production facilities and the entire cycle of the industrial process. Ancient salt miners made a vertical mine until they reached a thick layer of salt. Then they began to expand the tunnel to the sides, and thus formed a complex system of underground labyrinths of rooms and tunnels that connected them. Pieces of salt hollowed out by bronze picks were pulled out in small woolen bags on a surface on a vertical mine by means of a rope. Anthropological analysis of burials showed that salt was carried mainly by women, but sometimes children were also involved in this hard work (thereaderwiki.com/de/Hallstatt_(Archäologie)).

The beginning of Maramures salt extraction and trade in the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age is evidenced by the appearance of fortified settlements — hillforts that were built in strategically important places near the development and along the main transport route of the

region on the river Tisza. We especially highlight the fortifications in Bila Tserkva, Serednie Vodiane and Sighetu Marmaţiei, as the closest to the place of craft. This list will be significantly increased with further research by scientists, as the mountainous areas of the region still remain a “white spot” on the archaeological map of the region. (Prokhnenko, 1999, p.77; Moizhes, 2013, p.80).

Similar processes of control of strategic deposits can be clearly seen at the turn of the era, when the lands of the northeastern part of the Carpathian area became part of a large and powerful state — the Dacian Kingdom. The initial penetration of the Dacians into the Upper Tisza region took place in the middle of the 2nd century BC. (Solotvyno, Bila Tserkva) (Vasiliev, Rustoiu, Balahuri…, 2002, p.76; Kotigorosko, 2008, p.168). However, only from the middle of the next century a settlements network was formed on these lands, and hillforts were built on important communication routes. Mala Kopania, which is identified with Setidava known from ancient sources, stands out among them. (Kotigorosko, 2008, p.168; Kotigorosko, 2009, p.25).

In total, today we know about four settlements of Dacian times, which can be delineated within the Maramures region and the adjacent territory: Bila Tserkva, Mala Kopania, Oncheshti-Chetetsiava, Solotvyno-Chetatia. All of them were located on the northern borders of the Dacian state.

The location and nature of the fortifications indicate that they were erected according to a well-thought-out plan (Kotigorosko, 2008, p.177; Prokhnenko, 1998, p.60). The location of Dacian hillforts is also determined by the largest waterway in the region — the river Tisza, which was a convenient way and connected the lands of southeastern Zakarpattia with other areas of the Carpathian-Danube basin. Dacian fortifications occupied the tops of the mountains with a good view of the area at points that allowed to control a large area and major communication routes (Kotigorosko, 2008, p.173).

These settlements differ in size and functional purpose and, accordingly, are divided into two groups (Prokhnenko, 1998, p.58; Kotigorosko, 2008, p.173). The first includes small fortified points in the immediate vicinity of salt mines. Probably they guarded them and controlled the production. Such fortifications include: Solotvyno-Chetatia, Bila Tserkva (Ukraine) and Oncheshti-Chetetsiava (Romania).

The hillfort of Solotvyno-Chetatia is located on the western outskirts of the village, on a high promontory on the right bank of the river Tisza. On the north side a rectangular settlement site measuring 60 x 65 m is bounded by a precipice, on the south and west by the Tisza beam, and on the east by a moat and an embankment. The construction and operation of

this fortified point took place during the years of the highest rise of Dacian culture and the state — the second half of the 2nd century BC — 1st century AD (Niculiţă, 1987, p.211-213; Vasiliev, Rustoiu, Balahuri…, 2002; Kotigorosko, 2008, p.174; Prokhnenko, 1998, p.58). The close proximity of Solotvyno-Chetati to the surface salt outlets indicates the hillfort as a center, the inhabitants of which controlled the extraction and transportation of salt.

The hillfort of Bila Tserkva is located on an elevation on the north-eastern side of the village of the same name. It was opened in 1996. (Lazin–Marina, 1999; Prokhnenko, 1999; Мойжес, 2013, p.80). The area of the monument is 1.8 hectares. In 2000–2002 large-scale archeological excavations were carried out, as a result of which it was established that the system of fortifications of this settlement was erected in two stages and represented in the northern part of the monument by a moat, an embankment and a palisade. On the western, southern and eastern sides of the tract, bounded by a steep slope, there was only a palisade. Initially, fortifications were built in the Early Iron Age (Hallstatt). The territory of the forthill was repopulated from the second half of the 2nd century BC, and the fortifications of the monument were reconstructed. (Vasiliev, 2003; 2007; Moizhes, 2013, p.80-86).

The smallest forthill is Oncheshti-Chetetsiava. It occupies a dominant height on the left bank of the river Iza, near its confluence with the Tisza (Romania). Chetetsiava Mountain, where the monument is located, is conical in shape, 488 m above sea level. The top is a flat area measuring 14 x 12 m, on which there are the ruins of a medieval tower. The shaft runs along the slopes of the mountain and limits the area of 50 x 55 m. (Prokhnenko, 1998, p.58; Kotigorosko, 2008, p.174).

The largest and most powerful fortification point at the turn of AD in the region was Mala Kopania hillfort, which is located near the village of Mala Kopania on two peaks of the end of the Khust-Rokosovo volcanic ridge, which rests on the right bank of the river Tisa (Fig. 5). It was discovered at the end of the 19th century by J. Mihalik, and since 1977 an expedition of Uzhhorod University has been conducting archeological research here (Kotigorosko, 2008; 174; Kotigorosko, 2009, p.25; Prokhnenko, 1998, p.59). The area of the hillfort is 5 hectares. The fortified settlement was protected by a stone-based rampart with a palisade. Fortifications were erected in the first half of the 1st century BC. 42 Dacian dwellings and 109 buildings were found in the study area, which are functionally divided into household facilities and workshops (smithy, two jewelry stores, a workshop for making glassware and hand-rotating mills, a mint). There was a significant population on the territory of the settlement. Among the Dacian buildings there are several apses, which were the place

of worship, and in the neighboring mountains a cemetery and a sacred center were discovered. (Kotigorosko, 2008; Kotigorosko, 2009).

A large number of different artifacts have been found at the site. They are represented by stucco and circular vessels, tools, weapons, clothing and jewelry, household items and cult objects. In particular, there are imported items, as well as a numerical numismatic collection, that has almost two haundred items (Moizhes, 2018). Its study makes it possible to determine the level of economic development of local tribes and the geography of trade relations. These are coins of Celtic and Dacian minting, which served the needs of domestic and intertribal trade, as well as Roman republican and imperial denominations, the use of which was due to trade contacts with Rome. A separate group consists of imitations of Roman republican denarii, the emergence of which was caused by a monetary deficit due to the growth of domestic and foreign trade of the local population (Kotigorosko, 2009, p.40). The available material of Mala Kopania hillfort allows us to classify it as a "dava", i.e. craft, political and cult centers of pre-Roman Dacia.

Interestingly, in the monuments of the last centuries BC there are fragments of graphite vessels. Their production was typical of the bearers of La Tène culture, where they are found in almost every settlement. They are much less common in Dacian monuments of the region (Kotigorosko, 2004, 181; Moizhes, 2010). This type of ceramics is represented by pots of the jar-shaped form called situlas. Usually, their bodies were decorated with vertical comb strokes, and the rim was thick, massive. No other forms of graphite utensils have been found in settlements and cemeteries at the turn of the century (Moizhes, 2010, 95). In the scientific literature there are several assumptions about its functional purpose. The most reliable is that it could be used to store dry solids, namely salt. After all, graphite counteracts the destruction of vessel walls by salt, and these ceramics were present in areas of salt production in Central Europe and in ancient trade routes (Rustoiu, 1993; Pop, 1994). Only within Zakarpattia region we know about thirty points of detection of such utensils.

The decline of the abovementioned fortifications is associated with the last phase of the Daco-Roman wars in the early 2nd century AD, which ended in the complete defeat of the Dacian Kingdom, which for two centuries determined the political development of the Carpathian-Danube lands. This also led to the severance of economic ties. The further history of the region's population is connected with its entry into the contact zone with the Roman Empire.

It should be noted that the territory of most of the mentioned hillforts was reused in the Middle Ages, when at the turn of the 10^{th} and 11^{th} centuries the previous fortifications were

revived here. The newly created settlements were also built on the trade routes of the region and gave the opportunity to control the area. However, the transformation of these locations into cities did not take place. They functioned until the 13th century, when they were replaced by stone fortifications of the Middle Ages — castles, and the region gradually became part of the county system of the Kingdom of Hungary.

2.2. Medieval Colonization of Maramures. Settlers. Privileges

In Transylvania, salt extraction had been carried out continuously since the time of the Roman Empire. In the Middle Ages, before the arrival of the Hungarians, these mines were under the influence of the Bulgarian kingdom, and after the conquest of the homeland and the formation of the Kingdom of Hungary they came under its protectorate. Hillforts - the centers of the first counties - stood to protect not only the territory but also the salt mines that operated here. In Maramures, medieval salt production began a little later, in the 13th century.

The territory on which the Maramures royal towns arose, although in the Middle Ages it belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary, was inhabited only around 1300 (Bélay 1943, pp. 9-14). The wave of colonization after the Tatar invasion bypassed these lands, respectively, in the early stages there was no need to create a county.

As a result of socio-economic changes that took place at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, Slavic and Romanian ethnic groups began to move en masse to the territory of Maramures. At the same time, fertile lands along the Tisza were occupied by Hungarians and Saxon hospitals, and one town after another was established here. Probably the first colonists were mainly farmers and pastoralists, and later, partly from their environment, and partly from newcomers formed a layer engaged in local industry and trade.

Due to significant population growth in the Kingdom of Hungary, the need for salt has increased accordingly. The old methods of extraction of surface deposits have exhausted themselves and new, deep mining required qualified specialists who came to our region mainly from German lands, and to stimulate this process, the kings granted privileges to the newly established colonists.

The greatest advantage of the settlers was personal freedom, primarily in the choice of place of residence, arable land, religion (in the first waves of the colonists Christians of the La Tène rite dominated) (Glück, 2013, p. 72). If before the 13th century feudally dependent salt miners were engaged in salt mining, in the second half of the century free settlers began to predominate (Draskóczy, 2014, p. 58).

At the beginning of the 14th century, the question of expanding the powers of the counties in these territories became increasingly important. At the first stage, the territory of Maramures was under the joint management of the neighboring county of Ugocsa, and during the 14th century the so-called "noble county" was formed - a phenomenon quite rare for Medieval Hungary (Gulyás, 2013, p. 20).

In the second half of the 13th century the town of Szőlős (modern-day Vynohradiv) became the center of German colonization of the region. In 1262 the settlement received the right of self-government, which formed the basis of a number of similar privileges granted to the settlers of Ugocsa region (Korolevo, Chornotisovo, Sasovo, Veriatsi) and later to the cities of Maramures. Maramures settlers are first mentioned in documents in 1300 in Vishkovo.

Ethno-demographic processes that took place in these lands in the early 14th century, ie population growth due to the resettlement of various ethnic groups, the emergence of settlers, which led to rapid economic growth and the beginning of industrial salt production, prompted the royal government to stimulate development. The best evidence of this was the privilege of April 26, 1329, granted by the Hungarian King Carl Robert to the towns of Khust, Vyshkovo, Tiachiv and Dovhe Pole. According to the king's argument, privileges were granted for faithful service and development of the Maramures lands, ie mass colonization of the region took place not earlier than the second half of the 13th century. According to the preamble, the charter was issued in the style of the Szőlős Privilege, but at the same time the rights granted to migrants cannot be called a full-fledged right of municipal self-government, but rather extended privileges of a certain category of the population.

Among the basic ones were the right to move freely to cities and the opportunity to leave them subject to payment of all duties, the right to duty-free trade, the organization of fairs, the removal of residents from the jurisdiction of the county, the right to freely choose judges and priests. However, important court decisions in such cases as murder, robbery, theft, arson had to be made together with the royal judge (which, in fact, distinguishes the city privilege from the privilege granted to the settlers' community). The settlers had the right to resolve property disputes independently.

Under the privileges the inhabitants of the crown cities did not pay taxes, but were obliged to work for the benefit of the dominion, although not for free. This consisted primarily in the maintenance of the castle, construction, repair works. The work of various artisans is also mentioned in economic documents: potters, locksmiths, carpenters, tanners and more. Potters were involved in the construction of furnaces, carpenters repaired the roofs of castle buildings. The second important component of the work was transportation: delivery

to the castle of provisions, wine, hay, firewood, for which the settlers received a fixed payment with salt (Glück 2013, p. 81-82). Interestingly, in comparison with other cities in the Kingdom of Hungary, the economic documents record a much larger number of blacksmiths, the vast majority of whom were involved in the manufacture of specialized, fortified carts for transporting salt. Their production, in contrast to simple wooden peasant carts, required skilled craftsmen (Glück, 2006, p. 435).

Salt mining also partly belonged to the category of compulsory work, although in addition to the local population, settlements' newcomers were invited as employees who were paid in money or salt. The salt miners from the royal cities involved in the mines were exempt from all feudal duties and taxes in favor of the state (privilege of 1498). Communities, in turn, were required to provide the necessary number of workers for salt production (Glück 2013, pp. 92). Not everyone worked in the mines, but only skilled workers, whose main income was salt production. The registration of workers is evidenced in particular by Khust urbarium of 1600, which indicated their list by names and place of residence. The only exception was Vyshkovo's settlers, which were mainly involved in castle works, so they were exempt from working in the mines (MOL E 249 fasc 36 nr. 26).

Despite a fairly wide range of privileges, the towns continued to be part of the Khust dominion, which greatly hampered the process of urban development (Glück, 2007, p. 427). On the other hand, Maramures settlements long retained and enjoyed the privileges of self-government enshrined in early charters, and their inhabitants remained free with a wide range of rights and opportunities, primarily due to salt production, forestry, advanced handicrafts, and free trade law.

From the middle of the 16th century, when the salt trade, which had previously been predominantly in the royal monopoly, became free, new opportunities opened up for the inhabitants of the royal towns. Much of the salt extracted from Maramures was sold to private traders directly near the mines, which were only a few kilometers from the crown towns. Therefore, it is not surprising that at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries the main buyers of salt in the region were the inhabitants of Vyshkovo and Sighetu Marmaţiei, a layer of the population that specialized in the trade of minerals was gradually formed in the towns. Indirect evidence of intensive trade can be a high number of oxen, recorded in the urbarium in 1600. (Glück, 2006, p. 435-436)

2.3. Management of rock salt extraction and trade in medieval Hungary

The organization of economic management was an essential element in the state structure of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. In the 11th century the Hungarian kings together with the counties created a single economic administration (noble estates), the network of which encircled the entire territory of the country. The system was based on royal land holdings, the size of which far exceeded church and secular estates. In the system of land tenure, established during the founding of the state, mines became royal property. Although the rulers of the Árpád dynasty donated salt mines to church people (and in exceptional cases to lay people), the most important mines remained under the control of the ruler. Thanks to such a system, the king could control not only mining but also transportation and trade. It is no coincidence that at the end of the 12th century 6–7 % of the royal income came from the mining industry and the sale of its products. Traders were able to buy the product at the place of extraction and transport it further inland. But most of the transportation and trade was concentrated in the hands of the royal manor organization and various church institutions. This was because the largest owners in the country were the ruler and the church, whose estates were inhabited by large groups of servants who were obliged to perform various transportation. On the other hand, large church estates needed a lot of salt. The product was an important subject of foreign trade, which was exported to the west and even to the Balkan Peninsula. Many church institutions received a privilege from the ruler, according to which they had the right to freely, with no duties transport a certain amount of salt to the place of their church, where they could store and sell it. The amount of data on production and trade increased markedly in the 13th century. András II (1205–1235) believed that he could increase his income through regalia, and therefore made an attempt to monopolize trade in these goods (Fig. 11–12). He created royal salt warehouses, the management of which he entrusted to financially knowledgeable businessmen, Muslims and Jews, by renting out the warehouses to them. Some institutions were headed by salt officers, over whom the head of the county's administration exercised control. Royal policy provoked opposition from church people because they feared for their rights to trade and their profits. In 1233 in the Bereg forest the ruler was forced to make an agreement. The convention restored the practice of the 12th century, according to which churches could buy salt in mines, but the church had to take care of its transportation. The king promised that he would no longer trust the proceeds of the sale of salt to Jews and Muslims and re-regulated the entire trade system. The ruler allowed the churches to buy salt from the royal mines for the price set in the agreement and store it in their residences. Twice a year (first from August 27 to September 8, then from December 6 to 21) royal officials had the right to buy salt from them at a fixed price. If they did not, the church

could sell the goods at a free price, thus securing for themselves a trading profit. The convention recognized the king's commercial monopoly, but gave the church considerable privileges. (F. Romhány, 2016).

The Tatar invasion of 1241 was a devastating blow to the whole country, but the state budget had already been in crisis for decades. After the Tatar invasion, the Kingdom of Hungary could not return to the outdated system of royal courts (domain economy), and the entire system of income of the kingdom needed structural reforms. From the country's economy and state budget, the focus had shifted to revenues from trade and money circulation. Béla IV (1235–1270) and his descendants considered financial income from the sale of salt to be very important, and therefore made efforts to increase its production. The financial organs of the kingdom in the provinces were the storerooms headed by the wardens of stores. They controlled the salt trade, and mining in the mining areas also belonged to their sphere of activity.

In the 13th century significant social and economic changes took place in Hungary. Due to the development of commodity production, financial economy and the policy of the Hungarian kings, aimed at supporting cities, a large number of settlers (*hospes*) moved to the Carpathian basin. A large number of miners from Germany came to Hungary, which led to the rapid development of salt and ore mining. The rulers granted extended privileges to the cities where the miners settled, so in 1329 more than one colonized by the settlers Maramures settlement received privileges under the charter. When granting privileges to such settlements as Vyshkovo, Khust, Tiachiv and Dovhe Pole, the provisions of the charter of the royal city of Ugocsa county of Szőlős (modern Vynohradiv) from 1262 served as a model.

These settlements together with Sighetu Marmaţiei later became well-known salt mining centers in the Maramures region. Their privileges during the reign of King Charles Robert contributed to the development and popularization of the "*barren Maramures thicket*". It is noteworthy that this charter does not mention salt production and trade, which according to later sources could become the main income and a decisive factor in urban development. The rights of the four royal cities in 1352 were given to Sighetu Marmaţiei, located a little to the east, which arose at the beginning of the century in the very center of Maramures, where the valleys of the rivers Tisza and Iza converge. In 1329 it was not yet one of the privileged cities, although their population, by all accounts, was identical. With the formation of the noble county, deputy wardens and superintendents usually gathered right here to hold meetings, and the county's authorities date their charter in Sighetu Marmaţiei to 1385. The Maramures mines in the sources appeared in the early 14th century, so mining probably began

in the previous century. The mining industry developed gradually. In the description of the bypassing the boundaries of possessions of 1355 we can read about the road to the salt mines (Ocna Șugatag). The Maramures salt store is first mentioned in a charter of 1397.

From the beginning of the 14th century the extraction and sale of salt became a royal monopoly, from which the ruler received considerable income. In the autumn of 1397 King Sigismund carried out reforms of the organizational structure of salt stores, the work of which did not change until the end of the Middle Ages. The date of issuance of the charter on the reform of the royal monopoly on salt can not be considered accidental. During the campaign against the Turks in 1396 Sigismund entrusted the governor's council with the administration of the country. After the heavy defeat of the troops near Nikopol, the ruler did not return home for many months. Upon his return, the king convened a parliament in the city of Timishoara, whose important task was to ensure protection against the Turks. During the reforms, the ruler was guided by the conditions of the Anjou era. King Louis of Hungary (1342–1382) to manage the sources of royal income (coinage, mining, the royal thirtieth part, taxes) created a separate organizational structure headed by the county governors of national competence, so after that the treasurer had to deal only with cities. By changing the system inherited from the Árpáds era, he formed the Transylvanian salt mines and state salt administrations (all of which were called stores) into a single organizational structure headed by the governor of the Transylvanian salt store. King Sigismund did not change the conditions for the extraction and transportation of salt, but forbade the high priests and barons (ie the royal council) to interfere in the affairs of the salt stores, because this type of income was to be under the direct control of the king (Paulinyi, 1924). Salt was transported to the middle of the country by land and water. During the Árpáds era a network of roads was developed, which was used for transportation. This route is often called the "*salt road*". One of the important routs led from Transylvania through the gates of the Mesesh. Particularly high amount of rock salt was transported along the rivers Szamos, Maros and Tisza. Some of the areas along the rivers began to prosper due to salt (Satu Mare). The kings could expect significant profits from the salt monopoly. Every third forint (100,000) of Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437) was obtained exactly from here. During the reign of Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490) the king could expect 80–100 thousand gold forints from salt industry, which was 12.7 % of his average annual income, which was estimated at 628 thousand gold forints. During the Jagiellonians (1490–1526) the profitability of the salt monopoly decreased, so in the 1520s the treasury received about 30 thousand gold forints (12 % of total income in the amount of 250 thousand forints). (Draskóczy, 2018, 99-110).

According to the resolution, the salt mines of Maramures and Transylvania, as well as the stores in the country were managed by the warden of the salt store of national competence. The ruler restored the stores closed in recent years and even established new ones. The king determined where to buy Transylvanian and where Maramures rock salt. The latter could be sold only in the interfluve of the Tisza and the Zagyva, ie in the area north of the Tisza, as well as in most of Upper Hungary. Elsewhere, this product had to be purchased from Transylvania. To the south of the Sava Sigismund allowed the use of sea salt. It should be reminded that this rule was not clearly followed. The consumer or possibly a trader could buy this mineral in mines, and in the middle part of the country — in salt stores. For free sale it was necessary to have a permit or a privilege granted by the ruler. King Sigismund determined the price of goods in the stores. 100 pieces of salt cubes could be purchased at production sites for 1 gold forint.

From 1400 to 1426 the position of warden of the salt store of national competence was held by a businessman of Florentine origin, Pippo Ozorai (Filippo Scolari). Thanks to him measures were taken in 1397, and the number of stores increased significantly. To manage financial affairs throughout Europe economically savvy Italians who saw the institutions as an opportunity to get rich were hired with pleasure. They often rented sources of royal income, as they did here as well, in the case of both mints or mines of precious metals and salt mines. In 1467 King Mátyás reformed the treasury and entrusted all financial management to the treasurer. Since then, salt production and trade belonged to this department. Mátyás Corvin in 1476 married the daughter of the Neapolitan king, Princess Beatrice, and promised her Maramures. This mining area and the salt stores of Northern Hungary, where Maramures salt was sold, were taken by the Queen in 1480. Since then, Maramures region and the salt stores belonging to it were considered the Queen's estates.

During the time of the Jagiellonians (1490-1526) profits from salt fell sharply. This fact is explained not only by corruption and improper management of stores. The Venetian ambassador's report of 1519 explained this decline by the fact that much salt was sold in the mines, not in the stores inside the country: "*anyone who wished could freely buy salt in the salt mines*." Sources also indicate that a significant amount remained in stock. This fact testifies not only to negligence, but also to the fact that there was not enough money in the mines' coffers for transportation and maintenance of mines. The diplomatic document emphasizes that "*however, these mines will soon be filled with water, and this income will also be lost*." István Verbőczy approximately in 1514 developed a project that would radically reduce the number of stores. Eventually, the ruler decided to abolish the salt monopoly in

1521, trade became free, and the royal salt administrations were abolished within the country. At the same time, some important stores (such as Szeged, Szatmár, Tokaj) remained. Since it was impossible to do without the organization of water transport, developed in the Middle Ages, so the functioning of the monopoly became weaker and weaker, bringing the ruler less and less profit, while maintaining the high price of goods. But the structure, along with proper management, also had economic benefits. It was not just that it brought a significant income to the ruler. We should not forget that the structure of the stores carried out and organized the extraction, transportation and distribution, which required professional knowledge, money, a high level of organization. It is no coincidence that the decline of the system caused supply disruptions, and in the middle of the 16th century the idea of restoring the store system arose, but it wasn't possible for a long time. (Draskóczy, 2018, 116-132). László Szalkay from Satu Mare followed the path of a typical ecclesiastical and economic career of that period. This prominent church figure was probably born in the 1470s into the family of a furrier in Matészalka. He studied at the village school in Sárospatak in the last years of the reign of Mátyás Corvin. His school notes, which remain in the library of primates, show that his teacher János Kisvárdai, who received his rank at the University of Krakow, taught him practically everything that was studied in Krakow at the time. Szalkay, who never went to university, nevertheless received a high level of education, passion for classical Latin and humanism in Sárospatak. There is no definite historical data on László Szalkay as a scribe - as he was later called for almost a decade and a half - for more than ten years. On the occasion of his appointment as bishop of the ecclesiastical district of Vats, Szalkay was named a priest of the diocese of Transilvania, but only more than a decade later, in 1525, he was ordained a priest when he was already Archbishop of Esztergom. In the last decade of the 15th century the young clergyman apparently worked either in the financial administration or in the office, at least his professional path indicates this. Szalkay, who at all times preserved the rural dialect of the Upper Tisa region, at a relatively young age took a serious position as treasurer. It is not known exactly when László the scribe became the manager of the royal children's estate, at least there is evidence that in the period from 1508 to 1513 he worked in this position. This means that the estates of Queen Anne, which after her death the widowed Wladislaw II handed over for children supporting, came under the administration of Szalkay. Thus, the manors in Óbuda and Diósgyőri also depended on him. In 1511 in one person he became the warden of the salt stores of both Transilvania and Maramures, ie the head of the entire organization of salt stores in Hungary. Usually, the two stores were managed by separate officials, and the warden of the Transilvanian salt store at the same time had the title

of manager of the Transilvanian royal revenues. This position was, by the way, the most prestigious in the financial administration after the treasurer. Thus, Szalkay, including the estates of royal children, managed a significant portion of government revenue. He had to give up the Maramures region in July 1511, but his career did not end there. He worked as a royal treasurer and chancellor, and from 1524 he was archbishop of Esztergom. In the campaign against the Turks, at the head of a large regiment, he accompanied King Louis II. He died on August 29, 1526 in the battle of Mohacs.

2.4. New directions in Hungarian mining: during the Jagiellonians

(Vö. Bircher, 2009, 6- 47)

Although the legislature did not elect a new king immediately after Mátyás Corvin's death, after the county nobility left, the decision was left to the most influential aristocrats, who determined the terms of the election: "*old rights and privileges, inviolability, freedom and customs.*" Among the innovations, they abolished the emergency tax and demanded the return of their own property illegally occupied by the royal couple. Among their demands was that the money in circulation should not be changed, and if a foreigner appeared, then the king should surround himself only with Hungarians, and give his position and income only to Hungarians. To sum up: Mátyás's tyrannical activities must be stopped! This removed almost all rights from the hands of the king, the powers of parliament were almost abolished, and instead the power passed into the hands of the nobles. In the conditions of the civil war, due to bloodshed, betrayal and intrigue, Ulászló I became the winner. After almost two years of war and peace in 1491 in Bratislava, a legislative meeting was convened in Buda in 1492, where the terms of the peace treaty were rejected, but there was still some normalization of power. Although not easy, a kind of consolidation has begun. However, the king from the perspective of Mátyás Corvin lost almost everything: financial and tax management no longer depended on his words. Having no property of his own, he tied up the royal treasury, he pledged everything in demand: the benefits of the crown, the royal one thirtieth, the mines, and most of the royal cities. Although he tried, like Mátyás Corvin, to impose an extraordinary tax, but even if it was levied, it remained with those who withheld these taxes, because the treasury was indebted to them. Government revenues, compared to the reign of Mátyás Corvin, decreased by 60-80%. The profit of the mines at the time of Mátyás was estimated at more than 100,000 forints, while in 1503 - 29,000 forints, and in 1519 - 14,000 forints.

The internal dynamics of centralization have changed: the center is no longer the king, but those behind it, some of whom are not a historical aristocratic class, but an aspiring "new

aristocracy," a group of low-born people with higher education who were close to power in the time of Mátyás and took over the leadership of the centralized government. However, deflation increasingly highlighted the fundamental contradiction of the Hungarian economy: the country was incredibly rich in natural resources, but at the same time the state was poor: great wealth became a disadvantage rather than an advantage. This phenomenon was similar to the negative impact on the Spanish economy of the abundance of treasures coming from the colonies.

The country compensated for Hungary's foreign trade deficit in Hungarian precious metals, primarily the Hungarian gold forint, thus suffering significant losses. However, the wealth of Hungarian land for ore during the period we studied could no longer serve the wealth of the crown. The surface layers were depleted, ore had to be extracted from greater depths, which required the solution of a number of previously unknown problems: especially it was necessary to take effective measures against mine water. However, pumping water was costly. In the 16th century, it was possible to stay on the market only with large-scale mines equipped with new technical equipment, and this required an entrepreneur with large capital, which was not available in Hungary. The merchant, as the central figure of the new kind of entrepreneur, appeared in the economic history of Hungary just at that time: together with the Fugger family.

The suspicions and reproving speeches of their contemporaries did not greatly influence the Fuggers in the acquisition of the most valuable Hungarian mines. The family made significant profits from the silver mines of Tirol and Salzburg: but they were crucial in the European mining industry as a whole. Between 1480 and 1550, the number of people working in the mining industry tripled. The Fuggers played an important role in this: they were a solution to the capital requirements of the mining industry and metallurgy. Their assets provided an opportunity to finance development. Along with silver, the most popular metal was copper: with the invention of firearms there was a huge demand in the copper market. Copper mines had become more valuable. Although the Fuggers had a copper mine at the then largest known European deposit in Tirol, they were not alone there, they had many competitors. Probably increased demand drew their attention to the Hungarian copper mines they knew about: mining there had stopped, and most of the mines were under water. However, the Fuggers were told by their contact person from Wrocław that there was a well-known miner who knew the mines well, János Thurzó.

Thurzó's experience in developing mines was known among experts at the time, as evidenced by the fact that he was one of the few contemporaries that Agricola mentions in his

famous book on the mining industry by name. Thurzó, a native of Levoča, was very diligent in developing mines. He understood the art of smelting, building mines, but most importantly from our point of view, he had considerable knowledge of the construction and operation of equipment for pumping water. In 1475 he received orders from seven mining towns along the Hron River to free the mines from water. According to the contract approved by King Mátyás Corvin, for each working equipment he received 1 forint and one-sixth of the extracted ore. Even before the Fuggers, János Thurzó was a significant tenant and/or owner of several Hungarian copper mines. He received most of them, like his later companion, as collateral. However, his most significant "acquisitions" were leased for a period of 22 years from the bishop of Pécs, János Ernuszt, miner's estates, which he received back from János Corvin. Through loans, leases and purchases, he acquired several decommissioned mines, but capital was needed for really significant progress: it was provided by Fuggers interested in mining Hungarian copper.

We know that the first meeting between a banker and a miner took place in Bratislava, but there is no data on when exactly. However, the mutual interest, apparently, had already laid the foundations for a future contract. What János Thurzó needed can be summarized very briefly: investment capital. Why the Fuggers made an agreement with Thurzó, can also be briefly summarized: he was a key specialist in the Hungarian mining industry at the time. It was almost impossible to do without him, and it probably didn't make sense. He had excellent relations with the Hungarian elite, had his own and leased mines, and most importantly, he was an excellent specialist who could revive the activities of impossible mines. On the way to the dream monopoly, it was impossible to imagine a better, more profitable partner.

On the basis of a treaty concluded in Bratislava in 1495 on balanced, mutually beneficial terms, the interests of both the banker and the miner are clearly visible. Thurzó's goal was to attract investment capital through the Fuggers' money, as well as to dispose Hungarian copper. The Fuggers formed an alliance with János Thurzó on unusually generous terms. The mine specialist was offered a 50% stake, although all the investment capital came from the Fuggers' coffers. Until the business was fully established, the Fuggers had acted as a silent companion. Although János Thurzó bought property shares and entered into long-term leases for copper mines at the Fuggers' money, the quiet companion came out of the shadows only when the foundation of the trade had already been laid. Thurzó remained the brand of the joint venture, he was in charge of managing the company, but the quiet partner, for its part, may have had reservations about the security of Hungarian business. The mining industry as such was a very risky business, and if we add that Hungary's internal relations after the death

of King Mátyás Corvin were very unstable, it is clear why the Fuggers separated the joint venture with Thurzó based in Banská Bystrica from the family company, calling it Joint Hungarian Business. It soon became apparent that the Fuggers had made a good deal with Thurzó: mine production first doubled and then tripled. Thurzó - also at the expense of the Fuggers - built blacksmith shops, smelters around the mines that were within the Fuggers' sphere of interest, not only in Banská Bystrica, but also in Tirol and Carinthia.

The first Hungarian workers' uprising took place among the miners in 1525. It was so large that it dealt a significant blow to the already shaky Joint Hungarian Business. A proven tool of "coin damage" was used to replenish the empty Hungarian treasury: the rest of the silver was mined from a denarii with a capacity of 75% copper: thus two new denarii were equivalent to one old one. The main reason for the uprising that broke out in January 1525 was that the treasury tried to pay for the work of miners with money, the value of which was halved. However, the miners demanded either double wages or payments in old, still "good" money. They refused to receive a salary in "bad" money, they, with weapons in hand, refused to work. The strikers had already threatened to set fire to the blast furnaces and flood the mines when the talks began. On May 20, 1525, they seemed to agree, but the tempers did not cool down. The uprising spread to a number of mines along the Hron River, which involved nearly 4,000 people. By issuing the death sentence for the leaders of the palatine uprising, István Werbőczy allegedly suppressed the revolt in April 1526.

However, in August 1526, an uprising broke out again in Banská Bystrica: miners attacked the leaders of the mine and the city with weapons, many of them were killed and set on fire. At the end of August, the uprising was suppressed, and many participants were tortured and executed on the city's main square. However, the situation of the Thurzó-Fugger enterprise was fatally affected first of all not by the uprising, but by the conflicts of power in the domestic policy of Hungary.

During those years, Louis II - weak, irresponsible Jagiellonian dynasty member – was sitting on the throne. At a legislative meeting in May 1525, in a field near the Rákos-patak River, the Transylvanian voivode János Szapolyai, leader of the lower-ranked nobles' movement, demanded that the king, who had a weaker position of power, expel the Fuggers from the country, as they had caused "coin damage", shortages of goods, and played an extremely important role in the Hungarian economy. The fact, that the company of foreign Fuggers was called the reason of all the trouble, was obviously symbolic.

Szapolyai spoke of the dangerous influence of foreigners, whether Jagiellonian sitting on the throne or the Fuggers, who could influence the state of the treasury, and whose power and economic potential were much higher on the horizon of the Hungarian petty nobility.

The mob instigated by Szapolyai went against the Fuggers. The mob marched against the Fugger factory in Buda, and while their governor Dershwam organized the defense of the trading post, packed the valuables there and sent them to Banská Bystrica, while the previous governor, stuck in Buda, signed a document on the silver and gold mines in Kremnica, then, on behalf of Jakob Fugger, he abandoned the mines in Banská Bystrica. Although Szapolyai's men kept Thurzó's house in Banská Bystrica, which was the official location of the Thurzó-Fugger enterprise, under surveillance, the entire stock of money and factory goods was taken to Kraków. The mines came under the control of the Hungarian treasury. The Fuggers, although able to do so, did not flood the mine with water, hoping that in the near future they would manage to return them.

Senior Jakob Fugger did his best to do so. He organized a commercial boycott against the Kingdom of Hungary to force compensation for the damage caused to him, to return the mines. He began correspondence with European rulers. In his letter to the Saxon prince, he described the Hungarian situation in such a way that the local business was unprofitable and explained that he had entered the operation of the local mines for charitable reasons. As he further wrote, he continuously financed the Hungarian king, and that the actions taken against him were carried out because the king still owed him 50,000 guilders. He did not take part in the process of "coin damage", and concerning the Joint Hungarian Business he wrote that "only the Lord Almighty knows who came out the winner."

Behind the Fuggers were the then great rulers of the world. It was not a small surprise for Louis II that, along with Charles V, Pope Clement VII also called on the Hungarian king to return the property to respectable, virtuous merchants. However, Jakob Fugger went beyond this: at the imperial assembly, he, along with his debtors, prepared the adoption of a law that would prohibit all Germans from buying Hungarian ore. The Hungarian king was trapped. The management of the Fugger mines was not suitable for operating the plant with complex machinery, and the miners sabotaged the instructions in resistance to the management. Instead of the expected profit, they were threatened with bankruptcy.

Jakob Fugger had not survived the long negotiations, his successor, Anton Fugger, was the one who in April 1525 signed a contract with Louis II, who plunged into an increasingly hopeless financial situation: the mines of Banská Bystrica were leased for 15 years, confiscated property was returned, and the copper trade was regulated. From 1526, the

management of the company in Banská Bystrica fell exclusively into the hands of the Fuggers. For this the king received a promise of 200,000 forints, of which, to recruit troops against the threatening Turks, he received 50,000 forints in advance. Either there was not enough money, or the Turkish army was in the lead: Ludwik II died in the battle of Mohács, thus making it a real danger that the Turks would occupy Hungary.

In the shadow of danger, the struggle for the royal throne did not subside: more than a year had passed before one of the contenders for the throne, Ferdinand I, was crowned King of Hungary in November 1527, and who, like his predecessors, inherited the ruined treasury. It may have been a family habit that he turned to a Habsburg banker for help. For the loan of 40,000 forints, he recognized the agreement concluded in 1526 between Louis II and the Fuggers and even pledged to them the state monopoly of the Transylvanian salt mines. In 1530 the Fuggers concluded a treaty on the copper mines of Upper Hungary with János I, but in 1533 they liquidated their Buda factory. This was the first step in the "exit" process, which accelerated after the occupation of Buda by the Turks. The Turkish army, which was almost at arm's length, became increasingly threatening to the Fuggers. Eventually, in 1545, they terminated the still valid long-term lease agreement. In 1546, after 52 years of activity, the Fugger Empire left the Hungarian mining industry.

The Fuggers' withdrawal from Hungarian mining was a signal. Chaotic conditions and the constant threat complicated the situation of uninterrupted and especially economical mining industry, even in such a relatively protected city as Banská Bystrica. Although the cities themselves were not a constant battleground, but their suburbs were the ones, complicating or making it impossible to deliver. The heyday of Hungarian mines was over. When ore reappeared in European markets - in the years of recovery after the Turkish invasion - everything had changed in Europe. Hungarian mines lost their power: the inflow of resources from the new world reduced our continental mining industry to the regional level.

The „Thurzó-Fugger” Association used to operate with seemingly unattainable income, using the framework of the world's first company of international importance. This structure of the enterprise differed from the feudal world both in principles and in practice, it operated in the 15th-16th centuries not on the principles of ideas, but on the principles of profit. This, in turn, at the beginning of the new era gave birth to the economy of the following centuries. A century and a half before the events near Mohács, the Hungarian economy had been more chaotic and complex than the economy of the centralized kingdoms with more successful political confrontation, but some of its areas had outstanding output. Undoubtedly,

such was our mining industry, which extracted and sold our available natural resources with outstanding results, compared to all previous and, admittedly, with all following centuries.
The decisive factor in this was that our mining at that time was of great importance in Europe. The main direction of the economic history of the 15th-16th centuries was the rupture of rigid feudal relations and the development of the bourgeois character. The fact that these characteristics first appeared in the European - and Hungarian - mining industry can be explained by the peculiarities of mining: the direction of its development was determined by high demand for investment capital, international markets, the need for special expertise, and its cooperative and large-scale nature. In the history of the Hungarian economy, these centuries yielded few impressive results. From this point of view, the reign of Mátyás Corvin was an exceptional decade: the economic power of a centralized country with strict rules was concentrated for several decades. But after his death, the treasury became empty again, there were no strategies to replenish it, to normalize the country's economy. However, domestic ore mining, which was already of international importance, was able to go beyond the chaotic economic conditions. The first extremely large epoch can be attributed to the reign of King Charles I Robert, and the enterprise of the Thurzó-Fugger cooperative seemed to be the culmination of this process. The Hungarian common speech mentions the name of the Fugger family under the sign of stingy, however, its negative content, looking at the history of the domestic mining industry for several decades, is unfair. With their participation, our mining developed as part of the largest European enterprise of the time, they introduced new technical, technological forms and forms of work organization. The fact that the Hungarian treasury did not benefit significantly from this well-functioning enterprise was not the fault of the Fuggers, but of the rulers of the time. Their personal struggle for power used the Fuggers' money as private bankers, and instead of using the domestic mining income to replenish the treasury, they allowed their banker to use it to their advantage.

2.5. Salt mines. Salt warehouses (chambers)

Although researchers find traces of the use of mines from the Bronze Age, we can talk about industrial salt production in Maramures only from the Middle Ages. In his manuscript "Noctium Marmaticarum Vigiliae" Innocentius Simonchicz notes that even before the Tatar invasion, salt had been mined here, and according to the legend, it was found by goats, who prefer herbs that grow on saline soils. Following the Polish historian of the 15th century Jan Długosz, he tells the story of St. Kinga, the patron saint of salt miners (Kovássy, 1986, p. 627).

Kinga (Kunegunda), the eldest daughter of the Hungarian King Béla IV and Maria Laskarina, was born on March 5, 1224. At the age of 11 Kiga became the bride of Krakow-Sandomierz prince Boleslaw V “the Shy”, who was two years younger than her, and moved to Poland to learn the language, and in 1239 they got married.

At that time Poland experienced a period of feudal fragmentation, and Boleslaw became the prince of Krakow in 1243. He and his wife led a strict ascetic life, and their relationship was devoid of physicality. They lived in the so-called "matrimonium virginale", ie, following the example of the Virgin Mary and St. Joseph, they kept virginity in marriage. Kinga donated her entire dowry to care for the poor and sick.

After her husband's death in 1279, Kinga moved to the monastery of the Poor Clares in Stary Sonch, which she had founded a little earlier, and in 1284 she headed it. She gave all her property to the church and distributed it to the poor. She founded several hospitals and monasteries, and redeemed Christians from Mongol-Tatar captivity. She died within the walls of Stary Sonch monastery, among the sisters on July 24, 1292.

The name of Kinga is associated with the opening of the first and largest salt mine in Poland - Velichka. According to the legend, in 1249, when she visited the rebuilt Hungarian Kingdom after the Tatar invasion, her father gave her a salt mine in Maramures. Kinga threw a gold ring into one of the mines, as a usual sign of entry into possession, and asked to transport a few blocks of salt to Poland. She returned to Krakow with the miners who accompanied her on her father's orders. When they made the mine and soon came across salt, they found a ring, thrown into a mine in Maramures, in the first block extracted.

In 1690, Kinga was beatified by Pope Alexander VIII, and five years later by decision of Pope Innocent XII she became the patroness of Poland. On July 16, 1999 she was canonized in Stary Sonch by Pope John Paul II (Bérczi, 2007, p. 14).

The extraction of Maramures salt, which was layered and considered extremely pure, without impurities, is mentioned by sources for the first time in the middle of the 14th century. The largest mines were located near Tiachiv, Khust, the villages of Rónaszék (Coștiui) and Ocna Șugatag (modern Romania). The tunnels were used until the salt reserves were completely depleted, then new ones were discovered, so the salt production centers were constantly shifted within the region. Salt had been mined in the village of Ocna Șugatagsince 1325, and in Rónaszék since the 15th century, during the reign of Vladislav. In Solotvyno mines operated even earlier, perhaps even from the 13th century.

In the first stages surface salt deposits were developed, and later deep mining began. In order to obtain the mineral safely, the passages were reinforced with wooden structures,

and attempts were made to provide insulation from both surface and groundwater with the help of buffalo skins. Salt was cut with various tools: picks, chisels, sledgehammers. The workplace was lit with candles, later with kerosene lamps. Production took place in layers, from top to bottom, taking into account the peculiarities of the mineral structure. The depth of bell-shaped mines reached up to 150 m, diameter — up to several tens of meters. Miners moved along one of the passages, and finished products were lifted by traction force through the other one (Draskóczy, 2017).

In the Middle Ages the extraction and sale of salt was a state monopoly. The distribution of goods throughout the country was carried out by salt stores, which provided state control over production. In 1397 King Sigismund legislated the issue, created new salt stores, defined the territories they served. The law did not omit the issue of importing salt into the country. While sea salt was allowed to be traded in the southern part of the kingdom, in other regions there was a strict ban on imports, mainly from Polish land and land of the Rus. The responsibility for complying with the law fell on the wardens of the salt store. (Draskóczy, 2014, pp. 58-59; Gulyás, 2014, p. 63).

The Maramures salt mines provided mainly the area between the rivers Tisza and Zagyva. The cost of salt averaged 1 forint per 100 pieces near the mines, becoming more expensive depending on the distance of transportation. Interestingly, the standard weight of pieces of salt did not exist in the Middle Ages, cubes intended for river transportation (sales navales) weighed about 5–6 kg, and for land (sales currules) — a little more, but we assume different standards in different regions. In the 19th century salt miners cut salt into cubes weighing 45–50 kg and carved their own marks on each of them. Crushing salt produced a lot of waste, such “crumbs” were shoveled into bags and also sold. Maramures salt was loaded on vessels in Khust, Sighetu Marmaţiei, and Tiszabecs (Tringli, 2008, p. 791). Salt cubes were not packed, crushed salt was loaded in barrels.

Ways of transporting Maramures salt were formed during the Middle Ages. They formed a dense network of roads, which covered the lands of North-Eastern Hungary, combining the centers of salt production and the main warehouses, which served as the basis for further distribution of goods.

One of the important directions led from Khust through Uzhhorod to the cities of Felvidék: Ko iče, Spiš, Nitra, Prešov (Glück, 2008).

Another key transport artery was the river Tisza. The first section of this direction passed from Khust through Szőlős to the crossing on Borzhava near the village of Vári.

Another branch led to the south of the Bereg county, through the Namény and Bácska (Aranyos) crossings, from the latter salt was delivered to Kisvárda.

Maramures salt was shipped even to northeastern Hungary. An important transshipment point was the port of Poroszló, where salt from rafts was transported to carts drawn by 4–5 pairs of oxen and transported further to Eger. Salt from the mines of the Upper Tisza was transported by rafts to state warehouses in Szolnok and Szeged, where they also sold the wood that made up these rafts (Borostyáni 1873; Draskóczy, 2014, p. 61).

Information about the activities of the Maramures salt store appears in the late 14th century, it was probably formed in connection with the reform of 1397. At the beginning of the 15th century the store was annexed to Khust dominion, which in most cases led to the merging of the positions of the castellan of the castle and the zhupan (warden) of the salt store, and sometimes the zhupan of Maramures county. The wardens of the salt store, regardless of whether they were aristocrats or members of the ordinary nobility, took an active part in salt trade (Gulyás, 2014, p. 64).

It is clear that in such circumstances the city of Khust became the center of the salt store, and the branch of the institution was located in the village of Rónaszék in a small fortified building, now known as Apafi Palace, but probably built specifically for the salt store needs. The Rónaszék branch was subordinated to Khust in all organizational and economic matters (Pap, 1909, p. 45). Castellans mention fortifications in written sources from the 15th century. Usually, they also held the position of vice-zhupan. Gradually, these individuals lost the position of castellan, while retaining the position of warden of the salt store.

After the Maramures mines together with the entire infrastructure of the warehouses and the distribution of salt became part of the Khust dominion in 1435, the proceeds from the sale of salt were used to maintain the fortress. For the towns of Maramures the beginning of industrial salt production meant the rapid development of education and culture. Mass construction of schools and churches began, and funds were allocated for their maintenance.

For example, in 1474 King Matiash established an annual donation for the church of St. Elizabeth in Khust in the amount of 1,200 cubic meters of salt and additional 400 cubic meters to the parish priests for clothing, and in 1476 Queen Beatrice increased the aid to 2,000 cubic meters. (Langi, 2013, p. 109).

The church, consecrated in honor of St. Elizabeth, was built in one construction period. It consists of a four-level bell tower and an apse connected to the nave, ending in five faces of an octagon with an arched vault. The sacristy was completed later, but judging by the window constructions it was also of medieval origin.

In the 15th century, during the reign of King Sigismund, the walls of the church were painted. After the transition of the community to the Reformation in 1524, painting was whitewashed. The preserved fragments were discovered only in 2012. On the north wall, next to the triumphal arch, a fresco of St. Helena was found. In the central field there is the image of Hungarian king saints - István, Imre, László - in full size. In the western field there is a figure of a praying woman, and on the western wall of the nave there is an image of the Suffering Christ pointing at his wounds.

Other settlements also benefited from the extraction and sale of salt. The location near the deposits was especially favorable for local churches, which, in contrast to more remote regions, regularly received funds for various needs. There is a well-known case when in April 1439, on the complaint of Khust priest Simon, Tyachiv priest János and Sighetu abbot of Antal, King Albert ordered the mayor of the Maramures salt chamber to resolve the debt to the church. It follows from the text of the document that for the masses held for the salt chamber the official had to pay 12 dinars and provide a cloth for making the clothes and headdress of the priests. Besides, they complained that the salt, received for masses from salt miners, was bought from them by zhupan at the price below market, that is, representatives of the churches took an active part in trade. (DL 13358; Bélay, 1943, p. 29; Gulyás, 2014, p. 71).

Gábor Perényi, as the governor of the Maramures salt warehouse, also took care of the churches of the Ugocsa region, from the profits of the salt mines he sincerely allocated funds for the needs of the Royal Roman Catholic Church and the chapel that operated in Nyaláb Castle, the Roman Catholic Church in Szőlős.

Szőlős, the administrative center of one of the smallest counties of the Kingdom of Hungary, in 1262 received a fairly wide range of privileges, among which was the free choice of a priest. Father Vida was first mentioned in the sources in 1277. The church was consecrated in honor of the Blessed Virgin. According to the lists of the papal tithe, the church was directly subordinated to the bishop of Estergom. In 1399 King Sigismund donated the town to Peter Perényi, whose family became the patron saint of the church. Since the Middle Ages, the clan owned the town continuously, building its dominance around it. The church itself continued to be under the control of Esztergom. The parish is mentioned in sources in 1450, when members of the Perényi family divided the dominion. In 1525, a large part of Szőlős was destroyed by a big fire, as a result of which the Perényis were exempted from taxes for eight years to facilitate the restoration of the town. It is not known for sure whether the church was damaged in the fire, but in the same year, as in the order of 1545, the abbots of the Szőlős church, like others, were obliged to equip soldiers to defend the country,

depending on income. In the 1540s, the Perényis, who spread the Reformation in the town, captured the priest and began to dispose of the church at their own discretion.

The old parish was finally restored in 1863. In 1902 the church was renovated. Since 1959, it had been closed, parishioners gathered for prayer in the chapel in the cemetery. The parish resumed its activities only in 1989.

The church is located on the former main square of the town. The walls have retained their medieval character, as well as carved exterior elements, the church underwent a significant transformation only in the 18th century, when a new vault, supported by rectangular columns, was built in the nave and apse. Most of the carved elements are made of brown tuff rock, which was probably mined at the foot of Chorna (Black) Mountain. The walls, in contrast to the churches of the region at that time, were built not of rubble but of carved stone. The nave of the church has the shape of an elongated rectangle, from the east it is joined by an apse, which ends with five faces of an octagon and is about twenty cm narrower than the nave. A sacristy is attached to the western part of the northern wall of the apse, and a bell tower rises in front of the western wall of the nave.

Since 1516, part of the proceeds of the salt mines were transferred to the maintenance of the chapel at the royal castle of Nyaláb and the parish church of the village, as well as for the needs of Szőlős hospital of St. Elizabeth. (Papp, 1909, p. 54).

Khust dominion was not constantly under the control of the treasury, it was often pledged or leased. For some time, it was owned by the descendants of the Moldavian voivode, the Bélteki family. Under King Matiash Hunnyadi, Queen Beatrice used the proceeds from the Maramures salt mines, and Vladislav II pledged Khust and Ronaszék mines to Gábor Perényi, the governor (zhupan) of the salt store, the representative of one of the most influential families of the Hungarian kingdom of the late Middle Ages - early modern times.

Representatives of the Perényis come from the small nobility of a small settlement of German settlers Perény. The bloodline was divided into three branches, which had little in common other than the common surname derived from the oldest possession in Abaúj region. Their fate, property, political influence developed differently. Most of the lands of the family were located in Northeastern Hungary, and they were obtained in different ways.

The Rinos were the first of the three to rise in the Anjou era, but they also lost ground very quickly. In the troubled period after the death of King Albert they lost their possessions in Spiš and Šariš counties, living as ordinary nobles later in Karas of Szabolcs county. The branch ceased to exist in 1514, when its last representative, István Perényi, was killed by insurgent peasants.

The most influential branch of the bloodline owes its growth to King Sigismund. They owned Trebišov, Stropkov, Füzér, Újvár, and Csorbakő. In the troubled period until 1483 they lost several castles and many of their possessions, but with the accession to the throne of Vladislav II again became the most influential magnates of the state. In addition to the Trebišov branch, they are often called the palatine branch, because one of their representatives, Imre Perényi, was a palatine between 1504 and 1519. The last representative of the male line of the branch died in 1657, their possessions passed to the crown.

The third, the Nialab branch, appeared in the historical arena during the reign of Sigismund. Their possessions were concentrated in the counties of Abauy with the center in Nagyida and Ugocsa with the center in Nyaláb (Korolevo Castle). The lands in Abaúj region were lost for a while in the 15th century, but by the end of King Matiash's reign everything had been restored. (A Perényi család...2008, 7-9).

Representatives of the Nyaláb branch included the county prefects of Ugocsa, Bereg, and Maramures, members of the legislature, members of the Hungarian parliament and even the Minister of the Interior.

Later, after King Louis II came to power, in 1516 Perényi returned half of the profits to the king, leaving the rest to repay the debt of 10,000 forints (Tringli, 2008, p. 791). Dominion along with the salt store was ruled at this time by Perényi together with a representative of the king. After 1522, Louis II gave the Maramures salt store to his wife.

At the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, during the reign of the Jagiellonians, the crisis of such a system reached its peak in 1521. Louis II was forced to admit that the maintenance of the state structure requires more money than the income coming from it, and dissolved the salt stores that existed on the ground. Since then, trade had gradually become free, the distribution of valuable goods was undertaken by private traders, who received the goods directly near the mines.

After the battle of Mohacs and the occupation of the central part of the Hungarian Kingdom by the Ottomans, Khust dominion was actually ruled by Tamás Nádasdy. He came from the poor nobility of Vas region, his father was a castellan of Kanizsa Castle. The family estates were located on the outskirts of the town of Sárvár. The future statesman studied in Buda, Vienna, and Graz. Thanks to family ties, he came to Italy where he attended the universities of Padua, Bologna, and Rome. His worldview was significantly influenced by the early modern humanistic ideas of Italy in the 1520s and the work of Erasmus of Rotterdam, especially the ideas of freedom of thought and religion.

Nádasdy’s career began in 1523 at the court of Louis II. After the defeat in the Battle of Mohacs, he sided with Ferdinand I and was appointed castellan of Buda fortress. In 1529, when Szapolyai's troops captured Buda, he was taken prisoner and later became a supporter of King Yanos, for which he received considerable wealth in Fogaras (modern-day Fegerash, Romania). Later, as a result of a conflict with Szapolyai's ally Alvise Gritti, and after marrying Orsolya Kanizsai, most of whose possessions were in the territory of the Habsburgs, Nádasdy returned to Ferdinand's camp. At the court of Ferdinand Habsburg, who forgave the betrayal, the rapid rise of Tamás Nádasdy began. In 1536 he was appointed royal adviser and treasurer, and in 1537 he became Croatian ban (governor of a region). In 1553 he received the title of baron, and the following year the legislature elected him palatine.

After capturing the central part of the Kingdom of Hungary, where the largest centers of culture were located, Tamás Nádasdy was one of the first to realize that the creation of islands of culture in knightly castles was almost the only way to preserve the nation. Using his considerable wealth, he built a school and printing house in Sárvár, which is famous for such publications as Grammatica Hungarolatina (1539) and the New Testament (1541). Famous musicians, poets, bards, among them the legendary Sebestyén Tinódi Lantos, were frequent guests of Nádasdy court.

After the battle of Mohacs and the occupation of the central part of the Hungarian Kingdom by the Ottomans, Khust dominion was actually ruled by Tamás Nádasdy, who in 1529 sided with János Szapolyai. He appointed Kristóf Kávási, who remained loyal to his patron regardless of his political preferences, as the castellan of Khust Castle. In 1534 Nádasdy returned to the service of Ferdinand I, and although the castellan had since formally acted in the interests of the Habsburgs, the royal officials had no actual access to the castle and salt store. In 1545–1546 the king was forced to send regular troops led by András Báthory against Kristóf Kávási, which occupied all the fortifications he controlled — Kvasovo, Halmi (modern Halmeu, Romania) and Khust, after which the dominion finally passed into the treasury. (Glück, 2008, p. 11-12).

King Ferdinand I made great efforts to regulate financial and economic relations in the state, his economic policy was aimed at strengthening central management in all areas. Salt mining and the salt trade were no exception. In 1548 the military and economic leadership of Khust dominion was separated (it was mentioned earlier that the castle castellan usually performed the functions of the warden of the salt store). But despite the separation of positions, the salt store continued to be an important part of the dominion and the main source

of the castle's needs. The fortification, in turn, ensured the safety of the population, who were able to extract and sell salt, filling the royal treasury.

The heads of the salt store, in addition to their direct responsibilities, were responsible for collecting taxes in the villages belonging to the dominion, ensuring the participation of the inhabitants of the five crown cities in the extraction and transportation of salt, and conducting legal proceedings. Among their responsibilities was the collection of duties in Khust, Sighetu Marmaţiei, and Vyshkovo. Under Ferdinand the wardens of the salt store were officials appointed by the king, who swore allegiance to the monarch. They were required to follow all instructions from the top and report regularly on the performance of the work. The salary was received in money from the royal treasury.

At the salt stores there was a fairly extensive apparatus of officials and servants not directly involved in the production process: clerks, salt counters (numerator salium), warehouse managers (including those located in other cities), mine elders and service personnel (blacksmiths, cooks, locksmiths, bathers etc.). Employees of the salt store could be paid both in cash and in goods, (Ember, 1946, p. 494-498), and the law of Vladislav II in 1498 clearly regulated the payment of each activity. The salt miner received 5 dinars for every 25 cubic meters of salt, in addition to 100 cubic meters of salt per year for clothes. For the opening of a new mine with rich deposits, salt miners could extract 1,000 cubic meters as a reward. For the construction of stairs and railings they received one forint and about fifteen liters of wine as an incentive. (Draskóczy, 2017).

Salt miners usually lived on the outskirts of the towns, near the salt mines, and despite this, they spent most of the year in communal houses built right next to the mining site. On major holidays they traditionally gathered together. Four times a year, at Christmas, Easter, Trinity and All Saints' Day, they received a barrel of wine, an ox and a hundred loaves of bread from the salt warehouse. However, according to the protocol of the Reformed diocese of 1620, they "were extremely poor people." (Glück, 2007, pp. 439).

The miners were tried by the heads of the salt stores, as they were removed from the jurisdiction of the city magistrates. At the same time, according to the law of 1498, they had the right to elect their own elders (judex sectorum). The elder was elected on All Saints' Day from among the salt miners for a term of one year. After the election, as an incentive, workers received 33 cubes of salt, the so-called “aldomash (treat) for the elder," which they were free to sell. The sphere of activity of the elder, in addition to the organization of work, included ensuring the proper technical condition of mines and representing the interests of subordinates.

Despite the rather favorable legislation, the wardens and tenants of the mines often suppressed the rights of salt miners. The most vivid manifestation of discontent was the strike of Sighetu Marmaţiei salt miners in 1551, when they and their families left the town in protest and moved to Baia Mare. After long persuasions, on September 24, 1551, the then zhupan of the salt store, Tamás Makay, and the castellan of Khust Castle, Benedek Szalai, were forced to enter into an agreement with the workers guaranteeing them respect for all legal rights and the inviolability of all strikers. The agreement was sealed by five Maramures cities (Kovássy, 1986, p. 630-631).

Thus, the path of such an important mineral as salt from producer to consumer had its own traditions, the roots of which date back to antiquity. At the end of the review of the history of salt production on the northeastern edge of the Carpathian-Danube area, we note that the beginning of this process dates back to the Bronze Age and with each rise of the local economy reached new levels, especially in the Middle Ages and modern times. "Silent witnesses" of this process are ancient mines, checkpoints for the extraction and transportation of important raw materials, the history of which is filled with specific facts thanks to the work of archaeologists and historians who critically analyze the evidence, immortalized in written sources.

2.6. Salt stores in Hungary of the new era

The Battle of Mohacs (1526) led to significant changes in Hungarian salt regalia. With the division of the country into three parts (the Kingdom of Hungary, the Principality of Transylvania, Ottoman Hungary) the management of the economy had to be put on a new footing. By organizing the Hungarian store King Ferdinand I (1526–1564) introduced significant innovations to the state budget. However, this reorganized store did not have access to the most significant source of income - salt mines. Significant salt mines came under Habsburg rule only for a short time. In any case, it is worth noting that Ferdinand I was able to make considerable changes even during the short time when the Transylvanian salt mines were in his hands. Recent studies have shown that the most important distribution points operated even after the Battle of Mohacs in the country, which was ruled by voivode János Szapolyai, although the confusing conditions of this age had already significantly hampered their functioning. Products from the mines of Maramures region were sometimes transported to these stores. In a peace treaty concluded in the city of Oradea in 1538 two salt distribution points were officially demarcated: Transylvanian salt could be sold only in the territory of King János and Maramures salt - in the territory of Ferdinand. The convention concluded in Shpayer (1570) guaranteed the transfer of Maramures county to the Transylvanian

Principality. At that time the reorganization of the Hungarian salt store administration was no longer possible due to the lack of salt mines, and constant wars and Turkish expansion prevented the creation of an organization that would cover the entire territory of the country. Thus, the royal institution did not care about meeting the salt needs in the country. The mines of Transylvania and Maramures belonged to the Transylvanian Principality until 1702, although the administration of the two territories differed significantly. Transylvania became a participant of European economic processes during the 16th century, mainly due to minerals that served as industrial raw materials. Particularly rich salt mines in Transylvania in 1528 aroused the interest of the Fuggers, but in 1661 the Turks also wanted to occupy this area. Transylvanian princes successfully defended the mines and ports of the region from Ottoman attack. During the 17th century salt production tripled, which also contributed to the development of sectors that were associated with the mining industry. Maramures salt mines for much of this period were privately owned, so the economic policy of the principality in this part of the country did not have such a leading role as in others.

In the second half of the 17th century the Habsburg monarchy changed significantly. During the reign of Leopold I (1657–1705) the institutions of public administration strengthened and successfully began the struggle against the weakened Ottoman Empire. Raising funds for constant wars was a difficult task. For half a century, that is, between 1650 and 1703, in the countries of the Kingdom of Hungary the state power of the Habsburgs laid hands on almost all economic sources. It occupied or took control of territories that had key economic positions: the ports of the Adriatic and coastal lands, much of the vineyards of the Tokaj foothills (Hegyalja), the mines of Upper Hungary and Transylvania, the dominions surrounding the mines and cities near the most important trade routes. Expenditures on war, court maintenance, and government entailed a sharp increase in public debt.

The expulsion of the Turks, the conquest of Transylvania and the removal of Mihály II Apafi in 1702 made it possible, owning salt mines, to establish a single organizational structure to ensure a monopoly of salt. In 1694, during an attempt to establish absolutism, the authorities carried out a credit operation, thanks to which the monopoly on the salt trade in Hungary was leased. Significantly increased burdens, tax increases, tariffs, and the mandatory maintenance of troops had a considerable impact on all social groups in the country, almost preparing for an uprising led by Ferenc II Rakóczi. Rakóczi signed an agreement with Tamás Esze, the leader of the insurgent army (Fig. 15-16). Tamás Esze was a serf from the village of Tarpa, which belonged to the Rakóczi family's Ecsed dominion, then traded in salt and, as a result of the government's introduction of a salt monopoly, became outlawed, so he secured

his family and went to the mountains to join the rebels. The social composition of the rebels was extremely diverse. These were former soldiers suspended from border fortresses, armed men fleeing imperial regiments, and former Tekeli commanders. Among the serfs were those who fled from tax collectors, as well as merchants who traded on forbidden roads, former owners of vineyards, indigenous people of Hungarian cities and petty nobles. Among them were wanted persons, "poor fellows." The prince justified the beginning of the uprising in the Brezan manifesto: "for the freedom of our homeland, our nation, against a foreign nation that senselessly opposes God and our laws, annoys, oppresses, taxes, […] and takes away our salt and bread." They were waging war not against the king of the country, but against those who appropriated trade, livelihoods and economic values of the country, against the system that worked against the constitutional order of Hungary in defense of Hungarian statehood. Initially, the rebels tried to organize the structure of the salt trade stores, as the prince insisted on a salt monopoly. His decision was apparently provoked by the limited and scarce financial resources needed for the military organization of the uprising. At this critical stage of the uprising, it seemed that only salt was suitable for receiving cash from its sale, or for using it directly for payment. During the war of liberation, the mines fell into the hands of Rakóczi troops, which led to difficulties in supplying salt to the western part of the country. For example, not a single quintal of salt did arrive in Komarno in 1704 and 1705, and only thanks to the accumulated stock could the sale of salt be continued. And for the salt administrations, which operated in some parts of the country, the burden was the army, as they had to hand over large amounts of cash and salt to the troops. Salt carriers also took advantage of the stormy times, and it happened that they disappeared together with the salt entrusted to them and the transportation fee received in advance. At the time of the conclusion of the Peace of Szatmár (1711), all Hungarian mining was in a state of deep neglect.

Tamás Esze's career clearly shows the role of rock salt in the life of the province Upper Tisza region, as there were few settlements in the Carpathian basin whose fame, name, privilege, and administrative status would be as intertwined with the merits and activities of a certain person as Tarpa was associated with Tamás Esze. When on August 25, 1708 the well-known Prince Ferenc II Rákóczi made all the inhabitants of Tarpa, together with their descendants, "*similar to the state of valiant men living in age-old and other free settlements*," he emphasized that the loyalty of Tamás Esze was the "*basis for granting this privilege*". The future leader of the kuruts, Tamás Esze, was born around 1666. He earned his and his family's living by selling salt. Together with their partner, István Pap, they transported salt to Debrecen from the salt mines of Sighetu Marmaţiei and Coștiui, from the salt house in

Tiszaújlak and the port of the village of Jánd. Probably in his old age he would have traveled the roads between Tiszaújlak and Debrecen, if in 1701 Újlak salt officers had not caught up with him. He was accused of trading in stolen goods. Whether the accusation was true or false is still unknown. The salt officers went to his house, confiscated his oxen and all the cattle, drove them to Tiszaújlak and grazed with their own ones. Coștiui continued to assert his innocence, asking for the cattle to be returned to him, saying that his partner's cattle was among the livestock driven away. The salt officers remained steadfast. He moved to the outskirts of Debrecen with the surviving livestock and his family and gathered his friends and glorious friends to then one day "*take his cattle from the salt officers with weapons in hand*," hiding for months in the woods. One night in the autumn of 1702 he and his comrades attacked a salt house in Tiszaújlak. There he killed one of the servants and robbed the cash register. Salt officers saved their lives by fleeing. Tamás Esze returned to the thickets of Upper Tisza region (Németh, 2002).

In May 1703, when Miklós Bercsényi's groom on behalf of Rakóci inspected the forests of Szatmár-Bereg region and the Bihar county, Tamás Esze escorted him to Brezan from among the kuruts hiding in the mountains of this region. It was then that the famous native of the village of Tarpa first met Ferenc II Rakóczi. Here he received flags with the inscription "Cum Deo pro Patria et Libertate!". On May 17, Tamás Esze returned home as an infantry colonel, promising that the flags would be flown only after a signal from Ferenc Rakóczi.

However, Tamás Esze and his peasants were too impatient to wait for the message. The kuruts, led by their colonel, escaped from the mountains and forests, with whistles, drums and unfurled flags began to recruit and make villages and settlements take the oath. On May 20, they entered the village of Tarpa. They hung one of the flags on the judge's gate, where they also nailed their proclamation. With other flags they marched around the village. The bells rang. All the inhabitants of the village were summoned and impressed by the words of Ferenc Rákóczi's appeal: "*Against the empire that senselessly arbitrarily opposes our law, insults, taxes, destroys our noble freedom, despises our true, old laws, takes away our cattle, disrespects our honor, takes away our salt and bread and rules our lives and treats us cruelly*".

Until his death, Tamás Esze was an active commander of the kuruts army. Not so much a successful commander as an excellent strategist. He took part in the siege of Kállo, Szatmár, Tokaj (1703-1704), in the defense of Košiče (1706), fought in Upper Hungary and Transilvania. To the end, he felt respect for Rakóczi, who on November 20, 1703 freed him

from serfdom, appointed him foreman on April 18, 1707, and on March 24, 1708 gave him and his family a noble status. On the day of Pentecost in 1708, after a camp service in Nitra, a skirmish broke out between the Reformed and the Catholics of Rákóczi's army. Tamás Esze, who was characterized by a high degree of devotion and a sense of duty, rushed among the bullies to separate them, but he failed. Meanwhile, on the orders of other commanders, they raised two guns from which they fired at the rebellious crowd. Among the dead was Tamás Esze[1].

Thus, the task of organizing the monopoly of Hungarian salt in accordance with the conditions of the 18th century awaited Charles VI of Habsburg (1711-1740). The Viennese court, of course, was guided by the goal of increasing income. The economic policy of the Viennese court was aimed at meeting the needs of the monarchy for domestic production. First of all, supplies of rock salt from Poland and Austria were being pushed out of the Hungarian market. Trade in sea salt was allowed only in the southern part of the country, even Austrian salt was not allowed in Hungary (Bakács, 1933, 611-653). Salt warehouses were established throughout the country - mostly near transport routes - the task of which was to provide salt to all counties. In addition to warehouses, salt could be purchased directly near the mines. When Maramures mines fell into the hands of the Viennese store in 1702, a commission arrived to receive the mines, leaving the privileges of Maramures population intact. However, it was emphasized that everyone could buy salt only for their own needs, resale was prohibited. Smuggling was severely punished: salt, carts and horses were confiscated, and the perpetrator was no longer allowed to buy salt at a reduced price. The activities of the salt monopoly throughout the empire could be carried out only through a branched administrative apparatus, through a single central government. All profits related to salt were the responsibility of the Court Chamber. The tasks of the institution were divided into separate committees, one of which was an organization dealing with salt issues. The Court Chamber had direct and constant contact with some Hungarian salt administrations. Each department had to send a weekly report to Vienna. In addition, the general picture of the state of salt in Hungary was supplemented by monthly, quarterly and annual reports. These reports informed about the extraction, transportation, receipt or sale of salt, indicating how much money was received, how much was spent on transportation and how much damage occurred during transportation. So, the goal was for Vienna to see clearly what money and salt reserves were being managed by the salt administrations, and to have constant data on the

[1] The memory of the "mad foreman" is preserved by a statue in the square of his native village and an exhibition of the Museum of Local Lore.

amount of salt consumption. Individual salt departments and warehouses could not contact each other, the standard amount of salt could be changed only with the permission of the Vienna Committee.

Rock salt was sold at unloading points in different parts of the country. These unloading points were actually salt warehouses, in which they accumulated adequate stocks. The task of the central administration was to take care of the security of the unloading points, to monitor their commercial plan and to determine whether they should be maintained. The right to determine the salt warehouses in 1548 was transferred to the ruler. During the reign of Charles III of Habsburg, a number of salt warehouses were established, mainly the Transylvanian and Maramures salt warehouses. The natural path of Maramures salt led along the Tisza. Salt was transported by land, but it was much more expensive, not to mention the fact that the road conditions at the time did not allow the transportation of rock salt throughout the year.

In "*old*" Hungary the extraction and trade of rock salt had remained largely unchanged until 1867, as the forms of organization of capitalist production and the revolutionary change of transport became decisive only after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise. The railway network built in the last third of the 19th century, river regulation and the use of mechanical technologies in mining dramatically changed the role of rock salt in the Hungarian economy. Article XI of the law "On income from the sale of salt" of 1868 established a mandatory official price for the product and retained the possibility of obtaining salt in certain areas on preferential terms, but made the purchase and trade of salt within the country completely free. Due to the radical transformation of transport infrastructure, the world of traditional *"salt roads*" faded by the beginning of the 20th century, and then simply disappeared from social memory.

2.7. Customs posts. Customs duties

One of the extremely important privileges of the royal settlers was the right to duty-free trade and transportation throughout the kingdom. This also applied to customs posts that were privately owned and used.

In the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, to which our region belonged, there were two types of duties: import and domestic. Import duties were paid when crossing the border. A domestic one was the payment for transportation of goods and trade duties.

Transport duties were collected both on trade routes and on the country's waterways. In ports where it was possible to dock, the duty was paid by the owners of ships, rafts, and the

owners of timber which was rafted by rivers. Interestingly, salt belonged to both categories. Regardless of whether it was transported by land or rafted on rivers, a fixed duty was paid.

Bridges and ferries were also the places of payment for carts, riders and pedestrians, which gave the right to cross the river. It was at the expense of these funds from the customs meeting that bridges, ferries, ports and roads were maintained in proper condition (Weisz, 2006, p. 10). Traders who paid the duty received security guarantees. In the Árpáds era, money was collected not from goods, but from a merchant, a person who transported something. Interestingly, until 1298 the fee was paid by both loaded and empty carts, horsemen, settlers who carried their own property, etc.

In the Kingdom of Hungary, the right to collect duties belonged to the king, the function of control in the counties was carried out by prefects. At the same time, there were many cases when this right was granted to churches, monasteries and even individuals. In this case, the right to collect payment was exercised not necessarily on a territorial basis, but on the privilege granted by the monarch. Under the early Árpáds, different people could be the owners of land and a customs post. In this case, the landowner was obliged to ensure the unimpeded collection of crossing duties. It was not until the 13th century that it became customary to donate land together with the customs posts that were located here (Weisz, 2006, p. 16). For example, members of the Hontpazmány family received Vyshkovo together with a customs post, and Perényi, the rulers of the royal dominion, had the right to collect tolls on the crossing near Szőlős. (A Perényi...2008, 267).

Another type of royal privilege was the right to duty-free trade, which could extend to a certain type of goods, a certain territory, or in general to all customs posts in the country. Immunity, which extended to the entire territory of the kingdom, was usually used by settlers from the 13th century, and later this right extended to royal cities, as evidenced by many medieval sources. (Výsady..., 1984, p. 44-45). Under Béla IV, duty-free trade became an integral part of any city privilege. This led to a marked revival of trade and economic life in general.

However, the right to duty-free trade was not always exercised, there were many examples of abuse and arbitrariness of ferry owners. For example, on December 3, 1498, the Maramures settlers appealed to the king against István and Gábor Perényi, who demanded payment from them at the customs post near the village of Tekovo, and threatened them if they refused. The king forbade Perényi to collect tolls from the inhabitants of the royal cities, allowing to charge for crossing the Tisza instead, and as compensation he allocated 2,000 cubic meters of salt annually for the Perényi from Maramures mines.

Legislation in the Middle Ages also regulated the right of free trade in certain categories of goods. It concerned mainly the most priority of them - wine and salt. It is worth noting that they were the first to fall into a separate category of goods with a fixed duty. The average cost of customs duty for the transportation of salt was 1% of the cost of cargo.

CHAPTER 3. SALT TRANSPORTATION.

3.1. Distribution of Maramures salt

Delivering salt to consumers from two large areas of salt mines was a serious task that required coordinated action by the authorities and Hungarian society. Of course, in order to determine the sphere of influence of individual mines on the distribution, it was extremely important to determine how far from the settlements was the territory to which the salt had as to be supplied, and what were the conditions of transportation. At the state level, there was an intention to separate the supply districts of Transylvania and Maramures at the governmental level. Thus, Zsigmond's deed of 1397 provided that the white gold of the Maramures region should be traded north of the Tisza River, namely between the Tisza and the Zagyva rivers. One of the important goals was to predict the load of salt warehouses located in different settlements. However, it should also be noted that this division of spheres of influence did not work properly in practice. In particular the large increase in production in the Maramures region and at the same time the regression of the Transylvanian mines completely rewrote the previously described distribution rules. In addition, the present-day Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg region was located at the intersection of areas supplied by two large salt centers, so it was sometimes difficult to determine the origin of the valuable mineral. It seems certain that, despite the settlement in 1397, the Maramures salt reached such areas beyond Tisza (and even the northern part of Alfeld), which by order were under the jurisdiction of the Transylvanian mines. For example, we have data from 1519, which show that the minerals obtained from the aforementioned territory were stored in Kisvárda. Thus, we can state that the territory, which was supplied by the mines of the Maramures region, expanded in the 15th and later in the 16th century. Moreover, with the temporary abolition of the state salt monopoly at the beginning of the 16th century, increased private trade also did not follow official rules, and deposits with close location and good transport conditions clearly prevailed. In fact, the state salt monopoly was restored only at the end of the 17th century.

3.2. Salt transportation infrastructure

As it was mentioned before, the delivery of an unlimited amount of goods to consumers was possible in two ways: by land (carts) or water. Of course, the creation of conditions for rail transport greatly facilitated the situation, but, in practice, only the above traditional modes of transport could be considered untill the end of the 19th century. If you look at the travel records of foreign travelers, it turns out that our country is rich in minerals, has fertile land,

but travel, due to impassable roads, has great difficulties. Traffic becomes extremely difficult, especially in winter or after heavy rainfall. If we take into account the road network of that time, its quality and transport costs, we can say that, where possible, the waterway was chosen.

Reconstruction of the most extensive road network, based on modern geographical conditions, was not an easy task. Related sources from the Middle Ages and the beginning of the new era are incomplete and accidental, we do not have reliable high-resolution maps until the beginning of the 18th century. At the same time, the situation is simplified by the fact that transport conditions have hardly changed in recent centuries, the development of the road network and river regulation has not yet taken place. Further help comes from the document from the middle of the 16th century, which lists all the customs points associated with the transportation of Maramures salt, through which most of the transport routes network can be reconstructed. At first, the salt was transported from the Maramures mines by carts, and in winter by sleigh to storages, from there it was taken further. The main roads intertwined the eastern and western parts of Upper Hungary. At the same time, the supply of salt even reached some settlements in the modern territory of the Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg region. It should be noted here that neither the salt warehouses nor the salt department operated in this area. As a result, a radial distribution network with a single center was not created here. Instead, the territory was intertwined with several parallel and branched routes. In any case, the first section of each road stretched along the Tisza River up to Khust, ie each overland transport passed through this section. From here, through Szőlős (modern day Vynohradovo), an alternative branch led through the Bach (Aranyos) and (Vásáros)Namény crossings on the Tisza River, touching the customs point in Vámosatya. Before or instead of taking a turn to Namény, traders used a separate route to the Bach customs point, from where thet could take the shortest way to Kisvárda with their goods. On the side from the Khust-Szőlős-Kisvárda road, near the village of Tiszaújlak (modern-day Vylok), a new transport branch led through the settlements of Kölcse, Vámosoroszi, Matolcs, and Kis-Kocsord to Nyírbátor, from where it stretched to Debrecen. In addition, it seems that from Tokaj, as the most important center, land traders could get to Kisvárda or Kálló (Nagykálló), and from there to Nyírbátor (and of course back). For example, one alternative route could connect Kisvárda, Kálló and Debrecen (Glück László, 2008).

The river crossing in Tokaj has been active since ancient times. This is indicated by the first written mention of the settlement from 1067, when it was called Kőrév (Stone Crossing). The first written record of the crossing dates back to 1388: at that time, Governor Péter Cudar erected a stone tower to support the Tisza crossing. Further archival data also indicate the operation of a serious crossing, where the transportation of goods across the river was probably carried out on a pontoon bridge. There is no exact information about the date of construction of the permanent bridge over the Tisza. In the census of 1610, we can read: "Because we use it without paying duties, any work will be provided if necesssary in order to cross the Tisza"; that is, by this time there was a permanent bridge there. Its significance is directly stated in the decree of Ali-aga from 1667. When traffic on the Tisza River bridge in Szolnok began to decline, he took the following countermeasures: "Those who use other crossings, be it the Tokaj Bridge, or even the bridge in the settlement of Polgár, we will catch them, deprive them of property and livestock for the benefit of the Sultan, and impale them along the body length." According to the text, at that time there were already two bridges on the Tisza River north of Szolnok: one near Tokaj and the other near Polgár.

Hence it should be noted that in the Middle Ages there were not many cities in the country, therefore settlements increased their role since they took over the conduct of trade as secondary, tertiary centers. In general, in addition to the local centers of Namény and Kisvárda, the role of Kálló and Nyírbátor has increased. Particularly important in the development of the latter was its favorable location, it stretched along important trade routes, thus having close contacts with the settlements of Szatmár, Tokaj and Debrecen. The city's warehouses stored a considerable amount of salt, and thanks to the population and the huge herd of cattle kept on the outskirts of the city, the safe supply of white gold became especially important. Without the work of coachmen of the surrounding settlements, the replenishment of these warehouses would be impossible.

Various goods, including salt, were sold in these local centers at fairs held on different days of the week. In some settlements, the days of the fair were determined in such a way that traders could travel from one trading place to another, thus offering their goods. If, for example, in Nyírbátor the fair was held on Wednesday, then in Semjén (Kállósemjén) on Thursday, in Pócs probably on Friday, and in Kálló on Saturday. Over time, more and more settlements were given the right to hold fairs, so once a week the market was held in several places (in Csenger on Wednesday, in Mátészalka on Thursday). Due to increased competition, those settlements, which could afford it, even tried to create a more favorable position for themselves and harm their competitors. According to the documents, the Báthory family had

so much power and authority that they managed to receive the privileged status of settlement for Nyírbátor, which was under their subordinatation. This was justified by the favotable location of the settlement, as trade routes from Transylvania and the Upper Tisza passed through it, and the cities of Tokaj and Debrecen were nearby. Thus, in the 14th century the settlement received quite a unique, based on the descriptions of the time, right to suspend goods, which mainly applied to salt (although there are those who question the authenticity of the existing documents). These certificates secretly impose forced relocations for various traders, who had to offer their shops for sale at fairs held in Nyírbátor on Wednesdays. As a result, thanks to these privileges, traffic from the economic center of the region of that time, Szatmár, was redirected to here. This right mentioned in the deeds is special in several respects. On the one hand, it had only territorial and not state competence. In terms of direction, its effect extended to trade from east to west and was limited in time because it was valid on market days on Wednesdays. In addition, none of the few settlements with such privileges fell under the jurisdiction of the landlords. Moreover, these rights were associated almost exclusively with foreign trade (Draskóczy István, 2006).

As we have already mentioned, the state salt monopoly was restored until the 18th century, and at that time the infrastructure for salt supply was provided in the form of a reliable organization. It is important to note that, in contrast to Transylvania, the bypasses belonging to the Maramures mines remained for a long time. The state could use the work of local serfs, especially in the field of transportation. It was no different in the committees of Szatmár, Bereg and Szabolcs. The state, thanks to promises, but if necessary, forcibly as well, used the labor of the peasant population and their livestock. The fact that the central government did not create an independent apparatus for transportation was justified by the huge size of the region. In the absence of river transport, even with such organization, it would be a huge burden for villages to deliver salt to their destinations. It is estimated that only to fill the warehouses of the historical committee of Szatmár in the 18th century, if it were done only by simple carts, it would be necessary to carry out 2000-3500 shipments (Takács Péter, 2010).

The government could reimburse the costs of its supplies in various ways. On the one hand, it released taxes and paid rewards in cash. However, the opportunity was not received with an explosion of enthusiasm by many peasant communities. Several factors could be a reason for that, the most obvious being that many had neither draft animals nor carts. Another major reason may have been the poor quality of the roads, which could easily have damaged the condition of the loaded carts. Because of this it mattered how much draft animal power was needed, so it did matter how many animals the serf had. Carriers were often deterred from

fulfilling orders by the fact that they had to travel long distances. The conditions of the area also meant great difficulties for the villages, for example, the road from the county of Szatmár to Maramures passed through the mountains over 1000 meters. In the mountains, gangs of robbers were a threat to carriers.

The degree of risk varied, as some traveled long distances, while others transported only between salt warehouses. For example, in the Ugocsa county, the distance of 70-80 kilometers was traveled without any problems, while for the residents of the Bereg county, half of this distance was very difficult. Nevertheless, in the latter committee there were those who went in their carts all the way to the Maramures mines. Similarly, we may notice same differences in other areas. A number of villages indicated that due to the long distance they were not ready to participate in the transportation of salt. Some undertook work only under pressure, under the influence of government force, while others supported themselves and their families from this work (Takács, 2010; Takács – Udvari, 1993).

As was established earlier, more favorable river transportation was preferable where it was possible. Since the 16th century, the Tisza River, as the most important way of delivering salt, saw the largest number of deliveries of goods. Tokaj and Szolnok were the most important transport hubs on the river's upper segment. The Számos River was also a very important water route, but Transylvanian salt was already transported here, and the same situation was along the Maros River. However, this type of transportation also had its drawbacks, since the width and depth of the river limited delivery in the Upper Tisza region up to Tyachiv and Szőlős. This had a limiting effect on the number of water vehicles and the possible depth of their immersion. In addition, low water levels could impede movement, and rivers usually became impassable in winter. The start of the spring transportation season also started too late. According to the practice of the 16th century, water transportation from the Maramures region could be launched only after April 24, ie on St. George's Day (Draskóczy, 2014). Based on this, to ensure an uninterrupted supply, salt warehouses had to be filled by late autumn, but this task, despite the proximity of rivers, had to be solved with the help of carts. To understand the scale of this task, at the end of the reign of Maria Theresa, the capacity of the salt warehouses of Satu Mare, Baia Mare and Nagykároly (modern Carei) was 728 tons. It is also significant that the capacity of the warehouse and distribution point in Szolnok, which mainly received Maramures salt, was almost 1,700 tons. As we have already seen in the case of land transportation, the inhabitants of the surrounding villages also played a significant role in river transportation. For example, the inhabitants of the villages of Gulács, Tivadar and Vid worked as helmsmen during the rafting of salt down the Tisza (Takács – Udvari. 1993).

At the same time, a significant part of settlements did not participate in water transportation. Unlike the settlement of Tiszabecs, whose inhabitants rafted the salt down the Tisza River. The settlement deserves special attention because, before reaching the salt management in the village of Tiszaújlak (modern-day Vylok), it was here where the last opportunity presented itself to trade the illegally bought in the mines salt, avoiding the attention of the customs. Delivery of goods by water on the fast-flowing upper part of the river, with vortices, was especially dangerous for both humans and cargo. The number of salt cubes that fell into the river during the rafting was recorded in Tiszaújlak, which meant that officials took the actual number of losses. The rafts, which then carried the already checked consignment of goods, tied ten or twelve pieces in so-called water caravans, and rafted them further downstream. Here was the end of the journey for the Maramures carpenters, who sold their vehicles to the new local (from Tiszabecs, Olcsvaapáti, Szatmárcseke) helmsmen.

It follows from the above that thanks to careful organization, everyone could meet their needs from the replenished warehouses. Among other goods, traders offered also salt at fairs. A large number of fairs gave everyone the opportunity to buy white gold. In addition, every summer salt traders, who transported their goods in carts, visited settlements, where one could purchase the required amount from them. Later, it became customary to sell this product aslo in church squares, and then traders as shopkeepers ensured a stable supply of goods in the settlements. In addition, residents and traders had the opportunity to buy salt in salt houses, barns.

However, the situation was too complicated. The state tax raised the price of salt to an unrealistically large extent, and the farther the salt came from the salt mines, the more expensive it was. Profits of this magnitude, of course, have always encouraged people to earn a considerable amount, bypassing the state. Those who dared to go to the mines were able to buy the required amount at the production price, quite cheaply. At the production sites, compared to the contract quantity, the carriers also tried to buy salt on black market, so the goods could be purchased from them. Salt smuggling promised rapid enrichment, but it also had its dangers, as salt workers severely punished suspects. Officials often looked with suspicion even at honest traders. A typical historical episode from the end of the 17th century serves as a good example in this regard. The Viennese court, which had accumulated debts during the liberation wars and was constantly struggling with a lack of funds, in 1690 again ordered the establishment of a state salt monopoly. Moreover, this was due to the anti-social activities of a narrow group of tenants (Palatine Pál Esterházy, Samuel Oppenheimer). Along with arbitrarily set high prices, the bigger problem was that they disrupted the then-

established system of domestic trade, thus depriving many others of the opportunity to earn money. Along with the Maramures region, the neighboring regions of Szabolcs and Szatmár were equally affected by these losses.

3.3. The role of Nyírbátor and other settlements in the rock salt trade in the Upper Tisza region (Vö: Draskóczy 2006. 251-265.)

Thanks to its landowners in 1330, Nyírbátor received limited privileges. On February 17, 1332, Károly Róbert ordered merchants from Szatmár and Németi, who were crossing the Domănești and Kocsord bridges, to go trade at the Bátor village market, held every Wednesday, with their carts with salt and other goods, and only then could they continue their journey. In another document issued on the same day, February 17, 1332, the ruler confirmed his previous order, supplementing it with the fact that in addition to the merchants from Szatmár and Németi, this order must be followed by the merchants from Kálló and Debrecen. Finally, on March 8, 1332, just like he previously ordered to the merchants of the Szatmár and Németi passing through Kocsord and Domănești, Károly Róbert ordered everyone, who was passing through Szalacs and Domănești, to go and trade their goods at the fair in Bátor, which was held on Wednesdays[2]. Surprisingly, such a small settlement acquired the right to stop goods (three orders concerning the case were issued at the same time), hence raising reasonable concerns and doubts. Nyírbátor was the only settlement that at that time had such privileges.

In the middle of the 14th century, the center of Nyírbátor, which consisted of 9-10 streets, gained commercial value due to the fact that it was located at the crossroads of major transport routes. Two of them, bypassing the Ecsed Marsh (from the side of Kocsord and Domănești), met here and connected Szatmár to Tokaj (and through it to Košice), and another one established a connection to Debrecen. Roads of state importance led here from the territory of Transylvania and from the province located on the upper reaches of the Tisza. This meant that the settlement was able to control (at least in part) Transylvanian trade. Of course, its role cannot be compared to that of Oradea. The customs tariff near Birtin (port duty) in 1284 and Tileagd in 1312 are the evidence of the developed trade which took place on the route from Oradea to Transylvania. Documented news indicates a more distant commercial connection of the settlement. According to this news, in 1310, traders from

[2] Recently, several scholars have questioned the authenticity of these three documents. Ferenc Szakály considered each of them to be forgeries made in the second half of the 15th century. István Balog accepted this opinion. András Kubinyi, on the other hand, had no doubt that the settlement actually had the right to suspend the goods.

Košice were robbed on the way from Debrecen to Oradea. According to our documents, the first market which the visitors from Szatmár and Németi encountered on their way on Wednesdays was the Nyírbátor market. Indeed, Bátor was the first settlement until 1332, where the fairs were held, if the travellers were coming from the side of Satu Mare.

The most significant settlement of the Szatmár county and this region at that time was the city of Szatmár, where salt and coin warehouses were located. From here the road of national importance led to the famous gold mining town of Baia Mare (where, incidentally, the market day was Monday). According to a letter about the privileges of Szatmár from 1264, the market has long been held here on Mondays. According to data from 1322, in Németi, which lay on the opposite bank of the Számos River, the day of the fair fell on Tuesday. Semjén (Kállósemjén), lying at a distance of 80-85 kilometers west of Szatmár, received the right to hold a fair (held every Thursday) in 1271. Using the royal privilege, fairs in Nyírbátor were held every Wednesday starting from 1282. Although, according to a document issued in 1325, the market day of Kálló (Nagykálló), which was only 14 kilometers west of Semjén, has long been a Saturday, however, from reports of 1327 we can learn that fairs could also be held in Pócs (Máriapócs, a settlement between Semjén and Nyírbátor).

All these data collected before 1332, with Szatmár as a starting point, show us the route of fairs (in the existing during the Árpád era contours), where a merchant, starting in Szatmár and then traveling through the province, could trade one's goods in the markets - on Wednesdays in Bátor, on Thursdays in Semjén, then in Pócs, and on Saturdays in Kálló. From here he could go further in the direction of the crossing in Tokaj opposite Rakamaz (or the neighboring crossing near Tiszaladány). A few kilometers from Rakamaz (near the village of Szabolcs) is Timár, whose first data on the market dates back to 1354. From the case described in 1370, it turns out that the fair was held on Mondays. Of course, these dates can be associated with the days of the fair in other settlements. For example, in Kisvárda, traders were able to set up their tents on Wednesdays. As early as the end of the 13th century, Debrecen was an important settlement in the North Transtisza region, and some scholars suggest that it received the right to hold a fair in the last years of this century. Another document, also issued on February 17, 1332, may confirm that in this city in the Middle Ages the market was held weekly, but research could not clearly determine which day of the week it was. It is assumed that it was at the beginning of the week. If we are not mistaken, the fairs of Semjén and Nyírbátor were available from Debrecen, while the traders from Kisvárda were able to sell their goods only in Debrecen after the market in Nagykálló.

Nyírbátor was at a distance of 17 km (about 2 miles) from Semjén, 31 km from Kálló, 12 km from Pócs (Bhátory estate)[3]. The traveler had to travel 50-55 kilometers to Debrecen. 50-55 kilometers was quite a long distance, to cover which the trader needed at least a day and a half. One cannot state for sure that a cart could cover the distance from Szatmár to Nyírbátor from Monday till Wednesday. That is, it did not matter from which side the merchant wanted to bypass the Ecsed Marsh, either from the side of Kocsord, or from Domănești, there was still a 65-70 kilometers road ahead of him. Despite this, he was able to reach Semjén from Monday till Thursday. It is no coincidence that the development has revived new outlets along the route between Szatmár and Nyírbátor. Thus, new markets appeared in Csenger (18 and 20 kilometers from Szatmár and Németi) on Wednesdays and at a distance of 27 kilometers from it, in Mátészalka (near Kocsord) on Thursdays. The distance between Nyírbátor and Szalka is only 20 kilometers. On the other road (halfway between Szatmár and Bátor) the settlement of Carei received the right to hold a fair in 1346. The day of the fair fell on Saturday. Based on these data, it becomes clear that the Bhátory family managed to get the king to give them a letter stating that every merchant coming from the side of Szatmár must first visit Bátor, instead of travelling directly to Semjén. Based on the transport and geographical location, Nyírbátor was a favorable point for them, but the distance from Szatmár did not make it easier for them. But if, on the other hand, one went from Bátor to Szatmár, one could easily stop in Szalka, Carei, and at the fairs in Szatmár and Németi as well. The publications related to Nyírbátor from 1332 clearly show the way of traders traveling from Szatmár. As we have already stated before, on February 17, 1332, the king ordered the inhabitants of Zathmar (Szatmár), as well as Zathmar-nempcy (modern day Satu Mare), or merchants leaving from there, to first take their carts loaded with salt or other goods to the market in Bátor and sell their goods there. The ruler repeated his decree on March 8, 1332, extending it to merchants who lived in the villages of Szalacs and Nagyfalu, or traveled to Bátor in carts filled with salt or other goods through these settlements.

Szalacs (about 60 km from Nyírbátor), like Szatmár, was an important center of the salt warehouse, where the treasures of the Transylvanian mines were transported by carts through the crossings in Meseş and Zalău. From the settlement it was possible to go further in several directions (for example, through Debrecen, Nyírbátor, Szatmár, Oradea and Szoboszló to Szolnok). In this region we can find three settlements called Veličná (large village). These

[3] Ancient Hungarian measures: 1 Hungarian mile = 8353.6 m; 1 Viennese mile = 4000 Viennese sagenes = 7585.92 m; 1 Viennese sagene = 6 Viennese feet = 1.889648 m; 1 Viennese foot = 12 Viennese inches = 0.31608 m, 1 Viennese inch = 2.634 cm. 1 Viennese arshin = 0.777 m.

include the modern settlement of Tiszanagyfalu, located 70 kilometers south of Tokaj, near the road that led from Nyírbátor to the Tisza crossing. We can also find a settlement with the same name east of Nyírbátor (approximately 65 km) in the Central Szolnok region, near the border of the Szatmár County, on the banks of the Crasna River, in a watery area. The settlement was located near the Meseş Pass, bordering on the Zalău, north of the Crasna River Valley, near the road leading to the settlements of Carei and Szatmár. To the south was the village of Acâș, to the north Craidorolț (both villages later became towns). In the 1340s the settlement had only one street, later it was named Kisnagyfalu. Since we are also talking about salt, it seems obvious to talk about the village through which the carts that transported salt from Transylvania passed, but we can hardly consider it a significant settlement. There were several important places in its vicinity that would be more appropriate to name. Moreover, the main routes for transporting salt did not lead here.

The village of Veličná in Crasna County should also be considered. The settlement was located near the road (about 120 km from Bátor). From here you could go to Margit or Szalacs. From Margit, the traveler could either reach Debrecen, or get to Nyírbátor via Michalovce (without bypassing Szalacs), or, choosing another route, go to Semjén. This settlement, called Nagyfalu, was also part of the Transylvanian salt transport route. The settlement may have been significant as early as the 1330s, and in the 15th century it was already a settlement. It is quite probable that the information specified in the letter referred specifically to this village under the name of Nagyfalu.

Thus, on the one hand, the right to suspend goods was intended to increase / protect turnover on the day of the fair on Wednesdays against developing competitors (eg: Semjén, Kálló), so that those who came from the economic center of the region, Szatmár, really displayed their goods on the benches of the local market. Thus, there were fewer problems with traders coming from the west as well as from Debrecen. On the other hand, the inhabitants wanted to direct the traffic flowing from Szatmár as well as through the Meseş Pass from Transylvania to their place of residence. Thus, the inhabitants of Nyírbátor expressed their intention to join the trade process of the region.

As we mentioned earlier, it is hard to imagine that after Monday's fair or Tuesday's fair in Németi, it was possible to get to Nyírbátor's fair by Wednesday. In contrast, those who lived in Szatmár and Németi (those not involved in local markets) or had previously made their purchases could conveniently visit the fair in Bátor. Also, it concerned those who bought salt in the salt warehouses of Szatmár or Szalacs. We also know that the inhabitants of the settlement of Dés had the privilege of delivering and selling salt at their own rate at certain

times of the year. Residents of the town of Dés in the Middle Ages often visited the upper part of the Transtisza region (where, it turns out, there were few salt warehouses). Nyírbátor's privilege seemed appropriate to violate the interests of those entrepreneurs who lived in Szatmár, Németi or other settlements and were engaged in the delivery of goods to the region. From a letter of 1264 about the benefits of Szatmár, we learn that even in those days there was a significant trade in cloth and wine. The people of Szatmár did not pay tax on their wine. In the first half of the 14th century, cloth was also traded in the markets of Semjén and Nagykálló. Separate tariffs were set for salt, wine, clean and gray cloth, and horses, while additional charges were required for overloaded carts and empty means of transportation. Based on the customs tariffs of that period (for example, in Michalovce or Tileagd), it can be expected that the deed of Nyírbátor mentions separate types of goods (for example, wine, cloth, spices, fish, etc.). On the contrary, there is only one product mentioned - salt, while other items were only generally mentioned. The mention of this mineral reflects the structure of trade in which salt was the most important commodity among all. The inhabitants of the settlement, along with ensuring their supply, sought to get a greater role in the distribution and transfer of these goods. Since the documents concerned only goods delivered on carts, it is possible that this privilege did not apply to live cattle at all.

Salt was equally needed for both humans and animals. In professional literature it has long been stated that the natural conditions of the Upper Tisza region, in addition to agriculture, provided opportunities for extensive stable keeping of cattle. In the letters we can read about pigs, sheep, oxen and horses. Livestock has become particularly important in some settlements. For example, in Badaló, which lies on the Bereg side of the river Tisza, there were once 500 oxen and 1,200 sheep (1359). Many pigs were kept in the village. The landowners also had cattle. Residents of Domănești and another noble family sued each other for driving away 80 oxen and 2 horses. Wealthy noble families had a large number of horses. There are written recollections of complaints which state that horses trampled and ate the entire crop. In 1354 there were 11 butcher shops on the Bátor market. The large number of meat counters indicates significant growth rate of meat processing, which in turn explains the local demand for salt. The demand for salt explains why they went from the Transtisza region to Transylvania for salt. It is worth considering the third charter document concerning the right of Nyírbátor to suspend the goods, which, however, came to our days only in the letter of 1512. In this edition we can read the date of February 17, 1332, which means that two documents concerning the same case were issued on the same day. Károly Róbert - referring to the fact that he obliged those coming from the settlements of Szatmár or Satu Mare, or tose

living there, to stop with carts loaded with goods at the fair in Nyírbátor on Wednesdays - urges traders of Szatmár, Németi, Kálló and Debrecen to comply with this privilege and announce it in their markets.

Kálló was not far from Nyírbátor. One could reach Debrecen from Szatmár without passing through Nyírbátor. Whoever drafted this document should have known that the inhabitants of Nyírbátor could be afraid of competition between the inhabitants of Debrecen and Nagykálló, and before that it was clear that the most important markets in the region were in Szatmár, Németi, Nagykálló and Debrecen. As for the transportation of salt, around 1350, 7550 cubes of salt, obviously of Szatmár origin, were confiscated from Nagykálló. Those who deal with this topic say that animal husbandry is becoming increasingly important for the people of Debrecen in the 14th century. In addition, it was in this century that the woolen textile industry developed so much that in 1395 the masters of cloth making gathered in a guild. Residents of Debrecen did not have to go to Szatmár for salt. The city was located near the salt road that connected Szalacs with Szolnok, approx. 60 kilometers from Szalacs (while the distance to Szatmár was 100-120 km.). As soon as a salt warehouse was organized in the city (data on this have been preserved since 1408), the public did not have to go to Szatmár or Szalacs for this product for themselves or for cattle (or for trade).

Unfortunately, this document, as we have already mentioned, has not been preserved in its original copy, we know about it only from a copy from 1512, which, according to the publisher, is a forgery of the office. We consider the suspicion, put forward in relation to the deed drawn up on February 17, 1332, to be well-grounded (its text being another reason for it), but its information cannot be ignored by a researcher of the Middle Ages. If we take into account only salt, we can conclude that the text of the document was compiled at a time when Debrecen did not yet have a salt warehouse. The situation is also being complicated by the fact that, according to information from the second half of the 15th century, city traders regularly bought salt from Transylvania or elsewhere, which, according to old customs, was sold in the markets of Transtisza region. It was possible that the royal warehouse of Debrecen lacked salt. If the document from 1512 (and the deed from 1332 mentioned in it) is a forgery, then it indicates the circumstances of the forgery period. Thus, it explains what commercial interests Nyírbátor had at the time of being written. At the same time, we must note that the trade relations reflected, among other things, in the suspicious document are not foreign, even for the period of the first half of the fourteenth century. Not to mention that at the end of the Middle Ages Nyírbátor, compared to Debrecen, which had many different privileges, was a settlement of lesser importance.

Compared with the 14th century the economic life of this region at the end of the Middle Ages changed. The development of the 14th-15th centuries created a rich network of markets, where many settlements (including Bátor) gained the right to hold fairs. Compared with Szatmár, the role of Debrecen has increased. In the 15th century, salt warehouses operated in such settlements as Szatmár, Tokaj, Poroszló, Debrecen, Sălard, Szalacs, as well as in Becs (modern-day Tiszabecs), Lúc (modern-day Tiszalúc) and Abád (modern-day Abádszalók). In short, the goods extracted from the Transylvanian mines, in addition to the two important distribution points, Szatmár and Szalacs, could sometimes be purchased in other (remote from Bátor) places. This development, if we talk exclusively about salt, has diminished the importance of Nyírbátor's right to suspend goods. The city's right to suspend goods was limited both territorially and in time, it was tied only to the weekly day of the fair. Thus, it could stop traders only on a certain day, and, we believe, only those who came here from one direction, from Szatmár and Transylvania (if they were able to get here on time on market day). Its main purpose was to give residents the opportunity to attract as much of the local salt trade as possible. The circle in which they wanted to defend their interests can be defined in the narrow radius of the Nyírbátor market (this is a circle with a radius of 16-20 kilometers). The suspension of goods made it possible for the settlement to gain an advantage over other rural settlements. However, based on their rights, the inhabitants of Nyírbátor could hardly monopolize the trade in rock salt in relation to the inhabitants of stronger cities (Debrecen, Szatmár, Németi). Thus, we can say that the privilege reflects not only the situation of trade in which the most important commodity is salt, but also indicates that the trade in rock salt did not stop locally, even after the introduction of salt regalia.

In Hungary, as already mentioned, mining and trade have been the royal monopoly since the beginning of the 14th century. The distribution of the product was ensured by a network of salt warehouses. If we look at the case of Nyírbátor, we can determine that there were no state salt warehouses nearby, because the nearest places of salt warehouses were located far away, on the border of the market zone (or outside it). For the settlement, the right to suspend goods made it possible for its inhabitants to attract the opportunity to supply rock salt to a wider area. That is, the right to suspend goods was different form of distribution of goods through warehouses. Returning to Nyírbátor's rights, it reflected the fact that no state salt warehouses had been set up in the area.

3.4. Delivery of rock salt on carts and rafts

Descriptions of land roads during the Middle Ages and the New Age show a deplorable picture of transportation conditions. Based on this it should be emphasized that those who undertook this activity often had to face numerous challenges and dangers. State and local authorities have traditionally been responsible for road maintenance. After the liberation of Hungary from the Turks, the Governor's Council, established in 1723, dealt with this issue. This organization tried to create a single transport system throughout the country. For example, it ordered that the roads be wide enough for two vehicles to pass each other. In this regard, the council regulated the track of the wheels, making mandatory the size of the axles of the Bratislava cart. The Governor's Council also ordered that the roads should mainly support local settlements. With this regulation, the state body wanted to ensure that the land transport network met the threefold requirement: along with the possibility of rapid mobilization of the army to ensure the maintenance of the postal service and uninterrupted delivery of goods. Due to the growing traffic, the constant development of roads has become inevitable, hence, for example, Maria Theresa sent engineers to counties to monitor this issue. Her son, Joseph II, ordered the creation of an architectural department to promote the development of land transport, and it was through rising salt prices that he financed the construction of some new roads. The most important nodes of the transport network were built by the state, but they had to be maintained by counties. Roads paved with stone had already been laid in the mountainous areas, but transportation became impossible for those who traveled in the plain in case of bad weather. In the year of the national liberation war, 2100 km of roads were laid in the country, but if we consider them from the aspect of territorial distribution, we can see that our region was slower it its development in this respect. In the historical counties of Szabolcs and Szatmár, there was not a single kilometer of road built, and in the Bereg county this figure did not reach even 90 kilometers.

On bad roads, the use of a good, durable vehicle was especially important. This expectation was mainly met by a typical Hungarian vehicle - a koch (cart). The use of koches in Hungary is also of cultural and historical significance, as the name comes from the village of Kocs, located in the Komárom region. Written documents about the Hungarian origin of this vehicle date back to the 17th century. The word "undercarriage" (*kocsi*) first appears in domestic sources in the 15th century, so that later other peoples learned the term (in English "coach", in French "coche", in Slovak "koc", in Croatian this the term is used in the form of “kocis”, and we could still recall a number of such and similar examples) (Kemecsi, 2015). The superiority of the Hungarians in the use of this vehicle shows that other countries, compared to us, began to use it much later, in the 16th century. The advantages of this vehicle can be summarized as

follows: "*The Hungarian undercarriage was too light compared to the carriage and, taking into account the conditions of the 16th century, a very fast peasant cart. Its resilience did not come from springs or bolts, but rather from its light frame, as well as wheels and sides made of selective wood of different hard breeds. It is likely that the Hungarian cart did not shake as much as the cart with iron padding, because the wooden spikes, wooden bushings and wooden axles softened the shaking to some extent, and this was facilitated by the fact that the wheels had iron tyres and as a result were more resilient, although broke easily*." (Cservenyák, 1998, p. 10). It should be noted that the word undercarriage was originally used interchangeably with the term cart and meant a fast and light vehicle. And the latter term eventually disappeared. On the other hand, the separation of the two terms also means the separation of the vehicle type. Unlike a horse-drawn undercarriage, which was used to transport people and light goods, a cart was a four-wheeled vehicle pulled by oxen, mostly for transporting heavy loads.

Undercarriages, especially until the twentieth century, were a common and valuable means of transportation. At the end of the 19th century, 223 factories were engaged in the production of this vehicle, the largest of which operated in Budapest (4), Bratislava (2), Vác and Debrecen. However, these plants were primarily engaged in the production of fast, comfortable (spring) undercarriages (Kemecsi, 2015). The carts were made by village craftsmen, so these means of transportation were created as a result of cooperation of several professions. The experience and skill of rural craftsmen combined with limited financial resources have led to the use of minimal outside labor. A peasant had to understand the manufacture and repair of carts. A peasant from the village of Olcsvaapáti says this: "*Here in Olcsva, we have always made famous carts. After having seen our works, people came to us from Nyírkarász, Nyírderzs and even from all over the Nyírszőlős region (...) Carts were produced in such a way that they were made in halves. And we had a forest, even three of them, we brought oak, and elm and ash home. Ash and elm were better for making carts (...) Elm was the best because it was the most flexible. Not so hard and breakable. Ash was used for ladders, while wheels, of course, were made of elm. (...) If we wanted to get iron tyres for a new cart, we would go to Namény or Szalka to a hardware store, buy all the iron material, and pay the blacksmith only for his work. (...) The standard cart size was 7 shukks (former unit of measurement, consisting of the length of two fists with elongated thumbs. This meant that 1 shukk was 24-28 cm), some were also made 8 shukks long, but there were even some made 9 shukks long. (...) We also made small carts, but they were only used to go for a visit or to travel to the city. Its back and front*

stretchers were curved. The baskets for carts were made from white can." (Farkas, 1982, p. 298-299).

The same source describes the variety of goods transported by carts: "*People say that here, on the Tisza, up to the banks of Namény, the Slovaks rafted the pine. They also made wood shingles here, on this side of the Tisza bridge, there on the pasture. Large pine trees were carried there. (...) Here they unloaded this pile of firewood, and we undertook to take it away. The firewood was needed for warehouses, haylofts, huts and churches. We transported the material on stretched carts. We installed these stretched carts in such a way that the attachments were extended to the maximum, and the rear wheels were installed to the length corresponding to the transported goods."* (Farkas, 1982, 298-299) The image of the means of transporting timber in Upper Hungary will help understand the last quote. They consisted of two mobile parts - humps. Therefore, it was possible to adjust the distance between the axes depending on the length of the wood.

The carts differed from one region to another. There were slight differences between the wheels and the chassis, while the real difference was in the design of the cart box. The types of means of transportation depended on many factors, including the local supply needs of the goods as well as the natural environment of the region. Thus, on the sandy plain between the Danube and the Tisza, light carriages were used, while on denser soils, transportation was carried out by heavier vehicles. In the mountains, the carts were of stronger construction than those on the plains and had brake shoes. Similarly, the rims of the vehicles used in mountainous areas were 50 mm wide, while on flat, friable soils they were narrower. Different local needs, or rather the type of goods delivered even within the settlement led to the presence of different types of supply. By the way, vehicles in Alfeld, the northern part of the Transtisza region, in Partium, in the Transylvanian plateau were shorter than elsewhere. Here their length was 130-160 cm, while in other areas we can see the size of more than 250 cm (Kemecsi, 2015).

Based on the above, it is clear that due to the poor quality of land roads and heavy cargo, it was necessary to harness four or six oxen and use a strong cart (with wheels with reinforced iron tyres) to transport the goods. In the Middle Ages, from the middle of the 13th century, wagons with at least four horses were used for domestic transportation of goods. This vehicle, also used for international transportation, got its name from the fact that at the sites of the "Royal Thirtieth" they were officially inspected and, among other things, weighed. Until the end of the Middle Ages, these means of transporting heavy goods were used on more or less

good roads in the Transdanubian region and the north-western part of the country, until their place was taken by undercarriages (kocsi).

From our point of view, in connection with our topical issue, the massive vehicles used to transport heavy goods in mountainous areas are particularly important. Probably these carts, made of heavy, strong, thick wood with reinforced iron tyres, came from wagons. One of these was the "furman" wagon, which (perhaps linked to the name of the Fugger family) was used to transport ore in mining areas. Carts with iron tyres used specifically for transporting salt made up a separate group. 2-4 horses or 4 oxen were harnessed to these heavy means of transportation. These carts were used not only in the areas of mining, but due to the wide industry of freight transportation, they were also used within the country, such as in Tokaj, Szolnok, and even in the city of Szeged. Both ore and salt were transported on Baia Mare carts, and they were used by coachmen who worked day on day off shifts. They harnessed horses, oxen, and even buffaloes to the cart. Another cart for transporting salt was a Maramures cart with four husks. These carts could carry heavy loads, and at the same time salt, both in mountainous and lowland areas. Carts of this type, with or without iron tyres, could be purchased at fairs in Sighetu Marmației, but if necessary, they could be rafted to the customer on the Tisza. At the same time, such a vehicle was manufactured in the Szatmár and Bereg regions. In the case of transportation of rock salt, to protect the goods from rain, a tarpaulin was attached to the top of Maramures cart. The length of the carts for transporting salt was usually 8-9 shukks (former unit of measurement, consisting of the length of two fists and outstretched thumbs. This meant that 1 shukk was 24-28 cm), in front of which horses or oxen were harnessed. In the lowlands, 220-250 salt bags (each weighing 11 kg) were placed on carts, so the total weight of the cargo reached almost three tons. However, smaller carts were also used, the most common of which in our study area were carts with a length of 7 shukks (Cservenyák, 1998). Several types of this vehicle were also manufactured in our region.

From the 14th century, the Tisza was the main transport route for Maramures salt. In the 19th century Mór Jókai described the diversity and danger of this river with the following words: "*With its slow, winding current, it holds huge swamps, as its banks are almost everywhere lower than the supports that would hold it during high water levels. When it leaves the shores, it floods the Alfeld plain. Destroys; but fertilizes. The amount of damage it does one year is returned ten times the next. The real goddess of fertility Isis. […] Along the right bank near Szőlős (modern Vynohradovo), the current is accompanied by mountains, among them Chorna Mountain, where the ruins of Kankiv Castle can be seen on one of the steep peaks, as*

well as a beautiful city, gorgeous valleys and vineyards at the foot of it. Rafts made of wood float along the main riverbed, transporting salt from Maramures to the treasury, or boards, shingles for the cities of the Alfeld region, apples, plums, and nuts from the Tisza region. And bokorashes should be careful not to run into ferry mills, or watch out for their oar shovels which can be taken away by the tow rope at the crossings. But even more they will need the experience of knowing the arms of the Tisza, so as not to get lost between its islands, or to get stuck in the oxbow lake of the Tisza, and especially be cautious so that the deceptive currents near the settlement of Kenézlő do not bring them to the riverbed, which runs straight into the Bodrog River and never comes back into the main streambed. It often happens that during floods on the Tisza the raft is unable to stay afloat and runs aground in the meadows. In this case people say that "One needs to find the Tisza among many waters." (Jókai, 2008).

To understand the local features of water transportation, it is advisable to study the natural conditions of shipping. Let's start with the fact that shipping on the Tisza at different times of the year was very different. This situation was significantly aggravated by the fact that the two "spring" branches in the upper part of the river (Black and White Tisza) severely limited the possibility of transportation. In winter, these branches have a fast-flowing rapid flow up to Khust, but in autumn their course narrows, their water content decreases, and they become shallow. This peculiarity changes after Khust, the current becomes somewhat sluggish, and then another change occurs at the confluence of the rivers Számos and Bodrog. Here the depth and aquifer of the Tisza increases, and the shorelines expand.

From the above it follows that navigation on the river shows great differences in the presented areas. While only vehicles of smaller sizes can float in the upper part of the current, predominantly only rafts, the lower part can have bigger vessels. The situation was aggravated by the fact that during high and medium water levels the Tisza was navigable, but at low water levels - only on certain sections. This was exactly the situation which was planned to be changed by regulating the streambed of the Tisza in the middle of the 19th century. As a result of the work carried out according to the plans of Pál Vásárhelyi, the conditions of navigation have improved. Until now, for "water" people, many problems have meant countless twists, and it is in this aspect that significant changes have taken place. From Tiszaújlak (modern Vylok) to the tributary to the Danube, 112 curves were cut, as a result of which the length of the river was reduced from 1419 kilometers to 966 km. The fall of the riverbed increased (this meant 8.2 centimeters per kilometer in the distance from Chop to Tokaj), which had a positive effect on the speed of water transport, especially in the plains. This reduced the risk of sandy shoals, and vessels did not have to fear immersion. It was still a significant problem that in

certain segments the depth of the channel was particularly low. While the water depth was significant and sufficient for navigation in the case of medium water levels, 6.7 m between Vary (Mezővári) and Vásárosnamény, 2.4 m between Vásárosnamény and Csap, and 2.4 m between Csap and Tokaj, in the case of low water levels, the above indicators changed greatly (1.6, 2.4, 2.4 m). The real problem, however, is that in some places, such as crossings, at low water levels, the water depth was less than half a meter. These figures and the uniqueness of the upper reaches of the river justify the fact why rafting was so popular on the Tisza, and why vessels with less draft sailed on this river, unlike on the Danube.

The above factors imposed severe restrictions on the development of shipping on the Tisza, but other factors also played a role. While rafting down the stream, and this applies to the transportation of rock salt, the very changeable speed of the river (near Tokaj the water speed of the low river level was 0.63 m/s, and during floods - 1.4 m/s) and water level were problematic, but this was even more true in the case of upstream transportation. In the burlak era, it was difficult to overcome the flow of a flooded river, and even with the spread of steamships, vessels with weaker power could hardly overcome the oncoming current (Boros, 1994, p. 78-80).

Here it is worth to say a few words about navigation against the current. It played an important role on the Danube, however, on the Tisza, in the case of goods delivered from Maramures, vehicles floated downstream. In our region, mainly grain was delivered against the current. Thus, there were a few ways of delivering against the current. Small consignments of goods could be delivered against the current with the help of rowing boats. A more effective solution was to use the power of barge haulers. In such cases, the force of the river was overcome by the physical force of people or draft cattle. We can find data on the official regulation of this starting in the 16th century. According to a further order, local landowners and settlements were required to provide a free way for shipping, but the reality was that by leaving the trees growing near the shores they hindered the process of towing vessels up the stream. And the Shipping Department, established in 1773, tried to rectify this situation by sending their workers to inspect all the objects that hindered navigation (floating mill, piles, shore structures, etc.).

Separate paths have been created for upstream hauling so that people or animals avoided stumbling in water full of obstacles. Changing the riverbed made it easier to pull the vessels against the current. In the same way, the regulation of the river, as we have seen, made it possible to straighten the winding waterway. The construction of canals was also useful. Despite all this, the daily speed of hauling barely exceeded 10 kilometers per day. The real

solution for navigation against the current was the emergence of self-propelled ships in the 19th century, when this issue was solved with the help of water vapor energy (Halász, 1974, p. 35).

If we divide the delivery of goods on the Tisza into periods, we can separate the following stages. The first stage lasted from the beginning to the second half of the 19th century. At that time, salt and wood were transported mainly on rafts and ships. The second stage lasted from the 19th century to the 1920s, when in addition to previous goods the delivery of stone and building materials, used in the regulation of the riverbed, as well as the exchange of crops (here we must mention mainly cereals and fruits) became important. During this period, the role of steamships in water transport is already growing significantly. Finally, we must point out the third stage, after the Treaty of Trianon, when with the collapse of the economic unity of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, trade between the counties under consideration decreased sharply (Boros, 1994, p. 67).

As we have already learned, special conditions were required for land transportation, and this also applied and to even a bigger extent to water transportation. Thus, the government could oblige everyone to transport rock salt by carts, however, it could not do the same with water transportation. That is why certain professionals could form a special team, for whom shipping was the main income. Navigators, generally called raftsmen, could serve in different ways: they could form a crew on boats, barges, rafts. It was common practice for them to build water vehicles. Among the raftsmen who formed the guilds during the Arpad era, the helmsman was a particularly revered profession. The fate of both human life and material goods depended on his dexterity and ingenuity.

As the dangerous skill of salt delivery was combined with the possibility of significant profits, there was no shortage of investors. City residents were among those entrepreneurs, they hired raftsmen (bokorashes) to transport salt. Usually, these decent incomes incurred various expanses, so it was necessary to take care of not only land but also water routes. At the beginning of the season, barge owners had to inspect the section of the river that was subject to navigation to avoid wooden, rocky obstacles and sediments. Since the change of course was especially characteristic of the Tisza River, it was necessary to constantly monitor the sandy shoals and shallow waters. These moving obstacles, of course, had to be removed from the water before leaving. The piles of floating mills, which were protruding from the riverbed, could also be dangerous for ships.

The simplest, cheapest means of water transport was a raft (talba, daraba, sala, bokor). They were called differently in different parts of the country. In the Upper Tisza lands these water

means were called salas, while in the Middle and Lower Tisza lands they were called talbas. By the way, the name talba corresponds to the Hungarian word "láp" of Finno-Ugric origin, which has several meanings. For example, on the Tisza, this term is associated with three meanings of the word, in addition to water transport, it means swamp and reed floating in the oxbow lake. The word raft is a more modern form of using this term. It is possible that we borrowed this term from the Slavic peoples, where the root of the word is the verb "swim". At the same time, Hungarian terminology was formed when talking about rafting, which due to foreign influences, uses mainly Latin and German language elements (Barna, 1988, p. 73-80).

In any case, the most common means of water transport in our region was the raft, which due to its small immersion was especially useful in the upper shallow part of the Tisza. Its use had a double benefit, firstly, so it was a chance to transport timber from the mountains to the lowlands, and secondly, it was suitable for the delivery of the goods mentioned above. It enabled the delivery of goods in one direction from regions with different production conditions and stores. Rafting became popular in the 18^{th}-19^{th} centuries, but was especially popular in the middle of the last century. The first major challenge for this activity was the development of railways and the road network, which created new opportunities for the transportation of goods. At the same time, it should be noted that we will see later that even then this type of transportation, which used the energy of the river, was very competitive. Because the delivery of goods on wheels required serious animal or human strength and thus had significant costs. There was a heated debate in public life and in the press at the time as to whether a well-functioning traditional system should be abolished, thereby endangering the livelihoods of many people. The importance of rafting decreased after the First World War, when, due to new political borders, trade on the Tisza decreased. Another short-term prosperity of this type of transportation took place in the first half of the 1940s, after the return of Zakarpattia to Hungary. After the Second World War, rafting finally fell into decline, and water transport became a sector of local importance.

Delivery of goods on rafts had undeniable advantages (suffice it to say that these vehicles did not have to be returned to the starting point by human or animal forces). Although, the disadvantage was that the management of these vehicles required extensive experience, physical strength, agility and courage, and due to its vulnerability, water-sensitive goods could be easily lost. The main problem was that it was a slow vehicle, especially in the lower sections, when, given the three-kilometer speed, the delivery of goods took a long time. In addition, for the delivery of delicate, brittle goods (such as animals), as well as for perishable goods, the raft was not suitable. The capricious and very dangerous Tisza certainly posed a

great danger to these fragile means of transportation. According to a report in the Vasárnapi Újság Sunday newspaper in 1867, several rafts sank near Tiszaújlak due to high water levels and strong winds. The mass of salt lost in this way was a huge amount - 5 thousand quintals (Boros, 1994, p. 515).

According to the descriptions of the early modern era, an average of 16 pine trees was needed to make one raft (of course, the thickness of the tree trunks affected the number used). According to the general practice, the timber harvested and peeled in the previous spring was transported to the rivers by sleighs during the winter. At the so-called connecting points, the logs were cut to equal lengths and fastened in a trapezoidal shape. This shape was obtained in such a way that the thinner parts of the wood, bonded to each other, gave a smaller width than the thicker ones. The narrower half of the rafts formed the front of the vehicle. This trapezoidal shape was favorable because it was easy to control during the shipping. After making and lowering the rafts into the water, both ends were equipped with a log, on which the rudder and oars were placed. Both oars and rudders were used to control the raft. According to the dimensions adopted in the Carpathian Basin, these water structures were 10 meters long and 4-5 meters wide. However, the size of the rafts could vary greatly depending on where they were used. Basically, the size was determined by the width of the river. For these vehicles, the starting point was small rafts, so-called torkas, consisting of 4-10, but not more than 12 logs of trees. If the width of the structure reached almost four meters (12 feet), those were called large rafts. The size of a torka was considered a standard unit, and they could be fastened in different numbers (for example, a standard raft consisted of four torkas). According to common practice in Tiszaújlak, 5-8 rows of torkas were fastened to one caravan. The warehouse near Nagybocskó had the minimum capacity of a 16-log raft weighing 3.4 tons. Then, according to the way described above, they were fastened near Tiszaújlak, and they could accommodate at least 60 tons of goods (Boros, 1994). At the appropriate water level, rafts could carry much more goods than carts. It should be noted here that the dimensions of the salt blocks carved for water transportation were significantly different from those transported by land, and weighed between 2.7 and 5 kg. However, to make everything clear, it should be noted that their size varied from mine to mine. Since the Middle Ages, we know only the standards of the mines in Turda and Ocna Sibiului, so the above data apply to these mines (a block of salt from the mine in Turda weighed 2.7 kg, and in Ocna Sibiului - 5 kg) (Draskóczy, 2014). One type of raft is also known to us in our region. According to the descriptions of Lajos Kiss, these water structures were called darabs (lábó in Hungarian) in

the region of Rétköz, they were made of wooden logs, on top of which boards were attached, and they were used in agriculture.

By the way, it should be reminded that, of course, state regulation did not bypass the rafting. In the interests of protecting human life and material goods, the authorities sought to create transparent, predictable conditions in the field of transportation. The Ministry of Public Works and Transport, established in 1867, ordered the same year to verify the legality of the operation of floating mills, which pose a great danger to shipping, and, according to the descriptions at the time, often sabotage the free navigation of water transport. At the same time, they ordered that these objects be illuminated on the rivers on which the steamship traffic is carried out. A few months later, the ministry extended the order to also involve rafts. In order to ensure the safety of navigation over Tokaj, according to the regulations, rafting of cargo rafts in foggy weather and after dark was prohibited. At the same time the size of rafts is regulated, they can reach a maximum of 4 torkas with a maximum length of 2 pine logs. It was also stipulated that four raftsmen should work on these vehicles (Frisnyák, 2001).

People of the 19th century saw rafts, the daily practice of their operation and the life of raftsmen as follows. "*According to memories, the pine logs of the rafts shipped to the Alfeld (lowland) areas were fastened with flexible rods. The ends of pine logs were drilled, wooden nails were hammered into them, and they were tied with plaits made of flexible young bushes. Thus, during the rafting, no pine log came off the raft. In the first decades of the century, both on the Tisza and the Körös, people noticed rafts fastened with iron nails, clamps, but customers did not like them, because the iron rusted soon, got stuck in the wood, and it was impossible to remove it without damaging pine logs*." (Barna, 1988, 204). When stopping at water stations, raftsmen used a harpoon (a pin in the form of a peg with an iron tip at one end) as a brake for the vehicle. Then the locals had the opportunity to inspect the vehicles especially carefully and see the following. Since the shipping on the water from Záhony to Szeged took a long time, and it could last even up to two weeks at low water levels (under best circumstances it lasted at least 8 days), it was necessary for raftsmen to solve the housing problem. Therefore, a log structure with a sloping or gabled roof was made on the logs, the side walls of which were covered with a tarpaulin. Because the raftsmen made fire on the rafts, they had to be careful to protect the combustible wood. The hearth was set up near the hut, and around it, to prevent wood from burning, the logs were covered with clay, 10-15 cm thick. Cooking was carried out in a clay pit, or, as a rule, in a cauldron suspended from a tree. The cast iron three-legged frying pans made at the Mukachevo Metallurgical Plant were especially popular and were used in large quantities on rafts from the end of the 18th century.

Cauldrons and cast iron flat pots were among the most popular as well. Cooked dishes, depending on nationality, were different; mamaliga was especially popular among the Romanians, and potato tarhonya among the Hungarians. Of course, river fish was also the basis of raftsmen's food. For conservation, caught fish was cleaned, salted and smoked, thus providing a reliable food supply (Barna, 1988, p. 205).

The practice of rafting has hardly changed over the centuries, and even in 1940 a correspondent reporting from Maramures described rafting in a similar way, enriching the picture described above with new elements. As we will learn later, by this time the transport of salt had already fallen into the hands of the railways, and the traditional means of water transport was used only for shipping timber. According to the description, the rafts were made by fastening 70-80 cubic meters of felled pine logs together. Logs were fastened together with a splint in front and in the back, and the shorter side, which was the nearest to the watercourse, was reinforced with crossbeams. In front, it was equipped with a wide rudder (steering paddle) eight or even ten meters long. In addition to food, deciduous pine was placed in the middle of the vehicle. 2-3 men worked on fastening the raft, who needed to hurry, because they had to finish the work started on Monday by the next evening. The reason for the rush was that the locks opened on Wednesday. The rest are the words of the correspondent: "*The pine with the crown is a brake on the raft, which is used when there is a traffic jam due to the rafts floating on the sides of the tributaries. On Wednesday and Saturday, locks will open, raising the water level of fast-flowing mountain rivers due to the accumulated eighty-ninety thousand cubic meters of water, so that the raft does not get stuck on any insidious underwater rock. Twice a week rafts were shipped down all the mountain streams from Bohdan to the White Tisza. But the situation was also the same in the valley of the Black Tisza. Here early at dawn, and there early in the morning the rafts were sent on a real schedule. Regular ports were set up for them near Rakhiv, Lunka and Velykyi Bychkiv to collect the amount of wood intended for processing. Raftsmen swapped near Velykyi Bychkiv. Those who got on here accompanied the raft to Korolevo, Tokaj, or even to Szolnok or Szeged. Down in Alfeld, where the Tisza bears this precious burden so majestically on its back, perhaps no one would have thought how deadly the skill of the Maramures raftsmen is. (...) Even the most skilled raftsman may sometimes not be able to bypass the bridge support or the rock hidden in the stormy water. After such an incident the raft is doomed, the poles break away from each other, blocking the riverbed. All efforts are in vain, and the raftsman can be happy if he survives this influx unharmed."* (Esti Újság, August 7, 1940).

A writer and local historian, István Tömörkény, watched the world of rafting become a thing of the past in a more romantic and emotional way: "*The life of bokorashes is quite old, in my childhood we used a word talba for a raft. It was also mockingly called "pie" (lepény in Hungarian), probably because it was as flat as a baking sheet on which a cake is baked. To this day, there is no other iron on the raft, only a pocket knife and an ax, and sometimes the tip of a harpoon. This is how Romanians have been descending from the mountains with their timber for already centuries, without using their ax even once to change the shape of the rudder. He still fries potatoes on a hearth made of clay, his leather belt with a buckle probably used to belong to his grandfather, he did not even learn from his Slovak partner (Tóth) that the oar could be put on the side of the talba, and maybe it would make it faster. It was so convenient for them to swim as the current carries them, the rapid progress is seen only in the fact that today they return home not by wandering up the river, but instead sometimes by train. The raft they passed from under their feet remains here on the shore. Sometimes there are hundreds of rafts here, waiting to be sawed on sawmills. At this time, the Vlach hands over supervision to the Magyar: it is the regulation of the forest guard."* (Tömörkény, 1906, p. 194)

If we consider the conditions of the 18th-19th centuries, which we already known from the sources, in more detail, these descriptions indicate that the range of goods delivered by water using such a method was wide. In the lower parts of the Tisza the range of goods was replenished, so here they also had the opportunity to take advantage of water transportation. Along with salt and a variety of wooden products (rails, boards, shingles or even whole carts), dried fruits, jams and palinka also were shipped on water vehicles (Takács, 2010). In any case, the two most important goods were salt and uncut wood, which was an integral raw material for the construction industry. The latter was rafted along the Tisza together with an immeasurable amount of Maramures forest (in the 19th century more than 200 thousand poles). The state also benefited greatly from this, as evidenced by the fact that both the Royal Salt Administration and the Administration of Wood Products were involved in timber services (Barna, 1988, p. 210). Those settlements in the Alfeld region, which were poor in timber, had the opportunity to visit mountainous areas themselves in order to purchase timber. From the point of view of timber transportation, the most important center of the Upper Tisza region was Tiszaújlak (modern day Vylok). With the increase in trade, the number of ports also increased, and Vásárosnamény, Kisvárda, and Tiszabercel took on this role. In this way, they provided timber to a huge territory that went beyond Alfeld. You can see the widespread use of generous wood even in the architecture of the villages along the Tisza. Retaining

beams of local roof structures, 8-10 or even more meters long, were available only from pine consignments in mountainous areas. In addition to pine trunks, other already processed timber was delivered from mountainous areas, for instance, one of the most widespread products was a handle for tools. At the same time, if you look closely at the delivered products, you can see a variety of smaller products. A large number of products of the handicraft industry came from Maramures and the upper part of the Tisza to the lower areas. Many different products were shipped on the river, such as a broom made from twigs, a butter mill, a bowl, some containers for spices, tools and who knows what else. The range of products also included raw materials for industrial activities, and along with burnt and mineral coal, this included oak nuts.

Although this has already been mentioned, but we must give more details about the fruit. Residents of the villages of Tarpa, Kisar and Nagyar say that they rafted down the water to Alfeld (Takács – Udvari, 1993). Although a significant part of them actually came from the Upper Tisza region, Szatmár and Bereg, still a big number came from the Maramures. Most of them were apples and pears, nuts and plums: "*Some sources have even preserved the names of varieties of fruit transported on rafts. For example, residents of the town of Szarvas say that the so-called Rennet apples, home-grown apples and moshan apples come from the Tisza region. People living along the river still remember the small apple variety that was brought by raftsmen. People of the settlement Nagyrév remembered a red, small in size, delicious apple, which was stacked in large piles on pine rafts. It was a Tisza, or in other words a willow apple. It is said that the willow apple was brought from the districts of Rakhiv. And the name of the Tisza apple indicates at the Tisza region of Bereg. The willow apple has retained mentions of the fertility of floodplains in its name, as some varieties of apples were grafted to the willow. According to another popular interpretation, this name comes from the fact that the named apple was so bitter and sour, as if it had grown on a willow. From the regions of Szeged and Szentes, we know the name of this variety of apple, as a precious wine apple, which in turn clearly indicates its origin. According to the recollections of the people near the settlement of Vezseny, the raftsmen exchanged the Tisza apple for beans, salt and bread, but they also gave it in exchange for money*." (Barna, 1988, p. 202).

Products were sold in various ways, in addition to fairs and local shops it was common practice for moored raftsmen to also sell the goods they brought with them. They could sell for cash, but barter was also a common form of trade. It is obvious that the raftsmen emerging from the upper part of the Tisza were happy to exchange their products for grain, which was

in short supply at home. The situation was similar with salt, it could be bought from raftsmen, or exchanged for the harvest. Although the warehouses played a significant role in the distribution of salt, even lower-ranking settlements bought salt from raftsmen. The salt obtained in such a way was later ground at home in a mortar.

Among the sources we also find data on the ethnic composition of raftsmen. We have already seen examples that the Hungarian population of the Upper Tisza region took part in rafting. At the same time, in addition to Hungarians there could be Ruthenians, Romanians and Germans among the raftsmen emerging from the Maramures region. The common practice was that the foreign-speaking population inside the country passed the rafts to the locals, so below Szolnok it was the Hungarians who predominated. The local population was inclined to call those who came from the north Tóths, ie Slovaks, and those from the east - Vlachs, ie Romanians. Foreign-speaking people, especially Romanians, were often the target of bullying for local children. Incidentally, their separation was exacerbated by the fact that they wore unusual clothes (a long coat, trousers, a hat, leather shoes) and ate unusual food (Romanians ate mamaliga). Based on the nature of their work, raftsmen usually spoke several languages, including Hungarian.

Finally, with regard to rafting, it should be noted that this water vehicle was seldom used to transport people. For example, traditionally the population of the Tisza region floated on rafts to the settlement of Nagyrév to escape religious persecution. We also have data from our region that the inhabitants of the village of Vámosatya moved their priest from Maramures to a service apartment also with the help of such a vehicle (Barna, 1988, p. 156).

Compared to rafts, ships meant greater security for the delivery of goods. Therefore, the customs, where all the conditions were available, preferred to use these vehicles to distribute white gold. According to 16th century sources, ships suitable for transportation were built of pine, following the example of boats and ferries. The similarity was primarily that each of them was flat in design and had a low immersion. Elements of the materials of these ships for the transportation of salt were fastened with wooden nails, because the iron could be damaged by the cargo. These were disposable items that were dismantled upon arrival at the destination, and their materials were sold on the spot. These ships, depending on the region, such as Maramures, Turda, Dés, had a different design.

There was also a significant difference in their size. Ships made in Dés had a particularly respectable size, reaching a length of 40 meters and a width of 10 meters, so they could deliver up to 100 tons of goods to the destination. The carrying capacity of water structures in Turda was twice lower. The ships built in Sighetu Marmației and used in Maramures were the

smallest, carrying 40 tons of salt in one go. It is not difficult to understand that moving such weight and value required serious responsibility and caution.

Unfortunately, due to their decomposing material, water products made centuries ago have barely survived to our time (not to mention that the wood of the rafts carrying salt was used as a building material upon arrival at the destination). They could be preserved in a canned state, immersed in water and closed from oxygen. This is how the boat found in 1990 in a reduced riverbed near Tiszabecs has been preserved, which according to some assumptions was made for transporting rock salt. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that a vehicle of this shape, which is considered a boat for transporting salt, is stored in the Satu Mare Museum. The finding near Tiszabech was taken as an exhibit to the Nyíregyháza ethnographic village-museum. As for its purpose, different views were formulated. In any case, we have the following facts about the boat: "*carved from a single tree trunk, specifically from oak, a hollow "boat hull", 12.35 m long, tip-shaped in front (35 cm wide at the top), 100 cm wide in the middle, and 90 cm at the end with the highest height of 125 cm. Its age at the time of felling (possibly exaggerated) is estimated at 650 years. During its long underwater existence, the mud-covered wood was not damaged, but during pulling ashore one of its side parts was broken, which during the restoration was fixed and installed in its original place*." (Páll, 1993, p. 79)

3.5. The role of rock salt and railway in the period of modernization of Hungary

Modernization of the 19th century has also affected transport. According to the data, freight traffic has increased significantly, and along with the transportation of traditional goods, the transportation of industrial raw materials and construction materials has grown significantly. From the point of view of transport, the most important means of modernization is the railway, the greatest benefit of which is its impact on the development of the economy and settlements. In addition, the construction of railways had a myriad of advantages, the confirmation of which we observe in almost every corner of modern life. Every settlement of the country used convincing arguments trying to prove to the government that such development of transport on their territory is justified. It was often difficult to pursue local and national interests at the same time.

The state itself was also inconsistent on this issue. In the process of unification of the empire the Austrian government gave a significant role to the railway. Therefore, after the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution, it developed a monumental modernization program,

which included the development of a railway network centered in Vienna. In contrast, liberal circles in Hungary, led by István Széchenyi, thought about a network centered in Pest-Buda.
In any case, the central budget, along with its other burdens, collapsed, and the declaration of bankruptcy of the state meant that the state was not suitable for the development of the imperial railway network on its own. The forced change of views in Vienna in 1854 led to free competition in the field of railway construction (Majdán, 2014, 32). Foreign capital played a crucial role in the private companies created as a result. In order to make investments of this nature attractive, the government guaranteed return on investment by securing interest rates. Various railway companies divided the country and focused on building the railway network of one of the regions.
The Treaty of 1867 changed this situation only at a slow pace. The new government still insisted that the Hungarian transport case fall into the hands of the Hungarian government. At the same time, the controversial discussions of various concepts, which were typical of those times, have not stopped. At this time, two large-scale general plans for the development of the railway were developed, one relating to Imre Mikó (1867) and the other to Lajos Tisza (1873). It is very important to note that written government programs of transport policy were not formulated, they were only addressed in certain specific aspects during the budget debate. The situation was exacerbated by the fact that lobbying, coercion and suspicion of corruption hindered rational decision-making. The transport management system itself changes frequently, and the Ministry of Public Works and Transport has been reorganized eight times in 22 years (Frisnyák, 2001, 43). All this should be noted, because it will clarify the preconditions of transport policy described in the following pages, which will concern competing plans for the construction of railway lines.
Under any circumstances the railway network is constantly expanding, in the eighties along with the construction of trunk lines connecting economic and administrative centers, the development of railways of local interest began. Due to this, microregions are connected to the general network of state rail transport. However, the associated expected effect of economic development, with the exception of mountainous areas, is not significantly justified. The role of private funds is diminishing, with the strengthening of the Hungarian railway company MÁV (Hungarian State Railways) and with the strengthening of state participation, the government is buying up private railways.
Thus, more and more new lines are being built, among the blueprints of which is the construction of the Maramures railway branch. Of course, the most important task of this line was to deliver huge consignments of salt from the mines to the areas of their use. The figures

speak for themselves, in 1865 the estimated reserve of salt deposits in Hungary amounted to 1343 million quintals, of which three Maramures mines (Coștiui, Sat-Șugatag, Solotvino) were endowed with 1287 million quintals. Annual production at these deposits was 1.2 million quintals of salt. Until now, along with the delivery of goods by carts, the Tisza was the largest natural transport route for transporting this huge amount. Ninety percent of the extracted minerals were shipped down the river, using 205,000 pine poles and 40,000 planks about 6 meters long (Barkóczi, 1985, p. 98).

At the same time, the construction of the Maramures railway line took a long time, and there was a lot of serious discussion about this issue. The foundation was laid by István Széchenyi, who at one time did the most in the field of transport. The railway network built in the following years essentially realized his ideas, centrically connecting the economic centers of the country in Budapest.

3.6. Discussions on new forms of rock salt transportation

In his article "*Proposal for the Regulation of Transport Matters in Hungary*" (1848), Széchenyi dealt, among other things, with the question of the railway. He stipulated the construction of side lines along the four railways in the future, because, in his view, rail transport was to play a central role in the development of the country's economy. Here is what an educated aristocrat had to say about it: "[...] *This line should be extended to Szatmár because it would also connect the Alfeld region with the Tysza districts of Upper Hungary and one part of Transylvania, from where the counties of Szatmár, Ugocsa, Maramures and many provinces of Transylvania could provide a large number of flammable substances for Alfeld."* (Széchenyi, 1848, 57-58) According to the project, the Alfeld region and the Upper Tisza region would have connections with large mining areas, ie Transylvania and the Maramures mines.

Then, in the middle of the 19th century, it seemed that the government would support the Maramures railway, taking economic aspects into account. At that time, the state wanted to invest in the private railway system, including the construction of the track. The first plans of the Maramures railway line designed by Frigyes Moser were made before 1854. According to him, a skate would be built from Maramures to Tiszaújlak (modern Vylok) (possibly to Vary), primarily for the transportation of salt. At the same time, there was a possibility that the end point would be the city of Vásárosnamény. Chief Engineer József Goltz was commissioned to carry out the preparatory work and technical study of this concept. The specialist found the

local conditions of the inspected area between Namény and Sighetu Marmației favorable and considered the construction of a locomotive railway line to be justified, while realizing that a considerable amount of timber would have to be used. On the other hand, in his opinion, steep slopes could pose certain difficulties on the way of the two branches to Șugatag and Coștiui. Although his plans involved a use of carts here, the possibility of locomotives was discussed due to the ascents. The total length of the railway track planned would be more than 21 miles, of which 16.5 miles would be part between Namény and Sighetu Marmației. The railway would actually start from Gergely (modern day Gergelyiugornya) near Namény, and then through Tarpa, Vary, Tiszaújlak, Szőlős (modern day Vynohradovo), Khust, Tyachiv, Dovhe Pole (on the opposite side of the Tisza) and eventually reach Sighetu Marmației.

The government eventually approved the project prepared by Goltz and in 1856 ordered the construction at public expense. At the same time, the government approved a price calculation made by the chief engineer, according to which the total cost of the investment would be 5.78 million forints (Barkóczi, 1985). This was reported by the press of the time, the Economic newspaper commented on the events as follows: "*The benefits that this railway brings to Hungary and Halychyna are great and varied. Most importantly it concerns the transportation of salt, which until now took place on the Tisza on logs, and not infrequently was prevented by frosts, floods and low tides, and which now will take place in large quantities and uninterrupted. In addition, grain from more fertile and remote areas will be delivered upwards, and timber from Maramures and neighboring mountainous areas will be delivered downwards: metallurgical plants, which have a huge task at this Iron Age, can breathe a sigh of relief and make huge strides in a short time."* (Gazdasági Lapok, 1856. 14).

According to the project, the north-eastern line would run from Namény and Sighetu Marmației. This plan was based on the fact that navigation on the Tisza near Namény was already safe, and this meant that the supply of goods by water could be arranged without problems. Although there have been discussions about the railway line, mainly from a safety point of view (fearing floods on the Tisza), these differences have been resolved. As a result, the route of the line was slightly changed. In response to the government's intentions, the Tisza Region Railway applied for a permit to build the line, so that it could be built from Nyíregyháza to Maramures. In 1859, the government granted permission to carry out the work, provided that it must be completed no later than 1862.

In this regard, it should be noted that from the point of view of our topic, the operation of two railway companies in the north-eastern region was remarkable, one of them was the Tisza Region Railway (Tiszavidéki Vasút) and the other one the Hungarian North-Eastern Railway

Joint Stock Company (Magyar Északkeleti Vasút Részvénytársaság). The former operated as a joint stock company from 1856 to 1880 until it was nationalized. The Viennese company was not considered popular in Hungary for economic (high transport fare) and emotional (German was the official language) reasons. The company constantly struggled with financial problems, so the state has repeatedly helped it. According to the 1864 records, the company's largest consignment was a group of products in the range of salt and chemicals (Bíró, 1977). So it was this company that was given the opportunity to carry out the above mentioned project in the late fifties and early sixties. However, we must not forget that these companies were private, so they had to convincingly prove to shareholders the profitability of current investments. At the general meeting of the Tisza Region Railway in April 1858, György Andrássy presented a system of conditions (in essence privileges) on the basis of which the company could build all sections of the line from Nyíregyháza to Maramures. While studying the transportation of rock salt, some of the privileges promised by the government are especially interesting. In addition to providing interest rates, the state guarantees the Tisza Region Railway the transportation of one million quintals of salt per year for the period of the concession at the price of one kreutzer per kilometer and per quintal. At the same time, the company will receive the right to sell 800,000 quintals of salt in small batches. During the negotiations, the shareholders of the Tisza Region Railway asked for additional privileges, which included obtaining a state loan by the railway company and setting their proposed transport tariffs for salt exports. The Tisza Region Railway Company also applied for a permit to operate warehouses in the settlements of Tiszaújlak (modern day Vylok), Gergely, Poroszló, Tokaj, Szolnok, Debrecen and Miskolc.

However, the issue of the direction of the Northeast Railway in Hungarian community has not yet been resolved. Debrecen and Satu Mare did their best to ensure that the planned railway to Maramures passed through them. As we will see later, this fundamental struggle will be hidden in the history of the development of the Hungarian railway. At the same time with the permission they had, the Tisza Region Railway could build a line between Nyíregyháza and Maramures. However, despite the permission, railway branches were not built (Ujhely, 1910). The company refused to obey the order, and turned its attention to Transylvania, as in 1864 it received the order from here. At the same time, it was released from the obligation to build the Nyíregyháza-Sighetu railway line (Barkóczi, 1985).

However, the group of lobbyists who wanted to unite Maramures with Debrecen became even stronger. Lajos Kovács, the vice-president of the Szatmár Railway, a native of Szatmár (who, by the way, was a well-known politician and Széchenyi's collegue in the sphere of transport),

asked permission to build a railway line from Debrecen to Sighetu Marmației. In his petition, he drew attention to the fact that in international comparison, the consumption of rock salt in Hungary is low. According to this, while the average consumption per capita in European countries is 18 pounds (1 pound - 0.56 kg), this figure in Hungary is only 12 pounds. He believed that consumption would increase, and as a result, the production of Maramures salt with a capacity of almost 1 million quintals is also facing a significant increase. In addition, Lajos Kovács sees that the government will receive significant additional revenues from timber harvesting if it sells it domestically at a higher price. So, the built network of the railway line will be profitable: "*1. The planned railway primarily connects three main points of trade, the importance of which cannot be classified, namely: Debrecen, Szatmár and Sighetu. Debrecen is the center of the upper part of the Alfeld region, where the products of this region are gathered, Szatmár is a similar transport center rich in rural goods, and Sighetu is an intermediary of trade between the rural areas of Halychyna and Bukovyna. 2. This railway line passes through one of the most populated parts of Hungary. The map shows a large number of local cities. Apart from Debrecen, right next to the railway: Vámospércs, Carei, Satu Mare, Khust, Tyachiv, Vyshkovo, Sighetu Marmației, indirectly mining towns: Baia Mare, Baia Sprie, Seini, Ardud, Tăşnadu, Mátészalka, Gyarmat (modern day Fehérgyarmat), Szőlős (modern day Vynohradovo), Tiszaújlak (modern day Vylok), Beregszász (modern day Berehove) and a number of other significant settlements. This railway line passes through part of the Szabolcs and Bihor regions, through the entire Szatmár, Bereg and Maramures counties, through a large area of the Bereg district and one part of the Transylvanian Partium. 3. Due to Debrecen this railway line connects the collecting centre of the Alfeld region with rich raw materials and minerals in the center of the mountain area and will contribute to the further development of the already significant transport traffic. Today, Alfeld supplies the population of the mountainous areas with food, grain, wine, lard, fat and vegetable oil of various kinds. Mountainous areas bring those treasures of nature to Alfeld, which are not there to be found. Among these products, salt and coal play a leading role."* (Barkóczi, 1985, 238) As can be seen from the description, the railway line proposed by Kovács primarily serves the interests of the Alfeld region, but its influence is also successful in the area under study. In the following period, it seemed that the efforts of Lajos Kovács as well as those of the group sharing his interests would lead to success.

Meanwhile, a number of projects are being developed to connect Maramures with the interior of the country by rail. The project of the Vienna Ministry of Trade from 1864 was clearly

guided by the intention that through a new means of transport important raw materials flow into the national economy. So, according to the above, it is no coincidence that Maramures is of paramount importance in the project. It seems that the railway line with a starting point in Debrecen would reach important raw material bases, and from there to the border: *"This railway line, which will join the Tisza Region Railway near Debrecen and will lead to Bukovyna via Maramures and Sighetu Marmației, is important for Austria. It will pass through huge Maramures salt mines and very fertile countryside [...] This railway line will be part of the railway network that crosses the Monarchy through the center of the empire, through Vienna, in the west-east direction, connecting Bukovyna and southern Russia to Vienna and the western part of Austria by the shortest route, and will primarily serve to deliver grain and livestock for slaughter from Bessarabia, eastern Halychyna and Bukovyna*." (Barkóczi, 1985, p. 224-225) The planned length of this line will be 59 miles (1 mile - 7586 meters), and the construction cost is estimated at 41 million forints. At the same time, other ideas are being formulated regarding a railway line that would reach Maramures. A year later after the previous project, the Hungarian National Economic Association also developed a concept in the following areas:

"*a) From Nyíregyháza through Munkács (modern Mukachevo) to Veretsky Pass and Halychyna in the direction of Stryj and Zhydachiv...*

b) With the branching near Kisvárda, in the valley of the Tisza to Sighetu Marmației. The construction of this line has long been insisted on based on national and important economical aspects, as it leads to large Maramures salt mines and a harvest-rich valley. Continuing

c) from Sighetu through Cârlibaba to Suceava, in comparison with the progress of the railways of Moldova and southern Russia, deserves no less attention. For now, we would join the Lviv-Chernivtsi line, which would contribute to a significant turnover in Bukovyna ...

d) the Debrecen-Satu Mare line." (Barkóczi, 1985, p. 226-227)

The only similarity between the Viennese idea of 1864 and the idea of the Hungarian National Economic Association is that both want to get to Maramures from several directions. At the same time, the main difference from the point of view of our topic is that the western terminal stop in the first case would be Debrecen, and in the second - Nyíregyháza. We can see that the competition between groups supporting the two concepts dates back to the late fifties. All subsequent ideas are practically based on these two concepts, ie in these possible alternatives there is a railway line Debrecen-Maramures or Nyíregyháza-Maramures.

However, the fiasco of the Tisza Region Railway in the late 1950s did not stop the Maramures railway line. Various clans have activated their supporters. The settlements, through which the railway would pass, of course, were at the forefront of this, as it would give them great economic benefits. From the next series of events, it seemed that the representatives of the project with the starting point in Debrecen would succeed. In 1864, Count Antal Forgách and his entourage applied for permission to build the above-mentioned railway line. Applicants received permission to carry out preliminary work and then, having submitted the relevant plans, asked for final permission (Újhely, 1910). According to the Forgách-led group, their proposed railway line was better than the competing Nyíregyháza railway in that the Tisza was navigable to Gergelyiugornya during less than six months period. In addition, transport connections to Debrecen (in the direction of Košice) are more favorable than to the city of Nyíregyháza. One by one, petitions were submitted to the parliament from the settlements, which asked to build a railway line on the route Debrecen-Satu Mare-Sighetu Marmației.

In 1867, after the Austro-Hungarian compromise, the new Hungarian government continued to consider the matter. Members of Parliament Pál Boros, Lajos Ujfalusi and Kálmán Tisza also spoke in the interests of the case. Finally, in 1868, the parliament granted the right to implement a project to the company "Hungarian Northeast Railway Joint Stock Company". Prolonged discussions finally subsided, and rail transport along the Debrecen-Satu Mare-Sighetu Marmației line, along its entire length, could begin in 1872.

Along with politicians, the press also took an active part in the discussion on the railway. Most of them were supporters who according to their interests took a stand on how to get to Maramures by rail. Of the two most common options, the majority unambiguously supported the Debrecen one, but, of course, the shorter length of the Nyíregyháza line was also favored by many. Let's look at three examples to substantiate this statement.

By virtue of his official duties, Maramures' deputy zhupan, Balázs Szőllősi, was active on this issue, he primarily took into account the interests of his native land. In addition to active journalism, he published a book describing the conditions of Maramures County. Despite the small volume of the text, he describes the trade of rock salt in details, which was the most important source of income in the region. The statistics he provides proves that due to the importance of the issue, the salt is a key sector in the region. In his description, he tries to show that the trade involves very confusing conditions, and the benefits of this trade are not in the favour of local population. Those who are involved in transportation are taken advantage of, their eyes are blinded by the payment in kind, they see almost no money. And the underprivileged try to prosper by stealing. Therefore, Szőllősi writes: "*The transportation of*

salt is a fundamental evil of this county, useless, and only leads to the multiplication of sins. It encourages theft and fraud within the county. I can call it - as it has been treated until now - usury of agriculture, and I consider it the main reason that the love of work does not take root in people's hearts, and agriculture does not progress." (Szőllősi, 1856, 9). Thus, Szőllősi describes the current state of rock salt transportation in such a way that it is not only a material issue, but also the cause of moral decline. Therefore, in his final conclusion the author says: "*So, the above speech will convince everyone about how the transportation of salt was of little use to the county- entrepreneurs suffered great losses during delivery - salt delivery was not guaranteed every year - and nothing but the railway will help in this trouble, and its construction will contribute to agriculture, welfare and morality*." (Szőllősi, 1859, 12)
Szőllősi publishes his views on the correct, in his opinion, route of the railway in several newspapers. However, it should be noted that his intention is guided by the interest of his native land to join the general national railway network at any cost. Thus, although he has repeatedly shown interest in the Debrecen-Satu-Mare line, the Nyíregyháza-Vásárosnamény variant is also acceptable to him. According to him, the first concept is advantageous because it would combine more economically developed and more densely populated areas, thus providing the railway with greater trade turnover. On the other hand, the author believes that the connection of Nyíregyháza, Kálló (modern day Nagykálló), Namény (modern day Vásárosnamény) has a different direction, since it were Mukachevo and Uzhhorod districts that used to be the target market for their crops. In contrast, the Szatmár county has traditionally supplied grain to Maramures, and also traded with Halychyna. At the same time, proving that the railway itself is more important for the deputy zhupan than the question of how it would be built, together with other Maramures landowners in 1864, he applied for permission to carry out preliminary work on the construction of a railway line on the route Nyíregyháza-Sighetu Marmației. The government rejects this request on the grounds that Antal Forgách and Lajos Kovács have already given similar consent to the Debrecen-Sighetu Marmației railway (Barkóczi, 1985). Szőllősi refers to the interests of the state - thus inciting the government to build the Maramures railway - when he interprets that the central railway, which crosses the country from Bratislava, will be full-fledged as a result of its extension to Maramures. He is not the only one who refers to the fact that due to the railway not only separate Halychyna, Bukovyna, Moldova, Bessarabia, but also the southern territories of Russia will become accessible, which can bring serious economic benefits.
We can see a similar to Szőllősi's attitude in one of the 1864 issues of the daily newspaper Pesti Napló. The following anonymous opinion was posted in the newspaper: "*Some*

knowledge of domestic conditions, production and connection interests, and one look at the map of the region will surely convince everyone how important it is to serve transport needs by rail Debrecen-Satu Mare-Sighetu Marmaţiei, which connects more significant commercial markets than the Nyíregyháza-Sighetu line, which includes small settlements. […] A project with a starting point in Nyíregyháza will probably forever deprive the Hungarian territory of the fertile Szatmár County, rich in raw materials but very poor in vehicles, from the benefits of one of the most important achievements of modern society, the railway." (Pesti Napló, December 28, 1865) Thus, in this resolution, the author emphasizes the importance of developing a railway that would involve the Szatmár region into the circulation of the modern economy. And here the point is emphasized that due to the Debrecen railway line a much larger number of the population will be able to take advantage of the benefits provided by the railway.

On the other hand, Károly Janka, who was tied to the Bereg County, supported the Nyíregyháza project on the pages of a daily newspaper. The author substantiated his position as follows: "*The Nyíregyháza-Namény line, which passes through the Tisza near Gergelyiugornya and farther, running parallel to the Tisza, leads to the area protected against floods by the Tisza River Management Organization, and which is under the protection of the Tisza dams, is permanently protected from flood damage, while the line from Debrecen to Szatmár towards Veréce will be constantly flooded and destroyed by the unrestricted high-speed rivers of Számos, Crasna, Túr (...). Not to mention the Tisza-Körös canal under construction; it is necessary to build at least four bridges, five including a bridge across the Tisza, while it would only be two bridges on the Nyíregyháza-Namény line: one near Ugornya, and another one near Vary across Borzhava; and the construction of bridges during the construction of the railway, as everywhere, requires the most costs."* (Barkóczi, 1985, 250) In his resolution Janka focuses primarily on the costs and cost-effectiveness of building a railway line. At the same time, he rejects the proposal that the route of the Nyíregyháza line should be changed so that it goes to Szatmár instead of Namény.

At the same time, negative statements about the branches of the railway were published, one of which, containing a lot of information about the practice of salt transportation, is presented below. In this regard, it should be noted that there were opinions that the construction of a railway along the Tisza would destroy the prosperous system of river navigation.

In an article published in the daily newspaper Pesti Napló in August 1866, the author, Ferenc Farkas, summarized the public's views on the construction of the Maramures railway as follows: *"(...) a) let there be a railway to Maramures, because the transportation of salt to the*

interior of the country using this railway can be carried out at any time, b) let there be a railway to Maramures, because only in this way the transportation of salt can be cheaper , and due to cheaper transport salt can get cheaper as well, c) let there be a railway to Maramures, and thus let salt become a commodity of free trade, which in turn will make the price competitive, and due to competition salt will get cheaper, d) let there be a railway to Maramures, because the local forests will not provide enough logs for a long time for the salt to be rafted on the Tisza, e) let there be a railway to Maramures, because during the transportation of salt on the Tisza it gets wet and melts, f) let there be a railway to Maramures, because on the Tisza there are many accidents with salt, and salt disappears because of it." (Farkas, 1866, 1) The journalistic course of thought is excellent for generalizing views of the past and present related to the transportation and distribution of rock salt.

Later in the article, the author examines each of the points in detail and tries to refute them in turn. Thus, in connection with the first paragraph, he expressed his opinion that the one-month rafting - that is how long it takes to transport the salt from Maramures to Szolnok - was a slight delay. According to him, the most important thing is that salt is cheap and that there is no shortage. The journalist obviously avoids giving a concrete answer to the problem. As we have seen before, the weather conditions, and here we are talking not only about the winter, really hindered traffic. Changes in the water level severely hampered transportation. At the same time, it should be noted that huge reserves of salt stocks were able to cope with the anomalies of unbalanced transportation. Finally, the author notes: *"[...] I insist that the century-old folk practice requires the state to maintain the current customs of such a plan, that is to secure the salt supply for the winter in a certain place in autumn.*" (Farkas, 1866, 2)

Regarding the second point, the author's opinion is even more unequivocal. He categorically denies that rail transport would be cheaper. To substantiate his position, he cites several examples, justifying his position with the current rail transport tariffs and the valid price calculation for water transport on board a vessel in Csongrád County. Finally, the journalist believes that the cost of transporting rock salt by rail is five times higher than the price for transporting goods on the Tisza. (Farkas, 1866, 1) Other sources also point out that there is no doubt that rail transport is much more expensive than the traditional form. Rafts on the Tisza were involved in transportation especially economically. On the one hand, they did not need to be returned to their original destination from the final destination, as the wood in Alfeld, which was poor in raw materials, was fully utilized. On the other hand, although goods were

delivered across the Danube mainly upstream, in the case of the Tisza, neither human, nor animal, nor mechanical force was required to transport salt using the energy of the water flow. The author believes that free trade in salt is not justified, as it is not a guarantee for lower prices. However, this is a very important issue, as we are constantly confronted with opinions that insist on discussing this issue. In any case, everyday practice shows that buying the right amount of salt is a serious burden for the poor. The fact that the prices are unrealistically high is well illustrated by the text of the next article by Gábor Váradi, published in the newspaper "Hon" (Fatherland). The journalist reports that "*the production price of rock salt in Maramures is barely 34-35 kreutzers per quintal, while in Transylvania - 37, in Halychyna - 51, and in Bukovyna already 68 kreutzers, and yet while Halychyna receives salt at the price of 6 guldens and 62 kreutzers, Bukovyna - 5 guldens 48 kreutzers, the salt prices in Hungary in different regions range from 7 guldens 48 kreutzers to 9 guldens 76 kreutzers*," (Barkóczi, 1985, 223).

Ferenc Farkas tries to refute his last three points in the daily newspaper "Pesti Napló" (Pest Diary). People were concerned that the forests around Maramures will not withstand intensive deforestation. The author tries to address these concerns as follows: *"(...) At the moment Maramures forests, which were previously treated with less care, are divided into neat sections and are ready to provide 200-210 thousand pine logs for salt transportation - and each pine log can hold 5-6 quintals of salt, which makes up 1,200,000 a year, which means that the delivery of one million two hundred thousand quintals of salt on the Tisza is ensured forever."* (Farkas, 1866, 1).

Reflecting on the last problem, the journalist believes that it also should not raise worries. Thus, the problem of loss and evaporation is created by incompetent people, while experts see it quite differently: *"(...) because those who have been processing salt for years know very well how to place salt on logs, it lies above the water level on the crossbeams and boards in a completely dry state, at a height of almost one foot, protected from rain with boards and reeds. And I can say that, except for solitary cases of natural disasters or inattention, which may also happen on the railway, salt usually comes to the warehouses in such a dry state that many would not even imagine - when the salt comes in contact with clean dry air on the top, then due to transportation by water, it usually does not get wet*." (Farkas, 1866, 1-2)

In an article published in the next issue of the daily Pesti Napló, Ferenc Farkas tries to refute the claim that a significant amount of salt has been lost in many accidents. In his opinion, if this still happens, it is primarily due to the human factor. Accidents occur mainly in the meanders of the river and near the bridges. With proper care and skill, such cases can be

largely avoided. In the further part of the text of the article we can also get interesting information about the daily practice of transporting rock salt. When he criticizes the planned railway transport, he emphasizes the delivery of goods from the places of railway unloading to warehouses by carts, and points out the associated huge, in his opinion, loss and damage. His view is that in this way it is necessary to cover a relatively long distance, the delivery of goods is carried out on open shaky carts on uneven roads, causing significant damage, not to mention the cost of overload and loss of time. The author compares this with the transportation on the water: "*During water transportation, this never happens, because, provided there is a proper maintenance of the goods, the salt warehouses must be located directly on the river bank, as it has been for many centuries and still remains so. […] In the case of water transport, the vessel, boat or raft was moored as close as possible to the warehouses, and the salt was brought in by hand, during which not a crumb fell from it, and if it rained during work, the goods on boats or rafts were carefully covered."* (Farkas, 1866, 1)

And at the end of the article, the author asks questions about what will happen to those who have so far earned a living by the traditional form of transportation of rock salt. He is also concerned about how the issue of timber transportation will be resolved, which was previously rafted on the Tisza at almost no cost and brought significant profits to the state.

Although there are many supporters of the construction of the Maramures railway, Ferenc Farkas is not the only one with his opinion. János Hunfalvy, a well-known representative of geography, expressed his views on transportation and joined the journalist's views:

"*Recently, many people have expressed their opinion in favour of the Nyíregyháza-Mukachevo-Verecke (modern day Nyzhni Vorota) line and the Maramures line, namely Kisvárda-Namény-Sighetu (...). The Maramures railway has been mentioned for a long time, its necessity is disputed especially in terms of salt transportation. In this regard, Mr. Ferenc Farkas publishes his very notable remarks in articles 25 and 26 of the weekly newspaper Politikai Hetilap (Political Weekly). He proves that the transportation of salt by the planned Maramures railway will be much more expensive than on the Tisza. (...) The transportation tariff will be 90-100 kreutzers per quintal on the future Maramures railway line between Maramures and Szolnok, which is five times more than now on the Tisza, which is 18 kreutzers. If the length of the railway from Maramures to Szolnok is 36 miles, identical to the land road, then the delivery of salt on it must cost 1/2 kreutzer per mile to be as cheap as on the Tisza. Of course, if the fare is 1 kreutzer, then the transportation of 1,200,000 quintals of salt from Maramures by rail will cost 216,000 forints more than the transportation on the Tisza per year." (Hunfalvy, 1867, 47-48)* Hunfalvy further discusses and agrees with the

arguments presented earlier. Finally, he summarizes his views on this issue as follows*: "These are, of course, practical views and issues that really deserve attention! And such practical views can be cited not only against the Maramures railway line, but also against other railway projects. There is no doubt that we should give up on the Maramures railway if the plan is to transport salt on it. The transport route for its delivery was created for us by nature itself, the Tisza River for Maramures salt, and the Maros River for Transylvanian salt. It would be a real madness to disregard this gift of nature."* (Hunfalvy, 1867, p. 49)

Continuing his train of thought, the author rejects the development of the railway, which overshadows the benefits of natural resources. Therefore, in the northeastern region, he proposes to use the local natural benefits. Thus, since the Tisza River up to Chop is or can be navigable, Hunfalvy emphasizes the use of further possibilities of cheap transportation. Therefore, the construction of a railway in the Tisza Valley is meaningless, instead a line needs to be built between Nyíregyháza, Chop and Mukachevo. Based on such principles, he does not support the construction of a railway line along the Bodrog River. The author recommends reaching Sighetu Marmației from the side of Satu Mare through the construction of a new railway line. Thus, instead of the Nyíregyháza- Sighetu Marmației line, he indirectly supports the competitive project, in his opinion *"(...) the proposed railway from Debrecen to Satu Mare deserves great attention, since it could bring the areas around the Számos and the Upper Tisza closer to the center of the country."* (Hunfalvy, 1867, p. 49).

3.7. Laying of a railway network

The entire network of the Zakarpattia railway line was laid between 1872 and 1919. As we have seen, two competing projects were generated to make this area accessible to the west. From the lines with the starting points in Nyíregyháza and Debrecen, the second line was implemented in such a way that it reached Sighetu Marmației through Satu Mare. At the same time, another track was built from Nyíregyháza, which crossed the current line of the state border near Chop. If we look exclusively at Zakarpattia, the basis of the railway network was one main and three transverse lines. The first line is a railway built from the territory of Upper Hungary, passing through Košice, on the route Chop-Batyovo-Berehove-Korolevo. All three lines were built in the river valleys. In the north, in the valley of the Uzh River, the Chop-Uzhhorod-Uzhok line was 98 km long and was completely built in 1905. A 69 km long Batyovo-Mukachevo-Beskids line was built in the valley of the Latorica/Latorytsia River, which was put into operation in 1887. More to the south, in the valley of the Tisza River, the

Korolevo-Vynohradovo-Khust-Sighetu Marmației-Yasinya line with a length of 157 km was built in 1885. All three railway lines, which engaged the largest settlements into transport, such as Uzhhorod, Mukachevo, Khust, and Vynohradovo, led to the northeastern line of the state border. Along with them, smaller lines were built between the three railway lines (Gyulai, 1939, 5). In addition to them, mountain narrow-gauge railroads also played an important role in the region.

As a result of the construction of the railway, the world has changed greatly, goods are delivered to remote areas of the Kingdom of Hungary no longer by road or the Tisza. The turnover of the cheap river route has decreased, the reports of that time speak mostly about the presence of rafting. The transportation of rock salt is increasingly carried out by rail, however, this form of transportation does not fully meet the expectations placed on it.

Let's start with the fact that people who lived by transporting rock salt and other goods may lose their jobs. This situation is described in one of the issues of the magazine Ellenőr (Controller) in the end of 1881, in a column of messages, informing that a movement against the construction of the railway began in Maramures. The reason is the following: "*The common people of Maramures have been deprived of a large income for the last two decades, namely, due to the construction of the Sighetu railway the delivery of salt along the river has been suspended, as a result of which people's earnings have decreased by hundreds of thousands of forints. Most of the pine forests were gradually cut down, destroyed, and foresters were left penniless at home, or forced to go to work in Transylvania, Bukovyna and Halychyna, from where they returned home either empty-handed or with meager wages*." (Ellenőr, December 16, 1881) The movement is not primarily against the construction of the railway, but rebels against the narrow gauge. A section of the narrow-gauge railway connecting Solotvyno with Sighetu Marmației was opened the previous year. And now, as the correspondent writes, the fact that according to the plans a new railway connection will be built, and this time between the mines of Sighetu Marmației and Ocna Șugatag and Coștiui, will completely upset the residents who lived from the transportation. Those who have so far transported salt from salt mines to Maramures, in the absence of any other earnings, in their final despair, turn to the authorities for help.

A competent adviser on the question of mines has provided an response to the above message. Here the author unequivocally supports the position of the continuation of the railway construction. Among his arguments he includes that few people are engaged in transportation, and as a matter of fact it is not possible to make money from it. He also disputes the view that there is not enough land in Maramures from which the transpoters, who have lost their jobs,

cannot support their families. The mine adviser protects the railway, which generates more and more new developments and, in his opinion, is a cheaper and much more efficient method of transportation. In addition to the slow pace of rafting, there is a problem that this form of transportation increses the loss of salt. According to the author, the traditional mode of transport is worse for the treasury because "[...] in addition to the transportation of salt, salt smuggling is as common as, perhaps, nowhere else in the world; and there is no way that would happen on the railway." (Ellenőr, December 31, 1881) In his response, Sándor Adda tries to refute the legitimacy of the Maramures protest, as we can see, he refutes the fact that many people in the region are engaged in transportation.

His position seems to be confirmed by a study of the transport conditions of Hungary of those days. Hungarian animal-drawn transport was studied four times at the end of the 19th century. According to the 1887 database, there were 641,000 horse-drawn and 365,000 oxen-drawn wagons in Hungary at that time. If we compare the data of the regions we studied, namely, Ung, Ugocsa, Bereg, Maramures, Szabolcs, Szatmár, we get the following results. Taking into account the number of vehicles per 1,000 people, these areas were not among the strongest. These include those border regions where foreign trade was of great importance (eg, in some areas of Brașov, Sibiu, Vas these figures exceed 160). On the territory of our region, the Tisza area of the Bereg County has a high rate (there are 89 means of transportation per 1,000 people). In contrast, there is one district in the Bereg and Szatmár Counties each, and four districts in Maramures (these are Vișeu, Sighetu, Rakhiv and Mizhhirya), where this figure is only between 20 and 30. Of course, the number of wagons is related to the number of harnessed horses. In this regard, we can see instructive data that show what percentage of horses are harnessed in front of the cart, while this figure in the Szatmár County is less than 50 percent, in the Maramures and Bereg Counties it is more than 80 percent. In the previous region, work processes were specialized, horses for agricultural work were separated from draft horses. In contrast, cattle were used to perform various work processes in the latter region. In terms of oxen-drawn carts, the leader is the Tisza region (45 carts with oxen per 1,000 inhabitants), while Maramures, with the exception of the Iza Valley, does not have big numbers (30 carts with oxen) (Frisnyák, 2002, 54).

Comparing the data, it seems likely that transport capacity is closely linked to the commodity production of the area and the distance from the markets. Of course, far-reaching conclusions cannot be drawn from the above data alone. In any case, it is a fact that a network of railway lines has already been built in the Maramures region, which is capable of transporting the most important consumer goods, salt, to all corners of the country. At the same time, it was

the narrow-gauge mining lines that provided most of the traffic that were commissioned in the decade of the survey. Apparently, in such a short time there could not be a significant change in the number of livestock and the number of animal-drawn vehicles. This problem could be reassuringly solved by having data from the period before the construction of the railway, with an accuracy similar to the study of 1887.

At the same time, not only local criticism of salt transport by rail has emerged. As you can see, in the past, transportation on the Tisza was strongly criticized because the delivery was not steady, because in the winter and during low water levels, the rafting of goods was suspended. However, the railway also suffers from this problem, it has been repeatedly reported about the impossibility of transporting salt due to lack of cars. In 1907, the newspaper Szeged és Vidéke (Szeged and its district) reported that the city was in danger of severe salt shortages and stocks would last no longer than two weeks. The journalist reports on the essence of the problem as follows: “The significance of the shortage of cars is characterized by the fact that due to the lack of railway cars from the mines of Sighetu Marmației, salt delivery was completely suspended, as a result of which the large salt mill of the main agency of the state salt monopoly was forced to stop and lay off most of its employees. Salt mills at other salt mines have suspended their work in recent days, as the accumulated amount of salt cannot be removed due to the lack of railway cars. Because of these circumstances, salt shortages are expected in all parts of the country, and it is likely that work at all salt mines will be stopped. While salt mines have unloaded salt, which is worth several million, most provincial cities are in a need of salt, and all this causes the usury of salt.” (Szeged és vidéke, October 20, 1907).

3.8. Review

Despite the above problems, the railway was able to perform its tasks. As we have seen above, the railway covered the entire Maramures County and reliably performed its work in both passenger and freight transportation. This situation changed dramatically after the dissolution of historic Hungary. In Zakarpattia, as elsewhere in the country, the Treaty of Trianon severed a decades-long network of political interests. Not to mention that the northeastern region fell into the hands of two countries, Czechoslovakia and Romania. The division of economic activity, established for centuries within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, has virtually disappeared. The successor states became reserved, looked at each other with hostility (just think of the established anti-Hungarian alliance of the Little Entente),

not to mention that they had a similar structure of agricultural products, which further narrowed the possibility of foreign trade. In the case of the railway, the interests of the economy and the local population were also not taken into account. In this situation, freight transport from the upper Tisza stopped. One of the many consequences of this was that the existence of the population of the Maramures region became difficult.

And then, in the late thirties, there was another change. The promise of a territorial revision by a strengthened Hitler's Germany also reached Hungary. During this period, part of the bold domestic press, in addition to real problems, served the purposes of government propaganda. More and more people could read about the request to return the separated territories back to their former homeland. As an example, we can recall an article published in the newspaper "Esti Újság" (Evening Newspaper) in late 1938, in which even the headline is indicative (residents of the Maramures mountain region demand their accession to Hungary). The journalist reports that the situation of Maramures, which in the old world was called the one behind the mountains and valleys, worsened after Trianon. The region came under Romanian rule, and such an absurd situation arose that it could be reached both from the north and from the south only through the territories of foreign states. The import of food and industrial goods to Maramures could now only be carried out by trucks, which led to higher prices. Prices, according to the report, increased three to four times. Due to the division of the railways, salt delivery stalled. As a result, the salt mines in Coștiui and Solotvyno ceased their activities, due to which the livelihood of the workers was not guaranteed. 1,400 workers and their families in Coștiui, and almost 2,000 workers in Solotvyno and their families were forced to live in poverty (Esti Újság, December 21, 1938).

Before the World War II the Horthy government paid great attention to the development of the railway, and in 1939 significant railway developments were introduced. This is evidenced by the fact that by 1943, 22 million pengős had been allocated to this transport area. With these funds, the closed tracks were put back into operation, the railway service infrastructure was improved, the vehicle fleet was restored, and a new line was built. The most important investment in the latter area was the construction of the track between Teresva and Solotvyno. The latter, as an important region of salt mines, was again able to connect to the national railway network. The investment was made within a little over six months. This speed of construction can be highly evaluated especially if we mention that at least 13 km of railway line was laid in the mountains, mostly with slopes of 10 per mille. Not to mention that six bridges were built on the line. The need for this track was justified by the fact that the Khust-Yasinya railway, after crossing the Tisza River near Teresva, could not be used, as it ran

along the left bank of the river, which already was on Romanian territory. The narrow-gauge railway near Solotvyno was in the same situation, so salt from the mines could not be delivered to the Hungarian railway network. Sighetu Marmației also belonged to the neighboring country, and the railway line returned to Zakarpattia only near the settlement of Trebusán (modern day Dilove).

Thanks to the new investment, a new salt railway line was created, thus ensuring the delivery of raw materials important to Hungary. Although they wanted to continue this railway line on the right bank of the Tisza, it did not happen. The reason for this was that as a result of the second Viennese decision Sighetu Marmației, and with it the left bank of the Tisza with the Khust-Yasinya line, ended up in Hungary. By connecting to the Debrecen-Satu Mare-Korolevo line, Zakarpattia also became accessible, as did Maramures and the old salt roads railway connected to it. The transport situation also improved due to the fact that at the end of 1941 the Hungarian government put a new bridge on the Tisza River into operation, which crossed the river between Sighetu Marmației and Solotvyno (Miszlay, 2010, 76-77). All these processes were then interrupted again after 1945, and this time forever. Strictly protected borders kept both the movement of goods and passenger traffic under strict control.

CHAPTER 4. FORTIFICATIONS ON THE SALT ROAD (or CASTLES FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE MARAMURES SALT REGION)

More than two dozen castles located in the Zakarpattia region of Ukraine are mentioned in the historiography records devoted to the medieval and early modern military architecture of the Upper Tisza Region. Involving them into historical reconstructions poses certain difficulties, starting with the definition of the term "castle", the category of which usually includes settlements ("earthen fortresses"), palaces and watchtowers. As a result, a number of false monuments have been introduced into scientific circulation. This applies to the palaces in Chynadiyevo, Dovhe, Yesenya and Horyany, not precisely localized locations of Beregvár, Gutivár, Sasvár, as well as locations without stone fortifications (Déda Tóvár, Borsova and Vyshkovo). After their exclusion from the general list, the most reliable are Bronka (Tsarska mountain), Vynohradiv (Kankiv), Kvasovo, Korolevo (Nyaláb), Mukachevo (Palanok), Nevytske, Siltse (Boduliv), Serednye, Uzhhorod and Khust. Mapping of these castles shows their location along the foothills of the Carpathians, on the main waterways of the region. As a rule, and sometimes without proper argumentation, popular science and even the scientific literature determines the time of their appearance as settlements in 9-10 centuries, and with the erection of stone walls in 10-11 centuries they became castles (Pop, Pop, 1971; 2007; Pop, 2001). This dating of key monuments does not correlate with the time of formation of such fortifications in the northeastern part of the Carpathian-Danube region, the early stage of which is associated with the end of the 13th - first half of the 14th century. (Prokhnenko, Moizhes, Zhylenko, 2013, p. 203-250).

In this situation, in order to address the issues of chronology, and particularly to establish the time of construction of the castles of Zakarpattia, there was a need for critical analysis of the evidence of written sources and more attention to archaeological data. This state of affairs determined the direction of work of the separate detachment of the archeological expedition of Uzhhorod National University formed in 2007. Its work focuses on the study of those castles that previously had no specific archaeological material. Its function focuses on the study of those castles that previously had no specific archaeological material. This applies to Vynohradiv, Korolevo, Bronka, Serednye, Siltse, Kvasov and Khust. The main purpose of the first stage of research was to form stratigraphic columns and establish a real chronology of monuments based on them. Excavations of the very first field seasons confirmed the feasibility of using this method of initial study of castles.

The correlation of archeological data with the evidence of written sources allowed us to really look at the history of key "architectural highlights" of Zakarpattia, depriving it of many mythical elements. Particular attention is paid to fortifications directly related to the control of the main trade roads from the valley of the river Borzhava to the river Tisza.

4.1. Borzhava Valley castles

The process of forming the administrative system of Upper Hungary was rather slow. Thus, the Bereg county was finally formed only after the Tatar invasion (1241), but unlike Maramures or Ugocsa, which arose as a result of the colonization policy of the Hungarian kings, it had an earlier core. Researchers believe that it was formed on the territory of the former Borsova county, which is one of the first administrative units of the Hungarian state. However, the territory of Borsova was much larger than the future county of Bereg, deeply wedged into the land of the modern region of Szabolcs-Szatmár.

In the early stages Bereg, like the rest of the north-eastern regions of the Kingdom of Hungary, was the so-called "Forestae Regnum", a royal forest, privately owned by kings (praedium) (Botka, 1871, pp. 393). In the so-called Bereg agreements of 1232 between the representatives of the church and King András II there is also "in Silva Bereg", and the first mention of the county dates back to 1248. The majority of population during this period consisted of Slavs involved in border protection. This is indicated by the title of Bereg's zhupan, which is mentioned as "Officialis dux ruthenorum" in the sources of 13th-14th centuries (Lehoczky, 1996, pp. 55-56). Since 1264, a new administrative center of the committee, Bereg Castle, is mentioned, the location of which is still not determined. Since the end of the 13th century the royal committee became noble, and from the middle of the 14th century its administrative center moved to Mukachevo.

This county included the valley of the river Borzhava. This river is one of the main waterways of the region. This led to its special strategic importance in terms of the functioning of an important trade road in its valley, which in some places crossed the roads connecting the counties. Accordingly, at key points of their intersection there were customs posts and castle-type structures in order to control the movement of the main categories of goods.

Bronka

One of the most striking architectural complexes of Zakarpattia, which is characterized by early materials, is the Bronka complex, located in Irshava district. It was explored by an expedition of Uzhhorod National University in the spring of 2008. The monument is located on top of a steep rocky mountain, which is called Tsarska by the locals. It covers the entrance to the side gorge of the mountain range, which surrounds the convenient for settlement valley of the Bronka river. The river encircles the mountain on three sides, and next to it is a road.

The castle was built on a site of an approximate oval shape, with a slight deviation oriented along the west-east line. The size of the plateau (35 x 14 m) limited the area of the monument. It, in combination with the peculiarities of the location, namely an excellent view of the terrain and, most importantly, the lack of convenient lifting, allows us to talk about the main functional purpose of the station, which most likely was a sentry tower.

Mentions of fortifications in written sources date back to the second half of the 13th century. In his letter on May 23, 1273, King László V accepted Master Péter of the Csák family to his court for his participation in the conquest of Bronka Castle. The document is related to the events of a decade earlier, when during the military conflict between Béla IV and the younger King István V, one of the encounters took place under the walls of this fortress (Fügedi, 1977, p. 104).

The next mention of the Bronka fortification dates back to 1290. King András III ordered Ubulfi Mihály's sons to keep the defense of the castle until his arrival (Codex…, 1829, 458). According to researchers, such an order may be related to the fact that in the autumn of 1290 an impostor came to Hungary from Poland and pretended to be Prince András, the brother of King László IV.

The document of 1321 mentions only the ruins of the castle. It is not known for sure what led to the decline of the fortress. According to some scholars, it came under § 24 of the Royal Law of 1291 on predatory fortifications (Györffy, 1987, p. 530), according to others it was destroyed under the terms of the peace treaty between András III and Albert Habsburg in 1291 (Kristó, 1986, p. 152). However, Bronka could have been destroyed during any other episode of civil wars at the turn of the century.

The castle buildings are represented by two stone structures, which in some places barely stand out above the modern surface. The first is a round tower (outer diameter - 7.8 m, wall thickness - 1.0 m), erected in the eastern part of the site. It defended a difficult but most accessible approach to the top. The southern part of the wall borders a rock, 3 m high, at the base of which is a cave of artificial origin, which may have been used to store provisions.

The second building, rectangular in shape, is located in the western part of the plateau. Its dimensions are 13.6 x 7.6 m, wall thickness is 1.0 m. A steep slope begins at the foot of the northern wall (about 45˚), between the southern wall and a similar slope there is a small relatively horizontal area (possibly for the entrance to buildings). The western wall borders on vertical rock ledges.

Testimonies of the local population and a visual inspection of the monument revealed the destruction of a large area of the cultural layer of the castle by treasure hunters. In many places, as a result of their activities, it has been relocated, and in some areas a bare rock base is visible. Given this situation, two excavations were laid in relatively well-preserved areas (Prokhnenko, Gomolyak, Moizhes, 2008, pp. 139-148; Prokhnenko, Zhylenko, 2016, pp. 77-79).

The nature of the cultural layer became the basis for defining the eastern tower as a watchtower, the rectangular building as living quarters of the castle. Analysis of the material allowed to establish the stages of settlement. The initial horizon is related to the population of the region of the Copper-Bronze Age, which used the top as storage. The construction of fortifications is determined by the second half of the 13th century. The construction of fortifications is determined by the second half of the 13th century. The main horizon of residence, which is fixed on the monument, is short (until the beginning of the 14th century). Among the individual finds are predominantly knives, including combat ones, and bars for their sharpening. Besides the funds include crucible for melting metals, a fragment of a spur, a hook and nails. The inhabitants of the castle at this time were engaged in hunting and fishing, which is confirmed by the analysis of the detected osteological material. The examination of the bones of animals indicates that the inhabitants of the castle hunted for wild boars, roe deer, deer and wolves, as well as were engaged in stockbreeding in the surrounding areas, including breeding pigs and cattle.

A small amount of pottery is associated with the 15th century. Most likely during this period the main function of the castle was storage. The main research materials confirmed the date of construction of the castle noted in the scientific literature (the second half of the 13th century).

Siltse

The next building, which in the scientific literature is classified as a castle, is located between the village of Siltse and the town of Irshava. There is no mention of it in written

sources. Probably, the castle was built by local feudal lords, representatives of the Ilosvay family. The ruins of the fortification were dismantled in the 19th century for the construction of a new church in Irshava (Lehoczky, 1996, pp. 529-532).

Remains of the foundations of buildings have been preserved on the northern outskirts of Siltse village (Irshava district), on top of Boduliv mountain. The foot of the mountain was swampy in the north and north-west, while the south-eastern part, at a distance of about 200 m from the foot, is occupied by the river Irshavka, which flows into the river Borzhava nearby. The eastern and northwestern slopes of the mountain are steep, the southwestern one is gentle.

The plan of the castle was recreated by the remains of its stone foundation. In terms of square configuration, the size is 32 by 32 m. The fortification is additionally protected by ditches and shafts laid along the walls on the northern and southern sides of it.

The monument was first excavated in 1981 by an archeological expedition led by S.I. Penyak. Based on the collected ceramic material, the researcher identified three cultural and chronological horizons (3–2 centuries BC, 10–11 centuries and 13–14 centuries). In 1991 O.V. Dzembas resumed the works in the Boduliv tract. He found a small amount of fragmentary pottery, defined by the Hallstatt period and the Middle Ages (10-11 centuries).

Because of the scant material obtained during the research of Boduliv attention was given to this location again. In order to obtain additional data, an excavation and two pits were laid in the area bounded by the stone foundation (Prokhnenko, Homolyak, Zombor, 2010, pp. 346-348).

The ceramics received during research allows to determine the time of construction of the castle as the second half of the 13th century, and allows to state that the phase of its commissioning is not fixed.

Kvasovo

Another castle from the valley of the river Borzhava is located on the eastern outskirts of the village Kvasovo of Berehovo district. It was built on top of a rocky hill. Its northern and northeastern slopes which face the river are steep, southern and southwestern are gentle.

Part of the fortification complex was destroyed as a result of economic activity in the 20th century. To date, the foundation and partially the walls of the castle have been preserved. Their thickness is up to 2.0 m.

According to the plan the castle had the shape of a right-angled triangle with a round tower at the southern corner. The area of the central part is 450 square meters. The inner

diameter of the tower is 9.0 m. It is bordered by a moat up to 4.0 m deep, dug along the western wall of the castle.

The settlement of Kvasovo was first mentioned in written sources on May 8, 1390, when together with the Vary Castle it was given as a present to the court knight of Queen Maria, Master János, son of György Nagymihály, by King Zsigmond (ZsO, I, 1487). At the beginning of the 15th century the village passed to the Jakcsi family, and later to the Szaniszló branch of the Báthory family. At the end of the century the castle in Kvasovo together with the dominium became the property of the members of the Matuznai family, who recieved it partly as a dowry and partly as acquired property (Lehoczky, 1996, pp. 548-549). In 1540 György and Pál Matuznai sold the castle to Kristóf Kávássy, a castellan from Khust. It was not until 1546 that family ownership was restored. In the late 1550s and early 1560s, during the escalation of the internecine war between King Ferdinand and János Zsigmond, garrison soldiers, taking advantage of political instability, often raided surrounding villages.

The situation became so aggravated that at the legislative meeting of 1563 in Požoň (Bratislava) the commander-in-chief was instructed to investigate the feasibility of further maintenance of Kvasovo Castle. If the significance of the castle in the kingdom's defense system was proved, the commander-in-chief was obliged to bring order to the garrison so that they would stop the looting. Otherwise, the castle was subject to destruction.

As the region was under János Zsigmond's rule at the time, the decision remained on paper. Only a year later, in 1564, the royal troops under the command of Lázár Schwendi managed to occupy the region and capture the surrounding fortresses, including Kvasovo. In the same year the castle was destroyed (Budai, 1814, p. 177).

According to the above mentioned written sources, the fortification arose at the end of the 15th century, but in the scientific literature, without reference to specific documents, an earlier date is indicated, which is the 14th century. In order to create the stratigraphic column of the castle an expedition from Uzhhorod National University conducted field research in the field season of 2009 (Prokhnenko, Homolyak, Zombor, 2010, pp. 346-348).

The stratigraphy of Kvasovo Castle and the material found here make it possible to speak of two stages of settlement of its territory. The first inhabitants came here in 2nd millennium BC, and at the end of the 15th century there was a fortress**.**

4.2. Upper Tisza castles

4.2.1. Ugocsa region fortifications

Andras Komáromy, a researcher of the history of the Ugocsa region, believes that this county arose in the 12th century, during the reign of either Géza II (1141–1162) or possibly Béla III (1172–1196). The largest landowner in the region during this period was the king, and the population comprised of Flemish and later Saxon settlers, who had the right to move to other lands without the consent of the feudal lord (Komáromy, 1894, pp. 492-493; Komáromy, 1896, pp. 13-15.). In the first stages of the existence of the county, the royal fortifications were not there, because the region was part of the "Forestae Regnum", and economic activity there was scanty. Most Hungarian medievalists support the idea of private land tenure of kings (Tivadar Botka, Frigyes Pesty, János Karácsony, Gyula Pauler). István Szabó in his monograph on the history of this county, believes that it existed in the last decades of the 12th century in the form of the so-called "forest county", ie the royal dominiums with newly formed villages, the population of which consisted of royal foresters, hunters, fishermen (Szabó, 1994).

It is probable that in the early stages the counties of Ugocsa and Maramures formed a single administrative unit with its center in Szőllős, presided over by a joint county governor, and their separation took place at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, primarily under the influence of economic factors.

Vynohradovo

In the second half of the 13th century the town of Szőllős (modern Vynohradovo, since 1946) became the center of German colonization of the region. In 1262 the settlement received the right for self-government, which formed the basis of a number of similar privileges granted to the hospits of Ugocsa (Korolevo, Chornotysovo, Sasovo, Veryatsy), and later to the cities of Maramures. "Szőllős is a small but endowed with all the benefits of nature city, the center of the Ugocsa county divided by the waters of the Tisza River, known for its location in a beautiful area, excellent grain and even better vineyards. Its owners were the ancient family of Perényi, whose ancestors once lived in the castle Kankiv, built on the eastern outskirts of the city, on a rocky rise near the Chorna (Black) Mountain, and later moved to a more comfortable palace, built in the lowlands … "- said the 19th century historian

and ethnographer T. Lehotskiy about Vynohradovo. Both the historian and the eyewitnesses of earlier eras saw Kankiv, once a castle with the glorious past, only in ruins.

Vynohradovo Castle is located on the southeastern outskirts of Vynohradovo at the foot of the Chorna Mountain, the opposite slope of which is washed by the Tisza River. The fortifications were erected in the shape of a quadrangle (size 44.5 x 35 m), with living quarters located around the perimeter and with protruding corner bastions. The inner part had a spacious courtyard of a rectangular shape. In addition to the castle buildings, the architectural ensemble included a chapel and a church with an annex. There was a well between the church and the main building. The whole complex of buildings was surrounded by an external stone wall, which is currently visible only in a few small areas.

In the scientific literature, the history of the castle is considered as a continuous chain of important events from the 9th to the 16th century (creation, reconstructions, handovers, conquests, destructions, ruin). However, most of these facts are not confirmed by written sources, and some points even contradict them. A critical approach to the documents allows us to establish the following outline of the main events related to the castle. The first written mention of Szőllős dates back to 1262. The deed of gift of 1280, testifies that King László IV handed over the settlement to zhupan Miklós, son of Péter (ÁUO, XII, 291; A Perényi ..., 2008, 11). In 1307, King Károly Róbert handed over the town to the chamberlain Béke Borsó of the Tamás family as a gift (AO, I, 124). Probably, apart from the town, he also received permission to build a fortress, the castellan of which first appears in the sources of 1308 (AO, I, 138). After the Borsó brothers acted as allies of Máté Csák against King Károly Róbert, the castle was stormed and returned to the possession of the crown by the Bereg county zhupan Tomasz Janki (A Perényi ..., 2008, 24-25). During the assault the fortress defense system was destroyed. The town belonged to the queen until 1399, but the castle does not appear in any of the documents (Fügedi, 1977, p. 201).

At the turn of the 14th-15th centuries King Zsigmond gave Szőllős to Péter Perényi, the zhupan of Székely and Zemplin (A Perényi ..., 2008, 206-207), for his faithful service. Along with the deed of gift, Perényi received permission to build a castle (ZsO I, 6111), but did not have time to use it. A few years later he was awarded the Nyaláb dominium with its center in the Korolevo Castle, so the need to build another fortress disappeared. A Franciscan monastery was built on the territory intended for the construction of the fortification around 1505, the patrons of which were the Perényis (Riskó, 2007, p. 29). The monastery complex functioned for about half a century. The situation changed dramatically in 1556, when Ferenc

Perényi, who had been brought up in the Reformed tradition, dispersed the monks and destroyed the monastery (Rupp, 1872, p. 393), which was no longer rebuilt after those events.

In order to check the chronological scheme and determine the stratigraphy of the monument, the expedition of Uzhhorod National University dug five pits with a total area of 29 square meters in different parts of the castle in the field season of 2007 (Prokhnenko, Homolyak, 2007, pp. 83-94; Prokhnenko, Zhylenko, 2018, pp. 120-123). Three of them (2.0 x 3.0 m) within the castle walls, one (2.0 x 2.5 m) in the chapel and one (2.0 x 2.5 m) in the church. The analysis of the obtained materials became the basis for establishing the next stratigraphic picture of the Vynohradovo Castle. The initial settlement of the tract dates back to the 14th - 12th centuries B.C. and is connected with the representatives of the Stanovo culture. The location of the monument on the hill allows you to consider it as a station, naturally fortified with mountain slopes. It is currently impossible to detect fortifications of the Late Bronze Age due to destruction during construction work in the Middle Ages. The construction of the system of stone fortifications dates back to the 14th century. Reconstruction of fortifications was carried out in the 16th century, but it should be noted that the medieval and early modern horizons of the studied areas of the monument are not vivid.

Korolevo

Nyaláb Castle is the most potential among the monuments of Ugocsa in terms of archeological study. It is located on the north-western outskirts of the village of Korolevo, Vynohradovo district. The castle hill is 52 m high and is of volcanic origin. It is a real geological miracle because the nearest elevations are at a considerable distance from it. From the top you can see the valley of the Tisza River, which flows 300 m from the foot. The central part of the fortress, with an area of 52.0 x 47.0 m, is of trapezoidal shape and is located in the north-western part of the upper platform of the mountain. An additional protective line with a rectangular building is located 30 m away from the main castle building. On the south-eastern edge of the tract, at a distance from the main architectural complex, a wedge-shaped bastion was erected, measuring 10.15 x 9.65 m.

Much attention has been devoted to the history of the fortress in the scientific literature, but only in some cases the submitted factual material is confirmed by written sources. This is especially true of the early stage of Nyaláb's functioning, which is only occasionally mentioned in medieval documents (Komáromy, 2001, pp. 16-42). It is a well known fact that the "junior king" (iunior rex Hungariae) István V (1270-1272) chose the

vicinity of Korolevo as his favorite place for hunting for bisons, bears and wild boars. It was him who in 1262 ordered the construction of a hunting lodge, Domus regalis, on the Nyaláb hill near the village of Felszasz (the first name of the village of Korolevo). The early period of use of the building is mentioned in a letter of Pope Urban IV in 1264, where he appeals to István V to return the hunting lodge to his mother (Princess Maria Laskarina of Nicaea), as it had previously been the property of the queen.

The castle dates back to 1315 (Hazai 1897, 193). At the beginning of the 14th century King Károly Róbert donated it to the royal chamberlain Béke Borsó (Karácsonyi, 1900, 211 old.). After the latter sided with Máté Csák, the castle was captured and rebuilt from the ruins by the Bereg county zhupan Tomasz (A Perényi ..., 2008, 24-25).

Over time, the restored castle became the center of the dominium. King Nagy Lajos (1342–1382) handed it over to the sons of the Moldavian voivode Balk and Drág in 1378. Under Drág's descendants, in addition to its protective function, the fortress served as a cultural center. The evidence for this is a tetraevangelion which was rewritten here in 1401 in the Old East Slavic language (Mykytas, Chuchka, 1968, pp. 62-64).

After the uprising of 1403, King Zsigmond (1387–1437) deprived the Drág family of the right to own the castle, and in 1405 handed it over to Péter Perényi. Despite the short period of time in the second half of the 15th century, when the fortification belonged to Báthory, Nyaláb remained in the hands of Perényi until the end of its existence.

The barons worried not only about strengthening the walls, but also about the interior of the fortress. They were also famous for their patronage. With the financial support of Catherine Frangipane, widow of Gábor Perényi, who died in the battle of Mohács in 1526, the translations of “Letters of St. Paul in Hungarian” with comments by the compiler were published by Hieronymus Vietor's publishing house in Kraków in 1533. The letters had been translated from Latin in the castle of Nyaláb by Benedek Komjáti (Az zenth Paal leueley magyar nyeluen), which became the first printed Hungarian book (Székely, 1957, p. 19).

According to Áron Szilágyi, it is in the Korolevo Castle that the famous poet of the 16th century Péter Ilosvai Selymes wrote a poem about Miklós Toldi and dedicated it to the Ugosca zhupan István Perényi (Ilosvai Selymes, 1575). The poem later formed the basis of János Arany's trilogy "Az híresneves Tholdi Miklósnak jeles cselekedeteiről és bajnokságáról való história". A prominent representative of Hungarian Renaissance poetry, Bálint Balassi, also visited Nyaláb.

The final stage in the history of the castle is connected with the events after the uprising of Ferenc Wesselényi in the 60s of the 17th century, in which several Ugocsa families

took part. Emperor Lipót I (1655–1687) lost confidence in the nobility of northeastern Hungary, stationed a garrison in the Korolevo Fortress led by Konrád Meyer of Brandenburg and ordered the destruction of the fortifications. Perényi tried to save the castle and delegated vice-zhupan János Hartyáni to the Emperor, but his mission was unsuccessful. At the end of 1671 and the beginning of 1672, the walls of Nyaláb were blown up, after which it was no longer rebuilt.

Despite the eventful history of the castle, until recently only periodic minor archeological searches were carried out on it and in its nearest district. In particular, in the 19th century the Hungarian National Museum (Budapest) received the findings from the Korolevo twice (1859 and 1881). These were various ornaments, including a gilded copper ring and a branch with flowers made of precious stones, as well as a copper two-barred cross ("the Cross of Lorraine"). In addition, among the materials there are three coffin nails with star-shaped heads covered with silver foil. These findings most likely come from the crypt of the chapel, the burials of which are associated with wealthy castle owners.

One hundred years later, in the 1980s, a paleolithic expedition of the Museum of Nature (Kyiv) carried out small excavations near the central part of the fortification. It collected artefactual remains of the Late Middle Ages, including a fragment of a coin of Hungarian King Hunyadi Mátyás.

In the early 90s of the last century, more than twenty pits were laid on the territory of the monument by the expedition of the Ukrainian Regional Specialized Research and Restoration Institute "Ukrzahidproektrestavratsiya" (XIV century landmark, 1993). But the works were only nominally called archaeological. The search itself was not aimed at studying the stratigraphy and cultural layer of the castle, but at determining the planning of the interior, and usually ended at a depth of 0.5 m (with the actual thickness of the cultural layer in these places 4.0-5.0 m).

Since 2007, an expedition of Uzhhorod National University has undertaken to study the Korolevo Castle of Nyaláb. In the field seasons of 2007, 2011-2019, five pits and five excavations were laid in different parts of the monument, with a total area of more than 200 square meters (Prokhnenko, Zhylenko, Moizhes, 2016, pp. 123-154; Prokhnenko, Zhylenko, 2015, pp. 68-71; Prokhnenko, Zhylenko, Moizhes, 2016, pp. 273-299). The thickness of the cultural layer ranged from 1.5 to 5.7 m. During the works three living quarters with tiled stoves were examined and a large collection of material was collected: thousands of fragments of ceramic utensils, including imported ones, tiles, products made from leather, bone, glass and metal (household items, handicraft tools, clothing items, jewelry, a medallion, a token, a

textile seal, coins, weapons). The analysis of the stratigraphic situation and the obtained findings prove that Nyaláb was a functioning fortification from the end of the 13th to the middle of the 17th century, which does not contradict the information from written sources. Undoubtedly, the results of further archaeological research will bring additional information to specify the history of this key structure.

4.2.2. Maramures fortifications

Maramures is one of the latest counties of the Kingdom of Hungary, the early history of which is poorly covered in the documents. The first mention of these lands dates back to 1199 and is associated with the failed hunt of King Imre, who fell here from his horse and nearly died (Hazai II. 1-2; Reg. Arp. I. 185. sz).

The next well-known document which mentions Maramures appeared almost a century later, on December 31, 1271. In it, King István gives privileges to his hospits from the village of Felszasz (modern Korolevo, Vynohradovo district), particularly the right to fish in the territories up to the Maramures forests - silve Maramorosii (A Perényi ..., 2008, 5). Hence, we are not talking about a formalized administrative unit, but about the name of a certain territory. The document of 1299 still includes "terram Maramorus", meaning Maramures lands, not county (CDH VI / 2. 194.).

At the turn of the 13th -14th centuries the region was under the influence of the Ugocsa zhupans, and the Maramures county appeared only in the first half of the 14th century (although at the initial stage the officials also often included the zhupans of the surrounding counties: Ugocsa, Bereg, Zemplín, etc. and later combined the positions of the zhupan of the salt warehouses and the castellan of Khust Castle).

Mass colonization of these lands took place, probably, in the late 13th century coming from the side of Ugocsa. This is evidenced by the privileges granted to the residents of the towns of the county at the request of the settlers, as well as the rights of town self-government. Vyshkovo first appeared in medieval documents in 1281, then Tyachiv and Sighetu in 1308, Khust in 1324. The first common mention of the five towns of Maramures in a letter from Bishop Boleszláv of Esztergom dates back to 1326.

The ethnic composition of the region's inhabitants was quite diverse. At the initial stage, German and Hungarian elements predominated in the towns. But despite the special status, the Saxons during the 15th -16th centuries gradually assimilated and dissolved in the

Hungarian massif of towns (the longest they can be traced is in Vyshkovo), but surnames still indicate their former presence. The Slavic population and the Wallachians (Vlachs) settled mainly in the surrounding villages, due to their way of farming (Gulyás, 2014, p. 47).

With the acquisition of privileges, the towns of Maramures embarked on a path of rapid development, and the decisive factor was that during the Middle Ages they were mostly in royal possession (except for a short period in the late 14th - early 15th century, when they belonged to the Moldavian Belteki family).

When the Maramures salt mines were opened after the Transylvanian salt mines, the region quickly became involved in the economic life of the kingdom. Intensive extraction of salt deposits began at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, as until then the sparsely populated county did not have enough skilled labor, which appeared only at the turn of the century with the relocation of settlers.

Vyshkovo

Only two locations on the territory of Maramures, which today belongs to the Zakarpattia region in Ukraine, were referred to as castles in the medieval documents. The first of them functioned near Vyshkovo and is included in the category of castles rather conditionally. It has a structure, basic fortification attributes and functional load of the observation deck on a mountain top with very steep slopes.

The structure on Várhegy mountain belongs to the small fortifications with the most extreme location. At the top of the mountain with steep slopes there was a flat area (about 30 square meters), from which the valley of the Tisza River is perfectly visible. The stone walls were not erected here, but two natural landscape shaft-like strips of different lengths were used, which enclosed a small part of the top of the hill on the side which was the easiest to climb, if one can even call it such. A small depression in the rock ledges right next to the site is classified as a cellar for storing food supplies. The study of the location on the top of the castle hill by scientists of Uzhhorod University showed the absence of stone fortifications here. Hence, we assume that they were erected from wood, as evidenced by the found small fragments of daub. The total area of the monument and the lack of a convenient ascent provide the basis for defining the location as a sentry tower.

The history of Vyshkovo "castle" is clearly reflected in medieval documents. In 1274, King István V presented the town, which at that point still belonged to Ugocsa region, together with a customs post to the representatives of the Hont-Pázmány family, Mikov and

Chepán. László Kuhn also confirmed the deed of gift in 1281. It was probably the brothers who built fortifications here in the last decades of the 13th century. The first mention of them dates back to 1299, when King András III "returned the castle to the brothers and left them the right of ownership". Already in the following year of 1300, András III took the castle from the brothers, who in return received several settlements in the territory of Ugocsa: Chornotysovo, Rokosovo and Nyírtelek (Mihályi, 1900, 2). It was during this period that the village, together with the castle, was passed over to Maramures. However, the fortification did not last long, because starting from the first half of the 14th century it is no longer mentioned in the sources. Given the clear evidence from written sources and the exact location, as well as the lack of systematic field research, the decision as to the specification of the history of the monument remains with archaeologists.

Khust

The insignificant period of using the location in Vyshkovo to observe the valley of the Tisza River can be explained by the fact that at this time the construction of another fortress, Khust Castle, probably began. It took over the function of protecting the Maramures salt road, which brought significant profits to the state treasury, and also became the center of the Korolevo county. Khust was founded during the reconstruction of the Kingdom of Hungary after the Mongol-Tatar invasion.

By the privilege of King Károly Róbert in 1329, Khust, together with 4 other settlements, received a municipal form of government (later, in 1352, Máramarossziget joined them), and specifically the status of the main city among them. Judging by the fact that the town received rights similar to those of Szőllős, which was colonized by Saxon hospits during the time of Géza II and Béla III, Khust was also inhabited by German settlers.

The first written evidence of the castle dates back to 1353 (Fügedi, 1977, pp. 144). The document mentions the castellan Domokos Macska, who at that time also commanded Nyaláb (the Korolevo Castle). In 1365, King Zsigmond donated the Maramures lands to the Wallachian voivodes of Balk and Drág to protect the frontiers from attacks by the Moldavian voivode Bohdan, but they did not own the castle for a long time. Later Zsigmond handed over the fortress to his chancellor Imre Perényi (Trebišov branch), which was one of the reasons for many years of enmity between the two clans.

At the end of the 15th century Khust, together with the salt mines, returned to the crown. In 1498 the fortress was again given to the family of Perényi (but this time the Nyaláb

branch) in the person of Gábor Perényi. During the peasant uprising of György Dózsa in 1514, local nobles found refuge in Khust Castle, which the rebels never managed to storm. After the uprising, the castle returned to the property of the king.

Since the collapse of the Kingdom of Hungary into three parts, the castle was mostly owned by the Transylvanian princes. After the Battle of Mohács, Khust Fortress changed owners several times. For some time, it was owned by Tamás Nádasdy, but the real master here was Kristóf Kávássy, a castellan known for his cruelty, who kept the population of the three counties in fear. In 1546 the castle was captured by the troops of Ferdinand I of Habsburg.

In 1556, Queen Isabella's troops stormed the fortress, but the fortifications were captured only after the garrison ran out of food. According to the Treaty of Speyer, the castle was ceded to the Transylvanian principality and became one of its strongholds. In his will, János Zsigmond wrote off the fortress of Mihály Csák, Gáspár Békés and Kristóf Hagymasi, who was the castle's castellan from 1557 to 1564. After the uprising of Békés against the newly elected Transylvanian prince István Báthory, he was forced to hand over Khust to the latter. After that the wealthy dominium remains in the possession of the Transylvanian princes. Gábor Bethlen gave it to his younger brother, Maramures zhupan István. After the marriage of Bethlen's daughter to Ferenc Rhédi, the castle passed to the latter. This period is considered the "golden age" of the history of Khust Fortress.

Ferenc Rhédi's son, László, died in 1667 in Khust, after which the title of Maramures zhupan along with the whole dominium was given to Mihály Teleki.

In 1670, during the attempted coup of Wesselényi, part of the army of Ferenc Rákóczi I was based here, and later the castle became one of the centers of the kuruc movement. With the beginning of the war of liberation in 1703, one of the supporters of Ferenc Rákóczi II managed to penetrate the castle and buy the German garrison. In 1706 it was here that the treaty of the Transylvanian and Hungarian states was signed on the recognition of Rákóczi as a Transylvanian prince. After the conclusion of the Treaty of Szatmár, Austrian troops were stationed in Khust, and according to paragraph XCII of the law of 1715, the Maramures County was annexed to the Kingdom of Hungary.

On July 3, 1766, the castle ignited by a lightning strike, and the fire reached the powder tower, which exploded, destroying most of the buildings and part of the castle walls. The county tried to save the castle, began repairs, but this case was hopeless. In 1773, Empress Maria Theresa sent her son Joseph to inspect the fortifications. As a result, it was decided to withdraw the garrison from the Khust fortress and it finally ceased to exist.

In 1798 another storm damaged the last tower of the castle. Authorities gave the local community permission to dismantle the fortifications for building stones for the construction of a Catholic church and various official buildings in the city.

The layout of the monument's defensive structures was defined by an elongated plateau at the top of the mountain, stretching along the line from north to south. The fortifications are divided into upper and lower terraces, the lower courtyard in turn also consisted of two separate parts. At the time of the castle's completion, six bastions and four towers were inscribed in its defensive lines.

Given the existence of different dating options for the fortress, special importance is given to archaeological materials that most accurately reflect the chronological realities of this structure. Khust Castle can be confidently included in the group of key monuments of Zakarpattia in the late Middle Ages and early modern times. However, for a number of reasons, its systematic archaeological research has not yet been conducted. Earthworks carried out by local enthusiasts in the past decades were of an amateur nature and did not end with the recording of stratigraphy and the publication of the obtained materials. Such actions led to the destruction of cultural horizons and the destruction of individual elements of the fortifications themselves. In 2019, the archeological expedition of Uzhhorod National University began researching the castle territory. The main task is the formation of stratigraphic columns of the monument in some areas of the upper castle and castle courtyard (Prokhnenko, Zhylenko, 2019, pp. 174-180; Prokhnenko, Zhylenko, 2019, pp. 38-41).

The obtained materials allow to make preliminary conclusions about the construction horizons of the monument on the studied site. Construction of buildings in the highest part began, most likely, in the era of Mátyás Hunyadi. Spacious basements, up to 3.0 m high, were erected on a leveled rock base. All the load of the structure fell on a number of support pillars, from which arches and domed parts of the ceiling, which were built of tuff blocks, diverged in different directions. The stone walls of the rooms were erected on top of the basements. Most likely, after a fire in the castle in 1766, the roof structure suffered the most and rainwater began to penetrate into the rooms themselves. Over time, the basement floors were moistened and as a result destroyed. After that, the basements were completely covered with construction debris, and in the upper part the walls were redesigned. As a result, the area of the room we studied decreased significantly. The last use of the room was recorded in 1939 and it is connected with the stay of the Hungarian military on the castle hill.

Thus, today it can be stated that relatively small Khust Castle, erected in the 14th century, turned into a large complex of protective, residential and commercial buildings,

lasting until the end of the 18th century, and it all happened as a result of recurrent large-scale reconstructions in the 15th-17th centuries.

The Salt Road castles, located from the Borzhava to the Tisza valleys, are a reference point for stone military construction in the north-eastern part of the Kingdom of Hungary. They, while controlling important trade roads, went through a complex evolutionary path from small observation sites of the second half of the 13th - 14th centuries, located on the tops of steep mountains, to powerful fortified centers with a system of various defensive structures of the 15th - 16th centuries, and some of they did not lose their significance in the following centuries, functioning until the 17th - 18th centuries.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Anjou = Anjou-kori oklevéltár. Szeged, 1990–2007.

ÁÚO = Árpád-kori új okmánytár. Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus Continuatus. Szerk. Wenzel Gusztáv. I–XII. Pest–Bp., 1860–1873.

Codex = Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae Ecclesiasticus ac Civilis I–XI. Stud. Et op. Georgii Fejér. Budae, 1829–1844

DL = Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Magyar Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Levéltár

Hazai = Hazai okmánytár. Codex Diplomaticus Patriae. I–VIII. Kiadja Nagy Imre–Paur Iván–Ráth Károly–Véghely Dezső. Győr, Bp., 1865–1891.

OSZK = Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

ZSO = Zsigmond-kori oklevéltár I–XII. (1387–1425). Bp., 1951–2013

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