



Representatives in a Changing World: Characteristics of Urban Advocacy at the Turn of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*

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The Kingdom of Hungary had a strong system of estates within the Habsburg Monarchy, and this exerted a significant influence on the positions of free royal cities. The free royal cities enjoyed a large degree of internal autonomy until roughly the end of the seventeenth century, with little oversight or interference by the larger state. Since 1526, the cities had been members of the estates which had taken part in the Diets (the parliaments which could be regarded as the early modern form of the Hungarian), though they had played a minor role in comparison to the counties. In the last third of the seventeenth century, the system of estates underwent significant changes. The royal state came to exert more control, and in the free royal cities, the central administration began to play a stronger role as a force for oversight. The interests of the state administration now played an important role in the selection of the city's leaders. The delegates who represented the cities in the Diets were also chosen according to these considerations. The local bodies of state administration were given major say in the selection of the representatives. As a consequence of this, delegates began to be chosen who were from different social backgrounds, including people who had different places within the system of the estates. While earlier, the individuals who had been sent to take part in the Diets had been members of the Lutheran bourgeois elite, from roughly the late seventeenth century onwards, members of the nobility living in the cities began to play an increasingly influential role. Many of the delegates from the city of Kassa (today Košice, Slovakia) who will be discussed in the analysis below came from families of non-noble origins which, however, had been granted nobility as a reward for the services they had performed in the chamber administration. The career paths for members of these families led either to administrative bodies in the city or back into state administration.

Keywords: Catholicization, confessionalism, urban elites, professionalism, state administration, Habsburg Monarchy

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The Positions and Roles of the Free Royal Cities in the Hungarian Diets

Within the Habsburg Monarchy, the Kingdom of Hungary remained a province with a strong system of estates (or feudal order). The threat of the Ottoman Empire, which ultimately affected the other provinces of the Habsburg Monarchy, compelled the Habsburg rulers and the Hungarian estates to seek mutual compromise. The influence of the estates of the Kingdom of Hungary, which played a significant role in providing protection for the monarchy and also in its food supplies, became so strong in these areas (precisely because of the importance of these two considerations) that the central government and the estates were able to reconcile their apparently conflicting interests for a very long time. The central administration of the monarchy, which was undergoing dramatic development at the time, and the strong feudal order in Hungary were able to coexist, and the counties governing the internal life of Hungary remained in the hands of the Hungarian estates. Even after the proclamation of highly centralizing decrees at the end of the seventeenth century, the counties retained a strong domestic political role essentially until the formation of the modern nineteenth-century state. As a consequence of this, the estates in Hungary played a more prominent role in the domestic politics of the country than the estates in the other provinces of the monarchy. These differences became increasingly apparent, particularly from the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Assemblies of representatives of the estates became the main forums for the internal sovereignty of the country, and the participating estates took control of domestic feudal policy (i.e. in addition to the counties, they took control of the judiciary, the local military, tax collection, etc.). Thus, the Diets in feudal Hungary were considerably more important than the assemblies of the estates in other provinces of the Habsburg Monarchy. For the historian, then, both the Diets themselves and the domestic participants who appeared at the Diets (which were the most important forum of the feudal order) are significant subjects of study.¹ In this complex feudal monarchy, since the fifteenth century, the free royal cities had had municipal rights independent of the royal court.² The state order of the cities grew even more rigid compared to the late Middle Ages, and they maintained their right to self-government even if members of the nobility who moved into the burghs and, in the case of some cities, the

1 Pálffy, *The Kingdom of Hungary*, 177–91.

2 Szűcs, “Das Städtewesen in Ungarn”; Kubinyi, “Der ungarische König und seine Städte.”

military strained the medieval administrative framework.³ However, the cities did not have significant political influence in the Diets. From the perspective of the authorities, the monarch had more direct say in their lives. They had to pay an annual land tax (*census*) to the ruler as the landlord, and the extraordinary war tax (*taxa*) was set by the central organs of finance, not the estates. From the first third of the seventeenth century on, these taxes could even be collected several times, independently of the decisions reached at the Diets.⁴

Changes in the Hungarian Feudal Order in the Seventeenth Century

The changes which exerted a direct influence on Hungarian policy towards the cities from the end of the seventeenth century also influenced both the selection process of the individuals who served as envoys of the cities to the Diets in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the responsibilities and prerogatives of these individuals. The extension of the state administration to the free royal cities, the city leaders, and the denominational affiliations of the inhabitants of the cities determined, in the long run, the city administration and political representation. The era was not a period of calm construction. A decisive and irreversible turn came in the fates of the free royal cities in these decades of change, and this turn was further aggravated by numerous external factors. Between 1662 and 1681, a period spanning almost two decades, not a single Diet was held. The primary reasons for this were the responses which were caused by the differences concerning ideas of state administration, within the Habsburg Monarchy, between the Kingdom of Hungary and the elite which governed the monarchy. The county estates were resolved to maintain the domestic political relations which had developed in the sixteenth century and changed several times over the course of the seventeenth. Beginning with the period of the Wesselényi uprising (1670–1671), however, the political leadership at the head of the monarchy planned and implemented fundamental changes in these relations. The changes in public administration and domestic political life were hardly unique, however. On the contrary, they were part of a larger European trend. One of the fundamental shifts in the early modern era, a shift which came in parallel with the formation of the modern state, was the extension, simply, of the prerogatives of the state. This was accompanied by the introduction by the state,

3 H. Németh, *Várospolitika és gazdaságpolitika*.

4 H. Németh, "Die finanziellen Auswirkungen."

which was using centralizing and later absolutist measures, of central regulations concerning matters which earlier had been determined entirely by the estates and their representatives. In the areas which had become the responsibility of the state which had been built under the authority of the absolute ruler, the state administration, reinforced by the ruler's legitimacy, became an unambiguously decisive factor.⁵ Economic history characterizes this transformation as the creation of the fiscal state (of the fiscal-military state), an expression which captures the purely economic, financial relationship between cause and solution.⁶

One immensely important area of centralization is confessionalization, or to put it more simply, the extension of the authority of the ruler over religion and the church (and this is one of the hallmarks of an absolutist or centralized state administration). The religious policy pursued by the Habsburg government in the Czech-Moravian and Austrian hereditary provinces was clearly part of an effort in this direction, and this was indeed part of larger political practice in the other states of Europe. The notion of “one state, one religion” had become a fairly uniformly espoused political stance in the seventeenth century in each of the states which sought to create a more or less centralized or absolutist administration.⁷ The issue of confessional belonging was of key importance in Hungarian domestic politics, as the events which took place in part as a result of the advance of state confessionalization clearly indicate. As the end of the Bocskai uprising (1604–1606), which broke out in no small part because of issues and conflicts of a strongly sectarian and confessional nature, the Peace of Vienna (1606) resolved (among other things) the sectarian dispute between the two parties, i.e. the Hungarian estates and the ruler. At the beginning of the reign of Ferdinand II, there was a strong demand for the establishment of a state with only one denomination, but this did not take place in the case of the Kingdom of Hungary. The reasons for this are related in part to the domestic political compromise which addressed, over the course of the whole

5 Vierhaus, *Staaten und Stände*; Heinrich, “Staatsaufsicht und Stadtfreiheit”; Henshall, *The Myth of Absolutism*; Duchhardt, “Absolutismus”; Asch and Duchhardt, *Der Absolutismus*.

6 Brien and Hunt, “The Rise of a Fiscal State”; Hart, *The Making of a Bourgeois State*; Bonney, *The Rise of the Fiscal State*; Cavaciocchi, *La Fiscalità Nell'economia Europea*; Kenyeres, “A ‘Fiscal-Military State’ és a Habsburg Monarchia.”

7 Hinrichs, “Abschied vom Absolutismus”; Vierhaus, *Staaten und Stände*, 15–38. On the changes which took place in the lands of the Habsburg Monarchy, see Bahlcke, *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa*; Mikulec, *Pobělohorská rekatolizace*; Mikulec, “Praga w okresie kontrereformacji”; Sterneck, “Obnovování českobudějovické městské rady”; Hrdlička, “Die (Re-)Katholisierung lokaler Amtsträger,” 357–66; Mikulec, “Die staatlichen Behörden”; Fejtová, *Rekatolizace na Novém Městě pražském*.

period, the domestic political conflicts between the estates and the ruler/state.⁸ This compromise seemed precarious at the time precisely because of the issue of confessionalization. The attacks launched by the two Transylvanian princes (Gábor Bethlen and György I. Rákóczi) confirmed the previous place of the Hungarian estates. The Diet which was held in Sopron in 1622 and then the Peace of Linz (1645) restored the relationship between the estates and the ruler.⁹ In contrast, in the Austrian provinces (mainly Lower and Upper Austria and Styria), a strong counter-reformation had been underway since the first quarter of the century, which had included forced relocations and conversions.¹⁰ In contrast with the practices used to implement religious policy in the other parts of the Habsburg Monarchy, in the Kingdom of Hungary, attempts were made to effect change with peaceful means. Educational institutions run mainly by the Jesuits were established in the free royal cities and landlord market towns, and with them came the monasteries.¹¹ The monasteries became the foundations for a slow process of conversion which enjoyed funding from the state. By the last third of the seventeenth century, the nobility had, for the most part, been converted,¹² as had the middle-nobility stratum of trained professionals working in the state administrative bodies in Hungary.¹³ Debates and decisions reached in the Diets strengthened the results of the process of Catholic renewal, and the Hungarian Protestant political elite was increasingly pushed to the margins.¹⁴

While the parties managed to resolve the conflicts which had emerged earlier relatively quickly (1606–1608, 1622, 1645) and the domestic political balance between the estates and the ruler was, ultimately, restored, in the 1660s, the primary

8 Pálffy, *The Kingdom of Hungary*.

9 Péter, “The struggle for Protestant religious liberty”; Pálffy, “Ewige Verlierer”; Pálffy, “Ein vergessener Ausgleich”; Dominkovits and H. Németh, “Bethlen Gábor 1619–1621. évi hadjárata és Sopron.”

10 Herzig, *Der Zwang zum wahren Glauben*; Deventer, *Gegenreformation in Schlesien*; Kunisch, “Staatsräson und Konfessionalisierung”; Mikulec, *31.7.1627. Rekatolizace slechty*.

11 Molnár, *Mezőváros és katolicizmus*; Molnár, *Lebetetlen küldetés*; Kádár, “Jezsuita kollégium.”

12 Fraknói, *Pázmány Péter*, vol. 2, 40–55, 233–49, 372–79; Bitskey, “A reformáció kezdetei”; Bitskey, “Pázmány Péter felső-magyarországi missziója”; Tusor, “Nemesi és polgári érdekérvényesítési törekvések”; Tusor, “Problems and Possibilities”; Fazekas, *A reform útján*.

13 Signs of the initiative can be discerned under the reign of Rudolf: OeStA/FHKA AHK HFUung. MBW RN 8. 1602. fol. 172–189. On the preferences shown for mine officers who were Catholic, see: RN 10. 1618. fol. 52–65, 112–116, RN 11. 1623. fol. 271–273, RN 11. 1625. fol. 246–257, RN 11. 1626. fol. 138–141, 295., 615; OeStA/FHKA AHK HFU Akten RN 142. 1630. Juli fol. 144–157, RN 196. 1655. Juli fol. 44. See: Bahlcke, *Konfessionalisierung*; Hrdlička, “Die (Re-)Katholisierung lokaler Amtsträger.”

14 Szilágyi, *A linzi béke*; Fabó, *Az 1662-diki országgyűlés*; Zsilinszky, *A magyar országgyűlések vallásiügy tárgyalásai*, vol. 2, 186–267; Bessenyei, “A szabad királyi városok,” 255–63; Tusor, “Nemesi és polgári érdekérvényesítési törekvések.”

concern for the new political generation, which consisted of the people surrounding the new ruler, Leopold I, was simply the issue of the efficient operation of the state.¹⁵ The newly emerging political system of the Viennese government was now negotiating with a fundamentally changed Hungarian political elite, which was no longer the generation which had been born in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. For this new generation, the compromise and the rules of the political game which had emerged as a consequence or corollary of this compromise were self-evident and repeatable.¹⁶ The complete political turnaround and the reforms to public administration which were favored by the Vienna government were made possible by the period following the Wesselényi conspiracy (1664–1671). The series of armed uprisings and trials concerning accusations of treason in the wake of the conspiracy were unique in Hungarian politics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but they enabled the Vienna government to implement its plans for reform without constraints. Extremely high taxes were levied in the Kingdom of Hungary, and radical changes were implemented in the ways in which the taxes were levied. The tax based on providing for the military and the levy that was introduced as a sales tax were collected without the consent of the Diet.¹⁷ With the establishment of the Gubernium, an attempt was made to set up a new system with an office better connected to the central bodies that would govern instead of the estates. However, the Gubernium could not play a significant role due to the prevailing conditions in the country. One of the first tasks of the new administration was the recatholicization of the country. Protestant churches were confiscated and handed over to the Catholic Church.¹⁸ The measures adopted led to religious civil war,¹⁹ and the comparative stability of domestic life, which had been based until this point on compromises, was upset, as the old rules of the game no longer applied.

The measures introduced by the Habsburg government were very rapid and effective, especially when it came to restoring the institutions of the Catholic Church and taking control of the estates and buildings which had formed the basis of the institutional system. However, they had rapid repercussions

15 On the political circles and divisions that worked alongside Leopold I, see the monograph by Stefan Sienell: Sienell, *Die Geheime Konferenz*.

16 Tusor, “Problems and Possibilities.”

17 Nagy, “A Magyar Kamara.”

18 Benczédi, *Rendiség, abszolútizmus*, 53–57, 68–74; S. Varga, *Az 1674-es gályarabper*; Michels, “Az 1674. évi pozsonyi prédikátorper”; Mihalik, *Papok, polgárok, konvertiták*, 152–66, 183–97; Kónya, *Prešov, Bardejov a Sabinov*; Scheutz, “Compromise and Shake Hands.”

19 Mihalik, *Papok, polgárok, konvertiták*, 19, 93.

for Hungarian politics due to the larger tax burdens and the radical changes to confessional life. The Thököly Uprising (1677–1685) and the Rákóczi War of Independence (1703–1711) were both consequences of the effects these measures had. At the time, during the period of the “religious civil war” of the late seventeenth century, people who belonged to different denominations were automatically regarded as enemies or, in situations of war, even as spies. The Rákóczi War of Independence was something of an exception to this, as the Lutherans again came to hold the advantage, but as a consequence of a balanced religious policy, the different denominations were still able to achieve of a certain degree of compromise and cooperation.²⁰ The political circumstances of the Szatmár Peace Treaty (1711) helped ensure that the new administrative system that had emerged by the end of the seventeenth century could continue to develop relatively peacefully and essentially remain in place until 1848. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the entire Hungarian central administration underwent major reform, and the Hungarian Royal Lieutenancy Council (which replaced the Gubernium), the Hungarian Royal Chamber (which had been reorganized), and the Hungarian Court Chancellery formed the backbone of the Hungarian state administration. The Hungarian counties retained their prominence and influence in domestic politics, but in the free royal cities and the organs of the central government, the Catholic revival program was successful. Only Catholics could hold important positions in the administration, and the newly introduced administrative principles remained.

The Turning Point in Urban Policy

The new domestic policy affected the free royal cities of Hungary the most, where, beginning in the early 1670s, a significant political turn took place. The change served in part to further recatholicization and in part to secure the financial resources for increased spending by the state administration and, in particular, the army. Instead of having to rely on cities which had gone into debt and had to struggle to pay their tax burdens, the central government wanted to create a situation in which the cities would constitute a larger and more secure foundation for tax incomes. In order to address economic problems, the government wanted to introduce administrative tools similar to mechanisms and measures in other provinces of the monarchy. It sought to exert an influence on

²⁰ For a summary, see Misóczki, *Vallás- és egyházügy*.

the internal composition of the city councils and to introduce state overview and reform of urban management. The central government's primary goal was to reform urban management, and it approached this issue from several angles. First, it sought to make the city administration even more layered and more complex and also easier to keep under strict oversight and control. It also sought to determine the composition of the staff that led and operated the administration to ensure that it consisted of people who had the adequate training and expertise, who were loyal to the state administration, and who could be trusted to deal reliably with the incomes and properties of the cities and not to use them for their own purposes. The primary task of the initial period of intervention was to remove the (Lutheran) burghers in key positions and replace them with Catholics. The process of recatholicization served not only to implement increasingly the principle of one state, one religion. The selection of Catholics for positions of prominence and influence was, in the political context of the last third of the seventeenth century, a primary criterion of loyalty.²¹

In addition to ensuring the loyalty of its subjects, the state also needed to restore the cities economically. The factors which were taken into consideration when new members were chosen by the commissioners and delegated to the councils would have furthered the economic growth of the cities and the transparency of administration, as, alongside the criterion of belonging to the Catholic Church, knowledge of law and economics was also given considerable emphasis in the instructions.²² According to the chamber commissioners, the ability to elect the most important officers had to be taken away from the people and made subject to a decision by the ruler, since these figures allegedly “were the first leaders from the perspective of the ruin and retention of the city.” The cities would have been left only with the right to make nominations, and the commissioners would have selected the appropriate individuals from among the candidates, as was customary in Austria (*sicuti moris est in Austria*). Were a commissioner unable to choose a suitable candidate from the nominees, the Hungarian Chamber would have made the decision.²³

In the end, the extreme means of nomination were never used. Rather, a policy was adopted according to which Catholics enjoyed strong support, but the city's economy was also taken into consideration. The positions of key

21 H. Németh, “Állam és városok.”

22 See Rügge, *Im Dienst von Stadt und Staat*, 70–108. Regarding the Kingdom of Hungary, see Vári, Pál and Brakensiek, *Herrschaft an der Grenze*, 143–207.

23 MNL OLE 23 (Litt.Cam. Scep.) March 4, 1673.

leaders in the city can be clearly discerned on the basis of the instructions given in the first few years. The city magistrate, the mayor (where there was one), and the notary had to be selected from among the candidates nominated by the central authorities.²⁴ The commissioners not only determined the selection of the magistrate and, in some cases, the mayor, but also exerted an increasingly strong influence on the composition of the members of the internal council, then the elected council, and, where it existed, the external council. However, the election commissioners did not have an easy task, as very few of the individuals available met the ruler's expectations, especially in the first period. The city official to be selected had to belong to the Catholic Church, but in addition to this, he also had to have an estate (*benepossessionatus*) and proper qualifications (*qualificatus*).²⁵ In the last third of the seventeenth century, due to the haste with which changes were being introduced, individuals with inadequate qualifications and social status were often appointed to very significant city offices.²⁶ However, it cannot be claimed that, contrary to the intent of the ruler, the changes made on the basis of denominational belonging led to a striking or irreversible drop in the qualifications of city leaders. Indeed, by the time people belonging to the second generation since the change began to take office, quite the contrary was true.

From the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Catholic city leaders almost without exception had training in law, and it was gradually inconceivable that someone without strong social ties would be elected. Alongside the converted city leaders, the urban nobility, which had important family and social-economic ties and therefore enjoyed considerable prestige and were among the former economic intellectuals, also played a major role in the leadership of the cities. Usually, the descendants of the people belonging to this circle remained in the city leadership or entered the service of the state (or

24 Ibid. 1674. April. 22, MNL OL E 210 (Misc.) Civitatensia 20. t. 2, no. Vienna, December 22, 1677, AMK Schw. No. 9214. Vienna, December 6, 1673. The same in Lőcse: StALE MML X/36/2 and Besztercebánya (today Banská Bystrica, Slovakia): StABB MMBB Spisy Fasc. 286. No. 38.

25 "...necessarium valde et expediens iudicavimus, ut quandoquidem catholica orthodoxa per Dei gratium fides, magnum illic incrementum sumpsisse, frequentesque catholicae bene qualificatae, ad gerenda senatoria, et quaelibet alia inter vos consueta officia, idoneae personae inveniri comperiantur." AMK Schw. No. 9277. Vienna, December 16, 1674. See No. 9332. Pozsony, June 19, 1675, No. 9405. Kassa, January 7, 1676, No. 9475. Vienna, December 24, 1677, No. 9476. Pozsony, January 2, 1677, No. 11008. Vienna, December 2, 1696.

26 Szűcs, "Das Städtewesen," 156; Špiesz, *Slobodné kráľovské mestá*, 29–46, 83–95; Špiesz, "Rekatolizácia na Slovensku"; Marečková, "Politická autonómie."

married people who had entered the service of the state). In the first decades of the eighteenth century, there were some city leaders from burgher families who, as Catholics, were seen as having the necessary qualifications. They came to occupy important positions in the city leadership as burghers with suitable social recognition and prestige who, from the perspective of their family circles, had a kind of double identity. They were tied to the local burgher communities because of their occupations and family ties, but they were also tied to the public administration because of their roles as public officers and other familial ties with public officials.²⁷

New Considerations on the Basis of which the City Delegates Were Chosen

The frameworks described above exerted a decisive influence on the ways in which the representatives who were sent to the Diets were selected and the question of who, ultimately, represented and was eligible to represent the interests of some of the free royal cities. The urban state policy which had begun to emerge in the second half of the fifteenth century was consolidated in the sixteenth century, as is indicated by the fact that (in contrast with earlier years) from the middle of the century on, the possibility that a city might not send a delegate to the Diet was not raised by a single urban council. The number of delegates that the city would send was not fixed in this period, but the cities usually sent two and sometimes three or four representatives to the Diet. The instructions for the representatives of the cities and their credentials were issued by the city's internal councils, and the points contained in them focused essentially on the protection of the interests of the given city. The delegates were always members of the city council, but in many cases the city notary was included among them or the notary accompanied the two-person delegation.²⁸ State oversight of seventeenth-century urban policy may have influenced the cities to support the aspirations of the ruler at the Diets as well (as they were in a more vulnerable position). By the end of the seventeenth century, the cities had managed to acquire considerable influence through the ruler and the government, and this influence was quite clear in the Diets from the eighteenth century onwards. One very clear consequence of this change was that, in the Diet held in 1687, a legal limitation was placed on the number of free royal cities,

27 Vörös, "A modern értelmiség"; Kosáry, "Értelmiség és kulturális elit"; Tóth, "Hivatali szakszerűsödés."

28 Kassa, for instance, sent three delegates to Pozsony in 1609: AMK H I. 1609. November 16.

as there was legitimate fear that the number of cities would exceed the number of counties.²⁹ As in the case of other city officials, the individuals who were selected to serve as delegates were chosen by the chamber bodies. This direct use of political control was clearly apparent in the fact that, in the 1681 Diet, at least one of the delegates sent from each of the free royal cities (which earlier had spoken out against the Counter Reformation) was Catholic, and sometimes both of the delegates were Catholic, even in cases of cities which still had clear Lutheran majorities. This shift in the denominational longing of the delegates was clearly a consequence of the instructions given by the chamber. In the first such Diet, 30 of the 49 envoys of the fourth order were Catholic, while only 16 were Lutherans and 3 were Calvinist. The cities of Kassa, Pozsony (today Bratislava, Slovakia), and Eperjes (today Prešov, Slovakia), for example, which had strong Lutheran elites, sent only Catholic ambassadors to the Diet. In the case of Lőcse (today Levoča, Slovakia), the sources clearly indicate that Johann Fabritius and Daniel Weber were nominated under pressure from the chamber administration of the Szepes (Spiš) region, while the selection of the famous Lutheran printer Johann Brewer reflected the views of the majority of the city. Credentials were issued and instructions given for three delegates, but only the two Catholics could officially appear at the meetings of the Sopron Diet.³⁰

The frameworks presented above and the shift in the composition of the urban elite thus exerted a strong influence on the individuals who were chosen to serve as city leaders. Drawing on the example of the city of Kassa, I offer a sketch of their social backgrounds. The sources suggest that there were no significant differences among the delegates sent by the cities from the perspective of their social backgrounds. Where there were differences, these differences were due to distinctive circumstances (for instance, varying proportions of members of the nobility or the intelligentsia) within a particular city, such as Pozsony and the mining cities of what is today central Slovakia (and at the time was referred to as “Alsó-Magyarország,” or “Lower Hungary,”) to Nagybánya (today Baia Mare, Romania). In the discussion which follows, I will offer an overview of the careers of some of the delegates from Kassa whose professional trajectories can be considered typical as a means of offering insights into the socio-historical effects of these changes. While in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the city notaries had played prominent roles, from the end of the seventeenth century on their

29 1687. 17. tc.; Szijártó, *A diéta*, 168–73.

30 MML XXI/10. 28–36; MNL OLE 254 (Repr., inf. et inst.) April 1681, No. 38, 46. Pavercsik, “A lőcsei Brewer-nyomda,” 385.

relevance diminished drastically. It suffices perhaps to consider the example of the most famous notary from Kassa, Johannes (Bock) Bocatius, who for a short time also held the office of magistrate. Bocatius took part in the 1601 Diet as a notary. Then, during István Bocskai's military campaign in Upper Hungary (a term used to refer to a region which today, essentially, is Slovakia), he became one of the prince's close intellectual advisers. As Bocskai's foreign ambassador, he was taken prisoner by Rudolf I. Like many of his associates, as a dominant urban intellectual and one of the decisive figures who shaped the ideology of the uprising, Bocatius also played a prominent role in domestic political life.³¹ Daniel Tűrck, a notary from Lőcse, took part in seven parliaments. His diary, which fortunately survived the upheavals of history, has become one of the essential sources on the early sixteenth-century Diets.³² At the end of the seventeenth century, there was only one notary, András Kercho, among the delegates to the Diet, though we know of a total of 14 delegates sent from Kassa by 1741. It is worth noting that Kercho was a Catholic burgher when he acquired his position as notary, as this post was given high priority by the royal commissioners in the post-1670 period, and only Catholics could be appointed to hold it.³³ Kercho was the child of a family from Turóc County, as the last will and testament which he drew up with his wife on December 30, 1709 indicates. When he arrived in Kassa, he did not have any inherited property. (One could suggest a parallel between his career and that of János Keviczky, a key figure in the seventeenth-century Kassa elite.³⁴) Kercho married the widow of György Szentsimonyi. Between 1691 and 1697, he was active on the external committee that represented the burghers, and from 1699 until his death on August 14, 1710, he served as a member of the internal council. He had the typical career of a Kassa notary, broken only by the period during which the soldiers of Ferenc II Rákóczi occupied the city. Kercho did not hold any city office between 1705 and 1707. However, the land he acquired lay in the part of the outskirts of Kassa where the majority of the city leaders also acquired estates. His neighbors were the Demeczky family, Johann Grasz, and János Jászay. His connections thus tied him to the new elite of the city.³⁵

There were many German burghers among the Kassa urban elite even in the seventeenth century, despite the fact that during this period, the German

31 Tészelszky and Zászkaliczky, "A Bocskai-felkelés."

32 Szabó, "Caspar Hain."

33 Németh, "Állam és városok," 790–94.

34 Wick, *Kassa régi síremlékei*, 101–10; J. Újváry, "Polgár vagy nemes?" 423–25.

35 AMK H III/2. re 9, Schw. No. 12869.

population was becoming less and less significant and a large number of Hungarians had moved into the city. Hungarians had begun to settle in Kassa in significant numbers in the middle of the sixteenth century, but it was really in the seventeenth century that they began to acquire a role and place in the city elite that was significant enough for them to replace the German elite. With the increase in the number and significance of the Hungarians in Kassa, not only was the ethnic and power map of the city redrawn, but the place of Lutheranism as the confession which had held sway since the Reformation was undermined, as the vast majority of the Hungarians were Calvinists. Initially, the Lutheran city leadership had not allowed the Calvinists into the city. The Calvinists were only allowed to have their own religious community in the city beginning in the first third of the seventeenth century, and only as a consequence of pressure put on the city by the Transylvanian prince. The tensions between the Lutherans and the Calvinists only further facilitated the flow of Catholics into the city, a process which already enjoyed the support of the Vienna government.³⁶ At the end of the seventeenth century, Andreas Breiner and Michael Goldberger were the only two Kassa councilors to appear at the Pozsony Diets with credentials. This was tied both to the shifts which had taken place in the ethnic makeup of the city of Kassa and to the fact that the highest authorities considered the selection of the Catholic delegates a priority. The non-Catholic Hungarian population of Kassa was represented by Dávid Féja and András Vida. They were both representatives of the old Kassa bourgeoisie, as socially tied to the city as the seventeenth-century local urban elite.³⁷ This trend continued in the Diets which met during the Rákóczi War of Independence, in which, thanks to Rákóczi's confessional policy, Protestants and Catholics enjoyed relatively balanced representation.³⁸

Urban Nobles as Representatives of Urban Interests

The most dramatic change to take place in the delegates who were sent by the city of Kassa to the Diets was the sudden leap in the number of Catholic Hungarians who belonged to the nobility. Kassa was predestined by its status as a regional center, its role as the administrative center for the military and the chamber of Upper Hungary, and its distinctive sociohistorical characteristics

36 J. Újváry, "Kassa polgárságának etnikai-politikai változásai." More recently on confessional relationships: H. Németh, "Kassa, egy többfelekezeti régióközpont."

37 J. Újváry, "Kassa város polgársága"; J. Újváry, "Egy kereskedőcsalád metamorfózisa."

38 H. Németh, "Otázky mestskej politiky."

to become a local center for the urban nobility, which was clearly emerging as a new social stratum in Western Europe as well. This transformation of the social order of the city was also furthered by the fact that Kassa, as the seat of the region between the Transylvanian principality and the Hungarian Kingdom, often served as a kind of place or refuge for members of the Transylvanian nobility, who sought refuge at times of unrest or turmoil (which were relatively frequent) in the Principality of Transylvania.³⁹ Almost all the individuals who appeared in the name of the city at the national Diets and smaller Diets held at the end of the seventeenth century fell into this category. Imre Szentmártony, a member of the legal intelligentsia of the time, was active in Kassa as a recognized lawyer.⁴⁰ From 1703 until 1720, he served as a member of the internal council, and he served as magistrate for three years when the city was under occupation by Rákóczi, and he regularly took part in the Kuruc Diets. His wife, Katalin Marussy, widow of István Orbán, was related to the Lászay and Regéczi families, and his father was a so-called *iudex nobilium* (noble judge) in Abaúj County.⁴¹

Mihály Demeczky was the child of a noble family from Gyergyószék. He may have studied law at the Jesuit University of Nagyszombat (today Trnava, Slovakia) before settling in Abaúj County. At first, working in the service of Imre Thököly, he represented the prince as his ambassador. He became a city notary in Kassa and very quickly became a member of the internal council, director of the city's estates, and a magistrate in 1686 and 1687,⁴² but he also held minor positions in the county as a juror and accountant.⁴³ Demeczky was not chosen by the royal commissioners by chance. As a young nobleman who had spent time among the Jesuits of Nagyszombat, he was selected as the solution to a challenging problem, for he had to replace Mihály Udvarhelyi, who himself had been selected in 1674 with some difficulty and who, as the chapter notary, worked both for the city and for the chapter.⁴⁴ The position of city clerk not only

39 H. Németh, "Špachta v mestách." H. Németh, "Košice a drift in the European municipal politics"; H. Németh, "Városok, várospolitika."

40 He took the attorney's oath on January 2, 1702 before the Eger chapter. AMK Schw. 11831.

41 AMK H III/2. re 9, Schw. No. 10517, 12018, 13383, 13603. As the delegate for the city: Schw. No. 12185, 12228, 12355, 12782.

42 OeStA/FHKA AHK HFU Akten RN 280. fol. 284–286, AMK Schw. No.9777, 10699; H. Németh, *Kassa szabad királyi város arcbontológiája*, 257.

43 Gyergyószék's testimony on the family's noble title: http://demeczky.hu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=369 (Accessed on September 16, 2020). On his years at university, see Zsoldos, *Matricula*, 183, 190, 196. As Thököly's delegate: Gergely, "Thököly Imre," vol. 11, 493.

44 H. Németh, "Állam és városok," 793.

secured him a salary, it also gave him considerable influence. In order to maintain his position, he allegedly did not hesitate to lobby against a resolution passed by the Diet in 1687 on the election of officials in the free royal cities. However, after this came to light, he fell out with the city leadership and renounced his rights as a burgher. Indeed, before doing this, he was not even willing to go to the meetings of the city council. Rather, the internal opposition of the city leadership met in his home. Although this unhappy state of affairs was resolved in accordance with the strict instructions of Leopold I, Demeczky's relationship with the council clearly remained troubled, for he never held office again.⁴⁵

Like Demeczky and Szentmártony, László Jászay may have been an intellectual nobleman who had studied law, though the sources contain no clear indication that he had any degree at all. He served as a delegate to the Diet, and this and the services he performed in city affairs and the various occasions on which he served as a delegate suggest that, like Demeczky and Szentmártony, Jászay had also been a member of this stratum. This is also supported by the fact that in 1676, citing the services he had performed for the city and his poverty, he asked the council to refrain from compelling him to present a letter of confirmation (the document which attested to his noble birth) or from paying the tax levied on burghers. Six years later, he had become a member of the internal council, and there is no indication in the sources that he was among the community of the elected.⁴⁶ He also served as the delegate sent by Kassa to the assembly of the representatives of the cities of Upper Hungary, and one year later, he was a delegate to the Diet. Alongside the magistrate and city prosecutor Balázs Váncsay, he was a member of the committee charged with the task of designating the site of a church for the Lutherans, in accordance with the decisions reached at the 1687 Diet.⁴⁷ Balázs Váncsay was the father of István Váncsay, who would emerge as a prominent Kassa politician. His career illustrates the changes which were underway and the ways in which individuals were compelled to adapt to these changes. Balázs Váncsay is mentioned in the sources as a Hungarian cantor and, later, as the city prosecutor. He was one of the figures who helped the family acquire a noble title. Together with his

45 AMK H III/2. mac. 86. fol. 1, 114, 121–122, Schw. No. 10564.

46 AMK H II. 1676., and H. Németh, *Kassa szabad királyi város archontológiája*, 269.

47 AMK H III/2. pur. 30. fol. 106. July 29, 1686. fol. 110. August 5, 1686. mac. 85. fol. 98. January 3, 1687. mac. 86. fol. 66. September 6, 1687. fol. 92. September 30, 1687.

brothers Mihály and Mátyás, he was given a title on May 4, 1665 by Leopold I.⁴⁸ Váncsay may have served as a suitable link between Catholics and Lutherans, as he converted to the Catholic faith very early on. His son István was baptized on July 25, 1673 by a Lutheran pastor. His godparents, Márton Madarász, István Kassai, organist Sándor Pischel, Mrs. Zsófia Puttemberger Ádám Kiss, Mrs. Judit Liptai András Tornay, and Mrs. Judit Faigel Dávid Féja, were prominent members of the city's Lutheran elite.⁴⁹ His second child, Gábor, was baptized by the Catholic parish priest in 1681,⁵⁰ so he clearly converted sometime between these two dates, but presumably sometime around the moment when he went from being the Hungarian cantor to serving as the city prosecutor, as it was customary to reward intellectuals who had converted with positions in the city or state administration and thus to ensure them a livelihood. This may have taken place sometime around 1676, or at least this is suggested by the fact that in 1676, András Újvári-Bodnár, a resident of Kassa, rebuked Váncsay precisely for this reason, and indeed he rebuked him so churlishly that he was sentenced to pay a fine of 100 thalers.⁵¹ The council, which was already mostly Catholic by that time, may have chosen Váncsay to negotiate with Thököly, who was marching against the city, precisely because he was a convert.⁵²

Balázs Váncsay was also a link to the next generation of Kassa city leaders, to the members of the elite who represented the interests of the city of Kassa in the Diets which were being held at a time in which the political circumstances and issues had changed dramatically. Balázs Váncsay's son István, who was born a Lutheran (or Calvinist), became both the most significant figure of the city government who wielded the greatest influence but also the person who caused the biggest scandal in the politics of the city at the time. From the perspective of his social connections, the young Váncsay was clearly among the city leaders who were proud of their noble rank and sought ties to the noble families of the county.⁵³ Already as a young man, he may have been a divisive figure, for in 1692, he came into conflict with Mihály Tarnóczy. Váncsay had sought to cheat Tarnóczy, and Tarnóczy had become so enraged that he had chased Váncsay

48 MNL OL C 30 (Acata nob.) Pozsony vm., Documenta No. 22., and uit Pozsony vm., Protocollum investigationis nobilium, 471., Pozsony vm., Investigatio nobilium, A füzet 8.

49 StAKE Zb. cirk. matr. Evanjelická cirkev, 1673. 626.

50 ŠtAKE, Zb. cirk. matr. Rímsko-katolícká cirkev, 1681. 373.

51 AMK Schw. No. 9442.

52 AMK Schw. No. 9830.

53 His wives were members of the Kiséry and Pálfalvay families. AMK Schw. No. 13390, 13675, 13961, 14117, Schr. No. 19712.

through the vineyards, but first he struck him in the head with a small hatchet. He threw a stone at Váncsay (who fled) which quite possibly would have killed him had Váncsay, who had only recently turned 20, not been quick on his feet.⁵⁴ He began his career as an advocate in the city council, in the council that was newly elected by Ferenc II Rákóczi, but he was soon mentioned in the sources from subsequent years among the most prominent members of the internal council. During the War of Independence, he was one of the members of the Kassa council who was sent the most frequently to meet with Rákóczi or Rákóczi's most important officers or to represent the city at the Kuruc Diets.⁵⁵ István Váncsay was at the Diet held in 1712 (which brought the War of Independence to an end from the perspective of domestic politics) as the only city notary of the time, with András Hlavathy, the envoy sent by Kassa, at his side. During the Diet, the two delegates participated in the debate with the cities which again had been given the status of free royal cities over their rank, but they were dealing, in addition, with the issues concerning the tax agreement, which was deemed hopeless, and they also worked to facilitate the selection of the new parish priest of Kassa.⁵⁶ Váncsay was a respected councilor at the time. He had served as deputy magistrate in 1709 and then had been elected to serve as magistrate in 1710 and 1711.⁵⁷ Váncsay seems to have been someone who did not hesitate to come into conflict with others if he felt he had to protect his own interests or if he felt that a member of his family had been insulted.⁵⁸ As noted above, he was baptized a Protestant, but by 1712, he had converted to Catholicism, for in this year he became the godfather of one of István Radikovicz's twins.⁵⁹ The fact that he was ranked second on the council which was elected in front of chamber councilor Franz Meixner on January 28, 1712 and which consisted exclusively

54 AMK Schw. No. 10517. November 1, 1692.

55 AMK H I. 12541/2. Miskolc, January 24, 1706. 12541/3. Miskolc, February 14, 1706. 12541/4. Miskolc, January 31, 1706. 12726/14. Késmárk, January 10, 1707. 12726/30. Köröm, June 16, 1707. H III/2. mac. 103. fol. 29. March 21, 1707. fol. 37–38. April 15, 1707. Schw. Nr. 12516.

56 The reversals of the two delegates: Schw. No. 13201. Their reports: AMK H I. 13310/2, 7–9, Schw. No. 13182.

57 Schw. No. 12871. Kassa, August 9, 1709. Schw. No. 13010. August 18, 1710. Schw. No. 12984. August 21, 1710. H III/2. re 9. fol. 144, 149.

58 In defense of his sister-in-law, István Váncsay came to blows with Mihály Czirjáci, for instance, at the marriage feast of council member István Surányi. AMK Schw. No. 13151, 13168. He was embroiled in trials with the Pálfalvy family for a long time over his wife Julianna Pálfalvy's bequest: *ibid.* No. 14117.

59 ŠtAKE, Zb. cirk. matr. Rímsko-katolícká cirkev, 1712. 393.

of Catholics is again clear indication that he had converted. He was also elected to serve as a tax collector.⁶⁰

Váncsay served on the council until 1714, and it is reasonable to suggest that he failed to hold his position because of events which had transpired during the Rákóczi War of Independence and suspicions concerning biased management of city funds. In 1717, Baron Johann Ignatz Viechter, a chamber councilor and delegated election commissioner, was given the task of putting the management of Kassa on stable footing. In order to do this, he had Bertalan Máray appointed mayor of the city, and he requested all the records of the city accounts and strove to determine who had been responsible for the earlier mismanagement of city finances. Vánscsay was among the accused. According to the report, he was chosen to serve as a member of the council again on condition that he submit for examination the records of accounts from the period during which he had served as magistrate. It had then become clear that, during the upheavals caused by the War of Independence, Vánscsay may have dealt in an underhanded manner with the wealth which had flown into the city, as it came to light, in the course of the investigation, that he had taken 13 last wills and testaments from the city archives which had never been found again. Each of these last wills and testaments had named the city as the heir.⁶¹ In spite of the suspicions which were cast on him, Vánscsay was still nominated to serve as deputy magistrate⁶² that year and as advocate and magistrate the following year. Of the latter two positions, he secured the second with a majority of the votes, and he remained in office as magistrate until 1727, or in other words for nine years.⁶³ Vánscsay ruled with an iron fist during his time in office, as evidenced by the fact that he did not leave office voluntarily or simply as a result of a vote held by the council, but rather as the consequence of an extraordinary procedure, something that was used only as a rare exception at the time. In January 1726, the Szepesi chamber, which passed on the contents of the annual royal decrees, informed the city that they would not send an election commissioner. Rather, the election would be held without a commissioner. Their only stipulation was that Vánscsay submit the records of accounts from the period between 1709 and 1712 to the chamber for examination.⁶⁴ It referred, as an antecedent to this, to the fact that during

60 AMK H III/2. re 9. fol. 159–160.

61 MNL OL A 20 (Litt. Cam. Hung.)1717. No. 34.

62 AMK Schw. No. 13964. November 10, 1717.

63 AMK III/2. re 9.

64 AMK Schw. No. 15181. Kassa, January 1, 1726.

the election of city officials held in 1724, the royal commissioner had objected to Váncsay's management,⁶⁵ but as Váncsay had failed to submit the records (which now were well over a decade old) even after having been called on to do so several times, royal commissioner Pál Lipót Mednyánszky was having him removed from office, and he would not be allowed anywhere near the highest circles of the city leadership until he had done as instructed and had submitted the records.⁶⁶

The city of Kassa treated the case of its former magistrate as a matter of considerable importance and even urgency. One explanation for this may simply have been the prestige and authority which Váncsay enjoyed, but the city may also have resented the manner in which the royal commissioner and the ruler were infringing on the rights of the city council. The council turned to the Hungarian Court Chancellery and then the Court Chamber with its complaints, and it charged Adam Aloysius Talheim, who was a Vienna agent and who served on the chancellery, with the specific task of handling this matter. The council was perfectly willing to spend money and barter with the wines stored in the city cellars in order to ensure that Váncsay be restored to his position as magistrate as soon as possible. (They even turned to Mátyás Bél, a Pozsony pastor, for assistance, as indicated by the fact that two of the barrels of wine that were sent to the chancellor were stored in his cellar.⁶⁷) Talheim earned his money, and the wine given to further Váncsay's case also proved an effective bartering tool, for in February 1728, the chancellery recommended that the Royal Chamber support Váncsay's reappointment as magistrate, as, in the end, he had submitted the records requested of him and had settled the issues concerning the city finances. The chancellery felt that Váncsay had already proven his capacity for the office and that he had done a great deal for Kassa as a royal estate (*peculium regium*).⁶⁸ Kassa therefore quickly received permission from the ruler, and Váncsay regained power over the city, as he began serving as deputy magistrate that year and then regained his seat as magistrate the following year in the election that was held before the royal commissioner.⁶⁹ True, the Szepes Chamber Administration was by no means satisfied with Váncsay's work. Indeed,

65 MNL OL E 23 (Litt ad Cam. Scep.) October 27, 1724.

66 AMK Schw. No. 15498. August 2, 1727.

67 AMK Schw. No. 15590. Vienna, December 3, 1727. Schw. No. 15691. Kassa, February 7, 1728. Schw. No. 15724. February 7, 1728.

68 AMK Schw. No. 15779. Vienna, February 24, 1728.

69 AMK Schw. No. 15592. Vienna, February 24, 1728. No. 15625.

it had several specific complaints. It objected, for instance, to the various luxury expenditures he ordered, and records of accounts again were missing. The basic principles according to which the orphanage would be run had not been clearly specified, and the urbarium for the city estates still had not been prepared. The apothecary, which was worth more than 30,000 forints, had been leased for 3,000 forints, and worst of all, no records had been kept of the estates which had ended up in the hands of the city.⁷⁰ Vánacsay nonetheless triumphed over the other candidates in the 1729 and 1730 elections and again in 1733, and he sat in the most prominent places on the council until his death. Considering that, as the most prominent member of the council, he also held the position of mayor (as was established practice) and thus essentially had complete control over the management of the city, we can justifiably say that István Vánacsay was the most significant magistrate of Kassa in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Social Ties and the Early Stages of Career Paths

Members of the Vánacsay family were working in the service of the chambers by the middle of the eighteenth century, but like the children of many other individuals who held offices in Kassai, they saw greater assurance of good career prospects in the service of the state. János Nossiczi Thurzó, who worked as part of the office responsible for collecting the thirtieth (a tax),⁷¹ was a permanent member of the Catholic council created in 1712 until his death on August 12, 1732, and in the last two years of his life, he served as the city magistrate.⁷² In addition to serving on the city council, he was also given constant employment by the Szepes Chamber Administration.⁷³ One sees evidence of the close relationship between the chamber and the city management in the fact that, among the children of the city councilors, members of the Almássy, Csomortányi, Demeczky, Ganóczy, and Berezik families became the chamber officials. Usually, the officers who had positions as clerks were sons of the mayors of Kassa, but some of them managed to make it to positions in the middle of the hierarchy of

70 MNL OL E 23 (Litt ad Cam. Scep.) October 1, 1728. August 16, 1730.

71 MNL OL Magyar Kamara Archivuma, Urbaria et Conscriptioes (E 156), Registrata Fasc. 35. No. 56.

72 AMK H III/2. re 9.

73 MNL OL E 156 (UetC) Registrata, Fasc. 55. No. 51. (1715), Fasc. 84. No. 58. (1715), Fasc. 24. No. 58. (1723)

offices. György Thurzó, the son of the aforementioned János Thurzó, served as assistant accountant to the chamber administration.⁷⁴

There were tendencies in the family and social ties of the Kassa delegates and, more generally, the new elite of the city which indicate the existence of various subgroups. The delegates tended to come from a social group which could perhaps most accurately be characterized as the intellectual, officeholding stratum of the nobility the families of which had gotten their noble titles one generation earlier (usually, in the middle of the second half of the seventeenth century). If one looks at the network of relationships involving the godparents of the Kassa delegates and their children, one notes one of the largest nodes of this network was formed by the relationships among the families which sought closer bonds (such as the bond between family and godparent) among people who belonged to the city elite. The few delegates who were Lutherans formed a distinct group, the most interesting of which was perhaps the subgroup formed by András Hlavathy and Gergely Lukácsik, who asked women who were married to leaders of the Szepes Chamber Administration to be godmothers to their children. This all clearly illustrates that the smaller groups which had already been identified in Sopron also existed in Kassa, and the model introduced there was also valid in the case of a city which was an administrative center in Upper Hungary.⁷⁵ Indeed, as the seat of the Szepes Chamber Administration, Kassa perhaps bore a stronger affinity with Pozsony from the perspective of its ties to the local network of officeholders. The roles of the city, which served as a prominent site for domestic political affairs in the Kingdom of Hungary, as both a residence and an administrative center further strengthened these urban-political and social factors, which were also factors in the other free royal cities and which exerted a stronger or weaker influence on the lives of the city communities. Members of the new, well-educated, Catholic urban elite appeared very quickly among the city leaders in the first years of the turnaround in urban policy. Elected officials almost without exception had legal degrees, and they built strong social ties. It was also not at all uncommon for a Catholic intellectual to enter into a familial relationship not with someone who belonged to one of the families which was part of the city elite, but rather with one of the employees of the local chamber. In these cases, we can speak of people who had ties to the city and the burghers because of their occupations and lifestyles but who

74 Fallenbüchl, "A Szepesi Kamara tisztviselői," 214–215, 226.

75 H. Németh, "Venerable Senators," H. Németh, "Állam és városok."

were also tied to the state administration because of their family connections to state offices and people who held positions in the state offices. Naturally, this put them in a very advantageous position. As burghers who were also intellectuals (for the most part, with training as physicians or apothecaries), they were recognized members of the given communities, and because of their good ties to local representatives of state power, they clearly enjoyed an array of other advantages.⁷⁶ The close study of the Kassa delegates definitely indicates that the leaders of the burgher community of the city tended to develop close ties to the local nobility and the state administration, even more so than in the case of Sopron or Pozsony. This was true not simply in cases involving the official affairs of the city but also from the perspective of the personal relationships of the city leaders.

In Summary

This discussion of the careers of delegates from the city of Kassa to the Diets sheds light on fact that, from the perspective of its professional (administrative) training and qualifications, the new Catholic urban elite managed to catch up relatively quickly to the Lutheran burgher community. In contrast with the Lutherans, however, Catholics enjoyed significant advantages according to the new principles of urban policy. Thus, the two groups were never on an equal footing from the perspective of politics. This was especially true when, due to the administrative significance of the city (like Pozsony and Kassa), the government no longer sought to maintain the former confessional balance and instead wanted to create a city leadership consisting exclusively of Catholics. This new, professional, trained urban elite was no longer tied exclusively to the burgher class. Rather, it was closely linked to the local nobility and the noble-officeholding urban stratum, which it came to resemble more and more. For the sons of this new elite, the prospect of serving in state office seemed an increasingly normal, natural way to launch a career. It also became increasingly common for the leading urban elite to include many individuals who were members of the nobility who lived primarily off their incomes as officeholders or, in other words, who belonged to the abovementioned stratum of noblemen intellectuals. Thus, from the perspective of social history, a new class of officeholding intellectuals emerged from the very mixed stratum that consisted

76 H. Németh, “Pozsony centrális szerepköreinek hatásai.”

of both burghers and members of the nobility. This new class had strong ties to the burgher lifestyle, and it not only took the baton from the honorary urban leaders in city administration but also began to serve in ever larger numbers in state offices.

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AHK HFU ung.MBW Alte Hofkammer, Hofffinanz Ungarn, Ungarisches Münz- und Bergwesen

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