



18.1% of total incomes.<sup>1</sup> Part of the yield was used directly for maintenance of roads, bridges, ferries and other transport systems.<sup>2</sup> A research of the issue is not only beneficial for economic history, historical geography, but it also helps in identifying and demarcation the routes of historical roads that are a memory of the country. It is also a source of information on means of transport and the intensity of the transport itself.

The issue of tolls in Hungary has been only a marginal topic for research for a long time. A comprehensive monograph on tolls of the Hungarian historian Boglárka Weisz has been published only recently. The author mainly concentrated on a typology of custom fees, she explained the customs policy of the Hungarian rulers up to the end of the reign of King Charles Robert of Anjou in more details. A main part of the work consists of a catalog of places where tolls (including road tolls) were collected. It also specifies important fords/ferries in the Kingdom of Hungary especially during the reign of the Árpáds dynasty and King Charles Robert of Anjou (1301 – 1342).<sup>3</sup> In other works, Boglárka Weisz focused mainly on the issue of market fees.<sup>4</sup> Older monographs of Hungarian historians, which dealt with the issue of toll payment, were also focused on customs (thirtieth). In 1916 Sándor Domanovszky published a monograph, which follows regulations of the dynasty of Árpáds, King Charles Robert of Anjou and King Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387 – 1437), and it also specifies concrete examples from preserved sources. He also marginally mentions other types of toll fees.<sup>5</sup> Another publication on thirtieth stations was not published only in 1990. The author of this monograph is Zsigmond Pál Pach, who based his work on Sándor Domanovský. This monograph mainly deals with the level of fees and a terminology.<sup>6</sup>

Elemér Mályusz published the first independent more extensive paper on toll conditions in the Middle Ages in the territory of today's Slovakia at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He processed mentions about tolls and fees in Turiec until the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup> Peter Štanský continued in this work in

<sup>1</sup> BARTA, János – BARTA, Gábor. III. Béla király jövedelmei (Megjegyzések a középkori uralkodóink bevételeiről). In *Századok*, 1993, vol. 127, n. 3-4, p. 433.

<sup>2</sup> JUCK, Lubomír. Obchod v mestách na Slovensku v 14. storočí. In *Historický časopis*, 1997, vol. 35, n. 2, p. 257. BOLINA, Pavel – CÍLEK, Václav – KLIMEK, Tomáš. *Staré cesty v krajině středních Čech*. Praha: Academia, 2018, p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> WEISZ, Boglárka. A királyketteje és az ispán harmada. Vámok és vámszedés Magyarországon a középkor első felében. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2013, 538 pp.

<sup>4</sup> WEISZ, Boglárka. Vásárok és lerakatok a középkori magyar királyságban. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2012, 224 p. WEISZ, Boglárka. Az esztergomi vám Árpád-kori története. In *Századok*, 2003, vol. 137, n. 4, pp. 973-981. WEISZ, Boglárka. Vásárok a középkorban. In *Századok*, 2010, vol. 144, n. 6, pp. 1397-1454.

<sup>5</sup> DOMANOVSKY, Sándor. *A harmincadván eredete*. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia 1916, 54 pp.

<sup>6</sup> PACH, Zsigmond Pál. „A harmincadván eredete”. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990, 82 pp. The author also dealt with the topic of the thirtieth customs in the following paper: PACH, Zsigmond Pál. A harmincadvám az Anjou-korban és a 14–15. század fordulóján. In *Történelmi Szemle*, 1999, vol. 41, n. 3-4, pp. 231-277.

<sup>7</sup> MÁLYUSZ, Elemér. Turóczmegye vámhefyei és forgalma a középkorban. In *Századok*, 1919, vol. 53, n. 1, pp. 34-56.

1971 and he added further information, mainly from the modern period.<sup>8</sup> Due attention was paid to tolls and ferries in the territory of today's Bratislava in the Slovak historiography. Tolls collected on the Little Danube were first addressed by Július Bartl in his Diploma Thesis which was a base for publishing of his later essay.<sup>9</sup> An extensive work on this topic was published by Juraj Šedivý.<sup>10</sup> The issue of medieval toll is partially contained in the works of Peter Ivanič.<sup>11</sup> In co-authorship with Martin Husár, Peter Ivanič also worked on the issue of crossings across the middle and lower reaches of the river Váh.<sup>12</sup> Dušan Dzuro dealt with roads and tolls in the area of Považie, as well as crossings through the river Váh in the High and Late Middle Ages on the basis of examination of written sources.<sup>13</sup> Ľudmila Maslíková mentions toll stations in the area of the lower Ponitrie and partly in the area of lower Považie in her article about the road network in the area of lower Ponitrie.<sup>14</sup> Ján Lukačka also dealt with the road network in Nitra and its surrounding.<sup>15</sup> Peter Šimko published a paper about mediaval tolls in the area of Northwest Slovakia.<sup>16</sup> The medieval road network in eastern Slovakia was processed by Michal Slivka, who also lists toll stations.<sup>17</sup>

Our work focuses on toll stations which existed in the territory in southwestern Slovakia in the Middle Ages. Several long-distance roads passed through this territory. There was a well-developed road network. It is a part of Slovakia which includes Danubian Lowland, Little Carpathians, and Záhorie Lowland.

<sup>8</sup> ŠTANSKÝ, Peter. Mýtné pomery v Turci. In *Kmetianum. Vlastivedný zborník Turčianskeho múzea A. Kmeťa*. 2. Martin: Osveta, 1971, pp. 145-158.

<sup>9</sup> BARTL, Július. Mýta na Malom Dunaji vo vzťahu k Bratislave a Bratislavskému mýtu (Príspevok k topografii bratislavských mýt). In *Sborník Slovenského národného múzea*. 57. História 3. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1963, pp. 51-66.

<sup>10</sup> ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj. Stredoveké prístavy (prievozy) a mýta na Dunaji v okolí Bratislavy. In MUNKOVÁ, Mária – PAVLÍKOVÁ, Lenka (eds.). *Na sútoku riek. Život v slovensko-rakúskom pohraničí*. Bratislava: Štátny archív v Bratislave, 2014, pp. 343-370.

<sup>11</sup> IVANIČ, Peter. Stredoveká cestná sieť na Pohroní a Poiplí. Nitra: UKF v Nitre, 2011, pp. 60-64. IVANIČ, Peter. Cestná sieť a mýtna stanica na Požitaví v období stredoveku. In *Studia Historica Nitriensia*, 2016, vol. 20, n. 2, pp. 419-430. IVANIČ, Peter. Cestné mýto na dolnom a strednom Považí v stredoveku. In ŠIMKO, Peter (ed.). *Dejiny cestnej dopravy na Slovensku II*. Žilina: Považské múzeum, 2017, pp. 59-68.

<sup>12</sup> IVANIČ, Peter – HUSÁR, Martin. Prechody cez dolný a stredný tok rieky Váh vo vrcholnom a neskorom stredoveku v kontexte písomných a hmotných prameňov. In *Archaeologia historica*, 2019, vol. 44, n. 2, pp. 702-729.

<sup>13</sup> DZURO, Dušan. Rieka Váh ako dopravný koridor v stredoveku. In *Balneologický spravodajca 2015 – 2017. Vlastivedný zborník múzea*. Piešťany: Balneologické múzeum v Piešťanoch, 2017, pp. 82-122.

<sup>14</sup> MASLÍKOVÁ, Ľudmila. Vývoj cestnej siete v regióne dolného Ponitria do začiatku 15. storočia. In *Medea. Studia mediaevalia et antiqua* 16. 2012. Bratislava: Katedra všeobecných dejín FiF UK, 2013, pp. 23-43.

<sup>15</sup> LUKAČKA, Ján. Cestná sieť v Nitre a v jej najbližšom okolí v 13. a 14. storočí. In MARSINA, Richard (ed.). *Nitra v slovenských dejinách*. Martin: matica slovenská, 2002, pp. 208-211.

<sup>16</sup> ŠIMKO, Peter. Cestná doprava a cestovanie v stredoveku na príklade severozápadného Slovenska. In ŠIMKO, Peter (ed.). *Dejiny cestnej dopravy na Slovensku I*. Žilina: Považské múzeum, 2015, pp. 29-56.

<sup>17</sup> SLIVKA, Michal. Stredoveká cestná sieť na východnom Slovensku a jej determinanty. In *Slovenská Numizmatika*. 11. Nitra: Veda, 1990, pp. 83-112.

In the norths, the lowlands are surrounded by White Carpathians, Myjavská Upland, Považský Inovec, the southern part of the Strážovské Mountains, Tribeč, southwest of Pohronský Inovec and the edges of the Štiavnica Mountains and the Krupina Plain. The Danube, Váh, Nitra, Žitava, Hron and Ipel' rivers flow through this area. The timeline of our work covers the period from the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century to the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The best-known road that led through the southwestern part of today's Slovakia was a road known as the *Czech Road*, which was a part of important route leading from Constantinople through Belgrade, Buda, Esztergom, Trnava and Brno to Prague and from Prague to other German cities through Regensburg.<sup>18</sup> Recently, Dušan Cendelín pointed out to the fact that the Czech Road cannot be perceived as an isolated, unique line to the center of the Kingdom of Hungary. It can be perceived as the only line only from the southeast towards surrounding of the city Trnava. Then it was intersected by roads along the river Váh.<sup>19</sup> An interesting document about toll stations and fees collected in the famous Czech Road is preserved from 1336. King Charles Robert of Anjou and King of Bohemia John I Luxembourg (1310 – 1346) issued a document about assurance of security on the roads from the Kingdom of Hungary to Bohemia. It is mentioned in the document that on the first pass of the borders to the Kingdom of Hungary in Holíč, the merchants had to pay one-eighty from transported goods. One lôt (an old unit of mass, approx. 17.5 kg) or three vážka were paid for each freight wagon called *rudas* in Šaštín or in Senica. A half toll or half lôt had to be paid for each wagon called *aynczas*. Passengers had to pay only bridge toll in Jablonica near the castle Korlátov Kameň in the following way: one Vienna denár for each horse or bull drawing a wagon, one Vienna denár and not more for four small animals, such as goats, sheep and pigs or two bigger animals. The same toll for freight wagons as in Šaštín and Senica had to be paid also in Buková or in Biňovce. Moreover, from the town Trnava to Budín a toll had to be collected in the same way as described above in the toll stations: Vlčkovce, Šintava, and also in the villages of the Archbishopric of Esztergom Nyárhíd and Dvory nad Žitavou. Only a toll from wagons was also collected behind the river Danube in Esztergom and then in the village Scaba and in the village Svätý Jakub for the Buda Castle and in the Buda gate.<sup>20</sup> It is evident from the document that these tolls existed also

<sup>18</sup> JANŠÁK, Štefan. Česká cesta – najstarší spoj Slovenska s českými krajmi. In *Vlastivedný časopis*, 1961, vol.10, n. 2, pp. 83-87. JANŠÁK, Štefan. Z minulosti dopravných spojov na Slovensku. In *Geografický časopis*, 1964, vol. 16, n. 1, pp. 13-31. JANŠÁK, Štefan. Cesta českých stráží. In *Geografický časopis*, 1964, vol. 16, n. 2, pp. 326-339. JANŠÁK, Štefan. Prechod českej cesty cez údolie Nitry pri Dvoroch nad Žitavou. In *Geografický časopis*, 1967, vol. 19, n. 1, pp. 130-138.

<sup>19</sup> CENDELÍN, Dušan. Česká cesta jako součást staré dopravní sítě Slovenska – úsek Holíč-Biňovce. Lokalizace historických tras v krajině a jejich relikty, komunikační souvislosti. In *Studia historica Nitriensia*, 2019, vol. 21, n. 1, pp. 21-23. On the side of Moravia, the road was reconstructed by Ivan Vávra. Pozri: VÁVRA, Ivan. Uherská cesta. In *Historická geografie*, 1968, vol. 1, s. 43-61.

<sup>20</sup> CHYTIL, Josef (ed.). *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae VII/1. (1334-1349)*. Brünn 1858, pp. 76-77, n. 102. Korlátov Kameň is Korlátka Castle near the village Cerová-Lieskové. Nyárhíd is a lapsed village in the cadastral territory of the town Nové Zámky. Svätý Jakub is a lapsed village near Starý Budín (Old Buda) in Hungary. Lôt means 15.3 g of silver and vážka means 5.3 g of silver.

before 1336. Collection of a toll in Záhorie in Holíč (*Wywar*) is mentioned in 1273, when it was donated to the ownership of Vavrinec, a son of Kemen, by King Ladislav IV.<sup>21</sup> Subsequently collection of the toll in Holíč is mentioned in 1392 as part of the castle estate Holíč, which King Sigismund of Luxemburg donated to Stibor of Stiboricz.<sup>22</sup> In 1489, Holíč dominion was granted to the brothers Imrich and Martin Czobori by Matthias Corvinus in 1489. Tolls in Holíč, Stráže and Brodské are also mentioned here.<sup>23</sup> The first mention of the toll in Senica (*Scynthe*) is from 1273 when it was granted to Peter Čák by King Ladislav IV.<sup>24</sup> A toll is mentioned also in 1424.<sup>25</sup> In 1471 the castle estate of Branč (*Berench*), which also included a small town Senica with a toll station (*oppido Zennycze appellato ac tributo in eodem exigi solito*), was granted to Mikuláš Kropáč from Nevědomí by Matthias Corvinus.<sup>26</sup> One year later, it is stated that not only tolls, but also customs were collected in Senica (*oppidum Senycze una cum tricesima et tributo in eodem exigi solito*).<sup>27</sup> Collection of toll in Jablonica (*Jablonka*) in 1439 was mentioned by people living in the Korlátka castle (*castrum Korlathkw*). At that time the estate was administered by the Bratislava county administrators Štefan and Juraj from Rozhanovce. However, King Albrecht donated this estate to Mikuláš, the son of Ladislav Bán from Ilok. This document also mentions a toll station on the other side of the Little Carpathians in Trstín (*Nadas*).<sup>28</sup> A toll station in Jablonica (*Jabloncza*) and in Prievaly (*Zenthgywrgh*) is mentioned as part of the estate belonging to the castle Korlátka also in years 1445 and 1446, when the estate was in the ownership of Machhaza vice-ban Osvald from Bučany. However, there is no mention about a toll in connectino with Trstín.<sup>29</sup> In 1498 and 1500 the toll stations in Jablonica and Prievaly (*Zenthgyergh alio nomine Swanczardorffh*) were in the ownership of Osvald from Bučany and the castle Korlátka.<sup>30</sup> An important crossing through the river Váh on the Czech Road was located between Šintava and Sereď. Already in 1251 there was a mention that two thirds of the toll paid for crossing the river Váh near the castle Šintava (*castrum Symtey*) was collected by Premonstratensians in

<sup>21</sup> NAGY, Imre – DEÁK, Farkas – NAGY, Gyula (eds.). *Hazai okleveltár 1234 – 1536 (ďalej HOkl)*. Budapest 1879, pp. 63-66, n. 57.

<sup>22</sup> Slovenský národný archív v Bratislave, fond Rod Habsburg – riaditeľstvo cisárskych súkromných majetkov vo Viedni, Rod Czobor, n. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Slovenský národný archív v Bratislave, fond Rod Habsburg – riaditeľstvo cisárskych súkromných majetkov vo Viedni, Rod Czobor, n. 11. Today, Stráže are part of the municipality Šaštín-Stráže.

<sup>24</sup> WENZEL, Gusztáv (ed.). *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus IX. (1272 – 1290)*. Pest, 1871, p. 15, n. 9.

<sup>25</sup> TÓTH, Norbert C. – NEUMANN, Tibor (eds.). *Zsigmondkori okleveltár XI. (1424)*. (hereinafter referred to as ZSO XI) Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2009, p. 539, n. 1348.

<sup>26</sup> MAREK, Miloš (ed.). *Fontes Rerum Slovacarum II. Archivum Familiae Motešický / Stredoveké listiny z archívu rodiny Motešickovcov*. Kraków – Trnava: Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce – Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity v Trnave, 2010, pp. 242-243, n. 252. See also Pozri aj pp. 243-244, n. 253 a 254.

<sup>27</sup> MAREK, ref. 26, p. 245, n. 255. See also Pozri aj p. 246-248, n. 256 a 257.

<sup>28</sup> MAREK, ref. 26, pp. 214-217, n. 222.

<sup>29</sup> *Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, Budapest, Diplomatikai Levéltár* (hereinafter referred to as MNL OL DL) 102827. MAREK, ref. 26, pp. 219-221, n. 225-226.

<sup>30</sup> MAREK, ref. 26, pp. 277- 281, n. 292-294; p. 293, n. 305.

Turiec.<sup>31</sup> One year later, King Béla IV. (1235-1270) issued a document stating that tolls were levied not only on vessels but also on transported wood and on fords and bridges in this area. The Premonstratensians should have received income not only from tolls on existing fords and bridges, but also on those to be set up.<sup>32</sup> At the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century Máté Csák of Trencsén took share of the Nitra bishopric of the local toll.<sup>33</sup> A document from 1412 mentions a collection of toll on the right bank of the river Váh in nearby town Sereď (*Zereth*) and in the neighboring Vlčkovce (*Farkashyda*). The fee was to be paid by passengers who lived between Váh and Dudváh and went to the market in the town Hlohovec. The document also mentions that travelers heading from Hlohovec to Šaľa (*Sellye*) were exempt from paying a fee. At the same time, the inhabitants between Majcichov (*Mayteh*) and Brestovany (*Zely*) on both banks of the river Dudváhu did not have to pay the toll.<sup>34</sup> It was mentioned that in 1419 both tolls were in the ownership of the Šintava estate, when together with other accessories they were acquired by the count deposit Juraj from Pezinok for 10,500.00 ducats.<sup>35</sup> A crossing between Šintava and Sereď is also documented by findings of medieval weapons in the water.<sup>36</sup> A village Nyárhíd (*Narhyd*) near Nové Zámky which does not exist anymore, was mentioned in the document dated to 1183 for the first time, according to which Hungarian King Béla III (1173 – 1196) granted Nitra Chapter one third of toll fees from the local bridge through the river Nitra.<sup>37</sup> In 1424 there was a toll collected in the toll station Nyárhíd owned by the Archbishop of Esztergom on the road from Komjatice (*Kompyati*) to Esztergom (*Strigonium*).<sup>38</sup> Another important toll station on the Czech road was in lower Požitavie in the village Dvory nad Žitavou (*villa Wduord*). An evidence about collection of a toll is mentioned in the document of 1229. It is mentioned that Hungarian King Andrew II (1205 – 1235) exempted villeins of Benedictine Monastery from payment of half of the local toll.<sup>39</sup> In 1256 King Béla IV granted a toll (*tributum de Vduord*) to Sebret.<sup>40</sup> This toll together with property of the Monastery in Hronský Beňadik was later acquired by Esztergom Archbishopric. The Monastery unsuccessfully protested against it.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>31</sup> MARSINA, Richard (ed.). Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae II. (hereinafter referred to as CDSI II) Bratislava: Obzor, 1987, p. 257. n. 370.

<sup>32</sup> CDSI II, ref. 31, p. 277, n. 400.

<sup>33</sup> SEDLÁK, Vincent (ed.). Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae II. (ďalej RDSI II) Bratislava: Veda, 1987, p. 151, n. 312.

<sup>34</sup> MNL OL DL 9869. MÁLYUSZ, Elemér (ed.). Zsigmondkori oklevéltár III. (1411 – 1413). (hereinafter referred to as ZSO III) Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993, pp. 398-399, n. 1584.

<sup>35</sup> MNL OL DL 10,970. MÁLYUSZ, Elemér (ed.). Zsigmondkori oklevéltár VII. (1419 – 1420). (hereinafter referred to as ZSO VII) Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2001, p. 246, n. 932.

<sup>36</sup> IVANIČ – HUSÁR, ref. 12, pp. 708-709.

<sup>37</sup> MARSINA, Richard (ed.). Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae I. (hereinafter referred to as CDSI I) Bratislava: Veda, 1971, pp. 89-90, n. 94. In regard to the context of Nyárhíd's ownership in the Middle Ages see K vlastníckym pomerom Nyárhídu v stredoveku pozri MASLÍKOVÁ, ref. 14, p. 38.

<sup>38</sup> ZSO XI, ref. 25, p. 540, n. 1348.

<sup>39</sup> CDSI I, ref. 37, p. 250, n. 347.

<sup>40</sup> CDSI II, ref. 31, p. 388, n. 557.

<sup>41</sup> JUCK, Lubomír. Majetky hronskobeňadického opátstva do roku 1235. In Historické štúdie, 1973, vol. 18, pp. 135-136.

Most of toll stations in Bratislava county were located directly in the territory and around today's Bratislava, which was an important transport hub. Apart from connection with Vienna, a connection with the town Moson (*Musunio*) is supported by a written evidence from 1225.<sup>42</sup> Another communication was led to Bratislava from Bohemia through the towns Holíč, Šaštín and Malacky. King Louis I of Hungary issued a privilege for merchants from the Kingdom of Bohemia in 1373 that ensured them free and safe passage when they used the road through the settlements Holíč (*Wynar*), Gajary (*Geuar*), Kuklov (*Kykrillen*), Malacky (*Malaczka*) and Stupava (*Stumpa*).<sup>43</sup> The same King issued also another document with the same content. However, besides the above-mentioned settlements, also Šaštín (*Swr*) is mentioned here.<sup>44</sup>

A collection of dry toll near Michalska Gate in Bratislava was documented in 1360. One third of its yield was paid to the Monastery of Saint Martin in Pannonhalm. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, this part was rented by the mayor Jakub together with his sons Štefan and Pavol. A toll was collected on the road to Marchegg and on the road leading through Záhorie to Moravia.<sup>45</sup> In 1375 it was mentioned directly under the name Suché mýto - *Durremauth*.<sup>46</sup> Július Bartl assumed that it did not exist in the 13<sup>th</sup> century because it was not mentioned in the privilege granted to Bratislava in 1291.<sup>47</sup> Based on this document, inhabitants of the town Bratislava were exempted from paying tolls for people, horses and goods in four places. To be specific, the first place was directly in the port in Bratislava (*portus Posoniensis versus Haymburg*), in the port in Čalovo (*Challou*), in Vajnory (*Zeulos*) and the crossing through the river Morava (*in transitu fluvii Morwa*).<sup>48</sup> According to other written sources, Juraj Šedivý identifies Bratislava port with the so-called Bernoldový port and Čalovský port with Prievoz, which was later moved to Vrakuňa. In the case of Vajnory, he assumes that dry toll was collected here. The crossing across the river Morava was located in the Devín estate. King Louis I of Hungary (1342 - 1382) re-confirmed the exemption from paying fees on these toll stations to inhabitants of Bratislava in 1375.<sup>49</sup> These documents show that wet tolls were paid in many places in the territory of today's Bratislava. Of course, it was related to the river Danube. It is mentioned in *Raffelstät tariff* dated on 903 - 906 that the boats were flowing up the river Danube transporting salt and other goods (slaves, horses) to the markets of Moravians.<sup>50</sup> Transport importance of

<sup>42</sup> CDSI I, ref. 37, p. 224, n. 307.

<sup>43</sup> FEJÉR, György (ed.). *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus IX/4*. Budae 1834, p. 488.

<sup>44</sup> FEJÉR, György (ed.). *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus IX/7*. Budae 1842, p. 332.

<sup>45</sup> Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, Budapest, Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény (hereinafter referred to as MNL OL DF) 238 782. BARTL, ref. 9, p. 54. LYSÁ, Žofia. Bratislava. In ŠTEFÁNIK, Martin - LUKAČKA, Ján a kol. *Lexikón stredovekých miest na Slovensku*. Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV, 2010, p. 107.

<sup>46</sup> MNL OL DF 238 925. LYSÁ, ref. 45, p. 107.

<sup>47</sup> BARTL, ref. 9, p. 55.

<sup>48</sup> JUCK, Lubomír. *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku I. (1238 - 1350)*. Bratislava: Veda, 1984, p. 75, n. 77. Čalov is the medieval name for today's Little Danube.

<sup>49</sup> ŠEDIVÝ, ref. 10, p. 347.

<sup>50</sup> RATKOŠ, Peter (ed.). *Pramene k dejinám Veľkej Moravy*. 2. vydanie. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1968, pp.199-201.

the river Danube increased in the subsequent centuries. Finally, King Andrew III of Hungary (1290 – 1301) granted a special privilege to Bratislava sailors in 1297. According to this privilege, only these sailors were entitled to transport goods of German merchants to Bratislava on the river Danube in both directions.<sup>51</sup> Bratislava city remained important water transport road also in later period. In 1418 Flemish ship-builders constructed two river boats in Passau for King Sigismund of Luxemburg, who requested to bring these boats to Bratislava. The inhabitants of Bratislava had to provide crew to these boats that transported them to Buda. There was a port under the Bratislava castle in the local part called Vydrice in Middle Ages, where a toll was collected. The port itself existed before the toll began to be paid. Collection of this toll was owned by several institutions and persons. According to several documents, a third of the incomes were to be owned by the Benedictine Abbey in Pannonhalm. It was already mentioned in falsificates dated back to 1001 and 1137. The first authentic document was preserved from 1213. In 1198 King Emeric (1196 – 1204) donated a tenth of the toll from Bratislava (*Posonio*) to the Archbishop of Esztergom. This part was donated to Bratislava Chapter in 1307. According to the documents from 1248 and 1254, another third of the income belonged to the Cistercians of Piliš, who also built the famous Water Tower. The rest was owned by a mayor of Bratislava. Gradually, the toll and ferry near Vydrice (*Wepritz, Widricia*) were rented to several residents of Bratislava. In the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Pannonhalm Abbey rented its share of the toll to the Bratislava mayor Jakub and the Piliš toll station owner Jakub as from the Saint George holiday in 1351 for one year for 28 Grivnas of Viennese pfennigs. In five years, the mayor Jakub rented a third of the toll belonging to Pannonhalm for 10 years. Finally, in 1361 he managed to rent for himself and his son Mikuláš thirds of the toll, which belonged to the Piliš Cistercians. For this, they were supposed to restore the Water Tower, to accommodate the monks any time and to pay the Monastery ten Grivnas denarius per year. Gradually, there were conflicts between renters and original owners of the toll and ferry. On the basis of documents Juraj Šedivý states that in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century the toll itself belonged to a mayor and church institutions, but the port and the ferry were the property or were operated by the inhabitants of Vydrice (later Bratislava). In 1396, Sigismund of Luxembourg ordered shipbuilders and port owners to build six large boats. These boats were able to carry up to forty horses and riders. Three of these boats should have always been docked on one bank and other three on the other bank of the river Danube. At the same time, the King requested to build a dwelling for ferrymen operating three boats from side of the city Bratislava, and to build other dwelling for ferrymen ensuring transport from the other side of the river Danube on plots of the Chapter. In 1430 this King also ordered to build probably the first stable bridge through the main stream of the river Danube to simplify transport of his court through the river. In 1439 his successor Albert of Habsburg asked the city to repair the damaged bridge and at the same time to allow collection of fees needed for its repair for its use. The bridge itself together with the ferry and the toll were given to property of the city. Juraj

<sup>51</sup> JUCK, ref. 48, pp. 80-81, n. 87.

Šedivý assumes that the ownership rights of the monasteries in Pannonhalm and Piliš were terminated this year. However, inhabitants of Bratislava continued to pay the agreed amounts to both institutions.<sup>52</sup> There is an evidence about a port (*portu seu navigio*) on the river Little Danube from 1290, which was called Čalov (*Chalow*) in the Middle Ages and it was located near Vrakuňa (*Werekene*) that is a part of the town Bratislava today.<sup>53</sup> It was owned by noblemen from Vrakuňa until the beginning of the 90<sup>s</sup> of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>54</sup> In 1367 the mayor of Bratislava and the royal toll collector in Čalovo (*tributarius noster de Challow*) Jakub complained to King Louis I of Hungary that the count Temel, son of Peter of St. Jur together with his brother built a new port/ferriage (*portus*) on his property and forced travelers and merchants to bypass the royal toll in Čalovo rented by Jakub what caused him damage at least 600 ducats a year, and moreover, they captured his relative. The King asked Bratislava Chapter to investigate the matter. In 1373 Andrej, son of Vavrinec of Vrakuňa gave his share in the amount of one sixth of incomes from the port on the river Čalov in Vrakuňa as a deposit to the counts Tomáš, Ján and Peter of St. Jur for 20 Grivnas denars. However, as evidenced by other documents, Andrej probably paid deposits. In 1378 the whole toll station (*tributum nostrum in Werekene*) is mentioned in lease of the town Bratislava. Property of Andrej of Vrakuňa fell to King Sigismund of Luxemburg after this death, who donated part of the municipality Vrakuňa together with 1/6 share of the lower ferriage (*similcum portu inferiori*) to the town Bratislava in 1393. *Tributum Alsorew alio nomine Werekene* is mentioned in 1398. A document from 1399 shows that the Danube port called *Alsórév* belongs to Anne Berzethe, Juraj Sartor, Bratislava inhabitants and the King Sigismund of Luxembourg. Finally, in 1430 King Sigismund probably donated the port on the river Čalov and the settlement Vrakuňa to Štefan and Juraj Rozhanovský, what was objected by Bratislava City Council. In 1410, King Sigismund of Luxemburg ordered the inhabitants of Bratislava to build a bridge here.<sup>55</sup>

There was also *Bernold's* (*Pernold's*) port on the river Čalov, which was mentioned at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Based on the city privilege of 1291, this port was under the administration of inhabitants of Bratislava. Tolls from seamen and boats should not have been collected in the port. Juraj Šedivý locates the port to the area where the Little Danube was separated from the Danube, while he points out that this place gradually moved away from the city due to meandering of the Little Danube.<sup>56</sup>

Another ferriage called as Upper existed through the river Čalovo in Prievoz, however, it is mentioned only from the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In particular, Mikuláš, the son of Juraj, gave the twelfth of the ferriage to Jakub, the son of Michal. In 1382 a resident of Prievoz (*Ober Urfar*) Ján Hayden also mentions one twelfth of the ferriage in his testament. Tolls were also collected in the Prievoz.

<sup>52</sup> ŠEDIVÝ, ref. 10, p. 360.

<sup>53</sup> FEJÉR, György (ed.). *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus VI/1*. Budae 1830, p. 51.

<sup>54</sup> ŠEDIVÝ, ref. 10, p. 360.

<sup>55</sup> Podrobnejšie ŠEDIVÝ, ref. 10, pp. 359-367.

<sup>56</sup> ŠEDIVÝ, ref. 10, p. 364. Prievoz is a part of the city Bratislava in the city borough Ružinov.

Juraj Šedivý concludes from the survived documents that the ferriage was still in the hands of the burgenses, but apparently, the toll was given to the King and one third of it was claimed by the Benedictine monastery in Pannonhalm. There were several disputes related to the ownership between the town and the monastery. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century the noblemen of Rozhanovce took over the ferriage with the toll, which was unsuccessfully protested by inhabitants of Bratislava.<sup>57</sup>

Crossings of the river Danube are probably related to the findings of various iron objects some of which can be dated to the Middle Ages. The exact location of the finding cannot be determined because it was obtained during the exploitation of gravel by the dredging machines located on boats around Bratislava.<sup>58</sup>

In the west side of Bratislava, toll was collected on the ferriage through the river Danube and the river Morava. The castle estate Devín owned one toll station in the ferriage through the river Dunaj (*Dunai*) and two toll stations through the river Morava (*Morua*). Such situation was mentioned in 1415, when King Sigismund of Luxembourg donated the castle estate as a deposit to the Palatine Mikuláš of Gorjan with his wife Anna.<sup>59</sup> The local toll station crossing the river Morava was already mentioned in 1291, when King Andrew III granted Bratislava extensive privileges. Its inhabitants were exempt from paying the toll.<sup>60</sup> Another toll station was mentioned near Vysoká pri Morave (*Znoyssa*) in 1271, which originally belonged to Stupava estate. King Stephen V granted this toll station to the Komes Alexander with his sons.<sup>61</sup>

The counts from Svätý Jur started to collect tolls near Bratislava, in Malinovo (*Eberhard, Moyor*). In the preserved documents the count Temel, his son Peter from Svätý Jur and his brothers are mentioned as founders of the ferriage. In 1367, the mayor of Bratislava, Jakub, complained directly to the King, because they forced the travelers to bypass the toll station in Čalov. King Louis I of Hungary allowed Bratislavská Chapter to resolve the situation. Finally, in 1378 he ordered the counts from Svätý Jur that they should only transport their own villeins through the ferriage/port in Malinovo not to cause damages to the toll station in Vrakuňa.<sup>62</sup>

Another place where the toll was collected in the 13<sup>th</sup> century was in Štvrtok na Ostrove (*Cseturtukhel*). In 1248 King Belo IV confirmed the privileges to the Monastery of Cistercians in Pilis which they had lost during the Mongol invasion. According to this document, the monastery should have owned a third of the local toll. This information is also recorded in the document from 1254.<sup>63</sup>

South-east of Bratislava, the existence of a toll station owned by the king in Hamuliakovo (*Guturzegh*) was documented in 1339 in Čalovo (*Cholokuz*) at the

<sup>57</sup> ŠEDIVÝ, ref. 10, p. 368-370.

<sup>58</sup> TURČAN, Vladimír. Nález vybagrovaný z Dunaja. In Zborník SNM 93. Archeológia 9. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1999, pp. 73-84.

<sup>59</sup> ZSO VII, ref. 35, p. 324, n. 1136.

<sup>60</sup> JUCK, ref. 48, p. 75, n. 77.

<sup>61</sup> FEJÉR, György (ed.). Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus V/1. Budae 1829, p. 130.

<sup>62</sup> For more details, see ŠEDIVÝ, ref. 10, pp. 365-366.

<sup>63</sup> The text of the document from 1248 is preserved in the advertised document of Palatine Konth from 1358. CDSI II, ref. 31, p. 211, č. 301; p. 311, n. 447.

boundary with the settlement Most pri Bratislave (*Pruk*), where the mayor of Bratislava Jakub obtained a property share from King Charles Robert from Anjou. The document also mentions the old toll on the other side of the river Danube in Rajka (*Rayka*).<sup>64</sup> Boglárka Weisz mentions that the toll could have been collected in Hamuliakovo already during the reign of Árpáds dynasty.<sup>65</sup>

North-east of Bratislava, in the territory of the castle estate Čeklís, the toll was collected in the towns Bernolákovo (*Cheklyz*) and Senec (*Zempch*). In 1399 Juraj and Mikuláš, the sons of Mikuláš of Pezinok, complained that they had to pay fees here.<sup>66</sup> In 1412 the inhabitants of Bernolákovo and Senec, who would like to bring wood from the forests and work in the vineyards, were exempted from paying the local toll. Even those who were travelling on the road from Kráľová pri Senci (*Kyralfalua*) to the settlement Hrubý Šúr (*Sur*) did not have to pay the toll.<sup>67</sup> The toll was mentioned in both towns also in 1436, when the estate was acquired by Štefan and Ján of Rozhanovce.<sup>68</sup> There were two places in Bernolákovo where toll was collected from the travelers. In 1323 Abrahám Rufus was granted a donation – the village Bernolákovo (*Cheklyz*) from King Charles Robert of Anjou together with a toll, where two denars were usually collected. However, the king kept in his possession a major toll collected on the bridge.<sup>69</sup>

In 1393 Juraj and Mikuláš, the sons of Mikuláš of Pezinok, rented one third of the toll in Pezinok (*Bozyn*) for six pounds of denars a year from the Panonhalm Monastery.<sup>70</sup>

Komárno is situated on the junction of the river Danube and the river Váh. Here, the toll was most likely collected at the crossing through both rivers. Miriam Hlaváčková states that the important urban income in the Middle Ages was a ferry toll. The right-bank ferriage on the river Váh was situated near the castle and the left-bank ferriage should have been situated at the extinct village Halas.<sup>71</sup> In 1286 Hungarian King Ladislaus IV confirmed the monastery of St. Mauritius in Bakonybély the ownership of two thirds from the port and market toll in Komárno (*Camarun*).<sup>72</sup> This toll was also listed in the property of the monastery in 1306,<sup>73</sup> and it is was also mentioned in the documents of the King

<sup>64</sup> NAGY, Imre (ed.). *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae Andegavensis (Anjoukori okmánytár)* III. Budapest 1883, p. 533, n. 355.

<sup>65</sup> WEISZ, A királyketteje, ref. 3, p. 180.

<sup>66</sup> MÁLYUSZ, Elemér (ed.). *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár I. (1387 – 1399)*. (hereinafter referred to as ZSO I) Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1951, pp. 683-684, n. 6141.

<sup>67</sup> ZSO III, ref. 34, pp. 398-399, n. 1584.

<sup>68</sup> MNL, DL 12 919.

<sup>69</sup> RDSI II, ref. 33, p. 410, n. 942.

<sup>70</sup> ERDÉLYI, László (ed.). *A Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története II*. Budapest 1903, p. 585, n. 226.

<sup>71</sup> HLAVAČKOVÁ, Miriam. Komárno. In ŠTEFÁNIK, Martin – LUKAČKA, Ján a kol. *Lexikón stredovekých miest na Slovensku*. Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV, 2010, p. 183.

<sup>72</sup> KNAUZ, Nándor (ed.). *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis II*. (hereinafter referred to as MES II) Strigonii 1882, p. 214, n. 190.

<sup>73</sup> SEDLÁK, Vincent (ed.). *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae I*. (hereinafter referred to as RDSI I) Bratislava: Sumptibus Academiae Scientiarum Slovacae, 1980, p. 192, n. 414; p. 194, n. 419.

Charles Robert of Anjou from 1315 and 1320.<sup>74</sup> When the Palatine Nicholas II Garai received the castle estate Komárno from King Sigismund of Luxemburg, the accessories included also tolls collected in Komárno (*Komarom*), Neszmély (*Nezmel*), Szóny (*Zwn*), Tôni (*Tan*), Okoči (*Ekech*), Asványtő (*Aswanthw*) and in Bana (*Bana*). The estate also included the toll collected in the ferriage on the rivers Danube (*Danubii*) and Váh (*Wagh*) in Dunaalmási (*Almas*) and in Komárno.<sup>75</sup> Since Dunaalmás is situated on the right bank of the river Danube, and so the toll at the river Váh was only paid in Komárno. Komárno has been the most important center of timber trade transported by rafts mainly from Orava and Liptov since the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>76</sup> There was a ferryboat depicted in the area of Komárno approximately in the place of today's road bridge over the river Váh on the map of the First Military Survey of Hungary (1782 - 1785).<sup>77</sup>

It is mentioned in the Charter of the monastery in Svätý Beňadik from 1075 that the monastery also received an income from the toll in Lél (*Lelu*).<sup>78</sup> This part of the document is considered as interpolated, because the toll was not mentioned anymore among the property of the monastery in 1209.<sup>79</sup> However, it is likely that the toll was collected for at least some time.

The village Horné Mýto is situated near the Klátovské branch of the river Danube near the town Dunajská Streda, which was mentioned under the name *Vamusfalw/Vamosfalw* in 1421 for the first time as a property of the counts of Svätý Jur. Collection of a toll is not mentioned in the document.<sup>80</sup> It is stated in the Geographical Dictionary of Municipalities in Slovakia that a toll was collected here without any specific mention.<sup>81</sup> A ferriage through the branch of the Little Danube on the road to the neighboring village Ohrady was drawn westwards from Horné Mýto on the map of the First Military Survey of Hungary (1782 - 1785).<sup>82</sup> The toll collector Ladislav was mentioned on the toll station in Ohrady (*Kurth*) in 1339.<sup>83</sup>

In south-west Slovakia, an important communication role was played by Považská road which was directed from the town Komárno along the river Váh to the town Žilina and further to Poland. In 1208 this road is mentioned as a big road to the town Trenčín (*Trincin*)<sup>84</sup> and in 1406 as *magna via* a road from the

<sup>74</sup> RDSI II, ref. 33, p. 43, n. 51; p. 259, n. 563.

<sup>75</sup> BORSA, Iván (ed.). Zsigmondkori oklevéltár IX. (1422). Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2004, p. 194, n. 608-609. Asványtő je dnes zaniknutá osada, ktorá ležala v chotári Klížskej Nemej.

<sup>76</sup> SLAVKOVSKÝ, Peter. S nošou za industrializáciou krajiny. Bratislava: Veda, 2014, p. 105.

<sup>77</sup> Die Josephinische Landesaufnahme 1782-1785: Königreich Ungarn. Dostupné na internete: <<https://mapire.eu/en/synchron/firstsurvey-hungary>>

<sup>78</sup> CDSI I, ref. 37, p. 57, n. 58. Veľký Lél is now a part of Zlatná na Ostrove.

<sup>79</sup> CDSI I, ref. 37, p. 118-119, n. 150.

<sup>80</sup> BORSA, Iván (ed.). Zsigmondkori oklevéltár IX. (1422). Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2004, pp. 247-248, n. 847.

<sup>81</sup> KROPILÁK, Miroslav et al. Vlastivedný slovník obcí na Slovensku 3. Bratislava: Veda, 1977, p. 186.

<sup>82</sup> Die Josephinische Landesaufnahme 1782-1785: Königreich Ungarn. Dostupné na internete: <<https://mapire.eu/en/synchron/firstsurvey-hungary>>

<sup>83</sup> PITI, Ferenc (ed.). Anjou-kori Oklevéltár. XXIII. 1339. Budapest-Szeged, 1999, p. 352, n. 775.

<sup>84</sup> CDSI I, ref. 37, p. 116, n. 148.

town Hlohovec (*Galgowch*) to Banka (*Banya*).<sup>85</sup> Roads along the river Váh were led on both banks of the river. It is evidenced by several direct written documents about roads and tolls.<sup>86</sup> Several toll stations were established in the lower basin of the river Váh. In addition to the already mentioned toll stations in Šintava, Sered' and Vlčkovce, the toll was collected also for crossing the river between Šaľa and Veča in the Lower Považie. It is mentioned in 1251 that two-thirds of the toll charges collected on the bridge and in the port in Šaľa (*Sala*) were paid to the Premonstratensian Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Turiec.<sup>87</sup> The same was mentioned also a year later.<sup>88</sup> It is stated in the document from 1318 that Nitra Bishopric also owned a share of the toll income. At the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century the important Hungarian nobleman Máté Csák of Trencsén usurped this toll.<sup>89</sup> It is interesting that there are cross-folded oars through the middle of which there is a hook for turning the boats on the oldest seal of Veča (18<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>90</sup> The above-mentioned medieval bridge between Šaľa and Veča was not recorded within the First Military Mapping, but there is only a ferriage / ferryboat.<sup>91</sup> Very rich collection of archeological artifacts from the High and Late Middle Ages was found from the riverbed of the river Váh near Šaľa and Šaľa-Veča.<sup>92</sup>

The Bishopric of Nitra also claimed tolls collected at the port on the river Dudváh (*Dodwagh*) south-west from Šaľa in Horné Saliby (*Scele*). It is mentioned in the document from 1271.<sup>93</sup>

North of Sered', a toll was collected in the town Hlohovec and its surrounding. There was a bridge over the river Váh in Hlohovec (*Galgoch*) in 1270. At that time, tolls were collected from all goods and timber transported down by the river Váh. At that time Nitra Bishop Vincent complained that after the Mongol invasion, toll collectors stopped paying a tenth of the fees to the bishopric, as was previously the case according to the old tradition.<sup>94</sup> King Andrew III donated a part of the royal property, including share of the toll to Abraham Rufus in 1294. He maintained a right to collect toll even after he exchanged his share in Hlohovec

<sup>85</sup> MÁLYUSZ, Elemér (ed.). Zsigmondkori oklevéltár II/1 (1400 - 1406). (hereinafter referred to as ZSO II/1) Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1956, p. 570, n. 4626.

<sup>86</sup> HRUBÝ, Tomáš. Osídlenie Dolného Považia v stredoveku. Príspevok k dejinám sídelného vývoja Západného Slovenska. Kraków - Trnava: Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce - Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity v Trnave, 2015, p. 79-80.

<sup>87</sup> CDSI II, ref. 31, p. 257, n. 370.

<sup>88</sup> CDSI II, ref. 31, p. 277, n. 400.

<sup>89</sup> RDSI II, ref. 33, p. 151, n. 312.

<sup>90</sup> História mestskej časti Veča 2016. Available on the Internet: <<https://sala.sk/clanok/historia-mestskej-casti-veca>>; Máj 2003 pri príležitosti 890. výročia, bol slávnostne odhalený a posvätený ERB a PEČAŤ Mestskej časti Veča. Available on the Internet:<<https://veca8.webnode.sk/products/symboly-mestskej-casti-sala-veca>>.

<sup>91</sup> Die Josephinische Landesaufnahme 1782-1785: Königreich Ungarn. Available on the Internet: <<https://mapire.eu/en/synchron/firstsurvey-hungary>>

<sup>92</sup> IVANIČ - HUSÁR, ref. 12, pp. 707-708.

<sup>93</sup> MNL OL DF 273 054. FEJÉR, György (ed.). Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus VII/2. Budae 1832, p. 152. Authenticity of the document is questionable. SZENTPÉTERY, Imre (ed.). Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica. Tomus II. Volumina 1. Budapest: Kiadja a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1943, p. 113, n. 2106.

<sup>94</sup> MNL OL DF 226 543.

in 1297 with Ab of the Abov family for Sobotište and Branč Castle.<sup>95</sup> Apparently Abraham was entitled to the toll which was collected at the ferriage through the reviver Váh between Svätý Peter<sup>96</sup> and Červeník. This entitlement apparently existed until the modern period with breaks. Its is also evidenced by a drawing of a toll station house (*Mauth hausel*) on the plan prepared by H. Kleinwächter from 1728.<sup>97</sup> At the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the toll incomes were usurped by Máté Csák of Trencsén.<sup>98</sup> In 1353 collection was transferred to newly constructed bridge over the river Váh with a consent of the king.<sup>99</sup> The Hungarian Palatine Mikuláš Kont issued a charter for inhabitants of Starý Hlohovec in 1365 stating that they were exempt from tolls and thirty, but their duty was to maintain and repair the bridge over the river Váh.<sup>100</sup> In 1369 Klara, widow of Mikuláš Kont, who owned Hlohovec, obtained the gains of toll in Hlohovec with approval of King Louis I of Hungary.<sup>101</sup> A bridge toll was also mentioned in connection with the river Váh in 1424. It is mentioned in this document that in case of a flood and destroying of a bridge by the river, the passengers had to pay only for transport to the other bank of the river.<sup>102</sup> In this year the castellan Fekeč from Hlohovec attacked (*in ponto in fluvio Vag*) the mayor Valentín from Veľké Kostoľany and his companions on the bridge.<sup>103</sup> The bridge was destroyed by Hussite troops led by Prokop Holý, who camped near Hlohovec in 1431.<sup>104</sup> At the beginning of November the same year, Orphans retreated from the Hungarian army. However, they were stopped by the burnt bridge near Hlohovec, so they had to continue quickly on the left side of the river Váh and only near Ilava they crossed to the other side of the river and then continued to Moravia.<sup>105</sup> Destruction of the bridge can also reflect the information from a charter of Hungarian King Ladislaus the Posthumous from 1453, by which the King confirmed ownership of the estates Hlohovec and Tematín to Mikuláš Ilocký. This document also mentions a right to gain from the tolls collected in Hlohovec and in the ferriage on the river Váh.<sup>106</sup> According to Dušan Dzuro, this ferriage was located in the place of the afore-mentioned destroyed bridge.<sup>107</sup> The communication importance of Hlohovec is also supported by a fact

<sup>95</sup> WENZEL, Gusztáv (ed.). *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus X*. Pest 1873, pp. 135-136, n. 92.

<sup>96</sup> The municipality Svätý Peter was located in the north from Hlohovec and it was attached to the town in 1953.

<sup>97</sup> PIŠÚT, Peter et al. *Vývoj koryta Váhu pri Leopoldove v 17.-20. storočí a odozva rieky na zásahy človeka*. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, 2016, pp. 201-202.

<sup>98</sup> RDSI II, ref. 33, p. 152, n. 312.

<sup>99</sup> NAGY, Imre (ed.). *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae Andegavensis (Anjoukori okmánytár) VI*. Budapest 1891, p. 133, n. 87.

<sup>100</sup> MNL OL DL 5389.

<sup>101</sup> MN OL DL 5728.

<sup>102</sup> ZSO XI, ref. 25, p. 538, n. 1348.

<sup>103</sup> WENZEL, Gusztáv. *Stibor vajda. Életrajzi tanulmány*. Budapest 1874, p. 180.

<sup>104</sup> VARSÍK, Branislav. *Husitské revolučné hnutie a Slovensko*. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, 1965, pp. 81-82.

<sup>105</sup> LUKAČKA, Ján. *Hlohovec*. In ŠTEFÁNIK, Martin - LUKAČKA, Ján a kol. *Lexikón stredovekých miest na Slovensku*. Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV, 2010, p. 166.

<sup>106</sup> MNL OL DL 14,726.

<sup>107</sup> DZURO, ref. 13, p. 97.

that thirtieth was also collected here. According to the document from 1318, a revenue from it belonged to Hungarian kings.<sup>108</sup> Sources from the modern period testify that in the period from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century there were several constructions or repairs of the bridge near Hlohovec. As from 1830s, there were even two bridges which were completely destroyed by the flood in July 1781. Subsequently only one bridge was built.<sup>109</sup> A drawing of the town Hlohovec from the half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century shows a wooden bridge on pillars<sup>110</sup> located in the same places or near the place, where a wooden bridge on the pillars is depicted on the map of the First Military Mapping.<sup>111</sup> On both pictures, the bridge goes from the left bank of the river Váh to the right bank towards today's Šulekovo, a part of the town Hlohovec. Several objects and eight copper cakes are from a basin of the river Váh.<sup>112</sup>

In 1424 a toll was collected in the nearby settlement Trakovice (*Karkoch*) opposite Hlohovec, on the other bank of the river Váh. It was collected by Ban Ladislav on the road from Dobrá Voda (*Jokew*) to Hlohovec. Travelers who came to Hlohovec from Bučany (*Bwchan*) were exempted from payment of this toll.<sup>113</sup> The local toll was mentioned in 1498 as a part of the property of the castle estate Korlátka, which Osvald of Bučany and Korlátka obtained from King Vladislaus II of Hungary.<sup>114</sup> As specified in the document from 1400, the toll fees on the river Váh were collected in Pinteková Ves (*Pintechfalwa*) near Dolné Zelenice. Apparently, there was a ferriage through the river in this place.<sup>115</sup> This ferriage can be connected with artifacts discovered in the cadaster of Dvorníky near the bank of the river Váh.<sup>116</sup> A toll station in Malženice (*Manyga*) was in the ownership of the prominent Hungarian dignitary Stibor Junior in 1424. Merchants travelling from Nové Mesto nad Váhom (*Wyhel*) to Trnava (*Tirnnaviam*) and from Špačnice (*Spacha*) to Hlohovec paid a toll here.<sup>117</sup> During this period, Stibor also owned the toll station in nearby Veľké Kostoľany (*Zenthvyd*), where a toll was collected on the road from Červeník (*Wereswar*) through Šulekovo (*Beregzegh*) to Voderady (*Wedered*). However, travelers travelling from Hlohovec to Piešťany (*Pestyen*) were exempted from its payment.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>108</sup> RDSI II, ref. 33, p. 180, n. 369.

<sup>109</sup> CHRASTINA, Peter - RÁCOVÁ, Katarína. Mosty na území Nitrianskej stolice v prvej polovici 18. storočia podľa Notícií Mateja Bela (historicko-geografický prístup). In *Studia historica Nitriensia*, 2015, vol. 19, n. 1, p. 25-26. PIŠÚT, ref. 97, pp. 224-226.

<sup>110</sup> Pamiatková zóna Hlohovec. Zásady ochrany pamiatkového územia - aktualizácia, Veduty, 15. júla 2014. Available on the Internet: <[https://www.pamiatky.sk/Content/PZ\\_ZASADY/Hlohovec/0209-Hlo-veduty.pdf](https://www.pamiatky.sk/Content/PZ_ZASADY/Hlohovec/0209-Hlo-veduty.pdf)>

<sup>111</sup> Die Josephinische Landesaufnahme 1782-1785: Königreich Ungarn. Available on the Internet: <<https://mapire.eu/en/synchron/firstsurvey-hungary>>

<sup>112</sup> IVANIČ - HUSÁR, ref. 12, pp. 712-713.

<sup>113</sup> ZSO XI, ref. 25, p. 539, n. 1348.

<sup>114</sup> MAREK, ref. 26, p. 277- 281, n. 292-294.

<sup>115</sup> ZSO II/1, ref. 85, p. 68, n. 563. It should be Lukáb farm near today's Dolné Zelenice. Pozri HRUBÝ, ref. 86, s. 203. However, Dušan Dzuro states it was the settlement Horné Zelenice. Pozri DZURO, ref. 13, p. 97.

<sup>116</sup> IVANIČ - HUSÁR, ref. 12, pp. 708-711.

<sup>117</sup> ZSO XI, ref. 25, p. 538-539, n. 1348.

<sup>118</sup> ZSO XI, ref. 25, p. 539, n. 1348. Šulekovo has been a part of the town Hlohovec since 1948.

There was an important ferriage in Piešťany (*Pesthyen*), where payment of a toll was mentioned in 1424. However, travelers travelling from Beckov (*Bolondoch*) to Nitrianska Blatnica (*Serfew*) were exempted from its payment.<sup>119</sup> In 1435, the family of Ujlaki deposited the whole town of Piešťany together with the ferriage through the river Váh and the toll station to Michal and Ondrej, son of Imrich of Očkov for 129 ducats with the consent of the King.<sup>120</sup> In 1453 Piešťany and the toll station was again in the ownership of Mikuláš Ujlaki.<sup>121</sup> In 1489 Juraj Požar of Marcelová was supposed to be registered as the owner of the whole property of the city Piešťany (*Pesthyen*) together with the toll station and half of the estate in Horná Streda (*Zerdahel*), but the castellans of Hlohovec castle came out against this registration on behalf of Vavrinec Ujlaki.<sup>122</sup> A toll collector was mentioned in the portal inventory of the Nitra county from 1533.<sup>123</sup> This toll collector was also mentioned in 1536.<sup>124</sup> Importance of a crossing through the river Váh in this place is also evidenced by the existence of an old toll station on the other side of the river Váh in Banka. The Bishop of Nitra, Vavrinec, obtained one tenths of this toll income in 1270 from King Belo IV.<sup>125</sup> At the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the toll incomes were usurped by Máté Csák of Trencsén. It is evidenced by a complaint from the Nitra Bishopric of 1318.<sup>126</sup> In 1453, toll incomes were also owned by Mikuláš Ujlaki.<sup>127</sup> Evidence about a toll collector is dated to 1536.<sup>128</sup> There could be a ferriage located to the south of Piešťany according to the First Military Mapping. It was possible to use this ferriage for going to the settlement Banka.<sup>129</sup> Importance of the ferriage in the area of the town Piešťany during the High and Late Middle Ages is also emphasized by relevant water findings from the Middle Ages.<sup>130</sup>

To the west from Piešťany, a toll was collected in Stráže<sup>131</sup> and in Vrby. We have an interesting information about the toll station in Stráže. In 1524 it was mentioned that the toll station consisted of a settlement with a house and a

<sup>119</sup> ZSO XI, ref. 25, p. 539, n. 1348.

<sup>120</sup> LUKAČKA, Ján. Piešťany v stredoveku. In *Balneologický spravodajca* 34. Piešťany: Balneologické múzeum v Piešťanoch, 1994, n. 104.

<sup>121</sup> MNL OL DL 14 726.

<sup>122</sup> MAREK, Miloš (ed.). *Fontes rerum Slovacarum IV. Archivum familiae Očkaj. Stredoveké dejiny rodiny Očkajovcov a listiny z jej archívu Kraków – Trnava: Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce – Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity v Trnave*, 2015, pp. 273-274, n. 227; pp. 274-275, n. 228.

<sup>123</sup> Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Magyar kamara Archívuma. Sectio E 158, *Conscriptiones portarum comitatus Nitriensis A 2646*, pag. 124.

<sup>124</sup> Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Magyar kamara Archívuma. Sectio E 158, *Dica Nitriensis A 2648*, pag. 88.

<sup>125</sup> IPOLYI, Arnold – NAGY, Imre – VÉGHÉLY. Dezső (eds.). *Codex diplomaticus Patrius VII*. Budapest, 1880, p. 125, n. 94.

<sup>126</sup> RDSI II, ref. 33, p. 152, n. 312.

<sup>127</sup> MNL OL DL 14 726.

<sup>128</sup> Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Magyar kamara Archívuma. Sectio E 158, *Dica Nitriensis A 2648*, pag. 93.

<sup>129</sup> *Die Josephinische Landesaufnahme 1782-1785: Königreich Ungarn*. Available on the Internet: <<https://mapire.eu/en/synchron/firstsurvey-hungary>>

<sup>130</sup> IVANIČ – HUSÁR, ref. 12, p. 714.

<sup>131</sup> Today's Krakovany-Stráže.

mansion.<sup>132</sup> This year, the toll station was attacked by inhabitants of Vrbové who caused the widow of Peter Oponický a damage in the amount of 600 ducats.<sup>133</sup> Stráže (*Ewr*) were defined as an old toll station in a revision of toll stations in 1424. A toll was paid on the main road (*magna via*) to Vrbové which was situated on the right bank of the river Váh. The toll had to be paid also by travelers traveling from Kocurice (*Koczorych*) to Nové Mesto nad Váhom (*Wyhel*) through Orvište (*Ewrysthe*). This toll was also paid by those traveling from Piešťany to Ostrov (*Oztro*) and then continuing to Vrbové (*Warbo*).<sup>134</sup> And exactly in Vrbové (*Warbow*) the travelers had to pay another toll, which was obtained by Stibor of Stiboricz from King Sigismund of Luxemburg as a part of Čachtice castle estate in 1392.<sup>135</sup> In 1424 the toll was owned by his son Stibor Junior, but only half fees were collected here at this time.<sup>136</sup> Michal Orság of Gút obtained Čachtice castle estate together with the local toll station in 1436.<sup>137</sup> The toll collector Matúš and collectors of thirtieth Vavrinec and Lukáš are mentioned among the inhabitants of Vrbové who attacked the toll station in Stráže in 1524.<sup>138</sup> An evidence about a toll collector in Vrbové is dated to 1536.<sup>139</sup> There were several toll stations located to the west from the town Trnava. In 1349 servants of the castellan Čeník from the castle Červený Kameň (*Weresku*) ran away with money collected in the toll station in Cífer (*Chisur*).<sup>140</sup> Collection of a local toll (*Chyfer*) was a part of Červený Kameň castle estate in 1377, when it was owned by Štefan and Ákoš, descendants of Bán Mikča.<sup>141</sup> This castle estate and the local toll station were owned by Ulrich Wolfurt as from 1393. In 1397 King Sigismund of Luxemburg donated the municipality together with the toll station to the Master Mikuláš, son of Soboň of Pusté Úľany and his son Ladislav.<sup>142</sup> In 1498 this toll station was mentioned as a part of the property of the castle estate Korlátka obtained by Osvald of Bučany and Korlátka.<sup>143</sup> At the Červený Kameň castle estate, another toll was collected in Latindorf which was situated south from the today's municipality Častá. In 1410 it is mentioned that Ulrich Wolfurt moved the toll station from Latindorf to Budmerice. This year he accused the sons of Mikuláš of Pusté Úľany that they forced travelers to bypass this new toll station through Cífer.<sup>144</sup> In 1412 the Palatine

<sup>132</sup> KAMMERER, Ernő (ed.). *A Pécz nemzetség Apponyi ágának az Apponyi grófok családi levéltárában őrizett oklevelei*. Budapest 1906, p. 484, n. 222.

<sup>133</sup> KAMMERER, ref. 131, p. 483-486, n. 222.

<sup>134</sup> ZSO XI, ref. 25, p. 539, n. 1348.

<sup>135</sup> MNL OL DL 7762. WENZEL, ref. 103, p. 67, n. 66.

<sup>136</sup> ZSO XI, ref. 25, p. 539, n. 1348.

<sup>137</sup> MNL OL DL 12871, 12872. WENZEL, ref. 103, pp. 208-209, n. 152.

<sup>138</sup> KAMMERER, ref. 131, pp. 483-484, n. 222.

<sup>139</sup> *Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Magyar kamara Archívuma. Sectio E 158, Dica Nitriensis A 2648, pag. 80.*

<sup>140</sup> DEDEK, Ludovicus Crescens (ed.). *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis III. Strigonii 1924*, p. 674, n. 893.

<sup>141</sup> MNL OL DL 42041. TIBENSKÝ, Martin. *Červenokamenské panstvo v stredoveku*. Kraków – Trnava: Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce – Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity v Trnave, 2011, p. 146.

<sup>142</sup> ZSO I, ref. 66, p. 518, n. 4691.

<sup>143</sup> MAREK, ref. 26, pp. 277- 281, n. 292-294.

<sup>144</sup> MNL OL DL 9698. ZSO III, ref. 34, pp. 398-399, n. 1584. TIBENSKÝ, ref. 141, p. 146.

Mikuláš Garaj prohibited the Lords of Pusté Úľany to collect a toll in Cífer from inhabitants of the surrounding municipalities Pác (*Paagh*), Slovenská Nová Ves (*Uyfalu*), Voderady (*Vedred*), Kerthueles, Pavlice (*Paldi*) and Majcichov (*Mayte*) who would like to transport wood from forests in the estate. It is also mentioned that also inhabitants of Trnava were exempted from payment of a toll who were traveling through Pác and Čataj (*Chathe*) to Senec (*Sempche*). This document also mentions a toll station in Latindorf (*Lachkfalva*) and a toll station in Križovany nad Dudváhom (*Kerezthur*).<sup>145</sup> According to the document from 1440, a toll station in Latindorf (*Latindorff*) belonged to the Červený Kameň castle estate together with toll stations in Budmerice (*Pudmerich*) and Častá (*Schatmanstorff*).<sup>146</sup> A toll station in Budmerice together with specific fees is mentioned in the Urbar of Červený Kameň castle estate in 1543. According to the document, one denarius was paid for a wagon with horses, 12 denars were paid for a barrel of wine and 6 denarius for a half-barrel. No fee was paid for a horse. A salt barrel was charged for one wagon loaded with salt.<sup>147</sup> There were settlements Horný and Dolný Fančal situated in the cadaster of Budmerice in the Middle Ages. In 1361 King Louis I of Hungary granted privileges to guests in Modra (*Modur*). The document states that in relation to the toll collected in the municipality Fančal (*Fanczal*), burgenses in Modra should enjoy the same benefit as burgesses in Trnava.<sup>148</sup> Juraj Žudel assumed that the above-mentioned toll station existed on the road from Modra via Budmerice and Ružindol to Trnava. In particular, he thought that it was the municipality Dolný Fančal.<sup>149</sup> This opinion was also supported by Tomáš Hrubý.<sup>150</sup> However, Martin Tibenský joins this mention with the municipality Horný Fančal.<sup>151</sup>

In the area of lower Ponitrie, in addition to the already-mentioned toll station in Nyárhídu which was situated on the Czech Road, the toll was also collected directly in Nitra. It is mentioned in the document Zobor Decree from 1111 that the Monastery owned one third of market and toll fees in Nitra (*Nitrie*) and in Považie region from the town Trenčín up to the mouth of the river Váh to the river Danube.<sup>152</sup> In 1183, King Béla III granted Nitra Chapter one third of Nitra market toll and one third of a toll collected for crossing the bridge above the river Nitra against Zobor.<sup>153</sup> Nitra was an important traffic node<sup>154</sup> and several busy roads were based in Nitra. Therefore, the existence of several toll stations is documented in its vicinity. In the revision of the toll stations in Nitra County

<sup>145</sup> ZSO III, ref. 34, p. 399, n. 1584. Kerthueles is an extinct municipality near Slovenská Nová Ves.

<sup>146</sup> MNL OL DL 13546. TIBENSKÝ, ref. 141, p. 147.

<sup>147</sup> MARSINA, Richard – KUŠÍK, Michal (eds.). *Urbáre feudálnych panstiev na Slovensku 1. (16. storočie)*. Bratislava 1959, p. 129.

<sup>148</sup> FEJÉR, György (ed.). *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus IX/3*. Budae 1834, p. 253, n. 120.

<sup>149</sup> ŽUDEL, Juraj. Príspevok k historickej geografii Trnavskej pahorkatiny do polovice 19. storočia. In *Geografický časopis*, 1970, vol. 22, n. 1, p. 25.

<sup>150</sup> HRUBÝ, ref. 86, p. 107.

<sup>151</sup> TIBENSKÝ, ref. 141, p. 147.

<sup>152</sup> CDS I, ref. 37, p. 63, n. 68.

<sup>153</sup> CDS I, ref. 37, p. 90, n. 94.

<sup>154</sup> Pozri bližšie LUKAČKA, ref. 15, pp. 208-211.

from 1424, the old toll station is mentioned in Párovce (*Parwcha*)<sup>155</sup>, where a toll was collected on the road from the village Komjatice (*Kompyati*) to the town Nitra (*Nytriam*) and from the village Cetín (*Cheten*) to the village Dražovce (*Darasy*).<sup>156</sup> During this time they collected a toll in the village Veľké Zálužie (*Wylak*) only from passengers going in the direction to Šintava (*Sempthe*).<sup>157</sup> The first evidence about a toll station is dated to 1369.<sup>158</sup> A toll station was mentioned in 1386 to the south from Nitra in the village Komjatice (*Komjathy*), when this toll station was obtained by Blažej Forgáč from the Queen Mary.<sup>159</sup> A village Zbehy (*Izbehy*) is located in the north-west direction from the town Nitra, where a bridge toll was collected from passengers travelling from Nitra (*Nytria*) through the village Lukáčovce (*Lakach*) in the direction to Hlohovec (*Galgoch*), and also from the passengers travelling from Nitra to the villages Ečejoye (*Ethey*) and Alekšince (*Elekchy*). This document also contains information that merchants coming to the market to Hlohovec from the villages Preseľany and Hrušovany did not have to pay a toll. Merchants coming from the village Čermany (*Chermen*) and travelling in the direction to the village Báb (*Baab*) and Šintava (*Sempthe*) were exempted from payment of the toll.<sup>160</sup> According to the document from 1390, an income from toll was paid to the owners of Topoľčany castle estate. Although the village Zbehy is mentioned as a property of the Archbishop of Esztergom.<sup>161</sup>

Roads in the area of Požitavie ensured interconnection of the areas of Pohronie and Ponitrie. The already-mentioned Czech Road was also led through this region. A toll station was located in Dvory nad Žitavou (*villa Wduord*) on the Czech Road. An evidence about collection of a toll is mentioned in the document of 1229. It is mentioned here that Andrew II, the King of Hungary, exempted vills of Benedictine Monastery from payment of half of the local toll.<sup>162</sup> In 1256 King Béla IV granted a toll (*tributum de Vduord*) to Komes Sebret.<sup>163</sup> This toll together with property of the Monastery in Hronský Beňadik was later acquired by Esztergom Archbishopric. The Monastery unsuccessfully protested against it.<sup>164</sup> It was mentioned in 1336 that a toll should have been collected also from merchant wagons in Dvory nad Žitavou.<sup>165</sup> Other toll stations in Požitavie region were located in Maňa and Vajka nad Žitavou (*Manya, Woyk*),<sup>166</sup> what is evidenced by the Charter of the Queen Mary from 1386 by which Blažej Forgáč obtained the castle

<sup>155</sup> Nowadays, it is a part of the city Nitra.

<sup>156</sup> ZSO XI, ref. 25, pp. 537-538, n. 1348.

<sup>157</sup> ZSO XI, ref. 25, p. 538, n. 1348.

<sup>158</sup> MNL OL DL 5728.

<sup>159</sup> MNL OL DL 58652. FEJÉR, György (ed.). *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus X/I*. (hereinafter referred to as CDH X/1) Budae 1834, p. 282, n. 144.

<sup>160</sup> ZSO XI, ref. 25, p. 538, n. 1348. Ečejoyce is a lapsed medieval village.

<sup>161</sup> ZSO I, ref. 66, p. 160, n. 1398.

<sup>162</sup> CDSI I, ref. 37, p. 250, n. 347.

<sup>163</sup> CDSI II, ref. 31, p. 388, n. 557.

<sup>164</sup> JUCK, Ľubomír. Majetky hronskobeňadického opátstva do roku 1235. In *Historické štúdie*, 1973, vol. 18, pp. 135-136.

<sup>165</sup> CHYTIL, ref. 20, p. 77, n. 102.

<sup>166</sup> In 1960 Vajka nad Žitavou merged with Martinová into the village Lúčnica nad Žitavou.

estate Gýmeš into possession.<sup>167</sup> Both toll stations are also mentioned in 1424, when the revision of toll stations in the Nitra County was made. This document also contains information which toll was collected on which specific road. Peter Forgáč received an income from the toll in Maňa (*Manya*) which was collected on the road from Nitra (*Nytria*) through Agač (*Agoch*) to Esztergom (*Strigonyo*). He is also mentioned as the owner of the toll station in Vajka, where the travelers traveling from Šintava (*Sempthe*) to Hronský Beňadik (*Sancti Benedicti*) and from Komjatice (*Kompyati*) to Vráble (*Werebel*) had to pay a toll.<sup>168</sup> A toll station in Klasovo (*Kaloz*) was mentioned in 1318.<sup>169</sup> In 1424 toll fees were collected by Forgács Family on the road which went from the village Žirany (*Syre*) through the villages Kolíňany (*Kolon*), Pohranice (*Pogran*) and Klasov (*Kaloz*) to the village Komjatice (*Kompyati*).<sup>170</sup> A toll was also collected in Vráble (*Verebel*) in 1424 on the road in the direction from Tekovské Lužianky (*Sarlo*) to Tehla (*Thuhul*).<sup>171</sup> In the nearby village Nová Ves nad Žitavou (*Wjfalu*) a toll station was mentioned in 1386 and 1424, when it was a part of the Gýmeš castle estate. It was collected on the road to Zlaté Moravce (*Marothi*), where tolls were also collected before 1386.<sup>172</sup> The toll collection in Zlaté Moravce is also documented in 1400. According to the testimony of Mikuláš Forgáč, Jan and Ondrej from Topoľčianky, together with Peter Rufus, invaded Zlaté Moravce at that time, while they injured a local toll collector Vavrinec and they stole him a good horse and 100 ducats. There is also an interesting note about a fact that women and children from Zlaté Moravce who gathered in this place defended the toll collector.<sup>173</sup> A toll stations in Jedľové Kostoľany (*Fenyukoztolyan/Koztolyan*), Žikava (*Zykwa/Sykwa*) and Hostie (*Kerezthur*) belonged to the Hrušov castle estate in 1388, 1423 and 1424.<sup>174</sup> There are ruins of a medieval tower called Živánska Tower (*Turňa*) in Jedľové Kostoľany, which is situated near the road from Obyce through Veľká Lehota to Nová Baňa. Martin Bóna associates this building with a toll station, which was mentioned in Jedľové Kostoľany in medieval documents until 1496, while it is assumed that the Tower was constructed in the last third of the 14th century at the latest.<sup>175</sup> It was stated in 1424 that a toll was collected on the road from Veľké Uherce (*Nagugroch*) to Nová Baňa (*Uybanya*).<sup>176</sup> This document also mentions that a toll was collected in Žikava on the road led from Zlaté Moravce (*Maroth*) through Hosťovce (*Geztheud*) and Mankovce (*Maykoch*) to Zlatno (*Zalakna*).<sup>177</sup>

<sup>167</sup> MNL OL DL 58652. CDH X/1, ref. 159, p. 281, n. 144.

<sup>168</sup> ZSO XI, ref. 25, p. 537, n. 1348. Nowadays, Agač is a part of Úľany nad Žitavou.

<sup>169</sup> RDSI II, ref. 33, p. 152, n. 312.

<sup>170</sup> ZSO XI, ref. 25, p. 537, n. 1348.

<sup>171</sup> TELEKI, József. Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon XII. Pesten 1857, p. 366, n. 759. TÓTH - NEUMANN, ref. 43, p. 477, n. 1170.

<sup>172</sup> MNL OL DL 58652. CDH X/1, ref. 159, p. 281, n. 144. ZSO XI, ref. 25, p. 477, n. 1170.

<sup>173</sup> ZSO II/1, ref. 85, p. 49, n. 395.

<sup>174</sup> ZSO I, ref. 66, p. 50, n. 502. TÓTH, Norbert (ed.). Zsigmondkori oklevéltár X. (1423). Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2007, pp. 501-505, n. 1275. ZSO XI, ref. 25, pp. 477-479, n. 1170.

<sup>175</sup> BÓNA, Martin. Živánska veža v chotári Jedľových Kostolian. Available on: <<http://www.leustach.sk/zivanska-veza/zivanska-veza-historia>>

<sup>176</sup> ZSO XI, ref. 25, p. 478, n. 1170.

<sup>177</sup> ZSO XI, ref. 25, p. 478, n. 1170.

In the western part of the Upper Požitavie, a toll was collected in Chrašťany (*Herestyen*). A mention about this fact comes from 1386, when this village with the toll station is mentioned as a part of Gýmeš castle estate.<sup>178</sup> However, revenues from this toll belonged to Nitra Diocese. This fact is supported by a complaint of the Bishop of Nitra Ján from 1318 concerning Máté Csák of Trencsén who also usurped this toll (*Hyrishan*).<sup>179</sup> According to the list of toll stations from 1424 a toll was paid in Chrašťany on the road from Zlaté Moravce (*Maroth*) to Jelenec (*Gymes*) and Kolíňany (*Kolon*).<sup>180</sup>

Important supra-regional roads were led through Pohronie region not only because of rich Central Slovak mining area. There was an important crossing through the river Danube in the territory of today's Štúrovo at the confluence of the river Hron and Danube. A town Esztergom was situated on the right bank of the river Danube, which was also known as an important transship center of salt from Transylvania.<sup>181</sup> There is a document from 1075 mentioning existence of 10 dwellings of ferrymen (*nautae*) located in the village Kakat near Danube which King Géza I (1074 – 1077) donated to the Abbey in Hronský Beňadik.<sup>182</sup> This document does not contain any specific mention of toll. It is very likely that fees for transport of people, animals and goods were collected already during this period, because King Géza II (1141 – 1162) donated a revenue from toll collected in Kakat a Nana to the Archbishop of Esztergom in 1157 „for salvation of his soul and welfare of his father and mother“.<sup>183</sup> King Andrew II donated the toll station in Kakat and the Esztergom market roll to the Esztergom Chapter in 1215. The document states that tolls were collected from merchants all over the country. They were obliged to pass the toll station with loaded wagons. They had to go to the city Esztergom, where they had to pay both a toll and the royal thirtieth. The Archbishop of Esztergom and the Master of the Esztergom Crusaders were supposed to maintain ferrymen here and provide them services. In case of bad weather, a crossing between *Scep* and the village of Svätý Štefan on the Esztergom side had to be used.<sup>184</sup> At the end of the 13th century, the market toll in Esztergom and the toll from the port in Kakat was unlawfully collected by the Esztergom castellan Zdislav, but King Ladislaus IV and later King Wenceslas II with his son Wenceslas III (Ladislaus V) granted this right to the Esztergom Chapter. It is evidenced by a document of 1303.<sup>185</sup> In 1337 the Archbishop of Esztergom Čanád Telegdi ordered to collect the following tolls from merchants from the Czech Republic, Swabia, Rhineland and Flanders coming to Esztergom when they were

<sup>178</sup> MNL OL DL 58,652. CDH X/1, ref. 159, p. 282, n. 144.

<sup>179</sup> RDSI II, ref. 33, p. 152, n. 312.

<sup>180</sup> ZSO XI, ref. 25, p. 477, n. 1170.

<sup>181</sup> For more information, see KUČERA, Matúš. Vývoj soľného monopolu na Slovensku v staršom stredoveku. In Zborník FF UK. Historica. 15. Bratislava: FF UK, 1964, p. 77-78.

<sup>182</sup> CDSI I, ref. 37, p. 55, n. 58. Kakat was situated in the territory of today's city Štúrovo.

<sup>183</sup> CDSI I, ref. 37, p. 81, n. 83.

<sup>184</sup> CDSI I, ref. 37, pp. 156-157, n. 199. Richard Marsina considers the document to be a forgery and dates its origin back to 1288. MARSINA, Richard. Štúdie k slovenskému diplomatáru I. Druhá časť: Obdobie od roku 1000 do 1235. In Historické štúdie. 18. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1973, pp. 83-87.

<sup>185</sup> RDSI I, ref. 73, p. 116, n. 213.

crossing the river Danube. The merchants were to pay four Groshen for a loaded wagon, four Groshen for a loaded horse, one Grosh for a bullock and half-Grosh for a saddle horse.<sup>186</sup>

A toll was collected on several places in the lower Ponitrie. The oldest toll station in this region was situated in Starý Tekov. A found charter of the Monastery in Svätý Beňadik from 1075 mentions that the Monastery owned one third of the toll collected in Starý Tekov (*Bors*), Voznica (*Goznucha*), Hliník (*Gelednuk*) and Svätý Kríž (*Kerestur*).<sup>187</sup> In addition, the Monastery should have received revenue from tolls collected in all markets in Starý Tekov.<sup>188</sup> In 1246 King Béla IV allowed the Monastery in Svätý Beňadik to own two mansions in Starý Tekov in order to collect a toll in peaceful and safe manner. One mansion with a garden was situated near a bridge and the other one at lower end of the bridge.<sup>189</sup> Another third of a toll collected in Starý Tekov was claimed by the Monastery of Blessed Virgin Mary in Klíž. In 1293 Albert, the abbot of this Monastery, asked for its return.<sup>190</sup> Based on a document from 1214, this toll was also a point of interest of the Premostratensians in Leles. They stated in this document that they own two parts of the toll.<sup>191</sup> However, both documents are considered to be falsifications. The Bishopric of Nitra also claimed the local toll, as evidenced by a complaint dated to 1318, where it is stated that Máté Csák of Trencsén also usurped the toll station in Starý Tekov.<sup>192</sup> The local toll is also mentioned after two years.<sup>193</sup> In 1388 the Monastery in Svätý Beňadik rented its share of the toll to Ladislav of Šarovce for an annual fee in the amount of 60 ducats. Based on this amount, L. Juck assumed that the revenue of the total toll was 180 ducats.<sup>194</sup> Ladislav of Šarovce acquired Levice castle estate in the same year. This castle estate also included toll stations in the small city Levice (*oppidum Leva/Lewa*), Mýtne Ludany (*Lwdan/Ladaan*), in Gondovo (*Solmos/Soolmus*), Jabloňovce (*Almas*), Starý Tekov (*Bors*) and Bátov (*Baath*).<sup>195</sup> Revenues from these toll stations belonged to his son Peter Čech of Levice in 1424. The toll in Levice (*Lewa*) was collected on the road from Podlužany (*Podlosan*) to Krškany (*Keresken*). The same document also mentions an old toll station in Mýtne Ludany, where a toll was collected from travelers traveling from Santovka (*Zantho*) to Zbrojníky (*Fegvernek*) and Jur nad Hronom (*Zenthgywrgh*) and from the ones traveling from Zbrojníky to Starý Tekov (*Bors*). In Gondov a toll was collected on the road from Žemberovce (*Sember*) to Kmeťovce (*Dysnos*) and on the road which led through Pukanec (*Bakabanya*) to Jabloňovce

<sup>186</sup> CHYTIL, ref. 20, p. 131, n. 183.

<sup>187</sup> Svätý Kríž is today's Žiar nad Hronom.

<sup>188</sup> CDSI I, ref. 37, p. 57, n. 58. Exactly this part of the text is considered to be interpolated. MARSINA, ref. 169, p. 60.

<sup>189</sup> CDSI II, ref. 31, p. 163, n. 234.

<sup>190</sup> HOKI, ref. 21, p. 139-140, n. 139.

<sup>191</sup> CDSI I, ref. 37, p. 148, n. 190.

<sup>192</sup> RDSI II, ref. 33, p. 152, n. 312.

<sup>193</sup> RDSI II, ref. 33, p. 259, n. 563.

<sup>194</sup> MNL OL DL 7363. ZSO I, ref. 66, pp. 36-37, n. 378. Juck mistakenly states that the toll station was rented by burgesses from Štvrtok (Nový Tekov today). JUCK, ref. 2, p. 261.

<sup>195</sup> MNL OL DL 30301; 65807. ZSO I, ref. 66, p. 50, n. 517. Today, Gondovo is a part of Nová Dedina. Ladislav of Šarovce is a founder of Čech family of Levice.

(*Almas*). In 1424 a toll in Starý Tekov was paid on the road called Chakutha from Lok (*Lewk*) and Kalná nad Hronom (*Kalna*) to Dubnica nad Váhom (*Dobnycha*). Mayors from the whole Tekovská County who brought money from the royal tax and tenths to Starý tekov were exempted from payment of the toll (*omnes villici prescripti totius Comitatus, qui pecunias lucri Camere aut decimas in dictam Bors importarent*).<sup>196</sup> Possession of Levice castle estate with tolls was confirmed to Peter Čech of Levice in 1428.<sup>197</sup> Čech family had a right to the whole toll. The family had disputes with the Monastery from Svätý Beňadik regarding its shares of the tolls. The Monastery in Svätý Beňadik had a dispute with Peter Čech of Levice and his descendants about a share of the toll collected in Starý Tekov.<sup>198</sup> In 1489, the abbot Ján accused Ján Čech of destroying several properties and occupation of one third of toll stations belonging to the Monastery in Mýtne Ludany, Starý Tekov, Gondovo and in Jabloňovce before the regional magistrate Štefan Bátor. Finally, the abbot left the properties listed in the document to hereditary possession of Ján Čech.<sup>199</sup> It owned one third also in 1493.<sup>200</sup> Toll stations in Bátorovce, Levice and Mýtne Ludany are mentioned in the Urbarium of Levice castle estate from 1554. Here we can also find out names of the toll collectors. Stanislav Mýtnik (*theloniator*) was a toll collector in Bátorovce and Imrich Barbel in Levice.<sup>201</sup> The toll stations in Starý Tekov and in Levice were also mentioned in next centuries. For example, toll tariffs for the bridge toll in Starý Tekov were approved in 1724 according to the toll collected on the bridge in Sereď. Štefan Vereš of Nový Tekov rented the toll station for 150 ducats per year, while he had to undertake to repair the bridge.<sup>202</sup> The existence of a toll station in Levice is documented until the 18th century. In 1725, the Esterházi family, owners of the Levice estate, promised the inhabitants of Levice to reduce the toll rent to 150 ducats. Bridges were maintained by burgesses.<sup>203</sup> On the basis of an interpolated document of Stephen V from 1270, the Hungarian historian Boglárka Wiesz assumes the existence of a

<sup>196</sup> TELEKI, József (ed). Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon Oklevéltár XII. Pest 1857, p. 368, n. 759. ZSO XI, ref. 25, p. 478-479, n. 1170. Today, Kmeťovce is a part of the municipality Drženice – until 1948 known as Disznós. Pozri MAJTÁN, Milan. Názvy obcí v Slovenskej republiky. (Vývin v rokoch 1773 – 1997). Bratislava: Veda, 1998, p. 75. Imre Bakács mistakenly assumed that it is an extinct village near Bátorovce. BAKÁCS, Hont vármegye Mohács előtt. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971, p. 112.

<sup>197</sup> MNL OL DL 71946.

<sup>198</sup> KERESTEŠ, Peter. (Mesto) Starý Tekov v stredoveku. In BÁTOVSKÁ, Jarmila – KINČOK, Branislav a kolektív. Starý Tekov – Monografia obce. Starý Tekov: Obec Starý Tekov, 2014, p. 68.

<sup>199</sup> BOTKA, Tivadar. Bars vármegye hajdan és most. I. Regesták és okmányok. II. osztály. Latin okmányok. Pest 1868, pp. 105-107, n. 83. Ján Lukačka mistakenly mentions the village Sokolníky in Tekov County as Solymos instead of Gondov. LUKAČKA, Ján. Levice v stredoveku. In ŠVOLIKOVÁ, Marta (ed.). Monografia mesta Levice. Banská Bystrica: Štúdio Harmony, 2010, p. 45.

<sup>200</sup> MNL OL DF 237148.

<sup>201</sup> MARSINA, Richard – KUŠÍK, Michal. Urbáre feudálnych panstiev na Slovensku. Zv. 1. (16. storočie). Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1959, p. 172, 187, 189.

<sup>202</sup> KERESTEŠ, Peter. Starý Tekov v období osvietenských reforiem. In BÁTOVSKÁ, Jarmila – KINČOK, Branislav a kolektív. Starý Tekov – Monografia obce. Starý Tekov: Obec Starý Tekov, 2014, p. 110.

<sup>203</sup> DÓKA, Klára. Levice za Esterháziovcov, 1688 – 1867. In ŠVOLIKOVÁ, Marta (ed.). Monografia mesta Levice. Banská Bystrica: Štúdio Harmony, 2010, p. 61.

toll station in Jabloňovce in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>204</sup> A settlement called Bátovce was located near Nová Dedina, where existence of the toll station is documented. First it was mentioned in the document in 1318<sup>205</sup>, then in 1320<sup>206</sup> and later it was mentioned several times in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>207</sup> An important road from Starý Tekov and Levice was led through this village.<sup>208</sup>

There were also several toll stations in the eastern part of southwestern Slovakia in the area of lower Poiplie, which indicate well-developed local transport network. The first written reference to the great road to Zvolen, which existed in the central area of Poiplie and led through the small towns Šahy and Krupina, dates back to 1135. An important road was led along the river Ipeľ and another road connected the town Levice with Lučenec.<sup>209</sup> It was mentioned in the document dated to 1238 that Saxons from Krupina collected a toll in Briáč (*terra Bracku*). The monastery in Bzovík claimed fees from this toll in the same year. Finally, the toll was attributed to Saxons, but they had to pay the Monastery 20 marks every year.<sup>210</sup> In 1266 the Premonstratensian Convent in Šahy was granted a right to collect a toll on the river Ipeľ – *tributum pontis, prope monasterium de Saagh, in fluvio Ipul*.<sup>211</sup> The existence of the toll station in Hontianske Nemce (*Nymphthy alias Thoti*) was documented in 1291.<sup>212</sup> The local collection of a toll was also documented in 1474.<sup>213</sup> In 1318 the Bishopric of Nitra claimed the toll station in Hokovce (*Egech*).<sup>214</sup> There was a toll station in Vyškovce nad Ipľom (*Vysk*) in the region of lower Poiplie in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Evidence about this toll station is dated to 1324.<sup>215</sup> A list of toll stations in the region of Hont comes from 1412, when the inhabitants and guests in Sebechleby (*Zebehlyb*) gained several privileges. This list also mentions the exemption from toll payment in Vyškovce nad Ipľom (*Vysk*), Pastovce (*Pazthoh*), Hokovce (*Egeeg*) and in Šahy (*Saagh*).<sup>216</sup>

\*The survey was elaborated within the VEGA Project No. 1/0040/18 *Medieval Historical Roads in Southwestern Slovakia in the Context of Central European Transport Network and their Message for the Present*.

<sup>204</sup> WEISZ, A királyketteje, ref. 3, p. 52.

<sup>205</sup> RDSI II, ref. 33, p. 152, n. 312.

<sup>206</sup> RDSI II, ref. 33, p. 259, n. 563.

<sup>207</sup> BAKÁCS, ref. 196, p. 52.

<sup>208</sup> IVANIČ, Stredoveká, ref. 11, p. 44.

<sup>209</sup> IVANIČ, Stredoveká, ref. 11, pp. 49-55.

<sup>210</sup> MATULAY, Ctibor (ed.). Mesto Banská Bystrica. Katalóg administratívnych a súdnych písomností. (1020) 1255 – 1536. I. Bratislava: Archívna správa MV SSR, 1980, p. 32, n. 45. Briáč was situated in the cadaster of the town Krupina.

<sup>211</sup> FEJÉR, György (ed.). Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus IV/3. Budae 1829, p. 313.

<sup>212</sup> MES II, ref. 72, p. 294, n. 290. BAKÁCS, ref. 196, p. 159.

<sup>213</sup> BAKÁCS, ref. 196, p. 160.

<sup>214</sup> RDSI II, ref. 33, p. 152, n. 312.

<sup>215</sup> NAGY, Imre (ed.). Codex diplomaticus Hungariae Andegavensis (Anjoukori okmánytár) II. Budapest 1881, p. 116, n. 105. GYÖRFFY, György. Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza III. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987, p. 264.

<sup>216</sup> ZSO III, ref. 34, p. 573, n. 2479.

## Summary

An important role connected with roads was played by toll stations (lat. *tributum*, *teloneum*). These stations were used for collection of toll fees that were a part of a royal regal right. The road toll was one of the King's main revenue. Our work focuses on toll stations that existed in the territory of southwestern Slovakia in the Middle Ages which was covered by well-developed road network in this time. Therefore, it is not possible to determine precisely when toll collection started. Written sources mention information on tolls only during the reign of Árpáds dynasty. Deployment of toll stations indicates a route of the trans-regional roads that led through the Kingdom of Hungary and connected it with the neighboring countries. The well-known Czech Road also passed through this area. Preserved sources show that each toll station had precisely defined routes of roads, where it was possible to collect fees from the travelers. Most of them are documented in written sources only in the 14th and 15th century. However, one can assume that fees were collected in these toll stations already in the earlier period. A general term *theoloneum* or *tributum* was used to name a specific toll in the period under review. Strategically important toll stations were owned by several owners who rented the collection of tolls (e.g. Vydrlica). Several major toll stations (e.g. in Starý Tekov) were claimed by several owners and the documents testify long-standing disputes.

## List of references and literature:

### Archives:

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Magyar kamara Archívuma. Sectio E 158, Conscriptioes portarum comitatus Nitriensis A 2646.

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Magyar kamara Archívuma. Sectio E 158, Dica Nitriensis A 2648.

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, Budapest, Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény.

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, Budapest, Diplomatikai Levéltár.

Slovenský národný archív v Bratislave, fond Rod Habsburg – riaditeľstvo cisárskych súkromných majetkov vo Viedni, Rod Czobor.

### Sources editions:

BORSA, Iván (ed.). Zsigmondkori oklevéltár IX. (1422). Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2004.

BOTKA, Tivadar. Bars vármegye hajdan és most. I. Regesták és okmányok. II. osztály. Latin okmányok. Pest 1868.

DEDEK, Ludovicus Crescens (ed.). Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis III. Strigonii 1924.

ERDÉLYI, László (ed.). A Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története II. Budapest 1903.

FEJÉR, György (ed.). Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus IV/3. Budae 1829.

FEJÉR, György (ed.). Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus V/1. Budae 1829.

FEJÉR, György (ed.). Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus VI/1. Budae 1830.

FEJÉR, György (ed.). Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus VII/2. Budae 1832.

FEJÉR, György (ed.). Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus IX/3. Budae 1834.

FEJÉR, György (ed.). Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus IX/4. Budae 1834.

- FEJÉR, György (ed.). Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus IX/7. Budae 1842.
- FEJÉR, György (ed.). Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus X/I. Budae 1834.
- CHYTIL, Josef (ed.). Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae VII/1. (1334 – 1349). Brünn 1858.
- IPOLYI, Arnold – NAGY, Imre – VÉGHÉLY, Dezső (eds.). Codex diplomaticus Patrius VII. Budapest, 1880.
- JUCK, Ľubomír. Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku I. (1238 – 1350). Bratislava: Veda, 1984.
- KAMMERER, Ernő (ed.). A Pécz nemzetség Apponyi ágának az Apponyi grófok családi levéltárában őrizett oklevelei. Budapest 1906.
- KNAUZ, Nándor (ed.). Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis II. Strigonii 1882.
- MAREK, Miloš (ed.). Fontes Rerum Slovacarum II. Archivum Familiae Motešický / Stredoveké listiny z archívu rodiny Motešickovcov. Kraków – Trnava: Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce – Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity v Trnave, 2010.
- MAREK, Miloš (ed.). Fontes rerum Slovacarum IV. Archivum familiae Očkaj. Stredoveké dejiny rodiny Očkajovcov a listiny z jej archívu Kraków – Trnava: Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce – Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity v Trnave, 2015.
- MARSINA, Richard (ed.). Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae I. Bratislava: Veda, 1971.
- MARSINA, Richard (ed.). Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae II. Bratislava: Obzor, 1987.
- MARSINA, Richard – KUŠÍK, Michal. Urbáre feudálnych panstiev na Slovensku. Zv. 1. (16. storočie). Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1959.
- MATULAY, Ctibor (ed.). Mesto Banská Bystrica. Katalóg administratívnych a súdnych písomností. (1020) 1255 – 1536. I. Bratislava: Archívna správa MV SSR, 1980.
- MÁLYUSZ, Elemér (ed.). Zsigmondkori oklevéltár I. (1387 – 1399). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1951.
- MÁLYUSZ, Elemér (ed.). Zsigmondkori oklevéltár II/1 (1400 – 1406). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1956.
- MÁLYUSZ, Elemér (ed.). Zsigmondkori oklevéltár III. (1411 – 1413). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993.
- MÁLYUSZ, Elemér (ed.). Zsigmondkori oklevéltár VII. (1419 – 1420). Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2001.
- NAGY, Imre (ed.). Codex diplomaticus Hungariae Andegavensis (Anjoukori okmánytár) II. Budapest 1881.
- NAGY, Imre (ed.). Codex diplomaticus Hungariae Andegavensis (Anjoukori okmánytár) III. Budapest 1883.
- NAGY, Imre (ed.). Codex diplomaticus Hungariae Andegavensis (Anjoukori okmánytár) VI. Budapest 1891.
- NAGY, Imre – DEÁK, Farkas – NAGY, Gyula (eds.). Hazai oklevéltár 1234 – 1536. Budapest 1879.
- PITI, Ferenc (ed.). Anjou-kori Oklevéltár. XXIII. 1339. Budapest – Szeged 1999.
- RATKOŠ, Peter (ed.). Pramene k dejinám Veľkej Moravy. 2. vydanie. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1968.
- SEDLÁK, Vincent (ed.). Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae I. Bratislava: Sumptibus Academiae Scientiarum Slovacae, 1980.
- SEDLÁK, Vincent (ed.). Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae II. Bratislava: Veda, 1987.
- SZENTPÉTERY, Imre (ed.). Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica. Tomus II. Volumina 1. Budapest: Kiadja a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1943.

- TELEKI, József (ed.). Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon Oklevéltár XII. Pest 1857.  
TÓTH, Norbert (ed.). Zsigmondkori oklevéltár X. (1423). Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2007.  
TÓTH, Norbert C. – NEUMANN, Tibor (eds.). Zsigmondkori oklevéltár XI. (1424). Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2009.  
WENZEL, Gusztáv (ed.). Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus X. Pest 1873.  
WENZEL, Gusztáv (ed.). Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus IX. Pest 1871.

### **Monographs:**

- BAKÁCS, Hont vármegye Mohács előtt. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971.  
BOLINA, Pavel – CÍLEK, Václav – KLIMEK, Tomáš. Staré cesty v krajině středních Čech. Praha: Academia, 2018.  
GYÖRFFY, György. Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza III. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987.  
HRUBÝ, Tomáš. Osídlenie Dolného Považia v stredoveku. Príspevok k dejinám sídelného vývoja Západného Slovenska. Kraków – Trnava: Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce – Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity v Trnave, 2015.  
IVANIČ, Peter. Stredoveká cestná sieť na Pohroní a Poiplí. Nitra: UKF v Nitre, 2011.  
KROPILÁK, Miroslav et al. Vlastivedný slovník obcí na Slovensku 3. Bratislava: Veda, 1977.  
MAJTÁN, Milan. Názvy obcí v Slovenskej republiky. (Vývin v rokoch 1773 – 1997). Bratislava: Veda, 1998.  
PACH, Zsigmond Pál. „A harmincadván eredete“. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990.  
TIBENSKÝ, Martin. Červenokamenské panstvo v stredoveku. Kraków – Trnava: Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce – Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity v Trnave, 2011.  
WEISZ, Boglárka. A királyketteje és az ispán harmada. Vámok és vámszedés Magyarországon a középkor első felében. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2013.  
WEISZ, Boglárka. Vásárok és lerakatok a középkori magyar királyságban. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2012.

### **Surveys and Articles in Journals and Almanacs, Chapters in the Monographs prepared by Collectives of Authors:**

- BARTA, János – BARTA, Gábor. III. Béla király jövedelmei (Megjegyzések a középkori uralkodóink bevételeiről). In Századok, 1993, vol. 127, n. 3-4, pp. 413-449.  
BARTL, Július. Mýta na Malom Dunaji vo vzťahu k Bratislave a Bratislavskému mýtu (Príspevok k topografii bratislavských mýt). In Sborník Slovenského národného múzea. 57. História 3. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1963, pp. 51-66.  
CENDELÍN, Dušan. Česká cesta jako součást staré dopravní sítě Slovenska – úsek Hoľíč-Bíňovce. Lokalizace historických tras v krajině a jejich relikty, komunikační souvislosti. In *Studia historica Nitriensia*, 2019, vol. 21, n. 1, pp. 3-28.  
DÓKA, Klára, Levice za Esterházióvcov, 1688 – 1867. In ŠVOLIKOVÁ, Marta (ed.). Monografia mesta Levice. Banská Bystrica: Štúdio Harmony, 2010, pp. 59-76.  
DZURO, Dušan. Rieka Váh ako dopravný koridor v stredoveku. In Balneologický spravodajca 2015 – 2017. Vlastivedný zborník múzea. Piešťany: Balneologické múzeum v Piešťanoch, 2017, pp. 82-122.  
CHRASTINA, Peter – RÁCOVÁ, Katarína. Mosty na území Nitrianskej stolice v prvej polovici 18. storočia podľa Notícií Mateja Bela (historicko-geografický prístup). In *Studia historica Nitriensia*, 2015, vol. 19, n. 1, pp. 20-36.

- IVANIČ, Peter. Cestná sieť a mýtné stanice na Požitaví v období stredoveku. In *Studia Historica Nitriensia*, 2016, vol. 20, n. 2, pp. 419-430.
- IVANIČ, Peter. Cestné mýto na dolnom a strednom Považí v stredoveku. In ŠIMKO, Peter (ed.). *Dejiny cestnej dopravy na Slovensku II*. Žilina: Považské múzeum, 2017, pp. 59-68.
- IVANIČ, Peter – HUSÁR, Martin. Prechody cez dolný a stredný tok rieky Váh vo vrcholnom a neskorom stredoveku v kontexte písomných a hmotných prameňov. In *Archaeologia historica*, 2019, vol. 44, n. 2, pp. 702-729.
- JANŠÁK, Štefan. Česká cesta – najstarší spoj Slovenska s českými krajinami. In *Vlastivedný časopis*, 1961, vol.10, n. 2, pp. 83-87.
- JANŠÁK, Štefan. Z minulosti dopravných spojov na Slovensku. In *Geografický časopis*, 1964, vol. 16, n. 1, pp. 13-31.
- JANŠÁK, Štefan. Cesta českých stráží. In *Geografický časopis*, 1964, roč. 16, č. 2, s. 326-339.
- JANŠÁK, Štefan. Prechod českej cesty cez údolie Nitry pri Dvoroch nad Žitavou. In *Geografický časopis*, 1967, vol. 19, n. 1, pp. 130-138.
- JUCK, Ľubomír. Obchod v mestách na Slovensku v 14. storočí. In *Historický časopis*, 1997, vol. 35, n. 2, pp. 256-278.
- KERESTEŠ, Peter. (Mesto) Starý Tekov v stredoveku. In BÁTOVSKÁ, Jarmila – KINČOK, Branislav a kolektív. *Starý Tekov – Monografia obce*. Starý Tekov: Obec Starý Tekov, 2014, pp. 37-70.
- KERESTEŠ, Peter. Starý Tekov v období osvietenských reforiem. In BÁTOVSKÁ, Jarmila – KINČOK, Branislav a kolektív. *Starý Tekov – Monografia obce*. Starý Tekov: Obec Starý Tekov, 2014, pp. 93-122.
- KUČERA, Matúš. Vývoj soľného monopolu na Slovensku v staršom stredoveku. In *Zborník FF UK. Historica*. 15. Bratislava: FF UK, 1964, pp. 71-93.
- LUKAČKA, Ján. Piešťany v stredoveku. In *Balneologický spravodajca* 34. Piešťany: Balneologické múzeum v Piešťanoch, 1994, pp. 100-109.
- LUKAČKA, Ján. Cestná sieť v Nitre a v jej najbližšom okolí v 13. a 14. storočí. In MARSIANA, Richard (ed.). *Nitra v slovenských dejinách*. Martin: Matica slovenská, 2002, pp. 208-211.
- LUKAČKA, Ján. Hlohovec. In ŠTEFÁNIK, Martin – LUKAČKA, Ján a kol. *Lexikón stredovekých miest na Slovensku*. Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV, 2010, pp. 164-168.
- LUKAČKA, Ján. Levice v stredoveku. In ŠVOLIKOVÁ, Marta (ed.). *Monografia mesta Levice*. Banská Bystrica: Štúdio Harmony, 2010, pp. 38-46.
- LYSÁ, Žofia. Bratislava. In ŠTEFÁNIK, Martin – LUKAČKA, Ján a kol. *Lexikón stredovekých miest na Slovensku*. Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV, 2010, pp. 105-139.
- MARSINA, Richard. Štúdie k slovenskému diplomatáru I. Druhá časť : Obdobie od roku 1000 do 1235. In *Historické štúdie*. 18. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1973, pp. 5-119.
- MASLÍKOVÁ, Ľudmila. Vývoj cestnej siete v regióne dolného Ponitria do začiatku 15. storočia. In *Medea. Studia mediaevalia et antiqua* 16. 2012. Bratislava: Katedra všeobecných dejín FiF UK, 2013, pp. 23-43.
- MÁLYUSZ, Elemér. Turóczmegye vámhefyei és forgalma a középkorban. In *Századok*, 1919, vol. 53, n. 1, pp. 34-56.
- PACH, Zsigmond Pál. A harmincadvám az Anjou-korban és a 14–15. század fordulóján. In *Történelmi Szemle*, 1999, vol. 41, n. 3-4, pp. 231-277.
- PIŠŮT, Peter et al. Vývoj koryta Váhu pri Leopoldove v 17. – 20. storočí a odozva rieky na zásahy človeka. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, 2016.
- SLIVKA, Michal. Stredoveká cestná sieť na východnom Slovensku a jej determinanty. In *Slovenská Numizmatika*. 11. Nitra: Veda, 1990, pp. 83-112.

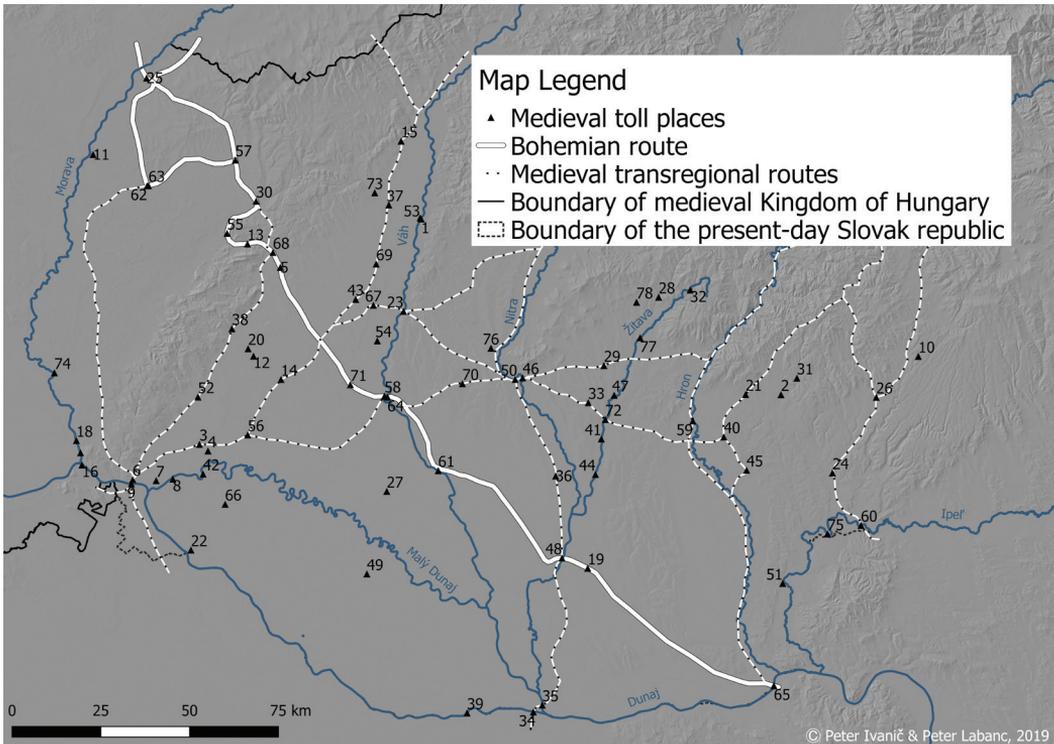
- ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj. Stredoveké prístavy (prievozy) a mýta na Dunaji v okolí Bratislavy. In MUNKOVÁ, Mária – PAVLÍKOVÁ, Lenka (eds.). Na sútoku riek. Život v slovensko-rakúskom pohraničí. Bratislava: Štátny archív v Bratislave, 2014, pp. 343-370.
- ŠIMKO, Peter. Cestná doprava a cestovanie v stredoveku na príklade severozápadného Slovenska. In ŠIMKO, Peter (ed.). Dejiny cestnej dopravy na Slovensku I. Žilina: Považské múzeum, 2015, pp. 29-56.
- ŠTANSKÝ, Peter. Mýtné pomery v Turci. In Kmetianum. Vlastivedný zborník Turčianskeho múzea A. Kmeťa. 2. Martin: Osveta, 1971, pp. 145-158.
- TURČAN, Vladimír. Nálezy vybagrované z Dunaja. In Zborník SNM 93. Archeológia 9. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1999, pp. 73-84.
- VARSÍK, Branislav. Husitské revolučné hnutie a Slovensko. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, 1965.
- VÁVRA, Ivan. Uherská cesta. In Historická geografia, 1968, vol. 1, pp. 43-61.
- WEISZ, Boglárka. Az esztergomi vám Árpád-kori története. In Századok, 2003, vol. 137, n. 4, pp. 973-981.
- WEISZ, Boglárka. Vásárok a középkorban. In Századok, 2010, vol. 144, n. 6, pp. 1397-1454.
- WENZEL, Gusztáv. Stibor vajda. Életrajzi tanulmány. Budapest 1874.
- ŽUDEL, Juraj. Príspevok k historickej geografii Trnavskej pahorkatiny do polovice 19. storočia. In Geografický časopis, 1970, vol. 22, n. 1, pp. 19-38.

### **Internet Resources:**

- BÓNA, Martin. Živánska veža v chotári Jedľových Kostolian. Available on: <<http://www.leustach.sk/zivanska-veza/zivanska-veza-historia>>
- Die Josephinische Landesaufnahme 1782-1785: Königreich Ungarn. Available on the Internet: <<https://mapire.eu/en/synchron/firstsurvey-hungary>>
- História mestskej časti Veča 2016. Available on the Internet: <<https://sala.sk/clanok/historia-mestskej-casti-veca>>
- Máj 2003 pri príležitosti 890. výročia, bol slávnostne odhalený a posvätený ERB a PEČAŤ Mestskej časti Veča. Available on the Internet: <<https://veca8.webnode.sk/products/symboly-mestskej-casti-sala-veca>>
- Pamiatková zóna Hlohovec. Zásady ochrany pamiatkového územia – aktualizácia, Veduty, 15. júla 2014. Available on the Internet: <[https://www.pamiatky.sk/Content/PZ\\_ZASADY/Hlohovec/0209-Hlo-veduty.pdf](https://www.pamiatky.sk/Content/PZ_ZASADY/Hlohovec/0209-Hlo-veduty.pdf)>

Počet slov: 15 446

Počet znakov vrátane medzier: 96 195



Map of the medieval toll places and transregional routes in southwestern Slovakia. 1 Banka, 2 Bátorce, 3 Bernolákovo – Veľké mýto, 4 Bernolákovo – Malé mýto, 5 Bíňovce, 6 Bratislava – Michalská brána, 7 Bratislava – Prievoz, 8 Bratislava – Vrakuňa, 9 Bratislava- Vydrica, 10 Briáč, 11 Brodské, 12 Budmerice, 13 Buková, 14 Cífer, 15 Čachtice, 16 Devín-Danube, 17 Devín-Morava 1, 18 Devín-Morava 2, 19 Dvory nad Žitavou, 20 Fančal, 21 Gondovo, 22 Hamuliakovo, 23 Hlohovec, 24 Hokoce, 25 Holíč, 26 Hontianske Nemce, 27 Horné Saliby, 28 Hostie, 29 Chrašťany, 30 Jablonica, 31 Jabloňovce, 32 Jedľové Kostolány, 33 Klasov, 34 Komárno-Danube, 35 Komárno-Váh, 36 Komjatice, 37 Krakovany-Stráže, 38 Častá-Latindorf, 39 Lél, 40 Levice, 41 Lúčnica nad Žitavou, 42 Malinovo, 43 Malženice, 44 Maňa, 45 Mýtne Ludany, 46 Nitra, 47 Nová Ves nad Žitavou, 48 Nové Zámky-Nyárhíd, 49 Ohrady, 50 Nitra-Párovece, 51 Pastovce, 52 Pezinok, 53 Piešťany, 54 Pintekova Ves, 55 Prievaly, 56 Senec, 58 Senica, 58 Sereď, 59 Starý Tekov, 60 Šahy, 61 Šala-Veča, 62 Šaštín, 63 Šaštín-Stráže, 64 Šintava, 65 Štúrovo-Kakat, 66 Štortok na Ostrove, 67 Trakovice, 68 Trstín, 69 Veľké Kostolány, 70 Veľké Zálužie, 71 Vlčkovce, 72 Vráble, 73 Vrbové, 74 Vysoká pri Morave, 75 Vyškovce nad Ipľom, 76 Zbehy, 77 Zlaté Moravce, 78 Žikava.