

The Occurrence of Hungarian (Magyar) Surnames in the Stropkov [Sztropkó] Area of Upper Zemplén County In Slovakia since 1920

by Miles Lambert

The migration of language groups, or individuals from them, within the former Kingdom of Hungary during its long history has been alluded to in many works, though rarely explored in any depth for particular regions and specific areas. A review of church and other records for the Stropkov (Sztropkó) area of eastern Slovakia undertaken in connection with genealogical research inevitably led to investigation of that area's ethnic history, and the evidence indicates that substantial mixture of ethnic groups took place several centuries ago. This implies a possibly substantial overlap in ethnic origins among people in the low-lying, river valley areas of northern and southern Zemplén (Zemplin) County and adjacent territories (especially Sáros/Šariš and Abaúj/Abov counties), no matter today's language divisions that seem to indicate the contrary. Indeed, future DNA research might demonstrate that ethnic mixture in the distant past was commonplace in the greater part of the Hungarian kingdom, with the only difference being the particular ethnic groups involved, and their relative importance in specific regions in the past.

Just a once-over review of the Mormon Church's (LDS) microfilms of Stropkov region church registries and military availability lists demonstrate that historically there were quite a few Magyar surnames in the area. To those names may be added names found in the several published sources dealing with the region's history. These sources yielded the list of nearly 180 Hungarian surnames that appears at the end of this commentary, plus a list of nearly 30 names of bi-ethnic (Slav and Magyar) origin that are more likely to have had a Slavic than a Magyar origin (if they in fact originated in the Stropkov region), and certain other common and widespread Magyar surnames that might not be indicators of ethnic origin.

Regrettably, no recent books by regional historians have confronted and explained the Stropkov region Magyar names in a scholarly and forthright way. On the contrary, the historical Magyar presence around Stropkov has received diminishing attention in each of the three books that have been devoted to the town's history. In the first such book (*Sztropkó és Váranak Története*), published in 1912, Hungarian author and Stropkov resident Ede Unghváry touched briefly on the subject: "Whoever knows present-day Sztropkó (with its Slovak and Jewish inhabitants) could hardly imagine that here, where today there is no longer any sign of the Magyar people, true Magyars might also have been living 500 years ago." He supported this by allusion to old documents and church records ("The Sztropkó Roman Catholic parish registries for 1700-1780 preserve as a national reliquary a whole host of Hungarian family names"), and gave sample names. But Unghváry did not provide anything like a comprehensive listing of names, let alone conduct any sort of investigation into them. /1

In their Communist-era book about Stropkov (*Stropkov a okolie*, 1978), Ján Beňko and Jozef Durkaj made a parenthetical allusion to Hungarian settlement at Stropkov in the town's early history but offered no details, despite the fact that the authors were well acquainted with Unghváry's work /2. Readers might be inclined to attribute such terseness to a Communist 'line' on Stropkov's history. But Beňko's post-Communist book about the town (*Stropkov*, 1994), far from taking the opportunity of liberalized intellectual conditions to elaborate on the early Hungarian presence around Stropkov, avoids all mention of it, while at the same time downplaying the significance of Hungarian surnames in the region: "The many Magyar surnames [in the 16th century lists of Stropkov citizens] does not mean that so many people of Hungarian ethnicity were living in Stropkov at that time" /3. This dismissal of the topic suggests an effort by some historians, irrespectively of political regime, to skip a chapter of Stropkov's early history, namely, Magyar settlement. A survey of regional history reveals directions for research.

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On the face of it, there would seem to be an incongruity in the presence of Magyar surnames around Stropkov since the region lies well to the north of the linguistic 'border' between the Slovak and Hungarian languages. But this view presumes that the ethnic and linguistic situation in and around Stropkov was the same in the 12th–16th centuries as it has been since that time. Judging from what can be reconstructed of Stropkov's ethnic history, this premise does not hold up.

All indications are that the Stropkov region was a sparsely populated, undeveloped, non-urban, frontier area before the Tatar invasion of the mid-13th century. This possibly continued into the 14th century as well since it is known that climatic changes at that time created unfavorable conditions for agriculture and population growth in the upper Tisza river region, including the Ondava river area of upper Zemplén, where Stropkov is located /4.

Further, ethnic composition in the pre-Tatar invasion era is not known. While the inhabitants of those times certainly were one source of the later Slovak population, no presumption can be made that they were Slovak in ethnicity in any sense that would fit today's standards for determining ethnicity. Going back to the early Middle Ages when a Slovak nation was beginning to develop in western Slovakia in the context of Great Moravia, the Slavs in the Zemplén and Sáros may have been of other Slavic origin. This could have included not only elements from north or northeast of the Beskid mountains, but also Bulgaro-Slavs. Bulgarian historians certainly believe that the medieval Bulgarian kingdom extended as far north as the upper Tisza River area, including upper Zemplén, no matter that some Slovak historians are loathe to accept the idea /5. In this connection, we might note: the name of the Manta River southwest of Kassa (Košice) is duplicated in Bulgaria; one of the earliest recorded Slavic place-names near Stropkov was Strachyna, which seems echoed in the Balkan Slavic name Ostrakina in the northeastern Peloponnesos; the name of the early fortification of Turany, south of Stropkov, although assumed to be of western Slavic origin, happens to equate in the Hungarian Greek

Catholic liturgical calendar to the name of a major Bulgaro-Byzantine saint, Trifon, the patron saint of wine-growing (and vines were cultivated at Turany in olden times); and all indications are that most of the grape varieties originally cultivated in southern Zemplén were of Balkan (Thracian and Greek) origin /6. The interest of medieval Bulgaria this far north is of little surprise if we consider that Zemplén and Sáros were situated along ancient Greek and Byzantine trade routes from the Aegean to the Baltic (it was no fluke of history that in the 13th century the first owners of Raslavice in Sáros were Greeks).

Regarding the later Middle Ages, the *Cronica Hungarorum* of the Warsaw Codex specifically stated that in the 11th century the population northwest of Sívár (Solivar), in Sáros County, was Polish, and that the population to the northeast, which would include the vicinity of Stropkov, was Rusyn (it was also stated therein that Hungarians were living to the south of Sívár, while no mention was made of Slovaks or Great Moravians) /7. The name Stropkov, possibly developing during 1200-1300, could itself just as well be of Polish origin as Slovak or Great Moravian. An early Polish presence was detectable later too, since in the non-Rusyn communities of the Stropkov Domain *urbarium* of 1569, six persons out of nearly 190 persons recorded bore the name *Polyak*, and other names also suggest Polish origin. Further, one inhabitant of Alsó Szitnyicze/Nižná Sitnica (“Zythnicze Inferior”) bore the surname *Zlowak*, which suggests that his namesake ancestor may have been no less an ethno-linguistic anomaly in the region than that of the person recorded by the surname *Magyar* in the 1548 list of Stropkov citizens. /8

Following the catastrophe of the Tatar invasion in the mid-1200s, the Hungarian kings actively promoted settlement in this part of today’s Slovakia, as a result of which Stropkov must have become a border region of randomly assembled ethnicity, including both Slavic (Slovak, Rusyn, Polish) and non-Slavic (Hungarian, German, Vlach) language groups. Although non-Slavs assimilated to Slavic speech, earlier non-Slavic ancestry oftentimes was reflected in old names that had been retained. In the 1569 *urbarium*, of the nearly 190 persons recorded in Stropkov itself and in the villages designated “*Sclavi*” (Roman Catholics speaking Slavic dialect), over two-fifths have surnames indicating non-Slavic origins. [Correspondingly, the ratio of surnames suggesting specifically Slovak origins (as opposed to Polish) appears to be less than half in the case of several of the communities. For instance, of the 12 persons recorded in Hocsa/Chotča (“Hoccha”), three had the surname *Nemecz* (‘German’), three had the surname *Polyak*, and two others, *Medwe* and *Charny*, also had surnames suggesting Polish origins. In Stropkov itself, no more than one-third of the names suggest Slovak origins.] Nor was any community without ethnically ‘anomalous’ surnames. Sometimes, though, non-Slavic surnames appeared in a slavified form. Thus, for instance, two of the recorded heads-of-household in Turany bore the slightly altered but obviously German surname *Geberhar*; similarly, at Giglócz/Giglovce (“Gyglocz”) a man was recorded with the surname *Werkar*, which was an altered form of the German surname *Werkhart* recorded in Kassa seventy years earlier, in 1499. /9

In fact a host of surnames that cognizant family history researchers will think ethnically out of place around Stropkov surface there in documents throughout the centuries. By far the largest contingent among these is the Hungarian.

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Really it should not come as a surprise to find a significant number of Hungarian surnames around Stropkov. It was after all the Kingdom of Hungary, and what is more, not much research into the history of Old Hungary is needed to uncover solid historical reasons explaining a presence of Magyars north of where the Magyar language was the usual vernacular, the more so in a late-blooming frontier area like Stropkov. In looking into the history of the Stropkov region, of Zemplén County generally, and of neighboring Sáros County, a variety of such historical demographic factors turns up, and these fall into three general categories: military; economic; and migratory.

Military. Owing to Stropkov's position along the northern fringe of the Kingdom of Hungary, close to the Polish border, a military component would have been significant in the early population of the region. The Hungarian kings pushed the no-man's-land zone northward from around Varannó (Vranov) after the Tatar invasion in the mid-13th century, and the basis for it was the establishment of fortresses. The fortress of Csicsva (Čičava), northwest of Vranov, had once been sufficient to guard the territory extending north to the Olsva (Olšava) river located hardly six miles south of Stropkov /10. But fortifications also had to be erected further north as population expanded in that direction, and this resulted in new fortresses both at Kékmező (in the vicinity of present-day Mrazovce), about 12 miles north of Varannó and eight miles south of Stropkov, and at Stropkov itself. The soldiery originally garrisoned in all these places may have been Magyar-speaking to a considerable extent, as had been true elsewhere in Zemplén and Sáros as the frontier of settlement was pushed toward the Polish border after the Tatar invasion /11.

Csicsva deserves special attention as it certainly occupied a pivotal regional military role and perhaps a quasi-administrative one as well. The fortress was linked to the nearby castle of Monyoros, a name that was garbled as "Momeros" on the earliest map of Hungary, from the year 1528. Since a 15th century Latin language document mentions Stropkov as being in "Marmarusiensis" (apparently a confusion of Momeros and the county of Máramaros, or Mármaros, far to the east), it would appear that the Stropkov Domain may in some respects have fallen within the equivalent of a 'military district' overseen from Csicsva-Monyoros. /12 Thus, the replenishment of military garrisons at Stropkov and Kékmező may have been controlled from Csicsva and included soldiers from elsewhere in Hungary, not just from within the region.

In addition to the creation of fortress communities, a Magyar-speaking military populace around Stropkov would have been augmented by specific military campaigns, sometimes lasting for extended periods. For instance, King Matthias's Hungarian armies were in the region during the last quarter of the 15th century due to conflicts with Poland; and later, during the course of the 17th century, the anti-Habsburg wars of the Hungarian nobility, especially the Princes Rákóczi, again brought Magyar-speaking soldiers to the

Stropkov area. Also, when Count John Pethő de Gerse became lord of the Stropkov Domain, in the 16th century, he brought soldiers with him from western Hungary /13.

It is probable that some soldiers from every period of military buildup and warfare in these early centuries settled down in Stropkov or its vicinity. The one-time importance of Hungarian soldiery around Stropkov is suggested by Magyar surnames relating to military service that are found in the 18th century church registries: e.g., *Fulajtár**, *Kapitány*, *Katona*, *Kobzos**, *Kopjás**, *Lovas*, *Sipos**, *Trombitás**, etc. Moreover, most of these names (those marked *) are archaic terms from an early period of Hungarian military history (e.g., *kopjás* = pikeman).

Economic. The military presence and fortification of the Stropkov region provided the security that made more extensive settlement feasible. But it was proximity to Poland, and the consequent potential for trade, that gave impetus to growth in and around the town. This development was reflected above all by the town's multi-trade (craft) guild that was established in the 16th century. Not even the recurrent periods of political instability in that era dampened this economic activity /14. Stropkov consequently would have been attractive to anyone with a stake in the Polish market, and Magyar-speaking craftsmen are just as likely as any other inhabitants of Hungary to have been among that number. This likelihood is demonstrated by the fact that at this very time there were Hungarian communities established across the border from the Stropkov region at the Polish towns of Dukla and Jasło /15. [The presence of Magyar surnames in southeastern Poland, including the Rusyn villages, may date to this era, in the late Middle Ages, when the Hungarian kings were actively involved across the border in Galicia. A number of Stropkov region Magyar surnames – e.g., *Dobos* (Polish spelling - *Dobosz*), *Halász* (*Halas*), *Gonosz* (*Gonos*), *Uram*, etc. – also occur in adjoining Galicia.] It is also notable with regard to the likelihood of Magyar-origin craftsmen at Stropkov in this period, that while the names of the villages surrounding Stropkov are qualified in the 1569 *urbarium* by the terms “*Sclavi*” or “*Rwtheni*” to indicate the religion and language of the inhabitants, there is no such qualifier beside the name Stropkov.

An unusual facet of the 16th century which is easily overlooked, is that Stropkov became an entrepôt for contraband wine from Tokaj in lower Zemplén as a result of an attempt to give the town of Kassa a virtual monopoly on exports of Tokaji wine to Poland by preventing exports through any town north of Kassa /16. The trade in Tokaji wine likely would have required the positioning in Stropkov of specialized persons from mostly Magyar-speaking lower Zemplén. The likelihood is even greater because the Pethő family had vineyards at Tokaj, and thus a pecuniary interest in exports of their wine to Poland. This situation lasted for nearly two-thirds of a century, or at least two generations. It would also help to explain the presence of Hungarians in Dukla and Jasło. [Several Stropkov region Magyar surnames also occur in the annals of Tokaji wine history: *Csécsi* (*Tsétsi*), *Dely*, *Hadházi* (*Hathazi*). See Antal Szirmay, *Notitia historica, politica, oeconomica montium et locorum viniferorum comitatus Zempleniensis*, (Historical, Political and Economic Notes on the Wine-Growing Hills and Locales of Zemplén County), Kassa, 1798, pp. 171, 183, 189. While the occurrence of these and other surnames, notably *Tarcali* and *Tokay*, may have nothing to do with the 16th century

trade situation, they do substantiate a commonality between Stropkov in the far north of the county and the Tokaji wine region in the south.]

The Magyar agricultural classes also would have been represented in the population of Stropkov in the late Middle Ages. It was typical of the fortress system in Hungary that in addition to the actual, full-time military personnel, a serf population was also part of the fortress's complement, partly to provide food and services for the professional soldiers. It is known that Count Pethő brought serfs with him from western Hungary when he became the lord of the Stropkov Domain in the 16th century /17. His successors might also have brought Magyar-speaking agricultural workers as necessary.

A particular instance is viticulture. Stropkov did not have vineyards at the time of the *urbarium* of 1569, but it may have had them earlier and/or later in its history, since the Hungarian kings at times encouraged the cultivation of grapevines (for wine) wherever possible. Traces of vineyards were still visible "in the valley of Sztrópokó" around 1900 /18, which clearly indicates vine cultivation in recent centuries. Since this required specialized skills that the indigenous populace could scarcely have possessed, Magyar-speaking vinedressers from lower Zemplén or elsewhere might have been brought in by the landed nobility or ecclesiastical authorities to perform this work.

Migratory. Wrenching events and developments such as wars, plagues, economic dislocations, etc., from the 13th century until the early 18th century may also have resulted in Magyar-speakers coming to the Stropkov region and settling. The earliest occasion was the Tatar invasion in the mid-13th century, when Magyar refugees headed north into the protection of the wooded areas of upper Zemplén upon hearing the news of the approaching Tatars /19. Another instance was a period of lawlessness in easternmost Slovakia from the mid-15th century into the 16th century, including a particularly acute situation in the area stretching between Stropkov and Töketerebes (Třebišov) in the mid-15th century /20, which could have resulted in population displacement. But the most widespread and well-known of events engendering population movement was the Turkish conquest of Lower Hungary in 1526, which created a large flow of Magyar refugees into Upper Hungary, or what is now Slovakia. In all of these instances, some refugees may never have returned to their place of origin. One-time Stropkov region surnames such as *Basa* ('Pasha'), *Török* ('Turk'), and *Szerecsén* ('Saracen') could be vestiges from the 150-year era of Ottoman occupation of Lower Hungary.

Also, depopulation recurred at Stropkov over the centuries because of various calamities, and this always resulted in efforts to draw new inhabitants. An especially notable instance was the devastating plague of 1709, which reportedly took nearly 800 lives in Stropkov alone. The 18th century consequently was a time of rebuilding the population. The major feature of this repopulation may have been the growth in Galician Rusyn and Galician Jewish immigration, but new Magyar surnames may also date to this period. Unfortunately, the lack of registry records prior to 1700 [destroyed by fire] makes it difficult to confirm that specific surnames were new to the Stropkov area following this epidemic. [Other sorts of documents afford the only other source for

comparing pre- and post-1700 names; and unfortunately, it is doubtful that the present generation of regional historians will be compiling and publishing compendia of the surnames that turn up in pre-1700 documents.]

Other, non-calamitous circumstances also motivated population migration, though not in a massive way. Notable in this regard could be the freedom of movement granted to serfs in the 16th century. But the unlawful flight of serfs also occurred, which may account for surnames such as *Bujdos* ('Hider') and perhaps *Tolvaj* ('Thief').

Some communities both within and near the Stropkov Domain may deserve particular attention in connection with the northward migration of Magyars in early times. For instance, there appears to have been an influx of Magyar-speakers proceeding along the rivers heading northeasterly from Homonna (Humenné). Kékszeg, a one-time village recorded by its Hungarian name ("Kekzegh") in 1426, may have been located by Felső Körtvélyes (Vyšný Hrušov), about 20 miles south southeast of Stropkov /21. This would place Kékszeg just seven or eight miles south of Izbugya-Rabócz (Hrabovce nad Laborcom), where the *urbarium* of 1560 recorded 14 landholders, of whom seven bore Magyar surnames. Another nine miles northeast from there, the border village of Világ (Svetlice) was once a Magyar settlement /22, which explains the Magyar surnames still found there today.

Another instance of non-calamitous migration that needs exploration is the Protestant Reformation in the 16th century and early 17th century. The effects of the Reformation were widespread in the areas of upper Zemplén where Roman Catholicism had been dominant, such that Magyar propagators and adherents of the new faith(s) might have come to the Stropkov region, much as happened at Varannó /23. This period overlapped the Turkish occupation of Lower Hungary and the movement of (mostly Magyar) population into Upper Hungary that ensued. Further, the Reformation in Hungary was allied to the anti-Habsburg struggles of the Protestant princes of Transylvania, and since upper Zemplén was very much in Transylvania's sphere of influence at that time, some Transylvanian Magyars might have come there. Rather as a last reminder of the Reformation, the Stropkov Roman Catholic registry of 1704 records the death of a person with the Magyar surname *Pendel(y)*, with the notation that he was "*reforma,*" not Catholic.

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The geographic sources of settlement at Stropkov by civilians of Magyar background is a subject that could be fruitfully investigated by family historians in the case of some surnames. To begin with, there are historical Stropkov surnames that indicate a place of origin, e.g., *Csengeri*, *Csongrádi*, *Egri* (slavified as *Jagersky* during the period of the Czechoslovak state in the 20th century), *Hadházi*, *Kecskeméti*, *Tarcali*, etc. [the Hungarian *-i* or *-y* ending corresponds to German *von* or French *de*]. However, these names may have been acquired before these families came to the Stropkov area, and thus not reflect their immediate place of origin, only a distant, ancestral one. For instance, the *Egri* family appears to have been in Sáros County before landing in

Stropkov. [A rare exception seems to be *Csongrádi*, in which case the notation “*ex Czungrad*” beside that name in a Roman Catholic registry entry of the mid-18th century suggests that the person did indeed hail from either the town or the county of Csongrád.]

One of the chief questions is the enticement of serfs and peasants to Stropkov from lower Zemplén and other nearby Magyar-speaking areas of the upper Tisza section of the Kingdom of Hungary in connection with the complex system of estates that characterized feudal Hungary. For instance, the Perényi and Rozgonyi families that held large territories around or adjacent to Stropkov in the 14th and 15th centuries also had large holdings in lower Zemplén as well as in Abaúj County /24, and might have brought inhabitants from one area to the other as circumstances recommended, much as Count Pethő did in the 16th century.

The role of the Roman Catholic church in support of the feudal lords also should be explored since Zemplén and a large swath of northeastern Hungary were under the Bishop of Eger, and churches were a major means of disseminating information about the availability of ‘openings’ in other regions. For instance, the same noble Barkóczy family that came into possession of part of the Stropkov Domain after the Pethő family died out in 1764 had close ties to the Bishopric of Eger (Ferenc Barkóczy was the Bishop of Eger during 1745-1761). Further, church officials themselves sometimes held feudal rights, as indeed happened in 1494 in the case of Stropkov and the Bishop of Győr /25. The Bishop could have seen to the transfer of Magyar serfs from his bishopric in western Hungary to the Stropkov properties.

Family researchers seeking to shed light on Magyar surnames uncovered around Stropkov should look into the connections between the Stropkov Domain and the Töketerebes Domain to the south. Although the towns of Stropkov and Töketerebes are about 50 miles apart, both are situated along the Ondava river, and the boundaries of the two Domains were separated by only about 30 miles. Töketerebes was the most northerly part of the contiguous area (albeit of mixed ethnicity) of Magyar-speakers in lower Zemplén, and the old *urbaria* suggest that there was lively commerce and migration during the demographically unstable times of the late 1500s. The Töketerebes *urbarium* of 1601 indicates (in Hungarian form) a “*Stephanus Ztropkay*” (‘Stephan Stropkovian’) as a prominent townsman, while also containing about 30 Magyar surnames that also turn up in old Stropkov records, including a number of somewhat unusual names, e.g., *Czéte*, *Dely*, *Erős*, *Siket*, *Suta*, etc. /26 [A full listing of the overlapping Stropkov/Töketerebes Hungarian surnames is provided in the footnote.]

The relationship between the Stropkov region and neighboring Sáros County needs to be of special interest since Magyar-speakers were predominant in much of adjacent lowland Sáros (in as many as 120 villages), and were present in the southwestern approaches to Stropkov, from the 15th century until the defeat of Ferenc Rákóczi II by the Habsburgs in 1711 /27. Some of their descendants might have been especially attracted to the Stropkov district during the 18th century. Heavy taxation in Sáros at that time was causing many inhabitants to move to adjacent counties; and this period coincided with Stropkov’s need for new inhabitants following the epidemic of

1709. The taxation and emigration situation became so serious that it was the subject of a formal complaint in the Sáros County legislature in 1765. /28

There had been, moreover, a long history of commercial and familial connections between Stropkov and Eperjes (Prešov), the chief town of Sáros, going back to the German urban origins of both places. For example, the uncommon German surnames *Denk* and *Froos* were recorded respectively in Sáros County in the 14th century and in Eperjes in the 15th century, and then turn up at Stropkov as *Deng* and *Frus* in the 16th century. Similarly, the uncommon Magyar surnames *Gonosz* and *Kobzos* appear in 15th century records for Eperjes, and then show up in Stropkov the next century /29. During 1531-1673, Eperjes was utterly dominated by Protestants and few Catholics remained (for a time the town had no Catholic priest) /30, which is a strong reason to think that some Catholics from mostly German- and Magyar-speaking Eperjes might have sought refuge in Stropkov. [Regarding possible Eperjes/Stropkov genealogical connections, see the side notes to the appended list of Magyar surnames.]

Transylvania (now in Romania) also needs to be kept in mind regarding the geographical origin of a Magyar element in the ethnic background of the Stropkov region and areas adjacent to it (including southeastern Poland). One steady historical factor over the centuries was the important trade route passing from Transylvania into eastern Slovakia. Additionally, from the mid-16th century until the mid-17th century, while Lower Hungary was under Turkish suzerainty, Zemplén fell under the sway of the Principality of Transylvania. [The Stropkov Roman Catholic registry for 1702 records the marriage in Stropkov of a man named *Veres*, and notes that he was from Transylvania and of noble rank. Later occurrences of this Magyar surname in the registries, for instance in 1789, suggest that he and his descendants remained in Stropkov. (The name *Vereščák* is still found in Stropkov; see the discussion of name assimilation on page 27).]

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A curious aspect of the history of the population of Stropkov is that some people seem to have become stranded by history, as it were, at this outpost on the northern east-central fringe of Old Hungary. Two groups of Magyar-speakers stand out in this way. These are the Szeklers, a sub-ethnic group, and the lesser nobility, a social class.

Szeklers. Of peculiar interest in connection with soldiery are the Magyar-speaking Szeklers of Transylvania who had long served the Hungarian kings as soldiers and border guards. They are known to have taken part in the military actions of King Matthias in upper Zemplén in the last quarter of the 15th century, and they were present again during the time of the Rákóczi wars in the 17th century /31.

It cannot be mere coincidence that some of the Hungarian surnames found in the Roman and Greek Catholic registries of the Stropkov area are indicative of Szekler origins. First of all, there is the name *Székely* itself. There is also the surname *Magyar* or *Magyari*, which was a surname that other Magyar-speakers did not usually bestow, but which the Szeklers sometimes did in the case of non-Szekler Magyar-speakers who lived

among them /32. More generally, there is the class of Magyar diminutive names used as surnames, such as *Géczi*, *Gyurkó*, *Laczkó*, *Incze(h)*, which was especially characteristic among the Szeklers /33. Other Stropkov region surnames that turn up with some frequency among the Szeklers include: *Bálint*, *Basa*, *Biró*, *Borzok*, *Dancs*, *Erőss*, *Gyarmati*, *Győrfi*, *Siket*, *Veres*, etc. /34

It is also worth noting a couple instances of congruence of Szekler surnames and Stropkov region topographical sites that could be more than coincidental. First, the Szekler clan name *Incze(h)* (a diminutive of Innocent), which shows up in the 18th century Stropkov Roman Catholic registries as *Inczóss*, may account for the topographical name Inc(z)ova hill (i.e., Incze's hill) about three miles northwest of Stropkov and just west of Duplin. The same could be true in the case of Ondalik hill, about twelve miles south of Stropkov, and the Szekler surname *Onda*, which appeared in the form *Unda* in the first list of Stropkov citizens, from the year 1548. It is not fantastic to speculate that names such as 'Incze's Hill' and 'Onda's Hill' may have been lookout points during King Matthias's wars. Topographical names, and the names of some hamlets, were still being acquired in this region – which was still a developing area – as late as the 1400s (even the Ondava river, as the section of the Bodrog river north of Töketerebes was to become known, may not yet have acquired that name).

As appropriate to people from Transylvania, the Szeklers' chief peacetime occupation was the clearing of forest lands, and this skill was much in demand around Stropkov during the early centuries when the region was developing. Further, the lower class of Szekler soldiers would have had plenty of personal incentive to remain behind in the Stropkov region in the 15th-17th centuries because their traditional privileges were being infringed upon in their Transylvanian homeland /35.

The Nobility. Magyar-speakers from all classes and castes reached Stropkov during the course of its history. This of course included nobility. However, while some accounts of the town's history leave the impression that this pertains only to a few families of the upper nobility – the class of major landowners – the surnames found at Stropkov suggest that the list of titled families residing there was longer, and reached much deeper into the ranks of nobility, especially the petty nobility whose rank had been gained mostly through honorable performance of feudal-type service.

In reviewing the appended list of Magyar surnames, a surprising number turn up that are associated with the lower ranks of nobility in the history of Zemplén and Sáros counties, or in Szekler-land, for instance: *Ágocs*, *Balogh*, *Barna*, *Basa*, *Dancs*, *Egry*, *Farkas*, *Gócs*, *Kádas*, *Kővér*, *Krajnyik*, *Trombitás*, *Váczi*, *Vass*, etc. /36 Regional history suggests that not a few members of families distinguished by minor noble rank wound up in marginal areas like Stropkov as a result either of impoverishment or participation in failed revolts (whether of the upper nobility or the peasantry). Notably, after 1711, in the wake of the Rákóczi rebellions, "the common nobility [of Zemplén County] increasingly isolated itself" /37. This might explain why the lesser nobility stayed and intermarried with families that had no heraldic status.

However, family history researchers confronted with surnames associated with the lesser nobility need to give these names careful, individual attention since in some cases there may be just a fortuitous identity of surname with titled families bearing the same name, particularly in the case of the more common Magyar surnames, e.g., *Balogh, Dobos, Farkas, Fekete, Horváth, Török, Vass*, etc. It is clear from the factors pointed out earlier that there are alternative possibilities for the occurrence of Magyar surnames at Stropkov, and that these need to be reviewed in each instance.

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Despite this history, which demonstrates ample opportunities for Magyar and Szekler settlement, some Slovak historians are at pains to explain away the presence of Hungarian names around Stropkov, lest it appear that persons of Magyar origin were once significant in the region, even if 500 years ago. Notably, Ján Beňko (1994) suggests that Hungarian surnames in early Stropkov documents are mostly a result of Hungarian recording officials simply assigning Hungarian names to non-Hungarian individuals, particularly as regards occupational surnames (e.g., *Kovács, Szabó, Varga*, etc.) /38. Although it certainly is possible that in some instances persons received names in a language other than the one they customarily spoke, this does not hold up as a general explanation for the presence of Magyar surnames at Stropkov.

Beňko specifically addressed his comments to surnames found at Stropkov in the 16th century. But this is one of the most difficult of periods for which to substantiate the claim that persons in Stropkov with Magyar surnames had no Magyar origin [I am intimating that such persons may have been of mixed ethnic origin]. For it coincided with the fleeing of Hungarians from the Turkish occupation to the south; Transylvanian influence in Zemplén; the granting of free movement to peasants; the settlement of Magyar soldiers and serfs from western Hungary by Count Pethő; the departure of Roman Catholics from Eperjes; the establishment of the Stropkov craft-guild; the upswing in Tokaji wine exports to Poland through Stropkov; and the proximity of Hungarian communities at Dukla and Jasło in Poland.

Several circumstances do not support the view that surnames were as a rule being magyarized at Stropkov during the 14th century through the 18th century. First of all, plenty of non-Magyar surnames are found in documents from those centuries, which would hardly be consistent with an administrative policy or habit of magyarizing names. Moreover, officialdom in Stropkov until nearly the end of the 16th century was predisposed by town tradition (which was in accord with the general habit of urban areas in the greater region of upper Zemplén and Sáros) to favor the German language, not Hungarian, for secular administrative purposes /39.

Further, if the surnames were being assigned by Hungarian officials, it is extremely odd that not a single person in the Stropkov Domain *urbarium* of 1569 was recorded by the surname *Tóth* ('Slavish'), which was a name that Hungarian recording officials likely would have assigned a few times if they had in fact been assigning surnames to persons not already having one. It is also worth noting in this connection

that for the village of “Kys Domasa” (Malá Domaša) the *urbarium* of 1569 gives the names of the widows *Emberke* and *Kowach* with the Hungarian female spousal ending *-ne* (*Emberkenne* and *Kowachne*), whereas the widow *Stoph(a)*’s name was recorded with the Slavic female ending *-ova*, which suggests that persons were free to state their names in the linguistic form they themselves used.

Specifically regarding occupational surnames, they do occur among the non-Hungarian surnames in the 16th century, e.g., *Blichar* (from German *Bleicher*), *Kolar*, *Kozar*, *Olaynik*, etc. Further, whereas Beňko presumes that someone with an occupational surname in fact was practicing that craft and concludes that this was why Magyar occupational surnames were assigned, the Hungarian onomatologist Béla Kálmán points out that actual occupations in this period of Hungarian history “usually cannot be determined” on the basis of an occupational surname /40. Kálmán is borne out in records of all sorts from that era in eastern Slovakia. An example from the 1569 Stropkov *urbarium* is the mention, in Latin, of a “tailor [lower case] from Sztrocsin/Stročin,” without assigning him the surname ‘Taylor’ in any language /41. Or again, the Magyar surname *Halász* (‘Fisher’) occurs at Stropkov in 1569, but would not have been bestowed as an occupational surname in that era since the *urbarium* plainly states that Stropkov possessed no fishing rights at that time (but a *Halas* was recorded at Eperjes as early as 1449/54). [Of singular curiosity among occupational surnames in the 1569 *urbarium* is *Pobikas*. Although the name took a Magyar form and had the Magyar female spousal ending (i.e., *Pobikasne*), it apparently derives from a Ukrainian/Rusyn verb for ‘to do an errand’ and thus would signify ‘Gofer.’ (Note: the name is falsified, and de-magyarized, as *Pobiš* by Beňko, in *Stropkov*, p. 53.)]

Additionally, there is the fact that not all the tradesman occupations known to have been included in the Stropkov multi-craft guild are represented among the surnames found in the 16th century documents. By the logic of the assumption that occupational surnames were being assigned at that time, *all* of those occupations should be found among the Stropkov surnames. Likewise, by the logic of the surname magyarization argument, all those names would have been in a Magyar form.

Further in connection with types of surnames, virtually every type of Hungarian surname – not only ones derived from occupations – occurs in the registries and documents pertaining to Stropkov. Among others, this range includes surnames reflecting figures of speech (e.g., *Bezzeg*, *Mondok*, *Hiszem*, *Uram*); personal description (e.g., *Erőss*, *Fekete*, *Gonosz*); geographical or ancestral place of origin (e.g., *Buday*, *Csécsy*, *Csongrádi*, *Egry*); pagan clan names (e.g., *Gócs*, *Onda*), etc. [The cited Kálmán book, ff. 26, may be usefully referenced on this point; however, the cited Kázmér book, with its alphabetical listing of surnames, and explanations of the significance of the names, will be more helpful to family history researchers.]

Finally, Hungarian surnames do not occur in the documents and records of Stropkov in a proportion greater than what might be expected in what had long been a predominantly Slavic (Slovak, Rusyn, Polish) milieu. Moreover, these surnames are found spread about the villages of the one-time Stropkov Domain, a circumstance that

might reflect some of the aforementioned historical events, such as repopulation after pestilence, or even the billeting of soldiers.

All these factors indicate the authenticity of Magyar surnames at Stropkov.

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Nothing specific is known about the process and timing of the assimilation of non-Slavs to Slavic speech, or indeed, the ethnic background of individual families or persons in medieval Stropkov. Nor can the subject be discussed without the prefatory comment that persons of mixed ethnic background may have predominated around Stropkov since the 13th century. We may safely presume that in the late Middle Ages there were few people in the region, that people of various ethnic background were Roman Catholics, and that ability to communicate in more than one language was the rule rather than the exception – in sum, ideal conditions for ethnic intermarriage.

But even later on, in 1569, when all the villages of the Stropkov Domain were noted in the *urbarium* as either “Slav” (Roman Catholic Slav) or “Rusyn” (Orthodox Slav), there is no such indicator after Stropkov’s name. This suggests that the town itself at that time was mixed not only in ethnic ancestry, but also in terms of contemporary language. As late as the beginning of the 18th century the first geographer of Hungary, Mátyás Bél, writing in 1703, described Stropkov then as consisting of “Rusyns, Poles, and Slovaks, with some Hungarians, mostly in the service of the Pethő family” /42. [In this context it may even be wondered whether the Magyar language was being taught along with Slovak and Latin in the Stropkov school later in the 18th century because of residual awareness of Magyar background among some families. There does not appear to have been state pressure for it in that era, particularly not during the reign of Emperor Joseph II, who, on the contrary, sought to Germanize the administration of the Kingdom of Hungary.]

Still, it is doubtful that the Hungarian language was widely known in the Stropkov region later than the 16th century. The incoming Hungarian element in the population, with the exception of the upper nobility, must always have assimilated to the Slavic linguistic environment within a generation or two. In the case of soldiery, these males probably came as bachelors and married local women. Many Hungarians may even have been bi-lingual at the time of their arrival in Stropkov, which is especially likely for persons from Sáros. These factors – assimilation and bi-lingualism – rather than 19th century magyarization of schools, may account for the numerous Magyar loan-words in the dialects around Stropkov. [The linguistic adaptation of Magyar descendants would also have facilitated migration and settlement in neighboring Galicia by persons with Magyar surnames.]

LDS microfilms demonstrate that, far from the alleged Hungarianization of surnames, there was a distinct, natural tendency for Magyar surnames to be assimilated to Slavic speech with the passage of time. This was especially evident during the 18th century. The explanation may have to do with particular priests, and perhaps also, the teaching of formal Slavic language in the Stropkov school in that century. [Slavified

surnames, incidentally, do not appear to have been altered (i.e., re-magyarized) during the magyarization era of the late-19th and early 20th century.]

The assimilation of surnames took place in several ways. Sometimes the sound of a Hungarian name was altered to conform to Slavic sounds: e.g., from (Magyar) *Mondok* to (slavified) *Mondik*; from (Magyar) *Kertész* to (slavified) *Kertis*; etc. Or, a Hungarian surname might be translated to its Slavic equivalent: e.g., from *Halász* ('Fisher') to *Ribar*; from *Szekeres* ('Carter') to *Porvaznik*; from *Hommona* (person from Homonna/Humenné) to *Humennyik*, etc. Another particular feature of the 1700s was the addition of Slavic patronymic suffixes to non-Slavic names: e.g., from *Unda* to *Onduv*; from *Kelemen* to *Kelemenovics*, etc. But the most common change appears to have been the addition of a Slavic suffix to make a diminutive form: e.g., from *Csengery* to *Csengerik*; from *Csepregi* to *Csepressko*, etc. [In each of the cited examples, the Magyar surname antedates the slavified version in regional records/documents. It is also notable that the name *Halász*, which would seem to have originated at Eperjes, was taken to Galicia, and kept, in the Magyar form, rather than converted to the Slavic *Ribar*.] It also happened that Hungarian names became garbled over time, sometimes to the point of being rendered nearly unrecognizable: e.g., from *Fulajtár* to *Forajter*. Most of these tendencies are mirrored as well in the case of German surnames: e.g., from *Fleischer* to *Flesar*; from *Bachman* to *Bachmanszky/Vachmanský*; from *Faighel* to *Vagel*'; etc.

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In summary, the catalogue of surnames from the annals of Stropkov demonstrates a history of ethnic mixture virtually from the outset of urban development in the region. Further, the Stropkov church registries since 1700 demonstrate that there was widespread intermarriage among persons bearing names of various ethnic origins. Intermarriage actually may have been common as far back as the 14th and 15th centuries, if not earlier. Consequently, persons recorded with Slavic or German or Hungarian surnames in those centuries, as for example in the *urbarium* of 1569, may already have been of mixed ethnic background. Indeed, family history researchers are likely to encounter evidence of this in a variety of non-Slovak surnames that appear in family trees. In many cases these surnames will be of Magyar origin, for historically explicable reasons.

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Notations Regarding the Surname Lists

The main sources of the listed surnames are the LDS microfilms of Stropkov church registries; other sources are the Marsina and Beňko books cited in the footnotes. Regarding Hungarian surnames and their origins, researchers should consult: the Kázmér book cited below; and Béla Kálmán, The World of Names (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978). Researchers may also refer to Ewa Wolnicz-Pawłowska, *Antroponimia Lemkowska Na Tle Polskim I Słowackim (XVI-XIX Wiek)* [Lemkavian Anthroponymy Against a Polish and Slovak Background (16th-19th Centuries)] (Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1993), which focuses on the Carpathian areas of southeastern Poland and far northeastern Slovakia, including Stropkov registries. Although unassailably objective in approach, Wolnicz-Pawłowska's lack of acquaintance with regional history, as outlined in this article, is apparent in comments relating to specific surnames.

Notations in the following lists of surnames are from:

Samu Borovszky, *Zemplén Vármegye* [Zemplén County] (Budapest: Apollo, 1903); Béla Iványi, *A Középkori Eperjes Magyarsága* [The Magyardom of Medieval Eperjes (Prešov)] (Szeged, 1934); Miklós Kázmér, *Régi Magyar Családnevek Szótára, XIV-XVII. Század* [Dictionary of Old Hungarian Family Names, 14th-17th Centuries] (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1993). Sándor Tóth, *Sáros Vármegye Monografiája* [Monograph of Sáros (Šariš) County] (Budapest: 1910); and Ede Unghváry, *Sztropkó és Várának Története* [The History of Sztropkó and Its Fortress] (Huszt: 1912).

(*) indicates a surname mentioned by Unghváry but not noticed by this author in LDS microfilms.

[?] indicates uncertainty as to the identity of similar surnames.

(Z-p74) indicates occurrence of surname in Zemplén history as noted on indicated page of the Borovszky volume.

SN indicates Sáros County nobility as published by Tóth (Vol. II).

ZN indicates Zemplén County nobility as published by Borovszky.
(Unlike the Tóth volume on Sáros, this volume does not list the lower nobility.)

E 1510 indicates town of Eperjes (Prešov) and year of record, with data from Iványi.

K indicates surname data from Kázmér.

<u>Standard Hungarian Spelling</u>	<u>Spelling Variants in Stropkov Documents and Church Registries</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Ács	Alcz	SN; Alcz in E 1449/54
Ágócs	Agocz, Agoczko, Agacsa	
Andrássy	Andrasi	SN
Antal	Antol	SN; Antal in E 1510
Bajmóczy	Baimoczy, Baynocy	SN
Bak		SN; Bak in E 1449/54
Bakos	Pakoss	(Z-p48); SN
Balázsházy	Balashazy	(Z-p110); ZN
Bálint	Balent	SN
Baló	[Boro? Valo?]	
Balogh	Balok	(Z-p19); SN; Balog in E 1449/54
Basa		(Z-p47 Bassa; p94 Baso); [SN Basso]
Béres*		
Bezzeg	Bezzegh	
Biró	Biross, Birovicz	SN; Byro in E 1492
Bocsányi	Bocsany	
Boda		(Z-p63)
Bodnár		(Z-p35); SN
Bokor	Bokoryk	SN; Bokor in E 1511
Bolha	Bolga, Boga	SN; Bolha in E 1449/54
Borbely	Balbir, Borbilcsak	(Z-p35); SN
Boró*	[Balo?]	
Borzok		
Buday	Budak	(Z-p94); SN
Bujdosó	Bujdos	
Bunda		
Csáklos	Czaklos	[Z-p34 Csáklyay]
Csalfa*		
Csanádi		
Császáz	Czasarczik	SN; Czarar in E 1411
Csécsi	Csicsi, [Cichy?]	SN
Csendi	Czendi	
Csengeri	Czengeri, Csengerik, Csongerik	(Z-p116); SN
Csepregi	Csepregha, Csepressko	SN
Csere*		
Csintalan	Csintala	
Csonka	Czonka, Czunka	SN; Czunka in E 1411
Csongrádi	Czongrati, Czungracz, Czunkrat	
Csurka	Czurka	
Standard Hungarian	Spelling Variants in Stropkov	

<u>Spelling</u>	<u>Documents and Church Registries</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Czéte		
Dancs	Dancsov	ZN
Deli	Dely	ZN; SN
Dobos	Doboss	ZN
Egri	Egry	SN
Ember	Emberke, Emberik	Ember in E 1411
Eötvös	Eotves	SN
Erős	Eross, Erus, Eruss	SN
Farkas	Farkass, Furkoss	SN; Farkasch in E 1449/54
Fazékas		
Fekete		ZN; SN; Feckete in E 1511
Ferenc		
Fodor*		(Z-p35); SN; Fodor in E 1500
Fökötös	Fökötes	
Forgács	Forgach, Forkacz, Furkacz	ZN; SN; Forgatz in E 1480
Foris		
Fulajtár	Folajter, Forajter, Furayter, Fulajko	
Gabriss		
Gazda		
Géczi	Gecy, Gjaci, [Geczfi?]	[Z-p70 Ghiczy]; SN
Gergely		SN
Gócs	Goots, Gots, Golcs, [Gluts?]	Gócs in Szekler-land 1492 (see Kázmér listings)
Gombos*		SN
Gondi	Gonder	
Gonosz	Gonos	Gonos in E 1486/88
Goszthonyi	Gosztoni	ZN; SN
Gyarmati		SN
Gyermek		
Gyóri		SN
Gyórfi	Gyurgyffi, Gurgyffi, Gucsfi	ZN (Györffy); SN
Hadházi	Hathazi	
Hájas		
Hajduk*		
Halász		SN; Halas in E 1449/54
Hamis*		
Harangozó		
Hazug	Hazuga	ZN
Hegedús		SN; Hegedus in E 1506
Hiszem	Hisen	
Holló	Hallo	SN

Standard Hungarian Spelling Variants in Stropkov

<u>Spelling</u>	<u>Documents and Church Registries</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Homonnay	Homonna, Humennyik, Humenik [Hemnejer?]	Homanni in E 1526
Horváth		SN
Huszár	Hussar	
Incze(h)	Inczóss	
Istók	Esstok	
Kádas		(Z-p27); SN
Kalmár		SN; Kalmar in E 1411
Kapi	Kappi	SN; Kapy in E 1411
Kapitány	Kapitan	
Kaproncai	Kapronczaj	SN
Katona	Catona	SN
Kecskeméti	Keczkemety	SN
Kelemen	Kelemenovics	SN; Kelemen in E 1510
Kenderes*		(Z-p33 Kenderesi)
Kerekes	Kerekessi, Kerekessy	SN; Kerekesch in E 1454
Kertész	Kertisz, Körtisz, Kertiska	SN
Kiss		SN; Kwsch in E 1480
Kobzos	Kobdoss	Kobszos in E 15 th cen.
Kocsi	[Koczi?]	
Kopjás	Kopias	
Körtvélyessy	Kertvilessi	ZN
Kövér		(Z-p19); SN; Kewer in E 1449/54
Kükemezei	Kikemezey, Kikemezy	SN
Kurucz		
Lakatos	Lakatgyarto, [Lakata?]	SN
Lovász		SN
Lovas		
Lukács	Lukacz	
Magyar(i)	Madiar, Magyarer, Magyörin	SN; Magyar in E 1449/54
Majoros		
Mandula	Mandulya, Mandulany	
Marciházi	Marczihazi	[Z-p399 Marczibányi?]
Margay	Margo, Margov	
Mátyás	Matyasov	
Mészáros		(Z-p50); SN; Misaros in E 1528
Miklósi	Miklovicz	
Miskolci	Miskocy	(Z-29); SN
Molnár		SN
Mondok	Mondik, Mendik	
Munka		
Standard Hungarian	Spelling Variants in Stropkov	

<u>Spelling</u>	<u>Documents and Church Registries</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Nemessányi	Nemessani	SN
Németh	Nemet	SN
Nyáray		[Z-p34 Nyáry?]; SN
Onda	Unda, Onduv	Onda in Szekler-land 1616 (see Kázmér listings)
Ortutai	Ortutay	
Pálffy		
Pataki	Pataky	SN
Pendely	Pendel	
Péter(fi)	Petar, Peterfy, Petarcsik	(Z-p34) ZN; SN
Pohárnok	Poharniczka	(Z-p48)
Pökölyi		
Pusztai	Pusztay	SN
Rab		Rab in E 1486/88
Rácz		(Z-p97); SN; Racz in E 1504
Rajza		
Regéczi*		SN
Remek	Romok, Romak, Rumak	SN [Remik]
Révész	Révisz, Revis, Ravis	(Z-p135); SN
Rózsa	Roza	SN
Saláta*		
Sánta		SN; Schantta in E 15 th cen.
Sass*		SN
Semsei	Sempsei, Sepsej	ZN; SN
Sennyei	Sennei, Sennaj	ZN; SN
Sipos	Sziposs, Syposs	Schiposch in E 1449/54
Soós		ZN; SN
Süket	Siket	
Suta		(Z-p74 Sutha)
Süveges	Siveges	
Szakál	Szakala	SN; Sackal in E 1515
Szaloki	Zaloki	SN
Szegény	Segin, Czegin	Szegin in E 15 th cen.
Szegletes*		
Székely	Szekel, Sekely, Sekel	(Z-p25 Zekely); SN
Szekeres	Zekeres	(Z-p144); SN
Szent-Miklósi		(Z-p24); SN
Széplaki	Sziplakj	
Szerecsén	Zerechin	
Tarbai	Tarbaj	Tharbay in E 1511
Tarcali	Tarcaly	SN
Tokaji	Tokay	
Standard Hungarian	Spelling Variants in Stropkov	

<u>Spelling</u>	<u>Documents and Church Registries</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Tolvaj	Tholhaj	(Z-p398); SN; Tholway in E 1486/88
Tormási	Tormassi	SN
Török	Teoreok, Tórek	(Z-p125)
Törpe	Therpo, Therpa	
Trombitás	Trumbitas	(Z-p87); SN
Újházi*		SN
Uram		
Vácz	Wacy	SN
Való	[Balo? Boro?]	
Vass	Vas, Was, Wass,	
Veres	Veress, Veresska	
Wiczmándi	Viczmandy	ZN
Zajáros		Zagarusch in E 1510

List of Cross-Ethnic Surnames at Stropkov

<u>Standard Hungarian Spelling</u>	<u>Spelling Variants in Stropkov Documents and Church Registries</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Apostol		SN
Barna	Barnacsik	(Z-p48); ZN; SN
Csermely		(Z-p124)
Folnagy		
Gajdos	Gajdoss, Kajdoss	
Gyurkó	Csurko, Dsurko, Dzurkov	
Jaczkó	Jaczoss	
Jordan		SN
Juhász	Juhaszcsin	SN
Kárász		
Kocsis		
Kóczán	Kocan	(Z-p47); ZN
Kondás	Kondisz, Kundiss	
Korbács	Gurbalcz	
Kovács	Kovacz, Kowacz	
Krainik	Krajnik, Krajnyik	(Z-p110)
Kulcsár		SN
Laczkó	Laczoss	
Standard Hungarian	Spelling Variants in Stropkov	

<u>Spelling</u>	<u>Documents and Church Registries</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Literati		(Z-p520 Literatus); SN (Literaty; Literatus)
Maczkó		
Palkó		
Pobikás		
Szabó	Sabbo, Sabol, Zabo	
Szűcs	Sűcz, Szócz, Szucz, Szicz,	SN
Takács		
Vajda		(Z-p98); SN
Varga	Warga, Vargov	
Vendel	Vendely	SN

FOOTNOTES

- 1/ Ede Unghváry, *Sztropkó és Várának Története* [The History of Sztropkó (Stropkov) and Its Fortress] (Huszt: 1912).
- 2/ Ján Beňko and Jozef Durkaj, *Stropkov a okolie* [Stropkov and Vicinity] (Košice: Vychodoslovenské Vydateľ'stvo, 1978), p. 20.
- 3/ Ján Beňko, et al, *Stropkov* (Martin: Gradus, 1994), p. 54, ff. 187.
- 4/ Andrea Kiss, "Some Weather Events in the Fourteenth Century (Angevin Period: 1301-87)," at <http://www.sci.u-szeged.hu/eghajlattan/akta99/KissA/KissA.html>, pp. 3, 4.
- 5/ See map of Medieval Bulgaria in R.J. Crampton, *A Concise History of Bulgaria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1997), p. 13. For a Slovak viewpoint, see Branislav Varsik, *Osídlenie Košickej Kotliny* [Settlement of the Košice (Kassa) Basin] (Bratislava: Vydavateľ'stvo Slovenskej Akadémie Vied), Vol. III, pp. 461-468. It is notable that Varsik cited no works by Bulgarian historians or other historians who have dealt with the medieval history of Bulgaria.
- 6/ Iván Balassa, *Tokaj-Hegyalja Szőleje és Bora* [The Vines and Wines of Tokaj-Hegyalja] (Tokaj: 1991), p. 154.
- 7/ Sándor Tóth, *Sáros Vármegye Monografiája* [Monograph of Sáros (Šariš) County] (Budapest: 1910), Vol. I p. 117. The extent of the early Polish presence is further underlined by the debates that have taken place among scholars over the linguistic origins (Polish versus standard Slovak) of the Slavic dialects of northern Sáros and upper Zemplén.
- 8/ Richard Marsina and Michal Kusík, *Urbare Feudálnych Panstiev na Slovensku* [Urbaria of Feudal Domains in Slovakia] (Bratislava: Vydavateľ'stvo Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, 1959), Vol. I, p. 238; Beňko, *Stropkov*, p. 49.
- 9/ Marsina, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 239, 240. Lajos Gecsényi, "Városi és Polgári Szőlőbirtokok és Borkereskedelem a Hegyalján a XV-XVI. Század Fordulóján" [Municipal and Citizen Vineyard Holdings and Wine Trade in Hegyalja at the Turn of the 15th–16th centuries], in *Agrártörténeti Szemle* (Agricultural History Review), Vol. XIV, No. 3-4, 1972, pp. 340-351 (p. 344).
- 10/ Dezső Csánki, *Magyarország Történeti Földrajza a Hunyadiak Korában* [The Historical Geography of Hungary in the Time of the Hunyadis] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1890), p. 332.
- 11/ This fact is scattered throughout the literature on eastern Slovakia in discussing sources of Magyar colonization in particular areas.

12/ Beňko, *Stropkov*, p. 39, ff. 92. “Clerk Lazarus, The Earliest Map of Hungary, 1528” (Kartográfiai Vállalat, Budapest, 1992); and Beňko, *Stropkov*, p. 39.

13/ Unghváry, *op.cit.*

14/ Samu Borovszky, ed., *Zemplén Vármegye* [Zemplén County] (Budapest: Apollo, 1903), p. 435.

15/ Balassa, *op.cit.*, p. 570.

16/ György Komoróczy, *Borkivitelünk Észak Felé* [Our Wine Exports to the North] (Kassa: Kazinczy Társaság, 1944), pp. 140-141.

17/ Unghváry, *op.cit.*

18/ Borovszky, *op.cit.*, p. 198. It is notable that vineyard cultivation in upper Zemplén and Sáros in the 16th century occurs almost exclusively in places where Hungarians had settled, as though the Slavs in this area were not heirs to a viticultural tradition.

19/ *Ibid.*, p. 369; also, Varsik, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 17.

20/ Borovszky, *op.cit.*, p. 381, 388.

21/ *Ibid.*, pp. 43.

22/ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

23/ *Ibid.*, p. 328, 395.

24/ *Ibid.*, pp. 519, 536.

25/ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

26/ The Magyar surnames that occur both in Stropkov and in the 1601 Tőketerebes (Třebíšov) *urbarium* include: (Tőketerebes *urbarium* spelling variation in parentheses) *Antal* (*Anthall*), *Balogh*, *Bocsány* (*Baczan*), *Czéte* (*Chethe*), *Császár* (*Chazar*), *Dely*, *Erős* (*Ereos*), *Farkas*, *Fodor*, *Gergely* (*Gergel*), *Géczy* (*Gecy*), *Hegedűs* (*Hegedes/Hegedeos*), *Horváth*, *Huszár* (*Hwzar*), *Kalmár*, *Katona* (*Kathona*), *Kelemen*, *Kertész* (*Kertez*), *Kerekessy* (*Kersseky*), *Magyar* (*Magyer*), *Miklós*, *Onda*, *Péter*, *Rózsa* (*Rosa/Rossa*), *Süket* (*Sykett*), *Sutha* (*Swtha*), *Török* (*Teoreok*), *Vass* (*Was*). See Marsina, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 7-39.

27/ Concerning the history of Magyar-speakers in Sáros, see: József Bánó, “Sáros Vármegye Népének Egykori Magyarságáról” [Concerning the One-time Magyardom of the Sáros County Populace], 1881; Béla Iványi, *A Középkori Eperjes Magyarsága* [The Magyardom of Medieval Eperjes (Prešov)] (Szeged, 1934); Ödön Potemkin, *Sáros*

Vármegye Leírása (Description of Sáros County] (Pest, 1863), pp. 23-24; Tóth, *op.cit.*; and A. Petrov, *Príspevky k Historické Demografii Slovenska v XVIII-XIX Století* [Research on the Historical Demography of Slovakia in the 18th–19th Centuries] (Prague: Česka Akademia Věd a Umění, 1928), pp. 146-156.

28/ Tóth, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 205.

29/ Beňko, *Stropkov*, p. 49 (*Frus*), p. 50 (*Deng*), p. 53 (*Dely*); Béla Iványi, *Eperjes Szabad Királyi Város Levéltára, 1245-1526* [Archives of the Royal Free City of Eperjes (Prešov), 1245-1526] (Szeged, 1931), p. 82 (*Froos*); Marsina, *op.cit.*, p. 237 (*Gonosz*, mistakenly read from original document as *Gonad* by Marsina and as *Gonod* by Beňko, p. 53) [*sz* is easily mistaken for *d* in the penmanship of earlier centuries], p. 239 (*Kobzos*); and Tóth, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 243 (*Denk*), p. 388 (*Dely*).

30/ Sándor Dziák, “*Eperjes Topográfiai Növekedése és Társadalmának Átalakulása 1850-től*” [The Topographical Growth and Societal Transformation of Eperjes (Prešov) Since 1850], 1915, pp. 6, 30.

31/ Lajos Szedeczky Kardoss, *A Székely Nemzet Története és Alkotmánya* [History and Constitution of the Szekler Nation] (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1927), p. 92.

32/ Béla Kálmán, *The World of Names* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), p. 70. [in English]. In contrast, Beňko, in *Stropkov* (p. 54, ff. 187), posits that the surname *Magyar* was acquired as a nickname given derisively to a non-Magyar who either spoke Hungarian or displayed some (negative) trait stereotypically associated with Magyars.

33/ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

34/ For a representative sampling of Szekler surnames, see Addendum II in Miklós Endes, *Csík-, Gyergyó-, Kászon-Székek (Csík Megye) Földjének és Népének Története 1918-ig* [History of the Land and People of Csík-, Gyergyó-, Kászon- Districts (Csík County) until 1918] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994; originally published 1938). Addendum II is a registry of Szeklers in Csík County in 1702.

35/ Kardoss, *op.cit.*, pp. 90, 260.

36/ Re: Zemplén nobility, see Borovszky, *op.cit.*, pp. 516-544, as well as other names scattered throughout the work (see the notes to the surname lists for specific citations); re: Sáros nobility, see Tóth, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, and Potemkin, *op.cit.*, pp. 78-124.

37/ Borovszky, *op.cit.*, p. 411.

38/ Beňko, *Stropkov*, p. 54, ff. 187.

39/ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

40/ Kálmán, *op.cit.*, p. 79.

41/ Marsina, *op.cit.*, p. 237. It is notable in connection with the alleged magyarization of names that Stročin was recorded in a Slavic form, “Sztrechnia,” not in a Hungarian form.

42/ Petrov, *op.cit.* p. 191. Petrov quotes the original Latin of Bél. It is rather telling of the nationalism brought to these topics, that Beňko inverts and dissembles Bél’s formulation to read “Slovaks, Poles, and Rusyns,” without any mention of Hungarians; see Beňko, *Stropkov*, p. 75.