

WINE SELLING IN LITTLE CARPATHIA (15th– 17th CENTURY)

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Abstract: *In this study, we draw attention to the basic principles of the right to sell alcoholic beverages and using the example of the cities of Little Carpathian, we will bring closer the implementation of the wine selling and distribution itself in the Little Carpathian region in the period from the 15th to the 17th century. In the urban environment of the Little Carpathian region, in the 16th century, the right to sell (hist. right to tap) was fundamentally modified and split into the right to sell for cities and the right to sell for individuals – townspeople. This right acquired new specifics in the observed period, and in the Little Carpathian region significant differences can be observed in its application in the following centuries, especially between individuals and cities. The study also clarifies the implementation of the wine distribution in the cities of Little Carpathian and at the same time points out its regularities and specifics in the urban environment. The wine cellar had fixed rules in Little Carpathian towns, and their violation was severely sanctioned by the authorities. This way of selling wine was maintained in the Little Carpathian region until the middle of the 20th century.*

Keywords: Little Carpathian region, Ius educilli, tap, wine distribution, wine selling, wine, Bratislava.

Introduction

The history of alcoholic beverage sales and distribution is currently not given adequate attention in Slovak historiography, and if it is, then mostly only at an illustrative level. So far, no work has been published that would primarily address this issue. Rather, the attention of researchers is focused on various aspects of the domestic or foreign trade in wine, on profits, production, profitability or economic importance for individual wine-growing locations and regions. In this study, we will therefore try to clarify the basic principles of the right of distribution (right to draft wine) and, using the example of the towns of Little Carpathians, we will approach the realisation of the wine distribution itself in the heart of western Slovakia, that is, in the Little Carpathian region in the period from the 15th to the 17th century¹.

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¹ In the study, we pay attention to the wine distribution in that area of South-Western Slovakia, which today is called the Little Carpathian wine-growing region. In the past, it was one of the largest and most important wine-growing regions in Hungary. This is the territory at the south-eastern foothills of the Little Carpathian Mountains. However, the exact demarcation of this area is currently not possible, because in the past vineyards were also found in those places where there is no trace of

When following the issue of the right to sell and distribute beverages, we must bear in mind the fact that there were significant differences between the wine distribution in the city and the wine distribution in the rural environment or on the feudal estates. This situation was primarily related to the application of contemporary legal norms, property rights and the use of status privileges. The issue of beverage distribution is quite broad, therefore in our work we will try to probe into the internal wine trade in an urban environment, while our research efforts will be mainly focused on wine selling under the wine tavern (retail sales). For centuries, this way of selling wine was very popular not only in the cities of Little Carpathian, but also in municipalities, villages and estates, and it was maintained continuously in the Little Carpathian region until the middle of the 20th century.

In this work, we will not deal primarily with the economic issues of the wine selling and the volume of wine sold in barrels, but we will try to clarify how the wine selling and distribution took place in the cities of Little Carpathian, and we will also point out its peculiarities and principles in the monitored region.

Viticulture and cities of the Little Carpathian region

A characteristic feature of the historical development of West Slovak cities is their very close mutual ties, which connected them mainly in social and economic development. The basis on which the life of the Little Carpathian towns developed for centuries was the common economic interests expressed by the main production industry of the Little Carpathian region – viticulture. The Little Carpathian wine-growing region was already formed into a production area in the early Middle Ages, and its centre was the city of Bratislava with the surrounding towns and estates².

them now. Currently, the Little Carpathian wine-growing region stretches northeast of the Danube and Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia. The vineyards of this area are still currently located on the eastern slopes of the Little Carpathian Mountains.

² Bratislava's strategic location on the Danube and Amber Roads played an important role in the development of trade in the Little Carpathian region. Transit along the Danube is recorded in written sources as early as 903–905 in the Raffelstätt customs tariff, where salt is mentioned transported by German merchants on ships along the Danube to the Moravian market. On this route, Bratislava was the gateway to Great Moravia, and later to Hungary. Sources from the 12th and 13th centuries portray it as a toll house (*tercia pars tributi de Poson*) and a marketplace (burgum 1221) of supra-regional importance (mentioned in the work of the Arab geographer Al Idrisi from the middle of the 12th century), where financial means were circulated. The role of Bratislava in the transit trade along the Danube increased mainly due to the privilege of Andrew III from 1297, according to which the goods on ships brought from Germany to Bratislava could only be delivered by the town's shipmen (both to Austria and to Hungary). The city thus got into the role of an intermediary of foreign trade. Merchants from Regensburg, Vienna, northern German cities, but also from the Rhineland, France or Venice came here along the Danube by land routes. The wine trade was important, which was supported by the Hungarian rulers with numerous privileges. These were mainly bans on the import of foreign wines (e.g., from Moravia and Austria) to Bratislava, as well as bans on the export of Hungarian wines through Bratislava. The burghers thus acquired a monopoly

Since the 13th century, we have recorded several peaks and significant development phases in the cultivation of wines and in the trade of the wine produced in the Little Carpathian region. In the second half of the 13th century at the latest, the so-called commercial type of viticulture was formed in the Little Carpathian region, which was aimed at meeting the needs of the market and dependent on market development³. The development of the Little Carpathian viticulture culminated in the Middle Ages, and several Little Carpathian settlements eventually developed into feudal towns and royal cities. Among the most important, apart from Bratislava and Trnava, was Modra, which became a royal town in the 14th century thanks to viticulture. In the 14th century, Pezinok also had the character of a medieval town, even if its privilege did not include the same privileges as received by Modra. It was the same with the neighbouring town of Svätý Jur. Viticulture became the most important economic sector in these settlements with elaborate organisation and administration, which oversaw the so-called vineyard offices (Bergrecht, Berggericht, Bergamt)⁴.

The successful and progressive development of Little Carpathian towns was ensured not only by viticulture, but also by the advantages arising from their geographical location. The Little Carpathian production centres lay on an important road that connected north-eastern Hungary with the southern parts of the country, especially towards Moravia and Austria. The local townspeople were very good at using this fact. Even today, these cities (Sv. Jur, Modra, Pezinok) are located under the slopes of Little Carpathians, on the main route between Bratislava and Trnava, which were important political, commercial and cultural centres of this area. Viticulture, as a fundamental production branch of many Small Carpathian settlements, enabled the inhabitants of Sv. Jur, Pezinok and Modra to accumulate considerable resources, which they used in the 17th century to achieve the status of free royal towns⁵. In the Little Carpathian region, in the modern age, the ownership

position in the wine trade. Based on a privilege from 1291, Bratislava burghers (as individuals) obtained the right to freely sell wine. From 1379 there are documents about bartenders/innkeepers (leitgeber, caupones), who were hired by wealthy vineyard owners and merchants to sell wine. Milan Štefánik, J. Lukačka, *Lexicon of medieval towns in Slovakia*, Bratislava 2010, p. 120.

³ Š. Kazimír, *Malokarpatské vinohradníctvo do konca 18. Storočia*, „Historical studies”, 25, 1981, p. 115–149.

⁴ The viticulture office managed the life of the viticulture community and represented an organised form of executive and judicial power in viticulture. In the Little Carpathian region, it was mostly either a municipal or a city institution. M. Franko, *Organizácia a správa viničných hôr malokarpatských miest Svätý Jur, Pezinok a Modra (Druhá polovica 16. storočia a 17. storočia)*, Trnava, 2018, p. 27.

⁵ The status of a free royal city meant for these settlements a historical value of fundamental importance, which changed the balance of forces of this stage of feudalism in western Slovakia in favour of the growth of the importance of the burghers in the social structure and the production area. In the Little Carpathian towns, in addition to the private farming of each citizen, there was also farming managed by the town. L. Sokolovský, *Prehľad dejín verejnej správy na území Slovenska*, Bratislava, 1996, p. 43.

of vineyards, viticultural production and the wine trade were dominated by townspeople and cities. For all of them we can mention Trnava and Bratislava townspeople who owned numerous vineyards in Modra, Pezinok, Sv. Jur, or other important wine-growing localities. For the Little Carpathian region, the so-called bourgeois viticulture which since the Middle Ages has been a decisive factor in the domestic and foreign trade in Little Carpathian wine. Burgher-type viticulture was characterised by elaborate organisation and management of the vineyard mountains and dynamically developing viticulture production. The municipal authorities of the Little Carpathian towns had a significant influence on the development of viticulture in their districts, and the townspeople also penetrated the countryside, into the surrounding villages, where they bought or founded new vineyards. At the end of the Middle Ages, viticulture literally became a specialized manufacturing industry in the Little Carpathian region⁶.

In addition to domestic markets, Little Carpathian wines were also sent to markets in Poland, Moravia (the Czech Republic), Austria, and German countries. Little Carpathian viticulture maintained an upward trend until around the 17th century, and wine selling flourished in the cities⁷. One of the decisive conditions for the development of the Little Carpathian viticulture is to consider its profitability and the related marketing of wine, which took place not only through wholesale sales, but also through selling in barrels.

Ius educilli

In the past, the so-called *tap law*, covered the liquor selling from various aspects. In written sources, the right to sell and distribute was indicated by the Latin term *ius educilli* or *propina*, and in sources in the German language, which was widely used in western Slovakia, it is hidden under terms such as *schenckrecht* or *leutgebrecht*⁸. In the Little Carpathian region, a *wine tap* (wine selling) was referred to as *leutgeb*, *litgeb*, *leykeb* or *weinschenk*⁹.

The right to sell and distribute alcoholic beverages in Hungary originally belonged to the so-called royal regal rights (lat. *iura regalia*), which were the

⁶ M. Franko, *Organizácia a správa viničných hôr malokarpatských miest Svätý Jur, Pezinok a Modra (Druhá polovica 16. storočia a 17. storočie)*, Trnava 2018, p. 7.

⁷ Jozef Baďurík, *Vinohradníctvo na Slovensku v období feudalizmu*, „Historica”, 1989, 39–40, s. 162.

⁸ M. Franko, *Malokarpatské vinohradnícke poriadky*. Trnava 2021, s. 50.

⁹ See e.g., Bratislava city statutes from the 15th century: „...vnd der leykeb feyert ain tag oder zween ...”, Kolosvári, s. – Óvári, K. (ed.): *A magyar törvényhatóságok jogszabályainak gyűjteménye, IV/II*. Budapest 1897, p. 22. or Bratislava city statutes from 1548: „...Mit dem leitgeben sols gehalten werden, wie bisher...”, Archive of Bratislava, the capital city of SR, City Hall of Bratislava, Minutes from City Council meetings (Actionale protocollum), 1548–1565, 2 and 3, No. 10664. [further: AMB, MmB, Actionale protocollum, 1548–1565, 2 and 3, No. 10664.]

privileged and considerably profitable rights for the Hungarian monarchs. They were derived from a power that only the monarch could exercise. Hungarian monarchs used to grant some of these rights for various services, for example through donations to individual feudal lords, burghers, cities or church institutions, such as monasteries or chapters. Profits from regal rights represented a significant component of the royal treasury's income, as cities paid regular taxes for them. These were fees for lending rights that belonged exclusively to the monarch. This assumption was based on the doctrine of the royal rights of the monarch, which represented the practical side of the concept of state power at the time, i.e., that the monarch was the owner of all the land¹⁰.

Regal rights were divided into minor and major. Greater regal rights (*regalia maiora*) were not granted by the monarch to new bearers permanently, but only for a certain period. This group of rights included, for example, the right to mint coins, the right to extract specified ore, the right of the sword, the salt rack or the customs rack. The monarch used greater royal rights through various chambers, for example mining, salt or coin chambers¹¹.

Smaller regalia rights (*iura regalia minora*) were basically powers derived to other subjects, and the monarchs released them not only to the nobility, but also to the cities. In addition to the right to sell alcoholic beverages, this group of rights also included the rights of a brewery, the right to cut meat, the right of a mill, the right to organize markets, the right to cross the river, the right to collect tolls, and so on. These rights could be acquired separately by the new bearer (e.g., market right, tolls and transport right), or acquired together with the granted or otherwise acquired property to which they belonged (*beneficia dominale*). This group included e.g., wine selling rights (tap right), meat cutting rights, mill rights¹². The right of a selling wine belonged to a group of smaller royal rights, which meant the exclusive rights of their bearer to carry out a specific activity in a certain area. In the case of the right to sell

¹⁰ In the first centuries of the existence of the Hungarian Kingdom, the royal power rested on the principle of private property. During this period, the monarch had the entire kingdom as his own property. He exercised his sovereignty primarily in the military, judicial, political-administrative, legislative, economic and ecclesiastical spheres. In the area of the economy of the patrimonial state, the monarch basically had all property rights. However, he gradually gave up some of them in the form of donations in favour of the church, nobles and other nobility. E. Štenpien, *Svetové dejiny štátu a práva*. Košice 2021, p. 59.

¹¹ Royal chambers already existed in Hungary during the reign of the Árpád dynasty (1000–1301) and were used to manage the royal property. At the end of the 13th century, there were at least six chambers: Ostrihom-Buda, Srijem, Zagreb, Transylvania, Spiš and Satmár. Milan Štefánik, *Banské a mincové komory na území dnešného Slovenska za Arpádovcov a Anjuovcov*. In: Labuda, J. (ed.): *Argentí fodina: Collection of lectures*, Banská Štiavnica, 2018, p. 88–91. See as well B. Hóman, *Magyar pénztörténet 1000–1325*. Budapest 1991, p. 457–460. D. Haas Kianička, *Grófi banskej a mincovnej komory v Kremnici a komorský gróf Konrád Rolner (1440–1446)* „Historical magazine” 69, 2021, No. 3, p. 418.

¹² D. Klimovský, *Rozvoj sídelných a samosprávnych štruktúr na Slovensku do roku 1939*. Available at: <https://www.dvs.cz/clanek.asp?id=6601914> (quot. 10. 1. 2024).

alcoholic beverages, it is an area of economic and specific activity represented by the *tap* itself, i.e., the sale of alcoholic beverages to the consumer¹³.

Hungarian cities often acquired privileges of a different nature when they were founded, but also later, which supported the use of their commercial and economic potential. In Hungary, for example, the free royal cities usually acquired the right to sell drinks upon obtaining a basic privilege, even if sometimes this right was not exhaustively mentioned in the privilege¹⁴. In the Little Carpathian towns, the right to sell alcoholic beverages was one of the most important rights, along with the right to market and the right to store¹⁵. The use of these rights was decided in the cities by the City Council, magistrate and jury¹⁶.

The right to sell alcoholic beverages did not only entitle its holder to sell alcohol (beer, wine, hard alcohol), but also allowed him to open a pub with a tap, in which he was allowed to employ his own barman. Based on this right, its bearer was also entitled to all income from the bar, or sale of alcohol, he was also allowed to determine and regulate the prices of draft alcohol and organize and coordinate the process of the sales in his own way. In the Little Carpathian region, the right to sell belonged mainly to the nobility and cities. Subsequently, the cities ceded this right under certain conditions to their residents, i.e., individual townspeople. The holder of the selling rights did not initially need any other special permit for its application and the realization of the tap itself¹⁷.

The Bratislava Wine Outlet Statute from 1497

The main principles of the application of the right to own a wine outlet are reflected in the individual specimens of preserved wine outlet statutes. In 1497,

¹³ The term „minor regal rights” is a collective designation of the type of real rights to another’s property, which, especially in the period of feudalism, provided the exclusive right of their bearer to perform a certain economic activity or the right to demand a fee for the performance of a certain activity. J. Beňa, T. Gábriš, *Dejiny práva na území Slovenska I (do roku 1918)*, Bratislava 2016, p. 145. See as well J. Sombati, *Aktuálne otázky pozemkového práva z pohľadu právnych dejín*, Bratislava 2020, p. 36.

¹⁴ J. Baďurík, *Výčap nápojov na Slovensku a výčap vína pod viechou (stručný náčrt)*. In: J. Baďurík, P. Kónya, R. Pekník, (ed.), *Nápoje v minulosti a prítomnosti Slovenska*, Prešov 2001, p. 25–26.

¹⁵ The right to sell „in a small way” was determined for subjects in Hungary by Act Art. 36/1550. In villages and estates where vines were grown and wine was made, subjects were allowed to sell wine from Michal (September 29) to Juraj (April 24), and where no vines were grown and wine was not made, they were allowed to sell wine from Michal until Christmas. Subjects could sell their wines only in their houses, so as not to compete with the landlord’s taverns. M. Franko, *Organizácia a správa viničných hôr malokarpatských miest Svätý Jur, Pezinok a Modra (Druhá polovica 16. storočia a 17. storočia)*, Trnava 2018, p. 116.

¹⁶ V. Horváth, D. Lehotská, J. Pleva, (ed.) *Dejiny Bratislavy*, Bratislava 1979, p. 73.

¹⁷ R. Horna, *Výčepnícké právo vinohradníkov na Slovensku a zvlášte v Bratislavě*, Vinařský obzor, 1941, 35, p. 16.

the Bratislava City Council had the wine outlet statute written, which essentially reflects the basic aspects of wine outlet law in the urban environment at the end of the 15th century¹⁸.

This statute in Bratislava codified the right to sell alcoholic beverages, more specifically wine and schnapps, and in its own way regulated the formal conditions for the sale of wine in the city. From the end of the 15th century, we do not know of similar measures that would at least partially create a monopoly position of the city in the field of wine selling. The text of the statute indicates that the Bratislava City Council was already trying to act as a regulatory and control agent in the wine bar and wine trade within the city. The statute clarifies the rules of the private wine outlet, which is addressed to Bratislava and foreign sellers. It follows from its content that it did not have any more significant influence on the territory of the city than the private wine outlet and wine selling and distribution, as it happened in the cities of Little Carpathian in the following centuries. However, this statute is proof of certain efforts of the then City Council to set up and regulate the wine outlets in the city¹⁹.

From the point of view of the formal structure of the statute, the text of the statute could be divided into twelve, more or less, substantial parts. At first glance, it might seem that each part contains a separate regulation, but a more detailed examination shows that these twelve parts can be divided into another seven larger units from the point of view of content, mainly depending on the nature of the regulation of wine selling²⁰.

¹⁸ Archives of the capital of the Slovak Republic Bratislava, City Hall of Bratislava: Business books (taxes, inventories of fraternity assets, guild articles, payments, agreements) / Wirtschaftsbuch 1364–1538, 3 and 1, Inv. No. 11711. [further: AMB, MmB, Wirtschaftsbuch, 1364–1538, sing. 3 and 1, inv. No. 11711.].

¹⁹ The Bratislava wine outlet statute is mentioned in the works of several authors, but without a deeper analysis of the source. See for example: E. Michnay, P. Lichner, *Buda városának törvénykönyve MCCXLIV–MCCCCXXI-ből*, Pozsonyban 1845, p. 124–125, S. Kolosvári, K. Óvári, (ed.). *A magyar törvényhatóságok jogszabályainak gyűjteménye, IV/II*, Budapest 1897, p. 48–51, K. Ballai, *Magyar korcsmák és fogadók a XIII–XVIII. Században*, Budapest 1927, p. 65–68. In addition to referencing the order in German, Ballai also describes the statute in Hungarian. In fact, this work can be evaluated more like a translation, it does not analyse the source in a larger context. However, it is worth noting that in the work he also mentions parts of the given source that do not appear in the original text, and the author does not indicate from which other sources he got this additional information. Another author who mentions this status in his work is Imre Holl. However, Holl did not delve deeper into the statute. In a few sentences, he states the relationships of bar owner and their employees, the time of the wine outlet and the method of marking the location of the wine outlet. I. Holl, *Középkori városi élet – Hiteles borkimérő edények*, „Archeológiai Értesítő”, 1992, No. 1–2, p. 43–56. The author deals with the text of the statute in more detail Attila Tózsza Rigó, see his work A. Tózsza Rigó, *Az 1497 – és Pozsonyi borkimérési statútum*, „Agrártörténeti Szemle. Historia Rerum Rusticarum”, XLVII. Évfolyam, 2006, No. 1–4, p. 201–222. We cannot bypass the work of Slovak authors F. Kalesný: F. Kalesný, *Die Weingärtnerzünfte im Kleinkarpatischen Weinbaugebiet der Slowakei*. In: Z. Fülep, É. Nagybákay, É. Somkuti, (ed.): *II. Internationales Handwerksgeschichtliches Symposium Vesprém 21. – 28. 6. 1982. Band 2*. Vesprém 1983, p. 67–82, 70–71.

²⁰ AMB, MmB, Wirtschaftsbuch, 1364–1538, sing. 3 and 1, Inv. No. 11711.

The first two parts of the text primarily regulate the formal conditions for the sale of wine. In addition to time limits during the day, they also set requirements for marking the wine outlets of individual types of wine²¹. The following, more comprehensive paragraph, can be considered as a separate content unit. It lists the periods of the year during which the sale of wine was prohibited²². The next four parts represent provisions on the relationship between the wine Seller (*Leitgeber*)²³ and the person doing the ordering – the person in charge. They are followed by sections ordering how the barman and the barrel pullers hired by them should handle the wine of the vintner – the customer. The following section, despite its scope, is of considerable importance, as it prohibits wine Sellers from selling their own wine. This already means a certain limitation of the right of free wine selling. The last point of the statute clarifies the wages of employed barman's and barrel pullers (*Weintrager*)²⁴. The mentioned parts are followed by the date of creation of the document and the list of persons present²⁵. It also follows from the statute that in those days the city wine selling was realised under the Town Hall gate, in the cellars of the Franciscans and in the Green House (*Grünstübl*)²⁶. In 1506, a city wine selling was also held in the city armoury in the then Town Hall²⁷.

A detailed examination of the source can provide important information not only about the wine selling and distribution process itself in Bratislava at the end of The Middle Ages, but also provides insight into the customs associated with wine

²¹ „... So sol er anlayn vor seinen haus dess morgens frw so man das preymglöckl lewt vnd kainer sol anlaynen so man verleut hat denselbigen tag Es sey dann das dess abent wein abgingen ...” a „... auf einen Zwiferdigen, so sol er anlaynen ainen Zaiger mit schatten vnd ainen stroben Zopfen der Inn. Item ain virdigen ainen schatten Zaiger. Item ainen hewrigen wein vnter ainem grünen Zaiger...” AMB, MmB, Wirtschaftsbuch, 1364–1538, sing. 3 and 1, Inv. No. 11711.

²² According to the statute, wine was not allowed to be sold, e.g. during church holidays, Easter holidays, during fasting days, on Sundays, on the day of any of the apostles, on New Year's Day, before the main mass in the church of St. Martin and others. AMB, MmB, Wirtschaftsbuch, 1364–1538, sing. 3a1, Inv. No. 11711.

²³ That was a person who dealt with the wine selling, something like an artisan wine barman. The term *Leitgeber* is derived from the Old High German word *Lit* (*leit*), which means fruit wine, and the verb *geben* - to give. The combination of these words means, in a loose translation, to give, to pour fruit wine. H. Traxler, *Die österreichische Weinbuch*, Wien 1963, p. 272.

²⁴ The barrel hauler oversaw transporting wine barrels to and from the cellar, e.g., to the tap. AMB, MmB, Wirtschaftsbuch, 1364–1538, sing. 3a1, Inv. No. 11711. In the Lower Austrian vineyard regulations, the term *Weintrager* or *Wintrager* also referred to a defaulter in a pub. H. Traxler, p. 272.

²⁵ From the conclusion of the statute, we learn, for example, the name of the mayor of Bratislava, who at that time was Peter Kreytz, the name of the mayor Štefan Rieders or the names of individual members of the Bratislava City Council: „... der herausgeschreibs hrn amt. hern petr Kreytz diezeit Richters, hrn Steffan Rieders, diezeit Burg'maisters, hern Andre Holtzer, hrn petr tysenreichs, hrn Wolfgang Knoll hauptman, hrn Jacob aigners, hrn Mathes payer, hrn Niclas Weber, hrn Jacoben hewtener, hern hansen lachenperg, hrn Wolfgang vorsters und hrn Wolfgangk tonlukas – all geschworn des Rats, Christofen Kunigfeld Statschreiber, ...” AMB, MmB, Wirtschaftsbuch, 1364–1538, sing. 3a1, Inv. No. 11711.

²⁶ AMB, MmB, Wirtschaftsbuch, 1364–1538, sing. 3a1, inv. no. 11711. R. Horna, p. 16.

²⁷ M. Franko, p. 52.

consumption. We can form a partial picture of the relationships of the actors involved in the sale of wine and other persons who in this case played the role of the wine outlet sponsor or customer, or of the units of measurement used in the wine selling in the given period. In addition, the resource contains some interesting information about the working conditions and wages of middle – and lower – class city dwellers employed in the bar. It is also clear that this statute can serve as an important resource not only for economic history research, but also for the study of social history and mental identity.

Restriction of private wine outlet

The Bratislava Wine Outlet Statute from 1497 did not limit the right of individuals to freely sell in any fundamental way. We did not notice more significant restrictions on private wine outlets in the Little Carpathian region until the end of the 15th century. Until the end of the 15th century, significant differences in the application of the right to sell wine between individual citizens and the city were not observed in the towns of the Little Carpathians. This situation also suited the small and medium-sized winegrowers, who could sell their wine in their cities. At the end of the Middle Ages, townspeople in Little Carpathian towns were selling their wines without significant restrictions²⁸. But in the first third of the 16th century, the situation began to fundamentally change. The changes flowed from the top, from the individual city and municipal councils, which pursued a single goal – financial profit through the city's wine outlets. City ordinances gradually began to limit the right of the townspeople – winegrowers – to freely sell. Sellers already needed written permission from the City Council to sell wine and other alcoholic beverages, which they obtained only after paying the wine tithe and handing over all mandatory taxes and benefits. They were also not allowed to have any debts towards the city, and the wine outlets began to be subject to much more rigorous control by the cities²⁹. In addition, we must not forget the older bans on wine selling during church holidays, or in the week on which the holiday of St. Bartholomew (August 24) and St. Martin (November 11), in the week of the feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24) and so on³⁰.

Little Carpathian cities tried to get the most out of the right to sell alcoholic beverages and therefore introduced the so-called *Bannzeit* (Bann, Panzeug, Bannszeit), which was a kind of time-limited embargo, during which only city wine was sold in the city³¹. At the time of the *Bannzeit*, any private wine outlet was

²⁸ R. Horna, p. 16.

²⁹ R. Horna, 16–17.

³⁰ AMB, MmB, Wirtschaftsbuch, 1364–1538, sing. 3 and 1, Inv. No. 11711.

³¹ Bratislava city statutes from 1617: „... *Desswegen dann ein Ehre. Rath in bannzeiten von haus zu haus einsagen lassen ...*”, S. Kolosvári, K. Óvári, (ed.): p. 289. See as well Book of Oaths and Instructions Modra. State archive in Bratislava, branch Modra: Municipality of the city of Modra, Liber statutorum 1617–1664, Inv. No. 1296. (further: ŠA BA, pM, MnM, Liber statutorum 1617–1664, Inv. No. 1296.).

prohibited on the territory of the city. Without a special permit from the City Council, even the nobility without land, the maniple of the castle and even church institutions (e.g., the *Kapitula* – castle) were not allowed to sell their wines in the free royal cities. City senators often complained about noble manors where wine, beer and meat were sold freely and cheaply, damaging the city's wine outlets and steakhouse³². Cities tried to limit e.g. the wine outlet of the Ostrihom Archbishop or the Bratislava Castle³³. In the Little Carpathian region, the *Bannzeit* is mentioned for the first time in Bratislava in 1532³⁴. The aforementioned Bratislava Wine Outlet Statute from 1497 did not limit the right to free wine outlet in such a fundamental way, therefore the *Bannzeit* in Bratislava must have been introduced sometime in the first third of the 16th century. It gradually spread to other Little Carpathian towns, such as Pezinok, Modra and St. Jur³⁵. Individual City Councils first determined and approved the dates of the *Bannzeit*, and these were then publicly announced in the city (by drumming) and also announced at regular meetings of the local winegrowers. The reasons for the approval of the *Bannzeit* by the individual City Councils were purely economic and its origin was probably related to the surplus of city wine that was accumulating in the city cellars at that time³⁶.

The city obtained a lot of wine not only by purchase, but also through mandatory contributions from the townspeople (e.g., from tithes or from the upper house)³⁷.

Bannzeit is also related to the emergence of the function of the controller, the so-called *Bannmeister*, who had city guards (*Wächters*, Guardians) at his disposal at the time of the city wine outlets period and together they checked compliance with the prohibition of private wine outlets on the territory of the city³⁸. If the *Bannmeister*

³² D. Čechová, *Malokarpatské vinohradníctvo v kontexte daňového zaťaženia obyvateľstva Modry, Pezinka a Svätého Jura. Druhá polovica 17. storočia a prvá polovica 18. Storočia*, Trnava 2019, p. 16.

³³ M. Štefánik, J. Lukačka, *Lexikón stredovekých miest na Slovensku*, Bratislava 2010, p. 120.

³⁴ J. Baďurík, p. 26. See as well R. Horna, p. 17.

³⁵ See e.g. entry for the year 1619 in the Modra Book of Statutes and Instructions. At the time of the sale of town wines, individual townspeople were not allowed to sell their wines in the town. ŠA BA, pM, MnM, Liber statutorum 1617–1664, Inv. No. 1296.

³⁶ Cities needed to monetize the city's wines to raise funds to cover the city's overhead, city expenses, and royal taxes. J. Baďurík, p. 26.

³⁷ The special fee so called *hōme* (*pergrecht*, *ius montium chibriones*) represented the vineyard's fee for the right to grow vines and collect fruit from them, and the vineyard paid it to the landowner or the city in kind, i.e. in wine, must or in monetary form. It was picked every year at a specified time in a specified place and was always measured in advance for the vineyard. Archives of the capital of the Slovak Republic Bratislava, City Hall of Bratislava. Actionale prototcollum, 1402–1506, 2and1, Inv. No. 10662., alebo J.N. Weis, *Cistercienser- Stiftes Heiligenkreuz im Wiener Walde. I. Theil*. In *Fontes rerum Austriacarum. Oesterreichische Geschichts-Quellen. Diplomataria et Acta, XI. Band*, Wien, 1856, p. 63.

³⁸ The *Bannmeister* mainly had control powers and his scope was defined territorially. State archive in Bratislava, branch Modra, Book of Oaths and Instructions, *Liber juramentorum ab Anno 1607 usque Annum 1643*, Inv. No. 1307. (ďalej iba ŠA BA, pM, MmM, Kniha prisah a inštrukcií, inv. č. 1307.). K tejto funkcii pozri práce A. Tózsa Rigó, *Pozsony város költségvetése a 16. század*

discovered a private wine outlet during Prohibition, the owner of the wine outlet was threatened not only with a heavy fine by the city, but also with the loss of the right to sell and distribute wine „for ever”³⁹. *Bannzeit* literally served to shut down competition in the form of individual townspeople. During the *Bannzeit*, the original wine outlet and wine selling right in the Little Carpathian cities was significantly modified and literally split into municipal wine outlet right and individual wine outlet right. So, already in the first half of the 16th century, we notice significant differences in the application of the right to sell wine between the town and its inhabitants in the towns of Little Carpathians.

Realisation of the wine outlet

The wine distribution could take place either in a small wine outlet – wine tavern (German: Kegel, Buschenschrank), or in a large one „unter der Reifen”, which was the sale of whole barrels⁴⁰. The method of selling wine „in small”, under the wine tavern so called *viecha*, probably developed in the yards or in the basements of the vineyard houses from the neighbourhood tasting of new wine, and from the old right of the townspeople to sell their economic surpluses. According to custom, winegrowers were allowed to sell their wines in corks at a precisely determined time⁴¹. *Viecha*, it was a space where taps were served, that is, in front of the house, in the house (German: Leutgebhaus) or in the yard of the house. A wine selling in this wine outlet was mentioned for the first time in the Little Carpathian region in Bratislava in 1379. At that time, vineyard owners were allowed to sell their own wines in their homes⁴².

In the Little Carpathian region, the seller had to properly label the wine outlet⁴³. A metal or wooden rod (Stang) was used to mark the wine outlet, on which a wreath woven from brambles or vine leaves was hung⁴⁴. The wine outlet could also be marked with a wooden or metal shield with the motif of vine leaves or

második negyedében. A városi számadáskönyvek elemzési lehetőségeiről. „Történelmi Szemle”, 2011, 53, p. 58. a F. Kalesný, Szőlőműves céhek a szlovákiai Kis-Kárpátok bortermő vidékén. In: II. Nemzetközi kézművesipartörténeti szimpózium. Veszprém, 1984, p. 87–88.

³⁹ „... wo aber einer daruber ergriffen wurde sol Im das lewtgeben in ewige Zeiten versagt sein”. AMB, MmB, Wirtschaftsbuch, 1364–1538, sing. 3 and 1, Inv. No. 11711.

⁴⁰ ŠA BA, pM, MnM, Liber statutorum 1617–1664, Inv. No. 1296.

⁴¹ Municipality of the city of Modra, Liber statutorum 1637: „... Wer einen weinzaig will ausstecken, der soll solches in Sommer frie umb 5, im Winter aber umb 7 Uhr thuen ...”, ŠA BA, pM, MnM, Liber statutorum 1617–1664, Inv. No. 1296.

⁴² AMB, MmB, Wirtschaftsbuch, 1364–1538, sing. 3 and 1, Inv. No. 11711.

⁴³ Entry in the Bratislava city protocol from 1639: „... dass ein iedweder, wenn er zu Leutgebh willens, den Zaiger vor tags auslaihne ...”, S. Kolosvári, K. Óvári, (ed.): c. d., p. 381.

⁴⁴ „... sein stang und Zaig aussleut ...”. ŠA BA, pM, MnM, Liber statutorum 1617–1664, Inv. No. 1296.

grapes (Zaig, Weinzaig)⁴⁵. The markings, a pole with a wreath or a shield, signalled that wine was being sold in a given yard or house and therefore had to be visibly placed near the place where the sale was taking place⁴⁶. The shield used to be placed directly on the house, and a pole with a wreath was inserted into the ground at the entrance of the house or the place where the wine outlet was located. Sometimes a head of cabbage in the colour of the wine being sold was put on the pole. A white head signalled a white wine sale and a red one a red wine sale. They also used to tie coloured ribbons in the colour of the wine that was being sold (white and red) to the wreath. In Bratislava, in the 17th century, there was also such a practice that the person interested in wine selling had the opportunity to borrow the label for the wine outlet from the city. Before the wine selling, with the help of the city guard, he placed it in front of his wine tavern, and after the wine selling, he again hung it with the help of the city guard and returned it⁴⁷.

Until the 16th century, the official start of a wine selling in Little Carpathian towns was with the morning ringing of a bell (*primglöck, preymlöckl*) and the planting of a pole or the hanging of a shield⁴⁸. The end of the wine selling was also announced by the bell with its last evening ring (*bierglöck*). After the last ring of the bell, the wine Seller had to end the wine selling and pull out the pole or hang up the shield. This officially ended the wine selling for the day⁴⁹. In the 17th century, however, this custom changed, and the Little Carpathian Town Councils no longer limited the beginning and end of the wine selling by ringing the bell. Every year they determined the time of the wine selling, e.g. In 1642, the Bratislava City Council ordered that in the summer it was allowed to sell wine until 9 p.m. and in the winter until 8 p.m.⁵⁰. In Modra, the local City Council determined in 1637 that the wine selling in the city would start at 5 p.m. in the summer and at 7 p.m. in the winter⁵¹. In 1640, they set the end of the wine selling in the summer at 10 p.m. and in the winter at 8 p.m.⁵².

⁴⁵ „... *Wer einen weinzaig will ausstecken ...*” alebo „... *und Zaig aussleut ...*”. ŠA BA, pM, MnM, Liber statutorum 1617–1664, Inv. No. 1296.

⁴⁶ ŠA BA, pM, MnM, Liber statutorum 1617–1664, Inv. No. 1296. Pozri tiež S. Kolosvári, K. Óvári, (ed.): c. d., p. 386–387.

⁴⁷ Entry from 1639: „... *den Zaiger vor tags auslaihne , Vbergehern dessen soll durch gemainen Gerichtsdienner, der Zaiger weggenommen werden*”. Tamže, p. 305, 381.

⁴⁸ „... *so man das preymglöckl lewt ...*”. AMB, MmB, Wirtschaftsbuch, 1364–1538, sing. 3 and 1, Inv. No. 11711.

⁴⁹ For example, in Bratislava, the wine selling began with the first ringing of the bell on the Franciscan church in the morning and ended with its last ringing in the evening. R. Horna: c. d., p. 17.

⁵⁰ „... *vnd soll keiner vber 9 Vhr im Sommer, Winterszeit aber vber 8 Vhr den Zaiger steken lassen...*” S. Kolosvári, K. Óvári, (ed.): c. d., p. 381.

⁵¹ „*Wer einen weinzaig will ausstecken, der soll solches in Sommer früe umb 5, im Winter aber umb 7 Uhr thuen ...*”. Tamže, p. 387.

⁵² „... *zu winterszeit umb 8 Uhr Abends und im Sommer umb 10 Uhr geleitet wirdt, ...*”. Tamže, p. 407.

A wine Seller who was selling wine after the bell or after the specified hour was threatened with a fine and loss of the right to sell wine⁵³. However, in the 17th century, town councils routinely granted exemptions to wine outlets for the „closing hour”. An entry from the 17th century has been preserved in the Mora Book of Oaths and Instructions, which states that wine may only be sold until nine o’clock in the evening, otherwise the bar owner was warned by the guard. After again exceeding the specified time, not only the wine outlet owner was punished, but also all the guests who were drinking there at that time⁵⁴.

We would like to at least briefly approach the issue of draft wines themselves. Originally, winegrowers – wine sellers were only allowed to sell the wine that they themselves produced in their vineyards. This wine was allowed to be sold directly to the consumer and was basically intended for immediate consumption. However, the situation gradually changed, and in the 15th century it was common to sell wine that the wine Seller did not finish, but bought outside the city, e.g., in the surrounding vineyards. The townspeople of Bratislava bought wine in St. Jur, which they subsequently were selling in their own city⁵⁵. Old wine (*virdigen*, *vierdig*), young wine (*heurigen*, *heurig*)⁵⁶ and wine cider (*most*)⁵⁷ were sold in the Little Carpathian region. The individual varieties and their names, as we know them today, were not known at that time, and the wine was distinguished mainly by colour (red, white), age (old, young), by origin (Pezina, Svatojurská, Bratislava, Modranská, Limbaška etc.), according to quality into average (*mittelmässig*), sharp (*frisch*) and good (*gut*). In addition, in the writings we also

⁵³ Entry in the St. Jur protocol from 5. 3. 1621: „... *Schleusst die Gemein, dass niemandt über 6 Uhr und dem Glockenklang leutgeben soll bei 5 fl. straff ...*”, State archive in Bratislava, Municipality of the city Jur near Bratislava, Minutes from City Council meetings, 1618–1676, Inv. No. 613.

⁵⁴ ŠA BA, pM, MmM, Book of Oaths and Instructions, Inv. No. 1307.

⁵⁵ In 1439, 3,250 liters of St. George’s wine were sold at the Zelený dom tavern in Bratislava. D. Gahér, *Vinohradníctvo na majetkoch grófov zo Svätého Jura a Pezinka v neskorom stredoveku*. In: M. Grófová, J. Lukačka, (ed.): *Vinicola Carpathensis*, K 65. narodeninám univ. prof. PhD. Jozefa Baďuríka, CSc. Bratislava 2011, p. 60.

⁵⁶ In the Bratislava city protocols several references have been preserved, in which young and old wines are mentioned and even their prices. For example, the entry from 17 December 1597 states: „... *und das man den vierdig Wein die Achterin 5 per 12 d. hung. den heurigen per 10 d. h. leitgeben soll ...*”. Archives of Bratislava, the capital of the Slovak Republic, the City Hall of Bratislava, Minutes from City Council meetings (*Sitzungsprotokolle des Stadtrats*), 1589–1606, 2 and 6, Inv. No. 10667. (Further: AMB, MmB, Minutes from City Council meetings, 1589–1606, 2 and 6, Inv. No. 10667.).

⁵⁷ Apple and pear cider was occasionally sold in Bratislava, but the City Council tried to ban it. In 1595, this happened, and the Bratislava City Council expressly forbade selling of apple and pear cider in the city, which also forbade the importation. Entry from August 7, 1595: „*Niemandt Öppl oder Pirnmost alhie leitgeben, noch yber land fuehren soll*”. AMB, MmB, Minutes from City Council meetings, 1589–1606, 2 and 6, Inv. No. 10667. In St. Jur in the past, the cider sale was limited, e.g., in 1651, cider was not allowed to be sold on the territory of the city before St. Michal’s day (September 29). State archive in Bratislava, branch Modra: Municipality of the city of St. Jur near Bratislava, Minutes from City Council Meetings, 1618–1676, Inv. No. 615, 616.

encounter wines that are labelled as sage, rosemary, thyme, spicy, alum (alaunaticum), absinthe, punch, sulphurous, fiery, calcareous, sand-wine (*Sandwein*) and so on⁵⁸. Pigmental, dessert or stomach wines had a special status⁵⁹. In today's understanding, we could classify these wines in the category of blends made from several cultivars (varieties). However, it is natural, because the cities of that time received cider, or wine, from the title of tithes and so called fee – *hôrne* from dozens of winegrowers, mixed from all the cultivars of that time. The most widespread cultivars in the Little Carpathian region in the period from the 15th to the 19th century were Silvan green, Veltliner green and Veltliner red. It was not until the 17th and 18th centuries that we began to encounter individual names of varieties – wines. For all of them we can mention e.g., *Viridula* (locally Grünlagler), *Tumidula* (*Weissen Zapfler*), *Cyrobotry* – *Cirifandle* (today Silvan), *Frankula* (Franckl, Frank), *Albula* (*Mehlweiss*), *Runcinulu*, *Melituli* (*Honigle*, *Honigweinbeer*, Honey-wine-beer), *Grandikuly* (*Grozláky*, *Grosslagler*), *Muscats*, *Cuspiduli*, *Scirpuly*, *Hyppura*, *Tvrdky* (*Kozie cecky* – Goat's boobs) and so on⁶⁰. In the Little Carpathian region, single-cellar wines had a special status, e.g., *Svätojurský samotok* (*German: Ausbruch*, Pinot Cuveé)⁶¹. The hardness or softness of these wines depended on the terrain and climatic factors, as well as on the soil. In the Little Carpathian region, quality white wines predominated in vineyard production during the monitored period. As for the ratio of white and red wines, in the 16th and 17th centuries white wines clearly predominated in the Little Carpathian region – red wine production accounted for only 5–10% of the total production⁶².

In individual cities, City Council also set prices for the quantity of sold wine. A similar practice also worked in other Little Carpathian cities, which tried to regulate and control the wine selling of alcoholic beverages on their territory. In Bratislava in 1578, the City Council set the price for one *achtering* (pint) of wine (1.6968 litres) at 10 denars⁶³. In 1600, the City Council determined 12 denarii for a pint of undefined

⁵⁸ F. Malík, *Víno Malých Karpát*, Bratislava 2005, p. 10–11.

⁵⁹ Jozef Baďurík, *Weinbau in der südwestlichen Slowakei am Beginn der Neuzeit (16.–17. Jahrhundert)*, in *Wein und Weinbau. Tagungsband der 18. und 19. Schläiningen Gespräche 1998 und 1999*, Eisenstadt 2016, p. 50.

⁶⁰ For old varieties, see e.g.: Tibenský, J.: *Matej Bel o svätojurskom víne*. Bratislava 1984, 75 p. or F. Malík, p. 10–15.

⁶¹ It was a sweet botrytis wine, which was described in detail in his writings by the polyhistor, Matej Bel who was from Ocova. Local winemakers made it by adding botrytis-infected grapes to the wine from the same year, thereby sweetening it. They then traded this wine all over Central Europe. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, it was among the most expensive wines in both the Austrian and Hungarian parts of the Monarchy. The first written mention of this wine dates to 1635. F. Malík, p. 10.

⁶² Jozef Baďurík, *Aké vína pili naši predkovia ?* Naša univerzita, 2017, No. 9, p. 22.

⁶³ „... Dass man hinfüro die Achterin Vmb 10 den. Leütgeben ...“, Archive of the Capital City of SR Bratislava, City Hall of Bratislava, Minutes from City Council meetings (*Sitzungsprotokolle des Stadtrats*), 1578–1589, 2 and 5, Inv. No. 10666.

wine⁶⁴. Old wine was being sold in Modra in 1637 for 1 *holb* (0.884 litres) 8 denars⁶⁵. In St. Jur, in 1648, young wine was being sold for 6 denarii and in free houses for 5 denarii per *holb*⁶⁶. In the preserved protocols of individual City Council, entries appear from time to time that inform us that the old customs regarding the wine selling were regularly confirmed in the city territory or modified or supplemented by new regulations⁶⁷.

Conclusions

At the end of The Middle Ages in Hungary, the right to sell wine permeated the broader layers of society and played an important role in western Slovakia, especially in the creation and development of free royal cities there, such as Bratislava, Trnava, Modra, Pezinok and St. Jur. This right also played a significant role in the process of economic and economic growth of the local burghers. In the urban environment of the Small Carpathian region, in the 16th century, the right to sell wine was fundamentally modified and split into the right to sell wine for cities and the right to sell wine for individuals – townspeople. This right acquired new specifics, and in the Little Carpathian region the following centuries also saw significant differences in its application between individuals and cities. Based on the application of the right to sell wine, in the observed period we can get at least a partial picture of the internal trade and wine market not only in individual Little Carpathian wine-growing towns, but also in the entire Little Carpathian region. We believe that, at least in basic terms, we have managed to present and clarify the implementation of the wine selling in the Little Carpathian cities and at the same time point out its specificities in the urban environment. The wine cellar had fixed rules in Little Carpathian towns, which were supervised by the individual town councils and their violation was severely sanctioned. The wine outlet *viecha* was a popular way of selling wine and remained unchanged in the Little Carpathian region until the middle of the 20th century.

⁶⁴ Minutes from 19. 5. 1600: „*Rhat und Gemain beschlossen, hinfüro den Wein 12 d.hg. die pint zue leitgeben*” AMB, MmB, Minutes from City Council meeting, 1589–1606, 2 and 6, Inv. No. 10667.

⁶⁵ „*Item. Betreffendt die übrigen alten Weine, sollen dieselben die halbe per 8 den. geleitgebt werden*”. Minutes to the year 1637. ŠA BA, pM, MnM, Liber statutorum 1617–1664, Inv. No. 1296.

⁶⁶ „*Communi voto wirdt beschlossen, daß man den heurigen Wein zu 6. dn. leitgeben soll, aber wann in freyen heusern umb 5 dn. leitgeben thun, mag die Burgerschafft auch so leitgeben, der eß than will*”. S. Kolosvári, K. Óvári, (eds.), p. 426.

⁶⁷ Entry in the Bratislava city protocol from 1619: „*Es soll auch hiemit der alte Gebrauch im Leutgeben renovirt Vndt bestättiget sein, ...*”, Archive of the Capital City of SR Bratislava, City Hall of Bratislava, Minutes from City Council meetings (*Sitzungsprotokolle des Stadtrats*), 1607–1621, 2 and 7, Inv. No. 10670.