

A muster-list from town Krupina from year 1559¹

ZOLTÁN PÉTER BAGI

Municipal Archive of Győr, Hungary

Abstract: After the first muster and thus the initial payment, wages of the recruited were handed out rather erratically, and each time they were mustered again by appointed muster officials. Konrad Wallen von Aurach's report on Francis Bornemissza's accusations concerning the Krupina payment issues provide a good picture on both the musters and the payment process, also on the possible or actual methods of mistreatment and fraud. Documents of this type are, unfortunately, quite rare, but through them we can improve our view on 16th century military organization and the everyday life of the recruited.

Keywords: muster register, organization of army, military ranks, Ottoman-Hungarian conflict, Krupina, Konrad Wallen von Aurach, Francis Bornemissza, John Krusich.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24040/ahn.2021.24.02.99-111>

Today we practically take it for granted that our salaries are paid on a monthly basis, but 16th century soldiers' wages were quite different. After the first muster and thus the initial payment, wages of the recruited were handed out rather erratically, and each time they were mustered again by appointed muster officials. Thanks to a controversy between Konrad Wallen von Aurach (imperial counsellor and muster official) and Francis Bornemissza (muster commissioner of the Hungarian *Hofkammer*) concerning John Krusich, the muster register, dated 1559 January 26th, remained extant until today. It contains also the description of the entire mustering process, along with a collection of possible frauds.

With the loss of the Nógrád county strongholds in 1552 and that of Fil'akovo in 1554, the economically important mining towns of Lower Hungary became threatened. To protect the strategically significant towns, court in Vienna appointed John Balassa, count (in Hungarian *ispán* or Latin *comes*) and captain of Zvolen (*comes et capitaneus Zoliensis*).² According to the muster from 1559, his command included the armies ordered to Levice, Čabrad', Krupina, Pukanec, Sitno and Modrý Kameň – these riders and footmen were royal recruits, to serve in a

¹ This paper was supported by the János Bolyai Research Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

² PÁLFFY, Géza: A török elleni védelmi rendszer szervezetének története a kezdetektől a 18. század elejéig. In: *Történelmi Szemle*. 1996, Vol. 38, No. 2-3, 185–186.

“thin line of defense” against the Ottoman troops stationed in Fil’akovo, Drégely and Szécsény.³ Aurach and Bornemissza were ordered in late 1558 to muster them and pay them. Once the troops in Levice were inspected and they set off to Krupina. Bornemissza raised accusations against Krusich already en route to Krupina, warning the other official that Krusich must be kept under close scrutiny, being a dishonest man who had severely deceived the emperor during musters. According to the claim, Krusich had mistreated his recruits by not handing out their paid wages to them. What is more, he had not even actually maintained the amount of cavalry and infantry listed in the muster register. Bornemissza was supposedly informed that their arrival had been communicated to the Krusich in advance, and he would hire cheap horses and local peasantry, thus diverting the received monthly wages into his own coffers after the muster and payments.⁴ Bornemissza’s accusations against Krusich were not unfamiliar in the military scene of the 16th century Hungarian Kingdom. Ákos Csányi had reported similar issues in his 1558 September 10th letter to Thomas Nádasdi about the recruitment of the armies in Southern Transdanubia, claiming that most of the men attended only the musters and thus the army produced the correct numbers only when inspected. In addition, there was foul play involved with the recruiters as well, as they shared the exact time of the muster and hired all sorts of people (merchants, barbers, servants) for a pre-negotiated sum. Once the appointed muster officials paid the wages for the “fake” soldiers, these handed over the received sum to the recruiters. Of course, this undermined the strength of the defense forces, which was known to the enemy as well.⁵

Thus Bornemissza accused Krusich of a “customary practice”, that of fraudulent musters – without direct evidence. The muster officer further denigrated Krusich, on the one hand questioning his valor and commitment as he neglected to act against the Turks and he would be to blame if the Christian would lose these perimeter areas. Furthermore, he knew from a trustworthy source that Krusich was a harlot’s offspring, born into a lowly family without honor, and had got into the possession of his wealth and power through theft. In his opinion, Krusich would deserve serious punishment. Bornemissza told all this to Aurach so that the latter could interrogate people at Krupina and ascertain what kind of man

³ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖStA), Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA), Hungarica (H), Allgemeine Akten (AA), Fasciculus (Fasc.) 80, Konvolutum (Konv.) B, folio (fol.) 43r–44v.

⁴ ÖStA, HHStA, H AA, Fasc. 80, Konv. A, fol. 80v–81r.

⁵ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltár (Hungarian National Archives) Budapest, Magyar Kamara Archívuma, E 185 Nádasdi family archives, Missiles, 7. d., Csányi Ákos to Nádasdi Tamás nr. 264–265.

Krusich was. According to Bornemissza, the counsellors of the Hungarian treasury had explicitly warned him about the lord's lack of honor and that they needed to keep him watched. Aurach, however, doubted that the counsellors had given such advice and could not find anything related in the instructions given to Bornemissza.

Aurach responded that he considered Krusich to be an honorable man and had mustered Krusich as *Hauptmann* in Krupina two times already: first on 1557 July 22nd, together with John Balassa and Jörg Widmer, then second time on 1558 July 11th, with muster scribe Achaz Zandegger and a Hungarian official. This would be his third time to muster Krusich. At the two earlier musters, Aurach had got to know Krusich to be an honest and honorable man who had not committed any frauds. Detailed accounts should be checked in the military payments offices. He added that if all matters in the Hungarian Kingdom would be handled as they were in Krupina, the emperor could be very satisfied.

Aurach also mentioned Krusich's role in the Schmalkaldic War (1546-1547) in this Saxon campaign, he and his two cavalry squads had fought well for Charles V, distinguished himself, and was said to capture some thousand silver Tallers as well. Additionally, Ferdinand I was said to gift golden necklaces to Francis Tahy, Bertalan Horváth and other knights, the latter including Krusich as well.⁶

This only enraged Bornemissza more; he stated that the Saxony campaign had been dishonorable as well, Bertalan Horváth being even ashamed of it. He also explained that no Germans should be called a knight unless he had actually fought the Turks in the field. Aurach protested that he looked down on his countrymen, which upset the other official even further.

However, Aurach kept defending Krusich, mentioning that the lord had provided a lease of 12000 Guldens to the emperor at the latest muster to pay his troops, which was repaid to him from the taxes voted by the Silesian nobles. This is worth a small detour: the 1558 treasury documents show that Krusich had indeed credited the monarchy on the army payments. According to a protocol made in 1558 Jul 28, the sum involved was 11824 Guldens, 26 Pennies and 1 Denarius, indeed covered later by the taxes voted into effect at the Silesia province assembly.⁷

⁶ MALINIÁK, Pavol – NAGY, Imrich (eds.): *Turek na obzore (Z prameňov k uhorsko-osman-ským vzťahom)*. Kraków, 2013, 101–102.

⁷ ÖStA, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv (FHKA), Alte Hoffinanz (AHF), Protokollum (Pr.) Registratur (Reg.) Bücher (B.), No. 234, fol. 81v 1558. May 20.; ÖStA, FHKA, AHF, Pr. Reg. B., No. 234, fol. 95r 1558. June 11.; ÖStA, FHKA, AHF, Pr. Reg. B., No. 234, fol. 108r 1558. June 27.; ÖStA, FHKA, AHF, Pr. Reg. B., No. 234, fol. 109r 1558. June 29.; ÖStA, FHKA, AHF, Pr. Reg. B., No. 234, fol. 131v 1558. July 28.

According to another order from November 9th, the 11700 Tallers voted by the nobles did arrive from Vienna, to be paid to Krusich.⁸

In addition, Krusich contributed in other ways to the financials of the Kingdom of Hungary, also to the maintenance of the stationed army. According to a treasury protocol from 1558 October 10th, Hans Scharberg and Francesco de Pozzo were ordered to take out the lordship of Čabrad' from deposit and give over to Krusich, along with the inventory.⁹ The new owner paid 7000 Guldens altogether for Čabrad', promising that 2000 of this would be spent on the maintenance of the castle.¹⁰

But back to Aurach's defense: apart from the credit, he pointed out that the mining towns, Banská Štiavnica especially, were satisfied with Krusich, and he had heard nothing but good about him from Ritschan Sarligen, Hans von Lenkovic and Gaspar Dominics as well.¹¹ Bornemissza had an answer for that, too, and claimed that Dominics, *ex-Hauptmann* of Muráň, had been recently caught in the act of a several-hundred-Gulden fraud. To this Aurach said he had mustered Dominics more than once and found him always honorable. He argued that if these had been true, Krusich's *Leutnant*, one of his *Hauptleute*, or someone from the personnel would have certainly reported him.

During the debate along the road, Bornemissza brought a sort of *ultima ratio* argument that Aurach and his hostess had been showered with gifts (horse, carpets, other fine wares) by Krusich, that being why Aurach was biased toward him. Though these accusations were rejected, Aurach added that at the first muster, Krusich had indeed promised him to give him valuables captured from the Ottomans.

On the evening of January 29th, 1559, Bornemissza and Aurach arrived to Krupina in a markedly hostile mood. At that time Krusich was preparing his wedding with 17-year-old Catharina Pálffy,¹² so the muster officers agreed that they would not disturb the upcoming ceremony and festivities by starting the muster, and they would rather note down their experiences at Levice instead. In addition, they decided that Bornemissza should go to castle of Sitno with Aurach's servant, to inspect the thirty-two infantrymen and eight light cavalry recruited by the emperor and serving under Krusich's command. Aurach also ordered the "delegation" that he should be diligently informed about the matters

⁸ ÖStA, FHKA, AHF, Pr. Reg. B., No. 234, fol. 235v 1558. November 9.; ÖStA, FHKA, AHF, Pr. Reg. B., No. 234. fol. 254r 1558. December 3.

⁹ ÖStA, FHKA, AHF, Pr. Reg. B., No. 234, fol. 200v 1558. October 10.

¹⁰ MALINIÁK, P. – NAGY, I. (eds.): *Turek na obzore*, 109.

¹¹ SARUSI KISS, Béla: *A természet által megerősített vár. Murány végvár és uradalma a 16. század második felében*. Budapest, 2008, *passim*.

¹² MALINIÁK, P. – NAGY, I. (eds.): *Turek na obzore*, 109.

there, especially about matters of payments. Krusich provided his version of the muster register, which included the names of the new footmen recruited in lieu of those ending their service. At the muster, however, it turned out that there was something amiss with the register, as the new recruits were not listed. The “old” register of Sitno evidenced that names of the nine leavers were struck out only recently, with the “*weg*” (away) particle only recently added. That is how we know the names of the leavers: Albert Boronay, Pál Szőke, Bálint Szabó, Mihály Sallai, Jankó Ilmosy, Istvány Gyurcza, Lukács Cserfeszki, Orbán Dikerszi, and Márton Sőksi. Another separate sheet listed the new recruits: Tamás Gulovic, Antal Gulya, Lackó Balog, Lukács Kovács, Péter Mátyás, Stefko Fraun, Simon von Sanktdillen, Kelemen Sulló, Gyurkó Durini. Their names entered the new register and the account made on December 31st, 1558.¹³ Another hand, in pencil, complemented the former with their times of service. According to this, Durini and Sulló had served six months, the others five, up until the compilation of the new muster list. This is important as the mentioned separate sheet claims that all nine footmen were recruited on August 2nd and 3rd, 1558, meaning that in fact, five months of their service had passed until December 31st, 1558. Thus it is not clear what happened with the entries about Sulló and Durini. Perhaps a simple mistake – it must be noted that the separate page does include Sanktdillen, the new register lists student György. In their cases, a mistake must have been made, as the latter name is included in both the “old” and later register. The five months of service attributed to him must refer actually refer to Sanktdillen.

Unfortunately, even less can be ascertained about the cavalry. It is sure that Krusich had six squads here, while castellan (in Hungarian *porkoláb* or Latin *castellanus*)¹⁴ Bálint Nagy had two cavalry squads. The names of the cavalrymen were recorded in pencil and have faded to be unintelligible by today.¹⁵

It is not only the mismatches in the Sitno muster registers that were discovered by Bornemissza and by Aurach’s servant. They also noted that the soldiers here complained about their payments. They claimed Krusich had failed to hand over their full payments, thus they were not able to sustain themselves in the castle. The infantrymen demanded that their captain would provide 10, 20, 60 or 80 Hungarian Denars, within eight or fourteen days.

¹³ ÖStA, HHStA, H AA, Fasc. 80, Konv. A, fol. 11r–v.

¹⁴ SZATLÓCZKI, Gábor: *Vár a várbán. A várak népe és a mezei hadak a 16. század közepén. I. rész. A várak népe*. Szeged, 2016, passim.

¹⁵ ÖStA, HHStA, H AA, Fasc. 80, Konv. A, fol. 19r–24v.

In addition, Bornemissza informed Aurach that he must carry out a similar investigation with the Krupina army: had Krusich paid the 7000 Guldens from the Čabrad' province deposit to his own armies or not? The other responded that 2000 of the 7000 Guldens were to be spent on the "maintenance works" of the Čabrad' stronghold, and Krusich was accountable for the remaining 5000. The sum was supposed to contribute to the Čabrad' men, with the Krupina and Sitno troops paid two months' worth in cash and one month in felt cloth.

This way of handling the payments soon induced an unexpected backlash. The window of Aurach's quarters opened to a square, enabling him to see that Krusich left with most of his highborn squad leads (*Edelleute*). An hour later, however, some of them approached the official and the servant Matthias Kamrer, inquiring about how they would be paid. Aurach replied that in the same manner as had happened in Levice, two months in money, one in felt cloth. To this the squad leads replied that they were to be able to continue service with such meager payments, as they would receive only three months' pay for five months of service. Bornemissza had told them that Krusich owed 7000 Guldens to the emperor due to the Čabrad' deposits, which should be handed out by the lord as soldiers' wages. Aurach responded to the complainers that they were misinformed by the treasury officer, repeating what he had told to Bornemissza, that 2000 of the 7000 Guldens must be spent on the works at the Čabrad' stronghold buildings. The rest of the money is supposed to cover the payments to Michal Fitschor and the personnel at Čabrad'. Only what remained could be used to finance their wages, and only in such a way that they receive two months' pay in cash and one in felt cloth. Though not entirely satisfied, the *Edelleute* left Aurach's chambers. When Bornemissza arrived, the other official grilled him for his insurrecting claims. Soon enough Krusich joined them and demanded explanation for the situation, even threatening Bornemissza with filing a complaint at the emperor – to which Bornemissza argued that he had only carried out the instructions of the Hungarian treasury. Due to what they had found at the Sitno muster, he explicitly stated his opinion that Krusich would in some way try to swindle at the muster.

To solve the situation, Aurach suggested starting the muster of the Krupina armies immediately. Krusich was cooperative and claimed that he was sure about the truth that there were no cavalryman or footman either "borrowed" or with false names in the register. Should there be any, he demanded they were to be rescinded at once. He also explained knowing about many enviers and enemies, but he had the reputation of a God-fearing and honest man. With that he immediately called for the muster to commence.

Aurach and Bornemissza aligned that they would sit next to each other at the muster, and should the latter see an improperly equipped soldier or any other suspicious person, he would secretly signal the other by a clandestine kick to the foot or by calling out to the persons in question. In the cold weather fitting January, the whole army personnel in Krupina were ordered onto the field outside town. Servants closed the only open gate and citizens were warned that the muster commenced.

Inspection of the Hungarian cavalymen stationed at Krupina came first. Then the sixty-two Hungarian *darabonts*¹⁶ under Sebestyén Nagy's command and the forty-one German ones headed by *Hauptmann* Georg Prechtl. According to the register, these were found well fitted and without absences. Those who raised doubts due to their gear, horse, name or time of service were diligently questioned by Aurach and Bornemissza. According to Aurach, the latter showed excessive interest and studied the register for each, asking the names of every single rider and infantryman. He also inquired about the number of horses and whether it was truly the same mount as at the preceding muster. Bornemissza explained that the hides of the fallen animals must be skinned and nailed to a frame as to prove why the recruited soldier had a new one at the muster. As to Krusich's own squad, the treasury officer claimed that several of them actually served on foot or were in fact gardeners, cooks, stonemasons, barbers, or other non-combat workers. He wanted to delete the names of such from the register. In addition, Bornemissza blamed Aurach for not receiving the real muster register to work with, which accusation was rebuked. Finally, everyone in the Krupina army were deemed properly fitted. At this muster, they also updated the extant register, and made entries about people leaving the cavalry.

Name of squad leader	No. of riders in the squad	Time of leaving service
Student Benedek	Six	Deleted from register on January 26 th , 1559
András Palásti	Four	Deleted from register on January 26 th , 1559
Tamás Ifjú	Six	On January 26 th , 1559, left Krupina and continued service at Čabrad'
János Paksa	Two	Left on August 31 st , 1558. Asked the officers' approval for three months' pay

¹⁶ The *darabonts* were infantry men who have served as guardian of a place (town, fortress or castle).

Jancsi Német, with Tatar origins	Five	Left
Pál Kopos	Four	Marched away on January 19 th , 1559
Péter Nagy	Two	Left on August 31 st , 1558. Not yet asked for his payments in registry
Péter Sarka	Six	Deleted from register on January 26 th , 1559

Apart from the eight squad leads, György Balogh and Miklós Várdai also indicated their intention to leave service, each along with his five riders.

Of course, the cavalry muster roll listed the newcomers as well.

Name of squad leaders	Number of riders in squad, earlier	Number of riders in squad, updated	Time of additions
Ferenc Farboki	Four	Five	July 11 th , 1558
Simon Dominiki	Two	Three	January 26 th , 1559
Péter Sleffit	Four	Five	January 26 th , 1559. Added note about the rider: well practiced
Georg Barbaritsch	Two	Three	January 26 th , 1559
Pallovitta	Three	Four	January 1 st , 1559
Benedek Papi		Two	The squad leader entered service on August 2 nd , 1558 with his two riders
István Pribék		two	The squad leader entered service on August 2 nd , 1558 with his two riders
Sebestyén Nagy		One	Captain of the Hungarian darabonts could keep one cavalry squad
Georg Prechtel		One	<i>Hauptmann</i> of the German darabonts could keep one cavalry squad

Apparently, the total 43 leaving troops were not fully replaced in service, as only five squads were bolstered with one soldier each. In addition, István Pribék and Benedek Papi entered with two soldiers each. The captain of the Hungarian darabonts and the *Hauptmann* of the German infantry were given one newcomer soldier each.

The Hungarian and German infantry in Krupina also had their changes updated in the register: who left the service and when, and who replaced them in service.

Leaver's name	Time of leaving service	Name of replacement	Time of entering service
Demeter Józsa	June 13 th , 1558	Nicola Rácz	June 16 th , 1558
András Németh, who entered cavalry	January 26 th , 1559		
Kelemen Somogyi	April 13 th , 1558	Balázs Nagy	April 14 th , 1558
Jancsi Wisinger	February 16 th , 1558	Márton Nideriti	
Pál Tolmács	October 11 th , 1558	Benedek Farkas	October 14 th , 1558
György Pataki	September 9 th , 1558	András Vajda	September 11 th , 1558
Jakab Szabó	November 26 th , 1558	Ferenc Hosodi	November 28 th , 1558
Oritz Palloka	December 8 th , 1558	Jakob Witzky	December 10 th , 1558
Hans Pleschgky	October 16 th , 1558	Michal Sprintzma	October 19 th , 1558
Mathias Slatinsky, who entered cavalry	January 26 th , 1559		

The muster register shows on the one hand that András Németh and Mathias Slatinsky entered cavalry, i.e. joined the squad of a squad leader in Krupina. On the other hand, except for these two the leavers were replaced in a couple of days.

To operate the cannons in Čabrad', the emperor recruited two operators whom Krusich posted in Krupina. One of them, Andreas Rotgiesser left service on January 26th, 1559. His position, however, was filled with a replacement even earlier, on January 22nd: Dionisi Kopp joined János Patantiusch (in Hungarian *Pattantyús*) in service.

Following the muster of the Krupina army, Aurach wished to inspect the infantry at Pukanec. He planned to order the fifty *darabonts* to come to Krupina, muster them and return them to their posts of service still that day. In the absence of the infantrymen, civilians of Pukanec would defend the town's walls. This took place as planned, the infantrymen being accompanied by the Pukanec judge and some advisors, whom Aurach interrogated to learn whether there are false names among the recruits. They categorically states that all mercenaries were serving as noted in the muster register – no fraudulent activities were done.

After mustering Krupina and Pukanec, Krusich asked Aurach and Bornemissza to muster his sixty footmen and twenty-five cavalymen at Čabrad'. The officials first refused, lacking both authorization to comply and the register of the Čabrad' army, and they did not know Krusich's *Bestallung* anyway. Finally, they agreed on the condition that both cavalry and infantry would be brought to Krupina. Aurach never suspected that this would result in continued accusations from Bornemissza. The Hungarian official objected as to why Krusich had fifty horsemen mustered, as his squad counted only 25. Aurach explained that a total of fifty-eight riders passed muster, as Krusich's own squad comprised twenty-five from Krupina and eight from Sitno – these were completed by the additional 25 troops from Čabrad'. Bornemissza falsely understood these as the "inflated" squad. On the other hand, he thought to recognize some among the Čabrad' infantry as having deserted from Levice. As they did not possess a muster register for the assembled army, the issue was never proven or refuted by Aurach.

Having failed to prove Krusich's alleged muster frauds, Bornemissza tried other ways to discredit him in front of Aurach. The Hungarian official accused him of not paying his mercenaries, at least not to full extent, and cited Péter Sarka and the two artillery men as witnesses. However, Aurach found evidence in the previous muster documents that the full sum had been handed over in their cases as well.

Bornemissza did not give up and brought an infantry musketeer called Stefko who claimed to be paid, as he worked in the garden on Krusich's orders, not as a shot but as a gardener. Bornemissza thus inferred that the nobleman did defraud the emperor. Aurach pointed out in his rebuke that mercenaries of the Győr and Komárno armies also worked various positions for the officers all the time, as nothing out of ordinary.

The muster was followed by handing out the payments, eventually. Aurach and Bornemissza told Krusich to account for the 5000 Guildens of the Čabrad' deposit. It is worth mentioning here how much money the mustered men were due. Muster documents of the Krupina army show the following: from August 3rd to December 31st, 1558, i.e. for five months

and one day, Krusich (his personal wages and that of his 25-strong cavalry squad) and his commanded men (226 riders, 62 Hungarian and 41 German darabonts infantry, two cannon operators) were due 7564 Guldens and 38 Pennies. They were, however, appointed 5060 Guldens 7 Pennies by Kamrer for the mentioned three months, and one of which months were paid for in bales of cloth.¹⁷

Muster papers about the Pukanec men evidence that the fifty darabonts and their captain Mihály Nagy were owed by the Kamrer from August 3rd to December 31st, 1558 a sum of 815 Guldens and 24 Pennies total, for the same five-month period. For the acknowledged three months they could get 486 Guldens, one month paid in felt cloth again.¹⁸ The yet unpaid sum to the Sitno men mustered by Aurach's servants and Bornemissza was 426 Guldens and 10 Pennies, for between October 2nd and December 31st, 1558. Their due from Kamrer would have been 421 Guldens 30 Pennies so it can be said that the infantry and riders here were practically fully paid to.¹⁹

In actual reality, however, the accounting was not trivial. First each of the squad leads were called in one by one. On the basis of Krusich's records, the payments officer deduced the consumed goods (food, drink, fodder, firewood) of the last months from the two-month pay, then gave out the remaining sum and cloth.

After the Krupina cavalry came in queue the infantry from Pukanec, so that they could return to their posts as soon as possible. By a similar method, the credited costs of their upkeep were deduced from the payment – the sums were not given directly to the darabonts but to their *Rottmeister*, and to the citizens following the troops, the latter receiving the sum that the infantrymen owed them since last payment.

Krusich's funds run out paying the Pukanec troops. He claimed that with the 5000 Guldens he not only settled his dues toward Fitschor and his men, but even paid more. Krusich did not tell the truth in this case. Protocol books of the *Hofkammer* evidence that Fitschor turned to the Hungarian treasury as late as May 1559 with the claim that Krusich had yet to pay the due wages.²⁰ The following month he even demanded Krusich to be reprimanded.²¹ Officers (*Hauptleute*) and lieutenants (*Rottmeister*) of the Hungarian and German infantries were placated only when Krusich promised to borrow from the town of Banská Štiavnica and to pay them in good (value-stable) cash.

¹⁷ ÖStA, HHStA, H AA, Fasc. 80, Konv. A, fol. 10r–35v.

¹⁸ ÖStA, HHStA, H AA, Fasc. 80, Konv. A, fol. 10r, 16r–v.

¹⁹ ÖStA, HHStA, H AA, Fasc. 80, Konv. A, fol. 10r, 16r–v.

²⁰ ÖStA, FHKA, AHF, Pr. Expedit (Exp.) B., No. 236, fol. 62r 1559. May.

²¹ ÖStA, FHKA, AHF, Pr. Exp. B., No. 236, fol. 79r 1559. June.

In the stressed situation, Bornemissza moved against Krusich once more. He argued that the Krupina infantry would have accepted the delayed payment of the two-month sums if the cloth worth the one month's wage had been distributed among them. On the other hand, he also accused Aurach that he had cooperated with Krusich in that the recruited men would forfeit a half month's pay in their favor. The allegations were plain denied by the other muster official, bringing up in defense that he even asked the men at the last muster, in the emperor's name, to leave off one and half month's pay. The related agreement and *Musterzettel* was sent to the military payment offices. He did not know, however, anything about Krusich's men leaving off any sum unpaid. All this makes it no surprise that following the January 23rd muster, Aurach inquired that he would not be given assignments together with Bornemissza again in the future.²²

Zhrnutie

Muštrovací register z Krupiny z roku 1559

Záznam z muštrovania vojenskej posádky v Krupine datovaný 26. januára 1559 vyhotovili cisársky radca Konrád Wallen von Aurach a komisár Uhorskej komory František Bornemissza. Obaja úradníci dostali v závere predchádzajúceho roku príkaz, aby zhromaždili krupinských vojakov a vyplátili im žold. Komisár upodozrieval krupinského kapitána Jána Kružiča z podvodov – umelého navyšovania počtu jazdy a pechoty pomocou prenajatých koní a miestnych sedliakov. Žoldom pre falošných vojakov mal Kružič neoprávnene získavať príjmy. Bornemissza pred Aurachom spochybňoval aj Kružičovu chrabrosť a poukazoval na nemanželský pôvod kapitána. Naopak, Aurach bránil Kružiča a tvrdil, že je to čestný muž. Komisár nato radcovi vyčítal, že prijal od Kružiča dary (malo ísť o cennosti ukoristené od Osmanov). Kružič najprv predložil vlastný zoznam vojakov naverbovaných do posádky na Sitne. Obsahoval chyby – nesúladi v uvádzanej dĺžke vojenskej služby. Tamojší vojaci sa okrem toho sťažovali, že nedostali celý žold. Na nedostatočné vyplácanie mzdy sa ponosovali aj šľachtickí velitelia oddielov v krupinskej posádke. Aurach preto okamžite nariadil zhromaždiť vojsko v poli za mestom Krupina. S Bornemisszom sa Aurach dohodol, že počas muštrovania budú sedieť vedľa seba, a ak niekto z nich uvidí nesprávne vystrojeného vojaka alebo inú podozrivú osobu, dá tajný signál alebo zavolá priamo na dotknutú osobu. Skontrolovali tak uhorskú jazdu a drábov, ako aj nemeckú pechotu. Vojaci boli dobre vybavení a bez absencií. Bornemissza preveroval každého jazdca i pešiaka. Prejavil podozrenie, že v Kružičovom jazdeckom

²² ÖStA, HHStA, H AA, Fasc. 80, Konv. A, fol. 80v–94v.

oddiele sú v skutočnosti niekoľkí členovia pechoty a nevojenští zamestnanci. Napokon všetkých v krupinskej posádke považovali za riadne vystrojených. Zároveň aktualizovali existujúci register, zaznamenali ukončenie služby a príchod niektorých nových vojakov. Aurach do Krupiny predvolal aj pechotu z Pukanca, pričom nezistil žiadne podvody. Kružič požiadal Auracha a Bornemisszu, aby vykonali aj muštrovanie čabradskej posádky. Do Krupiny preto prišla jazda a pechota z Čabrade. Podľa mienky Bornemisszu boli medzi čabradskými pešiakmi dezertéri z Levíc. Vzhľadom na chýbajúci register to však nebolo možné dokázať. Pri vyplácaní žoldu boli zistené staršie podlžnosti, pričom k príjmom vojakov patrili i naturálie – jedlo, pitie, krmivo, palivové drevo a súkno.