

To whom it may concern

LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE

5 July 2020, Vienna

Dear Madam/Sir,

hereby, with my letter I, Judit Majorossy, as one of the editors of the following book under preparation

Towns as Living Spaces in East Central Europe:

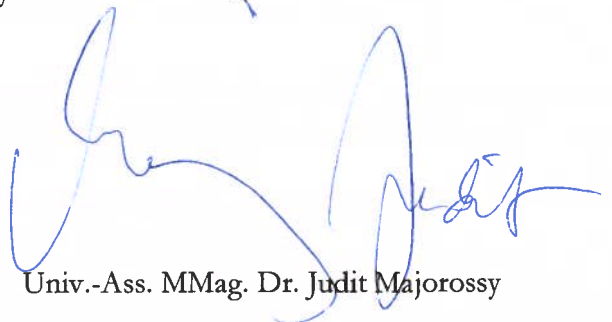
Static and Dynamic Aspects of Late Medieval Urban Communities

Edited by Judit Majorossy, Elisabeth Gruber

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approve that the article written by Orsolya Mészáros under the title “Parish Churches and Mendicant Orders in Towns in Hungary in the Late Middle Ages. A Topographical Approach” is accepted in the volume, the content of which was already approved both by the series editors and the Brill Publisher.

Sincerely Yours,



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Parish Churches and Mendicant Orders in Towns in Hungary in the Late Middle Ages

A Topographical Approach

Orsolya Mészáros

Church institutions in medieval Hungarian towns

The churchbuilding obligations laid down in laws promulgated in the early 11th century by King St. Stephen – namely that every ten villages had to construct a church – were in force throughout Hungary by the time towns were first established there in the 13th century. Indeed, by then, almost two hundred years after the above measures taken by Hungary's first king, most settlements had a parish church of their own. This is attested by surviving papal tithe records from the 1330s. In the legal and architectural spheres alike, one of the most important boosts to urban development in Hungary – well under way from the mid-13th century onwards – was the construction of ecclesiastical buildings. Ecclesiastical presence was indicated by parish churches first and foremost, but almost contemporaneously with their appearance, or at least not long after it (in the late 13th century in most cases), construction of the first friaries of the mendicant orders began. A parish church of its own and the right to choose its priests became one of the main signifiers of urban autonomy. The Buda Rights Book, compiled in the early 15th century, puts it as follows: 'In first place stand the parish priests, they are followed by the chief magistrate and then by the aldermen, with the town notary in fourth place.'¹ In this last-mentioned volume, additional clauses relating to the preeminent role of parish priests can be found, for example: 'only parish priests and notaries are exempt from extraordinary royal taxes'.² Of the rights enjoyed by Hungarian towns, the three most important from the ecclesiastical point of view were the right to choose parish priests, the right to exemption from episcopal authority (*exemptio*), and the right to collect tithes.³

For urban communities and for citizens, churches were, then, of symbolic importance. They were more than mere buildings, however. As well as serving as locations for the practice of religion, churches were also closely linked with domains of urban life that were very diverse. During the Late Middle Ages, every urban parish church of significance had a number of altars founded and maintained by different religious societies, confraternities, or guilds.

In this way, urban parish churches were among the most important public institutions in their respective settlements. Clearly, in regard to their appearance they served citizens' display needs

Translated by Chris Sullivan

¹ Mollay, Karl, ed., *Das Ofner Stadtrecht. Eine deutschsprachige Rechtssammlung des 15. Jahrhunderts aus Ungarn* (Monumenta Historica Budapestinensia, 1) (Budapest, 1959), p. 66. (Section 21)

² Mollay, "Das Ofner Stadtrecht," p. 62. (Section 11)

³ Kubinyi, András, "Egyház és város a késő-középkori Magyarországon," [Church and Town in late medieval Hungary] in *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon* [Prelates, Ecclesiastical Institutions and Godliness in medieval Hungary] ed Kubinyi, András (Budapest, 1999) p. 293.

also: in their size and in their artistry these buildings needed to reflect the wealth of the towns in question. A number of these urban parish churches qualify as preeminent examples of the Gothic style in Hungary.

Apart from parish churches, other ecclesiastical institutions, too, operated within the confines of towns. The most important of these were the friaries of the mendicant orders, of the Franciscans and the Dominicans primarily. In most towns stood chapels of various sizes. Of these, the most important were the hospitals (*xenodochia*), which were, at one and the same time, health care and social care institutions. Some hospitals were founded and maintained by religious orders; others were created and maintained by town or private foundations. Generally speaking, hospitals were institutions enjoying the legal status of chapels; their naves were used for the care of the sick and their chancels for purposes of spiritual comfort.⁴

Naturally, the numbers, types, and sizes of urban ecclesiastical institutions in a given town depended on that town's level of development, as well as on its legal status and the role it played as a centre in its particular region. In Hungary, the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries saw the formation and consolidation of towns. This period resulted in the evolution of towns of several different types. Generally speaking, in Hungary during the Middle Ages towns were of two kinds: (1) self-governing royal towns invested with numerous rights and (2) partly self-governing market towns subject to the authority of feudal lords. Among those in the first group, major free royal towns (towns linked to the *magister tavarnicorum regalium*), other free royal towns (towns linked to the *personalis regiae*), mining towns, and the towns of Transylvania's Saxons were the highest ranking. Among those in the second group were episcopal towns and all those settlements of varying sizes which enjoyed a measure of self-government, but which were under the authority of a secular personage of some kind (a baron of the realm, a nobleman with substantial but not large holdings of land, a kinship group, or a family). While the free royal towns group was easily delineable by the 15th century, the number of market towns, and their characters, varied greatly. Based partly on research into the history of German towns and partly on geographical research, a system for scoring centrality was developed by András Kubinyi, with the aim of defining towns and establishing their numbers.⁵ In this scoring system, ecclesiastical criteria played an emphatic part in evaluation. Kubinyi looked at two aspects. The first was position in the hierarchy of Church administration (seat of the primate, seat of an archbishop, seat of a bishop, seat of a provost, whether a tithe district or not, presence or otherwise of a parish with *exemptio*). The second involved the numbers and types of ecclesiastical institutions (the presence of friaries of mendicant orders, hospitals, monasteries, and/or collegiate chapters). Obviously, the greater the variety, number, and status of a town's ecclesiastical institutions, the higher the level of its urbanisation.⁶

⁴ Visy, Zsolt, ed., *Hungarian Archaeology at the turn of the millennium* (Budapest, 2003) p. 367.

⁵ Kubinyi, András, *König und Volk im spätmittelalterlichen Ungarn. Städteentwicklung, Alltagsleben und Regierung im mittelalterlichen Königreich Ungarn*, (Studien zur Geschichte Ungarns vol. I) (Herne, 1998) pp. 124–145; On the system of scoring centrality: Kubinyi, András, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat a középkori Alföldön és az Alföld szélén*, [Town development and town network in the medieval Alföld] (Szeged, 2000). pp. 7–49.

⁶ Kubinyi, "Városfejlődés és városhálózat," p. 14.

Issues concerning the ecclesiastical topography of towns

1. Periodisation and sources

The history of towns in Hungary in the medieval era extends from the 13th to the 15th centuries, further, in fact, up to the 1540s. This was the period in which the towns developed and became consolidated, meeting, in the legal, economic, and architectural spheres, the criteria for urbanisation characteristic of towns in Western Europe. The mid-16th century, the time of Ottoman conquest and occupation in Hungary, interrupted urban development in the country, first and foremost in those territories occupied by the Ottoman Empire. The 18th century saw a second flourishing of towns in Hungary, as a result of the reunification of the country that came about at that time, taking place as part of the rebuilding that followed the ending of the Ottoman presence. Fundamentally, towns in Hungary preserved their new character up until industrialisation in the 19th century. Industrialisation was followed by marked economic and social transformation which was already the beginning of modern urbanisation. This study will examine the ecclesiastical topography of particular towns during the Middle Ages, up until the commencement of the Ottoman occupation in the 16th century.

As primary sources for our analysis, the threefold stock of contemporary written sources, map sources, and pictorial sources was used, together with, as secondary sources, the maps and other data contained in the volumes of the *Historical Atlas of Hungarian Towns* series,⁷ in monographs dealing with individual towns, and in studies that touch on a town or towns. The volumes of the *Historical Atlas* published hitherto present the different types of towns in medieval Hungary relatively well, but, in the interests of a more fitting survey, a few more towns have been added to the ones published in them.

The towns selected were Buda, Sopron, Szeged, Visegrád, Vác, Sátoraljaújhely, Kőszeg, Kecskemét, and, in passing, Bratislava (Posonium/Pressburg/Pozsony) (Fig.1). Buda, Sopron, and Szeged were among the highest-ranking free royal towns; Buda was simultaneously a royal seat and the top-ranking town in the realm. Vác was an episcopal seat. Visegrád was a royal town, but resembled a market town in terms of its size and level of development. Kőszeg, Kecskemét, and Sátoraljaújhely were all market towns. As regards their geographical location, Buda, Visegrád, and Vác all belonged to the middle part of Hungary known in sources from the time as the *Medium Regni* ('Centre of the Realm'); Sopron, Kőszeg, and Bratislava/Posonium were towns in western Hungary. Situated to the east of the River Danube, Szeged, Kecskemét, and Sátoraljaújhely were towns on the Great Hungarian Plain; Sátoraljaújhely was on an edge of this where hills began. Esztergom and Székesfehérvár, royal centres during the era of the

⁷ Jankó, Ferenc, Kücsán, József, Katalin, Szende, *Sopron* (Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns, 1) (Sopron, 2010); Tringli, István, *Sátoraljaújhely* (Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns, 2) (Budapest, 2011); Blazovich, László, ed., *Szeged* (Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns, 3) (Szeged, 2014); Végh, András, *Buda, Part I, to 1686* (Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns, 4) (Budapest, 2015); Bariska, István, ed., *Kőszeg* (Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns, 6) (Budapest, 2018); Sárosi, Edit, ed., *Kecskemét* (Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns, 7) (Budapest–Kecskemét, 2018)

Arpadian kings (11th–13th centuries), were not included in the present study. Nor were a few other towns in Transdanubia or eastern Hungary (e.g., Pécs, an episcopal seat in southern Hungary). Importance will attach to towns which belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary in the medieval period but which are now outside Hungary's borders, whether in Slovakia (Bratislava/Pozsony hung., Košice/Kassa hung., and the mining towns of the Gemer/Gömör hung., and Spiš districts/Szepesség hung.) or in Romania (Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár hung., and other Transylvanian towns).

2. Types and numbers of ecclesiastical buildings. Times of foundation and short histories

The most important Church institutions in urban communities were parish churches, houses of religious orders, and hospitals. In early towns (e.g., Esztergom, Eger), individual, legally separate, town quarters each constituted a parish. On the other hand, towns founded later on mostly corresponded to a single parish (e.g., Kassa, the Saxon towns in the Szepesség/Spiš district). A so-called personal parish is known (Buda) where the Parish Church of Our Lady in the fortress (castle) was originally the parish church for the entire hill on which the fortress was built. Later, however, this church served only the citizens of the German quarter, while citizens of the Hungarian quarter belonged to the Parish Church of St. Mary Magdalene. The last-mentioned church did not then have its own parish district; the parish church to which believers belonged was determined by their nationality.⁸

As regards the religious houses, those of the Dominicans and Franciscans counted as the commonest in towns. These orders arrived in Hungary very soon after their foundation in the early 13th century, making their appearance in Székesfehérvár, Pest, Buda, Esztergom, Győr, Pécs, and many other towns. Following initial gaining of ground by the Dominicans, it was the Franciscans who in the end spread in greater number; changes in preparedness to found houses were the result of royal policy. Dominican and Franciscan houses were followed by other religious houses characteristic of towns, e.g. beguine communities (from the early 13th century onwards, e.g., in Esztergom, on Buda's Margaret Island, and in Veszprém) and Augustinian houses (during the 13th and 14th centuries, in episcopal seats and in towns).

Characteristically but not exclusively, hospitals were urban institutions. Although some grew up as early as the time of King St. Stephen during the first half of the 11th century, their numbers began to increase only after the turn of the 14th century, in parallel with the starting up of urban development. At this time, the majority of hospitals were in towns or market towns. Those founded earlier on were in most cases run by hospitaller orders, namely the Knights Hospitaller (the Order of Saint John), the Order of Hospitaller Canons Regular of Saint Stephen, the Order of Hospitallers of Saint Anthony (the Antonines), and the Order of the Holy Ghost. By the mid-15th century, however, towns had in many cases acquired the right to supervise their hospitals, or else

⁸ Visy, "Hungarian Archaeology," p. 367; Koszta, László, "Az egyház és intézményei a középkori Pest és Pilis megyében," [The Church and its Institutions in the medieval Pest and Pilis Counties] in *Pest megye monográfiája*, I/2, ed Zsoldos, Attila (Budapest, 2001) pp. 195–223.

were themselves the founders and maintainers of hospitals. There were often links of some kind between a town's bathhouses and its hospital installations.⁹

The siting of infirmaries and hospitals in suburbs and (as far as possible) next to water was general in Europe. Where a number of hospitals operated in a town (or *suburbium*), it is noticeable that in many instances they were located at a distance from one another. On the basis of our knowledge hitherto, this was the case in medieval Hungary also.¹⁰ On the other hand, few examples of the many hospitals that once existed in the country are known to us at present, with the result that it has not yet been possible to establish any pattern. On the basis of the written sources, research is currently aware of the existence of 117 hospitals.¹¹ The studying and writing up of hospitals in medieval Hungary is still in its infancy, mainly by dint of the modest amount of archaeological research conducted regarding them.

Of course, other ecclesiastical establishments, too, were present in towns – such as cathedrals in episcopal sees; buildings that served cathedral and other collegiate chapters; chapels; town plots with houses and outbuildings belonging to the Church; and prayer houses of other congregations, Jews primarily. However, the three most characteristic institution and edifice types that most shaped the early development and topography of towns were parish churches, religious houses, and hospitals.

In what follows, the historical data and topographical aspects of the medieval Church institutions of our above-mentioned eight towns are presented in tabular form. The information for chapels is incomplete.

	Type of Institution	Patron Saint	Date of Foundation	Location (Town district)	Important Facts
BUDA ¹²					
Castrum	Parish Church	Our Lady (Virgin Mary)	13th c. (before 1255); Royal foundation	Market place. The parish district involved German inhabitants.	Right to exemption from episcopal authority (in the following: <i>exemptio</i>) Parish district is

⁹ Kubinyi, András, "Orvoslás, gyógyszerészek, fürdők, ispotályok a késő- középkori Magyarországon," [Remedy, Pharmacistss, Baths, Hospitals in late medieval Hungary] in *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon* [Prelates, Ecclesiastical Institutions and Godliness in medieval Hungary] ed Kubinyi, András (Budapest, 1999) pp. 260–261; Majorossy, Judit, Szende, Katalin, "Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary," in *Europäisches Spitalwesen: institutionelle Fürsorge in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, eds Scheuts, Martin, Sommerlechner, Andrea, Weigl, Herwig, Weiss, Alfred Stefan (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung. Ergänzungsband, 51) (Wien, 2008), pp. 409–454.

¹⁰ Majorossy, Judit, "A város közepén – a társadalom peremén. A szegények helye a középkori Sopron életében," [In der Mitte der Stadt – Am Rande der Gesellschaft. Platz der Armen im Leben der mittelalterlichen Ödenburg] *Soproni Szemle*, 57 (2003), pp. 220–221; Majorossy, Judit, Szende, Katalin, "Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary," in *Europäisches Spitalwesen: institutionelle Fürsorge in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, eds Scheuts, Martin, Sommerlechner, Andrea, Weigl, Herwig, Weiss, Alfred Stefan (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung. Ergänzungsband, 51) (Wien, 2008), pp. 409–454.

¹¹ Kubinyi, "Orvoslás," pp. 262–267.

¹² Végh, "Buda," pp. 40–42, 49; Végh, András, *Buda város középkori helyrajza I–II*. [Medieval Topography of Town Buda] (Monumenta Historica Budapestinensia, 15–16) (Budapest, 2006–2008), Vol. I. pp. 61–71.

					known. Priest is also a provost (1497). Some altars are known.
	Parish Church	St. Mary Magdalene	13th c. (before 1276); Founded as a chapel by the citizens who lived in the suburbium.	The parish district involved Hungarian inhabitants.	Subordinate to the Our Lady Parish Church. Autonomous from the 2nd half of the 14th c.
	Dominican Friary	St. Nicholas	13th c. (before 1254); Royal foundation	At the border of the two parish districts, in the territory of St. Mary Magdalene parish district.	
	Franciscan Friary (Observant Franciscans)	St. John the Evangelist	13th c. (around 1250)	In the territory of Our Lady parish district.	Burial place of King III. Andrew. Centre of the Hungarian province of Observant Franciscans from the 15th c.
	Franciscan Beguine Community	?	13th c.; Private foundation	In the territory of Our Lady parish district.	Autonomous <i>rectoratus</i> (i.e. independent from any parishes)
	Chapel	Virgin Mary (alternatively St. Sigismund)	15th c. (before 1410); Royal foundation	Near the royal palace.	Royal chapel with collegiate chapters
	Chapel	St. Martin	Before 1309 (13th c.?)	Private chapel of the royal house (Kammerhof).	
	Chapel	St. Michael	Before 1489 (13th–14th c.)	In the territory of Our Lady parish district.	Burial chapel
	Chapel	St. Ladislaus	1st half of the 14th c.; Private foundation (by Wulwing comes, the juryman)	In the territory of Our Lady parish district, in its cemetery.	Autonomous <i>rectoratus</i>
	Chapel	Virgin Mary (alternatively Johannes Eleemosinarius)	End of the 14th c.	Chapel of the royal palace.	
	Chapel	St. George	2nd half of the 14th c.; Royal foundation	In the territory of Our Lady parish district. In the market place.	Autonomous <i>rectoratus</i>

	Chapel	All Saints	14th c.; Private foundation	At the border of the two parish districts; in a private house.	
	Chapel	St. Paul	15th c.; Founded by the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit	In the territory of St. Mary Magdalene parish district.	Chapel of the Friary of the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit in Budaszentlőrinc.
Suburbium	Parish Church	St. Gerhardus	Before 1236 (End of the 11th c.); Royal foundation	Parish of Alhévíz.	<i>Exemptio</i>
	Parish Church	St. Peter martyr	13th c. (1250s); Foundation of the citizens of the suburbium as a chapel	Parish of Szentpétermártír	Subordinate to the Our Lady Parish Church; Autonomous from the 2nd half of the 14th c. <i>Exemptio</i>
	Augustinian friary	St. Stephen protomartyr	13th c. (before 1276)	In Váralja. Belongs to the Our Lady parish district of the Castrum.	
	Carmelite Friary	Our Lady of Mercy	14th c. (1372); Royal foundation	In Tassental.	
	Friary	St. John the Baptist	Before 1446	In the vineyards of Buda hills.	
	Chapel	Corpus Christi	14th c.; Private foundation	In the territory of Szentpétermártír.	
	Chapel	St. Anne	Turn of the 15th –16th c.; Private foundation	In the territory of Tassental. Belongs to the Hungarian parish district of the Castrum.	
	Hospital	St. Elizabeth	13th –14th c.; Royal foundation	In Váralja.	
	Hospital	Holy Spirit	13th –14th c.	In Felhévíz.	
	Hospital	St. Lazarus	14th c. (before 1355)	In the vineyards of Buda hills?	
SOPRON¹³					
Castrum	Franciscan Friary	Virgin Mary	Mid-13th c.; Royal foundation probably		
	Chapel	St. George	14th c. (before		

¹³ Jankó, Kücsán, Szende, “Sopron,” pp. 67–69.

			1398); Private foundation		
Suburbium	Collegiate Church of the Provost	Virgin Mary	11th c.; In 1532 pulled down	Exact location is unknown: probably in the NE direction near the <i>Castrum</i>	Belonged to the bailiff's castle. 1389–1452: priests had the title as a parish priest (<i>plebanus</i>) but the church was no autonomous parish church.
	Parish Church	St. Michael	Date of foundation is uncertain (perhaps 11th c.) 1st written record: 1278	By the road towards N direction from the <i>Castrum</i>	At the foundation: the parish church of the Arpadian <i>villa Suprun</i> ; later of the whole town
	Chapel	St. James	Mid-13th c.	Next the St. Michael Parish Church	Cemetery chapel. From the mid- 15th c. chapel of the butchers' <i>guild</i> .
	Friary of the Knights Hospitaller (the Order of Saint John)	St. John	13th c. (1247); Royal support	Outside the <i>Castrum</i> in N direction, in the nearby	From 1454 it was run by town authorities. It existed until the end of the 18th c.
	Hospital of the Knights Hospitaller (the Order of Saint John)	St. Elizabeth	Mid-13th c.; Royal support	Outside the <i>Castrum</i> in N direction, in the nearby	It was run by town authorities at latest from 1346.
	Chapel	St. Mary Magdalene	1458.	Next to the St. Michael Parish Church	In the cemetery.
	Chapel	Holy Spirit	End of the 14th c.		Private chapel of the parish priest (<i>plebanus</i>)
SZEGED¹⁴					
Castrum	1. Church (originally collegiate church of the provost?) 2. Church	1. Virgin Mary 2. St. Elizabeth	1. 11th c.? 2. 14th c.		Uncertain if there were two separate churches, or only one that was later reconstructed. The 2nd church stood until the 18th c.
Inner City (Called 'Palánk' from the 16th c.)	Parish Church	St. Demetrius	Date of foundation is uncertain, probably 11th–	In the market place to the S	

¹⁴ Blazovich, "Szeged," pp. 78–79; Kubinyi, "Városfejlődés," pp. 113–117.

			12th c.		
Suburbium	Parish Church	St. George	12th c.?	in Felszeged	
	Dominican Friary	St. Nicholas	13th c.?	in Felszeged	
	Franciscan Friary (Observant Franciscans)	Virgin Mary of the Snow	Built around 1450	in Alszeged	
	Friary for Nuns of the Premonstratensian Order	Holy Spirit	?	in Felszeged?	
	Hospital	St. Peter	First half of 13th c. (before 1458); Founded by the Order of Knights Hospitaller probably.	in Alszeged	From 1458 it belonged to the Observant Franciscans.
	Hospital	St. Elizabeth	?	in Felszeged	In the late Middle Ages it was run by the Conventual Franciscans.
VISEGRÁD 15					
Arpadian Age settlement (11–13th c.)	Collegiate Church of the Provost	?	Stood from the 11th to the 13th c.	In the N direction from the present Visegrád, next to the former castle of the bailiff	
	Monastery	St. Andrew	Stood from the 11th to the 16th c.	In the N direction from the present Visegrád, near the former castle of the bailiff	
	Church	?	11th–13th c.	From the N direction to the present Visegrád, near the former castle of the bailiff; belonged to a 11–13 th c. village	
Civitas (urban settlement, 14–16th c.)	Parish Church	Virgin Mary	(13th)–14th c. (before 1327)	Hungarian part of the town	<i>Exemptio</i>
	Augustinian friary	St. Ladislaus	14th c.	Hungarian part of the town	
	Franciscan Friary	Virgin Mary	1425;	Next to the royal	

¹⁵ Buzás, Gergely, Mészáros, Orsolya, “A középkori Visegrád egyházainak régészeti kutatásai,” [Archaeological Research of the Ecclesiastical Buildings of Medieval Visegrád] *Magyar Sion* II. (XLIV.) (2008/1), pp. 71–104; Buzás, Gergely, Laszlovsky, József, Mészáros, Orsolya, “The Town: Administration, Inhabitants, Institutions. Churches” in *The medieval royal town at Visegrád. Royal Centre, Urban Settlement, Churches*, eds Buzás, Gergely, Laszlovsky, József, Mészáros, Orsolya (Budapest, 2014) pp. 73–90.

	(Observant Franciscans)		Royal foundation	palace in town; at the former St. George Chapel	
	Chapel	St. John the Baptist	14th c. (before 1325); Royal foundation	Lower Castle	Royal chapel and administrative office; <i>Exemptio</i>
	Chapel	St. Elizabeth?	Before 1440, perhaps much earlier (13th c.)	Upper Castle	
	Chapel	Virgin Mary	Mid-14th c. (before 1360)	Royal palace in town	Belonged to the Veszprém Diocese (i. e. <i>no exemptio</i>); At the end of the 15th c. rebuilt in Renaissance style.
	Chapel	St. George	Probably 14th c. (much earlier to 1425)	Near or in the royal palace in town	<i>Exemptio</i> ; In 1425 it was no used, King Sigismund donated to the Observant Franciscans
VÁC¹⁶					
Civitas (urban settlement)	Cathedral	Virgin Mary	11th c.	Episcopal Castle	
	Parish Church	St. Michael	13th c.	German Part of the Town; The parish district involved German inhabitants.	It belonged to the Vác Diocese; From 1389 to 1464 it was probably <i>exemptus</i> .
	Augustinian friary	St. James	14th c. (1319)	German Part of the Town	
Suburbium	Chapel	St. Peter	11th c.? (before 1347)	Outside the town wall/ditch	
	Parish Church	St. Margharet	12th c.? (before 1332)	Exact location is unknown (near or outside the town wall/ditch.) The parish district involved Hungarian inhabitants.	It belonged to the Vác Diocese
	Hospital	Holy Spirit	14th c.? (before	Near but outside	It was run by the

¹⁶ Torma, István, ed., *Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája, 9, Pest Megye Régészeti Topográfiája. A szobi és a váci járás*. Vol. XIII/2. [Archaeological Topography of Hungary] (Budapest, 1993) (in the following: MRT 9.) pp. 392–393. (Site no. 31/1), pp. 427–429. (Site no. 31/3b, 3c), p. 456. (Site no. 31/5), pp. 457–458. (Site no. 31/6, 7); Kubinyi, András “A középkori Vác 1526-ig,” [Medieval Vác until 1526] in *Vác története I. Studia Comitatusiensia*, 13, ed Sági, Vilmos (Szentendre, 1983) p. 52.

			1349)	the German town, to the N direction.	Vác bishop or the town administration.
SÁTORAL- JAÚJHELY ¹⁷					
	Parish Church	St. Emeric	Mid-13th c.	Market place	<i>Exemptus</i> From 1540 out of use
	Augustinian friary	King St. Stephen	14th c.? (before 1324)	E side of the town.	In 1540 out of use
	Friary of the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit	St. Egidius	13th c.		First in was founded for hermits, then, from 1324 it belonged to the Friary of the Paulins
KÖSZEG ¹⁸					
Castrum	Chapel	Virgin Mary	End of 13th c.	On the upstairs of the gate tower.	
Civitas (urban settlement)	Parish Church	St. Catherine	13th c.	N direction to the market place.	By the late Middle Ages it went to ruin probably.
	Parish Church	St. James	Beginning of 15th c.; Private foundation	N to the Market place.	It was built probably at the end of the 13th c. on the spot of a ruined Franciscan Church
KECSKEMÉ ¹⁹					
	Parish Church	St. Nicholas	2nd half of the 14th c.	Market place	Later (1644) the Franciscans received the church and they built a friary.
	Parish Church (so-called „Homoki” Chapel)	Virgin Mary	Medieval?	At the side of the Medieval city?	
	Chapel	St. Anne	15th c.		Cemetery chapel?

3. Locations

¹⁷ Tringli, “Sátoraljaújhely,” pp. 12–16, 44, 60–62; Tringli, István, “Sátoraljaújhely egyházai a reformáció előtt,” [Churches of Sátoraljaújhely before Reformation] in *Erősségénél fogva várépítésre való. Tanulmányok a 70 éves Németh Péter tiszteletére*, eds Juan, Cabello, Norbert, C. Tóth, (Nyíregyháza, 2011) pp. 377–397.

¹⁸ Bariska, “Köszeg,” p. 55.

¹⁹ Sárosi, “Kecskemét,” pp. 73–74.

Choosing a location: centre or suburb? (Fig. 2.)

Almost without exception, parish churches stood in the central parts of towns. This was true of Buda, Vác's German Town, Visegrád, Szeged (the Parish Church of the Inner Town), Sátoraljaújhely, Kőszeg, and Kecskemét among the examples looked at. In most instances, 'central part' meant a town's main square, especially in the case of monocentric towns or town quarters. On the other hand, 'central part' might mean an area adjacent to a town's main street (Kőszeg) or a building near it (Visegrád). A mid-town square featuring a parish church often served as the place for a market. Town plans of this type were general across Europe, being characteristic of trading towns primarily. It would seem that in such cases the important thing was not whether the town predated the church or the church the town, but rather the central place itself. In instances where urban development was brought about by a market, namely commerce, then the initial place for the exchange of goods, later on the marketplace, was shaped by the town's morphology firstly; following this, the parish church was built there. When the founding of the church came first, the church shaped the settlement: the development of a market place followed on from the cultic community's meeting place. In Buda, the two parish churches in the *castrum* ('fortress') stood, respectively, on a market square or near to one: the Parish Church of Our Lady, the first to be founded, was built next to the town's larger market place (but not in the middle of it), while the younger Parish Church of St. Mary Magdalene was erected in the middle of Saturday Marketplace, which was smaller.

On the basis of topographical data presently available, the parish church of Visegrád town was built in a central place among streets, not on a square. Written data from the 14th century and architectural details uncovered so far do not prove the – incidentally highly probable – thesis that the church was built when the town was refashioned in the second half of the 13th century. In any event, the church, situated in the Hungarian quarter, stood among the mansions of members of the royal court, near a main road in the town which ran in a north–south direction at the foot of the hill and another main road that led to the Royal Castle. The importance of the church is attested by the laying out there of King Charles I of Hungary following his death in 1342. Only after this was his body transported on the River Danube to Buda, from where it was taken to Székesfehérvár, its place of burial.²⁰

Sopron, one of the most significant towns in western Hungary, is among the rare cases of settlements with eccentric parish church locations. The siting of the Arpadian-era collegiate church outside the fortress and of a parish church founded later on resulted from the town's distinctive developmental history. Along with its ruined parts, the (6th-century) Roman *castrum* next to the Via Sucinaria (the Amber Road) was transformed into a timber-and-earth fortress, a so-called *ispán's* fortress, by Hungarians settling in the area at the turn of the 11th century.²¹ With a chapter headed by a dean, the Collegiate Church of the Virgin Mary, the town's most important ecclesiastical building in this period, took up position there. Later on, the Parish Church of St. Michael was built on a hill to the north of the *ispán's* fortress; on the highest point

²⁰ Buzás, Laszlovszky, Mészáros, "The Town" pp. 75–77.

²¹ Present research data cannot allow exact datation. Jankó, Kücsán, Szende, "Sopron," p. 13.

in the immediate area, this was originally the church of *villa Supron*, a village for serving people supplying and servicing the *ispán*'s fortress. The time of its foundation is unknown: the first written records for it date to the second half of the 13th century (1278); architectural details discovered hitherto are no earlier. On the other hand, given the church's location and early function, its foundation in the 11th century is a theoretical possibility. In Sopron, then, there was a system of geographically separated settlements that together performed diverse urban functions; such systems were likewise characteristic of other early centres in the Carpathian Basin. Sopron's ecclesiastical sites, too, fitted into this diffused type of system. In Sopron's development, settlement concentration is observable from the turn of the 14th century onwards, although the churches founded before this time continued to reflect the early, diffuse system. There were a number of reasons why, in the mid-13th century, the *ispán*'s fortress became a free royal town: firstly, the settling of Knights Hospitaller there in the mid-13th century to protect the country's western border area; secondly, the presence of a Jewish population with royal support; and thirdly, the settlement's social and economic development. In the 1240s, following the settling of the Knights Hospitaller, the apportionment of the inner town area took place; so, too, did the delineation of plots and the laying out of the network of streets. In a departure from a regular arrangement of streets, Fő tér ('Main Square') was created. It was here that the town's Franciscan friary was built. This move probably reflected the monarch's wish that a religious house be founded. Accordingly, on the town's most important square stood the house of a mendicant order; this was unusual in a medieval town. Beyond the fortifications, on an area also suited to the holding of markets, the *suburbium*, which had its roots in the earlier settlement structure, was home to the settlement's only parish church.

The siting of Vác's parish churches was likewise the result of the town's distinctive development. Of the two parish churches in late medieval Vác, one was centrally located while the other was not. Vác is a Hungarian example of the multipart type of town found across Europe. Its original core was an early (11th-century) fortified, fortress-like settlement of a feudal lord, in this case a bishop and the ecclesiastical body connected to him, as well as of their immediate servants. In front of the fortress was created a marketplace where craftsmen, traders, and landholding serving people lived. As can be seen from the ground plan of today's settlement also, the settlement's layout was irregular and not according to any particular plan: the streets of the settlement outside the fortress ramparts led towards the fortress's northern gateway. The location of its parish church, the Parish Church of St. Margaret, likewise seems not to have been part of a wider plan. Its linkage to an important spot awaits elucidation; at the same time, the church's uncovering and identification by archaeologists have not yet taken place. On the basis of a written source from around 1570, the church is to be sought on the edge of the town quarter, near to the town ditch, mills, and roads leading out.²² The reason for its location on the edge of the town was, perhaps, that the cathedral inside the fortress counted as the eminent church of the fortress and of the town quarter outside it, with the result that any parish church founded afterwards would have been assigned a place outside the centre and, at the same time, in a

²² Kubinyi, "Középkori Vác," pp. 51–52. Especially footnote n. 32; MRT 9, p. 456 (Site no. 31/5).

settlement irregularly laid out. With regard to the central siting of Vác's other parish church (the Parish Church of St. Michael, founded in the 13th century), a different approach to town and spatial organisation is encountered already. Following the Tatar invasion (1241–1242), South German *hospites* were settled in Vác by the monarch, who gave them a new area, one just north of the earlier one outside the fortress's walls. Here planned town development would have taken place, during which the parish church in question was erected in the centre of the long, triangular, central marketplace.²³

Of the towns examined, Szeged, on the edge of the Great Hungarian Plain, was, unlike Vác, a town typical of that particular geographical space. It was not an episcopal seat and its inhabitants were overwhelmingly Hungarians: there was no significant *latinus* or *hospes* community. Earlier on already it had been given royal town privileges. Szeged owed its importance to its eminent economic position: it was a place from which significant trading routes to the east, southeast, and southwest began. Owing to its geographical location at the confluence of the Tisza and Maros rivers, Szeged was a polycentric settlement: it was built on hills at a bend in the Tisza at short distances from one another. Its earliest medieval centre was a large-sized fortress next to the River Tisza. The inner town (known as Palánk in the 16th century) developed to the south of this. In the southern part of the inner town stretched a triangular marketplace. It was here that the inner town's parish church was built: the Parish Church of St. Demetrius. Although the open area between the fortress and the inner town was likewise suited to serving as a large marketplace, data on the sale of animals there exists only from the late 15th century onwards. Its use, if any, prior to the 15th century is unknown. In any case, it is beyond doubt that the inner town's parish church was built not here, but to the south of this area, on a marketplace that was better girded round with buildings.²⁴ Of Szeged's other quarters, only Felszeged has a known medieval parish church; this, likewise, stood in a central location.

Sátoraljaújhely, in the north-eastern part of medieval Hungary, is situated at a point where the Zemplén, or Tokaj, Mountains and the Great Hungarian Plain meet. Trade and viticulture played major roles in its development. The town was founded during the wave of town foundations that occurred in the mid-13th century. Its royal charter issued in 1261 counts as one of the earliest town charters in Hungary.²⁵ The town's parish church may have been built at this time, but only in the mid-1280s (in 1284, to be precise) was it granted exemption (*exemptio*), owing to the foundation of the town by the king. On account of its geographical location, on a long expanse of terrain beside the River Ronyva, the town presented a picture of a settlement with a single, broad street crossed at intervals by other streets. Where the town was widest, this street broadened into a spindle-shaped marketplace in the middle of which was built the parish church. To the east of it, on the opposite side of the river, was an Augustinian friary.

²³ MRT 9. pp. 427–428. (Site no. 31/3b);

²⁴ Kubinyi, "Városfejlődés és városhálózati," pp. 113–116; Blazovich, "Szeged," pp. 11–12.

²⁵ The town was founded by Stephen, son of King Béla IV of Hungary, in his capacity as duke (*dux*) with full regal powers on his duchy territories. He was later King Stephen V of Hungary. Tringli, "Sátoraljaújhely," pp. 42–43.

Kőszeg, in western Hungary, is unique among the towns investigated in that it was a settlement in the hands of a private feudal lord for almost the entire medieval period. In the second half of the 13th century, the Kőszegi family (earlier known as the Németújvári family) had the fortress of Kőszeg and its town built by the side of the Gyöngyös brook. In its layout, the town preserves to this day the structure it acquired in the late medieval period. In the second half of the 13th century, the settlement's two dominant elements were the fortress in the northeast corner and the main road running parallel to the brook in an approximately north–south direction. At this time already, a timber-framed wall of some kind encompassed the fortress-and-town ensemble, three towers of which are known. At the Lower Gated tower to the south, namely at a point facing the fortress, the main road broadened into a rectangular marketplace – today's Fő tér ('Main Square') – on which the parish church was built. The ages and periodisation of the churches that stood here remain unresolved: the earlier, 13th-century, antecedent of the demonstrably 15th-century parish church is unclarified, as are the possible links to Kőszeg and subsequent fate of a Franciscan house mentioned just once in the sources (in the late 13th century).²⁶

Kecskemét, situated northeast of Szeged on the Great Hungarian Plain, was likewise a market town. It first appears in the written sources in the middle of the 14th century. For a time, it is mentioned as an *oppidum* in the personal possession of Elizabeth of Poland, queen consort of Hungary: it is possible that it belonged among the properties of the queens consort of Hungary up until the mid-15th century. Kecskemét's strength grew primarily on account of its role in commerce and its geographical location: it lay on the trade route running from Buda to Szeged and from there to the Balkans. It was a monocentric town, with its church, the Parish Church of St. Michael, on its marketplace. Weekly and daily markets of great importance to the town could be held on this marketplace encompassing the church, although from the 15th century onwards already livestock markets may have been organised on the grassy 'Fairground' to the east of the inner town.²⁷ The town's medieval ecclesiastical topography is still beset by a number of uncertainties. These include whether or not the so-called Chapel of the Virgin Mary near the *suburbium* was originally a second medieval parish church; the unclear canonical status of the Chapel of St. Anne, likewise at a distance from the town centre; and – given that Elizabeth of Poland was a frequent founder in the ecclesiastical sphere – whether or not the existence in Kecskemét of a religious house founded by her can be postulated.

²⁶ B. Benkhard Lilla, "Kőszeg város topográfiai kérdései a középkorban és a kora újkorban," [Topographical issues in Kőszeg in the medieval and early modern periods] in *Urbs, Magyar Városhistória Évkönyv* IV, ed. László Á. Varga (Budapest, 2009), pp. 154–155.

Possibly the only datum on the setting up of the 13th-century Franciscan friary is a mention in the Leoben Chronicle from Styria (Austria), which has been dated to the mid-14th century. The chronicle links the fortress on the Austrian border to the year 1276, saying that the inhabitants took refuge in a Franciscan friary. Gombos, F. Albin, ed., *Catalogus Fontium Historiae Hungaricae*, I–IV, (Budapest, 1937), Vol. I. pp. 276–277.

Partly on the basis of analysis of this datum, the specialised literature contends that the friary perished during an attack by Albert of Habsburg in 1289. B. Benkhard, "Kőszeg város," p. 154. and Bariska, "Kőszeg," p. 55. (Chapter 9.1.1. Franciscan church and friary)

²⁷ Sárosi, "Kecskemét," pp. 12–14.

Territorial spread

The beginnings of the spread and consolidation of parish districts can be followed from the 13th century onwards. Before this, in the 11th–12th centuries, there was no close-knit network of parishes; that is to say, parish districts precisely delineated from one another territorially had not yet developed. From the 12th–13th centuries onwards, the number of settlements with a church increased across the country. By the late 14th century, the density of churches aimed for in medieval Hungary had been achieved. During the 15th century, substantially fewer new churches were built compared to the earlier period. Existing parishes guarded their rights and the financial benefits that went with them; they resisted sharing their territories with new parishes, or consented only with conditions. Rather, existing churches were altered, and enlarged as necessary, as the population increased. On the other hand, the number of altars in the churches of towns and market towns grew significantly in the 15th–16th centuries.²⁸

In the case of towns with more than one parish, parish tithe districts are known insofar as relevant written sources are available. In Buda, a delineation from the 15th century (1441) of the boundaries of the fortress's two parishes has survived. The parish belonging to the Parish Church of Our Lady, the first of the two parishes to be established and the more prestigious, was the larger, although not substantially so. Both parishes included territory outside the fortress's walls.²⁹

In what follows, findings for Pozsony/Bratislava will be discussed, for purposes of comparison with those for nearby Sopron, even though Pozsony is not among the towns investigated in the present study. In medieval Pozsony, there were three parish churches: in the inner town the Church of St. Martin and, beyond this area, the Church of St. Lawrence and the Church of St. Michael. Parish boundary delineations similar to those for Buda have not survived; but supplemented with data from land registers and tax records, the *Protocollum Testamentorum* collection of wills makes possible approximate reconstruction of the parish districts of the three churches. The formation of the parishes may be sought in the early period of urban development in Hungary, as in the case of those towns whose origins as settlements date back to the 11th century or even earlier. In Pozsony in the 11th century (according to some opinions, in the 9th century already), a number of larger or smaller settlements existed outside the *ispán*'s fortress. The ethnic makeup of this assemblage of settlements was diverse (Slav, German, and Hungarian inhabitants, later complemented by Bavarian and Italian *hospites*). The settlement cores featured a number of individual parish churches. By the first half of the 14th century, three parish churches had taken root with the crystallisation of the inner town and outer town areas, while some parish churches had been knocked down or assigned a different canonical status.³⁰ The

²⁸ Koszta, "Egyház és intézményei," pp. 206–208.

²⁹ Végh, "Buda," pp. 20–21: figs. 13–14.

³⁰ Szende, Katalin, *Otthon a városban. Társadalom és anyagi kultúra a középkori Sopronban, Pozsonyban és Eperjesen* [Home in Town] (Budapest, 2004) pp. 12–20 Majorossy, Judit, "A polgári térhasználat elemei a késő-középkori Pozsonyban," [The elements of the civic usage of space in late medieval Pressburg] in *Urbs, Magyar Városhistória IV*, ed László Á. Varga (Budapest, 2009) pp. 76–79.

district belonging to the Parish Church of St. Martin covered the inner town, but a number of *suburbium* will-makers are known who may have belonged to it. The Parish Church of St. Martin provided spiritual care for many more believers than did its two *suburbium* counterparts taken together, twice or three times as many, owing to the inner town's greater population density. The dominance of St. Martin's was manifest in other ways, too. At the same time, because of Pozsony's topographical development, its location was not at the heart of the late medieval town. The early area that grew up outside the fortress in the 11th–13th centuries constituted the western part of the late medieval town, at the southwest point of which stood the parish church. The Collegiate Church of the Holy Saviour (whose chapter was headed by a provost) was relocated to a site outside the fortress walls in the early 13th century. Its revenues were diverted to the Parish Church of St. Martin, in 1221. Houses for the canons were built next to the parish church, and in the course of the late medieval period agreements were made between the town and the provost regarding patronage.³¹ Pozsony, then, resembled Sopron in that it had a collegiate church dating from the Arpadian age. However, the collegiate church in Sopron, because it was outside the inner town, had less impact on the town's ecclesiastical topography, while the one in Pozsony had precisely the opposite effect, because of its location in the town and its connection to the parish. The area of the town's most important parish was originally, in the 13th century, in the zone bordered by the important commercial streets running north–south and east–west (later on Ventur utca and Fő utca), as well as by the fortress. However, by the 14th century and without changes to its boundaries, the parish found itself next to the western part of the town wall and next to the Vödrics Gate. By the 15th century, the parish church no longer counted as the central area in the inner town, at least from the viewpoint of civic management: the houses of mayors, town officials, and advisers stood on Fő tér (the marketplace) and along Ventur utca (and its continuation, Szent Mihály utca). The friary of the Franciscans, which stood just to the north of the square, belonged much more to this – civic – centre than to the earlier one.³² It was also important as a location for many social events (e.g., processions). On the other hand, the Parish Church of St. Martin and its vicinity counted as the pre-eminent location ecclesiastically, on account of the presence of the chapter of canons headed by a provost: next to it were built the houses for the chapter's members. It was because of these houses that a street proceeding from the church was called Káptalan utca ('Chapter Street').

Moving on from the issue of parish districts and Pozsony, the space occupied by parish churches in the plot systems of towns consisted of parish churches and their churchyards (cemeteries). In the case of Buda's Parish Church of Our Lady, the churchyard likewise stretched beyond the fortress walls; the churchyard's chapel probably stood on the slopes there.

In the case of religious houses, their churches, cloisters, and other buildings occupied many of the larger plots in the plot systems.

³¹ Szende, "Otthon a városban," pp. 14–18.

³² Majorossy, Judit, "Krisztus teste konfraternitás helye a középkori pozsonyi polgárok életében," [The Role of the Corpus Christi Confraternity in the life of the citizens of late medieval Bratislava] *Történelmi Szemle*, 46 (2004), pp. 85, 89; map 3.

Suburbia

The period in which *suburbium* formation took place, and the number of ecclesiastical institutions in *suburbium* settings, varied from town to town in Hungary. At Buda, the Danube embankment (subsequently the core of the settlement outside the fortress of Buda) acquired inhabitants in the second half of the 13th century already, on account of the trade taking place along the River Danube. This occurred soon after the founding of Buda on a hill. Of the factors that lay behind the founding of a town there, Roman-era remains and thermal springs were important, as were trade and the defence centre on Castle (i.e. Fortress) Hill. In this way, the earliest core of the settlement outside the fortress stretched along this narrow, sloping strip between Castle Hill and the River Danube, as well as further north to some extent and further south to the thermal springs.³³ One of this settlement's parish churches, the Parish Church of St. Peter the Martyr, was built in the 1250s. It stood to the north of Castle Hill, among the ruins of the one-time Roman settlement. Running parallel with the Danube in a north–south direction was a trunk road likewise of Roman origin to which the church was very near. South of Castle Hill stood the Parish Church of St. Gerard, founded by the king early on, in the 11th century, in honour of Bishop Gerard (Gellért), who died a martyr's death. On the other hand, this building is mentioned in the first half of the 13th century already as the parish church of the German *hospites*. Another 13th-century foundation was an Augustinian friary located not far from the walls of Castle Hill. Buda's two other religious houses, located a little further away, were founded in the 14th–15th centuries already.

In the *suburbia* of Buda, hospitals (*xenodochia*) were the characteristic ecclesiastical institutions. One key factor behind their foundation was the existence there of naturally occurring thermal and other springs; another was the need to take care of the poor and the ill. In Buda, thermal springs were to be found to the north and south of Castle Hill. Around these were built hospitals (at Felhévíz, to the north, the Hospital of the Holy Spirit and at Alhévíz, to the south, the Hospital of St. Elizabeth). Also, a town hospital further out is known which provided care for lepers. This was situated probably among hillside vineyards at a greater distance from the town, because it looked after patients who were infectious (St. Lazarus).³⁴

The first hospital in Sopron (the Hospital of St. Elizabeth) was founded in the mid-13th century next to the Ikva Bridge where the inner and outer towns met, but outside the town walls. It may originally have served as a guest house for travellers and pilgrims. It passed into the control of the town in the mid-14th century and then served as a hospital in the medical sense, no longer functioning as a guest house for pilgrims.³⁵ In Pozsony, near to Sopron, two hospitals are known that were likewise outside the town walls. They stood on the road leading from the town's east gate towards Nagyszombat (Trnava, Slovakia) and were very close to one another, although

³³ Végh, "Buda," pp. 10, 23: fig. 6, 16; Maps: A.3.2. (Topographical development of Buda, 2: Buda after its foundation, end of 13th c. – early 14th c.)

³⁴ Végh, "Buda középkori helyrajza," I. pp. 97–99, 102, 104.

³⁵ Jankó, Kücsán, Szende, "Sopron," pp. 15, 23.

not directly adjacent to water.³⁶ Vác, too, had a hospital near to a gate: the Hospital of the Holy Spirit, founded in the first half of the 14th century, stood not far outside the town's north gate and near to the River Danube.³⁷ In Szeged, two hospitals are known, one in each of the two *suburbia*, Alszegeged and Felszegeged, but these passed into the hands of the Franciscans in the 15th century.

In connection with hospitals, ecclesiastical institutions in Sopron and Pozsony remembered in the wills of citizens were looked at. Investigations showed that these citizens provided crucial support to the hospitals. The three types of ecclesiastical institution that feature the most in bequests were the three that generally counted as the most important: the parish church or churches, religious houses, and hospitals. Bequests to parish churches were by far the most common (in Pozsony, the Parish of St. Martin counted as the largest). Bequests to religious houses and hospitals were largely at the same level, followed by bequests to chapels and then confraternities.³⁸ This indicates that citizens who made wills thought it important to support institutions that cared for the poor, at the same time seeing such bequests as a means to procuring their salvation after death, by way of prayers offered by the monastics working in hospitals and aiding salvation.

4. Spatial connections

Connections with town walls

In Buda, the orientations of churches, the Parish Church of Our Lady and the church of the Dominican Friary of St. Nicholas primarily, stand in close relation to the time the town was founded and its plots allocated. No written sources are available on the process by which Buda was founded. Nevertheless, analysis of the town's ground plan affords help in this regard, as do certain archaeological observations. Although the lengthy, narrow plateau along the top of Buda's Castle Hill does not exhibit the kind of planning characteristic of towns that were founded by design, planning can be observed nonetheless. Plots are uniform with regard to structure and size; uniformity is likewise discernible in connection with construction endeavours on the plots. The lines followed by streets and facades of buildings accord with those of the fortress's walls. This indicates that plots were marked out after the building of these walls, or contemporaneously with this work. The orientations of churches of almost the same age as the town itself likewise shows a link with the town walls and the directions they took. The Parish Church of Our Lady and the Dominican and Franciscan friaries were located on the eastern side of the town next to the town wall, invariably at right angles to it. Since the line of the town wall altered as it followed the edge of the plateau, the orientations of the churches in question were not the same (i.e. the churches were not parallel with one another), but always perpendicular (at right angles) to their given stretch of town wall.³⁹

³⁶ Majorossy, "A város közepén," pp. 220–221.

³⁷ MRT 9. p. 457. (Site 31/6)

³⁸ Majorossy, "A város közepén," pp. 223 (fig. 5), 233.

³⁹ Végh, "Buda," pp. 14–15 (footnote, n. 13–15.)

The orientation of the Parish Church of St. Mary Magdalene, on the north-eastern side of the town, diverges from those of the above-mentioned three buildings, and even from that of its own stretch of town wall. This church was built in the middle of a large square, the Saturday Marketplace. On the other hand, the plots around this marketplace were marked out in relation to the orientation of the Parish Church of St. Mary Magdalene.

Of the other towns investigated, only in the case of Kecskemét do we know for certain about the existence of town walls. There, however, the town's churches enjoyed no relationship with the town walls; they stood in the middle of the town.

Links with streets, squares, and groups of buildings

In Buda, the morphology of Castle Hill does not give the impression of a town planned in the customary way, for the reasons mentioned above. Despite this, Buda's earliest churches, the parish churches and the monastic houses with their churches, stood in places that were easily accessible. The most important parish church (the Parish Church of Our Lady) stood close to the town's largest marketplace, as well as to its town hall, although access to it was possible only by way of a narrow lane. In spite of the fact that this church qualified as a central place, its facade did not fit in with the system of plots. On the basis of the written sources, it cannot be said with certainty whether the foundation of the church preceded the foundation of the town or vice versa. At all events, topographical anomalies attest to this. To the north of, and next door to, this parish church stood the Dominican friary, likewise in a significant location, and in a very distinguished one with regard to the earliest, 13th-century, topography of the town. Not far to the north was the Old Royal House (Kammerhof) and to the south was the parish church. The plot system and street network of the fortress quarter were – on the basis of archaeological remains and observation of ground plans – the result of organisation by design following the construction of the fortress walls. In the northeast corner of the town, in an area bounded by the Kammerhof and the two ecclesiastical buildings, layout differing from the others indicates that certain edifices already stood here before the foundation of the town and the division of its territory into plots.⁴⁰

Topographically, the position of the Parish Church of St. Mary Magdalene, the third significant church on Buda's Castle Hill, differs from those of the two structures mentioned above in regard to the fortress wall and the neighbouring plots. Ground-plan observations here indicate that the Parish Church of St. Mary Magdalene was built soon after the foundation of the town and the division of its territory into plots. In other words, it is later than the Dominican friary and the Parish Church of Our Lady, on the eastern side of Castle Hill in both cases.⁴¹

The locations of Franciscan churches within towns varied; in most cases, the location of such a church was connected with the time of the town's foundation. Choice of mendicant order in a town could be influenced by monarchical patronage. One initiator and supporter of urban development in the 13th century was King Béla IV of Hungary, in the years following the destruction wrought in his realm by the Tatars in 1241–42. Initially, he was a powerful supporter

⁴⁰ Végh, "Buda," pp. 14–15.

⁴¹ Végh, "Buda," pp. 14.

of the Dominicans. It was to this order that the first religious houses in Buda and on Rabbit Island (presently Margaret Island) belonged. However, later, especially after 1262, on account of his differences with the Dominicans over his marriage plans for his daughter Margaret, he turned to the Franciscans. Most of the Franciscan houses founded in Hungary prior to 1270, when he died, can be linked to him. The locations of houses founded in towns by the king in the 13th century were strongly connected to when exactly they were founded and by which king. In Buda, it was the Dominicans who were given the more distinguished locations. Later, however, during the 15th century, the location given to the Franciscans in Buda became more eminent. Likewise founded in the 13th century, the Franciscan friary in the fortress of Buda was more distant from the centre established in the early 13th century. Nevertheless, at the end of the 13th century already it was assigned a top role: it was chosen as the burial place of King Andrew III of Hungary (1301). During the 15th century, reforms to the Franciscan order were made here and from 1444 onwards the friary served as the centre of the Hungarian province of the Observant Franciscans. A theological college, too, operated within the friary's walls.⁴²

In the first third of the 15th century, King Sigismund of Hungary founded a Franciscan friary in Visegrád, a royal seat. This friary was built right next to the royal palace which stood in the town and was in use for approximately one hundred years. The site was cleared before construction took place: the friary was erected on an area where, earlier on, mostly timber-framed town houses built in the 13th–14th centuries had stood.⁴³ This part of the settlement was already ruinous at the time of the friary's foundation. The entire town had been swept by a wave of rebuilding in the mid-14th century during the course of which earlier, larger timber houses had been knocked down and stone buildings put up in their place. Still standing on the site for the Franciscan friary was the Chapel of St. George, out of use by this time. In the 15th century, the Franciscan friary represented an intermediate space of the type that performed the role of transitional zone between the large complex of royal buildings and the civic spaces of the town. The situation was similar in Buda, where as a result of the town's topographical development in the 15th century, the Franciscan friary likewise found itself between a large complex of royal buildings and the civic part of the town. Taking the place of the Kammerhof standing at the northern end of the fortress in the 13th century, the 14th–15th-century royal palace complex was built on the southern part of the plateau that stretched along Castle Hill.⁴⁴

In the topographical arrangement of religious houses in towns, and in the role they played in the system of streets and squares, the locations of Augustinian friaries were significant. The era of town founding – and populating – is well conveyed by the case of a religious house set up in Vác in 1319. Established by the bishop and sited in the town's German quarter, the Augustinian

⁴² Végh, “Buda középkori helyrajza,” I. p. 64.

⁴³ Buzás, Laszlovsky, Mészáros, “The Town” pp. 77–79; Mészáros, Orsolya, “Topography and Urban Property Transactions” in *The medieval royal town at Visegrád. Royal Centre, Urban Settlement, Churches*, eds Buzás, Gergely, Laszlovsky, József, Mészáros, Orsolya (Budapest, 2014) pp. 160–170.

⁴⁴ Laszlovsky, József, “Crown, Gown and Town: Zones of Royal, Ecclesiastical and Civic Interaction in Medieval Buda and Visegrád,” in *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation. Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe* (Historical Urban Studies), eds Derek Keene, Balázs Nagy and Katalin Szende (Farnham, 2009), pp. 179–203.

Friary of St. James complex came into being at a time when the 11th-century pre-urban area outside the fortress walls (it was later called the Hungarian Town) and the German quarter founded in the 13th century were not yet contiguous. Indeed, on the basis of archaeological observations, between the two there stretched a system of ditches that served to delineate them. That is to say, the bishop ordered construction work on an empty plot bordered by a site in the German Town, the churchyard of the Church of St. Michael; the Danube embankment; the main road running through the town; and a minor street bordering the Hungarian Town. This location was, at one and the same time, on the edge of towns and in the middle of the town: it was an area just outside the German quarter which, at the same time, bordered on the Hungarian quarter.⁴⁵ Seen through the eyes of a farsighted town planner, it occupied a site that would later on become a central place.

Augustinian friaries were founded in nearby Buda and in Visegrád also, shortly after these towns were built, or early on at the very least. Located in the area beyond the fortress walls, the Augustinian friary in Buda dated back to the 13th century. It played a significant part in the naming of the town quarter in which it stood: on the basis of the friary's patron saint, the town quarter round about was called Szentistván ('Saint Stephen'). The churchyard next to the church was used not by the monastics but by the inhabitants of the town quarter, from the 14th century onwards.⁴⁶

The founding of the friary in Visegrád, in the first half or middle part of the 14th century, may have been due to Elizabeth of Poland (the dowager of King Charles I of Hungary), who later requested for the friary permission to grant indulgences. The friary stood in the Hungarian quarter, in an eminent place near to mints and the Royal Chamber.⁴⁷

Among the towns investigated, Sátoraljaújhely, too, featured an Augustinian friary, the first written datum on which is from 1324, from the Wilhelmite brothers of the Order of St. Augustine who were already living there. Although the exact time of the friary's foundation is unknown, it can be estimated as having been the early 14th century. In all probability, the friary was founded by the king. In this way, it shows parallels with Augustinian foundations in the central parts of the realm. Practical considerations probably lay behind the king's choice of the Augustinians: nearby Patak (today's Sárospatak), where other mendicant friars (Franciscans and Dominicans) were already living, was just 13 km from Sátoraljaújhely, with the result that the new foundation in close proximity to them might have impinged on their interests. The friary had a few properties of its own (fishponds, meadows, mills), vineyards even. The last mentioned were not rare in Sátoraljaújhely. The friary was located on the town's eastern edge, on what was at the same time the highest point in the settlement.

Communal locations, spatial power

⁴⁵ MRT 9. p. 429. (Site 31/3c); the foundation document: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár/National Archives of Hungary, Budapest, DF 238 341.)

⁴⁶ Végh, "Buda középkori helyrajza," I. pp. 100–101.

⁴⁷ Buzás, Laszlovszky, Mészáros, "The Town" p. 77.

One of the most significant – and, from the topographical point of view, salient – events in towns in the late medieval period was the procession. Depending on the Christian feasts they marked, processions of various kinds took place; they could take place inside churches as well as outside them. Processions that attracted large crowds were, when possible, held in the open air. They expressed sense of community among groups in the town – in most cases that of clerics and lay people together – for example, sense of community among individual altar guilds, individual parish districts, and a town’s population as a whole. They raised the status of a settlement, and were festive expressions of a given community’s belonging together. At the same time, as unequivocal expressions of the social hierarchy (shown by the order in which the people processed), they could also be sources of significant tension. The routes followed by processions were highly significant in urban spaces: particular churches, quarters, squares, and streets were assigned a central role while others remained in the background. Routes could also give expression to boundaries within towns.⁴⁸

So far, ecclesiastical processions in Hungary in the Late Middle Ages have been investigated in depth only as regards Sopron, Pozsony, and Pécs.⁴⁹ Concerning the topography of processions in Pozsony, primarily the large-scale Feast of Corpus Christi procession, there exists data from the 15th century first and foremost: entries in the town’s account books and the Corpus Christi Confraternity’s own documents. On the basis of the written sources as well as of analogies provided by other towns, the Corpus Christi procession in Pozsony may have started out from the Parish Church of St. Martin. This was the town’s most important church, as well as the seat of the Corpus Christi Confraternity. It then proceeded to the Corpus Christi Chapel in Hosszú utca (‘Long Street’), Fő tér (‘Main Square’), St. Lawrence’s Gate, St. Michael’s Gate, the square in front of the Franciscan friary, and the street of the Jews.⁵⁰ Reconstructions suggest that this procession continued to town areas outside the walls, to the parish churches of the two *suburbia* also. The sources show that when it was one of the active organisers of Pozsony’s Feast of Corpus Christi procession, the Corpus Christi Confraternity included members of the town elite. In Buda also,⁵¹ the route followed by the Corpus Christi procession expressed the prestige and identity of the Corpus Christi Confraternity outside its religious role. At the same time, the procession’s route through the inner town took it past the residences of the town’s leading

⁴⁸ Fedeles, Tamás, “Vallásos áhítat, közösségtudat, reprezentáció. A középkori körmenetek főbb jellemzői,” [Religious Devotion, Community Identity, Representation. The Main Features of Late-Medieval Processions] *Aetas* 22, 3 (2007), pp. 59, 73, 78.

⁴⁹ Sopron: Házi, Jenő, *Sopron középkori egyháztörténete* [Medieval Ecclesiastical History of Sopron] (Sopron, 1939); Bratislava/Posonium: Majorossy, “Krisztus teste konfraternitás”; Majorossy, Judit, “Late Medieval Confraternities in Pressburg,” in *Pfarreien in Mitteleuropa im Mittelalter. Deutschland, Polen, Tschechien und Ungarn im Vergleich* eds Kruppa, Nathalie, Zygmier, Leszek (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 238,) (Göttingen, 2008), pp. 339–362.

⁵⁰ Majorossy, “Krisztus teste konfraternitás,” p. 89; Majorossy, Judit, “A polgári térhasználat elemei a késő-középkori Pozsonyban,” [The elements of the civic usage of space in late medieval Pressburg] in *Urbs, Magyar Város-történeti Évkönyv IV*, ed László Á. Varga (Budapest, 2009), pp. 86, 90 (map 4).

⁵¹ Kubinyi, András, “Vallásos társulatok a középkori Magyarországon,” [Confraternities in medieval Hungary] in *Főpárok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon* [Prelates, Ecclesiastical Institutions and Godliness in medieval Hungary] ed Kubinyi, András (Budapest, 1999) p. 350.

stratum. Following the parallelism of the ecclesiastical procession and the spaces of the elite which headed the town, the question arises as to how much other, secular-type, town processions corresponded to particular elements of space use by the Church.⁵²

In Sopron also, sources point to ecclesiastical processions held in the town. Although no route reconstruction of the kind made for Pozsony has yet been performed, town processions linked with Church feasts are known to have taken place. In connection with Epiphany house blessing, in the early 16th century clergy, the schoolmaster, and pupils walked round the town as though processing; the walk ended in a feast.⁵³ In Sopron as elsewhere, the Corpus Christi procession was the most festive one. The sources tell us the sums given to helpers, and even that a guard was stationed in the tower of the Parish Church of St. Michael lest an attack be launched on the town while its inhabitants – irrespective of gender or social status – took part in the parade (1453). Indeed, Corpus Christi plays, too, were performed.⁵⁴

In many other Hungarian towns also, there were procession routes, for example in Buda, Pécs, and Eger.⁵⁵ Alongside the processions organised around Church feasts, there were secular-type town processions which for particular reasons took in ecclesiastical institutions – for example, in Pozsony the visiting of town churches in connection with the inauguration and swearing in of town leaders in the parish church, or the visiting of these churches in connection with coronations and burials. Coronations and burials in various different locations are mentioned in the chronicles. The role of Buda's Parish Church of Our Lady in connection with such events stands out,⁵⁶ but an example is known from Visegrád, too, when the body of King Charles I of Hungary was laid out in the town's parish church (1342).

Ecclesiastical institutions, especially a town's most important or only parish church, were expressions of that community's sense of oneness, its sense of being a community, not just in the field of spiritual care, but also in use of space for display and festive purposes.

Summary

The locations of the most important ecclesiastical institutions in Hungarian towns, and the central places they occupied within settlements, were beyond doubt the results of the developmental histories and topographical evolution of the towns in question. As noted above on more than one occasion, urban development in Hungary began in earnest in the second half of the 13th century. Settlements fulfilling the role of centres – seats of monarchs, bishops, and *ispáns* (senior royal officials) – existed during the Arpadian age, too, but not all of these settlements developed into towns during the late medieval period. Motors of urban development – market

⁵² Majorossy, "A polgári térhasználat," p. 91.

⁵³ Házi, *Sopron*, p. 333.

⁵⁴ Házi, *Sopron*, pp. 334–335.

⁵⁵ Fedeles, "Vallásos áhítat," pp. 61, 62, 65; Fedeles, Tamás, "Körmenetek Pécsen, a 14–15. században," [Procession in Pécs in the 14–15th centuries] *Pécsi Szemle* 10, 4 (2007) pp. 4–21.

⁵⁶ Kubinyi, András, "Főváros, rezidencia és az egyházi intézmények," [Capital, residence and ecclesiastical institutions] in *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon* [Prelates, Ecclesiastical Institutions and Godliness in medieval Hungary] ed Kubinyi, András (Budapest, 1999) pp. 305–306.

sites linked to trade, social groups engaged in trade (Jews, West European *hospites* who had come from Wallonian or South German territories), and the first privileges granted to *hospites* that contained seeds of later town autonomy – appeared in Hungary in the 12th century already. The Tatar invasion in the mid-13th century, and royal policy in the period that followed it, further boosted the development of towns. Occurring spontaneously and later speeded up by kings, development led – from different antecedents and by way of methods that varied – to the independent and autonomous towns that existed in the 14th–15th centuries, and to royal support, mirrored in the large number of town charters.

Different types of antecedents to development meant different types of urban ecclesiastical topography. One type of antecedent was the multicore settlement that evolved in the 11th century before eventually coming to coalesce into a single town in the 13th–14th centuries (e.g. Sopron, Esztergom). Originally, multiple smaller settlement cores related to one another in terms of functions, existing as independent units territorially. Here churches, too, can be found scattered. Settlements could have a number of parishes or just one. During changes regarding the centre of gravity in a town, ecclesiastical buildings could find themselves in locations that had become marginal.

Another type was the deliberate and planned founding of towns. Here, likewise, antecedents earlier than the 13th century need to be reckoned with, but the new privilege-holding towns and their topography resulted from a unitary approach to town founding and town planning (e.g. Buda, Visegrád). In this case, churches were built in a central place mostly, at the expense of a few earlier installations in the settlement, or next to them.

There were cases where early, 11th–12th-century, germs of settlements existed, but where the settlement expanded, or underwent transformation, in the 13th century: the earlier settlement core may have declined with a new one's coming into being or with a dual core's forming out of the old and the new together (e.g. Vác). This was frequent in places where owing to shifts of trade routes next to an earlier settlement, new trading centres came into being. In some cases, the monarch or the feudal lord of a town brought in new population groups (*hospites*). In this case, there may even have been multiple parishes, or a new parish taking over the canonical role of the old one.

A cardinal point in the ecclesiastical topography of Hungarian towns is that the topographical locations for mendicant orders were not the edges of towns, as in Western Europe, but the centres of towns, or at least at important spots in them. In Western Europe, places had to be found for new, 13th-century ecclesiastical institutions in towns that were already many hundreds of years old and whose structures were already set. In the case of Hungarian towns on the other hand, the mendicant friars made their appearance precisely at the time when these towns were being structurally transformed. From the mid-13th century, the three pillars of ecclesiastical organisation in the towns of Hungary were parish churches, hospitals, and the friaries of mendicants. This is exemplified best of all by the Church's founding activities in Vác during the 13th century.

To sum up, urban development and the spread of churches, along with ecclesiastical topography and use of space, accorded with European tendencies, but urban development in

Hungary and its chronology necessarily produced unique characteristics. One such was the transformation of 11th–13th-century central places and the impress of topographical antecedents on the 14th–15th-century topography of settlements that were becoming autonomous towns. The power of churches in the Late Middle Ages to organise space is likewise largely in line with traditions in Western Europe, although the changes in character over time of certain elements of development resulted in topographical positioning different in some respects.

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Figures

Fig. 1. Location of the towns discussed in the paper within medieval and present borderline of Hungary

Fig. 2. Groundplans of the towns discussed in the paper (a. Buda; b. Sopron; c. Szeged; d. Visegrád; e. Vác; f. Sátoraljaújhely; g. Kőszeg; h. Kecskemét; i. Pozsony)

Under constructions

Comments

Fig. 1. attached (made by Orsolya Mészáros). It should be S size figure.

Fig.2.

Please, put the following groundplans into one L size figure. The groundplans first should be black and white. Then, after consulting, three different colours should be used uniformly in each groundplan to emphasize three church types discussed in the paper.

Fig. 2.a. (Buda)

Please, use Magyar Városatlasz series, vol. Buda, Plate A.3.2.

http://www.varosatlasz.hu/images/pdf/atlaszok/sopron/A_3.pdf

Fig. 2.b. (Sopron)

Please, use Magyar Városatlasz series, vol. Sopron, Plate A.3.3.

http://www.varosatlasz.hu/images/pdf/atlaszok/sopron/A_3.pdf

Fig. 2.c. (Szeged)

Please, use Magyar Városatlasz series, vol. Szeged, Plate A.3.1.

<http://www.varosatlasz.hu/images/pdf/atlaszok/szeged/A.3.1.pdf>

Fig.2.d. (Visegrád): attached. (made by Orsolya Mészáros)

Fig. 2.e. (Vác): attached. (made by Orsolya Mészáros)

Fig. 2.f. (Sátoraljaújhely)

Please, use Magyar Városatlasz series, vol. Sátoraljaújhely, Plate B.1.1.

http://www.varosatlasz.hu/images/pdf/atlaszok/sau/SAU_b1_1.pdf

Fig. 2.g. (Kőszeg)

Please, use Magyar Városatlasz series, vol. Kőszeg, Plate A.3.2.

http://www.varosatlasz.hu/images/pdf/atlaszok/koszeg/A-3-2_Koszeg.pdf

Fig. 2.h. (Kecskemét)

Please, use Magyar Városatlasz series, vol. Kecskemét, Plate A.3.1.

http://www.varosatlasz.hu/images/pdf/atlaszok/kecskemet/A-3-1_Kecskemet.pdf

Fig. 2.i. (Pozsony)

in attached only for a look (poor quality). The groundplan is published in Judit Majorssy, “A polgári térhasználat elemei a késő-középkori Pozsonyban,” [The elements of the civic usage of space in late medieval Pressburg] in *Urbs, Magyar Várostörténeti Évkönyv IV*, ed László Á. Varga (Budapest, 2009), p. 78: map. 2. See Academia.edu or Judit’s version