

# URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE DANUBE-TISA-MUREŞ REGION IN THE MIDDLE AGES\*

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Between the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> and the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Timișoara (Temesvár) was one of the most significant towns and castles of the region bordered by the south-eastern part of the Great Hungarian Plain (Nagy Alföld), the rivers Mureş (Maros), Tisa (Tisza) and the Lower-Danube (Al-Duna) and historic Transylvania. After the expulsion of the Ottoman Turks between 1716 and 1718, this area was organised by the Viennese Court into a border/buffer zone with the name *banatus Temesiensis/Temesvariensis* (*Temescher/Temesvarer Banat*, i.e. *Temesi bánság* in Hungarian). From the early 18<sup>th</sup> century on, the region was frequently referred to as *Bánát* (in Hungarian) or *Banat* (in German, Serbian and Romanian), clearly from the German word *Banat* (*banate* in English). However, it is important to stress that the terms *Bánát* and *banatus Temesiensis* (*banate of Temes*) were not used in the Middle Ages, for the simple reason that this political and administrative formation was created only in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Consequently, it is much more correct to use another term when referring to the area in question. This could be the Region between the rivers Danube, Tisa and Mureş (in short: the Danube-Tisa-Mureş region). In contrast with the term *Bánát*, the designation *Temesköz* is to be found in mediaeval documents. This name appears first in the papal tithe lists from the years 1332-1337. However, it should be borne in mind that the term *Temesköz* refers only to the smaller, flatland part of the region that was later called Banat (*Bánát*). *Temesköz* is a compound Hungarian word: the first element is identical with the name of the River *Temes*, while the second element, i.e. *köz*, has a special meaning in Hungarian, referring to an area bordered by waters/rivers. Mediaeval documents demonstrate that the term *Temesköz* was used merely as a

geographical designation. Consequently, between the 1030s and the middle of the 16th century the region never existed as a separately governed administrative unit within the Hungarian Kingdom, but constituted an organic part of the realm, first in the form of royal counties and later as noble counties<sup>1</sup>.

The Danube-Tisa-Mureş region, in all probability, came under the rule of the first Hungarian king, Saint Stephen, in 1028, when the king's military leader, Csanád subdued Ajtony, then lord of this region<sup>2</sup>. This change of rule allowed the spread of Latin Christianity in the region that had previously belonged to Ajtony and which, through his person, had had contacts with the Greek Orthodox Church. It also permitted the introduction of the county system here, which had a past of several decades in the western part of the Danube-Basin. Around Marosvár (or Csanádvár, as it was named from this time on), a bishopric (*diocesis*) was organised, whose borders coincided with those of the Danube-Tisa-Mureş region. Certain territories to the north of the River Mureş (Maros) also belonged to the bishopric of Cenad (Csanád) (*diocesis Chanadiensis*) since the *archidiaconatus ultramorisensis* and a part of the *archidiaconatus Orodienensis* were also included in the bishopric of Cenad (Csanád). Saint Gerard (Gellért), an Italian murdered by the mob during the pagan uprising in 1046, became the first bishop of Cenad (Csanád) in 1030<sup>3</sup>. As concerns the secular administration, it seems very probable that originally one huge county, the county of Csanád, was organised on the former territory of Ajtony, and this coincided in size with the bishopric of Csanád. However, this immense county of Csanád eventually broke up into several smaller counties, in all probability in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The county of Keve became independent first, followed (in parallel with the expansion of the state system towards the south and the east) by the counties of Arad, Temes, Krassó and finally Torontál. The last phase, i.e. the formation of the county of Torontál took place relatively late: the earliest surviving document mentioning the existence of this county dates from 1326. Roughly between the mid-14<sup>th</sup> and mid-16<sup>th</sup> centuries, therefore, the following counties existed in the Danube-Tisa-Mureş region: Keve, Krassó, Temes, Torontál, and the southern parts of the counties of Arad and Csanád which lay on the left bank of the River Mureş (Maros). By the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, however, all these counties had ceased to function in consequence of the victorious advance of the Ottoman Turks, who destroyed the mediaeval kingdom of Hungary<sup>4</sup>.

After a heavy siege, the most important town and castle in the region, Timișoara (Temesvár), fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1552<sup>5</sup>. Obviously, this marked the end of the mediaeval history of the town, which can be studied with the help of written sources from the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century. The first

document in which Timișoara (Temesvár) appears is the mid-12<sup>th</sup>-century description by Idrísí, the famous Sicilian Arab geographer, who proclaims Temesvár ("T.n.y.s.b.r.") to be a splendid town located south of the River Tisa (Tisza), and abounding in great richness. According to our present knowledge the attention of the Hungarian kings first turned towards Temesvár, the mediaeval precursor of present-day Timișoara in Romania, in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century. The hostile attitude of the citizenry of Buda and the fact that virtually the entire realm was controlled by the "little kings" (oligarchs) led Charles I to seek a temporary residence here. The monarch paid his first visit to Timișoara (Temesvár) in 1315, and had his royal residence there until 1323. It is not widely known, but even an attempt was made on the king's life in the royal palace at Timișoara (Temesvár). Since Timișoara (Temesvár) did not have the advantage of a central geographical location, the royal court moved to Visegrád, in the middle of the realm, soon after the death of the most powerful oligarch, Máté Csák, in 1321. This move in fact took place in 1323, when the last of the "little kings", János Babonics, was subdued by Charles I. The departure of the royal court evidently did not favour the further development of Timișoara (Temesvár).

A new situation emerged in the 1360s, when Louis I (or the Great) launched a very active Balkans policy. This clearly increased the role of the *comes Temesiensis* and the importance of Timișoara (Temesvár), the favourable geographical location of which led to its serving as the "gateway" to the Balkans. Louis I occupied Vidin in Bulgaria in 1365 and appointed a *banus* (ban) there to administer the affairs of the newly created *Bulgarian banate of Vidin*. It is important to stress that the jurisdiction of the *ban of Vidin* extended not only to Vidin, but also to those Hungarian castles which were located next to the banate of Vidin. These castles, among which Timișoara (Temesvár) was perhaps the most significant, provided military protection for the banate of Vidin. This political arrangement proved to be merely temporary since the *banate of Vidin* ceased to exist in 1369. After 1369, the king transferred the authority of the former *ban of Vidin* to the *comes Temesiensis*, who thereby became one of the most powerful dignitaries of the realm.

The greatest obstacle to the development of the town was that the overwhelming Turkish victory at Nicopolis in 1396 resulted in Timișoara (Temesvár) and the region around it becoming the permanent target of Ottoman onslaughts. Consequently, by the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, Timișoara (Temesvár) assumed the role of a *border castle*. This evidently hindered its urban development, despite the fact that Pipo Ozorai and János Hunyadi (as *comites Temesiensis*) initiated significant building operations here. Since these building operations primarily focused on fortifying the castle and the

town, they did not essentially promote urban development. At the same time, the administrative functions of Timișoara (Temesvár) were broadened, since the exploitation of the salt deposit at Keve (today Kovin in Serbia) was controlled by Pipo Ozorai in Timișoara (Temesvár). The change in the status of Timișoara (Temesvár) was made in order to make the southern defence system more effective, since Ozorai, for a while, simultaneously held the offices of *comes Temesiensis* and *comes camerarum salium regalium*.

Timișoara (Temesvár) is referred to in mediaeval charters as *villa*, *oppidum* and *civitas*. According to our present knowledge documents that contain franchises of the *hospites/cives* of Timișoara (Temesvár) do not appear to have survived from the mediaeval period. However, indirect evidence clearly reveals that the town enjoyed the right to hold weekly fairs, and the daily life of Timișoara (Temesvár) was directed by the town council, consisting of the *judge (iudex)* and the *aldermen (iurati cives)*. The first *iudex* is mentioned in written documents in 1390, and is named *Mychael dictus Poztos*. His Hungarian name, Posztós, refers to a person who was engaged either in the production or the selling of cloth. At present, only two charters are known to have been issued by the town council, one in 1498, and the other in 1523. However, Timișoara (Temesvár) cannot be regarded as a royal free town since its autonomy was seriously restricted by the *comes* and *vicecomes Temesiensis* who had their seats in the town. From the point of view of urban autonomy, the most disadvantageous features were that in 1369 the authority of the ban of Vidin was transferred to the *comes Temesiensis*, and that from the late 14<sup>th</sup> century the Ottoman advance led to the authority of the *comes Temesiensis* being significantly strengthened. In the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, for instance, Pipo Ozorai as *comes Temesiensis* also exercised jurisdiction over the counties of Csanád, Arad, Keve, Krassó, Zaránd and Csongrád, and 15 to 20 royal castles were under his control.

The citizens of Timișoara (Temesvár) are referred to in medieval charters as *cives et hospites*. The guests of Temesvár (*hospites de Themeswar*) are mentioned first in written documents in 1341. Unfortunately, there are only sporadic data as to the names and professions of the citizens and the social structure and ethnic composition of the town. The scattered personal names preserved in documentary evidence, various data concerning urban administration, and the geographical location of the town convincingly suggest that the *hospites*, and indeed the inhabitants of Timișoara (Temesvár), were preponderantly Hungarians until the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. In contrast with most other towns in the Hungarian kingdom, therefore, Latin and German guests did not play an important role in the development of mediaeval Timișoara (Temesvár). This is supported by the fact that a similar situation can be observed in the case of the nearby town

of Szeged. However, a maior shift occurred in the ethnic composition of the population of the Temes region in consequence of the regular Ottoman onslaughts that began in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, and the migration and settling of new inhabitants following the Ottoman devastation. Many of those Hungarians who had survived the brutal Ottoman raids migrated to the central parts of the realm, and, from the early 15<sup>th</sup> century on, a large number of Serbs and Romanians arrived to replace them. The immigrants continued to use the original Hungarian place-names in this area, but obviously adapted them to their own language, as is shown by an analysis of the Turkish state-tax returns from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. The above changes that took place in the Temesköz in the Late Middle Ages also had an impact on the ethnic make-up of the town of Timișoara (Temesvár) itself. Nevertheless, the first Turkish state-tax return (*defter*) produced in 1554 proves that the Hungarians still constituted the majority of the inhabitants of the town (numbering around 4000 at that time) even two years after its fall to the Turks.

The first citizens of Timișoara (Temesvár) whose names have survived are mentioned in a charter issued in 1361. These citizens, *Valentinus filius Michaelis et Vehul [Utul?] dictus de Sumplijo cives de Themeswar*, were probably merchants who fell victim to the violent confiscation of their goods in the village of Akasztó, lying south-west of Kecskemét, in the region between the Danube and the Tisa (Tisza). Benedict Himfi, lord of the *tributarius* who committed the violence, later compensated them for this unlawfulness. The above-mentioned charter permits the assumption that Timișoara (Temesvár) had trading contacts with the western part of the realm already in the 1360s, and early 15<sup>th</sup> century documents unambiguously demonstrate that the merchants of Timișoara (Temesvár) travelled with their goods to both the western and eastern parts of the country. A number of 15<sup>th</sup> century charters reveal that the merchants of Timișoara (Temesvár) frequently came into conflict in Transylvania with the citizens of Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt), who regarded them as their rivals.

Although the written documents frequently refer to the merchants of Timișoara (Temesvár) (*mercatores de civitate Themeswar*), very little mention is made of the artisans living and working there. A *corrigiator* shows up in 1411, and, on the basis of the accounts of the royal domain of Timișoara (Temesvár) from the year 1372, it appears justifiable to assume that in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century the *carpenters* formed a guild in Timișoara (Temesvár). A *sellator* and a *pellifex* are mentioned in the 15<sup>th</sup> century miracle collections of Saint John of Capistrano. These random references should be analysed together with the data of the *defter* of the sanjak of Timișoara (Temesvár), produced in 1554, i.e. two years after the fall of the town, in which the names of the heads of families were recorded.

Various other facts prove that, despite its restricted autonomy, Timișoara (Temesvár) was a very significant town in the Middle Ages. It may be mentioned, for instance, that Timișoara (Temesvár) was the first Hungarian town to which a coat-of-arms was awarded. This took place in 1365, i.e. precisely four years before Kassa (today Košice in Slovakia) received its own coat-of-arms. (Until recently, it was assumed that it was Kassa to which this royal favour was granted first.) The coat-of-arms of mediaeval Timișoara (Temesvár) represents the figure of a dragon, which may symbolise Bogomil heresy.

The church institutions of the town also prove that Timișoara (Temesvár) was a significant settlement. First of all, Timișoara (Temesvár) was the centre of the *archidiaconatus Temesiensis*, which was divided into several smaller districts. At least two parish churches stood in the town, one dedicated to Saint Eligius, and the other to Saint George. Unfortunately, the legal position of a third church, dedicated to Saint Martin, has not yet been clarified. The Dominicans also had a friary there. This friary is mentioned first in 1323. The church of this monastery was under the protection of Saint Ladislav, King of Hungary, who was canonised in 1192. There is convincing evidence for the existence of another cloister from the year 1405. Although the charter does not name the order to which the monastery belonged, mention of the patron saint, the Virgin Mary, allows the assumption that it was a Franciscan friary. From a supplication submitted to Pope Eugene IV in 1433, we learn that there were two hospitals in Timișoara (Temesvár). One, *Sanctus Spiritus*, was within the town-walls and had been founded by the citizens of Timișoara (Temesvár), while the other, *Decem milium militum*, stood outside the walls. The latter was founded by the widow of Pipo Ozorai. Francesco Grisellini states that Pál Kinizsi, as *comes Temesiensis* after his triumphant campaign in Serbia in 1481, brought some 50 000 Serbians to Hungary upon his return, whom he settled around Timișoara (Temesvár) (perhaps in the suburbs of the town). However, no indisputable documents are known that prove the existence of Greek Orthodox churches in Timișoara (Temesvár) prior to 1552.

As concerns the topography of Timișoara (Temesvár), it may be stated that the town consisted of several parts: the castle, the town itself and the two suburbs adjacent to the town, named Nagy Palánk and Kis Palánk. The castle and the town were situated in a marshy region, a condition which left its mark both on the appearance of the town and on the construction-techniques.

The other two major towns in the region were Cenad (Csanád) and Lipova (Lippa). Both towns came into being on the left bank of the River Mureș (Maros), and in both towns salt deposits were exploited. As the centre

of a bishopric, Cenad (Csanád), played a very important role already from the 1030s and preserved its position as the leading town in the region until the early 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>6</sup>. Cenad (Csanád) was not only an episcopal see, but also the centre of the county of Csanád. Two chapter houses stood in the town: one, dedicated to Saint George, was a cathedral chapter and functioned as an outstanding place of authentication, while the other, placed under the protection of the Saint Redeemer, was a collegiate chapter (*capitulum collegiatum Sancti Salvatoris*). The Benedictine monastery in Cenad (Csanád) originated in the age of Arpad and was dedicated to the Holy Mary (*monasterium Beatae Virginis*). By a papal decree, the possessions of this monastery, were donated to the bishopric in 1493, while the church of the abbey was awarded to the Franciscans. The hospital of the town is mentioned in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. Two parish churches stood in Cenad (Csanád): one was dedicated to the Holy Spirit and is mentioned by a charter from 1412, whereas the other was under the protection of Saint Elizabeth and is referred to in 1399. The weekly market in Cenad (Csanád) was held on Saturday. No mention is made in the mediaeval documents of an annual fair. Both charters and narrative sources refer to Cenad (Csanád) as *civitas*. This corresponds to the situation that Cenad (Csanád) was an episcopal see. The citizens of the town are named *cives*, and the chief citizen of Cenad (Csanád) is referred to as a judge (*iudex*). Three judges of the town are known by name: 1417: Stephanus, 1440: Andreas Parvus, and 1456: Gallus Kalmar. Documentary evidence clearly reveals that the cathedral chapter was the landlord of the town. In consequence of this circumstance, the citizens of the town could not acquire broad autonomy. The mediaeval town of Cenad (Csanád) was destroyed by the Mongols in 1241 and then in 1514 by the crusaders of György Dózsa. The final destruction of the town can be associated with the Ottoman Turks, who eventually occupied Cenad (Csanád) in 1551.

The other major town of the region, Lipova (Lippa), is also situated on the left bank of the River Mureş (Maros), where the river reaches the Great Plain<sup>7</sup>. In the Middle Ages Lipova (Lippa) belonged to the county of Arad; it became a really important centre only in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century, when Charles I frequently stayed here between 1315 and 1317. According to one opinion, the castle in the town was erected prior to 1324, while others believe that it was built only in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when János Hunyadi acquired the domain of Şoimoş (Solymos). Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the castle of Lipova (Lippa) and even the town itself depended closely on the castle of Şoimoş (Solymos), situated on the right bank of the River Mureş (Maros). After 1315, Şoimoş (Solymos), the most important stronghold in the county of Arad, became a royal castle and was

the appurtenance of the office of the *comes* Orodiensis<sup>8</sup>. In addition to the salt deposit, the town boasted a minting house and a royal tax-collecting chamber (*lucrum camere*). Originally, the tolls collected on the River Mureş (Maros) were shared by the Franciscan monks in Lipova (Lippa) and the chapter house in Arad. The proper names mentioned in early 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> century charters certify that Lipova (Lippa) had a handicraft industry on a relatively high level. One example may suffice here: a charter issued in 1475 mentions people living in Lipova (Lippa), whose names appear together with their professions. Thus, mention is made of a *selliparius*, a *mercator*, a *faber*, a *pellifex*, a *zabo* (*Szabó*), a *warga* (*Varga*), a *Zekeres* (*Szekeres*), a *Fazekos* (*Fazekas*), an *Aztalgyartho* (*Asztalgártó*) and a *Kerekgyartho* (*Kerékgyártó*)<sup>9</sup>. The first reference to craft guilds in Lipova (Lippa) is from the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, but they can be assumed to have existed much earlier too. The annual fair of the town (held on around 20 August) is attested to by the same charter<sup>10</sup>. Throughout the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Lipova (Lippa) belonged to the king. In later centuries, however, the monarchs frequently donated or pledged the town to different landlords. To mention merely a few such names: Jan Jiškra of Brandys, the Czech mercenary leader, captain-general in north-eastern Hungary, the Bánfis of Alsólendva, John Pancrace of Dengeleg, voivode of Transylvania, and John Corvin, natural son of King Matthias. Consequently, Lipova (Lippa) appears in written documents as *civitas* or *oppidum*. The citizens of the town are referred to as *cives* and the chief citizen as judge (*iudex*). The judge was supported in his work by the 12 aldermen (*iurati cives*). Documentary evidence indicates that the following judges directed the daily life of Lipova (Lippa): 1455: Simon furrier (*Simon pellifex*), 1516-20: Peter blacksmith (*Petrus faber*), and 1525: Mathias Lukácsy (*Mathias Lukachy*). The most significant among the church institutions in the town was the Franciscan friary. This was founded by King Charles I of Anjou in the late 1320s, and was under the protection of his uncle, Saint Louis, Bishop of Toulouse. Lipova (Lippa) also had a hospital and a nunnery. According to the papal tithe lists produced in the 1330s, the highest amount of tax in the county of Arad was paid by the priests in Lipova (Lippa). This fact clearly points to the high level of development attained by Lipova (Lippa) by the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century. After the battle of Nicopolis in 1396, which resulted in the fall of the Second Bulgarian Empire, a large number of Slavic fugitives escaped to Hungary and settled in Lipova (Lippa) and the region around it. They were followed in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries by Serbian refugees, who further strengthened Greek Orthodoxy in the region<sup>11</sup>. In 1529, John of Szapolya, King of Hungary, elevated Lipova (Lippa) to the rank of a royal free town, donating the law of Buda to Lipova (Lippa)<sup>12</sup>. This favourable change in the

legal position of Lipova (Lippa) followed partly from the advantageous geographical location of the town, and partly from the fact, that by the early 16<sup>th</sup> century Lipova (Lippa) was indeed one of the most developed towns in the region. It should also be mentioned that John of Szapolya who, controlled the eastern part of Hungary after the battle of Mohács, was in need of an appropriate royal seat too, and this upgraded the position of Lipova (Lippa).

Finally, I would like to refer briefly to two towns, Arad and Szeged, which are situated outside, but in the immediate vicinity of the Danube-Tisa-Mureş region. In fact, Arad is located on the right bank of the River Mureş (Maros), while Szeged was built at the confluence of the Rivers Mureş (Maros) and Tisa (Tisza), just opposite the mouth of the River Mureş (Maros), on the west bank of the river Tisa (Tisza). In the Middle Ages, both Arad and Szeged played important roles in the selling and storing of salt, which was transported from Transylvania down the River Mureş (Maros). The town of Arad, which in the Middle Ages was located 7 kilometres east of the present Arad, on the territory of the present-day Tudor Vladimirescu (Öthalom/Glogovác), soon came under the jurisdiction of the famous chapter house that stood here<sup>13</sup>. This chapter house was dedicated to Saint Martin and functioned as one of the most significant places of authentication in the region. Although the town of Arad was referred to as *civitas* both in 1329 and 1332, in fact it can be considered to have been, throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, an *oppidum* under the jurisdiction of the chapter house and the provost (*prepositus*). In contrast with Arad, Szeged was only the see of an archdeaconry (*archidiaconatus Segediensis*), from where the archdeacon moved, probably in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, to Bács (today Bač in Serbia), a centre of the archbishopric of Bács-Kalocsa<sup>14</sup>. Consequently, there were no church institutions in Szeged to restrict the shaping autonomy of the town. A further circumstance was the very favourable geographical location of Szeged: while the River Mureş (Maros) connected Szeged with Transylvania, the River Tisa (Tisza) created a link with the southern and northern parts of the realm. Moreover, from Szeged, with its very busy ford, important land routes led to the western and north-western localities of the kingdom. To crown all, the legal position of the town was also promising: Szeged, created as a legally unified town from three independent settlements (Upper- and Lower-Szeged, and the central settlement named simply Szeged) in 1469, pertained to the king throughout nearly the whole of the Middle Ages. These conditions led to King Wladislas II declaring Szeged to be a royal free town in 1498. It should be remembered, however, that the new legal status of Szeged was enacted only in 1514. Naturally, this legal status could not have been acquired without an adequate economic

background, the bases of which were provided by the large-scale cattle- and horse-breeding, and the wine-producing in the region of Szerémség. Animal husbandry and viticulture yielded produce that could easily be exported and thereby resulted in considerable profit.

To conclude my paper, I would like to point out that there were no royal free towns in the Danube-Tisa-Mureş region prior to 1526, the year of the fall of the independent kingdom of Hungary. This situation changed only in 1529 when, by the grace of King John of Szapolya, Lipova (Lippa) was granted the position of a royal free town. If the Danube-Tisa-Mureş region is taken in a wider sense, then two towns in the region, Szeged and Lipova (Lippa), succeeded in gaining admittance to the category of the most developed towns in the mediaeval kingdom of Hungary<sup>15</sup>.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup>Blazovich László, *Bánát*, in Kristó Gyula (főszerk./ed. in chief), *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9-14. század)*, (Early Hungarian Historical Lexicon, 9<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries) (hereafter *KMTL*), Budapest, 1994, p. 78; Petrovics István, *Módszertani problémák a középkori Temesvár történetének kutatása kapcsán* (Methodological problems concerning the research into the mediaeval history of Temesvár/Timişoara). To be published.

<sup>2</sup>Szegfű László, *Ajtony, Csanád*, in *KMTL*, pp. 32-33, 145.

<sup>3</sup>Udvardy József-Lotz Antal, *Csanádi püspökség* (Bishopric of Csanád), in *KMTL*, p. 146; Szegfű László, *Gellért, Szent* (Bishop Saint Gerard), *ibidem*, p. 231.

<sup>4</sup>For the problematics of the Hungarian county system, see Kristó Gyula, *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon* (The making of the counties in Hungary), Budapest, 1988. For the counties in question, see especially pp. 459-470. For the individual counties, see Benkő Elek, *Arad* 2, in *KMTL*, pp. 53-54; Györffy György, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* (Historical geography of Hungary in the age of Árpád), I-IV, Budapest, 1963-1998 (hereafter *ÁMF*), I, pp. 163-188; Almási Tibor, *Csanád* 3, in *KMTL*, p. 146, *ÁMF*, I, pp. 835-838; Koszta László, *Keve* 2, in *KMTL*, p. 348, *ÁMF*, III, pp. 305-321; Almási Tibor-Benkő Elek, *Krassó* 3, in *KMTL*, p. 380, *ÁMF*, III, pp. 467-498; Kristó Gyula, *Temes* 2, in *KMTL*, p. 669, Csánki Dezső, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* (Historical geography of Hungary in the age of the Hunyadis), I-III, V, Budapest, 1890-1913, II, pp. 1-92; Kristó Gyula, *Torontál*, in *KMTL*, p. 681; Csánki Dezső, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza*, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 124-130.

<sup>5</sup>The most recent works dealing with the mediaeval history of Timişoara (Temesvár) (with references to the primary sources) are: Petrovics István: *Megjegyzések Telegdi Csanád egri püspökké szentelése kapcsán* (Remarks on the Consecration of Csanád of Telegd as Bishop of Eger), in *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae. Acta Historica* (hereafter *AUSZ*), XCII (1991), pp. 43-49; idem, *Was there an ethnic background to the veneration of St. Eligius in Hungary?* in Ladislav Löb-István Petrovics-György Endre Szőnyi, *Forms of identity*.

*Definitions and changes*, Attila József University, Szeged, 1994, pp. 77-87; idem, *Temesvár és Nagyszeben. Megjegyzések egy oklevéltöredék kapcsán* (*Temesvár and Nagyszeben. Comments on fragments of a charter*), in Koszta László (szerk./ed.), *Kelet és Nyugat között. Történeti tanulmányok Kristó Gyula tiszteletére* (*Between East and West. Historical studies in honour of Gyula Kristó*), Szeged, 1995, pp. 401-412; idem, *Egy 14. századi temesvári bíró: Posztós Mihály* (*A 14<sup>th</sup>-century Mayor of Temesvár: Michael Posztós*), in AUSZ, CIII, 1996, pp. 91-99; idem, *Foreign ethnic groups and urban development in mediaeval Hungary: the case of Temesvár*, in AnB, SN, V, 1997, pp. 235-245; idem, *Royal residences and urban development during the reign of the Anjou kings in Hungary*, in *Historia Urbana*, tomul V, 1997/1, pp. 39-66; idem, *Adalékok a középkori Temesvár kereskedelmi kapcsolataihoz* (*Contributions to the trading activity of mediaeval Temesvár*), in AUSZ, CIX, 1999, pp. 33-38; idem, *The fading glory of a former royal seat: the case of Mediaeval Temesvár*, in Balázs Nagy-Marcell Sebők (eds.), *The man of many devices, who wandered full many ways. Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, CEU Press, Budapest, 1999, pp. 527-538; idem, *Módszertani problémák a középkori Temesvár történetének kutatása kapcsán*, op. cit.; idem, *Orgyilkosok Temesvárott: merénylet I. Károly király ellen* (*Assassins in Temesvár: an attempt on the life of King Charles I*), in Piti Ferenc-Szabados György (szerk./eds.), *"Magyaroknak eleiről". Ünnepi tanulmányok a hatvan esztendő Makk Ferenc tiszteletére* (*About the forefathers of the Hungarians*). *Historical studies in honour of Ferenc Makk*, Szeged, 2000, pp. 421-434; idem, *A Duna-Tisza-Maros-köz és Temesvár egyházi viszonyai a középkorban* (*Church organization and institutions in the Duna-Tisza-Maros region and in the town of Temesvár in the Middle Ages*), in Bárdi Nándor-Fleisch János-Pál Judit (szerk./eds.), *Erdélyi várostörténeti tanulmányok* (*Transylvanian urban historical studies*), Csíkszereda/Miercurea-Ciuc, 2001, pp. 43-68.

<sup>6</sup>For Cenad (Csanád), see: Kristó Gyula, *Csanád 2*, in *KMTL*, p. 146; ÁMF, I, pp. 850-853; Csánki Dezső, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza*, op. cit., I, p. 691; Borovszky Samu, *Csanád vármegye története 1715-ig* (*The history of the county of Csanád until 1715*), I-II, Oradea (Nagyvárad), 1896-1897, II, pp. 72-103. (The last three works contain references to nearly all of the most important primary sources.)

<sup>7</sup>For Lipova (Lippa), see: ÁMF, I, pp. 180-181; Csánki Dezső, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza*, op. cit., I, pp. 760, 764; Márki Sándor, *Aradvármegye és Arad szabad királyi város története* (*The history of the county of Arad and of the free royal town of Arad*), in Jancsó Benedek (szerk./ed.), *Aradvármegye és Arad szabad királyi város monográfiája* (*Monograph of the county of Arad and of the free royal town of Arad*), II/1, Arad, 1892, pp. 180-183. These works also contain references to the most important primary sources.

<sup>8</sup>For Șoimoș (Solymos), see: Engel Pál-Feld István, *Solymos*, in *KMTL*, p. 605; Engel Pál, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457* (*Secular archontology of Hungary, 1301-1457*), I-II, Budapest, 1996, I, pp. 413-414.

<sup>9</sup>Magyar Országos Levéltár, *Mohács előtti gyűjtemény* (*Hungarian National Archives, Collection of charters from the period 1000-1526*), 17 660.

<sup>10</sup>".... ad nundinas seu forum annuale...", *ibidem*.

<sup>11</sup>Fodor Pál, *Lippa és Radna 16. századi török adóösszeírásokban* (*The towns of Lippa and Radna in 16th century Ottoman state-tax returns*), in *Történelmi Szemle* (*Historical Review*), 39, 1997, pp. 313-334.

<sup>12</sup>The charter containing the privileges of the town of Lipova (Lippa) is published in Fábrián Gábor, *Arad vármegye leírása historiográfiai, geográfiai és statisztikai tekintetben* (*Historical, geographical and statistical description of the county of Arad*), Arad, 1835, pp. 240-244.

<sup>13</sup>For Arad, see: Csánki Dezső, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza*, op. cit., I, p. 765; Márki Sándor, *Aradvármegye és Arad szabad királyi város története*, op. cit., pp. 59-60, 175-180; ÁMF, I, pp. 170-172; Benkő Elek, *Arad 1*, in *KMTL*, p. 53; Blazovich László (szerk./ed.), *A Körös-*

*Tisza-Maros-köz települései a középkorban (Settlements of the region between the Rivers Körös, Tisza and Maros)*, Szeged, 1996, pp. 41-42.

<sup>14</sup>For Szeged, see: Kristó Gyula (ed.), *Szeged története, I. A kezdetektől 1686-ig (The history of the town of Szeged, vol. I, From the beginnings up to 1686)*, Szeged, 1983. The relevant parts were written by Szegfű László, Petrovics István and Kulcsár Péter; Kürti Béla-Petrovics István, *Szeged*, in *KMTL*, pp. 621-622.

<sup>15</sup>Confer Kubinyi András, *Városok, mezővárosok és központi helyek az Alföldön és az Alföld szélén (Civitates, oppida and central places on the Hungarian Plain and its Fringes)*, in *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat a középkori Alföldön és az Alföld szélén (Urban development and the network of markets on the Great Hungarian Plain and its fringes in the Middle Ages)*, Szeged, 2000, pp. 7-103. András Kubinyi examined and classified the different settlements (civitates, oppida and market places) of the region in question from the point of view of the functions they played as central places. His ranking of the towns confirms and makes more explicit our results: Szeged - 42 central-place points, Temesvár - 32 central-place points, Lippa - 28 central-place points, Csanád - 27 central-place points, Arad - 20 central-place points.

## ASPECTE ALE DEZVOLTĂRII URBANE ÎN REGIUNEA DUNĂRE – TISA – MUREȘ ÎN EVUL MEDIU

### *Rezumat*

Studiul se concentrează în primul rând asupra dezvoltării localităților Timișoara, Cenad și Lipova în perioada dintre începutul sec. XI și mijlocul sec. XVI. Se fac de asemenea referiri la situația orașelor Szeged și Arad, folosite ca termene de comparație. Concluziile indică faptul că fiecare oraș, în funcție de existența diferitelor instituții laice și ecleziastice specifice, avea caracteristici aparte. Astfel, Cenadul era o episcopie cu două capitluri, la Arad funcționa un faimos capitol iar în Szeged și Timișoara funcționau arhi-diaconate, în vreme ce Lipova nu a jucat un rol major în administrația ecleziastică. În cazul orașelor Szeged, Arad și Lipova, comerțul cu sare a jucat de asemenea un rol important, aceste localități având și rolul de depozite de sare. Timișoara a fost și a rămas centrul comitatului Timiș iar dată fiind politica balcanică a Imperiului maghiar și amenințarea otomană, importanța sa militară a crescut semnificativ. Deși aceste orașe din regiunea Dunăre – Tisa – Mureș prezentau o evidentă importanță, nici unul dintre ele nu a reușit să acceadă - înainte de 1526 - în categoria celor mai dezvoltate localități (orașele libere regale) ale imperiului medieval maghiar.