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HUNGARIAN TOWNS AGAINST THE OTTOMAN ADVANCE IN THE MIDDLE AGES: THE CASES OF PÉCS, SZEGED AND TEMESVÁR

Summary. The study aims to demonstrate the geographical, legal and political status of three southern Hungarian towns and the role that these towns played in the wars against the Ottomans from the late 14th to the early 16th century. Pécs, located in the Transdanubian part of the realm was a rich episcopal city, while Szeged lying at the confluence of the Rivers Tisza and Maros was a thriving royal free town of the Great Hungarian Plain. The third town, Temesvár (today Timişoara, Romania) located on the eastern fringe of the Great Hungarian Plain was a royal seigneurial town, the seat of the powerful counts of Temes which served as the gateway of the realm to the Balkans. The study consists of three chapters: the first analyses the development and characteristics of the towns under scrutiny in the Middle Ages, the second outlines Ottoman – Hungarian relations between the late 14th and the mid-16th century, while the third examines the role that these towns played in the anti-Ottoman wars.

Keywords: Hungary, towns, Ottomans, 14th–16th century, Pécs, Szeged, Temesvár, war

The towns

Szeged

Szeged was one of the most important towns of southern Hungary in the Middle Ages. It emerged at the confluence of the Rivers Tisza and Maros. The town was established on three larger and several smaller islands, among which there were both permanent and temporary backwaters as well as wetlands. The marshy land,

the temporary and permanent river branches and the stagnant waters provided a natural protection to the town in the Middle Ages.[1]

Although a watchtower stood there in Roman times, and different nomadic peoples (e.g. Huns, Avars) also frequented this region no urban-type settlement existed there before the arrival of the Magyars in the late 9th century. Both archaeological findings and documentary evidence support the contention that Szeged evolved in the 11th and 12th centuries as a Hungarian town. Due to its favourable geographical location all regions of the kingdom could be reached easily from Szeged. While the River Maros connected Szeged with Transylvania, the River 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 northwestern localities of the kingdom.[2]

The name of Szeged appeared in written sources as early as 1183, but mention was for the first time made of the *hospites* (guests) of Szeged only in 1247. The appearance of the *hospites* who, in all probability were ethnic Hungarians, demonstrated that the transformation of pre-urban Szeged into a real town took place after the Mongol invasion of 1241–1242. In contrast with other parts of the kingdom no foreign ethnic groups seemed to have played a role in this process. The influx of the Romance speaking Latin guests to Hungary took place mainly prior to the 13th century and even then they avoided settling down in the localities of the Great Plain. The situation was the same with the Germans who succeeded the Latin guests. Depending on their occupation both the Latin and the German settlers preferred administrative centres, primarily royal and ecclesiastical seats, and the mountainous regions of the kingdom to the Great Plain. The lack of toponyms such as Olaszi, Szászi, Németi etc. (meaning Italian, Saxon and German in Hungarian) in the territory of the Great Plain confirms the above statement.[3]

[1] L. Blazovich, *The Historical Topography of Szeged. From the Beginnings to the End of the Middle Ages*, [in:] *Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns*, vol. 3: *Szeged*, Szeged 2014, pp. 5–12; C. Szalontai, *Szeged születése – Megtelepedés a szegedi tájban a város kialakulásáig*, Budapest 2020.

[2] *Szeged története*, vol. 1: *A kezdetektöl 1686-ig*, ed. G. Kristó, Szeged 1983. The relevant parts were written by L. Szekfű, I. Petrovics, P. Kulcsár and F. Szakály; B. Kürti, I. Petrovics, *Szeged*, [in:] *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon*, eds. G. Kristó, P. Engel, F. Makk, Budapest–Szeged 1994, pp. 621–622.

[3] *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*, ed. R. Marsina, vol. 1, Bratislavae 1970, p. 90; J. Reizner, *Szeged története*, vol. 4, Szeged 1900, p. 3; also *cf.* I. Petrovics, *Foreign Ethnic*

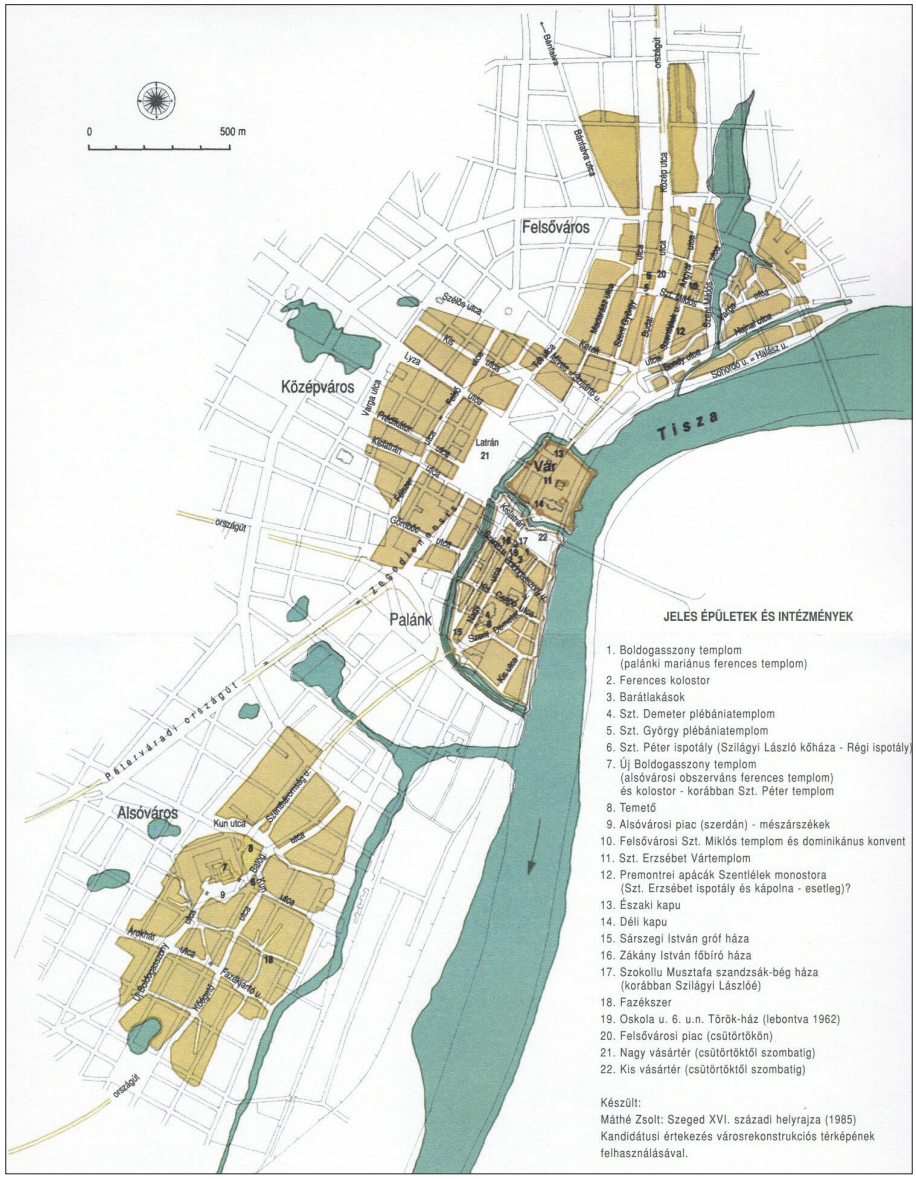

Fig. 1. Szeged in the 16th century. (Source: M. Kratochwill on the basis of Z. Máté's reconstruction – L. Blazovich: *Városok az Alföldön...*, The map is between pages 60 and 61)

Groups in the Towns of Southern Hungary, [in:] *Segregation – Integration –Assimilation. Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, eds. D. Keene, B. Nagy, K. Szende, Ashgate 2009, pp. 67–88.

The first mention of Szeged in the sources that can be analysed from a demographic and ethnic point of view was in the tithe-list from the year 1522. This important document enumerated 1644 mostly independent families in Szeged and according to scholars who made their estimation on the basis of this tithe-list the number of inhabitants of the town might have reached 8000 at that time.[4] This shows that Szeged was one of the most populous towns of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom in the Late Middle Ages. For the sake of comparison let me mention that Buda, the medieval "capital" of the realm had 12 000–15 000, while Pest, the second largest town had 10 000 inhabitants at the end of the 15th century.[5] The other conclusion of great significance that can be drawn from the data of the tithe-list is that Szeged could preserve its Hungarian character even in the first half of the 16th century.

It is equally important to stress that Szeged was not only a town with a large number of inhabitants, but also a thriving commercial centre, the bases of which were provided by the large-scale cattle- and horse-breeding, and the wine-production in the Szerémség (present-day Srem), a region located between the Rivers Danube and Száva/Sava.[6] Also from the earliest times a royal salt deposit was operated in the town of Szeged, which served as another factor of its development. In accordance with the general Hungarian situation, commerce played a more important role than craft industry in the economic life of the town. Consequently, Szeged had the privilege of holding three weekly markets in the 15th century, and from 1499 onwards an annual fair.

From an ecclesiastical point of view Szeged was the centre of an archdeaconry, whence the *archidiaconus Segediensis* moved, probably in the 13th century, to Bács (today Bač in Serbia) where the archbishops of Kalocsa had one of their seats. Two parish churches, one dedicated to St. George, the other to St. Demetrius, two hospitals, and four monasteries (two belonging to the Franciscan order, one Dominican and one Premonstratensian) stood in the town in the Late Middle Ages. These church institutions did not threaten or restrict the autonomy

[4] J. Reizner, *op. cit*., pp. 97–128; S. Bálint, *Az 1522. évi tizedlajstrom szegedi vezetéknevei*, "A Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság kiadványai" 1963, No. 105, Budapest 1963. *Cf*. *Szeged története*..., pp. 448–460; P. Kulcsár, *Az 1522-es szegedi tizedjegyzék mint történeti forrás*, "Tanulmányok Csongrád megye történetéből" 1984, vol. 8, pp. 5–27. According to András Kubinyi the number of the inhabitants of Szeged in 1522 might have reached 9500. *Cf*. A. Kubinyi, *A Magyar Királyság népessége a 15. század végén*, "Történelmi Szemle" 1996, vol. 38, No. 2–3, pp. 149–150.

[5] G. Granasztói, *A középkori magyar város*, Budapest 1980, p. 157.

[6] Today Srem is divided between Serbia and Croatia with the major part belonging to Serbia.

of Szeged, which pertained to the king for nearly the whole of the Middle Ages. This favourable legal position and the economic level the town had reached by the late 15th century led to King Wladislas II declaring Szeged to be a royal free town in 1498. Moreover the law of 1514 decreed that Szeged, along with other royal properties and revenues, is not to be pledged to anyone.[7]

The category of royal free towns comprised approximately 30 localities from the whole territory of the Hungarian Kingdom. Among them were the 8 tavernical towns Buda, Pest (from 1481 onwards), Sopron, Pozsony, Nagyszombat, Kassa, Bártfa and Eperjes (present-day Bratislava, Trnava, Košice, Bardejov and Prešov – all in Slovakia), then those which could appeal to the judicial bench of the *personalis* (Óbuda, Székesfehérvár, Esztergom, Szeged, Lőcse, Szakolca and Kisszeben (present-day Levoča, Skalica and Sabinov – all in Slovakia), as well as the mining towns, and the Saxon towns of Transylvania. Finally, the city of Zagreb on Mount Grič in Slavonia also has to be added to the royal free towns.[8] The fact that Szeged occupied such a distinguished place in the urban network of Hungary is also confirmed by its cultural achievements. From this point of view it should be remembered that between 1444 and 1526 Szeged "sent" more than 100 students (i.e. nearly three dozens less than Buda) to the universities of Vienna and Kraków.[9]

Soon after the battle of Mohács in 1526 this flourishing town was ravaged by the Ottomans who finally occupied it in 1543. Though the Ottoman rule blocked further development, and was very brutal for the inhabitants of Szeged, most of the burghers remained in the town after its fall. In this respect 1552 proved to be the real turning point, when it became evident that the Hungarians who were insufficiently supported by the troops of King Ferdinand of Habsburg, were not able to liberate Szeged. After 1552 the richest burghers left Szeged

[7] *Szeged története*..., pp. 278–476; L. Blazovich, *Városok az Alföldön a 14–16. században*, Szeged 2002, pp. 117–144. For the law of 1514 *vide*: J.M. Bak, P. Banyó, M. Rady, *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary. Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae*, vol. 4: *1490–1526*, Idyllwild CA 2012, (hereinafter: DRMH) p. 179.

[8] *Tavernical* – from Latin *sedes tavernicalis* (tavernical bench). It was the master of the treasury (Latin: *magister tavernicorum*), a high royal dignitary who presided over the common court of appeal of the "seven" (in parctice eight) tavernical or free royal towns. Similarly, the other high royal dignitary, the *personalis* (*personalis praesentiea regiae in judiciis locumtenens* – later simply *personalis*) presided over another common court of appeal (*sedes personalitia*) of royal free towns. The office of the *personalis* was created in 1464 as a result of King Matthias' judicial refom.

[9] *Szeged története*..., pp. 419–420, 476–480; A. Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat a középkori Alföldön és az Alföld szélén*, Szeged 2000, p. 7.

and moved to the towns of Upper Hungary, where especially Kassa (Košice) and Nagyszombat (Trnava) received refugees from Szeged. After its fall, Szeged gradually became a Moslem town. This process accelerated particularly after 1552, paralleled by its economic decline, especially for foreign trade and the forced relocation of the burghers who lived in the part of the town called Palánk (Palisades). Their place was taken by Moslems and Serbians. Upper Szeged also lost nearly the whole of its population, but Lower Szeged survived as the dwelling place of the Hungarians. The inhabitants of Lower Szeged dealt mostly with agriculture and animal husbandry.[10]

The above mentioned facts also demonstrate that the settlement structure of late medieval Szeged was spatially divided: the fortress and, to the south of it, the *suburbium* (Hungarian: Alszeged, which received the name Palánk in the Ottoman era) emerged on the largest island. Farther south, within the boundaries of present-day Alsóváros/Lower Szeged, a new town nucleus had come into being by the late 15th century, with an observant Franciscan convent in its centre. North of the fortress, on a larger and several smaller islands, another settlement had evolved. It was Felszeged/Fesővároš (English: Upper Szeged/Town), which also had a suburbium character. The three settlements were legally united around 1469. Nevertheless the legal unification did not create a topographically unified town at once, and Szeged preserved its spatial fragmentation for a long time even after 1469.

Temesvár

The medieval history of Temesvár, a settlement that emerged on the bank of the River Temes, can be studied with the help of written sources from the 1150s. The first document in which Temesvár appears is the mid-twelfth century description by Idrísí, the famous Sicilian Arab geographer. He proclaims Temesvár ("T.n.y.s.b.r.") to be a splendid town located south of the River Tisza, and abounding in great richness. The attention of the Hungarian kings first turned towards Temesvár, medieval precursor of present-day Timişoara in Romania, in the early fourteenth century. Although Charles I of Anjou spent shorter and longer periods in Buda around the 1310s, the rather unfriendly attitude of the

[10] *Szeged története*..., pp. 508–534, 552–570; *cf.* I. Petrovics, *Dél-dunántúli és dél-alföldi városok kapcsolata Felső-Magyarországgal a középkorban*, Budapest 2005, pp. 147–148.

citizenry of Buda, the series of his armed conflicts with Matthew (Hungarian: Máté) Csák, the most powerful oligarch in the north-western part of the kingdom, and the fact that virtually the entire realm was controlled by the "little kings" led the monarch to seek a temporary residence there.[11] Charles paid his first visit to Temesvár, in all probability, in 1315, and had his royal residence there until 1323.

Since 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, Matthew Csák, in 1321. This took place in fact in 1323, when the last of the "little kings", John (Hungarian: János) Babonić, was subdued by Charles I. The departure of the royal court evidently did not favour the further development of Temesvár.

A new situation emerged in the 1360s, when Louis I (the Great) of Anjou launched a very active Balkans policy. This clearly increased the role of the count of Temes (*comes Temesiensis*) and the importance of 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 ban (*banus*) there to administer the affairs of the newly created *Bulgarian banate of Vidin*.[12] It is important to stress that the jurisdiction of the *ban of Vidin* extended not only over Vidin, but also over those Hungarian castles which were located next to the banate of Vidin. These castles, among which 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.

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[11] G. Kristó, *I. Károly harcai a tartományurak ellen (1310–1323)*, "Századok" 2003, vol. 137, No. 2, p. 301, 306, 308; I. Petrovics, *The Fading Glory of a Former Royal Seat: the Case of Medieval Temesvár*, [in:] *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways. Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, eds. B. Nagy, M. Sebök, Budapest 1999, pp. 529–530. *Vide*: I. Petrovics, *A középkori Temesvár. Fejezetek a Bega-parti város 1552 előtti történetéből*, Szeged 2008, pp. 31–32; Z. Kopeczny, *The Medieval Castle and Town of Temeswar: Archaeological Research Versus Historical Testimonies*, [in:] *Castrum Bene*, vol. 12: *The Castle as Social Space*, ed. K. Predovnik, Ljubljana 2014, pp. 277–288.

[12] R. Kostova, *Vidin, Siege of*, [in:] *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Medieval Warfare and Military Technology*, ed. C.J. Rogers, vol. 3, Oxford 2010, (hereinafter: MWMT), vol. 3, pp. 496–497. *Cf.* I. Petrovics, *A középkori Temesvár*..., p. 101.

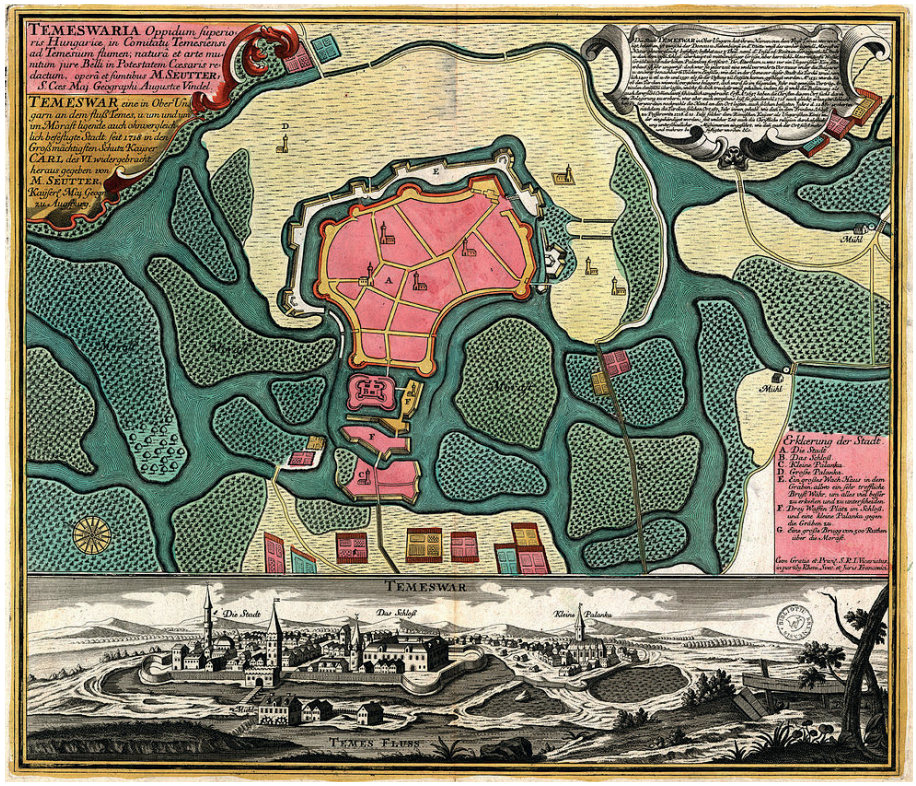

Fig. 2. Temesvár in the 18th century. (Map by G.M. Seutter, source: T.C. Lotter – J. Árpád, *Temesvár nyomtatott térképei*, "Műszaki Szemle" 2012, vol. 57, p. 6)

The greatest obstacle to the development of the town was that the overwhelming Turkish victory at Nicopolis in 1396 resulted in Temesvár and the region around it becoming the permanent target of Ottoman onslaughts. Consequently, by the early 15th century, Temesvár assumed the role of a *border castle*. This evidently hindered its urban development, despite the fact that Pipo Ozorai (Italian: Filippo Scolari) and John (Hungarian: János) Hunyadi as counts of Temes (*comites comitatus Temesiensis*) initiated significant building operations there. Since these constuction works primarily focused on fortifying the castle and the town, they did not essentially promote urban development. At the same time, the administrative functions of Temesvár were broadened, since the salt deposit at Keve (today Kovin in Serbia) was managed by Pipo Ozorai in Temesvár. This change was accomplished 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*.[13]

The town of Temesvár is referred to in mediaeval charters as *villa*, *oppidum* and *civitas*. Documents that contain lists of the franchises of the *hospites/cives* of Temesvár do not appear to have survived from the medieval period. However, indirect evidence clearly reveals that the town enjoyed the right to hold weekly fairs, and the daily life of Temesvár was directed by the town council, consisting of the *judge* (Latin: *iudex*, Hungarian: *bíró*) and the *aldermen* (Latin: *iurati cives*, Hungarian: *esküdt polgárok*). 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 prior to 1552, one in 1498, and the other in 1523.

Temesvár cannot be regarded as a royal free town since its autonomy was seriously restricted by the *comes* and the *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 14th century on the Ottoman advance led to the authority of the *comes Temesiensis* being significantly strengthened. In the early fifteenth 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.[14]

The citizens of 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 Temesvár, were preponderantly Hungarians until the mid-sixteenth

[13] I. Petrovics, *The Fading Glory*..., p. 533.

[14] Idem, *Foreign ethnic groups*..., p. 79; idem, *A temesi ispánság és a déli határvédelem a 15. században és a 16. század elején*, [in:] *Aktualitások a magyar középkorkutatásban*, eds. M. Font, T. Fedeles, G. Kiss, Pécs 2010, pp. 264–266.

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 medieval Temesvár. This is supported by the fact that a similar situation can be observed in the case of the nearby town of Szeged.[15]

However, a major shift occurred in the ethnic composition of the population of the Temes region as a result of the regular Ottoman onslaughts that began in the late fourteenth century, and the migration and settlement 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 15th 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 16th century. The above changes that took place in the region between the Rivers Danube, Tisza and Maros in the Late Middle Ages also had an impact on the ethnic make-up of the town of 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.[16] The defters preserved the memory of 15 streets of Temesvár that was composed of the castle and the town itself and of two suburbs (Nagy Palánk and Kis Palánk). Similarly to Szeged, the castle and the town as well as the suburbs were surrounded by river branches, marshes and swamps.

Pécs

The city of Pécs is located in the south western part of modern Hungary close to the Croatian border. Pécs's historical importance as a regional centre began in Roman times. A Celtic settlement, which the Romans re-named Sopianae and developed, stood within what are now the boundaries of the city. It rose to prominence in the late third century A.D. when the Province of Pannonia

[15] Idem, *Foreign ethnic groups*..., p. 80.

[16] J. Hóvári, *A török Temesvár*, "Élet és Tudomány" 1992, vol. 47, No. 26, p. 745; P. Engel, *A temesvári és moldovai szandzsák törökkori települései (1554–1579)*, Szeged 1996; I. Petrovics, *A középkori Temesvár*..., p. 114; idem, *Foreign ethnic groups*..., pp. 83–84.

was divided into four parts and Sopianae became the administrative centre of Pannonia Valeria. Sopianae survived the end of the Western Roman Empire (476 A.D.), but the centre of the locality, during the Great Migration of the Peoples, was displaced from the Roman town to the territory of the early Christian cemetery, lying north to the former. Although many scholars assert otherwise, it is quite unlikely that in the Carolingian period the town belonged to the Frankish Empire, for the simple reason that its eastern border did not reach the Danube.[17]

Pécs continued to be the key town in this region in the Middle Ages. This successor to the ancient *Sopianae* was named *Quinqueecclesiae* in Hungarian documents written in Latin, *Fünfkirchen* in German, and *Pécs* in the vernacular. Medieval Pécs was the seat of one of the wealthiest bishoprics of the Kingdom of Hungary. The diocese of Pécs was established by King Saint Stephen in 1009 and can be regarded as one of the oldest bishoprics of the Hungarian Kingdom.[18]

The city of Pécs also housed a cathedral and a collegiate chapter house which functioned as famous places of authentication. Furthermore, one hospital and three convents belonging to various mendicant orders (those of the Franciscans, Dominicans and Our Lady of Mount Carmel) were also to be found within the walls of the medieval town in the Later Middle Ages, together with three parish churches that took care of the religious life of the inhabitants of Pécs. In addition to the afore-mentioned ecclesiastical institutions, a parish church and a convent belonging to the Dominican nuns were to be found in the suburb of Pécs, named *vicus Malomséd/Malomszeg*, that was located next to the north-eastern part of the town walls. The Augustinian hermits also appeared in Pécs and had a convent there which also stood *extra muros*, and was very close to the convent of the Dominican nuns in the Malomséd/Malomszeg *vicus*.

[17] Therefore it is hardly probable that the name *Quinque Basilicae*, that appears in the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, refers to Pécs. *Vide*: I. Petrovics, *Medieval Pécs and the monetary reforms of Charles I*, [in:] "*In my Spirit and Thought I Remained a European of Hungarian Origin*." *Medieval Historical Studies in Memory of Zoltan J. Kosztolnyik*, eds. I. Petrovics, S.L. Tóth, E. Congdon, Szeged 2010, pp. 123–124.

[18] For the medieval history of the Diocese of Pécs *vide*: *A pécsi egyházmegye története*, vol. 1: *A középkor évszázadai (1009–1543)*, eds. T. Fedeles, G. Sarbak, J. Sümegi, Pécs 2009. *Vide*: also L. Koszta, T. Fedeles, *Pécs (Fünfkirchen): das Bistum und die Bischofsstadt im Mittelalter*, Wien 2011.

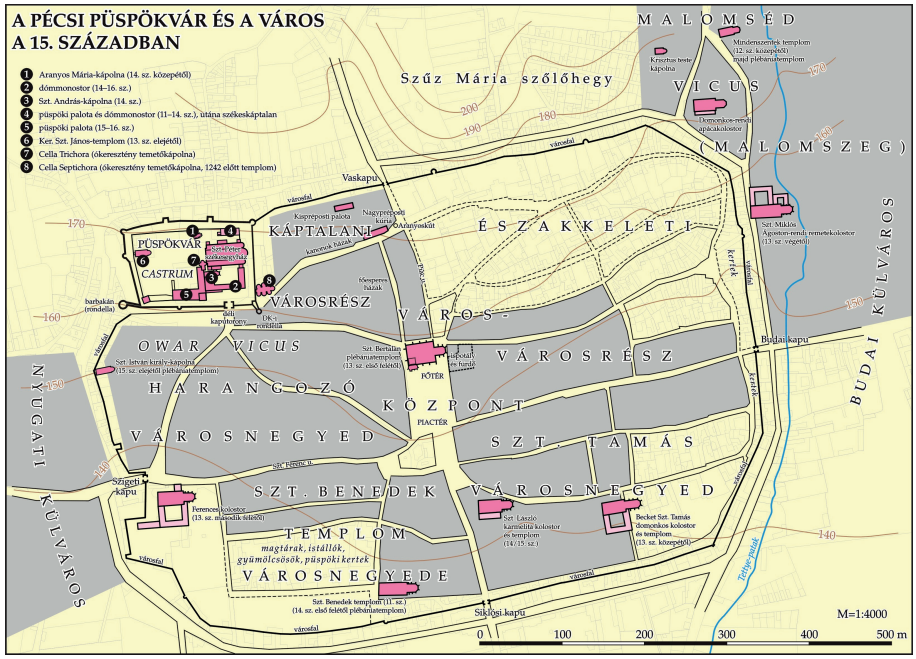

Fig. 3. Pécs. The bishops's castle and the city in the 15th century
(Source: B. Nagy – I. Petrovics, *A város története*, p. 177)

One of the most outstanding bishops of Pécs, William of Koppenbach (1361–1374), gained his fame because, in 1367, together with Louis I of Anjou, King of Hungary (1342–1382), he founded the first university of the realm. He then served as the first chancellor of this *studium generale* until his death in 1374. Since the university was financially supported exclusively by the bishops of Pécs, it is quite evident that its activity declined after the death of its founder. Although its second chancellor, Valentine of Alsán, Bishop of Pécs (1374–1408) did his best in order to cover the expenses of the operation of the university, there is no documentary evidence informing us about the activity of the *studium generale* of Pécs after the early 15th century.[19]

[19] Concerning the university, which actually had only two faculties (those of law and arts), it should be pointed out that in Pécs an excellent chapter school had existed already before the foundation of the *studium generale*, and the cathedral chapter provided an adequate "library background" for the university. It is also important to note that Pécs, following from its geographical location, fitted well into the south and south-western oriented foreign policy of King Louis I. For the university of Pécs *vide*: L.G. Astrik, *The Mediaeval Universities of Pécs and Pozsony. Commemoration of the*

The structure, the morphological and topographical development of the medieval city of Pécs was determined by several factors, among which the most important are: its geographical location along the southern slopes of the Mecsek mountain and the fact that it was an episcopal see. Furthermore, some elements of the Roman heritage (e.g. *cella septihora*) also contributed to the peculiarities of this city.

The city consisted of two main components: the ecclesiastical and the 'civilian' town. The former was made up of two parts: the bishop's castle that comprised primarily the cathedral itself and the bishop's palace, and the quarter that belonged to the cathedral and the collegiate chapter house. The bishop's castle, in its present form, was built after the Mongol invasion of 1241/42. The castle went through a profound modernization in the late 15th century. It was Bishop Sigismund Ernuszt who ordered the building of gate towers which significantly increased the castle's defensive facilities. At the same time the castle walls were also strengthened, and a ditch was dug around them. Nevertheless, the "barbakans" at the southwestern and southeastern corner of the fortress were, in all probability, constructed in the first decades of the 16th century. The walls of the city were erected in the late 14th and early 15th century, right after the rebellious Horváti brothers destroyed the city in 1387. The bishop's castle occupied the north-western part of the city, and since it was built together with the city walls, it served as an organic part of the city's bulwark. The quarter that belonged to the chapter house (in Hungarian: káptalani város) emerged in the 13th century, after the common way of life (*vita communis*) of the canons had come to an end, and the canons had moved to independent dwelling houses.[20]

The 'civilian' town that in the Late Middle Ages occupied the whole southern and north-eastern part of the modern city centre, also emerged as a result of a long development. Originally smaller settlements came into being within

500th and 600th Anniversary of their Foundation 1367–1467–1967, Frankfurt am Main 1969; I. Petrovics, *A középkori pécsi egyetem és alapítója*, "Aetas" 2005, vol. 20, No. 4, pp. 29–39. *Vide*: also T. Fedeles, "*in dicta civitate Quinque Ecclesiensi de cetero sit studium generale*" – *Short History of the University of Pécs*, [in:] *University and Universality: the Place and Role of the University of Pécs in Europe from the Middle Ages to Present Day*, eds. A. Fischer-Dárdai, I. Lengvári, E. Schmelczer-Pohánka, Éva, Pécs 2017, pp. 75–106; M. Font, *Hope of Success and Causes of the Failure: Founding Universities in Medieval Hungary*, [in:] *University and Universality*..., pp. 49–73.

[20] This quarter, the medieval *káptalani város*, was bordered by the modern streets: Káptalan–Hunyadi–Janus Pannonius, and the main square of modern Pécs, the Széchenyi square.

the later town walls, which, as a result of subsequent expansion, were built together, and finally occupied nearly the whole territory of the modern downtown. The centres of the original settlements (later the different quarters of the city) were the parish churches and the convents of the mendicant orders. The territory encircled by the city walls was far less densely built up: part of the area lying south of the bishop's castle, for strategic reasons, was more or less vacant. In other cases, documentary evidence reveals that extensive gardens, vineyards and orchards belonged to the dwelling houses. The city's main streets were an east-west axis and a north-south artery that intersected at the centrally located market place (Hungarian: *piactér*). The city had four gates at the opposite ends of the east-west axis and the north-south artery. Unfortunately, it is not known how many streets the city had exactly. Medieval sources, to be more precise charters issued prior to 1526, reveal the names of 7 streets, plus one from 1542. Furthermore, the Turkish defters from 1546 and 1554, name another 7 streets. Most of the streets were paved with stone, and for the most part the dwelling houses were also built of stone.[21]

Extra muros, *i.e.* outside the city walls, two suburbs existed, of which the Malomséd/Malomszeg *vicus*, lying to the northeast of the city walls, was the more significant. The other suburb came into being around the western gate of the city (Szigeti kapu), close to the Fransiscan convent.

Although Pécs and its burghers were legally subject to the bishop and the cathedral chapter, their privileges were relatively extensive. Consequently, Pécs was not only a significant ecclesiastical seat, but also was a thriving commercial centre during the Middle Ages, even though it could never become a royal free town. The *hospites* of the city are first mentioned in a charter issued in 1181. They were 'Latins' having come from around the area of the medieval German-French language border. The influx of 'Latins' was followed by that of Germans around the 1330s. Unfortunately, the number of the Latin and German guests living in medieval Pécs cannot be estimatied. Nevertheless, documentary evidence clearly shows that the Germans soon outnumbered the Latin guests of the town and came to form the largest foreign ethnic group

[21] For the medieval streets *vide*: I. Petrovics, *A középkori Pécs utcái*, [in:] *A 2001–2004 között megrendezett "Előadások Pécs történetéből" című konferenciák válogatott előadásai*, eds. M. Pilkhoffer, J. Vonyó, "Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből" 2005, vol. 18, pp. 43–60; T. Fedeles, "*Eztán Pécs tűnik szemünkbe.*" *A város középkori históriája 1009–1526*, Pécs 2011, pp. 41–76.

in Pécs. The trading activity of the German burghers of Pécs, clustered in all probability in a particular street, flourished until the town fell to the Ottomans in 1543. Nearly two dozen German burghers are known by their name from the late medieval period, among them two judges. Some burghers even enjoyed dual citizenship, being citizens of both Pécs and Vienna, while others had family contacts with burghers living in Pozsony/Bratislava, Sopron and Buda. Besides the 'Latins' and the Germans, Croats also lived in the medieval city of Pécs. Nevertheless, in the Middle Ages the overwhelming majority of the townsfolk consisted of Hungarians, who lived partly within the city walls, partly in the suburbs, mostly in the Malomséd/Malomszeg *vicus*. Pécs's Hungarian merchants and those who belonged to the strong German and 'Latin' community of the city traded not only with Hungarian towns, but with those of Italy and Austria, mainly with Venice and Vienna. They traded mostly cattle and wine. In addition, the craft industry also flourished in the city.[22]

Ottoman – Hungarian Relations

The Ottoman expansion reached Hungary after the battle of Kosovo (1389). The Serbs were heavily defeated by the Ottomans in this military clash that resulted in the fall of the medieval Serbian state. From that time on the Kingdom of Hungary was compelled to adopt an effective defensive policy to counter the Ottoman menace. Since 1389 until the battle of Mohács in 1526 (which marks the end of the independent Hungarian Kingdom) the realm had lived almost without interruption under the constant menace of Ottoman raids and invasions.

Relations between the Hungarian Kingdom and the Ottoman Empire can be divided into three main periods, of which primarily the first is relevant to our topic. According to some scholars it started in 1375 with the earliest documented direct military conflict between Hungarian and Ottoman forces in Wallachia (present-day Romania), while others regard the battle of Kosovo as the beginning

[22] For the medieval history of the city of Pécs *vide*: I. Petrovics, *Foreign ethnic groups...*, pp. 73–75; idem, *The Cities and Towns of Medieval Hungary as Economic and Cultural Centres and Places of Coexistence. The Case of Pécs*, "Colloquia. Journal for Central European History" 2011, vol. 18, pp. 5–26; idem, *A város története a 14. század közepétől 1526-ig*, [in:] *Pécs története*, vol. 2: *A püspökség alapításától a török hódításig*, ed. M. Font, Pécs 2015, pp. 173–267, 276–288, 323–344.

of the period in question. The end of this stage, however, is not debated: it is claimed to last until the Battle of Mohács (1526) in which the Hungarian royal army was completely annihilated by the Ottoman military. This period was characterized by gradual Ottoman expansion in the Balkans, to the south of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, as well as by Hungarian attempts to halt the Ottoman advance by extending Hungarian influence in the Balkans. In addition, King Sigismund decided to build an anti-Ottoman defence system along the southern borders of the realm. Nevertheless, with the collapse of this defence system by the early 1520s, the road to Hungary and central Europe was open for the Ottomans.[23]

The afore-mentioned Hungarian defence system was built in fact in the 15th century. After his disastrous defeat against the Ottomans at the battle of Nicopolis (1396), King Sigismund of Luxembourg reorganized his country's defence system. When in 1397 he called a diet to the centre of the southern defence, Temesvár, his aims were to stabilise royal authority and to reform

[23] The second phase of Hungarian-Ottoman relations started with the Battle of Mohács, which also marked the beginning of a long period of Habsburg-Ottoman military confrontation in central Europe. The Habsburgs – with the election of Ferdinand I, the fallen king's brother-in-law as monarch of Hungary – ruled the northern and western parts of the realm from 1526, while with the occupation of Buda in 1541, central Hungary was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire. Eastern Hungary together with Transylvania originally became a "new national monarchy" under the rule of John Szapolyai and his son, John Sigismund. After the fall of Buda and when the experimentation with this kingdom failed around 1570, Transylvania took the path of an autonomous principality under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire. The trisection of the medieval kingdom was a very unfortunate situation for Hungary, since the country became the major battlefield for 150 years in the Habsburg-Ottoman rivalry in central Europe. The second period ended with the peace treaty of Karlowitz (today Sremski Karlovci in Serbia) in 1699 that marks the end of the Liberation Wars. These wars resulted in the expulsion of the Ottomans out of nearly the whole of Historic Hungary. The third period lasted from 1699 until the collapse of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires in World War I. The most important characteristic feature of the third phase is that the Ottomans lost Hungary to the Habsburgs and withdrew to the Balkans. *Vide*: F. Szakály, *Phases of Turco-Hungarian warfare before the battle of Mohács (1365–1526)*, "Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae" 1979, vol. 33, pp. 72–85; *Ottomans, Hungarians and Habsburgs in Central Europe: The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest*, eds. G. Dávid, P. Fodor, Leiden 2000; G. Ágoston, *Hungary*, [in:] *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. G. Ágoston, B. Masters, New York 2009, pp. 255–258. See also the different entries on Hungarian-Ottoman warfare in MWMT, passim. *Vide*: I. Petrovics, *A temesi ispánság*, pp. 262–263; idem, *From Slavery to Freedom: the Fate of Margaret Himfi*, "Transylvanian Review" 2017, vol. 26, Supplement No. 1, pp. 105–118; G. Ágoston, *Ottoman expansion and military power, 1300–1453*, [in:] *The Cambridge History of War*, eds. A. Curry, D.A. Graff, Cambridge 2020, pp. 449–469.

the defence of the realm. In the first place the decrees of the diet ordered the introduction of the institution of *militia portalis*.[24] The monarch also proclaimed that:

> all clergy give and render half of their income for the defense of the frontiers, but only during the above mentioned war against the pagans; and our gentlemen of the realm should give half of the tithe from their tenant peasants not to the clergy but should deliver it to those who will be selected by our majesty, together with the barons and the nobles of our kingdom, to collect and deliver the half of the ecclesiastical revenues and incomes, and these revenues should not be used for any other purpose but for the defense of our kingdom, and we should not force those appointed men to give or to use the said incomes for any other purpose.[25]

The establishment of a new defence system that was further developed under his successors also can be associated with the person of King Sigismund and the diet of 1397. The new multi-layered defense system consisted of buffer or vassal states; the *banates*;[26] two parallel lines of border forts situated along the southern borders of the country; and the Hungarian field army, as a last resort in case the Ottomans broke through the first three layers of defense.

Sigismund used Wallachia, Serbia and Bosnia as buffer states against the Ottomans. The arrangement worked best with Serbia. Its rulers cooperated with Hungary, and until Serbia's final Ottoman conquest (1439 and 1459) they halted Ottoman advance. Bosnia and Wallachia were more reluctant to accept Hungarian suzerainty, and often sided with the Ottomans. Sigismund managed to secure Nándorfehérvár (present-day Belgrade, Serbia) through the agreement of Tata with despot Stephen Lazarević of Serbia. The monarch took possession of it in 1427 and did his best in order to fortify the stronghold.[27] Nándorfehérvár

[24] *Vide*: F. Sebők, *Militia portalis*, MWMT, vol. 3, pp. 9–10.

[25] DRMH, vol. 2, pp. 26–27.

[26] For the banates *vide*: I. Petrovics, *Banate*, MWMT, vol. 1, pp. 116–117.

[27] The text of the agreement of Tata concluded in 1426 is published in *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, ed. G. Fejér, Budae 1844, vol. 10, part 6, pp. 809–813. In his charter, issued on 7 November 1427, King Sigismund requested the town of Sopron to send two construction workers, together with their families, to Nándorfehérvár. They were to settle in Nándorfehérvár and support the fortification of the stronghold. The charter is published in J. Házi, *Sopron szabad királyi város története*, Sopron 1923, series 1, vol. 2, pp. 342–343. *Vide*: A. Krstić, *Beogradsko pismo kralja Žigmunda građanima Šoprona (7. novembar 1427. godine)*, "Mešovita građa – Miscellanea" 2012, vol. 33, pp. 21–36.

became the key fort of the Hungarian southern border defence line until its Ottoman conquest on 29 August 1521 and successfully withstood two major Ottoman sieges: in 1440 and 1456.[28] With Galambóc (today Golubac in Serbia), another castle of great strategic significance Sigismund was less successful. Its Serbian castellan refused to hand over the fortress to King Sigismund, who was unable to occupy it with his army in 1428.[29]

Fig. 4. The fortresses of the southern defence line of the Kingdom of Hungary in the 15th century (Source: *Magyar Kódex*, vol. 2: *Lovagkor és reneszánsz*, ed. G. Stemler, Budapest 1999, p. 41)

Sigismund also granted extended military authority over the garrison soldiers serving in the counties of the Temesköz and the *banate* of Mačva to the count (*comes*) of Temes county and the *ban* of Mačva, respectively. To the west, the two *bans* of Croatia and Slavonia had been given similar military authority.

[28] P. Szabó, *Nándorfehérvár első oszmán-török ostroma és előzményei*, Szeged 2015; G. Ágoston, *Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade)*, *Siege of*., MWMT, vol. 3, pp. 45–46.

[29] I. Petrovics, *Galambóc ostroma*, [in:] *1000 év a hadak útján. Nagy képes millenniumi hadtörténet*, ed. Á. Rácz, Budapest 2000, p. 64.

Many of the soldiers of the border forts were refugees from Serbia, and served as light *hussars*, boatmen or peasant soldiers (*vojnik*).

In the 1470s King Matthias (Hungarian: Mátyás) Hunyadi reorganized the border from the Adriatic through the Eastern Carpathians under three military officials and integrated the garrison forces with the noble troops of the counties (*banderia*) under the command of these officials. The offices of the *bans* of Croatia-Dalmatia and Slavonia were united in one person, and this *ban* commanded all the military forces of the counties up to the Lower Danube. To direct the defences of the Lower Danube region, King Matthias created the office of the captain-general of the Lower Parts of Hungary, held usually by the *comes* of Temes, who commanded the garrisons and military forces of 15 counties, including those between the Drava and Sava rivers. The easternmost territories were under the command of the voivode of Transylvania, with similar authority.

The border forts under the command of these three military officials formed two parallel lines. The southern chain of forts stretched from Klis in the Adriatic through Knin, Jajce, Srebrenik, Šabac, Zimony/Zemun, Nándorfehérvár/Belgrade, Szentlászlóvár/Pescari, Orsova/Orşova to Szörényvár/Turnu Severin; the northern one from Zengg/Senj on the Dalmatian coast to Bihać, Krupa, Pétervárad/Petrovaradin, Temesvár/Timişoara, Lugos/Lugoş, Karánsebes/Caransebeş. This defence line and their garrisons successfully halted the Ottomans until it collapsed in the 1520s, and the Hungarian army was crushed at the battle of Mohács (1526), which lead to Hungary's Ottoman occupation in 1541.

Pécs, Szeged, Temesvár and the anti-Ottoman struggle

Since the settlements under scrutiny were located in the southern parts of the Hungarian Kingdom, the Ottoman advance had reached them by the late 14th and early 15th century, affecting mostly the town of Temesvár and its vicinity. Initially the counts of Temes successfully fought the raiding Ottoman troops and defeated them several times. It was Pipo Ozorai who in the first half of the 15th century not only counteracted the marauding Ottoman troops, but also led campaigns against them even to Wallachia. As count of Temes (1404–1426) and royal offical in charge of the military organization of southren Hungary, Pipo Ozorai, following Italian practice, greatly improved the fortifications

of the southern border of the realm by modernizing the old strongholds and erecting new ones. In doing so he contributed significantly to the establishment of the two lines of fortifications that were built from the Lower Danube to the Dalmatian coast. John (Hungarian: János) Hunyadi, another illustrious count of Temes, appeared first in this capacity in 1441. Although after Hunyadi's election as governor of the realm in 1446, there was no mention of him as the count of Temes, it is beyond doubt that he had, in fact, control over this important county. There seems to have been a vacancy in the county of Temes between 1453 and 1455, but in 1455 and 1456 John Hunyadi appears again in the documents as count there.[30] After Hunyadi's death on 11 August 1456, it was his son, Ladislas (Hungarian: László) who obtained the dignity of the count of Temes. John Hunyadi, undoubtably, recognized pretty soon the strategic importance of the county of Temes and the town of Temesvár. Earlier research has established that after 1443 John Hunyadi rebuilt and fortified the castle of Temesvár, and brought his family there from Kolozsvár (today Cluj in Romania) in 1447.[31] Hunyadi preferred to stay in the castle of Temesvár, which evidently served as one of his favourite residences, from where he launcehed several campaigns in different directions. On 22 June 1456, he issued his last charter in Temesvár, in which – for the second time – he called the Transylvanian Saxons to arms against the Ottomans. Soon afterwards he left with his troops for Belgrade.[32]

Reference also should be made to Paul (Hungarian: Pál) Kinizsi who as count of Temes (1479–1494) and captain general of the southern parts of Hungary was one of the most talented and outstanding generals of anti-Ottoman wars in the second half of the 15th century. For the sake of illustration, it is suffice here to mention only two cases. First: on 13 October 1479, Kinizsi, together with Stephen Bátori, voivode of Transylvania, annihilated at Kenyérmező (today Câmpul Pâinii, Romania) the biggest Ottoman army that invaded Hungary during the reign of King Matthias (1458–1490). Second: in 1481, he launched a campaign against the Ottomans and penetrated deep into Serbia, as far as Kruševac.

[30] I. Petrovics, *John Hunyadi, Defender of the Southern Borders of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, "Banatica" 2010, vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 71–72.

[31] J. Szentkláray, *Temesvár város története*, [in:] *Temes vármegye és Temesvár (Magyarország vármegyéi és városai)*, ed. S. Borovszky, Budapest [1914], pp. 20, 26; A.A. Rusu, *Arad és Temes megye középkori erődítményei*, [in:] *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer*, ed. T. Kollár, Szeged 2000, pp. 579–581.

[32] I. Petrovics, *John Hunyadi*..., p. 72.

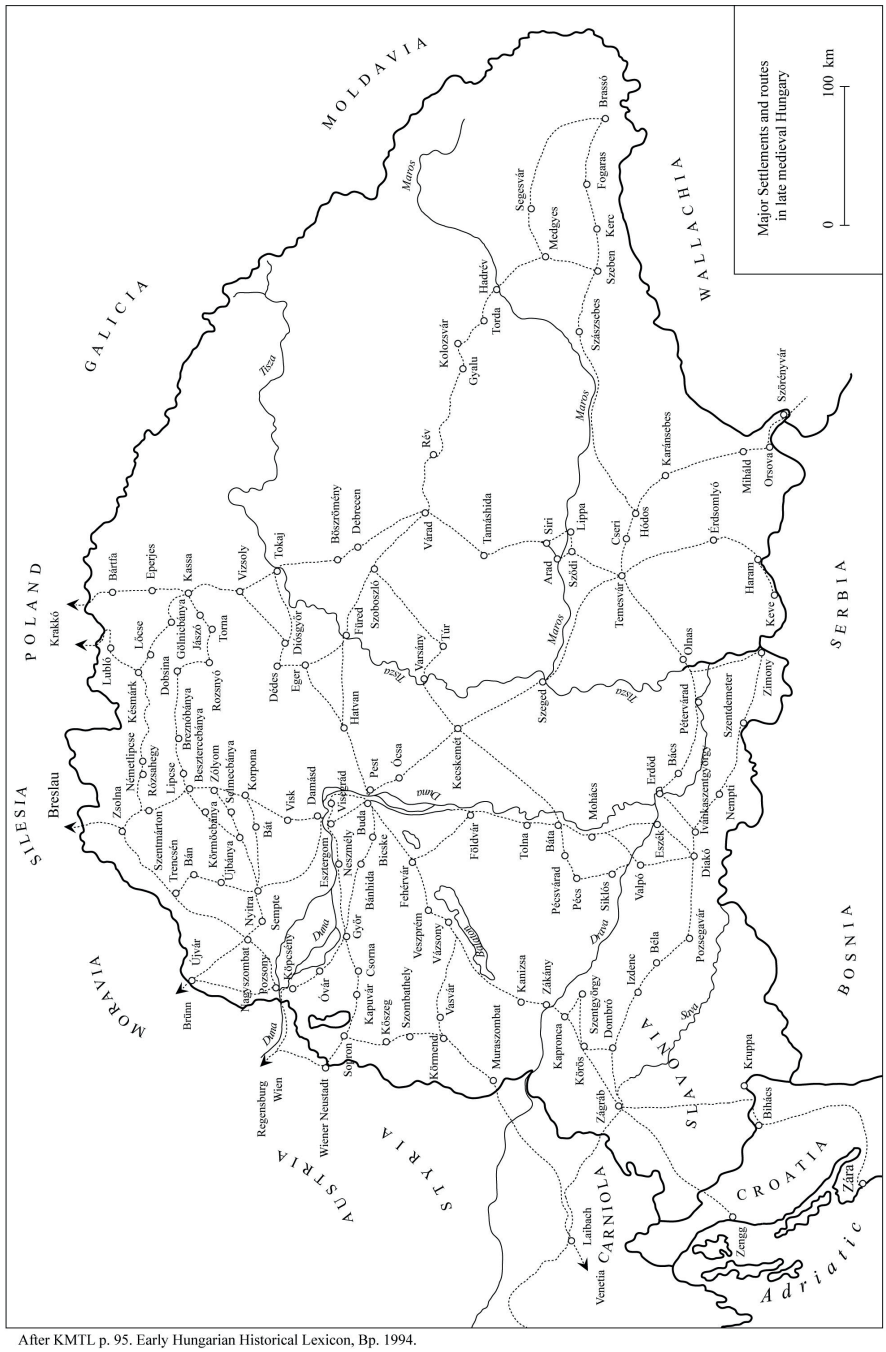

Fig. 5. Major settlements and routes in late medieval Hungary
(Source: R. Szántó, on the basis of the map published in: *Korai magyar történeti lexikon*..., p. 95)

After KMTL p. 95. Early Hungarian Historical Lexicon, Bp. 1994.

After his triumphant expedition Kinizsi brought some 50 000 Serbians to Hungary upon his return, whom he settled around Temesvár (perhaps in the suburbs of the town). After the battle of Mohács the counts of Temes frequently switched sides and served either King Ferdinand or John Szapolyai. The last count of Temes, Stephen (Hungarian: István) Losonczy successfully resisted to the Ottoman siege of Temesvár in the fall of 1551, but in the summer of 1552 Temesvár finally fell to the Ottomans. The occupation of Temesvár shows that the Ottomans also recognised the strategic location of the town, which, after its fall, became the centre of the second Ottoman province in Hungary.

Szeged, the only royal free town of southern Hungary, was in a more lucky situation. Lying some 90 kms northwest to Temesvár, the town had not been endangered by major Ottoman military offensives for a long time. Following from its geographical and economic position Szeged served as a major station of logistics and the starting point of anti-Ottoman expeditions. The burghers of Szeged supported the anti-Ottoman campaigns primarily with foodstuff, handicraft products (among them weapons) and manpower. Equally important was their financial contribution to the warfare, since Szeged, as one of the most prosperous towns of the realm, paid a large amount of money, in the form of tax, to the royal treasury. In addition, Szeged was a suitable place for meetings of diplomats and for holding diets. It was there that in 1444 the envoys of Sultan Murad II negotiated with King Vladislas I and his barons about a peace treaty. As a result of the discussions the famous Hungaro-Ottoman 'false' peace was signed that undermined the cause of the crusade and led to the disastrous defeat of the chrisatian army at the battle of Varna in 1444.[33] The diet, i.e. the supreme legislative organ of the realm, was convened here twice: first in the winter of 1458 and 1459 and then in 1495. The former was called by King Matthias in order to discuss the defense of the realm, the recovery of the Holy Crown, and negotiations with King Stephen Thomas of Bosnia.[34]

Saint John of Capestrano and the papal legate, Juan Carvajal also visited Szeged. The former preached here for the first time in 1455, and returned to Szeged

[33] Negotiations took place in Szeged, however the peace was signed, in fact, at Várad (today: Oradea, Romania). *Vide*: P. Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*, London–New York 2001, pp. 286–287.

[34] DRMH, vol. 3, pp. 10–14.

in the summer of the next year. In 1456 he not only preached to the crowd but recruited even crusaders against the Ottomans.[35]

Since Pécs was located at the southwestern part of the realm, it was on the road leading to Bosnia. When the Hungarian monarchs launched campaigns against Bosnia or the Ottoman troops stationing there, they frequently traversed the city of Pécs. It holds true especially to King Sigismund of Luxembourg. Due to its geographical position, Pécs had not been affected by serious Ottoman onslaughts until the early 16th century. It is also to be noted that Pécs was an episcopal city with many well-educated bishops. Most of them studied at foreign, mainly Italian universities and had an extensive social network. This enabled them to act as acknowledged diplomats. In 1465 Janus Pannonius, bishop of Pécs and head of the Hungarian embassy to Rome, for instance, successfully obtained from Pope Paul II a significant amount of money as financial aid against the Ottoman menace. The same holds true for Philip More (Hungarian: Csulai Móré Fülöp) who, before serving as bishop of Pécs, between 1505 and 1521 constantly stayed in Venice as ambassador of the Hungarain king. Due to his activity the Signoria disbursed a remarkable financial aid to Hungary in order to promote the realm's anti-Ottoman wars.[36]

On the other hand, prelates also had military duties. The bishop of Pécs, for instance, was obliged by the law of 1498 to raise a banderium that was constituted by 400 armed men, while the chapter here had to raise 200 cavalry.[37] Philip More, Bishop of Pécs (1522–1526) fought with his banderium in the battle of Mohács and, along with several Hungarian prelates, met his death there.[38]

Two of the settlements under scrutiny, Pécs and Szeged, were occupied by the Ottomans in 1543, while the third fell to them in 1552. The fact that Pécs and Szeged came under Ottoman rule nearly a decade earlier than Temesvár is explained by the situation that the strategy of the Ottoman military leadership had changed. From 1541 on they strove for the constant occupation of Hungary. In addition, these towns, especially Pécs, were to be found on the roads that led to Buda and Vienna, respectively.

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[35] *Szeged története*..., p. 441.

[36] I. Petrovics, *A város története*..., pp. 194–195.

[37] DRMH, vol. 4, p. 101.

[38] S. Varga, *A püspök városa vagy az Oszmán Birodalom előretolt helyőrsége? 1526–1543*, [in:] *Pécs története*..., vol. 2, p. 290.

It is to be noted that all three settlement housed a fortress. The least important stood in the town of Szeged. Although it was erected, in all probability, in the second half of the 13th century, until the 1540s it did not have real strategic significance. Before 1543 the main role of the fortress, standing on the right bank of the River Tisza, was to control the ford and to protect the salt deposit. Only one inscription suggests that a stone wall was erected at a certain part of the town in 1524.[39] The rest of the town was surrounded, in fact, only with palisades and ditches. More significant was the fortress of Temesvár which was remodelled several times. For the last time in the mid 16th century, shortly before its fall. The town, similarly to Szeged, was protected only with palisades and the branches of the River Temes. Nevertheless, documentary evidence suggests that the northen and the western part of the town was strengthened with stone walls and rondellas in the mid-16th century.[40]

Only one of the afore-mentioned settlements, Pécs, was surrounded by stone walls in the Middle Ages. Neverthelss, its walls were built in the late 14th and early 15th century, that is in a period that preceded the appearance of firearms. The city walls were, in fact, weak and did not mean a real obstacle to the Ottoman military that easily occupied the city both in 1526 and 1543. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that in 1526 the Ottomans did not besiege the fortress, while in 1543 the terrified defenders and the burghers, who hoped to find shelter inside the stronghold, had left the fortress right before the Ottomans could have fired the cannons.[41]

To sum up the above: the regular Ottoman incursions and devastations that lasted for more than a century and a half had weakened the medieval Kingdom of Hungary to that extent that the southern parts of the realm, including once flourishing towns, easily fell prey to the Ottomans. The disastrous defeat of the royal army at Mohács in 1526 and the subsequent election of two kings, along with the internal strife, further aggravated the situation that led to the trisection of the Kingdom of Hungary.

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[39] F. Horváth, *The Szeged Castle*, [in:] *Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns*, vol. 3: *Szeged*, ed. L. Blazovich. Szeged 2014, pp. 61–63.

[40] I. Petrovics, *A középkori Temesvár*..., pp. 32, 38; Z. Kopeczny, *Volt-e Temesvárnak védőfala*, [in:] *Urbs, Civitas, Universitas. Ünnepi tanulmányok Petrovics István 65. születésnapja tiszteletére*, eds. S. Papp, Z. Kordé, S.L. Tóth, Szeged 2018, pp. 168–174.

[41] I. Petrovics, *A város története*..., pp. 173–179; S. Varga, *op. cit*., pp. 302–303.

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