

Two parishes in medieval Miskolc (Hungary): Old Town and New Town of Miskolc between 14th and 16th century

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Market towns' privileges and their system of self-government and administration were similar to the free royal cities. In the late 14th century, Miskolc doubled in size, besides the „Old Town“, the „New Town“ was first mentioned in 1376, with its own weekly fairs and administration, even with a separate parish. The parish church of the New Town, first mentioned in one of the Pope's deeds in 1445, bore the name of the Holy Virgin Mary as its title. The fact that a cotters' street or quarter came into being next to the church of the New Town indicates the independence of the New Town and its parish, similarly to the Old Town. The separation of the Old Town and the New Town was a medieval phenomenon, however the dual centres did not survive the Middle Ages, as Miskolc was burnt down by the Turkish troops in 1544. On the ruins of the former parish, a new baroque monastery of the Conventual Franciscans (Minorites) was built in 1720s, and a Minorite scribe made a small drawing in the protocol of the convent showing the outline of the medieval church.

Key words: Market town. Topography. Church history. Medieval parish. King St. Stephen. Holy Virgin Mary. Cotters.

Medieval Market Town Miskolc (Old Town – New Town)

Hungarian historiography has long been concerned with the problems of market towns, as these towns, which had markets and delivered certain urban functions but still existed under the legal authority of a landlord, are a specific phenomenon in East Central Europe. This type of towns emerged already in the Middle Ages. In the historical counties of Borsod, Abaúj (Abov) and Zemplén (Zemplín), several such settlements developed including Miskolc, which then became the most important town in the early modern region. As a mediaevalist András Kubinyi puts it, at the end of the Middle Ages, the part of country between Pest (today: Budapest), Kaschau (Latin: Cassovia, Hungarian: Kassa, today: Košice, Slovakia), Nagyvárad (German: Großwardein, today: Oradea, Romania), Szeged was non-urban countryside lacking real towns, the function of which was taken over by centres of lower rank, i.e. the market towns. These market towns were located in the northern part of this area, at the meeting-point of the Great Hungarian Plain and the mountains, along trade routes. In addition to industry and trade, these towns were also involved in viniculture and wine trading, which contributed to their development. Market towns made an effort to acquire the privileges related to self-government, economy and church that real towns had, and they were usually successful in these endeavours. Due to this, their system of self-government and administration was in many respects similar to the self-government of royal cities.¹

Miskolc was one of these market towns, lying at the meeting-point of the valleys of the rivers Sajó (Slaná) and Hernád (Hornád) and the Great Hungarian Plain, becoming

1 KUBINYI, András. A középkori Magyarország középleleti része városfejlődésének kérdéséhez. In: *Borsodi Levéltári Évkönyv*, 1985, vol. 5, pp. 7-82. KUBINYI, András. *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat a középkori Alföldön és az Alföld szélén*. Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000, 197 p. (Dél-alföldi évszázadok, 14). TÓTH, Péter. Szempontok a borsodi mezővárosok középkori és koraiújkorai történetének a vizsgálatához. In: *Studia Miskolcinsensia*, 1994, vol. 1, pp. 113-124.

a royal estate in mid 14th century. If we compare the development of Miskolc and the nearby free royal borough of Kaschau (Košice) in the Middle Ages, several differences can be detected, especially with regard to the legal status of the inhabitants and the townscapes. However, if the privileges and some of the legal donations of the communities are considered, several similarities can also be found. Miskolc was able to acquire legal advantages similar to those of the free royal boroughs as from the mid 14th century, it had the monarch as its landlord due to the fact that the king had exchanged rapidly developing Miskolc, previously owned by private landlords for another dominion, and made it part of the neighbouring royal castle and dominion of Diósgyőr



Fig. 1: Castle Diósgyőr (Air photo: Balázs Jászai, Civertan. ©)

(Fig. 1). This way, the economically developing market town located near the Gothic royal castle enriched the royal treasury. Miskolc became a royal market town, which, in many respects, put it in a more favourable position than the dominions of private landlords. In fact, Miskolc remained in royal ownership until the end of the feudal era, the mid 19th century. It is true that in the Turkish Era (Türkenzeit), the monarch put the estate in pledge, but the crown recovered it when the Turkish wars finished in late 17th century.

The citizens of a market town had the legal status of serfs, based on the unit of land, which, consisted of an inner plot or „intravillanum”, i. e. the house and the yard, in other words the place of living, and „extravillanum”, plough-land and other agricultural areas that belonged to it in the outskirts. Presumably, in Miskolc, the building sites and units of plough-land were marked off at the beginning of royal ownership with one serf having about 6 hectares of plough-land. The „intravillanum”, however, must have been very small, as building sites were marked off in the area between the Szinva River and the brook called „Pece”. This formed the core of the town. The main street ran parallel to the Szinva, with the building sites stretching to the Szinva River on one side and to the Pece Brook on the other.²

2 GYULAI, Éva. Miskolc középkori topográfiája. Termelés és kereskedelem a középkori Miskolcon. In: KUBINYI, András (Ed.). *Miskolc története I. – A kezdetektől 1526-ig*. Miskolc : BAZML-HOM, 1996, pp. 175-364. GYULAI, Éva. Fundus-kötél-járás. Telekszervezet Miskolcon a 14-17. században. In: CSOMA, Zsigmond – VIGA, Gyula (Eds.). *Európából Európába. Tanulmányok a 80 esztendő Balassa Iván tiszteletére*. Budapest - Debrecen : Gyine, 1997, pp. 70-81. (Néprajzi Látóhatár, 1997, vol. 6, no. 1-4, pp. 70-81).

Market towns also strove to acquire self-government privileges and to have the existing ones confirmed. Few such privileges are known in case of Miskolc, too. The most important ones are connected to criminal jurisdiction (1395: acquisition of „jus gladii“, 1471: acquisition of the right to summon the inhabitants of Miskolc to appear before their own chief administrative officer, 1503: restriction of asylum for the sake of municipal jurisdiction, 1519: confirmation of „jus gladii“). In comparison to these important privileges, the permission of the use of green sealing-wax was most likely intended to be a gesture of honour by the king (1512).³

The rights related to the issuance of legal deeds and literacy were very important, as in the Hungarian Kingdom, the institution of notary public was quite underdeveloped. Therefore, legal deeds were drawn up by „loca credibilia“, which were convents and collegiate and cathedral chapters, who primarily catered for the demands of the noble elite. On the other hand, urban literacy served citizens, in the case of Miskolc, serf-burgers, who possessed rather limited rights and possibilities in pre-modern society, and, thus, it provided jurisdiction at the lower levels of society as well. In medieval Miskolc, literacy was limited to the issuance of legal deeds as documents ensuring rights. In contrast to the practice of free royal cities, no records, land registers or town records were kept. These only appeared in town administration at the beginning of the Early Modern Age, i.e. mid 16th century.

In general, the town had no „jus gladii“, or right to execute criminals, as it only applied to those caught within town limits. At the same time, the dominion retained its right of administering justice over the serf citizens of the market town of Miskolc. The town only had a court of first instance, while appeals had to be submitted to the manor court of the lords of Diósgyőr castle. No privilege concerning the right of appeal has been preserved in records, however, we can learn about its practice from legal deeds: according to them, the judgements passed by the magistrate of Miskolc could not be appealed in the courts of the mother town or the county, but in a body consisting of the chief administrative officers and counsellors of the market towns of the estate, which was chaired by the commander of Diósgyőr castle, not acting in the capacity of the Lord Lieutenant (supremus comes) of the county, but as the representative of the king as a landlord.⁴

The council was perhaps the most important place of urban life and privileges. Although the villages of serfs (Latin: iobagiones) could also elect a mayor, who was a real leader of his community through his authority and also assisted the legal authorities in tax collection and other important issues, the urban council was a completely different institution as it was set up through an election procedure, in which not only one person, the chief judge, but the council, representing the unity of the community, was also elected with 12 members. As a body, the council supported and, at the same time, controlled the activities and power of the chief judge, and, therefore, it was the key factor in genuine self-government. Few direct data have been preserved about the council administering the town from inside and representing it towards the outside world, or about the election of its members. The council was led by the chief administrative officer, i.e. the chief judge (iudex primarius), who usually issued legal deeds together with two counsellors. However, it is likely that there were four counsellors: two representing the old town and two representing the new one. In some of the neighbouring market towns, it was typical practice that the legal

3 TÓTH, Péter. Városigazgatás a középkori Miskolcon (Town Governance in Medieval Miskolc). In: KUBINYI, A. *Miskolc története I...*, pp. 365-382.

4 TÓTH, P. *Városigazgatás...*, pp. 365-382.



Fig. 2: Seal of Town Miskolc, 1433 (drawing, after SZENDREI, Janos. *Miskolcz város története és egyetemes helyirata II: Miskolcz története 1000 – 1800*. Miskolc – Budapest : Miskolcz Város Közönsége, 1904.)

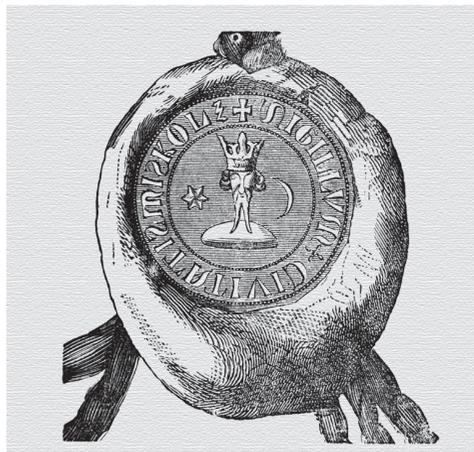


Fig. 3: Seal of Town Miskolc, 1433 (Slovenský národný archív [Slovakian National Archives, hereinafter SNA Bratislava], fund Rod Bárcai z Barce, Fons 1, fasc. 32, no. 1. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára [Hungarian National Archives] Budapest, fund Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény [Diplomatic collection of original charters and photocopies] 83665. Photo: SNA Bratislava. ©)

deeds issued by them only bore the names of the chief administrative officer and two or four counsellors, however, this does not mean that these market towns did not have a council consisting of 12 members. From the Middle Ages, we have no data about any other officials but the notary.⁵

The most adequate picture of the responsibilities of the council can be acquired from the legal deeds issued by it, however, sometimes other legal deeds also help in the reconstruction. According to them, the members of the council passed judgements, represented the town in the inspection of landmarks and participated in the manorial court. The citizens of the town made statements about sales and exchange transactions and agreements before the members of the council, who then issued letters of testimony of these. These legal deeds, some of which have a remarkably nice appearance, were authenticated by the council with the seal of the town depicting King St. Stephen I (or perhaps King St. Ladislaus I, at least according to the inhabitants of the town in the 16th century) (Fig. 2 – 3). Canonized in 1083, King St. Stephen (I) of Hungary (1000 – 1038) became a popular holy patron in Hungarian Kingdom, hence many medieval parishes including Miskolc were founded under his patronage.

King St. Stephen's day, the church's titular feast celebrated on 20th August in the Hungarian Kingdom, could have been important in medieval Miskolc. In 1367, King Louis of Anjou the Great, landlord of castle Diósgyőr and Miskolc, even patron of the King St.

5 LEVELES, Erzsébet. A 800 éves Miskolc 1000 – 1780-ig. In: HALMAY, Béla – LESZIH, Andor (Eds.). *Magyar Városok Monográfiája – Miskolc*. Budapest : Magyar Városok Monográfiája Kiadóhivatala, 1929, pp. 11-126. TÓTH, P. *Városigazgatás...*, pp. 365-382.



Fig. 4: Medieval King St. Stephen's Parish Church (later: Avas Reformed Church), Miskolc. Postcard, early 20th century, a detail. (Zempléni Múzeum Szerencs, Postcards' collection, no. 016996/a)

Stephen's parish of Miskolc founded in 13th century, also might have taken part in this feast of the parish of Miskolc, since his mandate was dated in Miskolc, 20th of August 1367 (Fig. 4).⁶

In the Middle Ages, there was no monastery in the town, only in the surroundings. Nevertheless, Miskolc lacked such an important factor of urban life as the settlement of mendicant orders. In neighbouring Tapolca, there was a monastery of the Benedictine order from the early 12th century, while an order of Hungarian foundation, the Pauline order, built monasteries in Diósgyőr and in the woods of the Bükk mountains at the end of the 13th and at the beginning of the 14th centuries. On the other hand, Miskolc did have a hospital. The chapel with a hospital dedicated to All Saints (*Ecclesia Hospitalis Omnium Sanctorum*) was established on the edge of the town in the late Middle Ages. It was supervised by the leadership of the town and used its income coming from independent foundation dominions to take care of the poor and the sick.

New Town of Miskolc

The New Town of Miskolc was first mentioned in the personal name of one of the citizens and jurymen of the market town (*Mathias de Nova Civitate*), in a charter in 1376, during the reign of Louis Anjou I (Louis the Great) (1326 – 1382), the landlord of Miskolc.⁷

6 *(Datum in Myskolch in festo Sancti Stephani regis confessoris anno Domini 1367*. Mandate of King Louis I of Hungary for Superiors of Gömör/Gemer County. Miskolc, 20 August (King St. Stephen Confessor's Feast) 1367. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (Hungarian National Archives, hereinafter MNL OL) Budapest, fund Diplomatikai Levéltár (Diplomatic collection of original charters and photocopies, hereinafter DL) 5538.

7 *Arnoldus iudex(...) Mathias de noua Ciuitate(...) iurati de Miscalch*. Deed of Town Miskolc, 15 January 1376. MNL OL DL 6328.



Fig. 5: The Old and New Towns of medieval Miskolc

However, it was only in the 15th century that the New Town became fairly equal with the Old Town, as it also had a parish then. In 1411, the magistrates, jurymen and inhabitants only were granted the royal privilege of being free to elect a parish priest for St. Stephen's parish church of the settlement, divided into two towns (Fig. 5).⁸

As can be inferred from the deed, in 1411, the town had only one parish, shared by the congregations of both the Old and the New Town. The magistrate and the jurymen were also common in this time. Similarly to other sources, this deed divided the inhabitants of the town into citizens and „hospes”, or newcomers (hosts). Most likely, the latter made up the population of the New Town. In contrast to the „native” citizens, the term „hospes” meant an inhabitant moving into the settlement later, and probably having different rights as well. In 1414, the New Town had its own weekly market on Mondays (foris (...) in feria secunda in Noua Civitate Myskolch).⁹

By mid 15th century, the two towns had their own magistrates and jurymen. The (chief) magistrate of the New Town was first mentioned in a royal deed of donation dated 1461, along with the magistrate of the Old Town.¹⁰ However, the body of magistrates directing

8 (i)udicis, iuratorum ceterorumque civium et hospitem utriusque civitatis nostre tam Noue scilicet atque antique Miskolcz appellate (...) plebaniam seu rectoraum parochialis ecclesie sub honore Sancti Regis Stephani (iudex iurati ceterique cives et hospites necnon tota dicte utriusque nostre civitatis communitas. King Sigismund, 3 March 1411. MNL OL, fund Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény (Diplomatic collection of original charters and photocopies, hereinafter DF) 248046.

9 BORSA, Iván – MÁLYUSZ, Elemér (Eds.). *Zsigmond-kori oklevéltár III*. Budapest : Akadémiai, 1993, no. 1759. MNL OL DL 43238.

10 *Andreas Kun iudex (...) iurati cives antiqui oppidi nostri Myskocz, item Emericus Kazay similiter iudex (...) iurati cives noui oppidi nostri Miskocz*. King Mathias' mandate, Castle of Diósgyőr, 9 August 1461. MNL OL DF 248040.

Tab. 1: The New Town of Miskolc in medieval deeds

Year	Type of mention	Place in text	Number of deed
1376	Personal name	<i>Mathias de Noua Civitate... iuratus de Myskolch</i>	MNL OL DL 6328
1411	Magistrate and inhabitants of the Old and New Towns (royal deed of donation)	<i>utriusque civitatis nostrae Noue atque antique Miskolcz</i>	MNL OL DF 248046
1414	Weekly market (Mondays)	<i>in Noua Civitate Myskolch</i>	MNL OL DL 43238
1445	Parish church (with permit to hold saint's day)	<i>ecclesiam parochialem B. Mariae de Novamiskocz</i>	LUKCSICS 1938. № 827/829
1461	Chief Magistrate of the New Town (Royal deed of donation)	<i>iudex... noui oppidi nostri Miskocz</i>	MNL OL DF 248040
1503	Chief Magistrate of the New Town (Royal deed of donation)	<i>Laurentius Toth iudex noui oppidi Myskolch</i>	MNL OL DF 248046
1521	Issue of deeds, Magistrate of the New Town, jurymen, hosts	<i>Gregorius Wegh Iudex... iurati ciues ac vniversi hospites Noue Ciuitatis Myskolcz</i>	MNL OL DL 65651

the New Town had a rather representational function, as during the 15th century, the leadership of the market town acted in unity regarding important matters including the issue of deeds.¹¹ The two magistrates of the dual town were mentioned together in the deed of donation of Queen Anne of Foix-Candale in 1503.¹² Only one deed that was issued solely by the chief magistrate of the New Town is known: in 1521, chief magistrate Gregorius Veg, jurymen Nicolaus Ideges and Johannes Mikos and other „hospeses” of the New Town drew up a deed about a sales transaction. According to the deed, stamped with a green wax seal, „providus” Mattheus Mészáros (= Bucher) sold one of the plots of land in Kiskassa (= Small Kassa) Street (situated in the area of the New Town) to Benedictus of Dobolcz (Dobolczay), inhabitant of Miskolc Old Town.¹³ The seal of the deed, issued by the magistrate of the New Town, got blurred, hence the independent seal use cannot be verified in the case of the New Town. The market town of Miskolc (or the Old Town, and the Old and New Towns jointly) used the seal with the king’s head. From 1433, we have a parchment deed, with a hanging loaf-shaped seal, pressed into wax, displaying the head of the king (Fig. 2 – 3.).¹⁴

11 TÓTH, P. *Városigazgatás...*, pp. 365-368.

12 *Demetrius Zabo iudex veteris et Laurentius Toth iudex noui oppidi nostri Myskolch*. Queen Anne, 11 February 1503. MNL OL DF 248046.

13 *Gregorius Wegh Iudex, Nicolaus Ideges, Iohannes Mykos Iurati Ciues ac vniversi hospites Noue Ciuitatis Myskolcz (...)* predium suum wlgö Thelekh, in vico Kyzkassha. 26 January 1521. MNL OL DL 65651.

14 Deed of Town Miskolc, 23 March 1433. MNL OL DF 83665 (Archives of Bárczay family).

The parish and the church of the New Town (New Miskolc)

The church and the parish of the New Town were first mentioned in one of the Pope's deeds of 1445, concerning the request for permission of holding a saint's day in the King St. Stephen's parish church of the Old Town and in the Virgin Mary parish church of the New Town. It is interesting that the Pope's deed of 1445 calls the two parts of the town Old Miskolc (Antiquummiskocz) and New Miskolc (Nouamiskocz), it is therefore likely that these were the forms that appeared in the „supplicatio” of Miskolc, written to the Pope.¹⁵ In 1497, Miskolc issued a deed stating that its landlady, Queen Beatrix of Aragon (widow of King Matthias I) donated the properties delegated to her by Miskolc citizen Simon Pap (= Priest) to the Miskolc parishes, Virgin Mary's and King St. Stephen's churches with the mediation of her courtier and secretary Gabriel Staniol.¹⁶ Strangely, the deed did not mention the parts of the town, only the two town parishes. The New Town parish was established between 1411 and 1445, and its stone built church may also have been built around this date, although it cannot be excluded that this occurred through the extension of a former shrine (chapel). The establishment of the parish in the 15th century indicated the strengthening of the New Town and the increase in its population, as well as the fact that the population of Miskolc must have spread in this direction, in the area between the two branches of the Pece Brook, as it was only here that new in-lots could be established. Naturally, an „extravillanum” was also attached to the „intravillanum” of the New Town. It is true, however, that less ploughland in the agricultural outskirts of Miskolc belonged to some of the socages.

It indicates the independence of the New Town and its parish that, similarly to the Old Town, where next to King St. Stephen's parish church, the still existing ecclesiastical cotters' quarter called Papszer (= Priests' Quarter) was built, a similar cotters' street or quarter called „Pece-szer” or „Boldogasszony-szer” (Quarter of Pece Brook; Quarter of the Holy Virgin) came into being next to the church of the New Town. In the Hungarian language of the Middle Ages, one of the meanings of the word „szer” was „an area under the jurisdiction of another landlord”, which was the case of Miskolc, as the inhabitants of these streets were tenants of the (foundation-like) parishes of the Catholic church, while the other inhabitants of the town were villeins of the Diósgyőr royal dominion.

The Church of Virgin Mary in the New Town was erected beyond the confluence of the two branches of the Pece Brook, on the track of the medieval highway leading to Sajószentpéter. The highway, crossing Piac Street (= Market Street), led along Boldogasszony Street (Street of the Holy Virgin) (now: Déryné Street) towards North Borsod and Gömör (Gemer) counties. The socages of the medieval Old Town were marked out between the Szinva River and the Pece Brook, while the plots of the New Town were located between the two branches of the Pece Brook. In the 1860's, there were some archaeological finds in this area (today: Deák Square), suggesting the former medieval church.¹⁷

15 *Supplicant rector et parochiani ecclesiae parochialis S. Stephani de Antiquamiskocz, Agriensis d., ut praedictam ecclesiam visitantibus indulgentia concedatur. Item pro eadem gratia ecclesiam parochialem B. Mariae de Novamiskocz, Agriensis d., visitantibus.* (7 January 1445) LUKCSICS, Pál. *XV. századi pápák oklevelei : II. Kötet. IV. Jenő pápa és V. Miklós pápa.* Budapest : MTA, 1938, no. 827, 829. (Olaszországi magyar oklevéltár).

16 *Nos iudices et iurati, ceterique ciues ciuitatum vtrarumque de Myskolcz ac victrices ecclesiarum parochialium de eadem (...) nostris ecclesiis parochialibus praetactis, sub titulo et honore beate Virginis Marię ac Sancti Stephani Regis in praefatis ciuitatibus nostrisque medio fundatis et edificatis.* Deed of Town Miskolc, 4 September 1497. MNL OL DL 20606.

17 LENGYEL, György – PUSZTAINÉ FISCHL, Klára – RINGER, Árpád. Régészeti topográfiai adatok Miskolc történetéhez az őskőkortól a késő középkorig. In: ILLÉSNÉ KOVÁCS, Mária (Ed.). *Docēre et movēre – Bölcsészet- és*

The parish church of the New Town bore the name of the Holy Virgin Mary, or „Beata Maria Virgo”, as its title. Beyond its location and patronage, little has been known about it so far. However, recent research in Vatican archives, has identified one of its side altars, namely that of St. Catherine (altare Sanctae Chaterinae in ecclesia Beatae Mariae oppidi Miszoc), the chaplain of which in 1524 was Andreas Nathi.¹⁸ Earlier, the altar of St. Catherine was located in the Church of King St. Stephen, with its altar director being Nicolaus, parish priest (of Sajókeresztúr) in 1483.¹⁹ The parish priest and altar director was brother of one of the members of the Miskolc noble elite, Stephanus Kovács (= Smith) of Csaba, captain of King Matthias Corvin (Hunyad) I.²⁰

Tab. 2: Church foundations of the Old and New Towns of Miskolc in the Middle Ages²¹

	Old Town	New Town
<i>Parish, patronage (high altar)</i>	King St. Stephen	Virgin Mary (Beata Maria)
<i>Chapels (altars)</i>	Archangel Michael Assumption of the Virgin Mary	
<i>Altars</i>	Evangelist St John St Benedict Holy Trinity	St Catherine
<i>Church cotters' quarter</i>	Papszer	Peceszér (Boldogasszonyser)

The separation of the Old Town and the New Town was a medieval phenomenon, but the dual centers did not survive the Middle Ages, as Miskolc was burnt down by the Turkish troops in 1544, with both of its churches set on fire. Reformed preacher and Neo-Latin poet Stephanus Csulyak of Miskolc (1575 – 1645), who served in Miskolc as a Reformed minister between 1612 and 1614, commemorated the 1544 burning down of Miskolc in one of his poems, as this was the year when his father, preacher Johannes of Miskolc (†1634) was born in the town.

társadalomtudományi tanulmányok a Miskolci Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar 20 éves jubileumára. Miskolc : Miskolci Egyetem BTK, 2012, pp. 156-157 (Map 4).

18 TÓTH, Péter. Adatok az egri püspökség késő középkori egyházi topográfiájához. In: GYULAI, Éva – VIGA, Gyula (Eds.). *Történet – muzeológia : Tanulmányok a múzeumi tudományok köréből a 60 éves Veres László tiszteletére.* Miskolc : Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Megyei Múzeumi Igazgatóság – Miskolci Egyetem BTK Történettudományi Intézet, 2010, p. 325.

19 (h)onorabili Magistro Nicolao Rectori Altaris Beate Katherine Virginis in Ecclesia parochiali de Myskolcz fundati. Deed of Borsod County, Miskolc, 6 March 1483. MNL OL DL 83894 (Archives of Bárczay family)

20 GYULAI, É. *Miskolc középkori topográfiája...*, p. 232.

21 TÓTH, P. *Városigazgatás...*, pp. 405-407. TÓTH, P. *Adatok az egri...*, p. 325. GYULAI, É. *Miskolc középkori topográfiája...*, pp. 228-250.

*Mole sub hac lapidum positus jacet ille JOHANNES,
Tempore fatali peperit quem patria MISKOLCZ,
Tunc cum Turcarum primus saevissimima sensit,
Vincula, et arserunt nitidissima templa Tonantis [...]*²²

In the Latin „epitaphium”, the poet writes about churches (templa), set on fire by the Turks, so in 1544, both parish churches burnt down due to the Turkish raid. However, the collapsed vault of King St. Stephen’s church, built on the slope of Avas Hill, was renovated by town inhabitants and a new bell tower was built by the town instead of its destroyed Gothic tower. However, the Church of Virgin Mary was not rebuilt. It remained in ruins for almost two centuries until the beginning of the 18th century, when the Conventual Franciscans (Minorites) acquired the plot to build their new monastery.

In the Middle Ages, the council of the town gained such a solid position that when at the end of this period the Turks forced the town to pay taxes and the royal dominion was taken over by tenants as a pledge, this new political situation did not lead to the elimination of the council. Although the New Town ceased to exist as an independent part and its church was once and for all destroyed by the Turks, Miskolc remained a market town with well-developed self-government. What is more, its self-government even strengthened, as under the conditions of the 16th and 17th centuries, there was an even greater need for the self-protection and unity of the town. In the Turkish Period i. e. the Era of Turkish wars, Miskolc could no longer „maintain” two towns, the destruction of the war and existential uncertainty forced the town to unite and defend itself. Both the town and its inhabitants „shrank”, with the separation of the Old and the New Town disappearing. The inhabitants of Miskolc, having converted to Helvetian Protestantism, were content with one church at the beginning of the Early Modern Age. The New Town did not survive as an entity but only as a part of the town, and its 14th century triangular market square, which used to contain the parish church, was only restored to its function of (secondary) centre in the 18th century by the new monastery of the Conventual Franciscans.

The outline of the New Town’s medieval church (around 1750)

The order of the Conventual Franciscans or Minorites (OFM Conv.) only settled in Miskolc at the end of the 1720’s and had an elegant, two-storey baroque monastery building and church erected in the New Town, which still exist. The plans were made by the architect of the bishop of Eger (Erlau), Giovanni Baptista II. Carlone (Fig. 6).

The Minorite order’s „prothocollum” was started in 1748, in which, giving the details of the circumstances of the building of the monastery and the church, the scribe of the order mentioned the remains found on the site. Next to the description, the scribe made a small drawing at the margin of the page, showing the outline of the medieval church that used to stand in the place of the monastery (Fig. 7). The ruined remains of the walls of the church had to be demolished so that a new baroque complex could be built in their place.²³ The monastery was built on the site of the former parish of the

22 *EPITAPHIUM Doctissimi domini Johannis Miskolcini, pastoris Ecclesiae Liscensis, defuncti in domino anno aetatis XXXX, die XXVII April. hora VI vesperia, Annos MDLXXXVIII.* In: *Diarium Apodemicum* of Stephanus Csulyak of Miskolc. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (hereinafter OSZK) Budapest, Kézirattár. Kt. Oct. Lat. 656.

23 *Prothocollum Conventus Miskolcziensis ad Sanctam Mariam in Coelos Assumptam Provinciae S. Elisabeth Vid(uae) Hungariae Ordinis Minorum S. Patris Francisci Conventualium sub Gubernio Adm(odum) ad(modu)m Reverendi Patris magistri Emerici Pál Ministri Provincialis Anno Millesimo Septingentesimo Quadragesimo Octavo Inchoatum (1748 – 1785) f. 3r.* Archives of OFM Conv. Miskolc. For more information see: GYULAI, Éva. A minoriták látványosságai a XVIII.

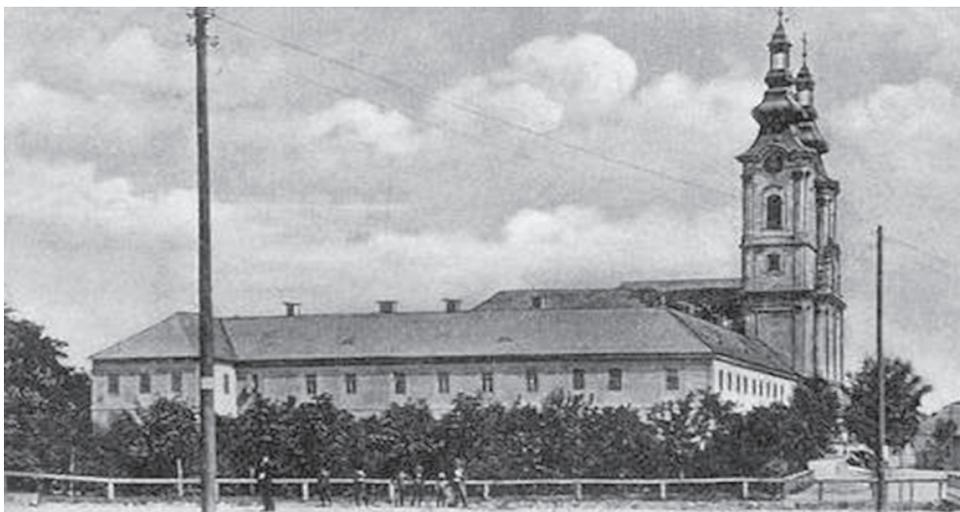


Fig. 6: Minorite Closter and Church, Miskolc. Postcard, 1903, a detail (Private collection)

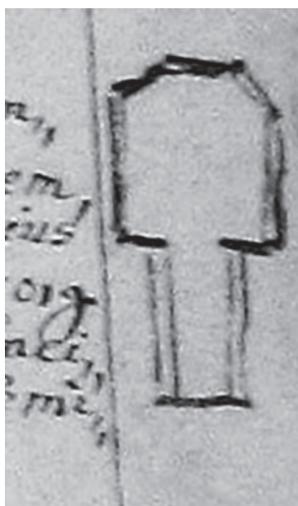


Fig. 7: Outline of the New Town's church, around 1750. Protocol (1748 – 1785) (OFM Conv. Miskolc)

New Town, where the ruins of the Church of Virgin Mary, destroyed during the 1544 Turkish raid, could still be seen. The protocol of the Miskolc Conventual Franciscans is an unparalleled source for the reconstruction of the medieval parish church, which, at the same time, testifies the interest in and the eye for architecture of the Minorites. In all probability, the scribe himself was also present at the start of the construction work in 1729. Disregarding the minor excavations conducted in the present Deák Ferenc Square to save finds,²⁴ the plan is the only (iconographic) source supporting documentary data concerning the church in the New Town. It only enhances the value of the small drawing that no archaeological evidence can be acquired about the medieval church, as the monastery of the Conventual Franciscans was built on top of it, so even the remaining medieval main walls were demolished around 1730.

In all probability, the church of the New Town was less richly decorated than the spacious Church of King St. Stephen. It had no chapels but only one (or maybe more) side altar in addition to the high altar of Virgin Mary. Not only its form, but also its dimensions were preserved in

századi Miskolcon. In: MEDGYESY, Norbert S. – ÖTVÖS, István – ŐZE, Sándor (Eds.). *Nyolcszáz esztendő a ferences rend: Tanulmányok a rend lelkeségéről, történeti hivatásáról és kulturális–művészeti szerepéről I.* Piliscsaba: Írott szó–Magyar Napló Kiadó–PPKE BTK TTI Új és Legújabbkori Történeti Tanszék, 2013, pp. 326–364. (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely – rendtörténeti konferenciák).

24 GYULAI, É. *Miskolc középkori topográfiaja...*, pp. 248–249.

the protocol of the Miskolc Conventual Franciscans. In the middle of the 18th century, the scribe writing the protocol also remembered that the demolished main walls had been of different quality. The walls of the former shrine, 6 fathom long and 4 fathom wide (11,37 x 7,59 m), seemed to be older, as they were harder to demolish, and the nave seemed to have been added to it later as it was easier to destroy. The „nave” was almost 4 fathom (7,59 m) shorter than the shrine, that is, it was about 4,5 m long. Moreover, it was also about 2,5 fathom (4,74 m) narrower, i. e. it was 2,85 m wide (Fig. 8).²⁵

If one can trust the plan and the description of the order’s scribe, the church was built in two stages. First, the open space shrine (chapel), closed on the five sides of an octagon and having an area of about 85 m², was erected, and later, the „nave” was added to it, i.e. a room (entrance hall?) with an area of 13 – 15 m², built of less massive materials. It is clear from the description that the church had an east-south orientation with its windows facing the south, in the direction of the Old Town.

If one compares the dimensions of King St. Stephen’s parish church of Miskolc, established in the Árpád Age, or the present Avas Reformed church, fixed by the end of the 15th century, with those of the church in the New Town, one can conclude that at the end of the Middle Ages, the Avas Church had an area of about 200 m², i. e. it was approximately twice as large as the church in the New Town.

The genesis of the New Town of Miskolc, or New Miskolc, cannot be revealed, however, it is a fact that its emergence was connected to the landlordship of King Louis Anjou I. Although from the 14th century, the spread of the town beyond the Pece Brook was induced by the increase in its population, the conscious settling of certain ethnic groups cannot be excluded either, but there is no written source about them. It can be assumed that the term „hospes” (pl. „hospites”) in the deeds refers to the inhabitants of the New Town, however, with regard to their rights, they were not different from the citizens of the

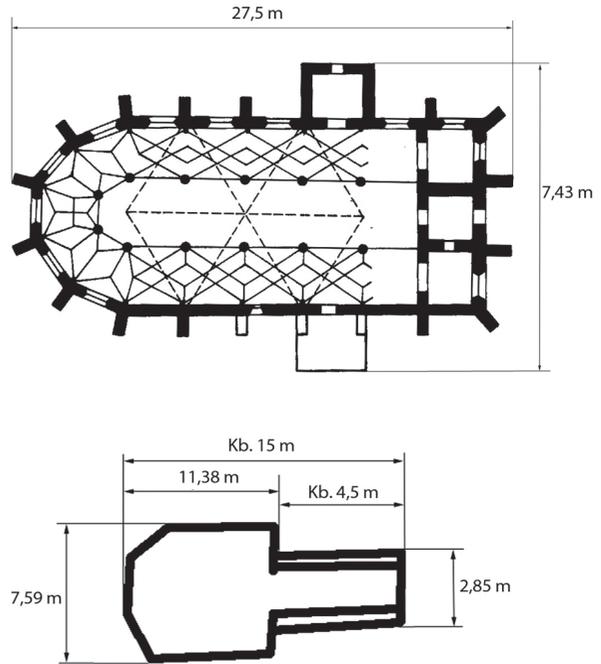


Fig. 8: Measures of King St. Stephen’s and Holy Virgin’s churches of Miskolc

25 *R(everendus) P(ater) Leopoldus Auer statim curavit erui fundamenta antiqui tempelli, quod hujus formae repertum est. Hanc tamen invenit distinctionem, quod fundamentum in forma sanctuarii intra Orientem et meridiem fuerit antiquius. et difficilioris eruitionis in longitudine fere 6 orgiarum, et in latitudine 4 org(iarum). Quod vero quasi navim videbatur exhibere, videbatur superadditum, quia facilius erat eruitionis in longitudine 4 fere orgiis brevius, et in latitudine semi tertia orgia angustius.* Prothocollum 1748 – 1785, f. 3v. Archives of OFM Conv. Miskolc.

Old Town. What is more, the two towns formed a close administrative unit. In addition to the topographic separation determined by the town's hydrography, the two parts of the town were mostly separated by the two independent parishes as from the mid 15th century, the New Town certainly had its independent Catholic congregation and church. The shrine of the church, having the shape of an octagon, and having the „nave” added to it later, could house about half as many people as the ancient Church of King St. Stephen of Miskolc. The emergence and particularly, the development of the New Town may have been caused by the demographic „explosion” of the town, so Miskolc can be listed among those dual-centred medieval towns in which the „civil town” was doubled by the increase in population, giving rise to the emergence of a new part. The separation was neither caused by the fact that the landlords were different, nor was it the case that the church district (e. g. the monastery) would have been separated. One cannot speak about the separation of the town inhabitants according to status (e. g. districts or streets inhabited by noblemen or villeins), nor can the New Town be considered a „hostat” (Hofstätte), i. e. a suburb-like dwelling-place of immigrants or tenants of lower status, therefore, one is not concerned with social or ethnic segregation. The New Town and its parish barely existed for two centuries, as the 1544 Turkish destruction did away with the separation of the two centres and the dual parish, however, the two parts of the town, the two centres and the dual parish ensure an exceptional place for Miskolc in the medieval urban and ecclesiastical history of Hungarian market towns.

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