The development of many settlements was not only determined by regional and economic factors, but could rely on a quite different motivation, when it was firmly tied to an important magnate family, for whom the town would become a residential and memorial environment. This was, of course, linked not only to the construction of a representative family residence, but also to the appertaining ecclesiastical centre, which usually functioned in the already existing, older local church. Therefore, in our study we will take a closer look not only at the settlement of Pezinok itself and its military guard, toll and market functions, but also at the formation of its ecclesiastical centre – the parish and the Parish Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary – because the factor of the magnate’s residence gave it a distinct position in the territory of the Bratislava Provostry. Pezinok was already of considerable importance in Great Moravian times, as it was a settlement situated in the immediate vicinity of a strategic pass through the Little Carpathians. It was this location that resulted in the fact that even after the establishment of the Kingdom of Hungary, its importance was preserved and by the eleventh century at the latest, a Hungarian guard garrison settled here, in the vicinity of an older Slavic settlement with a market and toll function. The settlement situation and archaeological findings make it possible to express the opinion that there must have been a sacral building here already at this time, which survived until the major rebuilding in the fourteenth century. From 1207 Pezinok became the property of the noble Hont-Poznan family, the ancestors of the local counts. After being settled by a German population, it developed towards urban agglomeration, as a result of which it has been called a town since the fifteenth century. Throughout the period, its parish church was an important centre of the settlement.

Keywords: The Middle Ages. History of the settlement. City. Town. The Kingdom of Hungary. Church. The right of patronage.

In the settlement structure of the Kingdom of Hungary, urban settlements of lower legal status played a particularly important role. They were consistently referred to in contemporary terminology (especially from the fifteenth century onwards) as oppida. These towns significantly shaped the economic character of the surrounding region, as they were the basic points of its market network. For the privileged and free royal towns, they thus provided the necessary economic base to which their own economy was linked. They were equally important for completing the population base of the area, across all levels of society. However, the development of many of them was also firmly linked to the important magnate families for whom they became residential and memorial environments.
Such special importance of the towns in the country is evidenced by their relatively high number. According to research by Katalin Szende, there were 709 oppida in total in the Kingdom of Hungary at the end of the Middle Ages, which retained this legal status as a permanent state. However, their actual number had undoubtedly at times been much higher, but especially in the fifteenth century many of them were for various reasons relegated in their status as towns.

However, the development of many of them was not only determined by regional and economic factors, but relied on a completely different motivation, when firmly tied to an important magnate family for whom such a small town had become a residential and memorial environment. And this was linked not only to the construction of a representative family residence, but also to the appertaining ecclesiastical centre, which would usually become established in the already existing, older local church. This was done with the application of relevant rights of patronage, which would further shape its architectural expression and its economic and legal inclusion in the church administration. As a result of this new function, the church would gain in importance, which would also be reflected in its better economic security, and its administration would become an interesting and sought-after benefice and ecclesiastical title. Such was the case in Pezinok, which, thanks to the fact that it became the family seat of one of the most important branches of the noble Hont-Poznan family, the later counts of Pezinok, became ranked among the most important settlements in the territory of today’s southwestern Slovakia. In our work we will focus on the origin and formation of the relationship between this type of settlement and the formation of its ecclesiastical centre – the Parish Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary – the factor of a magnate’s residence giving it a distinct position in the territory of the Bratislava Provostry.

Topography of the settlement
The layout of the medieval town and its topography can be reconstructed mainly on the basis of two deeds on the division of the estates of the counts from 1412 and 1425, and also from the wine tithe register from 1437. In the first deed, the Bratislava Chapter informed King Sigismund of Luxembourg about the valuation of the hereditary estates of the brothers Nicholas and George II, while the second already gives concrete testimony to their division. The following streets are mentioned in the deeds: Hradná or Trhová (Varucza sive Vasarucza; Markgossen), Garbiarska (Platea cerdonum, Lederergossen) and Záhradná (Kertwtcza, Pamgorthen). In addition to these, in the wine tithe register are also mentioned the streets Hrnčiarska (Hoffnergossen), Uhorská (Vngergossen), Pekárska (Peckengossen), Bodenzeil (Podenczayl), Frauenberg (Wraberg) and Vorberg (Worbergergossen). The streets Pekárska, Záhradná, Hrnčiarska, Bodenzeil

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1 SZENDE, The birth of oppida, 7.
2 ŽUDEL, Osidlenie Slovenska, 99.
3 KUBINYI, Residenz- und Herrschaftsbildung, 421–462.
4 Pezinok is currently located 18 km northeast of the capital Bratislava. It covers two cadastral territories, Grinava and Pezinok, on an area of 7276 ha at the foot of the Little Carpathians, at an altitude of 156 m above sea level. It is a district town, part of the Bratislava Region. It is adjacent to the districts of Senec, Bratislava, Malacky and Trnava. „O meste“. Mesto Pezinok. Accessed 15 May 2021. https://www.pezinok.sk/?yggid=4.
6 Magyar Nemezeti Levéltár – Országos Levéltár Budapest, Diplomatikai Levéltár (hereinafter MNL-OL DL), 11727, 11718.
and Frauenberg are identical to those on the 1785 map of the town’s intramural area. Uhorská Street formed only the upper part of the street of the same name from 1785. Hradná (Trhová) Street overlapped Veľká Street (Platea magna).

On the upper corner of Garbiarska Street was the Perghaus (identical with the later Krusič house). The dominant feature of Pezinok was the towerless Gothic Church of Virgin Mary with a tomb and a cemetery. Also mentioned are the hospital with the Chapel of the Holy Spirit, where burials took place, the houses of the chaplains and the administrator of the aforementioned hospital, the bell-ringer’s house, the school and the spa located near the mills in the northern part of the town. The Holy Spirit Hospital was located on the corner of today’s streets Holuby and Moyzesova. There were four water mills in Pezinok, three of which had double wheels (duplices rotas) and all of them were located in the northern part of the town near the settlement of Cajla. One of the mills in the fourteenth century belonged to Master León.

Within the rural areas of the town, sources mention vineyard appellations – the oldest known name of a vineyard is Lyetin (1345). In addition to the vineyards, the sources mention fruit trees – pears – and the cabbage garden of Count Sebes II on the Sumberg estate, where another of the water mills was located. The largest amount of information about the natural environment of Pezinok in the Middle Ages comes from the boundary documents of Pezinok from the years 1216 and 1256. The two documents are almost identical, with the later one giving more details. Both documents mention five watercourses located in the territory of Pezinok.

In addition to watercourses, forests and groves are also mentioned in the deeds. One of them was a lime grove (nemus, quod dicitur Lipounuc), which was located north of the village currently named Viničné. The second grove was probably made up of common oaks (nemus, ubi est meta sub arbore ylicis) and was located around the area of Lake Grinava.

The road network in the Pezinok district is only briefly mentioned in the boundary documents. In the northern part of the territory of Pezinok there was a road heading northwest to Pernek (via Misle) and a road heading west to Jablonové (via Jablan). Another road formed the boundary between Pezinok and the mining settlement of Myr/Nir. It is described in more detail in a deed concerning the division of the above-mentioned mining settlement from 1343. The road led from the Grinava stream through the forest towards Sumberg and the Blatina stream. According to the aforementioned document, it was very old and therefore overgrown in certain parts. Along the road there were several boundary markers made of earth and crosses cut into tree trunks. The road ended at the cabbage garden of Count Sebes II on the Sumberg estate. We learn partly about the roads from the charter on the delimitation of the royal estates, delineating the territories belonging to the counts from 1429. This charter focuses on the area between Pezinok, Veľký Biel and Viničné. The document states

7 MARSINA, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae. Tomus I (hereinafter CDSl I.), 160–161, no. 205.
8 MARSINA, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae. Tomus II (hereinafter CDSl II.), 366–367, no. 531.
9 These are the stream Zlošä (rivulus Zolose) – the unknown stream, the stream Hliník (fluvium Hylynuc) – Myslenický Stream, the stream Bystrica (fluvium Bistric/Nyrpataka) – Blatina Stream (bav. Sauláš = a place where pigs wallow), the stream Lúčnica (fluvium Luchync) – Trniansky Stream, and the stream Suchá (fluvium Succa) – part of the Viničnlansky Canal. CDSl II., pp. 366–367, no. 531.
10 CDSl II., p. 367, no. 531.
that from Pezinok there was a road leading southwards to Veľký Biel, generally named the public road (via publica). Parallel to the previous route (more to the northeast) was the road heading to the village of Viničné, which went on through blackberry bushes (via versus partem orientalem inter rubeta). From where the bushes were located (south of Viničné) led a dirt road and another larger road led from Senec (via publica de dicta Sempcz). However, today it is very difficult to determine which roads or routes were involved. 12

Ownership and the settlement image

Architecturally and functionally significant objects, among which the most prominent are the sacral buildings, completed the settlement image of most localities. The church dominated a settlement, completed its settlement and inhabitant identity and, through the church cult, integrated the settlement into wider regional and supragregional links. The architectural supremacy of the sacral building over the surrounding buildings, multiplied by the cemetery as a place of ancestor worship and often with a public space function, only accentuated this importance, quite deliberately, to remind of its centrality in the mentality of the population. 13 Using the example of medieval Pezinok, we will try to present the peculiarities of the church infrastructure in the functional and social transformations of the settlement.

Pezinok is mentioned in written documents as early as 1208. In that year, King Andrew II of Hungary issued a deed of gift, confirming the donation of the land of Pezinok to Thomas, the Count of Nitra. The aforementioned property had previously belonged to the administration of the Bratislava County Castle, and the monarch, when making the donation, ordered the then Bratislava County governor Poth to bring the county governor Thomas into his possession. The county governor of Bratislava then entrusted his companion and confidant Gregor (suum contubernarium) 14 to draw the boundaries of the donated property. The result of his work was also included in the royal charter, and thus we learn about the total extent of the then property of Pezinok. 15 As Ján Lukačka proved by his detailed research, the Nitra County governor Thomas was a member of the great Hont-Poznan family and became the founder of one of the most important branches of this family clan—the counts of Svätý Jur and Pezinok. 16 However, the document from 1208 not only informs us about the change of ownership in Pezinok, but its content brings very important data about the oldest organizational and settlement classification of the entire settlement area of Pezinok. As the document explicitly states, Pezinok as an estate (predium) originally belonged to the administration of Bratislava Castle, which meant both the institutional-administrative as well as the ecclesiastical-administrative connection to the royal institution of the county castle, which in the eleventh century also fulfilled the special role of the administrative centre of the Hungarian border post. 17 This gives the importance of the settlement of Pezinok itself, although it is not stated in what relation and servitude to the Bratislava castle the population of Pezinok was. However, this will emerge

12 GÁHÉR, Zemepanské mestečká, 19.
14 Compare: MAREK, Slovník stredovekej, 290.
15 CDSl I., pp. 113–114, no. 143: “terram quandam Bozen nomine que ad castrum Posoniense pertinebat.”
16 LUKAČKA, Formovanie vyššej Šľachty, 34–38.
17 On the institution of the mark in southwestern Slovakia compare: STEINHÜBEL, Nitrianske kniežatstvo, 241.
more clearly from a detailed analysis of the document. As to the circumstances of the issuance of the deed itself, however, it should be noted that its issuance in 1208 by King Andrew II was only an additional act of recording the donation itself, which was made slightly earlier. The text of the document clearly shows that the donation of Pezinok to the county governor Thomas took place when the county governor of Bratislava was Comes Poth, who by virtue of this function and on the special authorization of the ruler performed the official act of bringing Comes Thomas into the ownership of Pezinok (per Pothonem tunc comitem Posoniensem). However, we know that in 1208 Poth was already the county governor of Moson County and the county governor of Bratislava was then Comes Mog. In these posts both county governors appear in the list of witnesses of the above-mentioned charter of Andrew II from 1208. However, this is also confirmed by other documents. Poth’s position as a county governor of Moson in 1208 is also documented by another document, which was written on the occasion of Poth’s own endowment by King Andrew II with some estates directly in the territory of Moson County. The county governor of Bratislava, Mog, was also among the witnesses of this act of donation. Likewise, he was also a county governor of Moson in the years 1199, 1206, 1208–1212 and 1214–1215. Thus, the only time we find Comes Poth as county governor of Bratislava is in 1207 (as a witness at the endowment of the Religious Order of the Holy Sepulchre), which implies that the endowment of Pezinok to the Count of Nitra, Thomas, may have taken place that year, i.e. in 1207, which slightly advances our knowledge of the earliest written documents about Pezinok.

However, the possession of Pezinok in the hands of county governor Thomas and his descendants was not quite stable in the first half of the thirteenth century, and they had to make quite a lot of efforts to maintain it in the following period. This was mainly due to the special favour of King Andrew II, whom they served faithfully while he was prince, and Thomas’s sons Sebes and Alexander in 1204 freed Prince Andrew from prison in Esztergom, where he had been imprisoned by his brother King Imrich. Andrew never forgot this support and after his accession to the Hungarian throne, he donated several estates in the territory of Bratislava County to the county governor Thomas and his sons: Plavecký Štvrtok in 1206, Veľké Kostoľany in 1208–1209, the large territory of Svätý Jur with four other villages in 1209, part of Rozvadza, Mylá near Sládkovičovo and Galád in Temėš in 1212, and Dvorník near Vajnory and Kmetovo near Nové Zámky in 1214, and thus they became the most important property owners in the territory of Bratislava County. As for the ownership of Pezinok, the original deed of gift was lost by the county governor Thomas and his sons during events in which Queen Gertrude was murdered and during the subsequent riots (the queen was murdered in 1213 by disgruntled rebels during Andrew’s expedition to Halč /Galicia/),

18 CDSl I., p. 114, no. 144.
19 ZSoldos, Magyarország világi, 168–169, 182–183. It should be noted that for the year 1208 the function of the Bratislava court Špán (the highest royal official in the Kingdom of Hungary, the head of the county) is also known, which was then Comes Nicholas. In that year, the king entrusted him with settling a dispute between buffalo breeders from the village of Ipp in Kraszna County in Transylvania. Karacsonyi – Borovszky, Regestum Varadinense, p. 166, no. 1: ”Rex autem commisit causam coram Nicolao comiti, sicilicet curiali et Posoniensi discutiendum.”
20 CDSl I., p. 113, no. 142.
21 On individual acquisitions see: Lukáčka, Formovanie vyššej šľachty, 34–35.
22 Marsina, dejiny Slovenska, 227.
so King Andrew II in 1216 reissued the deed to them with a literal wording.\textsuperscript{23} However, the younger King Belo confiscated Pezinok and other properties from Thomas's sons Sebes and Alexander, so in 1231 King Andrew II returned Pezinok to their possession again and confirmed all previous acts of donation.\textsuperscript{24} In 1245, King Belo IV reaffirmed the possession of Pezinok for Kozma, the son of Alexander, for his combat operations against the Austrian Duke Frederick, during which he penetrated as far as Vienna.\textsuperscript{25} Finally, also in 1256, King Belo IV confirmed the possession of Pezinok to Alexander's sons Kozma and Achiles, and on this occasion the boundaries of the property were redrawn.\textsuperscript{26} The data from this document are very important, because they significantly supplement the older boundary document from 1208 (or 1207) and complete the picture of the earliest history of Pezinok.\textsuperscript{27} Several previous researchers have already noticed that the toponymy in the description of the boundaries of Pezinok has a predominantly Slavic character, thus pointing to the old Slavic settlement background.\textsuperscript{28} If we put both boundary delimitations on a map and analyse them, we obtain a rather remarkable documentation of the antiquity of the local settlement area with its pre-Hungarian origin and its special functional classification even in the conditions of the Kingdom of Hungary in the eleventh–twelfth centuries.

First of all, it is necessary to note the Slavic origin of the name Pezinok, which comes from the personal Slavic name Boza with the suffix-in, which proves the ownership (possessive) relationship of a person to the settlement.\textsuperscript{29} Considering the existence of the Great Moravian fortified settlements in Svätý Jur and Modra, the linguist Rudolf Krajčovič places the origin of the name as early as the ninth century.\textsuperscript{30} He points to the fact that names of this type occur in the vicinity of Slavic fortified settlements, which, as we will see, can also apply directly to Pezinok. Such a chronological classification of the name of Pezinok (and thus of the whole settlement) is also proved by the fact that for settlements under castle administration, such as Pezinok after the establishment of the Kingdom of Hungary, names were very often applied according to the names of the castle inhabitants who administered or used the land, but this was always done without adding the appropriate suffix, only by designating the property in the simple form of a personal name. The case of Pezinok with the composite form of the name means that it was indeed a settlement with an older, pre-Hungarian origin.\textsuperscript{31} With the above-mentioned also correspond the (as yet modest) archaeological findings of a Slavic settlement in the eighth-century Mahulanka location, but especially from the town's intramural area on Mladoboleslavská Street and in the area of the sanctuary of the Parish Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, which document the local Great Moravian and post Great Moravian settlement.\textsuperscript{32} However, other settlements

\textsuperscript{23} CDSI I., pp. 160–161, no. 205.
\textsuperscript{24} CDSI I., pp. 265–266, no. 373. The preserved document is a copy, but the data about Pezinok are reliable.
\textsuperscript{25} CDSI II., p. 139, no. 204.
\textsuperscript{26} CDSI II., pp. 336–337, no. 529–531.
\textsuperscript{27} The analysis of a boundary document, compare: ŠMILAUER, Vodopis starého Slovenska, 12–15, 131.
\textsuperscript{28} STANISLAV, Slovenský juh, 409.
\textsuperscript{29} DUBOVSKÝ – ŽUDEL, Dejiny Pezinka, 39.
\textsuperscript{30} KRAJČOVIČ, Počiatky feudalizmu, 34.
\textsuperscript{31} To compare the relevant argumentation see: SEDLÁK, Die älteste Besiedlung, 99–101.
\textsuperscript{32} FARKAŠ – VAVÁK – WITTGRÜBER, Dejiny Pezinka, 18–19.
in the immediate vicinity were also of Great Moravian origin. It is noteworthy that the oldest written reports record them all in a subordinate relationship to Bratislava Castle as the land of castle soldiers (jobagions), which shows the functional inclusion of these settlements in the county and administrative system under the conditions of the building of the Kingdom of Hungary, even with the indigenous inhabitants. As we will see, this was also related to the special designation of the Pezinok settlement itself and its strategically important location.

According to both of the above-mentioned boundary delimitations from the years 1208 and 1256, Pezinok was adjacent to the land and settlement complex Mir, whose name is also of Slavic origin, while in 1256 it is stated that it was the land of the inhabitants of Bratislava Castle. In this year it was already divided by property, while its western part, separated from the rest by a river with the Slavic name Bystrica, was held by the jobagion of Bratislava Castle, Comes Baca. According to the document of 1290, before this year another part of Mir had been owned for a long time by the nobles of Žitný ostrov Matej, Martin and Svorad, the sons of Hertel. The continuation of the settlement of this land is today’s Myslenice. The archaeological discovery of a Slavic settlement in Šúrske with a general dating to the eighth century corresponds with the Slavic origin of the name. Myslenice is immediately adjacent to Svätý Jur on the south side, where an important Great Moravian fortified settlement has been archaeologically documented in the location of Neštich.

Remarkable was the settlement on the western side of the Pezinok border, where an ancient settlement complex under the Slavic name Žužol was (the name deriving from the appellative Žužol with the meaning of coal). Its origin also dates back to the ninth century and it was originally a settlement of a servant population with a focus on charcoal burning, ranging from Viničné through Senec (the name deriving from the Hungarian translation of the name for charcoal – szén) to Tureň in the south. It also included the settlement *Doľany in the northwestern part of the complex, which had disappeared in the Middle Ages. The latter is mentioned in 1340 as being adjacent to the borders of Pezinok and at the same time Veľké Tŕnie. This whole extensive complex still resonates in the complaint of the counts George and Nicholas of Pezinok of 1423, according to which the reeve of Senec, Nicus Laybathan, royal subjects and inhabitants of Senec violently damaged the boundary landmarks between the districts of Pezinok and “a kind of settlement *Doľany”. The document is also important because it shows quite reliably the original extent of the land of *Žužol. The settlement has been investigated archaeologically, namely in the local part of Senec in the location of Martin, where, in addition to the settlement itself, dating back to at least the tenth century (but probably dating back to the ninth century) with a termination horizon in the fourteenth century, a sacral building was uncovered – the church of St Martin,
whose origins are equally old.\textsuperscript{40} This church was thus the original ecclesiastical centre of the entire servant complex of the coal miners of Žužlany and later Senec.\textsuperscript{41}

Another original neighbouring property with Pezinok was Šenkvice, located northeast of Pezinok, which according to a deed from 1256 was held by a jobagion (castle soldier) of Bratislava Castle with the Slavic name Chanuk.\textsuperscript{42} It was also an old settlement and archaeology has uncovered militaria from as early as the eighth century, but surface collection has also found Slavic pottery with a wave-shaped pattern from as early as the fifth or sixth century.\textsuperscript{43}

From the north, Pezinok was adjacent to two important settlements – Modra and Veľké Tŕnie. In the case of Modra, the Great Moravian origin of the settlement and the numerous Great Moravian findings, including an important fortified settlement, are already known.\textsuperscript{44} According to a document from 1256, Modra was inhabited by a population that paid five units of silver for each to the administration of Bratislava Castle, so the settlement was organized in this way as well.

\textbf{Guard, toll and market function of the settlement}

The settlement of Veľké Tŕnie is particularly significant. In the boundary delimitation of 1208 it is mentioned only as the land of “Turdune”; only in 1256 it is stated that it is the village of the sons of Chukar, who was also the castle jobagion of Bratislava Castle. In 1292 it is also directly referred to as Chukar’s village (Chukarfolus).\textsuperscript{45} Archaeologists have uncovered a well from the ninth century in the settlement with the remains of Great Moravian pottery, and there is no doubt that it was connected to the local settlement.\textsuperscript{46} The name is also of Slavic origin with an etymologically clear origin – thorn (tŕnie in Slovak). However, the significance of this name lies not only in the local natural abundance of thorns, but especially in the fact that it had a specific purpose. The settlement was located in a strategically important area with a passage to the other side of the Little Carpathians, so it seems that its inhabitants cultivated the thorn intentionally to create barricades, abatisses (\textit{indagines}), communication restrictions and regulations. The local population had a duty to cultivate the thorn plantation on purpose to secure the local crossing over the Little Carpathians, leading through the (Pezinská) Baba. From the other side of the mountains this function was provided by the settlement of Jablonové, whose name is also derived from the cultivation of wild trees for the purpose of creating abatisses in order to protect the pass.\textsuperscript{47} At the same time, a defensive system was also provided by the military garrison on the fortified settlement above Pernek (spot height 445).\textsuperscript{48} The fact that such a system of building

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{40} HABOVŠTIAK, \textit{Stredoveká dedina}, 309.
  \item \textsuperscript{41} Compare RÁBIK, \textit{Szenc és környéke}, 51–64.
  \item \textsuperscript{42} VARSÍK, \textit{Z osídlenia západného}, 68.
  \item \textsuperscript{43} BIALEKOVA, \textit{Pramene k dejinám}, 62. FARKAŠ, \textit{Zisťovací výskum}, 135–168.
  \item \textsuperscript{44} BIALEKOVA, \textit{Pramene k dejinám}, 56. SEDLÁK, \textit{Die älteste Besiedlung}, 105–106.
  \item \textsuperscript{45} MES, 327–328. SEDLÁK, \textit{Die älteste Besiedlung}, 104–105.
  \item \textsuperscript{46} BIALEKOVA, \textit{Pramene k dejinám}, 62.
\end{itemize}
defensive abatisses was a reality on the dominion of the owners of Pezinok, who also acquired other local estates, is evidenced by a document from 1209. By means of it, King Andrew II donated the extensive property of Svätý Jur to Comes Sebes of Pezinok and at the same time exempted the local subjects (as well as all others on Sebes’s estates) from the obligation to build defensive abatisses and ditches. However, this report also testifies the decline of this ancient defensive system in the area of southwestern Slovakia.

The pass (road) itself is mentioned in a border delimitation from 1208, according to which the border of the property of Pezinok led along the road leading through Jablonové to Pernek and from there it continued a little further along the road, but after a while the border line disappeared. The road, however, continued to the other side of the Little Carpathians and led to Trnie. In the above-mentioned borderline, there is another interesting piece of information, because after the borderline left the crossing road, it joined the spring called Lučinc(i), where the borders of Pezinok and Trnie met. The name of the spring is very important, because it seems to be related to the whole situation described around the local guarding of the Little Carpathian pass. The name of the spring, which according to the boundary delimitation stretches all the way to Trnie and the area of its source being the border point between Pezinok and Trnie, is probably linked to the medieval designation of archers, also called “lučinci” in the Middle Ages. They were probably the guard population in charge of the military security of the pass. In fact, a similar situation can be documented at another pass in the Little Carpathian region a little further north near Lošonc, where the name of the village – originally probably Lučince – could also be derived from the archers. These archers probably formed a military garrison of the eastern ethnic group of Sikulov, which is mentioned in this settlement area in 1256 at the demarcation of Boleráz. In the case of the Little Carpathian pass near Pezinok and Veľké Trnie it would not be an isolated phenomenon, rather the opposite. In this context, the archaeological discovery of arrowheads on the back of the ridge in the Cajlanska valley above the confluence of the streams Blatnica and Sedláčkov jarok is remarkable, pointing to the eastern ethnic provenance of their bearers. They could have been the aforementioned archers. A fortified settlement was found in the above-mentioned location in the Cajlanska valley, which was destroyed in the second half of the thirteenth century, and which is probably related to the evidence of the existence of the Old Castle, known in sources from the seventeenth century onwards. This fortified settlement probably provided a strategic passage through the Little Carpathians on the opposite side of the pass,

50 It is certainly important to note that the village of Jablonové was already in the possession of the county governor Thomas before 1206, CDSl I., p. 111, no. 139 (it being mentioned in the boundary document of Plavecký Štvrtok).
51 CDSl I., pp. 113–114, no. 142: “transiens per mediam villam Jablan ad viam Mhysle et tendendo parum superius per eandem viam declinat ad sinistram, dimissa illa via.”
52 Vincent Sedláček interprets this spring under the name Lúčnik, but the context of the whole situation speaks of a different etymology, compare: SEDLÁČEK, Die älteste Besiedlung, 100.
53 MAREK, Cudzie etniká, 78–79.
54 CDSI II., pp. 392–393, no. 563.
56 On the location “Starý zámek” compare: DUBOVSKÝ – ŽUDEL, Dejiny Pezinka, 40–41 (the author of the relevant part is J. Žudel).
just as the fortified settlement above Pernek did on the eastern side. However, the question is where these archers were specifically deployed as a military guard garrison and what their ethnicity was. In the conditions of the Kingdom of Hungary, this role was performed by specialized troops of Old Hungarian and related tribes, whose traces remain in the topography as the names of their settlements. If we take into account the whole context (the Little Carpathian pass, its intercepting facilities on both sides of the mountains, traces of the guarding population – archers, the fortified settlement above the pass at Pernek and the parallel oppositional fortified settlement in the district of Pezinok), then the existence of the so-called Hungarian Street, which existed in medieval Pezinok, fits into the whole situation quite accurately. It is documented under this name in 1437 in the register of wine tithes from the wine-growers of Pezinok. It seems that this was the mentioned settlement of the Hungarian military garrison with a guarding function in relation to the above-mentioned Little Carpathian pass and which settled directly in Pezinok, where the ethnonymic name of one of the streets of Pezinok was preserved even in the fifteenth century. Looking at the topography of Pezinok, it is obvious that the Old Hungarian garrison was located directly in the vicinity of the Slavic settlement, on the right bank of the stream that ran through Pezinok. The original older settlement with its church and market centre was located on the opposite bank. However, the settlement of the Hungarian guards directly into Pezinok undoubtedly fulfilled another purpose, namely to strategically secure the nearby Great Moravian fortified settlements in Modra and Svätý Jur after they had been subordinated to the administrative system of the Kingdom of Hungary. Both of these fortified settlements fulfilled the role of providing the strategic security of this Little Carpathian pass already in Great Moravian times, but they were also important centres of regional administration. Their subordination to the Hungarian power and the new securing of the pass must have taken place in the second half of the tenth century, which is also a proof of the pre-Hungarian existence of the settlement of Pezinok and its special significance.

Finally, on the matter of the guarding function of Pezinok, it should be noted that the settlements, which provided important communications at the inland and border crossings, also fulfilled an economic role as toll collection and regional market centres. At the same time, however, they were also a religious regional centre.

The ancient toll function of the Pezinok settlement is evidenced by the mandate of King Charles I of Austria of 19 November 1339, which, at the request of the magistrate Sebes of Pezinok, forbids anyone to bypass the old toll in Pezinok. The toll had been donated to his ancestors on the basis of a royal donation and they had attached it to the belongings of their castle in Pezinok. However, there is another remarkable document about the toll of Pezinok, which informs us that one third of its revenues have always belonged to the Benedictine Pannonhalma Archabbey. Thus, in 1393, the counts Nicholas and George of Pezinok paid the abbey its annual share of the toll revenues, totalling six pounds of denarii. Similarly, in 1397, the Abbot of Pannonhalma,
Stephen, acknowledged the two counts for paying the same amount for the share of the toll of Pezinok on the feast of St Michael the Archangel (29 September), which belonged to him and his monastery. It should be pointed out that such a one-third share of the revenue by religious institutions dates back to very old times, certainly to the time when Pezinok was under the administration of Bratislava Castle. The latter, as is known from the organization of the county system in Hungary, also received one third of the toll collected and the last third was left to the monarch. This old property and administrative arrangement dates back to the time of the first Hungarian king Stephen I.

The toll institution in Pezinok is certainly of the same origin. However, the above-mentioned also means that in 1207 the Count of Nitra received Pezinok with only two thirds of the local toll (county/castle and royal).

Equally ancient is the market function of the settlement. However, the concrete evidence comes from the document of the regional judge James of Spiš from 1375, who at a meeting of his court in Bratislava judged a dispute between John, son of Sebes, on the one hand, and on the other hand Thomas, castellan of Holíč, and Peter of Svätý Jur, son of the deceased Peter, who was the brother of the aforementioned Sebes. The dispute concerned the mutual transfer of a number of subjects from their estates and the regulation of the movement and transfer of their subjects on the estates of the aforementioned nobles. Among other things, it was agreed that the subjects of the counts of Svätý Jur were allowed to come to the market in Pezinok without interference, but they were obliged to pay the usual market toll, as were all other market traders.

In 1376, at the request of the aforementioned John, son of Sebes, King Louis I renewed the privilege of the weekly market in Pezinok, as the original privilege had been lost. It is not known whether this loss was related to the aforementioned dispute between the relatives, but the newly granted charter allowed the weekly market in Pezinok on Wednesdays, as it had been before. Wednesday as a market day in Pezinok is probably also a very ancient institution, because we know from the Slavic environment that it was a traditional market day of the Slavs, which is indicated by several documents, especially from Poland and Croatia.

Thus, this was also an economic organization, which probably dates back at least to the beginnings of the Kingdom of Hungary, but most likely to the times before that. The market function of Pezinok is also emphasized by its German name Pösing. It originated after Pezinok was settled by the Germans sometime shortly after the Tartar invasion, when the German population added the suffix -ing to the old Slavic name to signify market activity. The first record of such a name dates back to 1318 (Graf von Poesing).

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61 MNL-OL DL, 8256: “nobis et dicto nostro monasterio (...) racione porcionis nostre tributarie in dicta Bozyn existentis in festo sancti Michaelis archangeli solvere tenentur.”
62 GYÖRFFY, István király, 268.
63 MNL-OL DF, 83 344: “causa fori cum mercibus aut sine mercibus in predictam venirent possessionem Bozyn nuncupatam ... tributum consuetum more allorum forensium (...) solvere teneretur.”
64 Štátny archív Bratislava, pracovisko Archív Modra, fond Mesto Pezinok, documents: “forum liberum singulis feris quartis in omni ebdomada, in dicta possessione sua Bozyn vocata.”
65 SEDLÁK, Die älteste Besiedlung, 81–82. This issue is also specifically addressed in the study: RÁBIK, Vznik mestskeho zriadenia, 68.
67 SEDLÁK, Regesta diplomatica, p. 175, no. 358.
The development of Pezinok accelerated with the arrival of the Germans, especially economically but also socially, and from the fifteenth century onwards it was referred to as a town (oppidum).  

The earliest mentions of the parish church and parish

The military guard, toll and market functions of the Pezinok settlement, which ranked it among the localities of supra-regional importance, was accompanied by an important position in the church administration of the Bratislava Archdeaconate as the seat of the parish. The outlined settlement and functional situation of Pezinok gives room to consider that Pezinok was very early a cult ecclesiastical centre. The building of the medieval church itself was eccentrically situated in the settlement, namely in its peripheral northwestern intramural part on the left bank of the local watercourse – thus, in an area where an ancient settlement had been forming since Great Moravian times and which in the second half of the thirteenth century was also overlaid by German settlement. On the other side, from the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, a settlement of Old Hungarian guards was formed, who took control of the entire local region and the strategic passage to the Little Carpathians from Záhorie. The medieval church itself was thus also located on the Great Moravian cultural layer and it should be considered particularly significant that it was in the area of its sanctuary that archaeologists managed to find a fragment of the upper rim of a ninth century pottery vessel decorated with a wave-shaped decoration. It is not known whether the discovery can be directly linked to the existence of a sacral building at this time. However, in view of the substantiated ancient institutions in Pezinok of pre-Hungarian origin as well as the developed neighbouring settlement and administrative Great Moravian structures in the immediate vicinity of Slavic Pezinok, this cannot be ruled out. On the contrary, all these circumstances play in favour of such an interpretation. Certainly, this Great Moravian find in the central part of the sacral building cannot be assessed as accidental. Also remarkable is the result of another piece of archaeological research, which documented that the foundation walls of the sanctuary in its entire later extent, even with the polygonal cap, are older than its superstructure, which was already part of the rebuilding of the church in the fourteenth century. Although the dating of these walls is still very cautious, at least Early Gothic architecture is noted. Indeed, it is inconceivable that a settlement of such importance would not have had a religious building with parish administration long before the thirteenth century. It can be rightly assumed that the church in Pezinok formed part of the basic parish infrastructure of the Bratislava Provostry from its beginnings.

However, the oldest known data dates back to the second decade of the fourteenth century. This was on the occasion of the papal nuncio Rufinus of Cibio, the archdeacon of Tolna in the diocese of Pécs, who arrived in the Kingdom of Hungary on 12 October, on the special commission of Pope John XXII. He was to remain in Hungary for three years (he left the country on 12 March 1320) and, by papal commission, was to collect for the Apostolic Camera an annual income from all unoccupied ecclesiastical benefices in the kingdom. These were often occupied by the seculars, the nobility and even the monarch,
thus depriving the Roman Curia of a large income from the compulsory benefices which their clerical holders had to pay. In the Kingdom of Hungary, however, Rufinus met with disapproval, so the pope considerably reduced his original decree and sent Rufinus a new instruction. According to it, he was already to collect half of the annual pension from unoccupied benefices whose annual income exceeded six grzywnas of pure silver (one grzywna was counted as four chambered papal guilders). For this reason, Archdeacon Rufinus also dealt with the parish in Pezinok, but he did not learn of its vacancy until the end of his three-year stay, i.e. around the beginning of 1320, and did not have time to settle the parish accounts. However, it was the Archbishop of Esztergom, Thomas, who pointed out to him that the income of the parish of Pezinok exceeded the amount of six grzywnas, so Rufinus commissioned him to settle the accounts himself and send the money to the Roman Curia. It follows that sometime at the end of 1319 or at the beginning of 1320 the parish of Pezinok was emptied. It was also vacant between 1332 and 1337, when papal tithe collectors were in the country, and from their activities have survived detailed records of tithed parishes, but without any mention of Pezinok. Only very indirectly is the parish of Pezinok mentioned in the complaint of the vicar and sub-provost Thomas and the canons of Bratislava, magistrates Tybold, Pavel of Vienna, Ivanek and the Bratislava town parish priest Peter, to the Archbishop of Esztergom, Csanád, claiming a quarter of the archbishop's tithes, which belonged to the castle districts of Stupava, Devin, Pezinok and Svätý Jur, as well as from the villages of Rača, Vajnory, Ivanka pri Dunaji, Kostolná pri Dunaji, Most pri Dunaji, Jelka and Vlky on Žitný Ostrov, which had belonged to them under previous archbishops, and were now being denied to them by the archiepiscopal tithe collectors. They therefore demanded the archbishop intervene and protect their rights. But since the archbishop wanted the whole matter investigated first, he asked Bishop Nicholas of Eger, formerly Provost of Bratislava, to enlighten him as to how the tithes had been handled when he held the office of Provost of Bratislava. After his explanation of the whole matter, as well as after the testimony of the priests of the churches that belonged to the districts of the castles mentioned above, the archbishop learned that this was indeed the case and that the canons and the chapter had indeed been receiving the disputed tithes from a long time ago (“as far back as memory goes”), and therefore he reaffirmed their possession of the tithes for the future.

Finally, however, it was not until the foundation deed of the Count of Svätý Jur, Magister Sebes, in 1345 that the patronage of the parish church in Pezinok was mentioned for the first time in concrete terms. On 11 November of that year, Count Sebes, out of reverence and devotion to Almighty God and the Virgin Mary and St Ladislaus the King, St John the Evangelist, St John the Baptist and St Andrew the Apostle, as well as to all the saints, and for the salvation of the souls of his ancestors, but also for the greater salvation of his own soul and the souls of his descendants, appointed Conrad, a priest of Buda, to be chaplain of his chapel, which was situated in Pezinok.

73 MES, pp. 208–209, no. 306.
and was dedicated to the veneration of St Ladislaus the King. For the maintenance of such a foundation he gave him one vineyard, colloquially called *Lyetin*, and the mill of the burgher of Pezinok, Lev *Margirlin*, but on condition that from this mill priest Conrad should obligatorily hand to the priest of the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Pezinok forty units of wheat. In addition, he granted him a pension of five pounds of Viennese denarii (three of which came from the importation of barrels and two from barrel fees, colloquially called *Kusingobe*).74

The importance of the parish church in the region was increased by the granting of a papal indulgence in 1369.75 In the document, Pope Urban V particularly emphasizes the veneration of the Virgin Mary, whom he piously refers to as the mother of mercy, grace, friend of love and comforter of mankind, the one who intercedes for the salvation of the faithfuls to “the King whom she bore”. All this, more out of reverence than out of duty, led the Pope to grant indulgences to churches dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Therefore, the Parish Church of the Virgin Mary in Pezinok, in the Archbishopric of Esztergom, was also to receive these graces, so that the greatest number of the faithful could gather there. Therefore, to all the faithful in Christ who had made a valid confession and repented, and on the feasts of the Nativity of Our Lord (25. 12.), the Circumcision (1. 1.), the Epiphany (6. 1.), the Resurrection (Easter Sunday), the Ascension (Thursday before the Exaudi Sunday) and Corpus Christi (Thursday after the Holy Trinity), as well as on the Marian feasts of the Nativity (8. 9.), the Annunciation (25. 3.), the Purification (2. 2.) and the Assumption (15. 8.), and also on the feasts of St John the Baptist (24. 6.), Saint apostles Peter and Paul (29. 6.) and All Saints (1. 11.), also during the octaves of the above-mentioned feasts and the six days of the Whitsun, he visited annually the mentioned church and granted 100-day indulgences. However, this privilege of the parish church of Pezinok was to last only for a period of ten years.

The parish of Pezinok, or its priest, is then mentioned only in the document of Doctor of Law Leonard of Pesaro, Archdeacon of Zagreb, Canon of Zagreb and Esztergom and Vicar “in spiritualibus” of the Archbishop of Esztergom, John of Kaniža, of 1390. In that year he wrote a protest, which was made at the last diocesan synod under the presidency of the archbishop himself, by the canon and sub-custodian Martin of Esztergom against the provost Vavrinec of Bratislava and eighty-six other parish priests with named parishes, who were under the provost’s jurisdiction. Among them, the parish priest of Pezinok is also specifically mentioned. Canon Martin accused the provost and his priests of violating the old rights of the Esztergom Chapter in the matter of the dispensing of sacred oils and chrism, which were illegally distributed by the Provost of Bratislava. The latter, however, argued that this was allegedly an ancient custom, which was also confirmed by the representative of the Bratislava Chapter, Canon Magister Vavrinec. The other side, however, denied this and stated that the mentioned priests used to go to Esztergom for oils. The mediated agreement at the synod stipulated that in the future only one of the canons of Bratislava was to bring the oils from Esztergom for all priests, and that these were to be distributed from the Bratislava Chapter to the other parish priests. For the oils, each of the parish

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75 THEINER, Vetera monumenta, p. 94, no. 182: “parochialis ecclesia sancte Marie in Bozin, Strigoniensis dioecesis” (the year 1370).
priests was to pay the Esztergom Chapter four denarii per year and hand over a candle the size of the length of a man’s arm. One half of it was to be used for the lighting needs of Esztergom Cathedral and the other half for Bratislava Cathedral. Apart from its remarkable content, the whole dispute is particularly important for introducing a significant part of the church topography in the territory of the Bratislava Provosty at the end of the fourteenth century.\footnote{Esztergomi főszékéskáptalan levéltára, Esztergom, Cap. H, fasc. 2, no. 20. Slovenský národný archív [The Slovak National Archives] (hereinafter SNA), Súkromný archív Bratislavskéj kapituly [Private Archive of the Bratislava], lad. 51, fasc. 1, no. 30. The documents were published by: FEJÉR, \textit{Codex diplomaticus}, 313–314. MÁLYAUSZ, \textit{Zsidmondkori oklevéltár}, p. 168, no. 1498. The most recent: RÁBIK, \textit{Trnávské príjmy}, pp. 106–110, no. 25: ”plebanos seu rectores ecclesiarum (...)
\textit{de Bozyn}.”}

The parish of Pezinok (\textit{Bazin}) is also mentioned among the parishes of the Bratislava Provosty in 1397, when a visitation of the Archdiocese of Esztergom was allegedly carried out by Antonio da Ponte, Bishop of Sibin and Archbishop’s Vicar, on behalf of Archbishop John of Kaniža, in the presence of the notary of the Prague cleric John of Turnov. The visitation protocol included an inventory of all the parishes in the archdiocese, divided according to their organizational assignment to the various arch- and vice-archidiaconates. However, the situation with this list is problematic, because it is missing in the copies known today (two copies, the first from the second half of the fifteenth century and the second from the middle of the sixteenth century), where this list was in the form of a separately drawn up appendix.\footnote{Primási Levéltár, Esztergom, Esztergomi Székesfőkáptalan Magánlevéltára, Régi vizitációk és formuláskönyvek 90, fol. 15v–16r. Copy from about the second half of the sixteenth century is also stored there, fasc. 50, lad. 0, no. 0. With errors published by: KOLLÁNYI, \textit{Visitatio capituli}, 71–105, 239–272.} Today, the only known survival is a copy of it in the synodal proceedings of the Trnava bishops’ synod of 1629, where it was intended to serve as a record of the losses suffered by the Catholic Church in the process of the Reformation from the sixteenth century onwards, and at the same time as a basis for recatholicization activities.\footnote{PÉTERFFY, \textit{Sacra concilia}, 271.} However, a list of parishes of a similar nature, i.e. from the Archbishopric of Esztergom, is also known from 1516. It was created on the occasion of the preparation of a diocesan synod, which, however, did not take place in the end. The inventory is also interesting in that the method of registering individual parishes and their organizational subdivisions, as well as the language of the toponymic entries, which bear a distinctly Germanic linguistic expression, are partly similar to the alleged register of parishes of 1397, as we know it in the preserved document of 1629. This means that both registers were based on some common source, which to a certain extent also defends the credibility of the register of 1397. The parish of Pezinok is listed in the register of parishes of 1516 in its proper organizational classification as part of the Bratislava Provostry (\textit{Bozyn}).\footnote{SAN, Súkromný archív Bratislavskéj kapituly, Capsa K, fasc. 2, no. 4/A2. The document was published by: MELNÍKOVÁ, \textit{O stave cirkevnej}, 127–140.} However, the medieval sources also provide us with other data that more vividly present the functioning of the parish of Pezinok, its staffing, and other aspects of religious, ecclesiastical and administrative life in the town.

The central position here was of course represented by the parish church building itself with its Marian consecration. In addition to the already mentioned documents of 1345 and 1369, there are also data from the fifteenth century that describe the church in terms of some of its structural elements. Thus we learn that when in 1425 the
counts of Pezinok, brothers George and Nicholas, divided the estates of the Pezinok manor and some other estates on the Žitný ostrov, all the sacral buildings in Pezinok (even the chapel in the castle) and the church facilities belonging to them were left in joint possession and administration. The division itself was preceded by a dispute between the two counts, in which Count George accused his brother Nicholas of insufficient participation in the administration and income of the family estates. The whole dispute reached the monarch, who delegated the case to the regional judge Matthew of Pavlovce. Only then did the fraternal dispute end by conciliation and with an agreement on the equal division of estates. To this end, King Sigismund commissioned the Bratislava Chapter to carry out a revision of the estates in question, which it did in September 1425 (the report itself being written on 19 September). On the basis of the report, the division was carried out again by the representatives of the chapter and the royal commissioner in the days following the feast of St Michael (from 29 September) of that year. On the basis of both of these documents we thus learn that in Pezinok were not only the Castle Chapel of St Ladislaus and the Parish Church of St Mary, but also the hospital of the Holy Spirit, the rectory and the house of the hospital administrator (rector), the houses of the hospital and parish beneficiaries (chaplains, holders of benefices), of the bell-ringers, the local school and the spa, as well as all the vineyards, mills and ecclesiastical pensions, from whatever sources they came from. From the second document we again learn that the church was without a tower and had a cemetery, that the hospital was also without a tower, and that burials used to take place there as well.80

In 1467 Helena, the widow of Count Imrich, and her brother-in-law Count Ladislaus supported with an unspecified amount of money unspecified construction works on the parish church.81 The parish church also received a more significant financial investment for reconstruction in 1474. In this year, the noblewoman Catherine, widow of Marshal Adam of Rogów in Poland, placed herself under the protection and patronage of the counts of Pezinok Ladislaus and his nephew Simon, and gave them possession of all her estates and property shares, including their revenues, and especially the villages Lukáčovce and Neznawicz in Nitra County. After her death these estates could be bought from the counts of Pezinok by Catherine’s relatives. In addition, Catherine also gave all her dowry properties and several receivables she had towards several nobles, as well as towards family members, to the two counts. At the same time, she designated half of these dowry properties for the rebuilding of the Parish Church of the Virgin Mary in Pezinok. The counts of Pezinok undertook to protect Catherine and to provide her with shelter and sustenance until the end of her life.82 Thus, the two reports above show that in the second half of the 1460s and the first half of the 1470s the church in Pezinok was undergoing significant structural changes. No more

80 MNL-OL DL, 11727: “predictum siquidem opidum Bozyn demptis ecclesia parochiali in honore Beate Marie Virginis gloriase et hospitali in honore sancti Spiritus fundatis, domibusque plebanie et rectoratus, eiusdem hospitalis prebendaris, campanatoribus, et scola, item vineis, molendinis, et censibus seu redditibus a bbalneo (!) vel aliunde eisdem ecclesie hospitali et plebanie seu alteri earundem deputatis et proveniendis, quas et que partes statu, libertate et conditionibus superioribus promississent”, MNL-OL DL, 11 718: “Item ecclesiam lapideam in honore beate virginis constructam absque pinnaculo habens sepulturam ac hospitale in nomine sancti Spiritus fundatis absque pinnaculo, ubi eciam defuncti solent quiescere.”
81 HÁZI, Pozsony vármegye, 77.
82 MNL-OL DL, 17 575: “totalem ac directam et equalem medietatem dotum et rerum parafernalia omnium porcionum et iurium possessionariarum suarum, in predictis possessionibus Neznawicz et Lakachy vocatis, habitarum, ad fabricam ecclesie parrochialis sancte Marie in oppido Bazin fundate.”
medieval documentary evidence survived, but further building activity is evidenced by the discovery of a dating of 1501 on the triumphal arch, as will be discussed below. The church also contains an epitaph of Count George from 1426 and a Renaissance baptismal font dating to 1523.83

However, the parish church also had several chapels and associated altar chapels with prebends, which were administered by special rectors – priests. Religious fraternities of Pezinok inhabitants were also attached to these altar chapels. From historical documents, only the Chapel of the Holy Trinity and the Confraternities of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Corpus Christi are known. On 23 September 1449, the rector of the Chapel of the Holy Trinity in Pezinok, Hans Talkner, informed the Bratislava magistrate that he was unable to come to Bratislava on the next feast of St Michael to receive the sum of seventeen and a half guilders.84 It was a sum equal to half a year’s liability of the Bratislava magistrate to this chapel. A similar sum was also accepted from the citizens of Bratislava in 1466 by the chaplain John, who at that time also acted as chaplain to Count Ladislaus.85 In 1478 the rector of the chapel of the Holy Trinity, John Märcher, castellan of the castle of Pezinok George Bechkez and the burgher of Pezinok George Reynisser, on the orders of the vicar of the Bratislava provost and canon of the Bratislava chapter Nicholas de Hyttendorff, witnessed the testamentary bequeath of the noblewoman Catherine, widow of Peter of Blážov, by which she appointed her son Ladislaus as heir to all of her estates.86 The report of the Bratislava Chapter of 1494 shows that in 1446 the burghers of Bratislava had set up a special fund at this altar and had undertaken to pay it the sum of thirty-five guilders annually. However, the deceased administrator of the chapel, the priest Ján Marykharth, lost the foundation deed and the whole commitment was questioned by the citizens of Bratislava. In 1494, however, an agreement was reached between the Bratislava magistrate and Count Simon on the redemption, as a result of which the Bratislavians redeemed themselves from this obligation by paying the sum of three hundred and fifty guilders,87 which represented the amount of the ten-year census.

However, there was undoubtedly also a chapel of the Corpus Christi in Pezinok. It is only indirectly mentioned in the report of its fraternity. On the basis of an agreement of 1504 between the Duke of Transylvania, Count Peter of Pezinok and Svätý Jur, and the Archbishop of Esztergom, Thomas Bakóc, the rectors of the altars in the churches of Pezinok and Svätý Jur, during the lifetime of Duke Peter did not have to pay tithes from the vineyards which belonged to them (as had been the case before), and similarly the Confraternities of Corpus Christi and the Virgin Mary, which existed in these towns, were also exempt from paying tithes from the vineyards.88 The Confraternity and Altar Society of the Blessed Virgin Mary, however, did not exist in the parish church, but was

83 DUBOVSKÝ – ŽUDEL, Dejiny Pezinka, 228–229 (the author of the relevant part L. Šášky).
84 Magyar Nemezeti Levéltár – Országos Levéltár Budapest, Diplomatikai Fényképek (hereinafter MNL-OL DF), 242 275: “Herr Hanns Talkchner rector cappelle sancte Trinitatis in Posingo.”
85 MNL-OL DF, 242 780 “Ich Hans Graff Ladslau kapplann czw Posing.”
86 MNL-OL DL, 18 015: “…honorable et discreto vir dominus Johannes Märcher rector capelle sancte Trinitatis in Bozin.”
87 MNL-OL DF, 243 022: “census (...) capelle sancte et individue Trinitatis in dicta ecclesia parochiali in Bozyn constructe, singulisannis (...) deberent solvere.”
88 MNL-OL DL, 20925: “Item decimas de vineis rectorum altarium in ecclesiis opidorum Zenthgherge et Bozyn predictorum fundatorum provenientes, que scilicet vinee per prius (!) decimales non fuissent, eisdem rectoribus altarium modo simili vita ipsius comitis Petri durante annuisset. Item de vineis ad confrerinitatem sanctissimi
organized in the hospital church, where it also had its own altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary. From 10 to 12 November 1515, the chaplain of this altar, Nicholas, the son of a scribe, was successively ordained to all degrees of ordination by Bishop Matthew de San Leone in Rome.\(^89\) As for the hospital itself, in 1509, in his will, the Provost of Varadinum (now Oradea), Matej Ilesházi of Iliašovce, bequeathed two guilders\(^90\) to it, which is the last known medieval record of the hospital.

The parish church also included a school and a rectory building, which are first mentioned in the division of the Pezinok manor in 1425, as already mentioned. No other medieval documents about the school are known. However, the rectory is also mentioned in 1451, when four representatives of the Bratislava Chapter and George of Rozhanovce met there to make a legal declaration of the release of all his and his cousin’s (Sebastian of Rozhanovce) estates in Upper Hungary to Count Imrich of Pezinok. As the deed of the Bratislava Chapter states, Imrich was the son-in-law of George of Rozhanovce and the husband of his daughter Helena, and the whole matter concerned the estates of Šintava, Bernolákovo (Čeklís) and Šamorín, Rusovce and Vrakuňa. These estates and their revenues were to be held by Count Imrich until Sebastián of Rozhanovce returned to the country from captivity.\(^91\)

However, let us also take a look at the staffing of the parish office. The first known parish priest of Pezinok is only the parish priest John, who, together with the parish priest of Devin, Stephen, was entrusted by the Archdeacon of Nitra, Matej de Vicedominis, the appointed judge from the Archbishop of Esztergom, in 1417, to investigate the witnesses in the dispute over the rights and scope of jurisdiction between the Bratislava magistrature and the Provost of Bratislava, John Juban.\(^92\) Testimonies were given by the Bratislava burghers Peter List, Ulrich Rawhenwarter, Egid Futrer, the noblemen Michael of Kaplnná and John of Rača, and finally by Simon Cayetus, the parish priest of St Martin’s in Bratislava, and by the rector of the Bratislava school, the keeper of the altar of St Andrew in St Martin’s Church, the cleric of the Raba diocese, the priest George. Sometime after this year, the Bratislava magistrature and the Provost of Bratislava concluded a partial agreement concerning the right of the chapter to sell wine, the formation of a joint committee to manage the rebuilding of St Martin’s Church, the right of asylum and also the jurisdiction of the court. In this case, the agreement was also assisted by the two aforementioned parish priests.\(^93\) In 1461, the parish priest of Pezinok was Sigismund, who at that time informed the Bratislava city council about the origin and reputation of the burgher of Svätý Jur, Bartholomew

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89 AAV, Cam. Ap., Libri format., Vol. 13, fol. 32r: “Matheus, episcopus sancti Leonis, in Romana curia residens, ex speciali commissione nostra, de manadato etc. et auctoritate etc. nec non vigore supplicacionis sub data Rome apud sanctum Petrum octavo idus Novembris anno quarto, dilectum nobis Nicolaum Scriptoris, scolarem (...) Strigoniensem, capellanum ad altare beate Marie virginis situm in hospitali sancti Spiritus oppidi Bosinconensis (!), eiusdem dioecesis, Rome die Lune, X ma Novembris, ad primam tonsuram et quatuor minores et subdiaconatus insuper, die Martis, XI ma dicti mensis, ad diaconatus, postremo die Mercurii, XII dicti mensis, ad presbiteratus sacros ordinis infra missarum solemnia iuxta ritum sancte Romane ecclesie in capella domus sue solite residentie promovit.” Compare RÁBIK, Monumenta Vaticana, IV., 376.

90 MNL-OL DF, 103 086: “Item ad hospitale in oppido Pewzingh idem dominus testans legavit duo florenos.”

91 MNL-OL DL, 14 454: “Georgius de Rozgon in opido Bozyn prescripto, in curia plebani, ibidem personaliter constitutus.”

92 MNL-OL DF, 243 022: “Stephanus de Thebna et Johannes de Posingo parochialium ecclesiarum rectores.”

93 MNL-OL DF, 240 919: “Johannes in Posingo et Stephanus in Tebna parochialium ecclesiarum rectores.”
of Holíč, who had moved to the town ten years earlier. In 1467, when donating funds for the rebuilding of the church, a certain Farkaš was mentioned as the parish priest of Pezinok. The priest Michael Aychler was also a parish priest of Pezinok before 1500. After his death in that year, Count Francis of Svätý Jur and Pezinok appointed a priest of the diocese of Passau, Stephan Ströbel, as the new parish priest and asked the Archbishop of Esztergom, Thomas Bakócz, to formally approve him. On this occasion, Count Francis particularly emphasized that he was doing so on the basis of the right of patronage which duly and lawfully belonged to him, which is important information. Undoubtedly, his ancestors obtained the right of patronage together with the donation of Pezinok as early as 1207, and it was exercised without any protests continuously throughout the entire period under review.

However, the Castle Chapel of St Ladislaus also had its chaplains, who were funded there by the counts of Pezinok in 1345, as already mentioned. One such chaplain was the priest Simon, who in 1433 issued a receipt for payment of one hundred guilders to the town magistrate in Bratislava. The same was also a chaplain in 1441, when he again issued to the Bratislava townspeople a receipt for the payment of twenty-five guilders. In 1460 and 1462, this position was held by the parish priest John (Hans), who is perhaps identical with the administrator of the Holy Trinity Chapel in the parish church, where he was chaplain in 1466.

Part of the ecclesiastical-administrative organization of the parish of Pezinok was also the obligation to pay church tithes from specified crops, but in the case of Pezinok it was especially from wine, which absolutely dominated the tithe obligation of the inhabitants of Pezinok. However, we can find evidence of it in historical sources only from the first third of the fifteenth century. In the records of the Bratislava Chapter’s revenues from 1430, there is also a mention of tithes from the settlements on Žitný ostrov, which belonged to the Pezinok manor. They are not specifically mentioned, but the chapter’s accountants recorded that one quarter of them remained for the local parish priests. In fact, it was a quarter of a quarter, i.e. one sixteenth (called sedecima). We are informed about the collection of tithes from wine in Pezinok and the surrounding villages by the summary tithe register of the so-called Bratislava tithe circle. The wine tithe register of Pezinok dates from 1437 and is remarkable

94 MNL-OL DF, 242 707: “Sigismundus pharrer zu Posing.”
95 HÁZI, Pozsony vármegye, 77.
96 MNL-OL DL, 20925: “nos Franciscus comes de Sancto Georgio et Bozin (...) quod ecclesia parochialis in nostra possessione ac opido Bozin sita et in honore Beate Marie Virginis constructa, Strigoniensis diocesis, nunc per mortem quondam discreti viri domini Michaelis Aycher rectoris eiusdem ecclesie ultimi veri, legittimi et immediati possessoris, de iure et de facto vacans, cuius ius patronatus seu ius presentandi nobis legittime et rite diniscitur pertinere, ne igitur ex defectu cuiusdam rectoris eadem ecclesia parochialis possessore deficiat et cultus divinus minuetur ob id, consideratis laudabilis honestatis vitam, virtutibus, moribusque ac litteralis sciencie efficaciter redimittans discreti viri Stehani Ströbel sacerdotis Pataviensis diocesis aput (!) nos fidedigno commendatur testimonio, eidem prefatam ecclesiam pure propter Deum contulimus, ymo conferimus tenore presencium, ipsumque formaliter vestre graciose paternitati per presentes presentamus.”
97 MNL-OL DL, 43 975: “Ich Symon Graff Peterin Cappelan zu Posingen.”
98 MNL-OL DL, 44 322. HÁZI, Pozsony vármegye, 76.
99 HÁZI, Pozsony vármegye, 77.
100 LUZ, Účtovné registre, p. 138, no. 229.
101 MNL-OL DL, 34 982.
For its information on the oldest settlement topography of the town. As for the tithe yield in that year, it amounted to 450 urns of wine for the whole of Pezinok, while the Bratislava Chapter accounted for 45 urns. In financial terms, each urn was worth 170 Viennese denarii. The tithe records from 1439 are of a general nature. An important account of tithes collected in Pezinok dates from 1462. It was a quarter share of the Bratislava chapter in all tithes, but it was leased by the counts of Pezinok for the sum of 800 denarii. The parish priest of Pezinok received 200 denarii of the tithes collected for his share (one sixteenth – sedecima). From this it can be determined that the total amount of tithes in Pezinok in this period was 3600 denarii (i.e. thirty-two guilders). However, the payment of tithe collectors by the counts of Pezinok for rented tithes was not always smooth. In 1483, for example, Count Simon of Pezinok and Svätý Jur owed the tithe collector, the nobleman Nicholas Baky, the sum of 100 guilders. If he failed to do so, he had to pledge his village Nové Košariská to Nicholas Baky until he paid the debt. In 1493 Archbishop Hypolit of Esztergom leased the tithes of Voderady, Pusté Úľany and Pezinok to Bertrand of Ferrara. However, the counts of Svätý Jur and Pezinok constantly tried to keep the tithes of their estates under their own control and lease, thus increasing their feudal income. However, disputes often arose over the extent of the harvest subject to tithes, with the ecclesiastical authorities resorting to ecclesiastical punishments to enforce their claims. In 1504, the Duke of Transylvania and Count Peter of Pezinok concluded an agreement with the Archbishop of Esztergom, Thomas Bakóc, in which it was specified to what extent tithes could be collected not only in the territory of Pezinok but also in the territory of the Svätý Jur manor.

The overall picture of the church conditions in Pezinok is also complemented by information about the piety of the patronage of the count’s family and the resulting church graces. In 1442, Count George of Pezinok was granted by the papal legate Cardinal-Presbyter Julián the right to possess a portable altar, at which any priest he chose could celebrate mass anywhere in worthy canonical places. George’s wife, Jitka of Opava, in turn, in 1443 donated fourteen pounds of pfennigs to the Augustinian monastery in Vienna, to be paid from the vineyard in Medling. This money was to be used to maintain the inextinguishable lamp in the chapel, which her first husband Wolfurt of Červený Kameň had built in the monastery. It was also to be used to celebrate requiem masses there for the deceased, as well as masses for all the descendants of Priestess Jitka. The indulgence charter for themselves, their wives and 20 selected familiars was obtained in 1451 by the counts George, John and Sigismund. They were allowed to arbitrarily choose a priest, who was given the power to absolve them of all their sins and the resulting punishments. The condition was that they had to observe a Friday fast for one year (or they could choose another day of the week). If this was
beyond their means, the chosen priest was allowed to designate an alternative method of penance. In 1458 a similar grace was granted to the counts Thomas and Sigismund by the papal legate, Cardinal-Deacon John, with the proviso that the elected confessor, with full power to absolve all sins, was also allowed to absolve the two counts of the vow to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and to the tombs of Saints Peter and Paul in Rome and St James in Compostela, which they had previously made publicly. Instead of this vow the priest should have appointed them another penance.\textsuperscript{110} In this year also the Superior General of the Order of St Paul, Brother Andrew, received the counts John and Sigismund and their wives as tertiaries of that Order and included them in his devotions and prayers.\textsuperscript{111} The right to a freely chosen confessor, who was allowed to forgive all sins, was granted by Pope Pius II in 1462 to Count Sigismund and his wife Barbora. This grace, too, was conditional on the observance of penance on a chosen day of the week for one year, or another specified penance.\textsuperscript{112} In the same year, the counts Sigismund and George were finally accepted as members of the spiritual brotherhood of the Viennese Dominicans by the prior of the monastery, which meant that the members of the convent included them in their devotions and prayers from then on, even after their deaths.\textsuperscript{113}

\textbf{The parish church in the light of archaeological research}

The results of archaeological and architectural-historical research also provide significant information on the history of the church of Pezinok and the adjacent parish, thus completing the knowledge about this central medieval settlement building. In our work, we cannot bypass the findings of these investigations, because they can confirm the findings presented by us, or provide other perspectives and raise new questions on the issue under study.

In the recent past, archaeological, architectural-historical and restoration research has been carried out in the parish church, offering historians a unique opportunity to confront and supplement the acquired knowledge. At present, it is the oldest known sacral building in the town. The parish church is located in the historic centre of the town of Pezinok and is situated in the northeastern part of the built-up area.\textsuperscript{114} The church is architecturally composed as a three-aisled pseudobasilica, with an elevated central nave and lower side aisles, with facades vertically rhythmized by supporting pillars. On the west side it has a pre-built tower and on the east side a wider presbytery with a polygonal end continues the axis of the main nave. The north wall of the presbytery is flanked by a two-space sacristy, and the south wall by the side chapel of St Anne. A small chapel on an oval plan is attached to the north side aisle. The church has a triforium in the western part of the interior, under the presbytery, and under the chapel of St Anne there is a crypt. According to the latest interpretations, the parish church was built on the site of an older

\begin{footnotes}
\item[110] MNL-OL DL, 1458.
\item[111] MNL-OL DL, 15 254.
\item[112] MNL-OL DL, 15 749.
\item[113] MNL-OL DL, 15 751.
\item[114] The area, in which the church is built as a solitaire, is bordered on the south side by a lattice fence from Farská Street, on the east side by a lattice fence from M. R. Štefánika Street, on the west side by the building of the Parish Office and on the north side by a full fence wall. The area of the premises has a plan of the shape of an uneven trapezoid. The main entrance to the premises is located on the south side – from Farská Street, with a side gate on the east side, from the side of M. R. Štefánika Street.
\end{footnotes}
chapel as a pseudobasilica with flat ceilings and no tower. The current architectural expression of the church is dominated by late Gothic architecture from around 1500, combined with extensive Neo-Gothic alterations.  

In the exterior of the temple, rescue archaeological research was carried out at the turn of September and October 2002 in cooperation with the Municipal Museum in Pezinok. This was basically the first archaeological research on this building, which, however, was carried out basically only in the exterior of the parish church and did not in any fundamental way answer questions related to its origin.

More extensive archaeological research of the parish church was carried out in 2004–2005. It was carried out in connection with the complex reconstruction of the interior of the church and was carried out by the Slovak National Museum – Archaeological Museum in Bratislava in cooperation with the Municipal Museum in Pezinok. The research refuted one of the hypotheses of Ľ. Šášky about the existence of an older sacral building from the thirteenth century in the eastern bay of the southeastern side aisle, where he classified the built-in object to the first half of the fifteenth century. Research of the interior of the church has shed more light on the issue of an older sacral building on the site of the present parish church. From the gained knowledge it is possible to consider an older sacral building in the area of the present sanctuary and the Gothic sacristy.

The fourteenth-century temple existed in its present proportions, but the interior of the triple nave and the brick walls of the main nave and the brick late Gothic net and star vault were built only in the second half of the fifteenth century, which was proved by additional research in the summer of 2006, when the whole temple was excavated to a depth of 40–50 cm for the purpose of installing the under-floor tempered heating system. This excavation also revealed the bases for the original fourteenth-century triple nave. The earliest fourteenth-century entrance to the church was identified next to the burial chapel. Research has only sporadically been able to capture older objects from before the construction of the church, mainly due to extensive Baroque building activity. The most significant find was a rectangular-shaped object dating back to the thirteenth century. Thus, it can be concluded that the archaeological research of the parish church did not confirm the discovery of an older sacral building in the assumed location. However, it did reveal probable remains of an older sacral building in the sanctuary, dated to approximately the thirteenth to fourteenth century.

116 ŽUDEL – DUBOVSKÝ, Dejiny Pezinka, 227.
117 However, archaeological research has indicated that an older sacral building (of the early Gothic type) can be considered in the area of the present sanctuary. This building was captured in its foundations and exactly follows the recent plan of the sanctuary in width and in polygonal closure. FARKAŠ – KRAMPL, Výskumná správa, 17–21.
118 The perimeter walls of the sanctuary and the nave of the church date back to the fourteenth century. The monumental Gothic double-pane window on the southwestern façade can also be dated to this period. The original triple nave has not survived. In 1501, the rebuilding of the church into its present form was completed, as indicated by the inscription above the triumphal arch. Of the original Gothic furnishings, only the polygonal red marble baptismal font and the epitaph of Count George of Svatý Jur from 1426 have been preserved. KRAMPL, Kostol Nanebovzatia, 189–190.
119 KRAMPL, Kostol Nanebovzatia, 195.
120 Further clarification of this situation and obtaining more answers are complicated and sometimes prevented by the interventions associated with the construction of the Baroque crypt in the eighteenth century.
The most recent rescue archaeological research of the parish church was carried out by the Slovak National Museum – Archaeological Museum in Bratislava. The research took place in 2007 and focused on the investigation of a specific object – the crypt, which is located in the interior of the parish church. This research again did not provide a clear answer as to whether the crypt, or at least a part of it, was built in the Middle Ages.

Architectural-historical and art-historical research of the interior of the parish church was carried out at the end of 2005. One of the main objectives of the research was to identify and evaluate the paintings and details, elements or components of the architecture of the church and to establish an analysis of the development of this monument. As far as our issue is concerned, the results of the research basically corresponded with the results of the archaeological research carried out so far and did not bring any further answers or knowledge regarding the existence of an older sacral building on the site of the present parish church.

It follows from the above that archaeological, architectural-historical and art-historical research has not brought unambiguous answers to the questions concerning the older sacral building on the site of the present parish church. The fact remains, however, that the research reports from the archaeological investigations already carried out indicate that the existence of an older sacral building on the site of the parish church or in its immediate vicinity is not ruled out. The historical research of the parish church and its inclusion in the overall settlement pattern of Pezinok and its surroundings highlights the possibility of considering the old origin of the religious cult in the town and the related sacral facilities. It is also unthinkable that a settlement of such importance and geographical position would not have an older sacral building. It is even highly probable that the church in Pezinok itself formed part of the basic parish infrastructure of the Bratislava Provostry from its beginnings.

121 These were the remains of four individuals. According to a preliminary estimate, there were supposed to be three men and one woman. A folded silk embroidered cloth was placed over the bones. Between the bones was a fragment of a necklace consisting of larger beads, probably from bone, and smaller metal beads, strung on a cord. CHOMA, Výskumná správa, 3–6.

122 SABADOŠOVÁ, Správa z Architektonicko-historického, 2–10.

123 Archaeologists have advised that all ground interventions, whether on the interior or exterior of the church, should be closely monitored as there is a high likelihood of disturbance to potential archaeological features and findspots.
Figure 1: Pezinok on the map. Source: www.un.org/geospatial/content/slovakia
Figure 2: The location of the parish church in the historic centre of the city. Source: www.Pezinok.sk
Figure 3: Location of the parish church on a map from 1785.
Figure 4: Plan of the church. Source: www.g-atelier.sk
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