

# Cities, Towns and Market Towns in the Context of the Regional Disparities of the Kingdom of Hungary around 1500\*

Beatrix F. Romhányi\*\* – Katalin Szende\*\*\*

vol. 14, 2025, no. 1, pp. 6–32

<https://doi.org/10.33542/CAH2025-1-01>



This paper examines the urban hierarchy of the late medieval Kingdom of Hungary, focusing on the distinctions and interactions between cities, towns and market towns around 1500. Based on a comprehensive database of historical–geographical research, the analysis reveals that economic functions, particularly trade and long-distance commerce, played a decisive role in the emergence of smaller urban centres, while the legal status of settlements (*civitas*, *oppidum*) only partially corresponded to their economic significance. The research highlights significant regional disparities: in some areas, such as the northeastern part of the kingdom, market towns served as dynamic reserves for urbanisation, whereas in the southwestern regions, they often remained stagnant. The findings also challenge previous assumptions by demonstrating that the distribution of smaller urban centres was shaped not only by economic potential but also by privileges granted centuries before, landownership patterns and external geopolitical pressures, including the Ottoman expansion. Additionally, the study identifies key methodological challenges, such as the integration of settlement networks and the role of rural communities in urban development. By reassessing the relationship between urban functions and spatial organisation, the article contributes to a more nuanced understanding of late medieval Central European urbanisation.

Keywords: Kingdom of Hungary; Late Middle Ages; urban network; development profile.

At the beginning of 2024, a team of geographers and historians working on medieval and modern times launched a project to investigate territorial inequalities in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary around 1500. While ambitious in scope, the project builds upon a well-established scholarly tradition. The database draws on over a century of historical–geographical research and thematic data collection carried out by numerous scholars. Alongside the contributions of Dezső Csánki and György Györffy,<sup>1</sup> the work

\* The study was developed as a part of the project OTKA K145924, PI: Beatrix F. Romhányi.

\*\* Professor Beatrix F. Romhányi, PhD, DSc, habil.; Department of Medieval Studies, Institute of History, Faculty of Humanities, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, Budapest, Hungary; romhanyi.beatrix@kre.hu; ORCID: 0000-0003-1121-2933.

\*\*\* Professor Katalin Szende, PhD, dr. habil.; Department of Historical Studies, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary / Vienna, Austria; szendek@ceu.edu; ORCID: 0000-0002-4352-2576.

1 CSÁNKI, *Magyarország történeti földrajza*; FEKETE NAGY, *Trencsén megye*; GYÖRFFY, *Az Árpád-kori 1–4.*

of historians,<sup>2</sup> archaeologists<sup>3</sup> and art historians<sup>4</sup> has been instrumental in shaping the field.

Particularly notable is the digitised map and database developed by Pál Engel, which serves as a key resource for the new database.<sup>5</sup> Methodologically, the project integrates insights and approaches from recent initiatives in data collection and processing across the medieval, early modern and modern periods. These interdisciplinary precedents provide valuable models for the current research.<sup>6</sup>

### Background to Research on Urban Networks and Market Towns

Of all previous studies addressing the definition of market towns and their place within the broader settlement hierarchy, investigations into the definition and role of market towns themselves are the most directly relevant to our study. The significant, though often contested, contribution of late medieval market towns to urbanisation has been a central concern among the leading economic and social historians of the twentieth century, from Elemér Mályusz (1898–1989) to Erik Fügedi (1916–1992), Jenő Szűcs (1928–1988), Vera Bácskai (1930–2018) and András Kubinyi (1929–2007), to name only those now deceased.<sup>7</sup> All agreed that understanding market towns is crucial to comprehending the development of the Carpathian Basin in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. Their core questions – namely, the factors determining the degree of urbanity and the discrepancies between the legal status and economic significance of settlements – had much in common. Ultimately, these inquiries, like the present project, aimed to resolve the fundamental question of whether the late Middle Ages (particularly the decades between 1470 and 1530) should be characterised as a period of decline, stagnation or development.

Nevertheless, the starting points and conclusions adopted by these scholars differed sharply. Szűcs emphasised underdevelopment and the limited economic significance of crafts and blamed the proliferation of market towns for the late medieval stagnation of urbanisation.<sup>8</sup> Bácskai, by contrast, argued that market towns were a special reserve for urbanisation and social mobility in Hungary and other countries of East Central Europe. She also stressed that market-oriented production encompassed not only crafts but also agriculture, and that, in the case of Hungary, wine and livestock marketed mostly

2 ILA, *Gömör*; BAKÁCS, *Hont*; NÉMETH, *Szabolcs*; NÉMETH, *Szatmár*; NÓGRÁDY, *Sáros*. The concept of the books published by Zsigmond JAKÓ (*Bihar*) and Elemér MÁLYUSZ (*Turóc*) was slightly different. Thematical data collections, such as WEISZ, *Markets and Staples*, LAKATOS, *Mezővárosi oklevelek*, and F. ROMHÁNYI, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok* were also important sources of the database.

3 See, for example, the volumes of *Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiaja*, as well as TARI, *Pest megye*; SZATMÁRI, *Békés megye*; K. NÉMETH, *Tolna megye*; M. ARADI, *Somogy megye*; BOTÁR, *Havasok keblében*; and ÉDER, *Mezővárosi plébániatemplomok*.

4 See, for example, the volumes published by the Teleki Foundation and edited by Tibor KOLLÁR, or more recently SZAKÁCS, *Dunántúl*; SZAKÁCS, *Szepes és Sáros*.

5 <https://tti.abtk.hu/cikkek/egyeb-hirek/megujult-engel-pal-adatbazisa-a-kozepkori-magyarorszag-digitalis-atlasza> (accessed: 15-01-2025).

6 Cf. MTA Momentum “Ten Generations” project, as well as the OTKA projects K132475, K132609, and K145924, funded by NKFIH.

7 Cf. LAKATOS, *Mezővárosi oklevelek*, 11–16; GULYÁS, *Mezővárosi önkormányzat*, 1–22; SZENDE, *The Birth of oppida*, 484–487; SZENDE-SZÍVÓS, *Vera Bácskai*; SZENDE, *Kubinyi András*, 24–26, GYÁNI-KLANICZAY-TRENCSENYI, *Introduction*, 2–3.

8 SZÜCS, *Városok és kézműesség*, 92–111; SZÜCS, *Das Städtewesen*; cf. KUBINYI, *A késő középkori városi fejlődés*.

by the market towns, were of much greater value than any other commodity apart from mining products.<sup>9</sup> Erik Fügedi introduced new perspectives by focusing on the role of landlords in shaping market-town development.<sup>10</sup>

It was ultimately András Kubinyi who, rather than focusing on a single aspect, developed the most balanced analysis of the urban network to date by establishing a complex set of indicators. Building on methods used in settlement geography, and particularly central place theory, he assessed the urban status of settlements through the lens of their central functions, moving beyond the one-sided legal distinctions codified in Werbőczy's *Tripartitum*, the summary of Hungary's common law compiled in 1517.<sup>11</sup> Kubinyi's most significant intellectual ally in this endeavour was the geographer Jenő Major (1922–1988), who, as early as his 1944 doctoral dissertation on Sopron<sup>12</sup> and in his 1964 overview of the hierarchical spatial organisation of the Hungarian urban network, incorporated a broad spectrum of development indicators. Major's innovation lay not only in compiling these indicators but also in examining the correlations between certain factors, for example, the relationship between city populations and the total area of shops in their territory.<sup>13</sup> In this respect, the present project can be regarded as a direct intellectual heir to this tradition of analysing settlement networks using methods of human geography.

Inspired by Major's work, Kubinyi sought sources and methods to assess more objectively the development levels and centrality of settlements. His aim was to distinguish genuinely urbanised localities from the nearly 800 settlements recorded as market towns (*oppida*) in late medieval sources, and to draw the line between villages and (market) towns on the one hand, and between market towns and cities on the other. In his first study, published in 1971, he employed a single indicator, the number of students enrolled at the universities of Vienna and Cracow between 1440 and 1514, to analyse historical Hungary in its entirety. Operating on the premise that the prominence of a settlement could be measured by the number of students it produced, he ranked and grouped the settlements listed in the university registers as the origin of the students and mapped the results. The findings validated the approach: communes ranked by student numbers corresponded closely to their hierarchical positions within the spatial network, with settlements at each level of the hierarchy distributed in a regular pattern (allowing for deviations according to the geographical conditions).<sup>14</sup> In his editorial review, Major commended Kubinyi's achievement: "I considered the most important accomplishment to be that András Kubinyi dared to raise the questions of Hungarian urban history which, following Christaller's theory of functional urban development,

9 BÁCSEKAI, *Small towns*; BÁCSEKAI, *Városok Magyarországon*, 32–40.

10 FÜGEDI, *Die Ausbreitung der städtischen Lebensform*; FÜGEDI, *Mezővárosaink kialakulása*, cf. PETROVICS, *The Medieval Market Town*, 359–361.

11 BAK et al., *The Customary Law*.

12 The thesis was only published posthumously, in 1991: MAJOR, *Sopron*, 42. Note 58 proves that the author knew about the book *Die zentralen Orte Süddeutschlands* by Walter CHRISTALLER, published in 1933, which was probably recommended to him by Tibor Mendöl. See in detail SZENDE, *Major Jenő*.

13 MAJOR, *A magyar városhálózatról*, 46–51.

14 KUBINYI, *A középkori magyarországi városok*, maps: 64, 66.

can be investigated historically, and he demonstrated that even our limited range of sources permit such investigations.”<sup>15</sup>

### **The First Quantitative Analysis of the Hungarian Urban Network: András Kubinyi's Scoring System**

Kubinyi's first analysis provided the foundation for his scoring system developed from the late 1980s for a comprehensive assessment of the urban network of the Kingdom of Hungary, moving beyond a single indicator of university attendance to incorporate ten distinct factors. The system represents a theoretically robust yet pragmatic approach, tailored to the specific context of Hungarian historical sources. Alongside university enrolment data and contemporary Latin terms of legal status, the ten indicators encompass administrative functions (manorial or seigneurial residence; judiciary centre and/or place of authentication; centre of financial administration), economic activity (number of craft or trade guilds; number of weekly markets and annual fairs), the presence of ecclesiastical institutions typical for towns (mendicant friaries and hospitals) and the settlement's position within the road network.<sup>16</sup>

The method, subsequently known as the “Kubinyi scoring system”, constituted a major conceptual innovation. Its novelty lies in two elements. First, the framework does not treat individual criteria in isolation but integrates them into a complementary system capturing multiple dimensions of centrality. Second, it provides a calculation method for combining qualitative and quantitative elements into a single weighted score, following the magnitude categorisation procedures familiar in settlement geography.<sup>17</sup> Each criterion was scored from 1 to 6, with the sum yielding a settlement's overall centrality score. This allowed Kubinyi to reconstruct the functional hierarchy of the settlement network more reliably than any previous attempt, producing seven categories ranging from villages with limited central functions to first-order towns.<sup>18</sup>

The system was subsequently applied by his students and colleagues in numerous studies, for example, to find a correlation between the rank of a place and the late medieval extension of its parish churches.<sup>19</sup> Bálint Lakatos examined 294 settlements in terms of municipal literacy and their level of development to identify patterns in the number and distribution of official documents issued by local authorities.<sup>20</sup> Beyond the overall scores, the relative weight of different indicators also yielded instructive insights. A recent study took the settlements in Lakatos' sample as a basis for analysing the relative importance of each centrality indicator. It added up the scores for each indicator for all the settlements within each developmental level to understand the dynamics of the development of market towns. Identifying the contribution of each indicator to the overall ranking of a place revealed multi-stage processes of market-town growth. While the role of road junctions (8) was ubiquitous and therefore less

15 Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, Hagyatéki Gyűjtemény (BTM HGy), legacy of András Kubinyi, H 5193–2020. We are grateful to Dr. Katalin Éder for her help in accessing this collection.

16 KUBINYI, *Városházlat*, esp. 12–16; LAKATOS, *Mezővárosi oklevelek*, 195–200.

17 His model could be, e.g., MAJOR, *A magyar városházatról*, 43–45.

18 András Kubinyi's death prevented him from extending his investigation to the entire country; as a result, alongside the northwestern region, both Transylvania and Slavonia were entirely omitted.

19 ÉDER, *Mezővárosi plébániatemplomok*.

20 LAKATOS, *Mezővárosi oklevelek*.

distinctive,<sup>21</sup> villages with central functions and market-town characteristics (levels 6–7 in Kubinyi’s system) were distinguished by the presence of manorial seats and the lord’s residence (1), a denomination other than village (10) and an increasing frequency of markets and fairs (9). These factors supported investment in ecclesiastical institutions (5) and education – reflected in the number of students sent to university (6) – which first appeared in smaller numbers in semi-urban and medium-sized market towns (Kubinyi’s categories 5 and 4, respectively). Functions such as judicial seats (2), financial administration (3) and crafts organised into guilds (7) were characteristic only of the upper strata of market towns and small towns, market towns with a significant function and smaller towns (level 3 in Kubinyi’s system), many of which had already attained *hospes* or town charters in the thirteenth century. At the apex were first- and second-order towns, possessing the full complement of urban features.<sup>22</sup>

### The “Regional Differences of the Kingdom of Hungary around 1500” Database

Pursuing research along the principles set out by András Kubinyi – namely the quantification of settlement development data that can be collected for a large part of the country, or at least is theoretically available – and comparative analysis of the secondary data obtained in this way, remain timely tasks. However, there is scope for modernising data collection and analysis practices in ways that will determine not only the number of indicators that can be considered and the amount of data collected, but also the nature and relevance of the questions that they can help to answer. The advent of digital technologies and the availability of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) have made it much easier to manage and analyse large data sets, offering previously unimaginable opportunities for understanding the past. The lost medieval sources cannot be replaced, but the digital tools at our disposal can serve as a mirror in which we can see previously hidden details and connections, like in the mirror in the background of van Eyck’s famous Arnolfini portrait.<sup>23</sup>

The new database is based on Pál Engel’s database, but the basic concept of each is different. Engel’s main aim was to create a database that surveys the late medieval estate system, so the estate was his basic unit. For this reason, he often divided up settlements, both towns and villages. In addition, he based his data collection on the pre-1920 map of Hungary at the settlement level and then modified it according to the data he collected. The data collection period covered the late Middle Ages and the early modern period from the early fourteenth to the late sixteenth century, that is, from the papal tithe register (1332–1337) to the first defters (Ottoman tax registers) (1540–1570s).

However, during the two and a half centuries under study, significant changes took place, and this is what the present project aims to explore. The primary aim of the research is to examine the transformation of the settlement network as a whole, with particular attention to its spatial and hierarchical dimensions. The first task was to merge the settlements that Engel had split and to filter out irrelevant data (castles, monasteries, deserted villages). In many cases, the grouping of contiguous settlements was a major challenge, as individual decisions had to be taken after due consideration, taking into account the distance between settlements, the area per settlement, or

21 The numbers given in parentheses refer to the descriptions of the categories proposed by András Kubinyi.

22 In detail SZENDE, *Small towns*.

23 ROMHÁNYI – DEMETER, *Regional differences*.

even the date and circumstances of the first mention. The result is a database of nearly 15,000 settlements. This data is very similar to the number of settlements known within the same geographical boundaries at the beginning of the twentieth century, including Transylvania, medieval Slavonia and the three medieval counties (Pozsega, Szerém, Valkó) that became part of Croatia after the Ottoman occupation.

Another result of the work was a realisation that may have implications for research in later periods. For most of the settlements, no data other than their location could be linked. The analysis of a database in which approximately 60% of the datapoints are 0 is almost hopeless. At county level, some kind of analysis is obviously possible, but we wanted to achieve a finer resolution. In addition, we wanted to avoid mechanical methods such as gridding when aggregating the communes and instead sought a more natural aggregation strategy that was more in line with medieval conditions. The parish – a term which has a double meaning in English, meaning both the lower church and lay administrative unit – proved to be a highly effective solution for medieval Hungary, too. It was thus possible to create a fine-scale database at the parish level in which all the settlements could be assigned to parish centres while preserving the unity of the settlements with several parishes (mainly towns and larger market towns). This method makes it easier to detect spatial differences using the statistical methods commonly used in the analysis of modern-day data. The resulting lower-level territorial or parochial units will be referred to hereafter, for want of a better term, as communes, knowing that this administrative category in the legal sense of the word was only in use in Hungary from the nineteenth century onwards.

It is also important, however, to recognise the limitations of this approach. The first and most important problem is the lack of continuous variables for the period under study. This means that, in the absence of data on percentage taxes such as the Papal tithe, regional differences can be approximated by proxies (indirect data) which in most cases can only take values of 0 or 1. Moreover, it should be taken into account that our data are frequently incomplete due to the uneven survival of the sources and that only a very small part of the datasets processed can be considered complete. As a consequence, reliable results can only be obtained by using a large number of indicators and valid conclusions can in principle not be drawn at the level of the commune or parish but only for larger territorial units such as counties or dioceses. In our case, the number of primary variables is 33 (more may be added in the future), divided into four categories. In addition, there is a further component of 6+1 derived variables, consisting of various distance matrices and a correction factor (Table 1).

Additional data collected for later analysis, but without a point value, include ethnic groups; religious minorities (Jews and Orthodox communities); settlements partly or wholly inhabited by families of the petty nobility (*nobiles unius sessionis*); and the origins of priests, monks, notaries and landowners. Due to the structure of the database, the latter data are much less detailed than in Engel's database, but it is still possible to link the two through Engel's codes. Non-Latin literacy has also been categorised as complementary data as the first analyses of the database have shown that, although vernacular literacy provides important information for the study of ethnicity and regional or supra-regional relations, it cannot be considered as a proxy for development.

Administrative	Economic	Ecclesiastical and social	Cultural and educational	Derived variables
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>royal residence</li> <li>office, court of the kingdom's high-ranking officials</li> <li>place of county judiciary court (<i>sedria</i>)</li> <li>place of diet, provincial diet or <i>congregatio generalis</i></li> <li>episcopal seat</li> <li>collegiate chapter</li> <li>parish</li> <li>place of authentication</li> <li>place of issuing notarial deed(s)</li> <li><i>villicatus, knezatus</i></li> <li>privilege, legal status</li> <li>indicated on the Lazarus Map</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>minting chamber</li> <li>salt chamber (including branch chambers)</li> <li>manorial seat</li> <li>castle, castellum built after 1450</li> <li>fair</li> <li>market</li> <li>thirtieth toll<sup>24</sup>, toll, ford, bridge</li> <li>mill (number of wheels)</li> <li>vineyard</li> <li>mine</li> <li>guild</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>monastic institutions (abbey, provostry, mendicant friary, Pauline monastery, Charterhouse, orthodox monastery, nunnery, beguine house)</li> <li>hospital (regular or civic)</li> <li>chapel (if not in the parish centre)</li> <li>pilgrimage place of kingdom-wide importance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>number of university students (1475–1526)</li> <li>directions of peregrination</li> <li>school</li> <li>charter issued by the community</li> <li>late-fifteenth century building activity</li> <li>winged altar</li> <li>organ</li> <li>clocktower</li> <li>tombstones</li> <li>chapel (if in the centre of the parish)</li> <li>altar foundation</li> </ul>	<p><b>Distance matrices:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>distance of fair</li> <li>distance of market</li> <li>distance of salt chamber</li> <li>distance of mill</li> <li>distance of <i>sedria</i></li> <li>distance of place of authentication</li> </ul> <p><b>Correction coefficient:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>number of villages belonging to the parish (negative value, if it is 1&lt;)</li> </ul>

Table 1: Variables in the database (number of communes c. 15,000, number of parishes c. 4,850)

<sup>24</sup> The thirtieth toll was a toll on exports and imports, managed by special offices operating usually close to the borders. The other tolls were for inland trade.

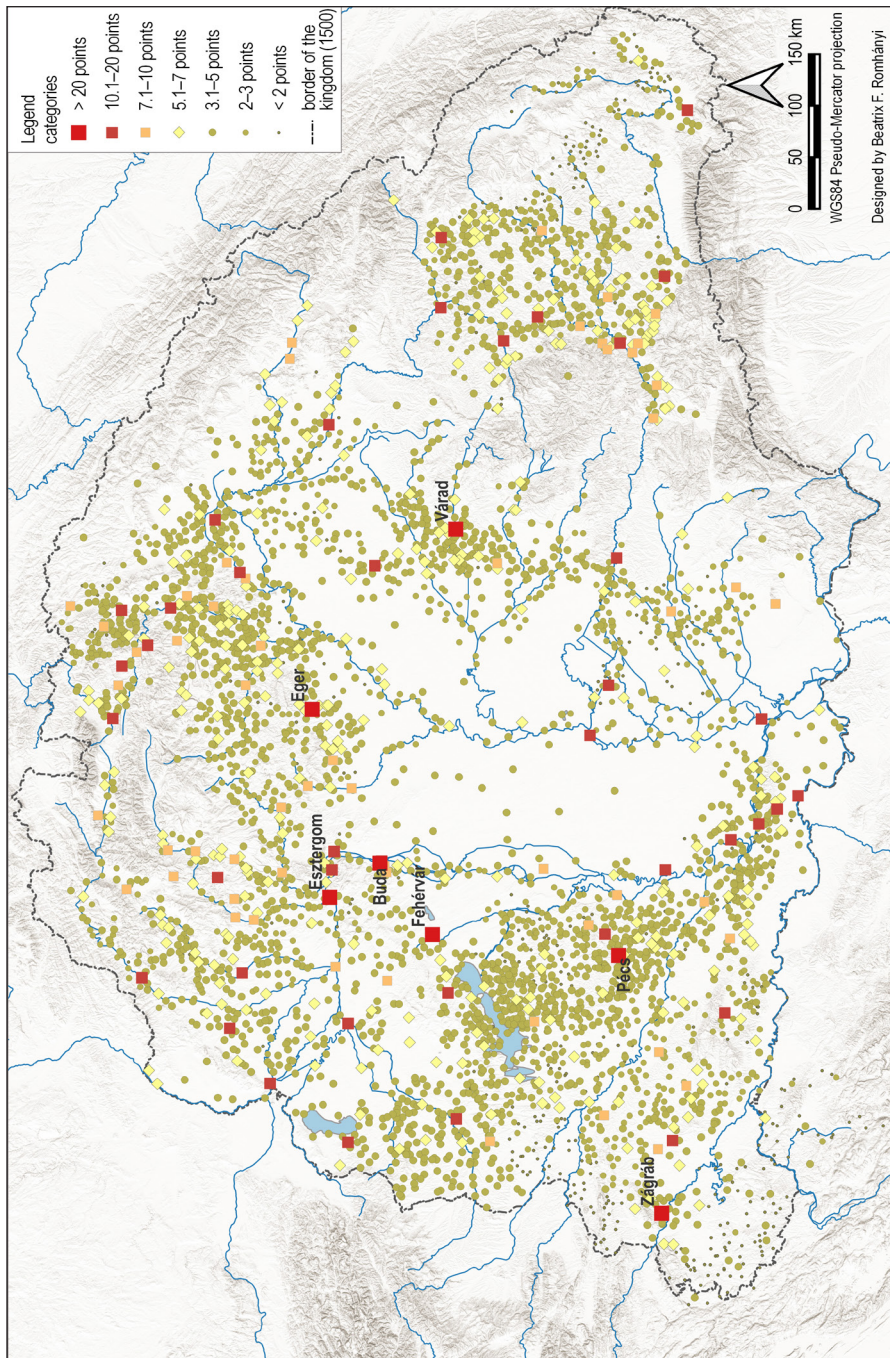


Dioceses, collegiate chapters and parishes as institutions could be included either in the category of administrative attributes or in the group of indicators related to pastoral care. Since a choice had to be made for the sake of consistency of categorisation (to avoid spurious correlation), these institutions were placed in the first category, as they all had a strong administrative function.

The four main categories have roughly the same number of indicators, but their nature is not entirely homogeneous. In the cultural and educational category, there are indicators (e.g. the number of known university students or the number of altars and gravestones) which behave as continuous variables to some extent, but of course this is only true for a small number of communes, and in most cases these values are very low. As there is no indicator available for all entities except the parish itself, only a large number of variables can ensure that a significant proportion of parishes (communes) have a comparable amount of data that can be evaluated and compared at regional level. Partly for this reason, a fifth composite indicator – a factor consisting of several distance matrices – has been included, in addition to the correction coefficient mentioned at the end of the last column of the table. Four of the distance matrices are related to an economic function and two to an administrative function whose availability may be meaningful. Of the six distance matrices, only the distance to the nearest *sedria* was limited to the county, the others were not affected. With regard to mills, the database includes water mills, with the number of wheels where known. In addition to water mills, dry mills were also used in the country, but there are very few records of these from the Middle Ages. As they were much easier and quicker to set up than, for example, a multi-wheeled water mill and their location could therefore change more easily, dry mills were not included in the database. For mills, it is also necessary to consider geographical constraints (e.g., a major river or a mountain that is difficult to negotiate).

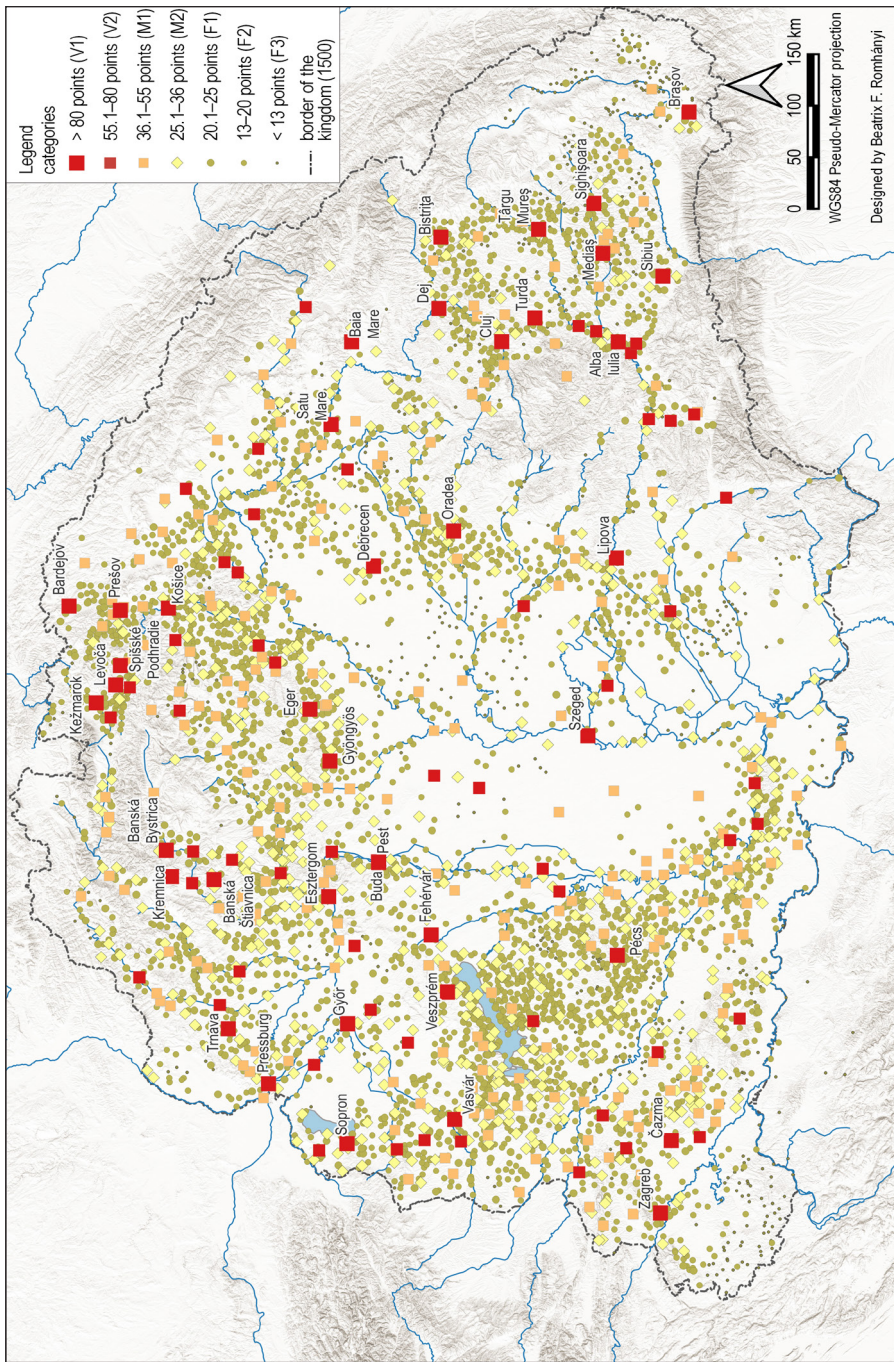
The reconstructed late medieval parish system, despite its possible shortcomings, is consistent with the known demographic trends of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and even shows similarities with the eighteenth-century parish network. The mapping of the data has also revealed possible changes in the settlement network after the Ottoman occupation. For example, the persistent “emptiness” of the Great Hungarian Plain (Maps 1a and 1b), which also appears on the Lazarus map (1528), raises new questions about the data recorded in the sixteenth-century defters (to what extent these were new settlements, implying migration, or to what extent they were old appendages of medieval parishes/communes that were recorded separately by the new rulers of the area, not recognising or ignoring the previous system). Likewise, many mountain settlements raise the question of when and why they were founded and to what extent their origin can be linked to the internal migration caused by the Ottoman conquest and wars, or to the expansion of the settlement network stimulated by economic motives, which had already begun earlier. Although research has only just begun, the static demographic and topographic picture of the late medieval Kingdom of Hungary is beginning to shift.





Map 1a: Settlement hierarchy of the Kingdom of Hungary around 1330





Map 1b: Settlement hierarchy of the Kingdom of Hungary around 1500

Comparing Maps 1a and 1b, the first thing that stands out is the seemingly unchanged spatial structure.<sup>25</sup> Sparsely or densely populated areas remained largely unchanged between 1330 and 1500. Nevertheless, there were some significant changes. On the one hand, the number of urban and town-like settlements multiplied, with a network of market towns (*oppida*) covering the country fairly evenly by the end of the Middle Ages. However, there were small areas, such as the Malacky District, the northern part of Spiš (Szepes) County, the western part of Békés County, the upper Bega River and the region along the Hârtibaciu River in Transylvania, where a large number of new parishes appeared, indicating the process of settlement in these regions. On the other hand, the southeastern part of the Zagreb diocese, i.e. the three counties of Lower Slavonia, was almost completely depopulated. The collapse of the parish system in this part of the kingdom was a consequence of the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia (1464) and the repeated raids on the area in the following decades, the effects of which can also be seen in Pozsega County.<sup>26</sup>

Initial testing of the database has also shown that the fourth main category, the set of cultural and educational aspects, may highlight communes to a greater extent than is justified, precisely because of the relative abundance of data on these aspects, including continuous variables. Overall, it also appears that there is less diversity and fewer indicators causing prosperity than indicators reflecting prosperity. This is not surprising given the nature of the data that survives and is included in the data collection. Due to this feature of the database and the preponderance of data that can be specifically classified in the fourth main category, the values of the four categories have been converted (normalised) between 0 and 100. The methods of statistical evaluation that best suit the structure of the database are still to be chosen.

For the first analyses the four main categories, which form the first component of the total score of the communes, have been considered with equal weight (the second component, the distance matrices variable, is an independent factor and cannot be directly included in this analysis). As Buda has the highest number of points in each of these categories (most of the functions in categories 1 and 2 and almost all of the highest levels are concentrated here – only the highest level of ecclesiastical administration is elsewhere, namely, the archbishopric of Esztergom – and there is also a high quantity of data in categories 3 and 4), each category represents one quarter in the diagram of the country's capital. The method compares all the other communes with Buda, not only in terms of aggregate scores, which may be questionable, but also in terms of the ratio between the four components. In other words, the contribution of each category to a commune's score can be examined, which in turn may indicate economic and cultural differences. This aspect of the analysis, which to some extent follows the logic of the above-mentioned analysis of the relative importance of the Kubinyi scoring criteria, has been termed the "development profile". Its purpose is to

25 Regarding regional differences around 1330, see F. ROMHÁNYI – SZILÁGYI – DEMETER, *A Magyar Királyság regionális különbségei*.

26 DEMETER et al., *Towards a New Historical Geography*. One of the key findings of the comparative analysis was that while the population of the Kingdom of Hungary grew dynamically by approximately 50% during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the population of Pozsega County appears to have remained largely unchanged between c. 1330 and 1500. At the same time, according to the accounts from 1494–1495, the county had the highest proportion of uncollected taxes in the entire kingdom. By the 1570s, this situation had shifted: the region's tax-paying capacity had become average, but its demographic composition had undergone significant transformation, with the Muslim population exceeding 50% in numerous settlements.

examine the extent to which factors have contributed to the centrality and development of each commune.

At the elementary level of the network of parishes and settlements – that is, the individual settlements themselves – little can be said on the basis of the database, which must also be treated with caution. There is, however, one group – consisting of about 6 % of the communes, about 300 communes in total – which are well separated from the others, and even within this group there are clear dividing lines. These are the communes for which we have the highest number and the most varied types of data, and which can therefore be analysed in terms of their development profile. At the lower end of this group of communes, the dividing line is less sharp and can be distinguished precisely because not only is the number of indicators reduced but entire categories are absent, the first of which is most often the ecclesiastical and social function (the parish itself is in the first, administrative category, see above). So, the more than 500 market towns in the second group can be thought of as large villages with central functions, rather than (market) towns. These are very similar to the 750 or so villages in the top group of those settlements that have been categorized as villages from the outset.

As described in the first part of this article, the study of towns and large market towns has a long tradition in Hungarian historiography. In the current project, however, the definition of these settlements has changed somewhat. By including a high amount of data on villages in the database, and by including the spatial location of settlements as an important part of the data collection, situations have become visible where settlements that were previously treated as separate entities apparently formed a functional commune. As their various indicators have been aggregated in this way, their position in the hierarchy of communes has also changed. The most important example of this is Buda itself, which in terms of legal status and ownership consisted of several separate parts, but functionally should be considered as a single unit from Óbuda to Alhévíz. Furthermore, we have not even linked it to Pest on the other side of the Danube, although this could be justified.<sup>27</sup> The cases of Poprad, Felka, Spišská Sobota (Szepesszombat) and Stráže in Spiš can also be mentioned here. All these settlements reached at least the level of market towns, but their parish churches are so close to each other that it was justified to merge them, just as they are today part of Poprad, and thus one larger town became visible instead of four very small ones. It also happens that a settlement in the immediate vicinity of a town does not appear by its scores as a market town but as a village because of a different landowner, but the two are closely linked both spatially and functionally, as in the case of Gyöngyös and Gyöngyöspüspöki. The latter had a remarkably high number of mills, which was not unrelated to the unusually large size of St Bartholomew's Church in Gyöngyös.<sup>28</sup>

### Towns and Market Towns in the Database

In what follows we will discuss some aspects of the database relating to towns and market towns, recognising that at this stage of the research we have fewer answers than questions. The logic of the questions follows the essential themes already debated by previous generations of researchers. Why did the number of market towns increase by leaps and bounds in the late Middle Ages? What was the role and importance of the settlements known as *oppidum*? How were they involved in the production and trade of

27 VÉGH, *Buda-Pest 1300*; VÉGH, *Budapest születése* (forthcoming).

28 VALTER, *A gyöngyösi Szent Bertalan-templom*, esp. 95–96.

goods, and how did the income they generated affect the well-being of the settlements and their owners? What was the legal, economic and geographical relationship between the market towns and the larger towns, and where were they located in the hierarchy of settlements and the network of settlements in the country?

An attempt has been made to answer these questions by ranking the settlements with parishes in the country. The logic of the ranking differs from the one developed on the basis of András Kubinyi's analysis, in that this time we consider not only the settlements with one of the predefined central functions, which are meaningful from their point of view, but all the settlements in the country, and the ranking and development is given by a numerical indicator calculated from the aggregation of all the data. In the absence of data on population and income, the level of development can only be determined using indirect data, based on the grouping and weighting of the data, which may be subject to change and refinement during the course of the research. The categories of communes presented below have been defined by drawing thresholds within the ranking.

In addition to ranking and categorisation, an important tool for analysis is visualisation on maps and the observation and explanation of patterns that emerge from them. Spatial distribution maps have been produced by category and by region to show differences within and between regions. The sign of the communes on the maps has been mapped against the development profile of each commune to observe the relative proportion of central functions.

The communes of around the year 1500 have been divided into seven categories, four of which are urban (Town 1 [V1], Town 2 [V2], Market Town 1 [M1], Market Town 2 [M2]) and three are rural (F1, F2, F3 – not discussed here). On the basis of the current calculation and weighting method – which, as mentioned above, is subject to some changes – Buda, as the capital of the country, has 420 points, followed by Oradea (Várad) and Esztergom with scores above 200. For the other communes, the differences are much smaller, but the boundaries of the first three categories are relatively easy to define. Cities in the first category have a score of at least 80, those in the second category have a score between 54 and 79 and those in the third category, i.e. the larger market towns, have a score of at least 36. On the basis of the indicators used in the database, communes sometimes fall into categories that are quite different from their legal status, or the term given to them in the deeds, from a functional point of view. This discrepancy is perhaps less important for settlements designated as towns than for villages, some of which have reached the M1 level (Table 2).



Category \ Denomination	Town	Market town	Village	Total
V1	30	10	0	40
V2	12	42	0	54
M1	7	192	21	220
M2	4	311	218	533
F1	0	159	551	710
F2	0	106	2,728	2,834
F3	0	6	609	615
<b>Total</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>826</b>	<b>4,127</b>	<b>5,006</b>

Table 2: Classification of the communes in the database according to categories of functionality and wealth indicators or according to status or denomination

From the overview map (Map 1b), it is immediately apparent that the different settlement categories are found in different distributions and densities over the Carpathian Basin. Within this overall trend, the distribution of central locations shows strong regional differences, not only within each category but also in the combination of categories. An interpretation of these differences can also shed light on the spatial organisation, interdependence or competition of cities, town and market towns. Accordingly, some preliminary observations on the communes in the three main categories are highlighted below. For each category, the distribution within the country, the density, and the development profile of the communes belonging to the category are the three main aspects of the analysis.

The category of the most important cities (V1) includes 40 communes according to the current classification (Table 3, Map 2). In addition to the free royal cities and diocesan seats, a small number of them were in the hands of other secular or ecclesiastical landlords. Debrecen was owned successively by the Hunyadis, John Corvin and the Szapolyai family; Gyöngyös by the Rozgonyis, then the Bátoris, followed by the Drágfis; Lipova (Lippa) belonged to John Corvin; Spišské Podhradie (Szepesvár) and Satu Mare (Szatmár) – the latter together with Némethi – was the property of the Szapolyai family. Čazma was the property of the Bishop of Zagreb; Vasvár belonged to the Chapter of Vasvár. Furthermore, this group included two royal salt mines, Turda (Torda) and Dej (Dés). The density of the distribution of towns in this category is low, given the limited number of towns assigned to this category, and relatively low in terms of spatial distribution as well, with a significant cluster in the area of the *medium regni* and two small clusters in the northeast and in Transylvania, respectively, while the areas of the Danube–Tisza basin, eastern Slavonia, and the counties of Pozsega, Valkó, and Szerém are empty.

<p><b>Category V1</b> (n=40)</p>	<p><b>Buda</b></p> <p><b>Above 200 points:</b> Oradea, Esztergom</p> <p><b>Above 100 points:</b> Fehérvár, Cluj, Zagreb, Sibiu, Pécs, Pressburg, Szeged, Košice, Pest, Braşov, Eger, Kremnica, Sopron, Győr, Veszprém, Baia Mare, Satu Mare, Bistriţa, Debrecen</p> <p><b>Above 80 points:</b> Dej, Čazma, Turda, Vasvár, Prešov, Banská Štiavnica, Sighişoara, Kežmarok, Trnava, Levoča, Bardejov, Târgu Mureş, Mediaş, Alba Iulia, Lipova, Banská Bistrica, Gyöngyös, Spišské Podhradie</p>
<p><b>Category V2</b> (n=54)</p>	<p>Aiud, Bač, Berehove, Caransebeş, Carei, Cegléd, Cenad, Deva, Eisenstadt, Futog, Gyula, Haţeg, Hlohovec, Hunedoara, Ilok, Jasov, Kalocsa, Kecskemét, Kisvárd, Koprivnica, Körmend, Kőszeg, Križevci, Krupina, Miskolc, Moslavina, Mosonmagyaróvár, Nitra, Pannonhalma, Pápa, Poprad, Požega, Šahy, Sárospatak, Sátoraljaújhely, Sebeş, Sighetu Marmatei, Somogyvár, Spišská Nová Ves, Štitník, Szikszó, Szombathely, Tata, Teiuş, Timişoara, Tolna, Trenčín, Uzhhorod, Vác, Varaždin, Vinţu de Jos, Virovitica, Žiar nad Hronom, Zvolen</p>

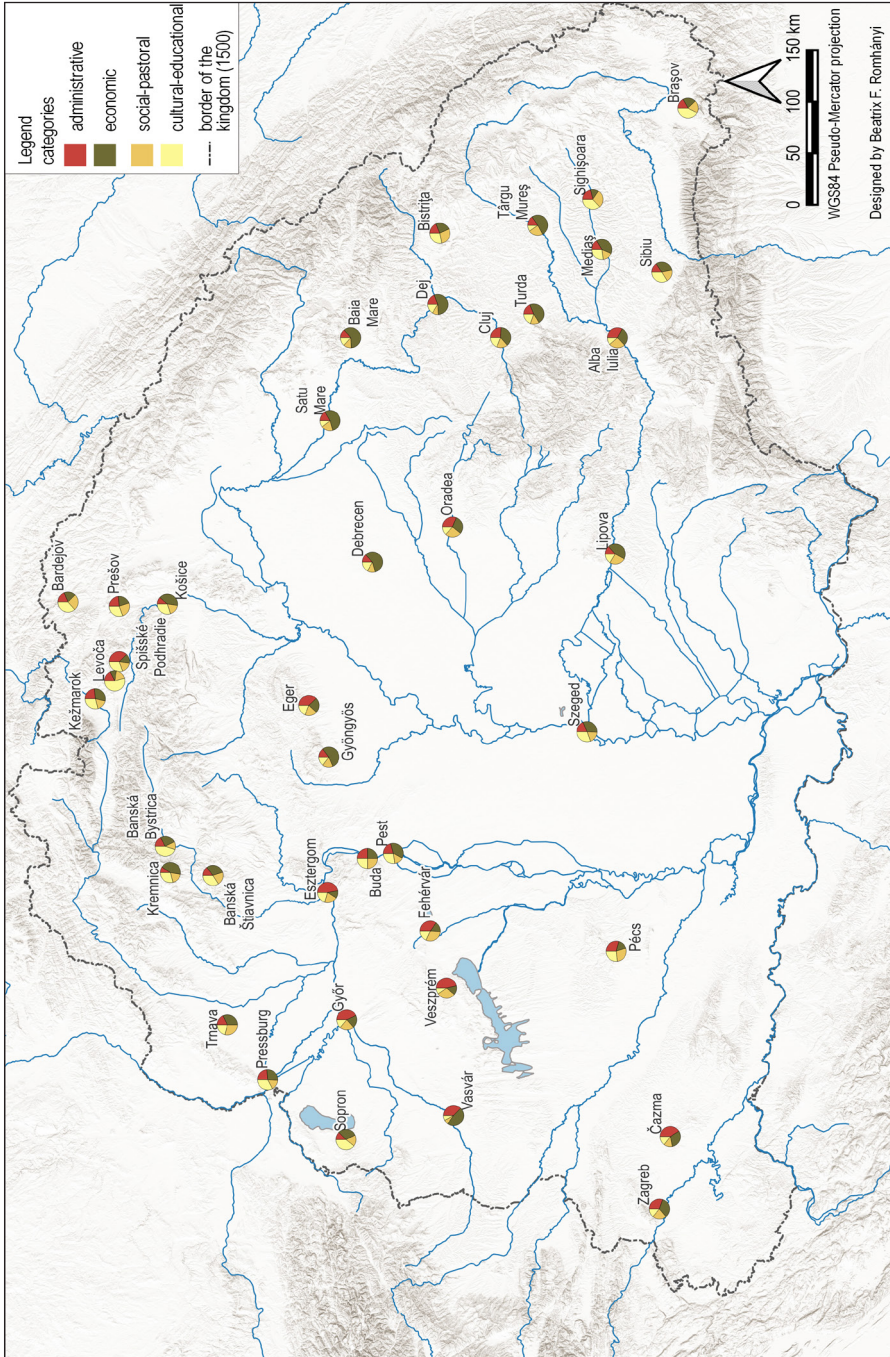
Table 3: First- and second-order towns at the current state of research

Nevertheless, the distribution is more even than the picture painted by previous research, mainly due to the above-mentioned privately owned towns, whose owners belonged to the most important magnate families in the country and, with the exception of Gyöngyös, the owners of these towns seem to have been explicitly court-centred. In terms of spatial distribution, the need for a stopover and distribution centre was reflected in the case of Debrecen, Gyöngyös, Lipova and Vasvár, for example. In the development profile of the main cities, all four central function groups described above are present, but in different proportions. Contrary to the overall picture of the category which shows a marked presence of administrative, ecclesiastic, and social as well as cultural indicators, the share of the economy is two thirds or more in the above-mentioned landowners' towns, while in several diocesan seats (Esztergom, Veszprém, Cenad/Csanád) economic factors are of minor importance and administrative and cultural factors play a significant role.

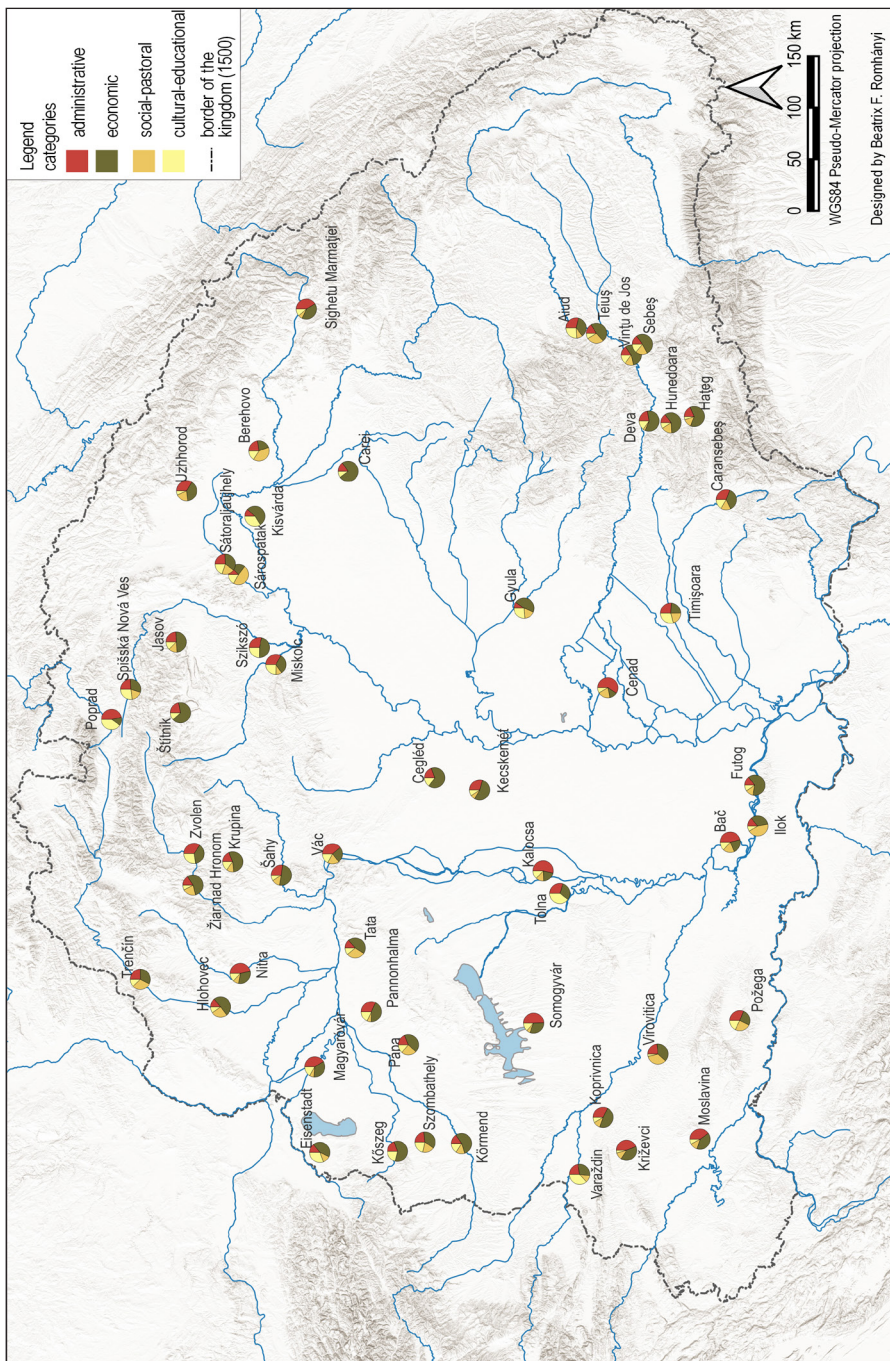
The category of smaller or second-order towns (V2) comprises 54 settlements (Table 3, Map 3) whose distribution covers the entire territory of the country, including the areas between the Danube and the Tisza (Cegléd, Kalocsa, Kecskemét, Futog/Futak) where the top category (V1) was lacking, and present-day Eastern Slavonia (Požega/Pozsegavár, Ilok/Újlak). However, this category is absent in the area of the *medium regni* and there were only six second-order towns in Transylvania (Aiud/Enyed, Deva/Déva, Hunedoara/Hunyad, Haţeg/Hátszeg, Vinţu de Jos/Alvinc, and Sebeş/Szászsebes), suggesting that categories V1 and V2 were complementary. The distribution of the towns in this category was adapted to the main trade routes and included a mining town belonging to private landowners (Jasov/Jászó) and a salt mine in the northeastern region in the hands of the queen at the end of the fifteenth century (Sighetu Marmatei/Sziget).<sup>29</sup>

29 GULYÁS, *Városi fejlődés*.





Map 2: Development profiles of first-order towns (V1) around 1500



Map 3: Development profiles of second-order towns (V2) around 1500



In most towns within this category, economic functions predominate, typically accounting for around 50% or more (e.g., Gyula, Hunedoara, Kecskemét, Körmend), with some towns exhibiting even higher proportions (e.g., Cegléd, Carei/Károly, Futog). The case of Gyula is noteworthy, as the town – usually referred to as an *oppidum* – experienced remarkable growth in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, during which period the domain was owned in succession by John Corvin and George of Brandenburg. This development may have elevated Gyula to the status of a first-order town around 1500.<sup>30</sup> However, certain towns display distinct profiles, such as the majority of ecclesiastical centres in this category (e.g. Kalocsa and Cenad/Csanád), where administration was the primary component of development, or Ilok, where religious and social functions, particularly its role as a kingdom-wide pilgrimage site, served as the main drivers of prosperity.

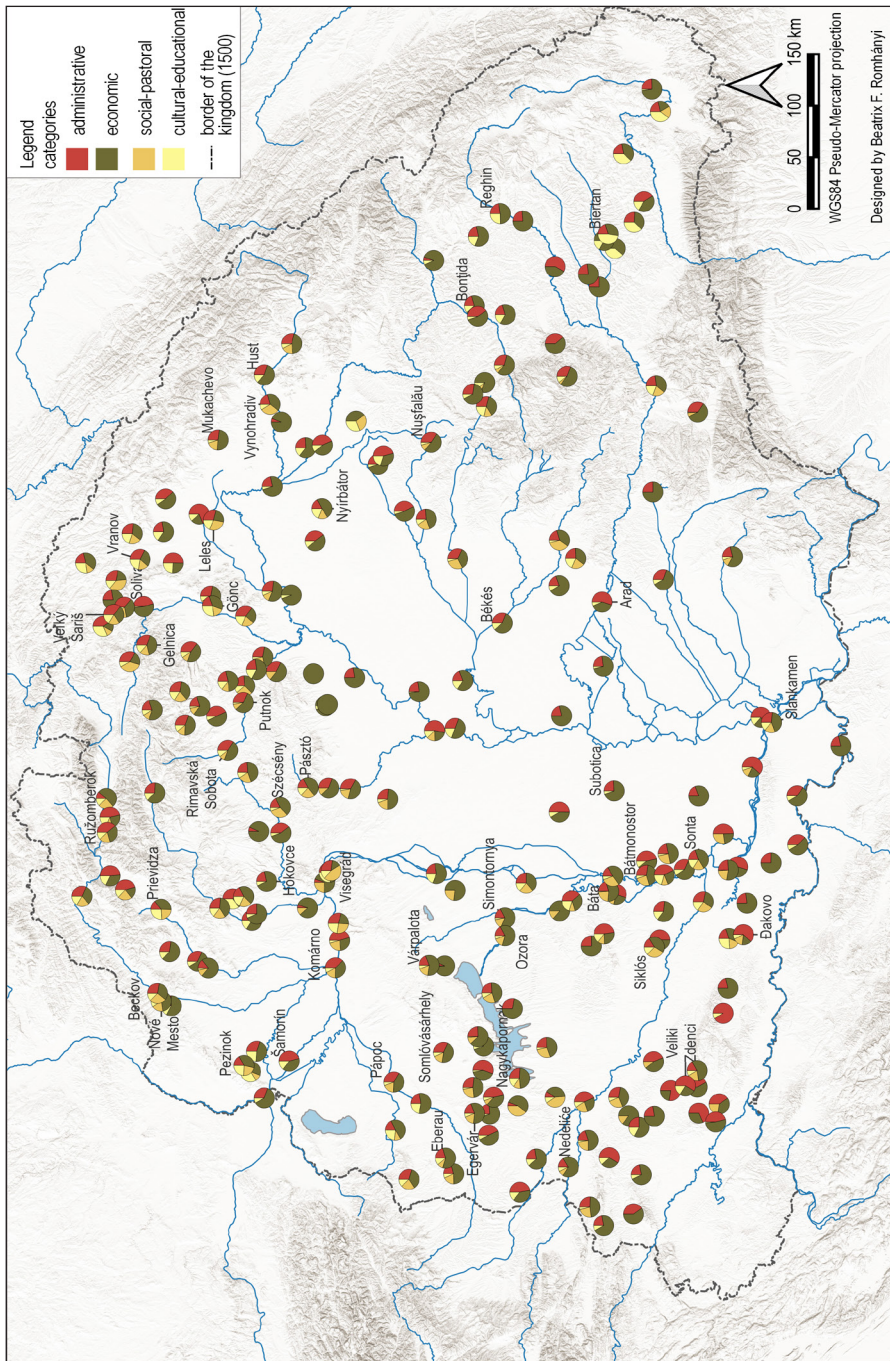
The development profiles of second-order towns that had received privileges in the thirteenth century is particularly noteworthy. In the cases of Berehove/Beregszász and Sárospatak, a well-developed network of ecclesiastical institutions emerged. Meanwhile, in Poprad and Spišská Nová Ves/Igló, proximity to the University of Cracow reinforced their cultural and educational roles, while in Varaždin/Varasd students pursued higher education in Vienna, Cracow and Italy alike. The privately owned towns within this category were distributed among multiple noble families; however, only the most influential magnates (in addition to those previously mentioned, such as the Pálóci, Erdődi, Újlaki, Várdai and Ernuszt families) possessed towns of significant importance. The only exception was the Károlyi family, who owned Carei/Nagykároly, a town positioned at the lower end of this category.

The classification of major market towns (M1) follows a different logic compared to category V2 (see Map 4). According to the current category boundaries, there are 220 such towns – more than twice the combined number of V1 and V2 towns. However, their distribution is uneven across the kingdom, with notable gaps and concentrations. A lack of such towns is observed in the *medium regni* region, likely due to the dominance of V1 centres, which fulfilled all central functions; only Visegrád,<sup>31</sup> having lost its former prominence, has been relegated to this group. Similarly, the Duna-Tisza interfluvium is largely devoid of major market towns except along the Danube, where they cluster primarily around crossing points. This form of urbanisation did not reach as far as the Székely Land. By contrast, Slavonia saw an influx of major market towns, primarily as manorial centres. A particularly high concentration is found in western Transdanubia, along the 30–40 km wide commercial corridor of the former Amber Road,<sup>32</sup> as well as in the region surrounding Lake Balaton.

30 BÁCSEKAI, *Gyula gazdasága*, 25–28. The hypothesis, however, requires verification, although both the town's institutional complexity and its estimated population appear to support it.

31 VÉGH, *Visegrád város*.

32 F. ROMHÁNYI, *Kolostorhálózat, területfejlesztés, régiók*.



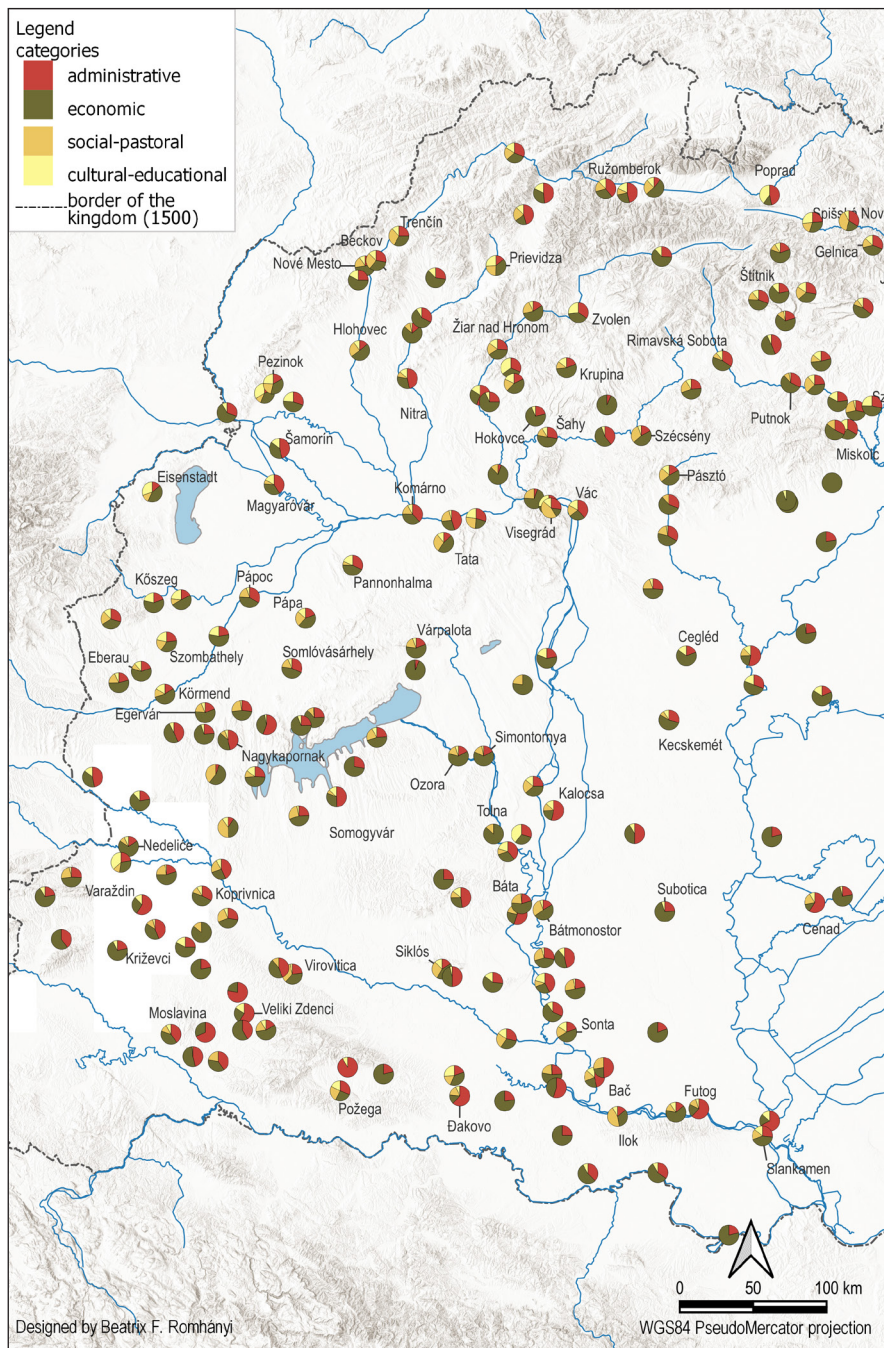
Economic functions play an even greater role in the development profiles of the significant market towns. Exceptions to this trend include settlements with historical privileges (e.g. Hust/Huszt) and towns whose proximity to Vienna or Kraków enhanced their cultural value (e.g. Bazin, Sabinov/Kisszeben and Gönc). The dominant landowners remained aristocratic families (e.g. Corvin, Szapolyai and Bátori), though the proportion of ecclesiastical landlords (e.g. provostships and, in some cases, abbeys) increased. Further down the category scale, a few smaller noble families (e.g. Tibai, Szobi, Kapi and Haraszti) also appear among the landowners. While 7% of villages and about 11% of communes were under royal ownership, the proportion was significantly higher among towns (42%) and major market towns (approximately 15%), including those held by the queen. The category of major market towns primarily served as a base for great landowning families, while for some lesser noble families, it functioned as a means of social advancement (see Table 4). These towns were primarily used to facilitate the sale of agricultural produce from estates and to integrate this produce into commercial networks. A combined analysis of the V2 and M1 categories at the regional level yields significant insights (see Maps 5a and b).

	Settlement (%)	Commune (%)	Town (V1, V2) (%)	Market town (M1) (%)
<b>King</b>	6.9	11.1	42.6	15.0
<b>Church</b>	12.4	14.9	23.4	15.0
<b>Magnate</b>	13.7	16.8	27.7	41.4
<b>Noble</b>	65.7	56.0	1.1	26.4
<b>Foreign landlord*</b>	1.3	1.2	5.1	2.4
<b>Number of entries</b>	14,956	5,006	94	220

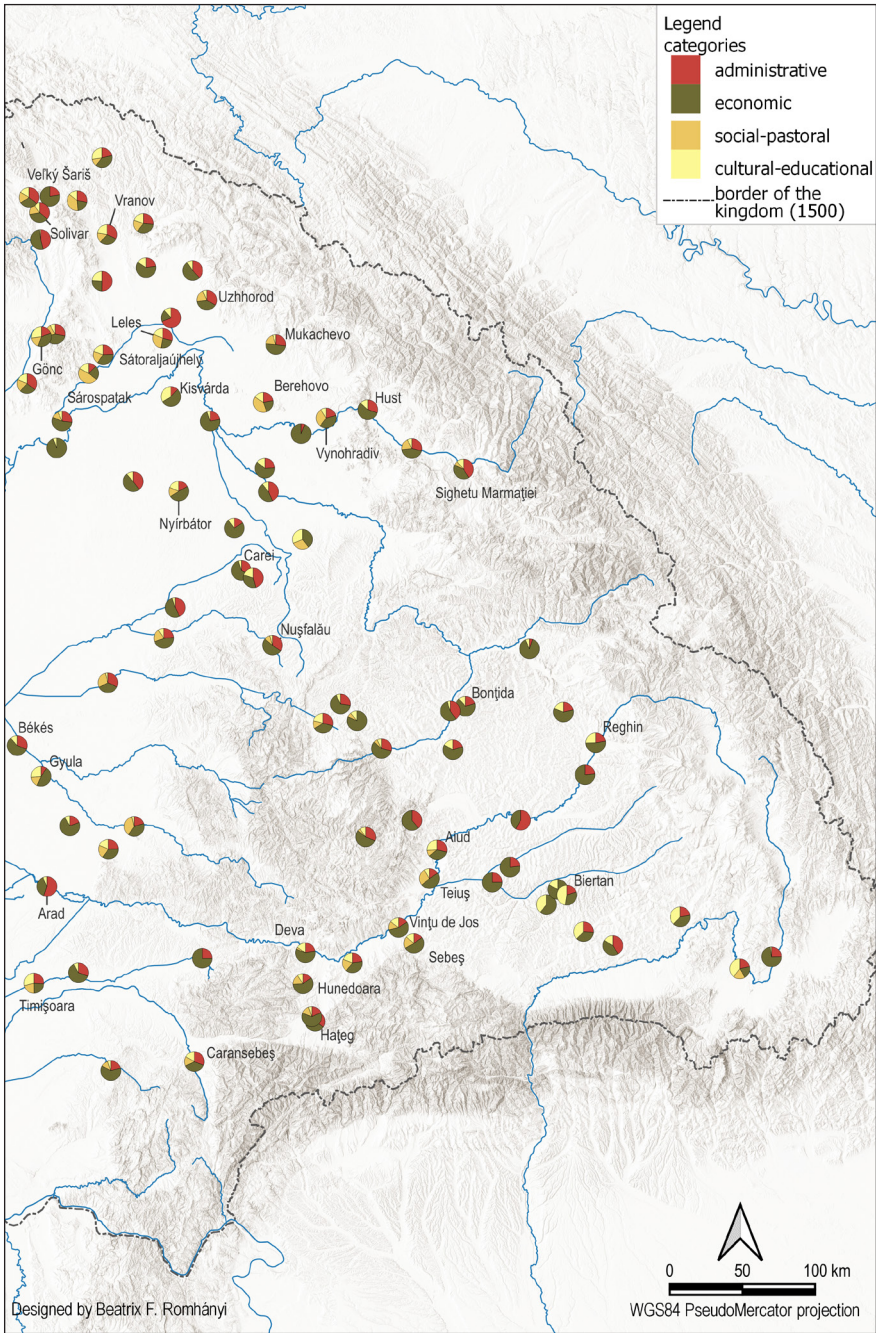
\* Including rulers of Austria, Moldavia, Poland and Serbia, as well as some Austrian lords and Heiligenkreuz Abbey.

Table 4: Share of each category of landlords in the stock of towns and villages (legal denominations in accordance with Pál Engel's database)





Map 5a: Second-order towns and major market towns in the western part of the Kingdom of Hungary around 1500



Map 5b: Second-order towns and major market towns in the eastern part of the Kingdom of Hungary around 1500



In the central and southwestern parts of the country (Map 5a), the absence of second-order towns and major market towns becomes even more striking. Such settlements were entirely lacking in the *medium regni* region, in southern Transdanubia, and in the area between the Maros and the Lower Danube, although the reasons for this varied across the three subregions. In the first case, the dominance of V1 towns, particularly the presence of Buda, played a determining role. South of Lake Balaton, the prevalence of villages, along with the high proportion of lower nobility and ecclesiastical (including monastic) landowners, limited urban development; while in the southern frontier region, the intensifying Ottoman pressure and shifting demographic conditions<sup>33</sup> left little room for the emergence of these types of towns. The distribution of these settlements reflects the spatial organising role of the V2 category in Slavonia, its exclusivity in the northern Great Plain, and its absence in western Transdanubia. It is evident that individual subregions operated according to different logics, which can be attributed to variations in landholding structures and economic practices. In some cases, even the impact of long-standing historical legacies may be considered.

In the northwestern part of the kingdom, the spread of smaller towns and major market towns closely followed river valleys and key transport routes, which were also crucial in determining the locations of mills and marketplaces. Where topographical conditions permitted, these settlement types emerged widely. Their absence in regions such as the Hanság and Csallóköz/Mátyusföld (Žitný ostrov/Matúšova zem) can primarily be explained by unfavourable hydrographic conditions.

A particularly instructive comparison can be drawn between northeastern Hungary and Transylvania in this regard (Map 5b). Sharp differences are evident between the two regions, both in terms of the density of smaller towns and major market towns and in the overall structure of their settlement profiles. Despite both being populated through organised colonisation and benefiting from collective privileges granted to settlers, distinct patterns of urban development emerged. At an individual level, comparable development profiles can be identified between the Saxon Land and Spiš, as seen in the cases of Spišská Nová Ves/Igló and Aiud/Enyed. However, while in the northeast, the presence of exploitable mineral resources and intensive commercial connections accelerated urbanisation, in Transylvania, the royal salt monopoly had a weaker developmental impact on smaller settlements.

In the northeast, small towns and market towns could emerge under various forms of authority. Alongside private landowners, numerous ecclesiastical proprietors, some of whom also held official authentication privileges (such as Jasov/Jászó and Leles/Lelesz) played a significant role in urban development. The region was also better integrated into Central and Eastern European trade networks, particularly through strong ties with Poland. This resulted in the most complete and hierarchically structured urban network in the kingdom, with a well-developed system at every level.

### New Observations and Further Research Agenda

The data collection and analysis conducted thus far have led to several revisions in our understanding of urbanisation in the late medieval Kingdom of Hungary. It is now clearer than before that the primary driving force behind the emergence of smaller towns and major market towns was commodity exchange – specifically the transportation of goods produced at a distance, such as mining products, livestock

33 F. ROMHÁNYI, *The Banat Region*; PETROVICS, *Dél-Magyarország és a török veszély*.

(particularly cattle) and wine – rather than local production.<sup>34</sup> (From this perspective, mining towns will require further in-depth examination.) In other words, the expansion in the number of small towns and market towns was primarily driven by the volume of goods available for exchange and the presence of a population engaged in or dependent on trade. At the same time, the higher a settlement ranked in the hierarchy of the realm, the greater the role non-economic factors played in its development. This conclusion aligns with the inferences drawn earlier from the summarised point values of Kubinyi's scoring system by level of development.

Furthermore, the collection of data covering the entire settlement network and its aggregation at the commune level has brought to light questions regarding urban agglomeration, in some cases leading to the identification of 'new' towns. It has also become evident that a settlement's legal status in the period, whether classified as a *civitas* or an *oppidum*, only partially corresponded to its economic significance. The situation at the end of the fifteenth century reflects the cumulative impact of earlier developments, including the long-lasting effects of early privileges that served as the foundation for the *civitas* designation. This distinction was less evident by the late Middle Ages in terms of settlement size and more in terms of differences in development profiles.

Finally, it is important to highlight that the territorial distribution of the approximately 300 highest-ranking settlements varied by level of development, while their functions differed across regions. Accordingly, the interpretation of whether market towns should be regarded as reserves for urbanisation or as developmental dead ends may also vary. Based on the above analysis, and with some simplification, their role can be understood as a reserve in the northeast, whereas in southwestern Transdanubia, they appear more as a developmental dead end.

However, to fully explain these differences, it is necessary to consider the settlement network in its entirety, including villages, an approach made possible by our database. The next major research tasks will therefore involve examining the interconnections between different levels of the settlement hierarchy, analysing spatial organisation, and identifying regional variations. Beyond investigating the relationship between market towns and villages, we also seek to determine the extent to which larger towns (V1, and in some cases V2) exerted dominance over their surroundings.

The wealth of available data also provides ample scope for further comparative studies. These may include comparative analyses of specific settlement types (such as metal and salt mining towns) or in-depth examinations of distinct settlement types and smaller regions. From the perspective of settlement history, it will also be crucial to compare the development levels inferred from the rankings with other local characteristics, such as the complexity of settlement layouts. Finally, our research agenda includes an international comparative dimension, particularly in relation to neighbouring Polish and Bohemian territories as well as other regions of Europe. One of the central questions in this regard is what the urban network, including market towns, reveals about the overall development of the kingdom and how it compares with broader European trends.

34 PETROVICS, *The Medieval Market Town*, 364–367.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BÁCSKAI, Vera. *Gyula gazdasága és társadalma a XV–XVI. században* [Economy and society of Gyula in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries]. Gyula: Békés Megyei Levéltár, 1991.
- BÁCSKAI, Vera. Small towns in Eastern Central Europe. In: CLARK, Peter (ed.). *Small Towns in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 77–89.
- BÁCSKAI, Vera. *Városok Magyarországon az iparosodás előtt* [Towns in Hungary before industrialisation]. Budapest: Osiris, 2002.
- BAK, János M. – BANYÓ, Péter – RADY, Martyn (eds). *The Customary Law of the Renowned Kingdom of Hungary: A Work in Three Parts Rendered by Stephen Werbőczy (The "Tripartium") (1517) / Tripartitum opus iuris consuetudinarii incltyti regni Hungariae per Stephanum de Werbewecz editum (1517)*. Los Angeles: Charles Schlacks JR, 2005.
- BAKÁCS, István. *Hont vármegye Mohács előtt* [Hont County before the Battle of Mohács (1526)]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971.
- BOTÁR, István. *Havasok keblében rejtőző szép Csík. A Csíki-medence középkori településtörténete* [The medieval settlement history of the Ciuc Basin]. Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2019.
- CSÁNKI, Dezső. *Magyarország történeti földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* [Historical geography of Hungary in the age of the Hunyadis] vols.1–3, 5. Budapest: MTA, 1890–1897 and 1913.
- DEMETER, Gábor – MUJADŽEVIĆ, Dino – F. ROMHÁNYI, Beatrix – FÓTI, Miklós – HEGYI, Klára – KATUŠIĆ, Maja – SZ. SIMON, Éva. Towards a New Historical Geography: the possibilities of GIS-aided historical statistics and fine-scale, longue durée and supranational comparisons in Croatian history. In: *Review of Croatian History*, 2024, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 141–178.
- ÉDER, Katalin. *Mezővárosi plébániatemplomok középkori városmentes tájakon* [Market town parishes in regions without towns]. Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2022.
- F. ROMHÁNYI, Beatrix. *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* [Monasteries and collegiate chapters in medieval Hungary]. Budapest: Pytheas Kiadó, 2000.
- F. ROMHÁNYI, Beatrix. Kolostorhálózat, területfejlesztés, régiók a Borostyán-út mentén [Monastic network, regional development and regions along the Amber Road]. In: *Soproni Szemle*, 2018, vol. 72, pp. 119–146.
- F. ROMHÁNYI, Beatrix. The Banat region as reflected in the mirror of the changing ecclesiastic network. In: *Banatica*, 2019, vol. 29, pp. 17–30.
- F. ROMHÁNYI, Beatrix – DEMETER, Gábor. Regional Differences in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary (c. 1500): Brief Description of the NKFI K145924 Project. In: *Historical Studies on Central Europe*, 2024, vol. 4(2), pp. 236–248.
- F. ROMHÁNYI, Beatrix – SZILÁGYI, Zsolt – DEMETER, Gábor. A Magyar Királyság regionális különbségei a pápai tizedjegyzék keletkezése idején [Regional differences in the Kingdom of Hungary in the period of the papal tithe list]. In: *Területi egyenlőtlenség, intézményi változás. Magyar gazdaságtörténeti évkönyv*, 2022. Budapest: HUN-REN TTI, 2022, pp. 17–51.
- FEKETE NAGY, Antal. *Magyarország történeti földrajza a Hunyadiak korában 4: Trencsén vármegye* [Historical geography of Hungary in the time of the Hunyadis 4: Trencsén County]. Budapest: MTA, 1941.
- FÜGEDI, Erik. Die Ausbreitung der städtischen Lebensform – Ungarns oppida im 14. Jh. In: RAUSCH, Wilhelm (ed.). *Stadt und Stadtherr im 14. Jahrhundert. Entwicklungen und Funktionen*. Linz: J. Wimmer, 1972, pp. 168–192.
- FÜGEDI, Erik. Mezővárosaink kialakulása a XIV. században [The emerging process of Hungarian market towns in fourteenth century]. In: *Történelmi Szemle*, 1972, vol. 15, pp. 321–342.
- GULYÁS, László Szabolcs. *Városi fejlődés a középkori Máramarosban* [Urban development in medieval Máramaros County]. Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2014.
- GULYÁS, László Szabolcs. *Mezővárosi önkormányzat a középkori Hegyalján* [Market town self-government in medieval Hegyalja region]. Budapest: MNL, 2017.

- GYÁNI, Gábor – KLANICZAY, Gábor – TRENCSENYI, Balázs. Introduction: Reading and Rereading Jenő Szűcs. In: KLANICZAY, Gábor – TRENCSENYI, Balázs – GYÁNI, Gábor (eds). *The Historical Construction of National Consciousness. Selected writings*. Budapest: CEU Press, 2023, pp. 1–22.
- GYÖRFFY, György. *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* [Historical geography of Hungary in the Arpadian period] vols.1–4. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1967–1998.
- ILA, Bálint. *Gömör megye* [Gömör County]. Budapest: MTA, 1944.
- JAKÓ, Zsigmond. *Bihar megye a török pusztítás előtt* [Bihar County before the Ottoman conquest]. Budapest: MTA, 1940.
- K. NÉMETH, András. *A középkori Tolna megye templomai* [Churches of medieval Tolna County]. Szekszárd: Wosinsky Mór Megyei Múzeum, 2015.
- KUBINYI, András. A középkori magyarországi városok hierarchikus térbeli rendjének kérdéséhez. In: *Településtudományi Közlemények* 1971, vol. 23, pp. 58–78.
- KUBINYI, András. A későközépkori városi fejlődés vitás kérdései [The main disputed questions of late medieval urban development]. In: UHERKOVICS, Ákos (ed.). *Régészet és várostörténet. Tudományos konferencia*, Pécs: Janus Pannonius Múzeum, 1991, pp. 15–31.
- KUBINYI, András. Városhálózat a késő középkori Kárpát-medencében [The urban network in the late medieval Carpathian Basin]. In: *Történelmi Szemle* 2004, vol. 46, pp. 1–30.
- LAKATOS, Bálint. *Mezővárosi oklevelek. Települési önkormányzat és írásbeliség a késő középkori Magyarországon, 1301–1526* [Charters issued by market towns. Self-government and pragmatic literacy in late medieval Hungary]. Budapest: MTA BTK, 2019.
- M. ARADI, Csilla. *Somogy megye Árpád-kori és középkori egyházszervezetének rekonstrukciója* [The reconstruction of the high and late medieval church organisation of Somogy County]. Kaposvár: Rippl-Rónai Megyei Múzeum, 2016.
- MAJOR, Jenő. A magyar városhálózatról [The Hungarian urban network]. In: *Településtudományi Közlemények* 1964, vol. 16, pp. 32–65.
- MAJOR, Jenő. Sopron város földrajza [The geography of the town of Sopron]. In: *Soproni Szemle*, 1991, vol. 45, pp. 32–54. [publication of the thesis written in 1944]
- MÁLYUSZ, Elemér. *Turóc megye kialakulása* [The formation of Turóc County]. Budapest: MTA, 1922.
- Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája* [Archaeological Topography of Hungary] 1–12. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966–2022.
- NÉMETH, Péter. *A középkori Szabolcs megye települései* [Towns and villages of medieval Szabolcs County]. Nyíregyháza: Jósa András Múzeum, 1997.
- NÉMETH, Péter. *A középkori Szatmár megye települései a 15. század elejéig* [Towns and village of medieval Szatmár County up to the early fifteenth century]. Nyíregyháza: Jósa András Múzeum, 2008.
- NOGRÁDY, Árpád. *Sáros megye – Comitatus Sarosiensis*. Budapest: HUN-REN TTI, 2022.
- PETROVICS, István. The Medieval Market Town and Its Economy. In: LASZLOVSKY, József – NAGY, Balázs – SZABÓ, Péter – VADAS, András (eds). *Economy in medieval Hungary. Economic history, material culture, archaeology*. Leiden: Brill, 2018, pp. 359–368.
- PETROVICS, István. Dél-Magyarország és a török veszély a 14. század vége és a 15. század dereka között [Southern Hungary and the Ottoman danger between the end of the fourteenth and the middle of the fifteenth centuries]. In: BAGI, Zoltán Péter (ed.). *„Ügy írassak mint volt”: Ünnepi tanulmányok a 65 esztendő Sándor László tiszteletére*. Szeged: SzTE Középkori és Kora Újkori Magyar Történeti Tanszék, 2019, pp. 104–119.
- SZAKÁCS, Béla Zsolt. *Árpád-kori építészeti Dunántúlon* [Arpadian-age architecture in Transdanubia]. Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2021.
- SZAKÁCS, Béla Zsolt. *Árpád-kori építészeti hagyományok Szepes és Sáros megyében* [Arpadian-age architectural traditions in Szepes and Sáros Counties]. Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2023.
- SZATMÁRI, Imre. *Békés megye középkori templomai* [Medieval Churches in Békés County]. Békéscsaba: Békés Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2005.

- SZENDE, Katalin. Kubinyi András, a várostörténész [András Kubinyi, the researcher of urban history]. In: *Urbs. Magyar Várostörténeti Évkönyv*, 2008, vol. 3, pp. 15–38.
- SZENDE, Katalin. The Birth of *oppida*: Small Towns in Hungary in the Angevin Period. In: *Urban History*, 2022, vol. 49, pp. 484–501.
- SZENDE, Katalin. Major Jenő, a településtörténész [Jenő Major, the researcher of settlement history]. In: *Soproni Szemle*, 2025, vol. 79, pp. 150–167.
- SZENDE, Katalin. Small towns in late medieval Hungary: levels and factors of urbanity. In: CLARK, Peter (ed.). *Small Towns and Cities in World History: From the Middle Ages to the Present*. Turnhout: Brepols (forthcoming).
- SZENDE, Katalin – SZÍVÓS, Erika. Vera Bácskai and Urban History: Life, Work, and Impact. In: *Urban History*, 2022, vol. 49, pp. 476–483.
- SZÜCS, Jenő. *Városok és kézművesség a XV. századi Magyarországon* [Towns and crafts in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Hungary]. Budapest: Művelt Nép Kiadó, 1955.
- SZÜCS, Jenő. Das Städtewesen in Ungarn im XV–XVII. Jahrhundert. In: SZÉKELY, György – FÜGEDI, Erik (eds). *La Renaissance et la Réformation en Pologne et en Hongrie, 1450–1650*. Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963, pp. 97–164.
- TARI, Edit. *Pest megye középkori templomai* [Medieval churches in Pest County]. Szentendre: Pest Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2000.
- VALTER, Ilona. A gyöngyösi Szent Bertalan-templom építéstörténete a város történetében [The building history of the Saint Bartholomew Church of Gyöngyös in the context of the history of the town]. In: BARDOLY, István – HARIS Andrea (eds). *Détshy Mihály nyolcvanadik születésnapjára. Tanulmányok*. Budapest: Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal, 2002, pp. 89–104.
- VÉGH, András. Visegrád város kárhozatos szabadságairól [The cursed privileges of the city of Visegrád]. In: F. ROMHÁNYI, Beatrix – GRYNÆUS, András – MAGYAR, Károly – VÉGH, András (eds). „*Es tu scholaris.*” Ünnepi tanulmányok Kubinyi András 75. születésnapjára. Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2004, pp. 71–76.
- VÉGH, András. Buda-Pest 1300 – Buda-Pest 1400. Two Topographical Snapshots. In: NAGY, Balázs – RADY, Martyn – SZENDE, Katalin – VADAS, András (eds). *Medieval Buda in Context*. Leiden: Brill, 2016, pp. 169–203.
- VÉGH, András. Budapest születése, a középkori Buda-Pest 2025 [The birth of Budapest, Buda-Pest in the Middle Ages]. In: HERMANN, István (ed.) *Budapest története* [The history of Budapest] Vol. 1. Budapest: Budapest Főváros Levéltára, 2025 (forthcoming).
- WEISZ, Boglárka. *Markets and Staples in the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom*. Budapest: Research Center for the Humanities, 2020.