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THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF THE BURGHERS OF MEDIEVAL TEMESVÁR / TIMIȘOARA

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Rezumat. Deși, Timișoara medievală a fost un oraș important, nu poate fi considerat ca unul dintre orașele libere regale din interiorul Regatului Ungariei, deoarece autonomia sa a fost serios limitată de comiți și vicecomiți, care au avut locurile lor în administrație. Cel mai mare obstacol în calea dezvoltării orașului a fost victoria neașteptată la Nicopole, în 1396 a turcilor, făcând astfel Timișoara și regiunea din jurul acesteia să devină ținta permanentă a atacurilor otomane. Prin urmare, în secolul al 15-lea, Timișoara și-a asumat rolul de un castel de frontieră. În ciuda acestui fapt, Timișoara medievală a fost un oraș cu o economie înfloritoare. Lucrarea face o încercare de a explora, cu ajutorul a diferite tipuri de surse, activitatea economică a burgului timișean.

Cuvinte cheie: dezvoltare urbană, istorie medievală, Timișoara, economie.

1. Temesvár in the Middle Ages

Between the beginning of the 14th and the middle of the 16th century, Temesvár, precursor of modern Timişoara, was one of the most significant towns and castles of the region bordered by the south-eastern part of the Great Hungarian Plain, the rivers Maros/Mureș, Tisza/Tisa and the Lower-Danube and historic Transylvania, in short, the Danube-Tisza/Tisa-Maros/Mureș region. Temesvár/Timişoara is located south of the River Maros/Mureș and about 80 air kilometers from Szeged. As its Hungarian name suggests, the town was built on the bank of the river Temes/Timiş, and the suffix -vár (‘burg’, ‘castle’) indicates that it was originally a comital castle, the centre of Temes county.

The town itself appears first in written sources in the mid-twelfth-century description of Al-Idrisi. The Sicilian Arab geographer described Temesvár as a splendid town, abounding in great richness, and located south of the river Tisza. Although until the early 1300s very little is known about the town itself, between 1315 and 1323 Charles I of Anjou, King of Hungary established a temporary residence here. Since Temesvár did not have the advantage of a central geographical location, the royal court moved to Visegrád, in the middle of the realm, as soon as the monarch crushed the “little kings”. The departure of the royal court in 1323 evidently did not favor the further development of Temesvár.

A new situation emerged in the 1360s, when the Hungarian king, Louis I (or

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

The development of the town was severely impeded by the Turkish victory at Nicopolis in 1396, which resulted in Temesvár and the region around it becoming the permanent target of Ottoman onslaughts. By the early fifteenth century, Temesvár had assumed the role of a border castle. From the point of view of urban autonomy, the most disadvantageous developments were that in 1369 the authority of the ban of Vidin, as mentioned above, was transferred to the count of Temes, and furthermore from the late fourteenth century the Ottoman advance led to the authority of the count being significantly strengthened. Consequently, Temesvár could not become a royal free town, since its autonomy was seriously restricted by the comes Temesiensis and his vicecomes who both had their seats in the town. Nevertheless, Temesvár can still be regarded in the Late Middle Ages as one of the most important towns of the Kingdom of Hungary and the most significant locality of the region bordered by the south-eastern part of the Great Plain, the Maros, Tisza and lower Danube rivers, and historic Transylvania2.

2. The burghers of medieval Temesvár

In an earlier work, we have pointed out that the citizens of Temesvár/ Timişoara were referred to in medieval charters as cives et hospites3. The first charter using a collective designation referring to the burghers of Temesvár was issued by the chapter house of Arad (today: Arad, Romania) in 13414. The charter dated on May 19 uses the term hospites de Temeswar. Not quite a year later, on 9 February 1342, the chapter house of Csanád (today: Cenad, Romania) issued a charter in which mention is made of the cives de Temeswar5. A distinct part of the townsfolk in Temesvár, namely the merchants, mercatores de nostra civitate Themeswar, appear in King Sigismund’s charter issued on 13 January 1415 and also in the charter of Nicholas Csáki, voivode of Transylvania, issued on 15 September

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5 Pesty, 1896, p. 71.
in the same year\(^6\). The first burgurers of the town who are unequivocally known by their names emerge in documentary evidence in 1361\(^7\). The charter issued by Queen Elisabeth on 31 August 1361 in Visegrád refers to two burgurers from Temesvár, *Valentinus filius Michaelis et Vehul (Utul?) dictus de Somplijo cives de Themeswar*, who became victims of a violent trespass. In the charter Valentinus and Utul confirm that *magister Benedictus filius Pauli filii Heym*, the landlord of Blasius Rufus, the tributarius who had taken away, by force, the goods belonging to Valentinus and Vehul, gave them everything back.

From the fifteenth century onwards the number of such documents increases in which the burgurers and the inhabitants of Temesvár are mentioned specifically by name. In these cases, the first name of the burgurers emerge in conjunction with that of their fathers', or with the designation of their profession. The aforesaid two variants – either separately or together – were sometimes also combined with the name of the town of Temesvár, for example, as well as the aforementioned *Valentinus filius Michaelis et Vehul (Utul?) dictus de Somplijo cives de Themeswar* (1361), we find *Sebastianus filius Georgii de Themesuar* (1400), *Johannes corrigiator de Themeswar* (1411), and *Andreas de Themeswar* (1446)\(^8\). When examining either the collective designations or the individual names of the burgurers, the question arises as to whether there were any foreign ethnic groups that played a significant role in the urban development of Temesvár in the Middle Ages\(^9\).

At this point it should be stressed that it was a particular feature of medieval Hungarian urban development that foreign guests (*hospites*) contributed to a great extent to the creation of towns, once the necessary level of economic and social development was reached. In the 11th and 12th centuries the guests came primarily from Flanders, North-France (Walloons), Lorraine and Lombardy. Since they spoke, except for the Flemish settlers, Romance languages, the Hungarian sources in the Latin language referred to them as *Latini* or *Gallici* and *Italici*. They were followed in the 12th and 13th centuries by Germans (*Teutonici* and *Saxones*). From the second part of the 13th century German ascendency became obvious in most of the towns of the Hungarian Kingdom\(^10\).

Following from the fact that the guests mostly favoured royal residences, (archi)episcopal seats and mountainous regions where mines were operated, they hardly appeared in the towns of the Great Hungarian Plain. The lack of place names like Olasz(i), Szász(i), Német(i), as well as scattered personal names preserved in documentary evidence, various references concerning urban administration, and the geographical location of the town are persuasive evidence that the *hospites*, and

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\(^6\) Pesty, 1896, p. 494.
\(^8\) OL Dl. 53063; Pesty, 1896, p. 439; Lukcsics, 1938, No. 929. *Sebastianus Georgii de Themesuar* and *Andreas de Themeswar* were, in fact, clerics but their connection with Temesvár is indisputable.
\(^9\) Petrovics, 2009, p. 79-82.
indeed the inhabitants of Temesvár, were preponderantly Hungarians until the mid-sixteenth century. Just as in the case of nearby Szeged, Latin and German guests, let alone Jews, did not play an important role in the development of medieval Temesvár\textsuperscript{11}.

It should also be stressed that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries very intensive economic and cultural contacts existed between Italy and Hungary\textsuperscript{12}. Therefore we have good reason to believe that several Italians, although they were not burghers of the town, appeared in Temesvár, especially in the royal court, in the first part of the fourteenth century. Their number, however, may have drastically dropped when Charles I transferred his seat to Visegrád in 1323. It was characteristic of the Italians showing up in Hungary in the fourteenth century that, beside acting as merchants, they were basically engaged in the financial and mining administration of the kingdom. It is true, however, that at the end of the fourteenth century indolent Italian businessmen could hardly compete with German entrepreneurs who quite unexpectedly invaded the realm\textsuperscript{13}. Some Italians, who started their career in Hungary as merchants, later became feudal lords (barons)\textsuperscript{14}. Let it suffice here to refer to one such person, Filippo Scolari. He was born in the vicinity of Florence, and having moved to Hungary he became King Sigismund’s most active and triumphant general. Filippo Scolari’s Hungarian name was Pipo Ozorai. In 1399 he married the daughter and heiress of Andrew of Ozora; thereafter he was known as Pipo of Ozora, and, unlike most of Sigismund’s foreign supporters, he consciously strove to become a Hungarian. His life and military activity was tightly connected with Temesvár as he became the royal officer in charge of Temes county (comes Temesiensis) in 1404\textsuperscript{15}.

3. Temesvár as a border town

After the overwhelming Turkish victory at Nicopolis in 1396 it was basically the task of the baron holding the office of comes Temesiensis to establish an effective defence-system in this area against the Turks. Pipo Ozorai and Pál Kinizsi, who were counts of Temes, played a particularly outstanding role in the defence of the southern parts of Hungary. János Hunyadi, voivode of Transylvania also must be mentioned, since between 1441 and 1456, as count of Temes, he had one of his seats in Temesvár\textsuperscript{16}.

The situation, in which Temesvár had became a so called border castle by the early fifteenth century, evidently hindered its urban development, despite the fact that Pipo Ozorai and János Hunyadi launched significant construction works here. Since these building operations primarily focused on fortifying the castle and the town, they did not essentially promote urban development. At the same time the

\textsuperscript{11} Petrovics, 2009, p. 69-71, 76-78.
\textsuperscript{12} Huszti, 1941.
\textsuperscript{13} Mályusz, 1984, p. 158-168.
\textsuperscript{14} Draskóczy, 1994.
\textsuperscript{15} Engel, 1987, p. 53-88. See also Haţegan, 1997.
administrative functions of Temesvár were enlarged, since the salt deposit belonging to Keve (today: Kovin, Serbia) was managed by Pipo Ozorai in Temesvár. This change was achieved in order to make the defence system more effective, as Ozorai, for a while, simultaneously held the office of *comes Temesiensis* and that of *comes camerarum salium regalium*. The son of the patrician of Korčula, Matko Tallóci (Talovac), together with his three brothers, managed the salt deposit belonging to Keve also in Temesvár. The Tallóci brothers were significant figures in anti-Ottoman struggles as well. At the time of King Sigismund’s death, the Tallóci brothers supervised the southern line of border fortresses, stretching from the Adriatic coast to the fortress of Szörény/Drobeta-Turnu Severin and comprising some fifty castles. The role, Temesvár played in the distribution of salt, may explain the fact that Pero Rossi of Florence, *camerarius salium regalium* from Torda (today: Turda, Romania) had a *sessio* in Temesvár, that he possessed in return of a debt.

Although, from the early fifteenth century onwards, the Ottoman advance definitively hindered the further progress of the town, it did not immediately halt the urban development of Temesvár. It is certified, for instance, by a charter surviving from 1413. In this document mention is made of a Ragusan merchant (i.e. a citizen of Dubrovnik, Croatia) who died in Temesvár. Although the Ragusan merchants – since they formed a rather independent colony – cannot be regarded, in fact, as citizens of Temesvár, they evidently played a significant role in the economic life of the town. The Republic of Ragusa had been building up her “second trading empire” from the late 15th century, and, parallel with the Ottoman conquest, the Ragusan merchants significantly expanded their trading activity in the territory of the former Hungarian kingdom. Their colony in Temesvár was constituted at least by twenty people in the middle of the 16th century.

4. The economic activity of the burghers of Temesvár

There is also documentary evidence proving that Temesvár played an important role in the Transylvanian cloth trade in the Late Middle Ages. This activity was so significant that the town council of Nagyszeben/Hermannstadt (today: Sibiu, Romania) seriously worried about it, and some burghers of Hermannstadt/Sibiu were manhandled in Temesvár. Even the name of Temesvár’s first *iudex* known by name: Mihály Posztós (*Mychael dictus Poztos*) refers to the weight this town had in the cloth trade. The Hungarian name, Posztós refers to a person who

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21 Ragusa (today: Dubrovnik, Croatia) was one of the most flourishing commercial towns of the Adriatic coast. See, for instance, Krekić, 1972. On the Ragusan merchants living in Temesvár in the mid-sixteenth century see Petrovics, 2008, p. 84-94.
24 Pesty, 1896, p. 195. See also Petrovics, 2008, p. 60-64.
was engaged either in producing or selling cloth. The person of Mihály Posztós who shows up in written sources first in 1390, creates, at the same time, a contact with the Romanians of this region.

We know from the testimony of charters that Romanians settled in the Danube-Tisa-Mureş region in the fourteenth century. There is documentary evidence proving, for instance, that in 1359 six members of an illustrious Romanian family from Wallachia settled down in the Temesköz, the flatland part of the Danube-Tisa-Mureş region after having left all their possessions and goods in Wallachia (*relictis omnibus possessionibus eorum et bonis in dicta terra Transalpina habitis, nostre maiestati semet ipsos obtulerunt fideliter servituros*). The Hungarian king, Louis I donated 13 villages to them in order to enable them to accommodate their entourage. Six years later another 5 landed estates were donated to them.²⁵

The above mentioned Mihály Posztós, judge of Temesvár, had become involved in a law suit with the Romanians living on the possessions of Kispala/Pala Mică and Nagypala/Pala Mare (*possessiones Kyspala et Noghpala in districtu de Hathzag*), of which Mihály Posztós claimed to be owner by royal donation.²⁶ The cases of Kispala and Nagypala well illustrate the situation in which under the leadership of Romanian *kenezii* (as a result of forest clearing and colonization) free villages (*liberae villae*) were coming into being. Many of these were in the district of Hátszeg/Hațeg.²⁷ The point to stress here is that the “ius kenezorum” acquired during the process of colonization did not, in itself, mean that the *kenezii* actually owned these free villages. It happened frequently that the kings donated these villages, and in such cases the *kenezii* were subjected to the new landlords.

Temesvár had trading contacts with the western part of the Kingdom of Hungary already in the 1360s, and early 15th century documents unambiguously demonstrate that the merchants of Temesvár travelled with their goods to both the western and eastern parts of the realm. A number of 15th and 16th century charters reveal that the merchants of Hermannstadt regarded the burghers of Temesvár as their rivals.

Although the written documents frequently refer to the merchants of Temesvár (*mercatores de civitate Themeswar*), very little mention is made of the artisans living and working there. A *corrigiatior* shows up in 1411, and, on the basis of the accounts of the royal domain of Temesvár from the year 1372, it appears justifiable to assume that in the late 14th century the *carpenters* formed a guild in Temesvár.²⁸ A *sellator* and a *pellifex*, together with two merchants (*institores*), are mentioned in

²⁵ Documentary evidence for the appearance of the Romanians in this region is collected, for instance, in Fekete Nagy-Makkai, 1941. The relevant charter is published *in extenso* in Pesty, 1896, p. 87-89, whereas an abridged version can be read in Fekete Nagy-Makkai, 1941, p. 141-142. See also Makkai-Mócsy, 1986, p. 341-342.
²⁶ Pesty, 1896, p. 185-188, 195-198, 318-323. See also Petrovics, 2008, p. 60-64. Pala can be regarded as the medieval precursor of modern Băuţar (Judeţul Caraş-Severin).
²⁸ Engel, 1982, p. 890-893, 918-920.
the 15th century miracle collections of Saint John of Capistrano.29

Late medieval charters also contain references to artisans. Among them the most important one is the document from 1507 that relates about a wealthy butcher who is referred to by his Hungarian name, Mészáros. It is interesting that the first name of the butcher is written in the charter in Latin (Ladislaus) but the “quasi” family name is written in Hungarian Mezaros, i.e. Mészáros in modern Hungarian.30 We also know about a Varga, i.e. a boot-maker from 1528. He is also mentioned with his Hungarian name: Lucas Warga de dicta Themeswar. Last, but not least, among those students who studied at the university of Vienna mention is made in 1511 of a certain Nicholas whose father was a tailor (Nicolaus Sartoris de Themesbar)31. Unfortunately, the students are listed in the sources, almost exclusively, only with their first name in conjunction with the name of Temesvár. Consequently, there is no reference to their or to their fathers’ profession.

It is very important to note here, that these random references should be analyzed together with the data of the defter of the sanjak of Temesvár, produced in 1554, i.e. two years after the fall of the town to the Ottomans, in which the names of the heads of families were recorded. Unfortunately this important document has not been properly processed yet by experts.32

It is also a problem that we have only random direct references to the property status of the burghers of medieval Temesvár. In 1361, for instance, two merchants from Temesvár, Valentinus filius Michaelis et Vehul (Utul?) dictus de Somplijo cives de Themeswar, paid 50 florins to master Benedek Himfi (magister Benedictus filius Pauli filii Heym) in order to get back their goods.33 In 1430 Benedek Posztós, son of Michael Posztós former judge of Temesvár, sold his possessions named Kis Pala and Nagy Pala for 1000 florins to the members of the Kendefi family that descended from “cneazul Cîndea/Kende”34.

In 1474 George Marázi, burgher of Temesvár sold a house in Karánsebes/Caransebeș, that belonged to him, to two burghers from Karánsebes/Caransebeș for 25 florins.35 The most striking datum can be found in a charter issued in 1507 by King Wladislas II. According to this document Ladislas Mészáros (Ladislaus Mezaros) became involved in a law suit with Francis Haraszti (Franciscus de Harazth). Unfortunately, the royal charter does not tell anything about the cause of the law suit, but it mentions, at least, the value that was disputed by the litigious parts. It was 32000 golden florins! That is why the monarch ordered to transfer the

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29 Mažuran, 1972, p. 33, 60-61, 70-71, 73-74.
30 OL Dl. 59966.
33 Petrovics, 2008, p. 65-68.
34 Rusu et alii, 1989, p. 84-85. The charter uses the names Alsó Pala (Pala de Jos) and Felső Pala (Pala de Sus).
35 Pesty, 1878, p. 85-86 (OL Dl. 73028)
law suit from the county law court to the royal one. The wealthiest burgher of Temesvár was Michael, outstanding member of the Bodó family. Although he lived, in the greatest part of his life, in Pest, we should remember him as a person who originated from Temesvár. According to his testament from 1510 he was mostly engaged in the wine trade and accumulated a fortune. He had vineyards and precious stone houses in different Hungarian towns (Pest, Pécs, Várad/Oradea). Martin Temesvári (Martinus Themeswary) also should be mentioned. In 1512 he is referred to by a charter issued by the town council of Pest as one of the sworn burghers (iurati cives) of the town of Pest. The examples of Michael Bodó and Martin Temesvári prove that the wealthiest burghers of Temesvár, after a while, left the town of their birth and moved to Pest, that was the richest of the towns of medieval Hungary after Buda.

Temesvár is referred to in medieval charters as villa, oppidum and civitas. According to our present knowledge documents that contain franchises of the hospites/cives of Temesvár do not appear to have survived from the medieval period. However, indirect evidence clearly reveals that the town enjoyed the right to hold weekly fairs, and the daily life of Temesvár was directed by the town council, consisting of the judge (iudex) and the sworn burghers (iurati cives).

5. Conclusions
Although medieval Temesvár cannot be regarded as one of the royal free towns of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary and the Ottoman advance seriously hindered its urban development from the late 14th century onwards, it can, functionally, be regarded as a town with a thriving economy. The burghers of Temesvár probably paid their taxes mostly in cash, in a lump-sum, and traded primarily in wine, livestock, animal-produce and coarse woolen cloth.

36 OL Dl. 59966.
37 OL Dl. 61980. See also Kubinyi, 2009. p. 550-552.
38 OL Dl. 105885.
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OL Dl. OL Dl., Hungarian National Archives. Collection of charters issued before Mohács (1526).


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