

# Craftsmanship in a Medieval Franciscan Friary. A Medieval Bronze Workshop Excavated at the Tîrgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely) Franciscan Friary

**Zoltán Soós**

*County Museum of Tîrgu Mureş, Romania*

email: sooszoltan1@gmail.com

**Abstract:** This study aims to assess the economic role played by the Mendicants and their adaptability to the urban and economic context of Central and Eastern Europe. The main focus will be on the Franciscan friary from Tîrgu Mureş. It is thanks to several archaeological excavations that a rich material concerning the economic activities the friary was engaged in has been unearthed. They undoubtedly prove the existence of several workshops that functioned within and in close connection with the convent. Moreover, the detailed analysis of the economic life of Tîrgu Mureş friary helped reveal the impact the Franciscans made on the development of this market-town in the late Middle Ages.

**Key words:** Franciscan friary, workshops, archaeological material, market town, urban economy

**Rezumat:** Meşteşugăritul într-un convent franciscan medieval. Un atelier de bronz descoperit în Conventul Franciscan de la Tîrgu Mureş. Acest studiu îşi propune să evalueze rolul economic jucat de Fraţii Mendicanţi, precum şi adaptabilitatea lor la contextul urban şi economic al Europei Central-Răsăritene. Studiul de caz folosit în această analiză îl reprezintă conventul franciscan din Tîrgu Mureş. Datorită mai multor campanii arheologice a fost scos la lumină un bogat material referitor la activităţile economice în care acest convent a fost angajat, demonstrînd fără echivoc funcţionarea mai multor ateliere în cadrul conventului. Analiza detaliată a vieţii economice a conventului franciscan din Tîrgu Mureş a evidenţiat impactul pe care l-au avut Franciscanii asupra dezvoltării acestui tîrg în Evul Mediu tîrziu.

**Cuvinte cheie:** convent franciscan, ateliere, material arheologic, tîrg, economie urbană

The excavation of the Tîrgu Mureş Franciscan friary, situated in the eastern province of the former Hungarian kingdom, Transylvania, started in 1999.<sup>1</sup> The systematic research of the former friary buildings revealed a number of well-preserved archaeological complexes with rich archaeological material. These provided information about the construction phases of the former friary but also about the material culture connected to their activity as well as about the importance of the friary. The former friary buildings were mainly destroyed in the seventeenth century and they were reused as construction material for the new town wall. From the former friary only the church, the tower, the sacristy and partially the chapel were preserved as they were used by the protestant community as well.

The research resulted in a number of important information about the life and economic role of the friary. This is especially important as there is only scarce information regarding the economic role and adaptation of the Mendicant friaries to the east-central European urban and economic context.

When the Mendicants appeared in Transylvania, in the second half of the thirteenth century, the urban network was just in formation compared to the situation in Western Europe. Transylvanian and the Hungarian urban development were strongly connected. In Hungary the first urban settlements appeared around royal centers (Székesfehérvár, Esztergom), around the castle of the *comes* (leader of a county) or around ecclesiastic centers such as bishoprics. Similarly, the first urban settlements in Transylvania were formed around the castle of the *comes* or important religious centers. In the early eleventh-twelfth centuries important settlements emerged in the Mureş River valley, near the main trade route, in some of the former Roman towns, and where salt was transported from the royal mines to Szeged. In this regard the royal castle of Doboka was the only exception. The castle of Doboka was situated near the Someş river valley, in a remote hilly area and the settlement never had a proper economic background, it only had an administrative role. Doboka lost its importance by the early thirteenth century. On the other hand, Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg - built on the site of the former Roman town of Napoca), Turda (Torda, Thorenburg -

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<sup>1</sup> The systematic archaeological excavation at the site of the former Franciscan friary (presently a Calvinist church) started in 1999 under the supervision of Professor Adrian Andrei Rusu, from the Institute of Archaeology and Art History, Cluj.

built near the former Roman *castrum* of Potaissa), Orăștie (Szászváros, Broos) and the seat of the Transylvanian bishopric at Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár, Stuhlweisenburg - built on the former Roman *castrum* of Apulum) engaged in a significant development from the mid twelfth century. All these towns had Mendicant friaries from the thirteenth - early fourteenth centuries.

Besides the Roman background and the main trade routes the German colonization significantly expanded the Transylvanian urban landscape mostly in southern Transylvania. By the fourteenth century all of the important towns with royal privileges were of German or partly German background, like Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben), Brașov (Kronstadt, Brassó) or the mixed Hungarian - German Cluj. Their population was not more than fifteen thousand inhabitants. Among the mid size towns the domination of the German population was not so accentuated. Sighișoara (Schässburg, Segesvár), Mediaș (Mediasch, Medgyes), Bistrița (Bistritz, Beszterce), Sebeș (Mühlbach, Szászsebes) had German population, Orăștie, had a mixed German - Hungarian, while Turda, Alba Iulia, and Aiud (Nagyenyed, Strassbourg) were mainly Hungarian towns.

Among the market places, the situation is much more balanced, and besides the German and Hungarian presence these localities were inhabited by a Romanian population as well. The most important German markets were Rupea (Reps, Kőhalom), Agnita (Agnetheln, Szentágota), Râșnov (Rosenau, Rozsnyó), Cislădie (Heltau, Nagydisznód), the most important Hungarian markets were at Deva castle and its market bellow, Teiuș (Tövis - this market-town had a Romanian population as well), Dej (Dézs), Zalău (Zilah) and the Székely market towns. In the Székely region every seat had a market-town as its administrative center but out of the seven seats and three *filiis* only three had important market-towns in the Middle Ages, as follows: Țirgu Mureș (called *Novum Forum Siculorum* in the Middle Ages, Marosvásárhely, Neumarkt am Mieresch), Odorheiu Secuiesc (Székelyudvarhely) and Țirgu Secuiesc (Kézdivásárhely). The market towns were economically weaker, they had few privileges and they played an essential role in the urban network as secondary centers.

A last group of urban settlements is represented by the mining towns. The beginning of the modern mining, on a medieval scale, is

connected to the reign of Géza II.<sup>2</sup> In the mid twelfth century Rodna (Radna) was mentioned for the first time, located in the eastern Carpathians. Rodna was an important mining town until the fifteenth century. A larger number of mining towns were founded in the western Carpathians, Roşia Montană (Verespatak), Baia de Criş (Kőrösbánya), Abrud (Abrudbánya), etc., where mainly gold and silver were extracted. These mines functioned until the twentieth century and some of them are still in use. Nevertheless, they were situated in remote mountain areas so they could not develop into real urban centers. The only exception is the town of Baia Mare (Nagybánya, Frauenbach) situated to the north from Cluj at the feet of the Gutin Mountains on the main road between Cluj and Kassa (Košice). The vicinity of an important trade route and the gold and silver mining created an excellent environment for the urbanization, moreover a royal mint functioned in the town until the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Baia Mare was the administrative center of the gold and silver mining activity in Maramureş (Máramaros) region. Two smaller but important mining towns Cavnic (Kapnikbánya) and Baia Sprie (Felsőbánya)<sup>4</sup> and several smaller mining settlements belonged administratively to Baia Mare.

Although medieval Transylvania had a colorful urban network its economic power and development was less spectacular than that of the towns of Western Europe.

Only a few important towns had two or more Mendicant friaries. The Dominicans were much more active in the second half of the thirteenth century and managed to establish houses in most of the important urban or administrative centers. By the mid fourteenth century the Transylvanian Dominican network was completed, while the Franciscan network was just in formation. Even though the Franciscans appeared in the second half of the thirteenth century in Transylvania, their real expansion started just after they had obtained the support of the Hungarian king in the 1260's. In Transylvania, their friary network was in continuous development until the early sixteenth

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<sup>2</sup> György Székely, Antal Bartha, *Magyarország Története. Előzmények és Magyar Őstörténet 1242-ig* [The History of Hungary, Pre and Ancient Hungarian History until 1242] (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1984), pp. 1064, 1094, 1385.

<sup>3</sup> Samu Borovszky, 'Szatmár Vármegye' [Satu-Mare County] in *Magyarország Vármegyéi és Városai* [The Counties and Towns of Hungary] (Budapest: 1896), pp. 220-225.

<sup>4</sup> Baia Sprie (Felsőbánya) obtained its free mining town rights in 1374.

century. The early royal support of the Dominicans gave them an important advantage. It would be important to see the effects of the Mendicant presence on the development of the market towns (in a larger context on urbanization).

Regarding the economic power of the region, the Mendicants were forced from the very beginning to seek for new possibilities of income as the urban population and the donations were not always enough for the up keeping of their friaries. In this perspective, they looked for promising supporters among the nobility and in the emerging market towns. The economic situation influenced their site selection as well. In the early period, meaning the thirteenth century, friaries were founded only in German settlements. By the end of the thirteenth century the urban network was mainly formed, therefore the possible sites were quickly occupied by the two orders. Building friaries in market towns and rural settlements raised a number of questions connected to the income of the friaries.

The friaries founded in rural context were either situated on a main trade route or they had a very powerful private support. The disadvantage of the rural background was the instability of the income, the death of an important patron could change radically the financial support of a friary or the financial support of the followers, like in the case of Suseni (Marosfelfalu), or Albești (Fehéregyháza).<sup>5</sup> This is the reason why only few friaries survived in rural areas. (see the case of Șumuleu Ciuc, Csíksomlyó).<sup>6</sup>

After analyzing and comparing several Transylvanian friaries, one can say that almost each case is particular. Besides, the particular local conditions determined the trends that influenced the site selection and foundation procedures (trade routes, German colonization, urbanization). Even with favorable conditions, some friaries developed and became important centers, while some remained on a certain level. Each case is different and has a different story behind it. Here, I would like to analyze one particular friary from Transylvania.

The case of the Tîrgu Mureș friary (image 1) seems to be particular within the Franciscan network. The friary was located in a

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<sup>5</sup> At these friaries the lack of determination or the founder or the changes of the owner lead to the abandonment of the friary.

<sup>6</sup> The Csíksomlyó Franciscan friary became an important religious and educational center by the sixteenth century.

mid-size market town situated at a safe distance from the large urban settlements. The closest royal town Sighișoara was at fifty kilometers and the largest town Cluj was situated at one hundred kilometers distance. In the early phase, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the friary started its activity in a former manor house, that the order probably received from the king or from the Transylvanian Voivode (the king's local leader). The first construction phase can be dated after 1303,<sup>7</sup> when the first, still unidentified church and two wooden buildings, a warehouse and a manor house (later the friary building) were built (see below).

The second phase can be dated to the end of the fourteenth century. In this period the second church (today a Calvinist church), the sacristy and the northern wing was built. The third phase is connected to the observant Franciscan activity in the 1440's, when the 55 meter high tower was built. The last important construction period was in the 1480's when Transylvanian Voivode Stephen Báthory fortified the friary because of the approaching Turkish danger. Therefore, the Țirgu Mureș Franciscan friary had four major construction phases by the mid sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup> In the mid sixteenth century the whole town converted to Calvinism and the friary's buildings lost their original function. A smaller part of the buildings were used by the protestant school but the other buildings, except the church and the tower, were demolished in order to obtain construction material for the town walls. The foundation and evolution of a friary had several stages and the final result depended a lot on the financial support of the place, on the activity and importance of a friary, on the leaders of a friary, on the strategically important site selection and on the political support. In the case of the Țirgu Mureș friary one can follow the whole evolution process from the early wooden phase of a smaller foundation until the

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<sup>7</sup> István Botár, András Grynaeusz, Boglárka Tóth and Denis Walgraffe, 'Dendrokronológiai vizsgálatok a marosvásárhelyi vártemplomban', *Marisia* XXXIII (2013): 291-317.

<sup>8</sup> Zoltán Soós, 'A marosvásárhelyi ferences templom és kolostor. A ferences rend szerepe Marosvásárhely fejlődésében' [The Franciscan friary of Țirgu Mureș and the role of the friary in the urbanization of Țirgu Mureș] in *Arhitectura Religioasă Medievală din Transilvania* [Medieval Religious Architecture from Transylvania] (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2002) and 'The Franciscan friary of Țirgu Mureș and the Franciscan Presence in Medieval Transylvania', *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, 9 (2003): 249-75.

construction and fortification of a large religious, pilgrimage and economical center of regional importance.

The site of the former Franciscan friary was almost completely destroyed by later demolition but within the buildings we managed to identify few undisturbed areas. First, I would like to present the different archeological complexes in a chronological order.

The two fourteenth century buildings, in which the friary started its activity, were outside the area of the fifteenth century stone-built friary. The fourteenth century buildings were made of wood and there were no later constructions above them, therefore we could identify their structure and so the excavated archaeological material comes from a well-determined chronological period. This is important not only for the history of the friary but it reveals the process of the foundation of a friary in the late Middle Ages.

The first identified wooden building was the L1 (image 2). In 2005 we researched the northwestern corner of the fifteenth century friary and instead of the later friary structures we identified the foundation of the northern wall and a small plaza paved with stone. The northern wall was longer than the friary's courtyard (see the reconstruction of the friary above),<sup>9</sup> probably the Franciscans planned the construction of a western wing as well but for unknown reasons this was only partly materialized. Nevertheless, below the plaza marked with gray, we identified the traces of an earlier wooden building that perished in a fire. The wooden building's floor was dug in the yellow clay, the eastern side was 1 meter deepened into the soil while its western side was on the edge of the hill. The pit of the former building was filled up with the garbage resulted after the fire and it was never rebuilt. Therefore, all the material kept in the house remained below the ruins. This helped to establish an exact



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<sup>9</sup> The reconstruction of the Franciscan friary was made by Gergely Buzás, based on the results of the archaeological excavations and on the existing analogies.

chronology and to recover precious archaeological material. Inside the building we unearthed a large quantity of different types of seeds, pottery,<sup>10</sup> leather fragments and even carbonized fragments of wooden tableware such as bowls and cups. Based on the large amount of seeds (mainly grain)<sup>11</sup> and pottery material we presume that the burned wooden building served as a warehouse.

We have identified some of the architectural elements of the building and from one of the partly carbonized roof beams we managed to retrieve a sample for dendro-chronological analysis. The results of the analysis were more than satisfactory; we could establish that the oak tree was cut around the year 1303<sup>12</sup>. This means that the latest by 1305-6 the building was already standing. During the research of the eastern side of the building in the destruction layer we found a coin from the time of Charles Robert. With the help of the coin we could set the functioning interval of the warehouse between the years 1307 and the latest around 1350. The precise chronology of the building provided solid evidence in the dating of the bronze material as well. From the L1 warehouse we have two important bronze finds, the remains of a bronze bowl and a *stilus* (image 3).

The second complex named L3 was identified to the northeast from the Franciscan friary (image 4). It was excavated in 2009-2010 and it turned out to be the remnant of a cellar of the larger fourteen century friary building. This building was demolished during the mid-fifteenth century and its construction can be dated to the first half of the fourteenth century. The size of L3 was around 96 square meters; its southern wall was 8 meter long and its western wall was 12 meter long. L3 had a specific construction technique. On the bottom of the 2.5 meter deep cellar a 0.6 meter wide and 0.5 meter high stone wall was built using plaster composed from clay mixed with sand. The wooden wall was placed on the stone foundation. Inside the foundation four large

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<sup>10</sup> Zalán Györfi, 'Contribuții privind vesela ceramică medievală de la Tîrgu-Mureș-Cetate, sec. XIV-XV' [New data regarding the medieval pottery from the castle of Tîrgu Mureș, 14th-15th centuries] in G. Rădulescu - C. Gaiu (eds.), *Vasaria Medievalia* (Cluj-Napoca-Bistrița: 2008), pp. 224-246.

<sup>11</sup> Beatrice Ciută, 'Archeobotanical Results of Samples Recovered from the Archeological Site Tîrgu Mureș Fortress in 2006', *Marisia. Arheologie*, XXIX (2009).  
Idem. 'Archaeobotanical Analyses Carried on Macro-Remains from Tîrgu Mureș - Franciscan Friary', *Marisia. Arheologie*, XXX. (2010).

<sup>12</sup> Botár, Grynaeusz, Tóth, Walgraffe, *Dendrokronológiai*, pp, 291-317.



wood columns were placed at every three meters. These columns supported probably the upper structure. The L3 building was demolished, its material was reused at another construction and its cellar was filled up with the garbage of the friary. Based on the coin finds the last period when the L3 functioned could have been at the end of the fourteenth century dated by Louis the Great coins found on the cellar's floor. The place of the former cellar was filled up in approximately fifty years; the latest coins were from the mid fifteenth century. The filling of the cellar contained an enormous quantity of pottery, since the place served as a garbage pit after it was abandoned. We have found a large quantity of stove tiles, and animal bones, the garbage of a bone tool workshop that produced mainly rosaries, glass fragments, iron fragments and bronze material.

The bronze material found in L3 contains a number of special objects and tools such as a second fourteenth century *stilus*, snuffers, book cover ornament, thimble, needle, knife handle, clothing accessories etc. The large variety of bronze objects supplies a lot of information about the rich material culture of an important medieval friary. In case of other archaeological sites such a large variety is not characteristic. The most important bronze find from L3 is a so-called pointed oval (*vezica*) shaped fourteenth century seal. This unique find belonged to the guardian of the Győr (western Hungary) Franciscan friary (image 5). We can connect some of the finds to the activity of the friary or to another group of objects found here. For instance the large number of thimbles (ten) might be connected to the presence of shoemaker, tailor craftsmen or a bone workshop. The thimbles (image 6) were used during the sewing process. The presence of another *stilus* is also connected to the friary, where the friars copied codices and documents. The *stilus* was used for writing on wax boards. The book cover ornaments are again connected to the friary's life. Usually, larger friaries had a library, a compactor and a *scriptorium*, meaning a place, where the friars copied the manuscripts. The newly copied books received a cover and necessary bronze ornaments to protect them. The other objects were connected to everyday life and probably one can find them in the case of other medieval sites as well. The knife handles are very widespread but the candle trimmer fragment (image 7) from the early fifteenth century is again a rare piece.

The third important archaeological complex with a considerable number of finds was the cellar of the fifteenth century friary building. The late gothic construction was demolished in the early seventeenth

century but the filling contained several late medieval objects. The late gothic cellar had around 105 square meters, a little larger than the fourteenth century cellar. The filling of the cellar consisted mainly in demolition material from the friary's buildings therefore, the archaeological material was not so numerous. Nevertheless, it contained a number of unique and high quality finds, mainly renaissance stove tiles, but in the area of the former heating system we found a larger concentration of book covers. The bronze ornaments were found in ash and burned soil below the filling of the cellar composed of demolition material. Based on the powerful burnt traces on the floor of the cellar we could establish that the northern wing of the friary once burned down and it was reconstructed later. This circumstance let us believe that the *scriptorium* of the friary was among the heated parts of the buildings and it was destroyed in a fire together with the books.

In the demolition layers of the cellar there were only a few bronze objects, we found one more book cover ornament (image 8) and a few bronze fragments. The other bronze objects were identified accidentally or they were single finds thus, they could not be connected to a specific activity or friary building. Altogether we have found a very important bronze material among them several rare objects and some of them, such as the seal, are unique until now in medieval Hungary.<sup>13</sup> Based on the number of the finds and on the fact that we have identified several refuse materials it became evident that besides or connected to the friary a bronze workshop functioned. Written evidence mentions individual craftsmen within Mendicant friaries in Transylvania. The number of the finds at the Tîrgu Mureş friary raised further questions not only about the existence of individual craftsmen, but also about the existence of a workshop. It was clear that the workshop was not functioning within the friary's walls, so if it existed, it should have been somewhere outside the cloister. The breakthrough in the research was brought by the renovation of the Tîrgu Mureş castle from European funds. During the restoration we had the opportunity to research larger areas of the castle and of course the vicinity of the former friary. After the demolition of a military warehouse from the 1950's finally it was possible to research an area close to the northwestern corner of the former friary.

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<sup>13</sup> Two other seals were found in excavations in the Hungarian kingdom, one fourteenth century seal in Visegrád and one thirteenth century seal in the Pilis Cistercian monastery.

## **The Bronze Workshop**

In the previous years, we have discovered three wooden buildings north of the friary from different historical periods. The L1 and the L3 buildings were taken over by the friars in the early fourteenth century and initially these were a warehouse and a manor house. The L2 was a rather small wooden building used for storage and it was built in the fifteenth century beside the new large fifteenth century friary. Finally, in 2012 after the demolition of a warehouse built in the 1950's we identified the ruins of a brick and stone made house, the L7. First, we identified the eastern part of the building (image 9). Near the foundation a Ferdinand I. silver coin was found from 1557. The brick part of the building was erected after the mid sixteenth century that means it was built after the friary was closed. The western part of the L7, including the former street façade was excavated in 2013 (image 9). Although we have not identified further coins, architectural elements and the identified archaeological material indicated that the first part of the building was erected in the second half of the fifteenth century. Near the northern wall of the house we found stoves from the late fifteenth century, indicating that the upper part of the building had an elegant room furnished with a late gothic stove. The stove tile had a green glaze and it was closely related to the stoves identified within the friary's ruins (image 10). After the identification of the western façade we have found the traces of a late medieval road covered with round shaped river stones. The façade of the L7 was aligned with the western front of the church. The road came from the square from below the church and climbed to the western portal of the church. From the church it continued to the north. It is very likely that this was the Cosma (Kozma) street mentioned in an early seventeenth-century document, when the western town wall was built.

The stone and brick building were situated at 8 meters north from the northern wing of the friary. As described above, the L7 had two construction phases. In the first phase, a 6 meters long and 4.2 meters wide structure was built. The foundation and the cellar of the building were made of stone. The cellar had an entrance from the front, directly from the street. Presumably it had a protection roof above the stairs. It seems that from the medieval street level there were nine stairs, originally made of oak. On the northern wall of the cellar we have identified the traces of a niche used for lighting (candle or oil lamp.) While we were researching the cellar floor in the sixteenth century

extension of the building we identified the traces of a fifteenth century bronze furnace. Initially, the medieval furnace was situated 4 meters to the east from the building and it was destroyed, when the workshop was extended in the second half of the sixteenth century. We could identify only the bottom of the furnace, which was initially dug into the clay (image 11).

As the town dwellers converted to Protestantism by the mid-sixteenth century, the friars were expelled from the town by 1556. The bronze workshop continued its activity and moreover, the building was enlarged to the east. A 9.7 meters long and 4.2 meters wide extension was added, which had another side entrance from the south to the cellar. The house had a small room at the end of the cellar with unknown destination. At the middle of the cellar we have identified a small storage room dug into the floor of the cellar. The storage place was walled with brick and it was vaulted, therefore it kept a constant temperature. It had a small entrance near the southern wall. The storage place is 1,2m deep and it is 1,3 x 1,1m large (image 12).

The new furnace was built to 5 meters north of the house. The remnants of the sixteenth-seventeenth century furnace were identified in 2013. Within the furnace filling we found several pottery fragments as well as fragments of burned sandy clay that was used for moldings. Some of the molding fragments indicated that at least in the seventeenth century, the workshop produced bells as well since, one molding fragment comes from the rim of a larger bell (image 13).

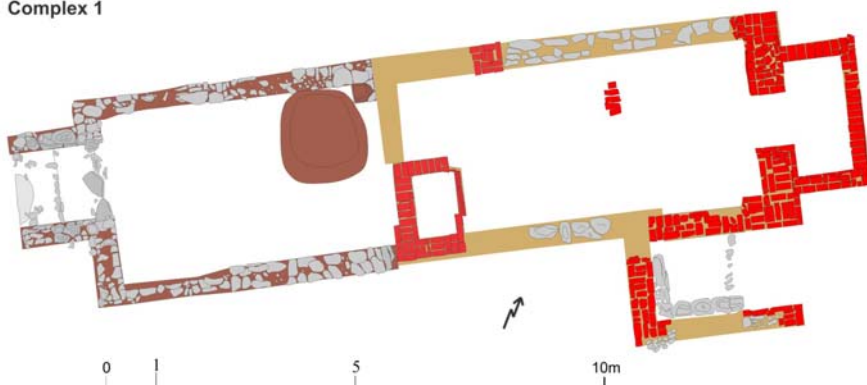
The L7 building had a full length of 15.7 meters after the mid sixteenth century extension. The building was in use until the early nineteenth century and it was demolished during a modernization work of the military unit inside the former city walls. The cellar was filled up with demolition debris that contained eighteenth and nineteenth century artifacts.

The construction found in the vicinity of the friary is a rare example of a medieval industrial monument. It is the only identified late medieval industrial building in Transylvania and its uniqueness is conferred by the fact that from the very beginning it was designed as a workshop. The fifteenth century construction phase follows the pattern of the late medieval urban houses with a cellar, a ground floor and probably one more level on the first floor. The entrance to the cellar on the front of the house is typical for these urban structures, while the access to the ground floor was on the southern side of the building after climbing a few stairs. In this regard it is a rare urban structure in the

Székely area<sup>14</sup> and for now it is the only medieval industrial monument unearthed in Transylvania.

Sector F - 2012

Complex 1



### The importance of the workshop

The brazier industry in the Middle Ages represented a high-tech occupation. One can find these kinds of workshops in important urban or royal centers. In Transylvanian Saxon towns several mentions exist about these workshops<sup>15</sup> and in some cases these were specialized in certain products (bells, canons, tools, etc.). In the case of Tîrgu Mureş we have identified a bronze workshop that functioned connected to a Franciscan friary in a market town. This is a unique pattern within Transylvania and there are only a few similar examples in medieval Hungary. From previous research, it became obvious that the Mendicant orders adapted their site selection and income policy to the different economic conditions encountered in central Europe.<sup>16</sup> The less developed urban structures and the mainly agrarian character of the central European kingdoms forced the Mendicants from the very beginnings to

<sup>14</sup> The Székely region was a privileged territory in eastern and south-eastern Transylvania inhabited by a population who in exchange of military services was free of tax payment and several other obligations towards the king or noblemen.

<sup>15</sup> Elek Benkő, *Erdély középkori harangjai és bronz keresztelőmedencéi* [Medieval Bells and Baptismal Fountains of Transylvania] (Budapest: Teleki László Foundation, 2002).

<sup>16</sup> Erik Fügedi, *Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek. Tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* [Mendicants, Burghers and Nobles. Studies concerning the Hungarian Middle Ages] (Budapest: 1981).

seek different income possibilities compared to the western part of the continent. Therefore, one can find several friaries supported by the royal court or the nobility and we know several examples, where the Mendicants were involved in agriculture, owned farms and tried to integrate in the economic life of local urban centers. This integration had different levels depending on the development of the host town. Within the royal towns of Transylvania the Mendicants had a few trained brothers in a certain craftsmanship and their activity meant extra income for the friary. In less developed market towns or in certain market towns that were far enough from the industrially developed royal towns, one could find not only individual craftsmen, but in certain cases entire workshops. These workshops not only brought extra income for the friary, but they were also very well integrated in the economic life of a certain region.

This was the also the case of *Tîrgu Mureş*, as it has already been mentioned, a mid-size market town situated far enough from the large royal towns with a developed, specialized industry, such as Cluj and the mid-sized Saxon town, *Sighişoara*. The distance from these urban centers was big enough to allow the foundation and the functioning of a specialized workshop connected to the friary. *Tîrgu Mureş* had three large annual fairs and it was the economic center of quite a large area. This geographic position and the distance from the royal towns created a gap in the supply of the important local market with specialized products such as bronze or bone items. This gap in the supply of the local market with certain products was observed by the local Franciscan community and they established new industrial enterprise in order to fulfill these needs. The *Tîrgu Mureş* friary developed several economic activities, becoming by the late fifteenth century one of the most important economic enterprises within the market town besides their spiritual role.

### **The Bronze material**

The bronze material discovered during the archaeological excavations at the Franciscan friary is composed of objects made of copper, plumb or tin alloy. The artifacts identified during the excavations may be grouped in three major categories.

The first category comprises the objects, which belonged to a specific activity of a friary like items belonging to book binding, seals, etc. The second group is formed by clothing accessories, while the third group contains different household tools. There is also a group of

unidentified objects. Within the three categories one can separate items that were produced in specialized local or other Transylvanian town workshops while the rest of the objects were probably imported. In this matter it is of great help the research of Elek Benkő on Transylvanian bronze workshops.<sup>17</sup> These workshops, besides smaller items, were specialized in producing bells, baptismal fonts and most probably from the late fifteenth century they produced weaponry consisting mainly of canons.

In order to classify the different bronze objects identified in the Tirgu Mureş friary and in order to establish a chronology it was of great help to use the analogies presented in the above mentioned book. It contains all the preserved medieval bells in Transylvania and also an excellent collection of the small decorative medallions from different chronological periods preserved on medieval bells. One can distinguish two major groups among the medallions; the first one represents the symbol of different pilgrimage places reused for a longer period within a bell founder workshop, while the second group is composed of book cover ornaments and of cloth or belt accessories. The medallions representing clothing accessories and book cover ornaments have a very wide variety both chronologically and typologically. In the medieval workshops they reused a number of bronze ornaments and in case of each bell or baptismal font we have a different set of decoration motifs. Several ornaments were used throughout generations and a certain set of symbols became the trademark of a workshop, therefore the production year of a bell can be misleading in the chronological determination of the decoration elements. Moreover, the set of symbols used on the bells can be misleading as well because they do not necessarily reflect the material produced in Transylvanian workshops. We have few written evidence regarding the mobility of the Transylvanian guild members. For example, in Sibiu the son of two different masters studied in Vienna and it is described, that when they returned they brought a number of special bronze items, belt and cloth ornaments, to use as bell or baptismal font ornament in their own workshop.<sup>18</sup>

The chronological horizon of the bronze objects identified at the excavation of the Franciscan friary was established based on the stratigraphy of the layers, on the analogies and based on the database of Transylvanian bells and baptistery fountains. Certain elegant ornaments such as book covers or belt buckles were reused for bell decoration even

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<sup>17</sup> Benkő, *Erdély középkori harangjai...*

<sup>18</sup> Benkő, *Erdély középkori harangjai*, p. 180.

after half a century.<sup>19</sup> A large part of the decorations were probably borrowed from the local goldsmith's workshops of the town and these decorative elements are usually chronologically closer to the production date of the bells. Nevertheless, these types of objects were only produced in larger centers and in specialized workshops. The simple bronze items could have been produced in the workshops of smaller towns as well. In this regard I would mention clothing accessories or household tools. It is more difficult to establish their production date but in case of the Tîrgu Mureş friary stratigraphy was of great help. In the following I will present the different categories of bronze objects from the Franciscan friary.

### Special objects

The first group of bronze finds is connected to the presence and the specific activity of the friary. In the case of larger medieval friaries it is very likely to find objects that can be linked to the profile and activity of the institution. During the excavation of similar sites depending on the importance of the place, objects that indicated different types of activity were found. It is very likely to find book cover ornaments as friaries and monasteries were the most important places of literacy for centuries. These institutions usually had smaller libraries; larger centers such as Tîrgu Mureş had *scriptoriums* and the necessary tools for book binding.

During the excavation we found 10 objects belonging to book binding. Among these, the most significant are a square shaped ornament representing a snake surrounding a staff, a perforated ornament representing a chalice surrounded with acanthus leaves, a book corner ornament and the rest was composed of buttons bronze made stripes and clamps. The cover ornaments have a different style, only the corner ornament and the ornament depicting a snake surrounding a staff could belong to the same book. The third casted ornament with a chalice in the middle belonged to a different cover. The ornaments we found are rather fragmentary so it would be very difficult to reconstruct a possible late medieval book cover.

The other special objects are rather rare, very specific and one of them is directly connected to the Franciscan order. During the excavations we have found two *stili* from the fourteenth century.<sup>20</sup> Both

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp. 174-176.

<sup>20</sup> The medieval *stilus* has a very wide typology, it was mainly used for writing on waxboards.



came from a closed context, one is dated to the first half of the fourteenth century, while the second is very likely from the fourteenth century, but it was identified in a garbage pit from the first half of the fifteenth century. The first *stilus* is elaborate, elegant, it has an octagonal shape and it narrows towards the pin part. It has a rounded end, small, but thick spatula shape with two half-moon carvings at the base. A small carved line is the mark between the spatula end and the octagonal body of the *stilus*. Its head is again separated by two small ring decorations from the body followed by a 0,5 cm pin. The *stilus* is approximately 6 cm long. It was found in an early fourteenth century layer dated with the help of dendro-chronological analysis of a beam (1303-1304)<sup>21</sup> and a Charles Robert coin (1342). The layer was identified in an approximately 100 square meter storage building (L1, see fig 2), which burned down sometimes in the mid fourteenth century. Based on the style and rarity of the *stilus* it is a unique find in the fourteenth century Hungarian kingdom. The second *stilus* was identified in building L3 in the filling of a former cellar. It is 15 cm long, its spatula is 3,5 cm long and 1,5 cm wide, the other side ends in a pin. Compared to the other *stilus* this is a simple piece without any decoration. Based on the filling of the cellar, the *stilus* was lost or thrown out sometimes in the early fifteenth century. The layer contained coins from King Louis the Great (1342-1382) and from King Sigismund of Luxemburg (1395-1437). Therefore, the second *stilus* is again a fourteenth century item and against the very small number of the preserved medieval *stili* we have to say that in a larger friary with scriptorium it is very likely that there were a larger number of *stili* made of bronze or bone in use, but until the present day very few medieval friaries were thoroughly excavated in central Europe. We believe that the *stilus* was used in everyday life in teaching activities or even in daily recordings of the friary. Important friaries worked like charter houses, they copied documents, they wrote letters and they were involved in trials.

We have identified two rings from the late medieval - early modern period. The first one is probably a private seal ring from the late fifteenth century having a small oval shaped top decorated with a symbol in the middle surrounded by small semicircles. The body of the ring has a simple decoration composed of lines carved on the surface. The ring was made from a single bronze piece. The second ring is from

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<sup>21</sup> Botár, Grynaeusz, Tóth, Walgraffe, *Dendrokronológiai*, pp. 291-317.

the mid sixteenth century and it has two parts, the top of the ring and the body. The body is a simple bronze ring without any decoration, the top is larger and its central part has a solar symbol decoration surrounded by semicircles placed along the edges.

A separate group of objects are the balance weights used probably in commerce. As the friary was actively involved in the local economy and maintained a bronze workshop, bone carving workshop and very probably a butchery it is very likely that the Franciscans were involved in the local commerce as well. This is proved by the balance weights identified during the excavations of the friary. Moreover on the cap of a balance weight set we have identified the coat of arm of the Saxon city of Braşov (image 13). Connected to the trade, in 2014 we have identified a very specific lead seal that was used in the textile trade. On the seal one can see the coat of arm of the German city of Ulm (image 14). This means that the friary deposited and probably bought for the local needs import textile, the seal was broken only after it arrived to the friary. The friary therefore deposited precious goods as well and they could sell both the raw material and readymade clothes as well. As we have data about friars specialized in craftsmanship, shoemakers and tailors, it is very likely that they could made clothes for the needs of the town dwellers. The bronze workshop produced the buckles and other accessories and ornaments for the clothes increasing the income sources and of course the quality of the services.

### The Medieval Seals

The most important bronze finds from the excavation are two seals from the fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The fourteenth century seal was identified in the filling of the L3 building's cellar in cassette C 30, □3/a at 1,40 m depth. It has a pointed oval (almond-like) shape representing Saint Elisabeth holding a fish in her right hand (image 5).<sup>22</sup> The figure of the saint has a large crown on her head that fills the upper part of the seal. The figure of the saint stands in contra post and she holds her mantle in the left hand. Usually, the main accessories of Saint

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<sup>22</sup> St. Elisabeth embraced the penitential way of life that would become the hallmark of the Franciscan Third Order. The Franciscan Tertiaries lived in convent-type houses under a rule – usually *Supra montem* with some added constitutions and did not have a common distinctive habit before the formation of the unified Third Order Regular.

Elisabeth on medieval representation are the loaf of bread in one hand and a plate or jar in the other hand, also holding a fish in her hand, offering her gown or clothes to the poor referring to the miracle of the mantle, representation with roses in her lap referring to the miracle of the roses.<sup>23</sup> Among these, the representation with the loaf of bread and the miracle of the mantle are probably the most often used accessories, while the representation with a fish is less used in medieval iconography.<sup>24</sup>

The central field is surrounded by two pearl-like stripes that contain the inscription around the figure of the saint. The inscription made possible the exact identification of the origin of the seal. The first letter is an S followed by a dot and it is the abbreviation of Sigillum. After S(igillum) one can read the word GARDIANI that directly connects the seal to the mendicant orders because only they had guardians as leaders of a friary. On the other half of the seal the first letter is an abbreviated E that is the first letter of the guardians name followed by the inscription IAURINUM which offers the exact place of the friary in the town of Győr in western Hungary.

The detailed analysis of the seal revealed a number of elements. Among these, the most important are the letter types used on the seal, which based on analogies are characteristic for the mid-fourteenth century. These show similarities with the letters used on the seal of the chapter of Csázma and Zagreb.<sup>25</sup> Another important detail in the chronological identification is related to the background ornament formed by rhomb shaped net with a dot in the middle. Exactly the same motif one can see on the Zagreb seal but it was the late Anjou period in the Hungarian kingdom, when this type of decoration was widely used. On more elaborate seals instead of the dot-like decoration one can see different ornaments such as the lily.<sup>26</sup> Based on the existing medieval Hungarian ecclesiastic church seal collection presented in the book of Imre Takács, it is clear that most of the preserved seals were made earlier in the thirteenth, first half of the fourteenth centuries and that the

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<sup>23</sup> Ottó Gecser, *Aspects of the Cult of St. Elisabeth of Hungary with a Special Emphasis on Preaching, 1231-1500c.* Phd thesis, Appendix 3, Central European University Budapest, 2007.

<sup>24</sup> See the catalogue compiled by Ottó Gecser.

<sup>25</sup> Imre Takács, *A Magyarországi Káptalanok és Konventek Középkori Pecsétjei* [The Medieval Seals of the Hungarian Convents and Chapter Houses] (Budapest: MTA, 1992), pp. 42, 99.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

material from the second half of the fourteen century does not offer very good analogies. It is very likely, that for further and more exact results one should research the Austrian or German ecclesiastic seals from the same period. Taking into account the vicinity of Győr to the Austrian border and its large German population it seems logical that most probably the seal was made by a foreign goldsmith workshop like Vienna.

A last and important element that helps the chronological identification of the Győr seal is the representation of the figure of Saint Elisabeth. The mantle of the saint is arranged in wimples, it covers her left shoulder, where she seems to have a larger cloth buckle. The wimples are more accentuated on her shoulder, her hip seems to be a little wider and her mantle is elegantly stretched at her knees. The way of arranging the mantle and the almost S like contra post of the saint's figure, based on the analogies<sup>27</sup> indicates that the seal was probably made in the second half of the fourteenth century.

Gathering the three essential chronological elements the possible production date of the seal was very likely the second half of the fourteenth century. The filling of the cellar can be dated to the mid-fifteenth century based on the large number of coins. This means that after a few decades of use the seal was lost or intentionally thrown in the garbage after the death of the guardian of the Győr Franciscan friary. We know from documents that guardians of friaries were sent to analyze the activity of the friaries in different districts and with the occasion of the local assemblies. The presence of the seal of the Győr guardian shows that he was here in an official mission and it also means that important delegations were sent from remote friaries in order to obtain an objective description of an important friary or of a region. This is one of the possible explanations on how the seal of the guardian of the Győr friary was brought to Tîrgu Mureş.

A smaller seal was dated to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, found in the filling of the stone cellar built in the early fifteenth century. It was found in C23 at the depth of 1, 5 m in square 1/d. The seal has an octagonal shape with four longer and four

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<sup>27</sup> Regarding the iconographical representation, for the clothing the most relevant analogies are from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, see the statues of the Buda castle or the Madonna statues from Toporc (Slovakia) and Cîsnădioara (Kisdisznód, Romania) in the collection of Hungarian National Museum. Ernő Marosi (ed.), *Magyarországi Művészet 1300-1470 körül* [Hungarian Art Around 1300-1470] (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1987), pp. 362, 388, 390.

shorter sides. Its handle is narrowed until its end, formed by a larger buckle and it probably hanged on its owner's neck. On the seal one can see a moving lion raising its front right leg placed in a heraldic shield. The lion shows its tongue and it has a raised tail. Above the shield there is a small separated field with two initials G D (image 15). These two letters probably refer to the first letters of the owner's name. The whole representation and the letters are surrounded by a decoration composed of a pearl row. Based on the shape, size and characteristics of the seal, it belonged very likely to a nobleman. On the basis of its shape and the letter types, the seal can be dated to the mid-sixteenth century and it was lost or thrown out during the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Unfortunately, the coat of arms and the initials are still unknown. Therefore, we could not identify the seal's owner.

### **Clothing Accessories**

The second group of objects are the clothing accessories. We have several local or regional products such as belt ornaments, buttons, pendants and buckles. Among these we have a few belt ornaments produced probably in a specialized workshop and one trefoil shaped cloth buckle (image 16). The belt ornament is pin pointed at one of its edges and it was positioned at the end of the belt. It is lavishly decorated with leaves. The belt buttons have an octagonal shape with a convex middle part and with four claws on the back side. The cloth buckle is rather rare, we only have around five similar pieces found in Transylvanian excavations. The buckle had a decoration made with incision and it followed the pattern of the late gothic buckles produced in north of Europe. The incision tries to follow the shape of letters and leaves.

An interesting decoration element is a bronze pendant, its upper part is triangle-shaped, it ends in a hook, its lower part is square-shaped and it has a small plate attached with three nails. It seems that the pendant, together with other pendants was attached to a leather belt and then hanged on someone's cloth as decoration. The rest of the bronze pieces are simple buttons and belt buckles.

### **Household accessories**

The third group is composed of bronze objects used in households or in everyday life. Most of the objects from this category were identified in the building L3, that is the cellar of the early fourteenth century friary

building, used as garbage pit after the demolition from the early fifteenth century. Among the most interesting objects was the lower part of a candle trimmer composed of two spatula shaped sides and the large number of thimbles was noticeable. We found ten thimbles and five out of them were identified in L3. The thimbles could be connected to the activity of tailors and shoemakers. Within the excavation we identified about fifteen bronze needles that were connected to the above mentioned jobs. Another special object is a tweezers identified in the area of the western wing of the friary, where the medieval kitchen functioned (image 17).

A separate group of the household tools are the fragments from cutlery and tableware. Among these one can find knives, forks and bronze made knife or spoon handles. We found different types of handles and few accessories such as a bronze petal from the end of a handle. The more complex pieces were produced in specialized workshops just as the casted bronze handle (image 18) or we have a number of imported knife handles from Steyr or Nürnberg workshops in large number. These handles have a special cover from bronze plate combined with animal bone. The bronze plate was often decorated with vegetal ornaments. The elegant handles have a widened crown like ending (image 19). Another interesting bronze piece identified during the excavation is a bronze fishing hook. The hook is 5,7 cm long and it has no beard at its end.

## Conclusion

The bronze finds from the Tîrgu Mureş Franciscan friary are very important and relevant to understand the regional connections of a friary and the middle-sized market town. A number of bronze items found at the friary's excavation are mainly connected to the wealth and possibilities offered by a mid-size market town in central Europe, but there are also objects directly connected to different activities of a large Franciscan friary. With the comparison of the objects found at the friary and the material identified through the research of the medieval bells and baptismal fonts produced in the workshops of the larger Transylvanian Saxon towns one can see the differences in its content and decoration. Benkő's work revealed that most of the ornamental material used at the bell foundries was a specific collection partly brought from

abroad<sup>28</sup> and partly gathered from the local goldsmith workshops that cooperated with the foundries. While the ornamental material of the bell foundries was mainly composed of elegant clothing accessories (belt buckles, discs, pressed plates or clothing ornaments) and book cover ornaments, the bronze material of the friary contained a large number of objects connected to everyday life activities such as bone carving workshop, horse accessories, fishing, tableware (knife and spoon handles), local commerce (weight balance) and only a smaller part of the friary's material was composed of ornamental clothing and book binding accessories. We found similarities between the ornamental discs used in the foundries and between the diadem discs found in the friaries cemetery, in grave M52 (image 20),<sup>29</sup> but these similarities are again very general. The symbols on the diadem like the Anjou lily and the running deer are widely used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The symbols on the discs are not closely related to the ornaments used in the Transylvanian foundries and they were probably produced in the central part of the Hungarian kingdom. Their close analogies are to be found in the Cuman cemeteries of the great Hungarian plane<sup>30</sup> and in today's Slovakia in the medieval cemetery of Nyitrazobor.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, the ornamental elements from the friary were more likely produced in the region; while the bell foundries gathered specific material from abroad as well. Therefore, we have only few similar items in the two materials. In the foundries some ornaments were used for generations and each generation added new ornaments and medallions to the collection therefore it is possible to identify the origin of the bells based on the ornaments and letter types used in a workshop. It became clear that the foundries were closely connected to the goldsmiths, carpenters, engravers and sculptors from where they obtained a part of the ornaments or they remade the used ornaments.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Benkő, *Erdély középkori harangjai*, p. 182.

<sup>29</sup> Soós, 'Burials in the Tîrgu Mureş Franciscan Friary - A Fourteenth Century Burial With Diadem', *Marisia XXX* (2010).

<sup>30</sup> Gábor Hatházy, *A Kunok Régészeti Emlékei a Dunántúlon* [The archaeological traces of Cumans in Transdanubia], Hungarian National Museum, 2004.

<sup>31</sup> Alexander T. Ruttikay, 'A Szlovákiai templom körüli temetők régészeti kutatásáról' [About the research of the Slovakian church cemeteries] in *Opuscula Hungarica VI. A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása* (Budapest: MNM, 2005), pp. 31-57.

<sup>32</sup> Benkő, *Erdély középkori harangjai*, pp. 183-184.

An important aspect of the bronze material recovered from the excavations is the large variety of fragments and raw material such as bronze wires and plates. We have one direct source regarding the *scriptorium* of the friary from 1522, but based on the archaeological evidence the book copy workshop could have functioned at least from the second half of the fourteenth century. Based on the finds, except the high quality book cover ornaments, a number of binding elements such as bronze stripes, hooks, buckles were produced in a workshop that functioned connected to the friary. Besides the debris material we have a number of spoiled objects and more important we found several dross fragments and raw bronze. All these finds and the identification of the building with the medieval furnace indicate that a workshop functioned at the Tîrgu Mureş friary, where they produced different types of bronze objects such as needles, book cover accessories and possibly simple cloth accessories. The existence of the workshop is proved by the large number of debris and spoiled objects found in the garbage of the friary. Most of the fragments were found in the demolished L3 buildings cellar, in the burned warehouse L1 and in the filling of the fifteenth century cellar. Moreover, the presence of bronze dross proves that the workshop produced bronze castings as well. On the location of the sixteenth-seventeenth century furnace we have found fragments of bell moldings. It is not excluded that workshop produced bells in the medieval times as well. Besides the bone carving workshop, the bronze workshop is the second type of manufacture that we could prove with the help of archaeology.

Regarding the workshops, we found important data about the activity of the Transylvanian bronze foundries. Besides producing bells in case of need they produced a number of special objects such as weight balance and probably bronze bowls and three legged pots (*grappe*), canons, etc. We have at the friary a number of specific objects such as candle trimmer, bronze pot leg, fragments of bronze bowls, two *stili*, several thimbles and we believe that all these products, except maybe the elegant *stilus*, were produced in the Saxon towns of Transylvania in Sibiu, Braşov or possibly in the local friary workshop.

The difference between the ornamental objects found in the friary and used in the bronze foundries can be explained by the nature of the friary's material that came from many different sources through the wide range of donations and pilgrimage, so it is almost impossible to establish the direct source. There are two exceptions, the seal of the Győr



Franciscan friary's guardian, which was probably produced in one of the workshops of the western side of the Hungarian kingdom (Pozsony, Buda) or in the nearby Vienna and the top of a balance weight with the heraldic symbol of Braşov (image 13).

The bronze material of the friary identified during the archaeological excavations offers important data regarding the richness of medieval Transylvanian material culture and about the intensity of the commercial relations. A number of objects such as the knife handles (Styria, Nürnberg), diadem discs (central Hungary), seal (western Hungary) arrived here either through commerce or through the specific Franciscan activity. In this matter the material is unique because it is composed of objects with lay as well as religious background and it reflects how the presence of an important ecclesiastic establishment influenced the material culture, and also the connections of the town dwellers with the outside world.

The Tîrgu Mureş Franciscan friary is the first from Transylvania where the existence of workshops was proved, which functioned in the vicinity and were connected to the friary. Most probably these fulfilled the needs of the population of the market town and were maybe even sold on the market and to the pilgrims. Therefore, the workshops offered an important income for the friary and one might expect further discoveries to prove the existence of similar workshops at the sites of other large friaries as well. This kind of economic activity was very profitable if we think about the large and stabile number of customers, the needs of the friary, the inhabitants of the region and the pilgrims.

Last, but not least, it is very important to realize the impact and influence of a large friary on the development of a market town, not just on spiritual and architectural level, but also from economic and industrial point of view. In this regard the importance of the friary was even higher. The bronze workshop functioned after the religious reform as well, until the eighteenth century. Therefore one can witness the direct influence of a friary on the local industry, even when the town became protestant. The former workers and specialists of the workshop remained in the town, they founded families and they also transferred the knowledge connected to a high-tech industry for the next generations. In this regard, with the help of the Franciscan friary, a new type of industry appeared in the market town and contributed to the economic development of the town for centuries. These archaeological discoveries shed a new light on the importance of these large medieval

Mendicant enterprises, which proved to be much more complex units than we believed before. These results prove the assumptions made by Erik Fügedi in the 1970's about the role and importance of Mendicant friaries in the urbanization process in the late medieval Hungarian kingdom.



*Fig.1.* The ground plan of the friary with the first church (later chapter house) and the wooden buildings.



Fig. 2. The fortified Franciscan friary in the late fifteenth century.



*Image 1.*



*Image 2.*



*Image 3.*



*Image 4.*





*Image 5.*



*Image 6.*



*Image 7.*



*Image 8.*



*Image 9.*



*Image 10.*





*Image 11.*



*Image 12.*



Image 13.



Image 14.



Image 15.



Image 16.



Image 17.



Image 18.



*Image 19.*



*Image 20.*