

**MORPHOLOGICAL STUDY OF HUNGARIAN VILLAGES**  
**(TWO CASE STUDIES)**

by

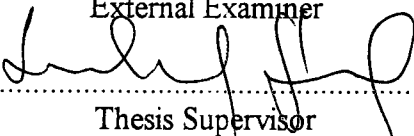
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**from Hungary**

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in Medieval Studies to the Central European University, Budapest, June, 1995.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

  
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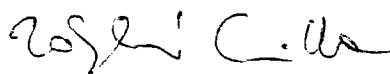
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**Declaration:**

I, the undersigned Csilla Zatyko, candidate for the M. A. degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others and no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 15 June, 1995.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Csilla Zatyko'.

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## Introduction

As studies in recent decades have refined the picture of medieval settlement forms,<sup>1</sup> morphological and topographical approaches<sup>2</sup> gained a greater importance in archaeological as well as historical research. However, as it is in the case of many problems, it is difficult to decide whether the application of these methods, or the results of studies on settlement forms, served as a starting point for reconsideration of the relationship between the former typology and the reality of the Middle Ages. While, the view of a wide variety and complexity of villages originated from Great Britain during the 50s and became generally accepted in Western Europe, in Hungary no serious attempts were made to test the validity of the strict system of village types established in the 60s.

The present study aims at, on the one hand, demonstrating how models of two reconstructed village forms might be used to provide a basis for new interpretation of Hungarian settlement typology, and on the other hand at introducing methods based on historical, archaeological, historical geographical and ethnographical evidences whose usage can cast some light on the inner structure of medieval Hungarian villages.

Because of the often fragmentary nature of information and the complex interrelationships that make up the forms of villages, this research requires the synthesis of results, methods and sources of different disciplines. The method applied in the thesis consist of two stages. After making reconstruction of the village pattern relying upon historical, archaeological, historical geographical and ethnographical evidences, we will analyse the image of the settlement and draw further conclusions concerning the structure of the inner area and land usage.

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<sup>1</sup> See: Chapter 1.

<sup>2</sup> By morphological approach we mean the study of observing and systematizing the different forms of settlements which gives an overall system concerning the varieties of their physical appearance. The term of topographical method is used in the sense of a method that sets out from the form and structure of a given settlement and draws conclusions with regard to its history.

The sources of the research are also taken from different branches of science. Regarding Csepely (county Somogy), the reconstruction is mainly based on the topographical description of its division charter from 1412; however, early maps, historical geographical evidences, observations taken in the landscape and ethnographical analogies are used as well. In the case of Mogyoróska (county Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén) - because of the lack of satisfactory historical documents - above all archaeological surveys, aerial photos, supplemented by information of early maps and ethnographical evidences serve as basis for the analysis.<sup>3</sup>

The possible results of the present work are limited since the images of the medieval villages consist only of fragments of information. Nevertheless, the available sources allow us to give at least a general, but in the case of some elements, even more detailed reconstructions of the two settlements.

Although, the present thesis must be considered to be an initial insight to the problem of the complexity of Hungarian villages, the outcome of our work is an encouragement to expect additional results from the further development of the subject. More detailed studies of this type on different regions and on villages with different social and economic background might give new insights into the research of settlement history as well as village typology.

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<sup>3</sup> For more detailed information about the sources see the first sub-chapter of sections concerning the given villages.

## 1. State of research

### 1.1. Approaches to the research of villages

The purpose of the present chapter is not to mention all the studies that related to the morphological method, but to sketch the main lines of its development. In the approaches to settlement morphology a significant process can be followed from a strict, reduced classification towards a flexible, descriptive usage of the different types.

Regarding medieval villages in most of the European countries, the subject of their morphology was taken up by the post-war generation. In Great Britain, the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group (D.M.V.R.G.) founded in 1952 by Maurice Beresford and John G. Hurst, aimed at building up a central file on deserted sites with map references, documentary sources and sketch plans drawn in the field. The result, up to the 1950s, was a huge collection of information on deserted settlements all over Great Britain.<sup>4</sup> Beside making a list of villages, the Group intended to investigate archaeological surveys on medieval villages. The first and prominent excavation took place in Wharram Percy from the early 1950s and became a model for its methodology and complexity in the field of settlement archaeology. Maurice Beresford, as he recounts in his book on village plans in 1958, during the work on this representative collection became skeptical about any classification of villages and questioned: "whether any system can ever be realistic enough to aid historical research".<sup>5</sup>

Despite scepticism of scholars about the connection between any typology and the immense diversity of village types in the landscape, the Britain, Scandinavian and French research have succeeded in distinguishing three main categories for village structures. First, the street villages where one or two rows of tofts lie on one or both sides of the street, second, the villages with green in which an open space of common

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<sup>4</sup> M. Beresford, *The Lost Villages of England* (London, 1954)

<sup>5</sup> M. Beresford - J.K.S. St. Joseph, *Medieval England: An Aerial Survey* (Cambridge, 1958) 126.

land (square, green or a wide road) is surrounded by buildings or tofts and finally, the agglomeration villages with rather complex intersecting street plans.<sup>6</sup>

Mention should be made of the early German interpretations, especially because their categories served more or less as a starting point for Hungarian historical research. Rudolf Koetzschke, developing the main types of August Meitzen's work on German settlement and agriculture<sup>7</sup>, came up with very detailed, systematically built up typology.<sup>8</sup> In general, his system consists of three basic forms with at least four sub-types of each. The basic types can be defined as follows: *Einzelsiedlung* (farmsteads, estates); *Mehrzellige Siedlung* (group settlement) and *Komplexformen* (complex forms).<sup>9</sup> The forms more or less compatible with English terminology occupy the second category as sub-types.<sup>10</sup> The *Haufendorf* is an irregular, group settlement; the *Platz-, Angerdorf* represents villages with green; the *Strassendorf*, *Gassendorf* and *Wegzeile* for the street villages; and the *Streusiedlung*, as scattered settlements. Although Koetzschke worked out an elaborated system of settlement structures and introduced the category of complex settlement, his theory has not encouraged research to move towards a more flexible typology.

Less complex but more influential for Hungarian research was the typology created by Wilhelm Abel in the 1960s.<sup>11</sup> Both the inhabited and the cultivated area of the village were studied and, thus, he formed eight main types, namely *Haufendorf*, *Einzelhöfe*, *Rundling*, *Weiler*, *Angerdorf*, *Straßendorf*, *Marschhufendorf* and *Waldhufendorf*. From the 1970s a new trend in German research, the Genetische Siedlungsforschung, called attention to settlement development as a process and the different village types as its results.

<sup>6</sup> J.C.R. Fossier, *The Village and House in the Middle Ages* (London, 1985) 182-187.

<sup>7</sup> A. Meitzen, *Siedlung und Agrarwesen der Westgermanen und Ostgermanen, der Kelten, Römer, Finnen und Slawen* 3 vols. (Berlin, 1895)

<sup>8</sup> R. Koetzschke, *Ländliche Siedlung und Agrarwesen in Sachsen* (Remagen/Rhein, 1953)

<sup>9</sup> For detailed description of the types see: Koetzschke, *Ländliche* 191-202.

<sup>10</sup> There are difficulties in making compatible the German terminology with the English one because they are referring to different historical backgrounds and even to different systems of typologies.

<sup>11</sup> W. Abel, *Geschichte des deutschen Landwirtschaft vom frühen Mittelalter bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, (Stuttgart, 1967) 71-75.

With regard to English towns, in the 1960s M.R.G. Conzen considered the different topographical elements to be stages of town development and was one of the first scholars to look for different settlement forms and types within the town.<sup>12</sup> Brian K. Roberts, developing the mentioned idea of Conzen and trying to produce a valuable classification for the large variety of villages, invented a new way of using the typology.<sup>13</sup> In his opinion, the different categories are supposed to form, on the one hand, a unified, comparative classification and, on the other hand, a more flexible, descriptive system than the former typology. Instead of a strict classification, he suggested the cautious treatment of morphology.

There are two main types of village forms in his concept, the row plans and the agglomerations. Both of the categories have sub-types according to their degree of regularity and the existence or absence of an integral or internal green. He emphasises that one category is rarely able to describe a complete village, but only a part of it. Consequently, many settlements whose characteristics overlap many types, are found between the different categories and, at the same time, many of the villages are made up of two or more simple types and their stages. Roberts developed the theory further. Many problems arose in relation to the systematization in his book.<sup>14</sup> In his view, the village shape is considered to be the end-product of centuries of development and contains all the changes from different periods. Thus, the present image of the settlement can be used as a source of the village process.

Equally importantly, Roberts raised the "problem of time", meaning that a given source shows the settlement at a certain period in time and the expansion, shrinkage, abandonment or resettling of a village can be retraced with difficulty. What is more important, because of the transitions during the centuries, the village plan could change from one type to another. After raising this problem, he added a new aspect to his

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<sup>12</sup> M.R.G. Conzen, "The Use of Town Plans in the Study of Urban Geography" in: ed. H. J. Dyos, *The Study of Urban History* (London, 1968) 113-130.

<sup>13</sup> B. Roberts, "Rural Settlement: An Historical Perspective" *Historical Geography Research Series* 9. (1982) 3-45.

<sup>14</sup> B. Roberts, *The Making of the English Village. A Study in Historical Geography* (Harlow, 1987)



typology, the so-called temporal dimension. In short, "... villages do not merely exist, they are in movement through the time from uncertain origins to uncertain future..."<sup>15</sup>

In Roberts's work "Rural Settlement in Britain",<sup>16</sup> environmental and demographic conditions and lack or existence of feudal lordship are mentioned as potential influences on the settlement structure. In spite of the fact that these phenomena are connected with certain physical forms, he warned that careful examination in all individual cases is necessary.

In the research of the field systems a similar development is noticeable. F. Seebohm and P. Vinogradoff,<sup>17</sup> at the turn of the century, established two different categories of field systems, the Saxon and the Celtic type. In the 1910s four regional sub-types (Midland type, that is the two- and threefield system; the system with irregular fields; East Anglian system; Kentish system; Lower Thames system) were added to the former classification by H. L. Gray.<sup>18</sup>

In 1964, J. Thirsk argued with Gray's typology on the basis of regional groups.<sup>19</sup> She sketched a general process of the field systems. Under the pressure of rapid population growth that occurred in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries in England, the arable lands expanded to the detriment of pastures. This led to the practice of stubble grazing over the arable lands after harvest. As a result, the village community needed not only control over the common grazing but over the cropping too. Such grazing and cropping control was the starting point of institution of two- and three-field system. She asserted that the differences between field organizations reflected the availability of resources, and the necessity for a more efficient form of cultivation. In essence, the various field systems are stages along the same line of development rather than organizations determined by a given historical culture.

<sup>15</sup> Roberts, *The Making* 25.

<sup>16</sup> B. Roberts, *Rural Settlement in Britain* (Folkestone, 1977) 122-128.

<sup>17</sup> F. Seebohm, *The English Village Community* (London, 1890); P. Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*, (Oxford, 1892)

<sup>18</sup> H. L. Gray, *English Field Systems* (Cambridge, 1915)

<sup>19</sup> J. Thirsk, "The Common Fields" *Past and Present* 29 (1964) 3-29.

In their work, R. H. Butlin and R. A. Baker<sup>20</sup> also debate Gray's regional groups. They recognize that most of the field systems can not be described by the criteria whether there is control over the fields or not, because the controlled fields divided into parcels and the enclosed lands held in severalty often existed together within a village territory. Consequently, the systems were so rich in varieties that the different cases can not be distinguished by using the regional types. H. S. A. Fox points out that, even within the Midland area - characterized as a territory of the "classic" two- and three field system - can be found smaller regions with different land usages because of their special demographical and economic conditions.<sup>21</sup>

By synthetizing former studies, R. A. Dodghson developed a new kind of typology. In his theory the characteristic features of field systems have become categories.<sup>22</sup> He gives six types of the field systems on the basis of three main viewpoints. Firstly, the regularity or irregularity, depending on how adjusted the parcel division is, secondly, the partiality or completeness according to the size of the sub-divided fields of the village township. Two sub-types of partial type can be identified. In the first one the sub-division represents only a few scattered furlongs. In the second one the inner core of the village territory is laid out into sub-divided fields but not the enclosures that surround it. Thirdly, the classification differentiates between fields which don't belong to the sub-divided territory but are under a kind of common control and not sub-divided fields held and ruled by severalty. In essence, the theoretical basis of his theory is that classification is not the aim of morphology, but it should be used as a tool to create a more suitable description of settlements. Accordingly, Dodghson considers the various types of field systems as ways of perceiving the local effects of different economic, demographic or environmental changes.

We saw how village ground plan and field system studies using both ground and historical evidences, can contribute to an undersatnding of complexity of settlements and

<sup>20</sup> A. R. H. Baker - R. A. Butlin, *Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1973)

<sup>21</sup> H.S.A. Fox, "The people of the Wold in English Settlement History" in: ed. M. Aston - D. Austin - C. Dyer, *The Rural Settlements of Medieval England* (Oxford/Cambridge, 1989) 77-101.

<sup>22</sup> R. A. Dodghson, *The Origin of British Field Systems: An Interpretation* (London, 1980)

how they attempt to challenge the traditional approach to typology as well. After having a look into the foreign research, in this connection it is useful to make some observations considering Hungarian studies.

## 1.2. State of Hungarian research and its tendencies

Before starting this discussion, it is essential to see which disciplines deal with the problem of settlement structure. This can be very profitable not only from the point of view of the state of research, but it might also casts some light on the nature of morphological research. In Hungary four branches of science are interested in the field, namely history, historical geography, ethnography and archaeology.

To begin with, the majority of ethnographic works concentrate on studying settlement forms within the territory of Hungary. Consequently, the system of typology established by ethnography, is based on regional types and remains untouched by the more or less unified international terminology.<sup>23</sup> Ethnography, on the one hand by serving descriptions of outer appearance of recent villages and on the other hand by separating the earlier elements of the settlements, provides useful information for historical, historical geographical and archaeological research as well.

In contrast to ethnographical studies, historical geography is deeply rooted and influenced by foreign typologies. In the 1960s, following the works of outstanding geologists and historians like Pál Teleki, Zsigmond Bátky and Gyula Princz, the main types of Hungarian settlements were summarized by Tibor Mendöl on the basis of the above mentioned German typology.<sup>24</sup> Beside making classifications, he points out that the different categories must be interpreted by functional roles. In other words, the meaning of typology is in the economic and social background behind the physical forms. Recent morphological studies still use his classification which contains the following village forms: farmsteads; group settlements; villages with round layout; street villages; villages with chessboard layout; villages with long plots.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> For the summary of methods and results of the ethnographical research see: L. Novák, *Településnéprajz* [Settlementethnography] (Nagykőrös, 1986)

<sup>24</sup> T. Mendöl, *Általános településföldrajz* [General settlement geography] (Budapest, 1963)

<sup>25</sup> Definitions of the different types can be found in: Mendöl, *Általános* 179-264.

Mendöl's typology was adopted by historians and became widely accepted in the archaeological research as well. Besides application to the system of categories, historians also treated the ground plans of settlements as starting points of further conclusions. In a wide range of historical studies, the layout of towns and villages are considered as the last phase of development, incorporating many fragmentary elements of earlier forms of the given settlement.

István Györffy was one of the first to apply the topographical method when he traced back the ground-plans of some towns in the Hungarian Great Plain to the nomadic ages, considering the gardens surrounding the core of the settlements as remains of earlier pastures.<sup>26</sup>

The same method was used in the case of several Hungarian towns from the end of the 1950's. The present town plan was taken as a starting-point, and by using historical and archaeological data, the medieval layout of towns became deducible. Erik Fügedi, in the case of Óbuda<sup>27</sup> and András Kubinyi, in his study about economical process of Budafelhévíz,<sup>28</sup> applied to the method the so-called "Verfassungstopographie".<sup>29</sup> Because of the lack of suitable historical data, inevitably the town layout, its changes and its archaeological features, become sources for the town's development.

The next important publication in the field was marked by the work of Jenő Major.<sup>30</sup> On the basis of archaeological and historical data he has reconstructed the plan of medieval Sopron. By comparing it with the recent ground-plan he pointed out the phases of town development and the economic, social features behind them.

<sup>26</sup> I. Györffy, "Az alföldi kertes városok (Hajdúszoboszló települése)" [Towns with Gardens in the Hungarian Great Plain (Settlement of Hajdúszoboszló)] *Néprajzi Értesítő* 18 (1926) 105-136.

<sup>27</sup> E. Fügedi, "Topográfia és városi fejlődés a középkori Óbudán" [Topography and town development in medieval Óbuda] *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából* 13 (1959) 7-56.

<sup>28</sup> A. Kubinyi, "Budafelhévíz topográfiája és gazdasági fejlődése" [Topography and economic development of Budafelhévíz] *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából* 14 (1964) 85-180.

<sup>29</sup> H. Strahm, "Zur Vervassungstopographie der mittelalterliche Stadt mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Gründungsplanea der Stadt Bern" *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Geschichte* 30 (1950) 372-410.

<sup>30</sup> J. Major, "A városlaprajz, mint a korai magyar várostörténet forrása" [The town ground-plan as a source of early Hungarian town history] *Építés- és Közlekedéstudományi Közlemények* 17 (1965) 153-174.

A short but fundamental paper was published by György Granasztói about the role of Hungarian topographical research.<sup>31</sup> He has given a summary about the tasks (reconstruction, analysis, search for analogy), the subjects (the street network, plot system, market place, town wall) and the possible causes of the topographical evolution (the changes in environment, in municipal law, in trade, etc.).

The next step toward a more elaborate pattern was András Kubinyi's work about market towns in the Hungarian Great Plain.<sup>32</sup> New types of ground-plans were recognised by him, like the settlement with market place and the merging town. More importantly, he identified the different forms within one settlement and by using them distinguished the principal stages of the town development.

Reconstructions based on medieval charters were born in the field of village structures simply because they have simpler ground-plans. The initiative was taken by historical geographers, when Jenő Major called the attention to the topographical descriptions of the medieval charters.<sup>33</sup> He stressed that if spatial connections between the different descriptive elements of a given charter can be clarified, then the scholar has a chance to make a reconstruction about at least a part of the early village. In the case of detailed sources, like the charters about perambulate of bounds or division of estates, a rather complex and exact map can be available. Another novelty of his work is that he identified certain topographical elements in the recent landscape and by this method he was able to deduce the measures of the plots.

Some years later, historians probably influenced by Major's argument, continued the investigation. One of the most important works is the book written by István Szabó in 1969.<sup>34</sup> He examined various aspects of the village history including the structures of the settlements and the field systems as well. Many layouts or approximate street

<sup>31</sup> Gy. Granasztói, "Az alaprajzkutatás és feladatai Győr középkori történetével kapcsolatban" [The layout research and its tasks with regard to medieval history of Győr] *Arrabona* 6 (1964) 41-48.

<sup>32</sup> A. Kubinyi, "Gondolatok a középkor végi alföldi és alföld széli mezővárosaink alaprajzi és építészeti fejlődéséről" [Reflections on the architectural and layout development of market towns in the Hungarian Great Plain] *Építészet és Építéstudományi Közlemények* 15 (1983) 283-291.

<sup>33</sup> J. Major, "Szempontok a faluépítési hagyományok kutatásának módszeréhez" [Viewpoints to the method of research on village forming traditions] *Településtudományi Közlemények* 13 (1961) 3-16.

<sup>34</sup> I. Szabó, *A középkori magyar falu* [Hungarian village in the middle ages] (Budapest, 1969)

networks are given in his work based on medieval charters. By using data of written sources from the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries and comparing them with the present layouts he identified the cores and the later expansion of some villages.

Not only the charters from Middle Ages but the early modern maps too constituted the sources of Ferenc Maksay's work on medieval villages.<sup>35</sup> Comparing the plans of recent villages and maps from the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries, he demonstrated that many of the settlements show continuity from the middle ages. In his view the early cores of the villages are considered in some way as separate units within the settlements, however he does not ignore the fact that the appearance of later changes can be seen as similar features. Consequently, on the one hand morphology can serve to develop generalized connections between history and topography, but on the other hand it is vital to keep in mind that all cases are different and need careful research.

Because of the small quantity of historical sources concerning the image of settlements from medieval territory of Hungary, the importance of archaeological research must be emphasized. Results of excavations show those situations that are supposed to be deduced from today's settlement forms by the other disciplines. Nevertheless, attention must be paid to the fact that the majority of the time detailed archaeological surveys can be made only on a part of the area of the given village. Imre Holl collects and analyses the structures of excavated villages from the High Middle Ages in his article and points out how the order of tofts became closed and their size decreased in the course of village development.<sup>36</sup>

In summary, although approaches to settlement topography as well as typology were refined in the eyes of scholars during the last decades, no serious attempts were made to test the validity of the formerly established system of typology.

<sup>35</sup> F. Maksay, *A magyar falu középkori településrendje* [Settlement order of the Hungarian village in the middle ages] (Budapest, 1971)

<sup>36</sup> I. Holl, "Mittelalterliche Dorfgrundrisse in Ungarn" *Mitt. Archäol. Inst. Ung. Akad. Wiss.* 14 (1985) 243-249.

In the area of farming systems, in contrast to the typology of settlements, the first pioneer works were born in agrarian history at the end of the last century.<sup>37</sup> Tagányi's book on common field systems was the first work that gave an exact and detailed description about the yearly distributed fields on the basis of written sources.

Historians, setting out mainly from Tagányi's work, investigate the development of agrarian techniques, forms of landholding and field systems from the fallow system to the two- and three-field systems. The first summaries are given by such influential scholars than István Szabó<sup>38</sup> and Ferenc Maksay<sup>39</sup>. Following the results of the geographical historian Tibor Mendöl, they connect the two- and three-field systems with street villages and group settlements, but at the same time they state that different field systems might occur within the township of a village. Whereas Szabó takes over the method, worked out by Jenő Major, with regard to the reconstruction of the plot system, he does not apply it in connection with the cultivated area of settlements.

In the 1970s besides the summary of medieval agrarian history written by the influential scholar István Szabó, two papers were published about the relationship between the inhabited part of the settlement and the cultivated area of the village. László Földes stated<sup>40</sup> that in the region of "Szepesség" where the plots in the infield formed groups, the fields belonging to the given groups laid next each other in the outfield too. In essence, the remains of an earlier plot system were still visible in the fifteenth century. With regard to the villages in the mentioned region founded by deforestation, Adrienn Körmendy<sup>41</sup> assumed that the movement of German settlers (so-called hospes) was the background of many foundations in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries. In her paper two additional village types were identified according to the plot and field systems.

<sup>37</sup> G. Wenzel, *Magyarország mezőgazdaságának története* [Agrarian history of Hungary] (Budapest, 1887); K. Tagányi, *A földközösség története Magyarországon* [History of the common field system in Hungary] (Budapest, 1950)

<sup>38</sup> I. Szabó, *A magyar mezőgazdaság története a XIV. századtól az 1530-as évekig* [History of the Hungarian agriculture from the 14th century to the 1530s] (Budapest, 1975)

<sup>39</sup> Maksay, *A magyar*

<sup>40</sup> L. Földes, "Szilárd telekrendszerű irtásfalú a Szepességben" [A village founded by deforestation with stable plot system] *Agrártörténeti Szemle* 20 (1978) 357-378.

<sup>41</sup> A. Körmendy, "A soltész (more scultetorum) telepítette falvak a Szepességben" [The "more scultetorum" villages in the region of Szepesség] *Agrártörténeti Szemle* 16 (1974) 305-348.



Both the field system and the structure of the toft system have been described by Jenő Szűcs in his posthumous monograph, published in 1993.<sup>42</sup> In his theory the changes in the village structure and field system are connected on the one hand with the results of the tartaric invasion and that of internal developments towards to unified peasantry, and on the other hand with the agrarian innovation of the usage of the heavy moulded plough.

Among the ethnographers, the outstanding scholar, Márta Belényesy's studies provide new aspects for agrarian history and her works partly influenced the historical research as well.<sup>43</sup> Belényesy's articles contain various aspects of the medieval agriculture; among others, the origins and development of two- and three-field system and the complexity of the land usage. On the basis of systematic examination of historical and ethnographical sources, she was able to reconstruct different field systems.<sup>44</sup>

Ethnography, examining origins of recent field systems, deduce the possible elements of earlier farming system from today's land usage. In this sense, its methods show close relations with that of landscape archaeology. Indeed, ethnographical descriptions of clearings can be regarded as starting points for the discovery of remains of medieval parcels in archaeology.

Archaeological surveys on relics of early arable land, that began in the 70s, covers the four works of Gyula Nováki and István Torma. Their studies provide revealing information about the form and the size of the parcels, about their position in the township and in the landscape and, last but not least, about the relationship between the cultivated land and the inner area of the village. First, Nováki came up with evidence of earlier clearings, that remained as terraces and rows of stones in the landscape.<sup>45</sup> The

<sup>42</sup> J. Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok* [The last Arpadians], (Budapest, 1993) 155-222.

<sup>43</sup> M. Belényesy, "Der Ackerbau und seine Produkte in Ungarn in XIV. Jahrhundert" *Acta Ethnographia Hungaricae* 6 (1958) 265-321.

<sup>44</sup> M. Belényesy, "A parlagrendszer XV. századi kiterjesztése Magyarországon" [The extension of the fallow-system in Hungary in the 15th century] *Ethnographia* 75 (1964) 321-346.; idem, "La culture permanente et l'évolution du système biennal et triennal en Hongrie médiévale" *Ergon* 2 (1960) 311-326.

<sup>45</sup> Gy. Nováki, "Régi szántóföldek nyomai a Börzsönyben" [Remains of earlier arable land in the Börzsöny mountains] *Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum Közleményei* (1975-1977) 53-79.

width of the parcels from Nagyörzsöny (county Pest) are between 15 and 35 meters and they are 100-130 meters long. In the case of the deserted medieval village Kosba (county Tolna), that was founded by deforestation, István Torma points out that the parcels have very different sizes ranging 5 to 40 meters.<sup>46</sup> The investigation made in Sarvaly (county Veszprém), first challenged the traditionally accepted theory about the similarity of field patterns in the villages.<sup>47</sup> Equally importantly, in Szentmihály (county Zala), Nováki was able to reconstruct a part of the parcels joined to the plots.<sup>48</sup> He also proved that these parcels create the infield, which had been known formerly only from historical evidences.

The present introduction into the state of Hungarian research aims at providing an initial insight into the multi disciplinary nature of the problems and to point what were the first steps on the way to constructing a more colourful image of settlement structures.

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<sup>46</sup> I. Torma, "Mittelalterliche Ackerfeld-Spuren im Wald von Tamási (Komitat Tolna)" *Acta Archaeologica* 33 (1981) 245-256.

<sup>47</sup> Gy. Nováki, "Szántóföldek maradványai a XIV-XVI. századból a Sümeg-Sarvalyi erdőben" [Remains of arable lands from the 14-16th century in the forest land of Sümeg-Sarvaly] *Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum Közleményei* (1984-1985) 19-32.

<sup>48</sup> Gy. Nováki, "A középkori Szentmihály falu földvéra és szántóföldjei" [The motte and the arable lands of medieval Szentmihály] *Zalai Múzeum* 2 (1990) 209-219.

## **2. Study on village structure and field systems of medieval Csepely**

### **2.1. Methods and sources**

The reconstruction of medieval Csepely will mainly be achieved on the basis of evidence drawn from the division charter of 1412.<sup>49</sup> The source, considering its length and the very detailed description of the village, is the most unique division of estate in comparison with medieval documents in Hungary. Though, the peculiar source is published since 1985 and its use in studying fifteenth century image of the village seems to be obvious, the treatment of the document remained unaccomplished until now. We have the chance to reconstruct the ground plan of a medieval village because data of the charter about positions of plots, arable lands, meadows, vines and woodlands, and the description of spatial relations between them give us possibility to deduce the medieval settlement structure. In addition, field names, mentioned in the document and used today as well help to identify some areas of fifteenth century Csepely. For envisioning the basic features of the village form and its later changes, we also rely on the Ordinance Survey from 1782.<sup>50</sup> In apart from historical and historical geographical methods, archaeological field walking and survey clarify the features of the terrain and relations between the different settlement elements.

Our main documentary evidence is the document about the division of Csepely, survived as a copy in a charter from 1436, and was the first conclusion of the lawsuit begun between 1392 and 1396.

Fifteenth century landholders appeared gradually in Csepely during the period

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<sup>49</sup> MOL DL. 44118. Published in: I. Borsa, Csepelyi falukép 1412-ből [The image of the village Csepely from 1412] *Somogy megye múltjából* 16 (1985) 19-39.

<sup>50</sup> Collo VIII. Sectio 21. and Collo IX. Sectio 22. tables. The survey covers the whole territory of the Dual Monarchy of Austra-Hungary and is the very first Ordinance Survey of Hungary.

between 1138 and 1390. The settlement has been mentioned for the first time in 1138 when King Béla II donated ten vines and twenty vine-workers to the abbey of Dömös in the village.<sup>51</sup> The next reference to Csepely is the charter made out in 1193 for Knights of Saint John in Fehérvár which provides one *aratum* land to them.<sup>52</sup> The next landholders in Csepely were the Saint Nicolas fellow chapter of Fehérvár, given ten *mansiones*<sup>53</sup> and five vines in 1215<sup>54</sup> and the chapter of Fehérvár which received eighteen *mansiones* with fields in 1229.<sup>55</sup> The Kátai family first appeared in Csepely in 1248<sup>56</sup> and the Osztopáni family obtained lands for plots, vines, meadows and woodlands in the village in 1276.<sup>57</sup> The first document to mention the canon of Fehérvár dates from 1327.<sup>58</sup> The Carthusian prior of Lövöld obtained thirty seven plots in 1390, when King Sigismund exchanged the estate of Karád for the estate of the prior in Baharcs.<sup>59</sup> It is not clear from the documents when the bishop of Veszprém first received possessions in Csepely.

<sup>51</sup> Gy. Fejér, *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae* (Budapest, 1829) 2. 94-109. 105. "In villa Cepel sunt decem vineae, cum viginti vinitoribus, quorum nomina sunt: Guku, Munos, Simudi, Be bath, Damian, Sarlaudi, et quos praescripsimus in numero suorum, qui dant panem."

<sup>52</sup> E. Reiszig, *A jeruzsálemi Szent János-lovagrend Magyarországon* 2. [Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem in Hungary] (Budapest, 1928) 102.

<sup>53</sup> The word mansio, during the process of formation of the later plot (sessio) in the eleventh-thirteenth century was applied, first of all, to servant family but also to servant person, house or toft. From the thirteenth century, instead of mansio, the technical term of sessio was used to indicate plot as a basic unit of taxation and husbandry. For more details see: I. Bolla, *A jobbágytelek kialakulásának kérdéséhez. A „curia„ és a „mansio„ terminusok jelentésváltozása az Árpád-korban* [To the problem of the development of the plot. Changes in the meaning of „curia„ and „mansio„ in the Arpadian Age] (Budapest, 1961)

<sup>54</sup> I. Szentpétery - I. Borsa, *Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke (Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica)* [Critical inventory of charters of Arpadian kings] (Budapest, 1961) 125. no. 2600. "Item habet in villa Chepel quinque vineas et terram et fenum et silvas et decem mansiones vinitorum, quo[rum no]mina sunt: Venth cum filio suo nomine Zenthés, Chomotoy, Petrus, Mogd, Cheth, Cegzew."

<sup>55</sup> Fejér, *Codex* 3. 2. 172-189. 180. "In villa Chepel octodecim mansiones exceptis paruulis et iuuenibus, terra ad tria aratra, foenetur viginti iugera, vineas quadraginta, siluam sexaginta iugera."

<sup>56</sup> Copies of the document can be found in the charter from 1436 (MOL DI. 44118). Published in: Borsa, *Somogy* 19-39. lines 21-24.

<sup>57</sup> Szentpétery - Borsa, *Árpád-házi* 177. no. 2756. "... terrarum populorum ducalium in Chepel existentium in numero triginta quinque iugerum pro loco sessionali myxtim existentium, septem vineas, fenile in duobus locis falcature quatuor hominum ac silvam super quatuor iugeribus terre Lorando filio Thome et suis heredibus perpetus dedisset et statui fecisset"

<sup>58</sup> MOL DI. 44118 Published in: Borsa, *Somogy* 26-27. lines 56-61.

<sup>59</sup> C. L. Dedek, *A karthauziak Magyarországon* [Carthusians in Hungary] (Budapest, 1889) 141.

All the fifteenth century landholders were present in Csepely for the beginning of the 1390s onwards; and around that time the abbot of Dömös applied for a marking his possessions held in the village. The Kátai, Osztopáni and Nezsai families protested against the application of the abbot and, to strengthen their opposition, introduced earlier donation charters as well. According to the document from 1412, the palatine, Nicolas Garai, ordered his people and delegates of the chapter to take stock of all the plots, arable lands, vines, meadows and woodlands and to distribute the fields among the landholders according to their deeds of ownership.

Apart from the division charter other valuable sources provide data about the topographical elements of Csepely before 1412. First, the documents of the lawsuit taken from 1316 to 1320, in which Paul son of Roland gives a piece of land and three plots to Demeter son of Peter. The description of field boundaries includes the parish church, a meadow situated south of the church and a stream flowing northward toward the church.<sup>60</sup> The discussed section of the document allows us to draw a map of the given territory. (Fig 1.)

Similarly profitable source is the description from 1339, in which Jacob son of Christopher Csepeli sold his toft to Emericus, son of Gwrk (Györk), for 1.5 marks.<sup>61</sup> The document says that west of the plot situates the toft of Saint Laurence church, the parish church. To the south of the sold toft lays the plot of canon in Fehérvár, and north of the plot lays the "*terra fimata*" of Jacob. Thus, the parish church with its street, surrounding plots and meadow becomes identifiable already at the beginning of the 14th century.

<sup>60</sup> MOL DI. 44118 Published in: Borsa, *Somogy* 22-23. lines 27-30. 28-29. "...iuxta quam terram a [par]te parochialis ecclesie esset fundus curie iobagionis filiorum Nana et in [termi]nis terre eorundem filiorum Nana cum longitudine iret ad partem meridionalem usque ad pratum et aquam et in meatu aque declinaret ad partem occidentis et perveniret ad terminium terre ecclesie Demesiensis et in termino terre eiusdem ecclesie reflecteretur ad partem septentrionis et iret usque ad medietatem unius vici, per quem [ir]et ad ecclesiam..."

<sup>61</sup> MOL DI. 44118 Published in: Borsa, *Somogy* 27. lines 62-64. 62. "... predictus Iacobus unum fundum curie sue fere alterum dimidium iugeris terre in se continentem, iuxta quem locum sessionalem seu fundum curie a parte meridionali locus sessionalis iobagionis custodis ecclesie Albensis, a parte occidentis fundus curie ecclesie Sancti Laurentii martiris de eadem Chepel et a parte septentrionali terra fimata eiusdem Iacobi fuisset..."

(Fig. 2.)

In the same year, the bishop of Veszprém became embroiled in a lawsuit against the sons of John Várangi for a meadow and a piece of arable land along the boundaries of the villages of Csepely, Várang and Kötcse.<sup>62</sup>

In the perambulation document of Teleki from 1429, Csepely appears as neighbouring settlement. One of the two roads running southward from Teleki led to Várang and the other ended in Csepely.<sup>63</sup>

While the population gradually disappeared during the Turkish invasion, the village was not destroyed definitively. According to the Turkish Exchequer Rolls,<sup>64</sup> Csepely contained 5 households in 1563 and 8 plots in 1567. The village was deserted until 1571 but by 1580 18 households were drawn up in the register. Consequently, Csepely was resettled very soon after the temporary evacuation of the population during the Turkish wars and by the beginning of the 18th century (1715)<sup>65</sup> the bishop of Veszprém already had 15 plots in the village.

On the whole, the preceding discussion aimed to introduce what were the antecedents that ended in making up the division charter as a main source of the reconstruction and to show valuable descriptions of earlier documents that can be utilized later on in case of examination of fifteenth century village structure.

<sup>62</sup> B. L. Kumorovitz, *Veszprémi regeszták (1301-1387)* [Regesta of Veszprém] (Budapest, 1963) 128-129.

<sup>63</sup> MOL DI. 10474. Published in: L. Erdélyi - P. Sörös, *A pannonhali Szent-Benedek-rend története 1.* [History of the Benedictin order in Pannonhalma ] (Budapest, 1902) 649-657. no. 119.

<sup>64</sup> A. Velics - E. Kammerer, *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek 2.* [Hungarian Turkish Exchequer Rolls] (Budapest, 1890)

<sup>65</sup> Velics - Kammerer, *Magyarországi*

### Reconstruction of the inner area of Csepely.

Before starting this section I would like to delineate the geographical area under investigation. Csepely, or Nagycsepely as it called today, lies along the edge of the lower Nagycsepely-valley within the Külsô-Somogyi hills in the western part of Hungary. The adjacent villages, Váráng and Fehéregyház, identified by archaeological field-walking, and the northern neighbouring village, Teleki, characteristically lie on the edge between the back of the hill and the valley. In case of Csepely, the village not only assimilates to the form of the valley but also follows the course of the stream called Séd which flows through the village.

From the description of the plot allocation in the charter of 1412, the ground plan of the inner area of the village becomes clear. (Fig. 3.) The division charter, following the order of the landholders' appearance in Csepely, begins with the plots of the abbey of Dömös and says:

"First, for the abbot of Dömös thirty *mansiones*, twenty are habited and ten deserted, namely three *mansiones* [are situated] on the eastern line, behind the shares of the canon on the southern end, fourteen *mansiones* are on the eastern line, between the [plots of] the canon and the church of Saint Laurence Martyr, ten *mansiones* on the western line, [lying] from the southern end of the [western] line toward the north and here are three *mansiones* between two streets..."<sup>66</sup>

The expression of "on the western line between two streets" identifies with the territory between the street of the parish church and the road running parallel with that street, because, with regard to arable lands the source mentions a road situated behind

<sup>66</sup> "Primo videlicet prelibato domino Petro preposito Demeſiensi cum portione ſua actenus ſervata triginta mansiones, viginti populoſas et decem deſertas videlicet in linea orientali retro portionem dicti cuſtodis Albensis in fine a meridie tres mansiones in eademque linea orientali incipiendo ab eadem portione cuſtodis uſque eccleſiam Sancti Laurentii martyris quatuordecim, in linea vero occidentali incipienſo a meridie et fine eiudem linee occidentalis verſus aquilionem decem, ibidem etiam inter duas vias tres mansiones..." lines 85-86.

the gardens. Thus, the plots of the abbey align on the eastern side of the main street from the south to the street of the parish church, surrounding the plots of the canon in Fehérvár ("two plots on the eastern line on the south between the shares belonging to the abbot in Dömös"<sup>67</sup>). The abbey has thirteen plots on the western side of the main street.

The Saint Nicolas fellow chapter has the following plots.

"The Saint Nicolas Church has ten *mansiones*, namely six habited ones to the north between two streets, near the well called Hydegkwth, three habited ones on the north, on the western line between the two field marks made by two delegated people, on that [*mansio*] live Peter son of Saoul, Peter, son of Michael and Mark the tailor; the last deserted [plot is situated] near Varang, over Hydegkwth, with their gardens..."<sup>68</sup>

According to this extract from the charter, six plots situate on the north, between the two streets, near the well called Hidegkút (Cold well). Hidegkút is today called Hidegtó<sup>69</sup> (Cold pond), lies at the spot where the north-eastern side street turns towards the north. The fellow chapter also hold three plots on the western side of the main street and one plot along the eastern side street situated over Hidegkút and near Várang. The village of Várang existed only until the Turkish invasion between the villages Csepely and Kötcse. On the basis of data from written sources, field names (Várangi meadow)<sup>70</sup> and field walking, its site and remains can be identified. With reference to the shares of the chapter in Fehérvár, the document also provides information about the position of the plot on the eastern side of the main street and lays in a north-south direction.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>67</sup> "... duas sessiones unam portam habentes in linea orientali a meridie inter portionem dicti prepositi Demesiensis..." line 122.

<sup>68</sup> "... pro dicta ecclesia Beati Nicolai confessoris decem mansiones videlicet a parte aquilonis inter duos vicos prope puetum Hydegkwth dictum sex mansiones populosas, necnon ab eadem plaga aquilonis in linea occidentali inter duas metas terreas per ipsos cumulare factas tres mansiones similiter populosas, in quarum una Petrus filius Saoul, in secunda Petrus filius Michaelis et in tertia Marcus sartor et Sebastianus filius eiusdem residissent ac decimam et ultimam desertam a parte possessionis Varangh trans predictum puetum Hydegkwth existentem cum ortis earundem..." lines 93-95.

<sup>69</sup> J. Végh, *Somogy megye földrajzi nevei* [Field names of county Somogy] (Budapest, 1974) 203.

<sup>70</sup> Végh, *Somogy* 203.

<sup>71</sup> "... sessionem dicte ecclesie Sancti Nicolai eadem sessione a meridie remanente versus aquilonem protractas..." line 100.



Chapter of Fehérvár holds twenty one plots in the settlement.

"Twenty one *mansiones*, namely six habited *mansiones*, including the *mansio* of Laurence, son of Demeter, on the western line, situates from the mansio of Laurence, son of Demeter to [the plot of] Matthew, the bondsman of the bishop of Veszprém; [it has] five *mansiones*, one of them deserted and the others habited, on the eastern line towards the north, beginning behind the Saint Laurence church [and lying] north of the parts of the abbey in Dömös; [it has] one habited and one deserted [*mansio*] on the western line, south of the parts of the Saint Nicolas Church; [it has] eight deserted *mansiones* near Varang possession, next Hydekwth and the *sessio* of Saint Nicolas Church whose *sessio* lies from the south towards the north."<sup>72</sup>

Relying upon the division charter, the chapter has six plots on the western side of the main street. The six habited *mansio* lie between the plot belonging to the bishop of Veszprém and that of the sons of Dominic Osztopáni. Five plots, among which one is deserted and four are habited, are situated on the eastern line behind and next to the parish church. One habited and one deserted *mansio* lie on the western line and eight deserted *mansio* on the eastern side of the main street, between Hidegkút and Várang.

Martin Kátai and his son Michael, obtained the following fourteen plots:

"...eleven plots, namely seven habited ones on the eastern line beginning from the plot of Dennis, son of Demeter, who is a bondsman<sup>73</sup> of the chapter in Fehérvár, towards

<sup>72</sup> "Post hoc autem eisdem preposito et capitulo Albensi viginti unam mansiones videlicet in linea occidentali incipiendi a mansionem dicti Laurentii filii Demetrii eadem mansionem inclusa usque sessionem Matheus iobagionis episcopatus Vespreniensis sex mansiones populoze, primo in linea orientali retro prefatam ecclesiam Sancti Laurentii incipiendo in vicinitate portionis prefati prepositi Demeiensis versus aquilonem quinque mansiones, unam desrtem et reliquas populosas, item duas mansiones, unam populosam et aliam desertam in linea occidentali iuxta portionem prefate ecclesie Beati Nicolai confessoris a meridie existentes, preterea octo mansiones desertas a parte prefate possessionis Varangh iuxta predictum puetum Hydekwth et sessionem dicte ecclesie Sancti Nicolai eadem sessione a meridie remanente versus aquilonem protractas;" lines 98-100.

<sup>73</sup> Since „bondman,, is the closest English word to the latin term „iobagiones,, that occurs in the document, the sentence is translated this way. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that people called *iobagiones* in Hungary, had special status. Because the strata became unified, in the thirteenth century, by incorporation of servant people (servus) as well as more or less free persons (liber, libertinus), its members had the right to move and also to inherit their plots. Consequently, as *iobagioni* were not totally bound to their landlords, they always had the possibility for social mobility. For more detailed information see: J. Szűcs, "Megosztott parasztság - egységesülő jobbágyság: a

the north to the road and four deserted [plots] on the western line opposite to those seven plots, beginning from the plot of the parish priest towards the north" "three deserted plots which lie on the western line, to the north and adjacent to his other plots"<sup>74</sup>

Regarding these tofts the document is so clear that there can be no doubt concerning the position of the plots. The Kátai family had seven habited plots situated on the eastern line between the road and the plots of the chapter of Fehérvár and another seven plots on the other side of the main street opposite to the former seven tofts.

The next landholder is the canon of Fehérvár who has two plots "which has one gate [and lay] on the eastern line in south, between the shares of the abbey in Dömös".<sup>75</sup>

The Carthusian order in Lövöld occupies thirty seven plots in the village.

"[there are] twenty two habited and fifteen deserted [plots] on both sides of the tofts of the Saint Nicolas Church, situated between the two streets; opposite to their plots in the north."<sup>76</sup>

In this case, the charter is not precise enough to make an exact reconstruction of the order of the plots, therefore, the plots are placed on the map according to the sizes of the mentioned territories. The plots are put on both sides of the tofts belonging to the fellow chapter of Fehérvár, between the two streets on the north and opposite to those plots in the northwestern part of the village.

Dennis and George, sons of Dominic Osztopáni, owned the following shares:

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paraszti társadalom átalakulása a 13. században" [Divided peasantry - unified iobagioni: transformation of the peasant society in the 13. century] *Századok* 115 (1981) 3-65., 263-314.

<sup>74</sup> "Exinde autem prefato Michaeli filio Martini de Katha undecim sessiones, septem in linea orientali incipiendo a sessione Dionisii filii Demetrii iobagionis dictorum prepositi et capituli Albensis versus aquilonem usque viam protractas populosas ac quator desertas in linea occidentali ex opposito earundem septem sessionum incipiendo a sessione plebani versus aquilonem adiacentes;" line 116.

"... tres sessiones desertas in dicta linea occidentali secus et iuxta alias sessiones eiusdem ab aquilone usque viam adiacentes..." line 145.

<sup>75</sup> "Demum vero dicto custodi Albensi duas sessiones unam portam habentes in linea orientali a meridie inter portionem dicti prepositi Demeiensis ..." line 122.

<sup>76</sup> "Deinde vero priori de Leweld triginta septem sessiones, viginti duas populosas ac quindecim desertas ex utraque parte locorum sessionalium dicte ecclesie Sancti Nicolai confessoris inter duos vicos existentium et ab aquilone ex opposito earundem sessionum adiacentes;" line 125.

"[They have] five plots, namely three habited and two deserted ones, one of them between the two roads, between the bondsman of the abbey of Dömös and was inhabited by Demeter, son of Michael, and his son Laurence; four [plots] locate on the western line, two of the four plots are among and north of the share of abbey of Dömös and inhabited by Sebastian, son of Peter and Koos, also called Theke; two other deserted [plots] are west of the shares of the mentioned chapter of Fehérvár."<sup>77</sup>

In other words, the sons of Dominic Osztopáni had one plot between the plots of the chapter of Fehérvár and that of the abbey of Dömös. They possessed two plots situated between the plots of the abbot and two plots on the western line, south of the two plots belonging to the chapter in Fehérvár in northern part of Csepely.

Nicolas, son of Thomas Nesai, and Nicolas, son of Andrew Csô, also had shares in the village.

"[There is a piece of] land suitable for five plots [situated] under the hill next and south of the road leading from Chepel to Kekche"<sup>78</sup>

The earlier road to Kötcsé could either have lain on the line of today's concrete road leading towards Kötcsé or the hollow way next to the parish church. At first glance, the expression "under the hill" supports the idea that this road was the hollow way. But this impression is contradicted by the fact that it is not possible to place five plots onto the steep slope south of the church. With regard to the lands belonging to those plots, the charter mentions meadows behind the plots, a location that could only be next the present-day road to Kötcsé.

The next landholder was the bishop of Veszprém who has two plots "with one

<sup>77</sup> "Post hoc autem prefatis Dyonisio et Georgii filiis Dominici de Ozthopan quinque sessiones tres populosas et duas desertas unam, inter duas vias in medio iobagionum prefati prepositi Demeiensis, in quo Demetrius filius Michaelis et Laurentis filius eiusdem residerent, quatuor in linea occidentali, duas iuxta portionem prefati prepositi Demeiensis ab aquilone, in quarum una Sebastianus filius Petri et in alia Koos dictus Theke commorarent ac alias duas desertas ibidem iuxta portionem predictorum prepositi et capituli Albensis ab occidente adiacentes;" lines 133-134.

<sup>78</sup> "Postmodum autem Nicolao filio Thome de Nesa et altero Nicolao filio Andree Chw terram pro quinque sesionibus aptam sub monte iuxta viam de dicta Chepel ad Kekche ducentem..." line 137-138.

gate situated to the south of the plot belonging to the parish priest".<sup>79</sup>

Finally, the document gives the following shares to Laurence, son of Demeter "land suitable for one plot [situated] to the east, between the two roads leading from Chepel to Kekche, opposite to the plots belonging to the two Nicolas".<sup>80</sup>

In conclusion, the chapter intended to present the way how far can be used such a detailed medieval description for reconstruction, located into the modern landscape and to show what kind of problems may occur during the work. We may, indeed, hope for more than a simple reconstruction of plots. However, it is essential to look beyond the order of tofts, since some of the details mentioned in the document allow us to draw further conclusions concerning the plot system.

<sup>79</sup> "Deinde episcopatus ecclesie Vespremiensis duas sessiones unam portam habentes iuxta sessionem plebani a meridie..." line 141.

<sup>80</sup> "Preterea prefato Laurentio filio Demetrii terram pro una sessione aptam ab oriente inter duas vias de dicta Chepel ad dictam Kekche ducentes ex opposito sessionum dictorum utrorumque Nicolai..." line 143.

### 2.3. Analysis of the inner area

Although, the allocation of some plots remains questionable, the structure of the village becomes clear in general. There are some uncertain elements in the reconstruction, for instance the distance between the main street and the plots along the road to Kötcsé, or the distribution of plots belonging to the Carthusian monastery. The street network and most of the plot system can be considered correct.

The reconstruction of the street network was based on the division charter, but its medieval origin is additionally supported by field walking, since the street appear as hollow ways in the landscape. The main street, running in south-north direction, turns to the southwest-northeast direction at the site of the parish church. One of the side-streets, for a time running parallel with the main street, eventually joins the main street from the northeast at the northern part of the village. Near this point, another side street crosses the main street at right angles. The street of the parish church leads into the main street from the east in the southern part of Csepely.

Comparing this structure with today's street network raises similarities and differences. First of all, the spatial coincidence between them is striking. Only today's cross-street on the southern end of the settlement does not occur in the medieval document. There is another difference between the modern and medieval image of the village. The route of the side-street, that is, the road to Kötcsé, and the territory south of that street, near the parish church, have altered over time. According to the reconstruction, the side-street situates next to Kátai's plots at right angles to the main street, and can be considered as a continuation of the side street opposite, on the western side of the main street. In contrast, the territory on the eastern side, opposite the plots of Nicolas Kátai is covered by buildings today. One of the intervening stages of the development can be seen on a survey from 1860.<sup>81</sup> (Fig 4.) At that time this area was

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<sup>81</sup> MOL S78 174. t.

already with plots and houses, and the route of the earlier street still visible on the map.

Besides the medieval streets, the fifteenth century site of the church opposite to the plot of the parish priest and that of the commonly used well are also identifiable.

The medieval Saint Laurence parish church, first referred to in the document from 1316, stood on the place of today's Calvinist church. The construction of the modern church took place in 1784 on a small hillock at the southern part of the settlement and certainly on the remains of the earlier church building. There are other facts which support this impression. First, one can observe that today's Calvinist church shows two buttresses against the tower, originating from the Middle Ages. (Fig. 5.) In addition, near the church a moulded stone displaying fine medieval profile has been found.<sup>82</sup> (Fig. 6.)

Analysis of the division document distinguishing inhabited and deserted plots gives concrete indications about the proportion of deserted plots. According to the charter, more plots were distributed in 1412 than the total amount existing in the village up to that time. Six of the hundred and twenty seven plots were only "land suitable for plots" consequently, they were not habited at that time. The position of the newly distributed plots might indicate the direction of village expansion: towards both the north and the east. Among the remaining hundred and twenty one plots, seventy six were inhabited (63%) and forty five plots deserted (37%), a relatively high proportion of deserted plots.

Based on the quantity of inhabited plots I have deduced the number of households and estimated the population size of fifteenth century Csepely. Seventy six of the one hundred twenty seven plots were inhabited, consequently one would suppose that represented the number of households and householders in the village. However, there is an additional method by which the number of householders can be estimated and used as a control for the previous supposition. The fifteenth century charter enumerates

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<sup>82</sup> OMF Collection, No. 17.643.

the vines belonging to the plots along with the names of their holders, allowing the following list of householders to be compiled. (App. 1.)

Comparing the list with the number of inhabited plots, is no considerable difference arises between the seventy six tofts and the sixty eight to seventy vine holders. Considering the average number of village households established by István Szabó in the fifteenth century, Csepely had four times more inhabited plots than the average households established at 17.3.<sup>83</sup> The size of the fairly large and populous settlement is more characteristic of a market town than a village.

The number of households allows for an estimation of the population size. To begin this estimate, the average size of the households in fifteenth century Csepely must be determined. Because of the lack of suitable historical evidences, one can not found the detailed system of medieval household types in Hungary. Nevertheless, we can refer to work of Jenő Szűcs, who compares the population of villages before and after the Mongolian invasion and points out that at the end of the thirteenth century, on the one hand the simple family household became dominant and the extended family type also occurred, on the other hand the size of the households increased.<sup>84</sup>

In Csepely, because of the archaic usage of names, where the father's name serves as the family name, a dominant type of household structure can be deduced. The most characteristic type is the simple family household, but the multiple family type, where three generations live together (George, son of Pethe, and his sons Thomas and Stephen, or Mark the tailor and his son Sebastian) and the extended family (Stephen and Matthew, sons of Nicolas, or Peter and Nicolas, sons of Michael) can also be found in the village.

For the mean household size, the coefficient 5 is widely used. Not ignoring the

<sup>83</sup> I. Szabó, *A falurendszer kialakulása Magyarországon (10-15. század)* [Development of rural settlement system in Hungary (10-15. centuries)] (Budapest, 1966) 191.

<sup>84</sup> J. Szűcs, "Háztartás és család a 13. századi Magyarország szolgai állapotú parasztnépességében" [Household and family in the slave-peasant population of Hungary in the thirteenth century] *Történelmi Szemle* 26 (1983) 136-158.

fact, that some scholars debate this data<sup>85</sup>, since no other evidence exists for determining the quantity of household members in Csepely, following the normally accepted number we also apply five as a coefficient.

Regarding population size only its limits can be estimated. As it was already pointed out, the number of households was between sixty eight and seventy six. Accordingly, the size of the population is somewhere between three hundred forty and three hundred eighty.

Our document might also help determine the size of plots. The charter gives data for the widths of plots: "every *mansio* is thirty one and a half *ulna* measured by cloth".<sup>86</sup> The charter for the perambulation of the neighbouring village of Teleki from 1429 clarify the dimension of the unit of measurement. The document claims that the width of the common *iugerum* is "seventeen and a half *ulna* of Buda".<sup>87</sup> The *ulna* of Buda, also known as *common or cloth ulna*, is 58.4 cm long.<sup>88</sup> Using this unit of measurement, the width of a plot in Csepely is 18.3 m long. By comparing the reconstruction of the inner area and the recent 1:10000 scale map, I controlled my result. If there are two points in the village between which distance can be determined and at the same time, the reconstruction is exact between them, then the width of one plot becomes available. The "two points" for my purposes are the site of the parish church and the mouth of the northeastern side street. The distance between them is 240 meters and contains a total of 12 plots laid throughout that area in 1412. Therefore, each plot was 20 meters wide. Although, a discrepancy arises between the two data (18.3 and 20), it is not very

<sup>85</sup> For example András Kubinyi came into a different conclusion in the case of Alsónyék, where the mean household size was as high as 7.9. The reason for this, in his view, is the high number of children and the fact that in some cases more families lived together in a household. For more detailed information see: A. Kubinyi, "Egy Hont megyei mezővárosiasodó falu népessége a középkor végén" [Population of a village developing to market town from county Hont in the high middle ages] in: *Város és társadalom a XVI-XVIII. században* (Miskolc, 1992) 7-17.

<sup>86</sup> "... triginta unius ulnarum cum media pannis constitutarum..." line 86.

<sup>87</sup> "...predium Septer ecclesie Sancti Nicolai confessoris de dicta Alba existenete, viginti iugera usualia, quodlibet eorundem in latitudine decem et septem ulnas Budenses cum media faciens..."

<sup>88</sup> I. Bogdán, *Magyarországi hossz- és földmértékek a XVI. század végéig* [Linear and territory measures in Hungary until the end of the 16th century] (Budapest, 1978) 103.



significant. Presumably some paths leading to the fields interrupted the row of plots as they stand today. To sum up, the width of a plot in Csepely at the beginning of the fifteenth century could be between 18 and 20 meters long.

The generally accepted measure of a medieval plot in Hungary is the unit of the so-called *iugerum regalis*, that is, 37.7 meters wide and 225 meters long. However, for the late Middle Ages the half of the *iugerum regalis* derived from the longitudinal division in two of the earlier one *iugerum* plot became widely used. Since the width of this kind of plot (19 meters) is very close to the width of plots in Csepely, it may but not necessarily, be that the measures of the plots in Csepely have the same origins.

Let us return now to the ground plan of Csepely. The result of reconstruction showed a one kilometer long settlement. The southern end of Csepely contains features belonging to the street village type with closed row of plots. The middle part of the village can rank among the agglomerations, while in the north it conforms to villages with green or German type of *Angerdorf*. The analysis of the village form raises two problems. First, it demonstrates the central point of the so-called problem of typology, in the sense that the majority of villages are made up of characteristics of different types and, consequently do not conform to simple categories of village classification. However the study of settlement types should not be rejected, but research on village morphology is at the same time complicated and enhanced by the variety of aspects to be found during village investigations. As we have already pointed out as far as the ideas of Brian Roberts were concerned, the complexity of village forms should be regarded as end-products of centuries of changes, thus ground plans can be used as sources of village process.

The question is, to what extent the different morphological elements in Csepely can be considered as different phases of the village. Regarding the development of village structure and distinguishing the original core of the medieval village, the examination of positions of the earliest plots yields controversial results. Before the Mongolian invasion (1241-1242), the abbey of Dömös, the Saint Nicolas fellow chapter and the chapter of

Fehérvár were present in the village. Their plots are mentioned consistently as *mansio*, that is, the earlier term for toft, in contrast to the other plots called *sessio*. All the tofts of the abbey of Dömös and the eleven plots of the twenty inhabited and nine deserted plots of the chapter of Fehérvár situated on the southern part of Csepely. Three of the plots of Saint Nicolas fellow chapter probably remained on their original site because of their connection to its cultivated fields. However, seven plots laid on the edematous territory between the two streets on the northern part of the village. Since, for 1390 the shares of the first landholders, including the fellow chapter, reduced, it may be supposed that during the process of the division of Csepely, the chapter presented their donation charter from 1215 about the ten *mansio* whereupon they were given ten new plots on the northern area of the settlement.

Moreover, another fact reinforces the impression concerning the early origins of village settlement in the southern part of Csepely. Namely the greater certainty in the source's description of the southern part of the village. Indeed, the charter gives the exact order of plots in the south, in contrast to the often vague information on northern plots. The better defined position of the southern tofts indicates that this area was more settled and perhaps at an earlier time than the other parts of Csepely. As seen already, at that time Csepely expanded northward and eastward.

The site of the parish church often located in the Middle Ages, in the center of the village, also testifies to the preeminence and earlier origins.

During the Turkish invasion Csepely became deserted for a few years. According to the Ordinance Survey from 1784, the northern part of the village was resettled first after the occupation. (Fig. 7.) The construction of the today's Calvinist church can be seen on the map some hundred meters south of the inhabited part of the eighteenth century settlement. It is certain that after the local Calvinist community received the building, earlier a Catholic church, in 1784, the southern area of Csepely became gradually resettled.

In conclusion, the exceptionally detailed description of the fifteenth century charter provides a solid basis for reconstructing the inner area of Csepely. Not only the layout of the medieval village becomes clear, but some of the problems concerning the physical appearance of the settlement can be considered solved. Apart from the questions raised with regard to Csepely itself, we also saw the difficulties in ranking villages to the particular categories of settlement typology.

## 2.4. Reconstructing the fields

A very important factor of a medieval settlement concerns the territory of fields surrounding the village core. Therefore the problem of village structure can not be discussed without a reconstruction of the layout of cultivated lands in the area.

The fields are reconstructed in two phases. First, the field names occurring in the source material are identified and located. After this the names of hills, valleys, woodlands and streams in the medieval document must be identified with recent field names available in the collection of field names in the county of Somogy.<sup>89</sup> The next step is the localization of different places. In the cases, where recent names equivalent or close to their medieval counterparts become available the contemporary regions are considered as analogous to the given fields of the fifteenth century as well. However, if only the medieval field name is available, then the descriptions of spatial relations between different places becomes a starting point for mapping.

The second stage of field reconstruction involves mapping of the places according to their cultivation and vegetation. The different places are presented in a clock-wise succession table beginning from the southern part of the village in order to clarify the references and relations between them. (App. 2.)

### Thelek-Telek

arable land: Michael Kátai: 36 *iugerum*; in opposite to their plots on the western line, from the north the arable lands of Saint Nicolas fellow chapter and from the south the fields of canon of Fehérvár

Canon of Fehérvár: 6 *iugerum*; behind the plots, from the north and between the arable lands of Michael Kátai and the Osztopáni family.

• Osztopáni family: 13 *iugerum*; from the north, behind the gardens

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<sup>89</sup> Végh, *Somogy* 203-205.

of Sebastian and Koos to Via magna

### **Halazowapa valley - Halászó**

arable land: Saint Nicolas fellow chapter: 29 *iugerum*; from the north, behind the gardens of Peter son of Saoul, Mark tailor and Nicolas, son of Michael, to Halazowapa valley (13 *iugerum*)

### **Baranreth - Bárányrét**

arable land: Abbey of Dömös: part of 90 *iugerum*; on the east, under the small woodland, opposite to Saint Laurence church, from the field mark and wild pear tree, situated next the fields to Baranreth

meadow: Abbey of Dömös: 15 *falcastrum*;

### **Kenderatho , Road leading to the fish pond, Via magna, Zenthlelekwelge**

arable land: Osztopáni family: 6 *iugerum*; along the Via magna, between the fields of the canon of Fehérvár and the chapter of Fehérvár

Canon of Fehérvár: 5 *iugerum*; in the Zenthlelekwelge, west of the road

Abbey of Dömös: 87 *iugerum*; on the both sides of the road leading to Kenderatho

meadow: Abbey of Dömös: 2 *falcastrum*; next to the pond

Michael Kátai: 5 *falcastrum*; on the place called Kenderatho, north of the 2 *falcastrum* meadow belonging to the abbey of Dömös

Saint Nicolas fellow chapter: 7 *falcastrum*; next to the Kenderatho and the road

### Nadasd valley - Nádasdi

arable land: Chapter of Fehérvár: 100 *iugerum regalis*; between the Nadasd valley and Halazowapa valley, next to and north of the road leading to Nadasd valley

Osztopáni family: part of 51 *iugerum*; on the hillside, on the right of the entrance

Saint Nicolas fellow chapter: 11 *iugerum*;

meadow: Chapter of Fehérvár: 1 *iugerum regalis*;  
Bishop of Veszprém: 2 *falcastrum*; on the western side of the valley

Michael Kátai: 3 *falcastrum*; east of the meadow of the bishop of Veszprém

Carthusian monastery of Lövöld: 1 *falcastrum*; between the meadows of Michael Kátai and the Osztopáni family

Osztopáni family: 5 *falcastrum*;

Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 2 *falcastrum*; north of the meadow of the Osztopáni family

woodland: Chapter of Fehérvár: 30 *iugerum regalis*; on the left of the hillside

### Zabowelgh valley

meadow: Abbey of Dömös: 6 *falcastrum*;

### Pasmala - Pácsmánd

arable land: Abbey of Dömös: part of 47 *iugerum*; on the sites of Pasmala and Zabowelgh, between the two roads

Canon of Fehérvár: 4 *iugerum*; between the arable lands of the abbey of Dömös

Chapter of Fehérvár: 40 *iugerum regalis*; on the north of the

road, between an elm-bush, a field mark and a field, up to the arable land of Dominicus Osztopáni

Osztopáni family: ?; among the fields of chapter in Fehérvár

vine: Bishop of Veszprém: 1

Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 1

Prior of Lövöld: 1

Michael Kátai: 4

Chapter of Fehérvár: 4.

### Ffyzegh valley - Fűző valley

arable land: Michael Kátai: 40 *iugerum*; next to and south of the arable lands of the bishop of Veszprém

Bishop of Veszprém: 28 *iugerum*; between the arable lands of the prior in Lövöld and the Kátai family

Prior of Lövöld: 156 *iugerum*; among the fields of the abbey of Dömös, the chapter of Fehérvár and that of the bishop of Veszprém

Chapter of Fehérvár: part of 138 *iugerum regalis*; from the forest called Chomberg to the road named Althalwth

Laurentius son of Demetrius: 6 *iugerum*; on the hillside

Canon of Fehérvár: 8 *iugerum*;

meadow: Chapter of Fehérvár: 12 *iugerum regalis*;

Abbey of Dömös: 7 *falcastrum*;

vine: Saint Nicolas fellow chapter: 1

Chapter of Fehérvár: 12

Michael Kátai: 1

Osztopáni family: 1

Prior of Lövöld: 2

Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 1

Laurentius son of Demetrius: 1

### **Tothfew, Hagyothaya, Monyorosd, Iwanzeleyfely**

arable land: Abbey of Dömös: 200 *iugerum*; on the sites called Tothfew, Hagyothaya, Monyorosd, Iwanzeleyfely, up to the boundary line of the village Visz marked by field marks erected in the Ffyzegh valley

meadow: Canon of Fehérvár: 2 *falcastrum*; on the place named Tothfewhyd

vine: Prior of Lövöld: 1; on Monyorosd hill

Prior of Lövöld: 3; in Monyorosd valley

Chapter of Fehérvár: 2; on Monyorosd hill

### **Dongach - Dongak**

vine: Chapter of Fehérvár: 1

woodland: Laurentius son of Demetrius

### **Ffyzegh - Fűző hill**

vine: Chapter of Fehérvár: 1

Prior of Lövöld: 1

### **Cherdhath - Cserhát**

vine: Abbey of Dömös: 1

Chapter of Fehérvár: 5

Prior of Lövöld: 2

Osztopáni family: 2



**Cherdiallya - Cseródal**

arable land: Saint Nicolas fellow chapter: 41 *iugerum*; next to Mezövölgy

vine: Abbey of Dömös: 1

**Gollyas valley - Gólya valley**

arable land: Chapter of Fehérvár: 30 *iugerum regalis*; in the valley south of the walnut tree up to the arable land of Saint Nicolas fellow chapter and in the Cherdiallya valley to the field marks

Chapter of Fehérvár: part of 138 *iugerum regalis*; from the walnut tree to the boundaries of the villages Víz, Szemes and Teleki

vine: Abbey of Dömös: 1

Chapter of Fehérvár: 2

Prior of Lövöld: 4

**Mezewelgh - Félmező**

arable land: Chapter of Fehérvár: 3.5 *iugerum regalis*; on the hill between Gollyas valley and Meze valley

Saint Nicolas fellow chapter: 15 *iugerum*;

vine: Michael Kátai: 1

Prior of Lövöld: 5-10

**Markushorhafely, Byrch - Szöcskütető**

arable land: Chapter of Fehérvár: 40 *iugerum regalis*; between two field marks, from the road called Thekeresarokya to the boundary of the village Teleki

woodland: Saint Nicolas fellow chapter; on the northern part of the hillside, next the arable lands of the chapter in Fehérvár from the vine of Peter, son of Saoul, to a ditch

### Ord valley

arable land: Prior of Lövöld: 362 *iugerum*; next the arable lands of Saint Nicolas fellow chapter, on the west and from the plots of the chapter situated near Várang to the boundary of the village Teleki, to the east

meadow: Prior of Lövöld: 36 *falcastrum*; north of the plot of George the taylor

vine: Saint Nicolas fellow chapter: 2  
Prior of Lövöld: 2-3

### Varang - Territory nearby village Várang

arable land: Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 8 *iugerum*; on the hill, next to a small forest called Jegenyeeerdo (Poplar forest), near Varang

meadow: Chapter of Fehérvár: 6 *iugerum regalis*; next to the mill standing near Varang, from the stream to the road leading to Kekche

Saint Nicolas fellow chapter: 3 *falcastrum*; next to and above Hydegkwth (Cold well)

### Territory nearby village Kötcsé

arable land: Chapter of Fehérvár: 89 *iugerum regalis*; between Chepel and Kekche

Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 6 *iugerum*; north of the road leading to Kekche, opposite the plots situated next to the road

8 *iugerum*; under the hill, south of the plots situated next to the road

meadow: Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 3 *falcastrum*; next to their plots, to the stream

Michael Kátai: 3 *falcastrum*; behind and south of his plots, to the

stream

Chapter of Fehérvár: 1 *iugerum regalis*; behind the plot of the chapter's bondsman living behind the parish church

woodland: Abbey of Dömös; the woodland called Urharazthya (Lord's forest), on the south, over the Sed valley, opposite the plots of the abbey

Michael Kátai; next Urharazthya

### **Nagzo valley - Nacco**

arable land: Abbey of Dömös: 90 *iugerum*

vine: Abbey of Dömös: 6

### **Nagzo hill - Nacco**

vine: Saint Nicolas fellow chapter: 2

Chapter of Fehérvár: 3

Canon of Fehérvár: 1

Michael Kátai: 4

### **Kalasd hill- Kalasdtető**

arable land: Chapter of Fehérvár: 13 *iugerum regalis*;

vine: Abbey of Dömös: 6

Chapter of Fehérvár: 8

Michaelis Kátai: 1

Prior of Lövöld: 1

### **Kezees hill - Kösőhegy ?**

vine: Prior of Lövöld: 1

**Hasallya, Hasmegefely, Hasmegeallya - Hársalja**

arable land: Abbey of Dömös: part of 47 *iugerum*; under Hasallya hill  
 Chapter of Fehérvár: 23 *iugerum regalis*; on the top of  
 Hamegefely hill

vine: Prior of Lövöld: 1-5

**Benevapaya valley**

arable land: Canon of Fehérvár: 5 *iugerum*;  
vine: Chapter of Fehérvár: 1  
 Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 1

woodland: Chapter of Fehérvár: 10 *iugerum regalis*;  
 Canon of Fehérvár; on south, next the forest of the chapter

**Territory nearby village Fehéregyház**

arable land: Michael Kátai: 24 *iugerum*; east of the road leading to Fejereghaz,  
 on the place called Zygeth (Island)

10 *iugerum*; near Fejereghaz, on the place  
 called Zygeth

42 *iugerum*; above Mochuada pond, near  
 Fejereghaz

meadow: Michael Kátai: 3 *falcastrum*; between Chepel and Kekche, near  
 Fejereghaz

### Unidentifiable places

Adamche: Abbey of Dömös: 1 vine

Borsonfenew: Osztopáni family: 1 vine

Dobrache: Prior of Lövöld: 1 vine

Fekete mege: Prior of Lövöld: 1 vine

Fodorzeleyfely: Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 1 vine

Fothafenew: Osztopáni family: 1 vine

Gewlche hill: Abbey of Dömös: 2 vines

Harkalyoldala: Chapter of Fehérvár: 2 vines

Horohzeg: Canon of Fehérvár: 1 vine

Michael Kátai: 1 vine

Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 1 vine

Oldalasnyar hill: Saint Nicolas fellow chapter: 31 *iugerum* arable lands

Okomlo: Michael Kátai: 2 *iugerum* arable lands

Silreth: Laurentius son of Demetrius: 1 *falcastrum* meadow

Thekenewsarokya valley: Prior of Lövöld: 2-6 vines

Thekenews hill: Prior of Lövöld: 3 vines

Michael Kátai: 1 vine

Thengerde: Bishop of Veszprém: 1 vine

Utas hill: Chapter of Fehérvár: 2 vines

Michael Kátai: 1 vine

Varasfew: Osztopáni family: 8 *iugerum* woodlands

Vemedevapaya: Chapter of Fehérvár: 1 vine

Vercheerdeye forest: Bishop of Veszprém: woodland

Zegesey: Abbey of Dömös: 2 vines

Zelegez: Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 1 vine

Prior of Lövöld: 1 vine

Zenthbenedekmezeye: Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 48 *iugerum* arable lands

Laurentius son of Demetrius: 8 *iugerum* arable lands

For mapping arable lands, it is essential to determine the size of the so-called *iugerum usualis*, since the charter says that every mansio has fourteen *iugerum* arable land defined by means of average measurement of bondsmen living in neighbouring villages.<sup>90</sup> Besides the official measurements of *iugerum regalis* a wide variety of local *iugerum* were used on different territories of medieval Hungary.

The perambulation charter of Teleki from 1429 provides information about the width of *iugerum usualis* where it says "the twenty *iugerum usualis* Septer praedium of Saint Michael church, that is, seventeen and a half *ulna* of Buda wide".<sup>91</sup> This sentence raises some questions. First, it must be decided whether the *ulna* is used as *rőf* (58.4 cm) or *öl* (3 m).<sup>92</sup> Among Hungarian units of measurements the *rőf* is made the exact length of arm, thus can be equivalent to the English ell. The *öl* means the length of arms wide open. If *ulna* is applied as *rőf* then the width of *iugerum usualis* is ten and a half meters while in the case of *öl* the result is fifty three meters. Probably, the measurement used in the adjacent village of Teleki a few years later, is suitable for Csepely as well. However, it must be supposed that the perambulation document provides the exact width of the *iugerum usualis*, because it differs from the customary unit of measurement.

In case of the cultivated land, one can also apply the method already practiced in the analysis of the inner area. At the very least the width of the *iugerum usualis* can be established on the basis of the area of a completely cultivated territory and the amount of local *iugerum* within it. Telek, the area behind plots of the western line, suits this kind of analysis. The territory of Telek is delimited by the plots of the abbey of Dömös to the

<sup>90</sup> „... quantas terras arabiles, prata, silvas et alias utilitates necessarias unus iobagio in vicinariis possessionibus non integrum fundum habens, sed mediocri modo more villanorum perseverans usualiter teneret et possideret et secundum hoc pro qualibet mansione quatuordecem iugera terre ....”, line 87.

<sup>91</sup> See note 83.

<sup>92</sup> Bogdán, *Magyarországi* 87., 102.

south, and by the road called *Via magna* in the west. North of Telek we find the plots of Saint Nicolas Church and east of the area lie the plots of the western line. All together twenty six plots are situate along the place that is four hundred seventy five meters wide. In 1412 three of the landholders had arable lands in Telek. There are thirteen *iugerum* belonging to the Osztopáni family on the south, six *iugerum* belonging to the Canon of Fehérvár and finally, thirty six *iugerum* held by Michael Kátai on north. These shares are in total fifty five *iugerum*, therefore the width of one *iugerum usualis* is accordingly 8.7 meters. Although this result approximates the *iugerum usualis* of Teleki measured by *rőf*, they are not equal.

For the purpose of further results it is necessary to reconsider the position of the mentioned fields. Presumably, the fifty five *iugerum* land do not sit in perfect alignment to each other. Possibly, Kátai's arable lands, besides shares of the Saint Nicolas fellow chapter, extend not only to the road but to Halászóvölgy, as in the case of the chapter's fields. If the statement is correct, then behind the four plots, next to Saint Nicolas chapter's lands should stand eight-eight *iugerum usualis* arable lands, one behind the other. In this situation, forty seven *iugerum* sit along the area of Telek, accordingly, the width of one *iugerum* is 10.12, exactly the same as the 17.5 *rőf*.

Although, there is no information in the source about the length of the *iugerum usualis*, on the basis of available space in Telek, the 1:15 proportion of width and length seems acceptable.

In case of meadow lands, the charter often refers to the measurement of *falcastrum*. It is widely argued in the literature that the *falcastrum* usually equalled the size or half of the size of the *iugerum usualis*. Regarding *falcastrum* there are some references to its size in the source. The twenty one plots of the chapter of Fehérvár belonged to twenty *iugerum regalis* of meadow. Seeing that the shares of the chapter were, by mistake, measured by *iugerum regalis* instead of *iugerum usualis*, it can be supposed that the twenty *iugerum regalis* of meadow meant to be originally twenty

*iugerum usualis* or, rather, twenty *falcastrum*. Moreover, because of the unusually small size of the local *iugerum* in Csepely, measuring *falcastrum* as half the size of *iugerum* might be useless. As a result, the unit of *falcastrum* is identified with the size of *iugerum usualis* in my mapping of the area.

The vineyards are listed by numbers in the document. There does not exist even indirect data about the dimensions of vineyards, therefore they are marked only by numbers in the reconstruction of the village.

In two cases the charter gives information about the unit of measurement for woodlands. Since forty *iugerum regalis* of woodlands belong to the twenty one plots of the chapter in Fehérvár, and Osztopáni's five plots receive eight *iugerum usualis* of woodlands, it is likely that about two local *iugerum* of woods was set aside for every plot. Because those woodlands are part of larger forests, only their locations are distinguished on the map.

There is an additional problem concerning units of measurement. In 1436, the sons of Michael Kátai applied to reopen the case of 1412 for the reason that in that time the fields of the chapter in Fehérvár were measured by *iugerum regalis* and hence its shares crossed into the lands of the Kátai family and of the Carthusian monastery. The palatine, Michael Garai, ordered a redistribution of the fields belonging to the chapter by use of the correct measurement. Although the division charter from 1412 includes these lands measured by *iugerum regalis*, they are mapped as fields allocated in local measurement.

Inasmuch as the charter does not provide information about the direction and form of the parcels or fields, the reconstruction only indicates the size and cultivation of the different shares.

It would, of course, be quite wrong to assume that all Hungarian settlements have documents providing an opportunity to reconstruct their medieval fields in such a detailed way. Nevertheless, the example of Csepely might cast some light on the nature



of land usage in the Middle Ages, at least for the western part of Hungary.

## 2.5. Analysis of the fields

We saw at former discussion how the fields are situated within the township of Csepely at the beginning of the fifteenth century. By separation of the different elements, one can establish further conclusions concerning land usage.

The arable lands in the area of medieval Csepely are situated in valleys of the well-formed geography of the village. Different sectors of husbandry were placed on areas that provide favorable conditions for their cultivation. A considerable amount of fields run alongside the Séd stream flowing down from Váráng into the pond named Kenderáztató. There are also arable lands along the streams in Nádasdi and the Fűző valley and in the southern part of the village township, where the brook now called Büdösgáti víz runs. Meadows predominantly lie in lower territories and can always be found next to streams or the pond, for that reason they are divided into smaller units and aligned near to each other. Most of the vineyards are on hills, presumably on southern slopes.

There are some sources for studying the process of land clearing and medieval silviculture, for example place-names. Their roles in the research of land utilization may be demonstrated by the name of the Jegenyeeerdew forest, also called *eresztvényerdő*. The expression *eresztvény* means a young forest which was not allowed to be cut. It is also possible to observe the reforestation of an area formerly cleared as a result of woodfalling or simply because the village community needed more territories for ploughing.

Some other field names demonstrate techniques of deforestation. The name of the valley and the hill called Nacco derives from the word Nagyszó which refers to a certain method of deforestation. During this procedure, called *aszálás* (drying), the bark of trees are stripped off around the base of the trunk and, as the circulation of sap stops,

the trees wither.<sup>93</sup> In the fifteenth century, the sixteen vines planted on the hill and arable lands of the abbot of Dömös extended to the valley making necessary a certain amount of deforestation.

One can follow the expansion of deforested areas within village boundaries by examining the medieval cultivation of a place today called *Irtás* (clearing). In the fifteenth century the hill situated west of the village was not cultivated at all. In that time, the area was probably forested or covered brushwood. Only in later centuries, when fields were expanded according to the needs of the village community, the territory of the hill eventually became cleared and cultivated.

Some features of the mapped reconstruction allow us to draw additional conclusions in connection with field systems used in Csepely. Márta Belényesy, examining villages in the county of Zala, directs attention to a special type of land usage named by her as tanor-system.<sup>94</sup> She observes that arable fields lain continuously behind the plots create an inner ring of arable land surrounding the inhabited area of the village. Despite the fact that those fields belong to landholder's shares, they are held in severalty, in contrast to other arable lands. The inner zone are cultivated in a so-called "permanent one-field system" which means that its fields are not under crop control and rotation. Belényesy connects this system to villages founded after clear-cutting and interprets it as the first fields of cultivation for confined townships of early settlements. What follows from her thesis is that villages using the tanor-system have a fairly late founding, their origins going back only to the thirteenth century. However, her argument is contradicted by the fact that this kind of land usage exist in cases of earlier villages as well. Jenő Major tries to solve the problem by stating that these communities would have relocated during the

<sup>93</sup> L. Takács, *Irtásgazdálkodásunk emlékei* [History of deforestation] (Budapest, 1980) or D. Pais, "Az aszó elhomályosult összetételei" [The obscured compounds of the word *aszó*] *Magyar Nyelv* 8 (1912) 391-401.

<sup>94</sup> M. Belényesy, "Kerített település és gazdálkodás kapcsolata néhány zalai irtásos falunál" [Relation between cultivation and fenced settlement in cases of some villages founded by deforestation in county Zala] *Ethnographia* 69 (1958) 117-127. and Belényesy, *Ethnographia* 71 (1960)

time or changed their land usage within the village boundary.<sup>95</sup> Although Belényesy considers the tanor-system an early sign of disintegration of common field system, it is not the only explanation. It should not be forgotten that, since the inner zone of fields could be used as pastures too, it was well manured and more fertile areas, therefore to leave this land out of crop was not necessary.

A type of land usage similar to the tanor system can be observed in fifteenth century Csepely as well. At Telek, the parcels of land align behind the plots continuously. The document from 1339 may cast some light on the nature of cultivation in this area. The charter covers a trade where Jacob son of Christopher Csepeli sold his plot that lay next the toft of the parish priest, to Emericus, son of Györk. In describing the position of the sold plot, the document says that north of the toft situated the *terra fimata* of Jacob. Expressions like *terra fimata* and *telek*, that is the fifteenth century name of the area, often referred to manured and fertile lands.<sup>96</sup> On the basis of the reconstruction, it is clear that this territory was cultivated as arable land at the beginning of the fifteenth century; therefore, it might be supposed that Telek included arable fields that were at the same time utilized for inner pasture as well. However, the former argument is not the only explanation for this problem. Evidences of the document of 1339 prove the existence of intensive cultivation only in the fourteenth century. It is difficult to decide whether the same land usage endured up to the beginning of the fifteenth century or the place name of Telek refers to an earlier form of farming and landholding. What is more, places called *telek* primarily recall fields not under communal regulation and often held in private

<sup>95</sup> J. Major, "Telektípusok kialakulásának kezdetei Magyarországon" [The beginning of development of plot types in Hungary] *Településtudományi Közlemények* (1961) 34-55.

<sup>96</sup> For more information about the meaning and usage of the word *telek* and *terra fimata* see: M. Belényesy, *Adatok a tanyakialakulás kérdéséhez (A „telek”, és a magyar tanya középkori gyökerei)*. [Data to the problem of the farm development (Medieval origins of „telek”, and the Hungarian farm)] (Budapest, 1948); L. Földes, „Telek, és költözködő falvak a honfoglaló és Árpád-kori magyarság gazdálkodásában” [„Telek, and moving villages in the husbandry of Hungarians in the age of conquest and in the Arpadian age] in: ed. F. Tőkei, *Nomád társadalmak és államalakulatok* (Budapest, 1983) 327-348.; J. Laszlovszky, *Einzelhofsiedlung in der Arpadenzeit (Arpadenzeitliche Siedlung auf der Mark von Kengyel)* *Acta Archaeologica* 38 (1986) 1-2. 227-255.

property. Previous discussion guides us to the conclusion that fields in fifteenth century Telek either were themselves or only remains of an area within the village township where cultivation and landholding occurred in a fashion similar to the tanor-system.

Apart from the mentioned types of field-systems, certain other valuable features of field division demonstrate the complexity of land usage in Csepely. The position of the fields behind the plots of the Saint Nicolas fellow chapter indicates the presence of a special type of field-systems often occurring in villages founded by deforestation. German scholars introduced the term *Waldhufendorf*, to distinguish a village in which all the arable lands belonging to a given toft, were situated as a continuation of the plot immediately behind the inner core of the settlement.<sup>97</sup> Researchers often emphasize that this type of land usage appears together with regular form of the inner area. This classification applies to Hungarian village typology as well and traditionally regarded as characteristic of villages in mountainous regions. According to the normally accepted theory, *Waldhufendorf*-type Hungarian villages are settled by land-clearing and date back to the twelve-thirteen century.<sup>98</sup> In Csepely, behind the three plots of the fellow chapter on the western side of the main street are twenty nine *iugerum* arable lands extending to the Halászó valley, and an additional thirteen *iugerum* field situate in the valley itself. This means that the continuation of the three plots are all together forty two, namely three times fourteen *iugerum*. As pointed out above, as far as the measure of *iugerum usualis* is concerned, every plot was given fourteen *iugerum* of arable land as appurtenance. What follows from this is that, despite the fact that Csepely can not be ranked as a villages founded by deforestation and is not situated in mountainous area, it still shows some features of the field-system characteristic of those settlements. More importantly, in spite the fact that the form of the inhabited area shows regular elements, Csepely can not be considered as a regular type of villages.

<sup>97</sup> For more information see: Kötzschke, *Ländliche* 214-215.

<sup>98</sup> See: Mendöl, *Általános* 254-255. and Szabó, *A magyar* 18.

The division charter provides data pertaining to the presence of a common field system in Csepely. In connection with the fields belonging to the chapter of Fehérvár, the document informs us that arable lands of the chapter did not situate together within one boundary, because the fields of neighbouring shares lay mixed up (*mixtim*), in several places.<sup>99</sup> The argumentation and especially the expression of *mixtim*, renders the existence of yearly distributed, but at least sub-divided and communally controlled fields probable in the village. For the reason that no other information suggest the manner of field allocation, it is not clear whether the word *mixtim* means a functioning common field-system or the remains testify to the last and solidified distribution of fields.

Several place names incorporate personal names. In these cases we meet with those fields which, in accordance with demands of village expansion, were taken under cultivation ,after deforestation, by a member or a family of the community. People who cleared and ploughed a piece of forest land or brushy area received the right to hold it as private property and exercise their autonomous usage over it. These places can be interpreted as fields belonging to given persons and, hence are excluded from common or sub-divided fields.<sup>100</sup>

Although, I have not solved all the questions concerning field systems in the village, a general overview of land usage in fifteenth century Csepely can be drawn. According to the intensity of cultivation, at least two zones of the township can be established. On the one hand, the arable lands immediately behind the plots created an inner core of pastures and ploughed areas, where two different pattern of land usages can be distinguished. On the other hand an "outer zone" of land further from the village supposedly was cultivated in sub-divided fields under cropping control.<sup>101</sup> The third type

<sup>99</sup> „...ipsam autem terram trium aratorum et triginta iugerum pro eo, quia terre possessionum circumiacentium in pluribus locis mixtim adiacerent, sub una metarum distinctione includere non valuisent..., lines 105-106.

<sup>100</sup> The following field names are discussed here: Benevapaya (Bene), Fodorzeleyfely (Fodor), Iwanzeleyfely (Iván), Markushorhafely (Márkus), Zabowelgh (Szabó)

<sup>101</sup> Since we are not guided by evidence referring to the exact manner of land usage in this area, no more can be said other than that two- or three-field system of a kind could exist within the framework of

of lands are enclosures, cleared and brought under cultivation by personal efforts and remaining free of communall regulations and were not among the landholder's shares.

The above discussed farming systems show similarities, at least in their external appearance with the so-called infield-outfield system demonstrated in the case of many English villages.<sup>102</sup> Put simply, a number of scholars point out that many medieval village townships comprise of an inner core of fields around the village itself, and a considerable outer ring of land cultivated and held in contrast with the farming system employed in the inner zone. Infield-outfield combines intensive and extensive cropping patterns, namely constant and shifting cultivation. The infield was the more intensive zone because it was the longer-established of the two and therefore a more fertile nucleus for the settlement. The intensive cultivation of the infield can be considered as prerequisite for the growth of the outfield, which may have appeared neither as enclosures or as sub-divided fields. Besides this general view of the infield-outfield, a wide variety of regional types of this system are discovered in different territories of Great Britain. It would be quite wrong to say that in fifteenth century Hungary the same kind of land usage was practiced, nevertheless physical appearance of some elements of the farming system in Csepely shows striking similarities.

In the case of Csepely, the fifteenth century source does not draw distinctions between the two recognizable zones, either in sense of landholding or definite methods of cultivation. Nevertheless, as far as land usage of Telek was discussed, the inner core, at least in the fourteenth century, was cultivated in an intensive way and probable held by severalty, in contrast to the fields of the outer periphery. Despite the fact, that we call the two areas zones or even rings, they had irregular forms influenced by various features of the terrain.

The diversity of the field systems within the township allow us to make further

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the outer zone.

<sup>102</sup> For the whole debate on and regional varieties of infield-outfield system see: Dodgshon, *The Origin* 83-107.

conclusions concerning the traditionally accepted typology applied to Hungarian farming systems. The existence of remains of different field systems refers to a shift from one kind of land usage to another. Moreover, results of the present chapter also exemplify how several patterns of farming systems may intimately mingle within one township. Field systems in Csepely, therefore, can not be identified by one particular type of cultivation, but a mix of different types that, on one hand reflect the changes in village form over the centuries and, on the other hand, adjustment to favorable patterns of land usage.



### **3. Study on the village structure and field systems of Mogyoróska**

#### **3.1. Introduction**

In the case of Csepely, we had the opportunity to deal with a very unique medieval charter and its detailed description about the structure of the village. The majority of the Hungarian villages do not have any document that account for the perambulation of bounds or the division of the estates. For this reason, it is essential to look into a case where scholars are allowed to apply sources and methods which are completely different in their nature. Namely, lacking appropriate historical documents, one can utilise observations taken in the landscape and analyse them by separating various features of the landscape.

#### **3.2. Geographical position and foundation of Mogyoróska**

By studying Mogyoróska, we intend on the one hand to demonstrate how field survey, especially analysis of “aerial photos”<sup>103</sup> can direct us to conclusions concerning village structure and land usage, and on the other hand to compare them with the results of the former chapters. Of course, because of the restricted possibilities of available sources, we can not achieve such a complex and detailed image of the medieval village as with the reconstruction of Csepely. Considering this condition, the purpose of recent chapter is only to give an initial insight into the use and accessible results of the mentioned methods in the case of a Hungarian village.

The geographical position of Mogyoróska is partly similar to that of Csepely, but the size and form of its township is more determined by the hills surrounding the

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<sup>103</sup> The photos used in this work are not aerial photos since they are taken from the northern neighbouring castle Regéc, not from the air.

settlement. Mogyoróska is situated in the Regéc basin, within the Zemplén mountains that lie in the north-eastern part of Hungary. As it is shown on the first Ordinance Survey of Hungary from 1784,<sup>104</sup> three roads lead out of the village. The first goes towards east and then north, to Telkibánya, the second leads towards east, to Óhuta; this road surely has medieval origins, since it appears as a very deep hollow way in the landscape. (Fig.8.) The third road leads towards the southern neighbouring village, Baskó. The closed geographical position of Mogyoróska for the purpose of a historian, emerges as an advantage. Since the village could not overflow its natural boundary line, there is a solid basis to claim that the recent confined township covers the medieval area of the village.

Inasmuch as history of Mogyoróska is very poorly documented, we can rely only on indirect references. Lacking appropriate historical evidences concerning the foundation of the village itself, a regional study might casts some light on the origin of Mogyoróska. Until the twelve century, the area of the village was incorporated into the territory of the royal forest estate called Radvány, that was located within a larger block of forests which extended from Nagymilic to the Bodrog valley.<sup>105</sup> The royal estates of north-eastern Hungary started to be donated in the twelfth century, when the Radvány forests became the possession of the Aba clan. Although the date of the settlement of Mogyoróska is unclear, it might be suggested that its foundation took place in the wave of settlement movement in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, in course of which many villages were founded by clearing wooded areas, including the Zemplén mountains. Indeed, the three main strategic site of the region, namely the castles of Bodrogkövővár, Füzér and Regéc and some of their neighbouring villages have first references from the thirteenth century.<sup>106</sup> Foundation of Boldogkövővár, because of its position on the edge

<sup>104</sup> 1784. Collo XXIII. Sectio 11.

<sup>105</sup> For the history of the region and more information concerning the formation of royal forest estates see: J. Szűcs, "Sárospatak kezdetei és a pataki erdőuradalom" [Beginning of Sárospatak and the forest estate of Patak] *Történelmi Szemle* 35 (1993) 1-2. 1-57.

<sup>106</sup> Gy. Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza 1.* [Historical geography of Hungary in the Arpadian age] (Budapest 1963) Füzér: 1264 82-83.; Bodrogkövővár: 1295 (?) 70.; Füzér: 1285 907. There are two possible dates for the foundation of Füzér in the literature. According to György Györffy the castle already existed in 1285, while Erik Fügedi questioning this says that the existence of the castle can be proved only from 1307. ; E. Fügedi, *Vár és társadalom a*

of the region shows the first stage of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries inner colonisation of the territory. Mogyoróska belonged to the Regéc castle in the Middle Ages, accordingly its settlement is connected with the foundation of the castle. Moreover, the Paulite monastery situated within the township of the northern neighbouring village Regécke, also originates from the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>107</sup> The most common form of the thirteenth century settlements was the so-called *more scultetorum* foundations where under the direction of frequently German people, settlers from Silesia and Moravia founded villages by deforestation. These settlements always benefited from privileges concerning taxation and cultivated their township in a special system of land usage that will be discussed later. The assumption of such a foundation, in the case of Mogyoróska, can be reinforced by a place name. One of the clearings situated on the southern hill, is called *Soltész rét* (Soltész meadow) that might refer to the settlers of the village.

Although, one can not rely on historical sources providing information about the settlement of Mogyoróska, on the basis of the data concerning the history of the region it can be said that the village was founded between the end of the thirteenth and the mid fourteenth centuries.

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*13-14. századi Magyarországon* [Castle and society in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries Hungary] (Budapest, 1977) 181.

<sup>107</sup> M. Wolf, *Árpád-kori eredetű települések Abaúj vármegye déli részén* [Settlements from the Arpadian age in the southern part of county Abaúj] (Miskolc, 1989) 143.

### 3.3. The village structure

In the following section, after giving a description of the physical appearance of the recent village, relying upon field survey and evidences of early maps, we intend to draw conclusions concerning village structure and land usage.

First, one can observe the inner area of the settlement. (Fig.9-10.) At first sight, Mogyoróska is a typical example of a regular street village, where the houses align on both sides of the street. Nevertheless, looking at the eighteenth and nineteenth century Ordinance Surveys<sup>108</sup>, only the south-western row of houses can be seen on the map. Indeed, even today, on the opposite side of the street the order of plots is much less closed than on the south-western side. Although, some sign of irregularity can be found on the southern end of the village, since here the plots are situated along a street that is not definitely a continuation of the recent line of the main street, the above mentioned dissimilarity between the order of the opposite plots is very significant here as well. Thus it can be concluded, that still in the nineteenth century, the houses were built only on the south-western side of the street, while there were fields and farm-buildings facing the houses. Our interpretation can be reinforced by the fact that a ruined barn from the last century stands next to the street on its north-eastern side; this building can be considered as a remains of the former row of farm-buildings. (Fig...) This type of settlement forms, where the farm-yard is somehow separated from the toft, is well known from the ethnographic literature.<sup>109</sup> This type, the so-called village with double yards, appears on the one hand in marshy and mountainous territories where the villages rely mainly on animal keeping and the separation of the people and the animals has great importance. On the other hand, it can also be found in wooded regions of settlements founded by deforestation and therefore having planned ground plans or in villages of the lower

<sup>108</sup> 1784. Collo. XXIII. Sectio 11.; 1853; Collo XLI. Sectio 41. and 42.

<sup>109</sup> See: B. Gunda, "Telekformák, települések és a gazdálkodás kapcsolata a Lapos felső völgyében" [Relation between plot forms, settlements and husbandry in the higher valley of Lapos] *Földrajzi Közlemények* 69 (1941) 230-246.; T. Hofer, "A magyar kettősudvarok kérdéséhez" [On the problem of Hungarian double yards] *Ethnographia* 83 (1972) 29-52. Also see: Novák, *Settlement* 48-50.

nobility.<sup>110</sup> In Mogyoroska, the position of the two parts of the plots shows the features of the sub-type of double yard, named paired yards.<sup>111</sup> Characteristically, the strip fields are situated opposite the tofts in their continuation and serve as farm-yards and pastures or arable lands. In the case of Mogyoróska, the form of the village is also a result of adjustment to the changes of the terrain. The tofts are under the steep slope of the hill behind them and the fields lie on a flat area opposite to the houses.

Speaking about the inner structure of the village form, it is worth to examining the size of the tofts. Although the width of the tofts are not equal, their differences are very revealing. Most of the plots are twenty meters wide and those tofts that differ always lie adjacent each other. Adding up the width of these tofts the result most of the time, is forty meters. This result allows us to presume that originally the width of the plots was uniformly around twenty meters and only in the course of later changes, was the boundary line of some plots transferred.

In contrast to Csepely, the form of the inner area can easily be fit into the typological system. The village corresponds to the *Waldhufendorf* type of German classification, which type is adopted by Hungarian settlement typology as well. As it is generally held in Hungarian research, after seeing such a simple, regular inner area, we might expect a similarly regular pattern of field system.

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<sup>110</sup> For more information about regional varieties, see: Novák, *Settlement* 48-50.

<sup>111</sup> Hofer, *A magyar* 39-42.

### 3.4. Reconstructing the fields

Concerning the land usage in Mogyoróska, we are in the fortunate situation that Ferenc Maksay reconstructed the main structure of the eighteenth-century field system on the basis of early maps in the 70s.<sup>112</sup> (Fig. 11.) He set up the arrangement of the two-field system in the village and points out how the arable lands, situated in opposite to the tofts were incorporated into the two-field system for the eighteenth century. According to his map, the first field (*calcatúra*) facing the row of plots is expanded to the township boundary and the second one lies over the hill behind the plots. On the basis of both the field survey and aerial photos of the village, we have the opportunity to examine some elements of the inner structure of the cultivated land.

As for the first field, we saw that it was made up of narrow strips lying opposite to the tofts. Looking at the aerial photos, besides the fact that some still cultivated arable lands indicate the continuation of the archaic structure, features on the ground surface of pastures show the former arrangement of this territory. The different colours of the vegetation trace the lines of the narrow strips running up to the township boundary. Not only the divergent colours, but also remains of ridged-up boundary lines between the former strips can be seen on the surface. In some cases, these eighteen-twenty meters wide<sup>113</sup> strips are divided up into two equal parts also visible by ridges and differences in vegetation. (Fig. 12-15.)

Although the features on the ground suggest that those fields run as far as the boundary line of the village, attention must be paid to the place names. The eastern part of the area, which is situated between the street and the stream, is called *Kertekalja* (Garden ends). The word *kertekalja* refers to a field attached to the row of plots that is made up of small pieces of arable lands belonging to the given plots and are held in severalty. The strict relation between the strips and tofts is characteristic of the

<sup>112</sup> Maksay, *A magyar* 180, 183. Care must be taken to the incorected orientation of the map, since the position of the houses and the fields are drawn as mirror images of reality.

<sup>113</sup> Their size also refers to the relationship between the tofts and strips.

*Waldhufendorf* type, accordingly on this territory the structure of the inner area and the field system meets to expectations of typological ideas.

Szűcs, writing about the techniques of deforestation, connects the row of arable strips attached to the tofts to a special type of clearing called *láz*, where after cutting down the forest, the land first was used as pasture and only a few years later became cultivated.<sup>114</sup> This type of field system, in his view, can be dated back at least to the fourteenth century in the Zemplén region and was held as private property, excluded from crop rotation. He also compares the pattern of strips with the tanor system of western Hungary and emphasises that although their resemblance is very significant, in the Zemplén region these fields cover a more considerable part of the cultivated area. Indeed, the strips along the street compose a considerable part of the cultivated area in Mogyoróska. Developing this investigation further, however, irregular elements of the field system emerge.

The western half of the area, that expands from the stream to the boundary line is named Csonkás (Stump). The word means a glade or clearing and hints at later expansion of the arable lands. The fact that the territory has two different names, shows that they were not brought under cultivation at the same time.

On the basis of the explained observations it might be suggested that the area of Kertekalja was the very first territory that was brought under cultivation and distributed among the settlers. In the course of the village expansion, the community deforested additional land, that later over a long period, incorporated together with Kertekalja, into the first field (*calcatura*) of the settlement.

Regarding the fields east of the inner area of Mogyoróska, attention must be paid first of all, to its name. The territory is called Hosszúföld (Long Field), which might refer to the former long and narrow furlongs or strips lying throughout the field. The long- and narrow-shaped strips in Hungarian agriculture have connections with the usage of heavily moulded plough, that was put to use beginning in the thirteenth century.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Szűcs, *Az utolsó* 185-186.

<sup>115</sup> I. Balassa, *Az eke és a szántás története Magyarországon* [History of plough and ploughing in Hungary] (Budapest, 1973) 271-302.; Belényesy, *Der Ackerbau* 305-306.; Szűcs, *Az utolsó* 178.

Jenő Szűcs studying the relationship between agrarian technique and size of the *iugerum usualis*, emphasises that in mountainous and wooded regions, where breaking the soil was more difficult, the earlier and easier handled type of light plough was used still later in time.<sup>116</sup> He states that the thick-set formed arable fields (1:6.6., 1:7, 1:5) in the neighbourhood of Szerencs in county Zemplén from 1358 attest to the usage of the light plough in the mid fourteenth century.<sup>117</sup>

Remains of earlier furlongs in Hosszúföld are discernible partly in the form of some still cultivated arable lands, partly as features on the ground. Similarly to the strips facing the tofts, the different colours of the vegetation in the pasture and the bushy ridges (Fig.16-17.) along the boundary lines of the furlongs designates the structure of arable field allocation that was probably established within the two-field system (Fig....). Hosszúföld ends right under the hill slope whose line designates the limits of arable land expansion.

Besides the arable fields within the basin, there are other territories utilised as pastures, south and east of the village. Behind the tofts on the hilly area, the map drawn by Maksay (Fig.11.) indicates the place of the common pasture. As it can be seen on the nineteenth-century Ordinance Survey (Fig.18.), small areas of fields with irregular form were laid on the woody territory south of the village. Judging from their forms and position, they were clearings serving mainly as pastures, while plateaus could also be cultivated as arable lands.

Consequently, the regular inner area is surrounded by four different zones of the cultivated area. First, the earliest arable lands lie opposite to the plots which fields expanded from the street to the stream. Second, the arable territory behind the former fields, together with the earliest lands, created later the first field (*calcatura*) of the village. The third zone is the area of Hosszúföld on the south that is a result of later expansion, when already the new agrarian techniques were put to use. The small

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<sup>116</sup> Szűcs, *Az utolsó* 180.

<sup>117</sup> Szűcs, *Az utolsó* 179.



clearings in the southern and eastern forests can be considered as the fourth zone of the village township.

In the case of Mogyoróska, the mixed forms of land usage belonging to a regular inner area, exemplify very well on the one hand the complexity of settlement forms that are end products of the changes of centuries, and on the other hand the necessity of careful classifications in studies on settlement history.

## Conclusion

The cases of the two villages, Csepely and Mogyoróska, we can see how studies on village forms, using both ground and historical evidences, can contribute to a better understanding of settlements, and demonstrate the importance of further research in attempting to challenge the traditional approach to village typology.

Results of the two case studies satisfactorily prove that both landscape and historical methods used together can be successfully applied in studies on Hungarian villages and contribute to a better understanding of settlement history.

In the discussion of Csepely, we saw that its inner area is made up of two different parts that can be connected with forms of particular village types and additional irregular elements can be discerned as well. Within the medieval township of the village, features of four divergent types of land usage were distinguished, including such regular forms as the field system of *Waldhufendorf* or the *tanor* system. What is more, the regular forms of the cultivated land are not always belong to that of the inner area.

In the case of Mogyoróska, an example of a village with regular-shaped inner area was given, where in contrast to the traditional expectations, the structure of the cultivated land seemed to be composed of four different forms of field systems. The study of Mogyoróska places stress on the fact that even in cases when at the first glance a classic, regular village form can be seen, the arrangement of surrounding fields might still be very complex.

The results of our research cast some light on the importance of studying both the inner area and cultivated land, since examination of their relationship can further refine the picture of medieval village forms.

Although, there are Hungarian villages that can be said to precisely fit into the typological system established in the 60s, most of the settlement forms are a mixture of elements of different types and can be regarded as the last stage of a long complex

development. Considering these conditions, further studies on structures of villages are needed to work out a more suitable usage of typology. As Hungarian settlement typology originated mainly from German research, until now it generally follows a very strict manner of classification. Though some scholars, for example Márta Belényesy, pointed out the existence of irregularity within the village township concerning the field systems, their views have not been widely accepted. In contrast, the English typological research is more concerned with reconsideration of traditional categorisation. As Brian Roberts suggested in connection with the forms of the inner area of villages, the terminology is not designed simply to define or even to isolate different forms, but to assist in explaining their natures. Consequently, a rather descriptive than ranking usage of typology is needed. Similarly, regarding the complexity of land usage in settlements, Robert A. Dodgson called attention to the fact that most of the time the townships of medieval villages are composed of both regular and irregular forms of field systems. Moreover, there is not a strict relation between the regularity or irregularity of the inner area and that of the cultivated land.

Of course, we can not give a definite answer to the problem of Hungarian village typology, nevertheless it might be suggested that synthesis of former studies that debated the traditional categorisation and further studies on different regions and various village forms will be concluded in reconsideration of Hungarian settlement typology.

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**App. 1. List of householders in Csepely compiled on the basis of the enumeration of vine-holders**

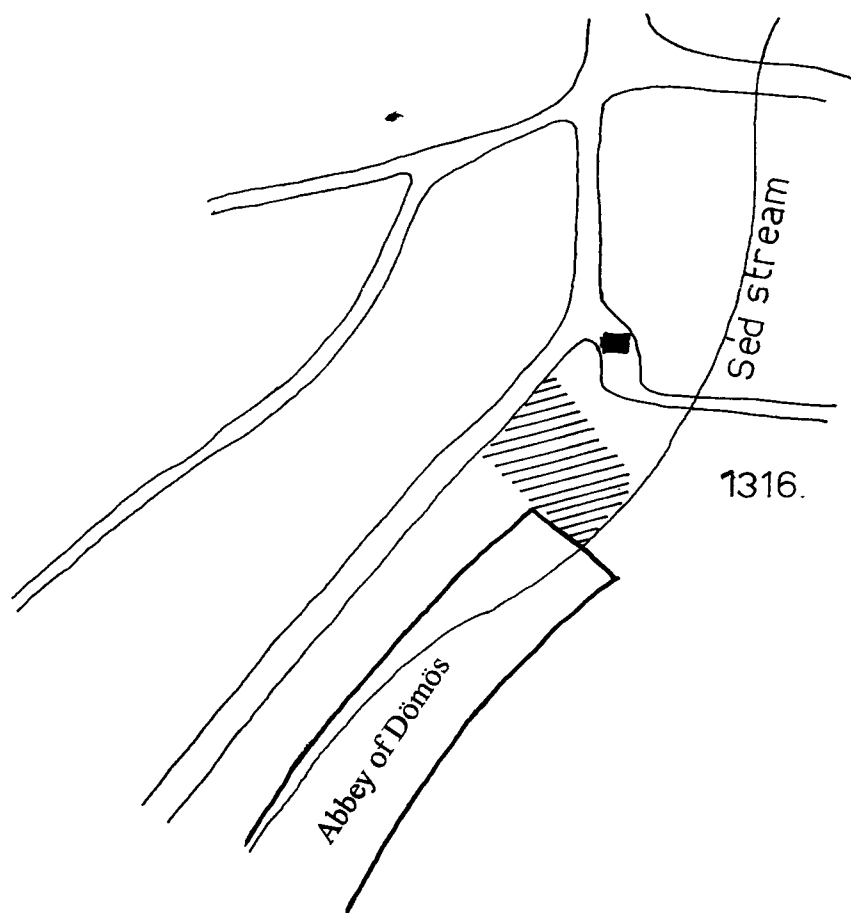
1. Ambrus`s son Gregory
2. Ancho`s son Stephen
3. Andrew`s son George
4. Peter Babodi
5. Balázs`s son Thomas
6. (the same) Balázs`s son Benedek
7. Michael Beldeg`s son George
8. Benedek Bontha
9. Demeter Chepeli`s son Laurence
10. Thomas Chok
11. Demeter`s son Gregory
12. Demeter`s son Balázs
13. Demeter`s son Barnaby
14. Stephen Erdews
15. John Erdews
16. Frank`s son Peter
17. Frank`s son Ladislás
18. Thomas Fodor
19. Gál`s son Simon
20. George the tailor
21. George`s son Laurence
22. Jacob`s son John
23. Jacob`s son Martin
24. (the same) Martin`s son Benedek

25. John`s son Valentine
26. John`s son Michael
27. Michael Keerei
28. Ladislaus`s son Michael
29. Laurence`s son George
30. Luke`s son Benedek
31. Luke`s son Benedek`s sponsus Peter
32. Mark`s son Andrew
33. Mark`s son Paul
34. Mark and his son Sebastian
35. Martin`s sponsus Andrew
36. Martin`s son Michael
37. Michael the blacksmith
38. Michael`s son George
39. Michael`s son Jacob
40. Michael`s son Nicolas
41. Michael`s son Paul
42. Michael`s son Peter
43. Michael`s son Thomas
44. Nicolas`s son John
45. Nicolas`s son Matthias and Stephen
46. Nicolas`s son Nicolas
47. Paul`s son Anthony
48. (the same) Paul`s son Matthias
49. (the same) Paul`s son Peter
50. Paul`s son Laurence
51. Peter`s son John

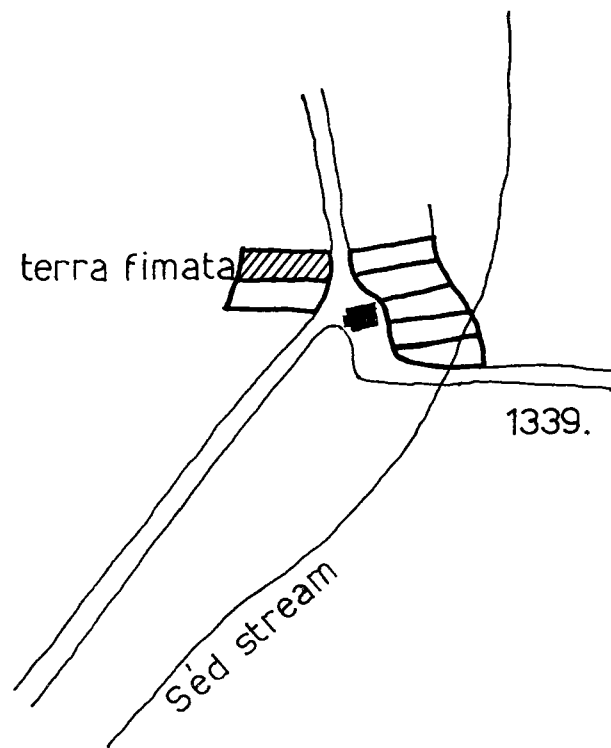
52. Peter`s son Jacob
53. Pethe`s son George and his sons Thomas and Stephen
54. John Powch
55. George Rosuago
56. Saoul`s son Peter
57. Simon`s son John
58. (the same) Simon`s son John`s son Peter
59. Stephen`s son Benedek
60. Stephen`s son Michael
61. George Sylow`s son Benedek
62. Thomas the butcher
63. Koos Theke
64. Thomas Varro
65. John Vegh
66. Balázs Vörös
67. Zenthes`s son Michael`s son Matthias
68. (the same) Zenthes`s son Michael`s son George
- (69.) ... Michael
- (70.) ...`s son George

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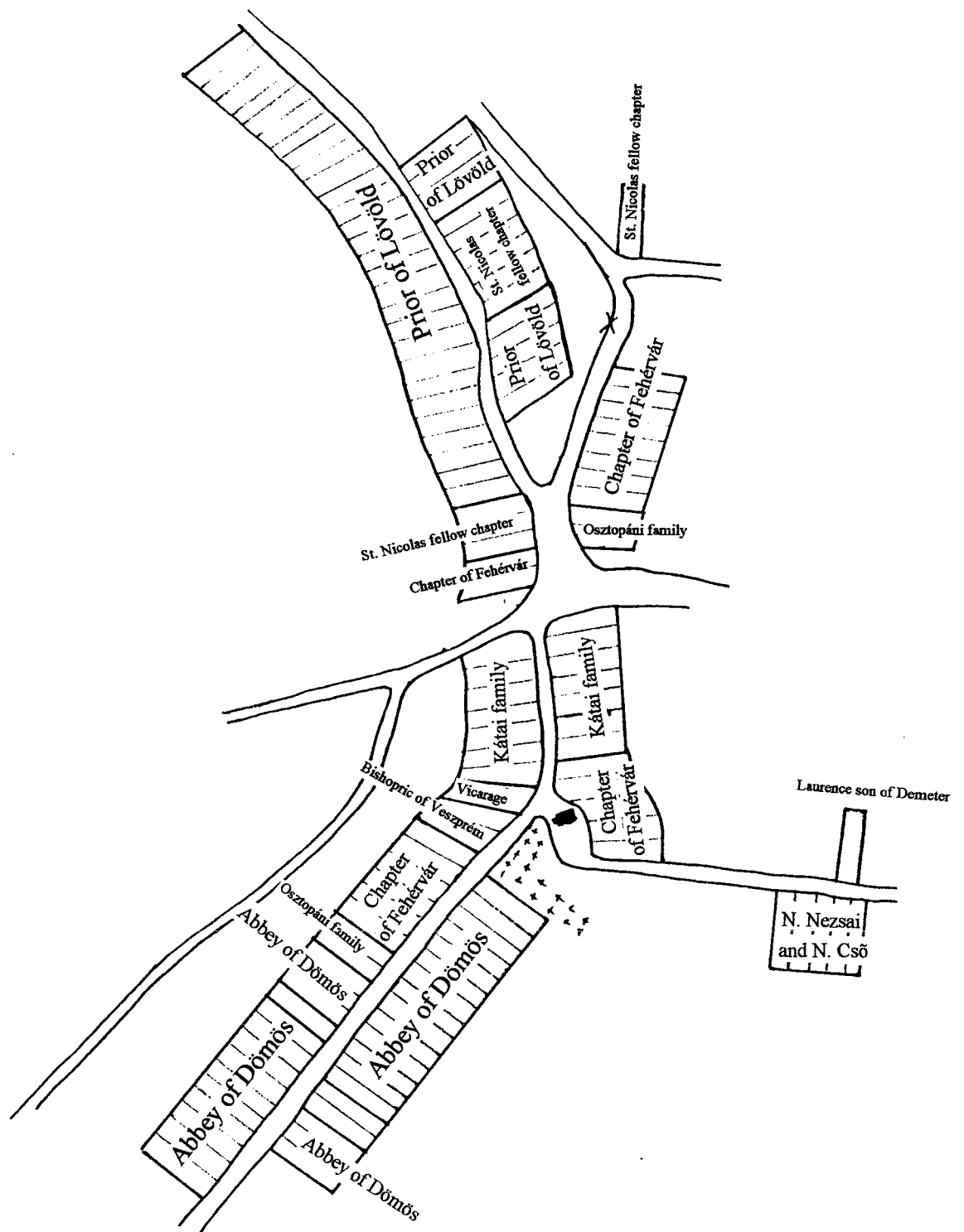


**Fig. 1. Csepely. Reconstruction based on the document of 1316.**



**Fig. 2. Csepely. Reconstruction based on the document of 1339.**





**Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the inner area of Csepely on the basis of the division charter from 1412.**

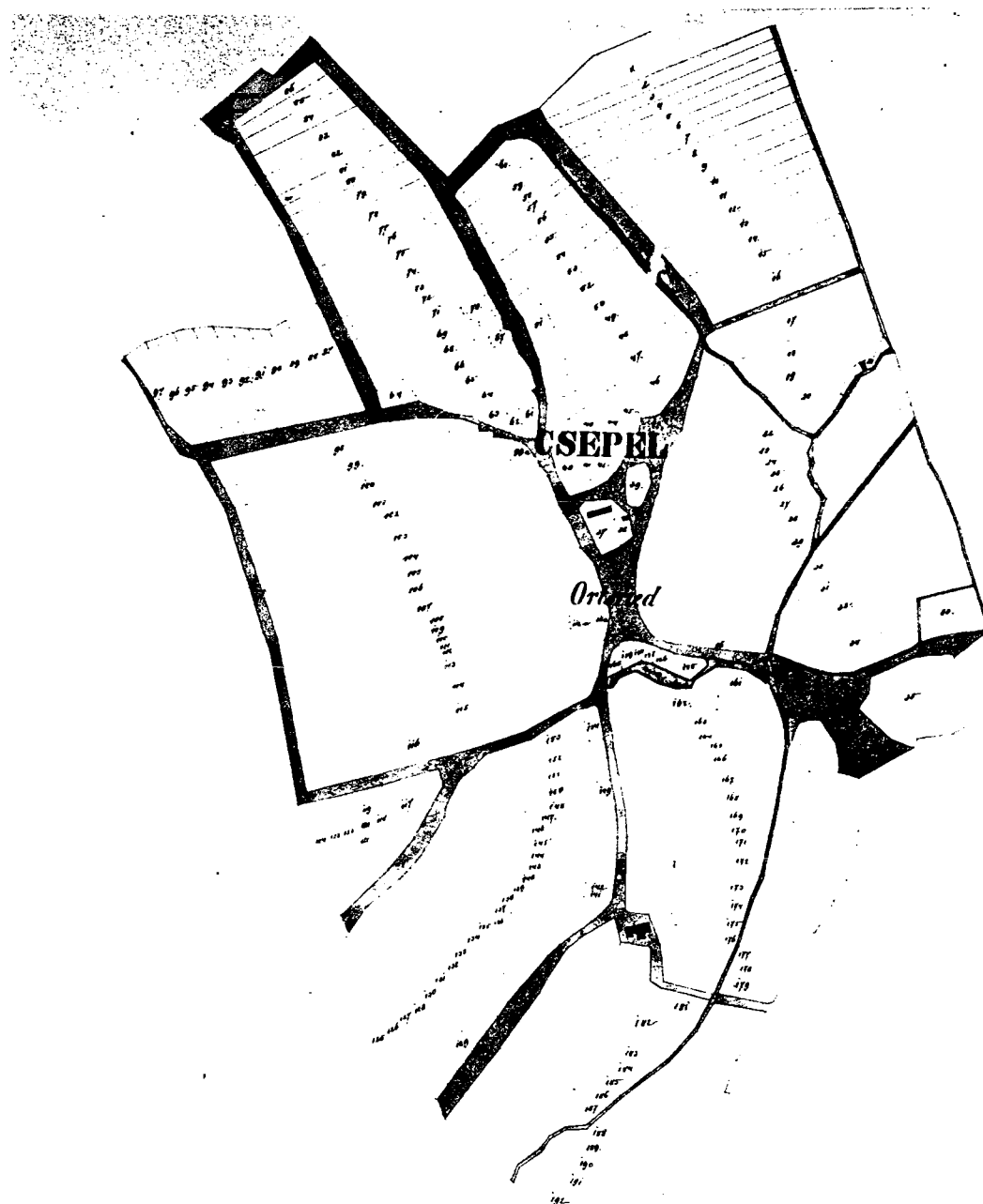


Fig. 4. Map of the inner area of Csepely from 1860 (MOL S78 174.)

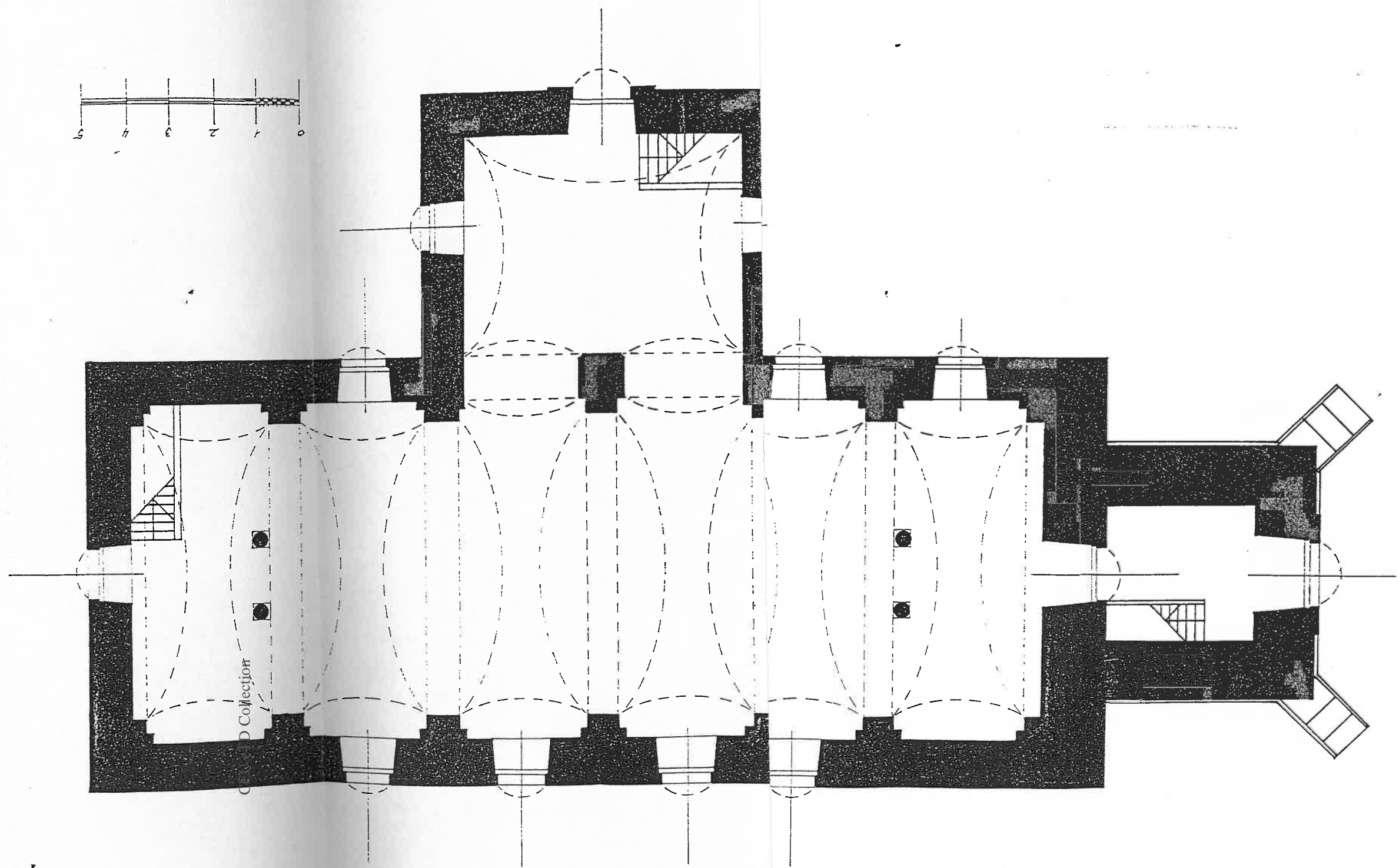
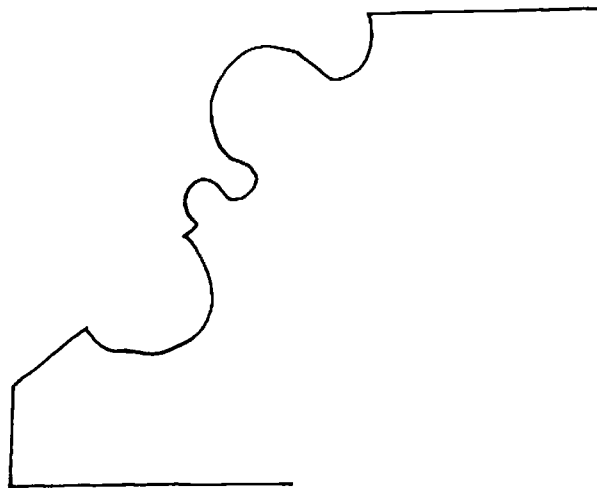
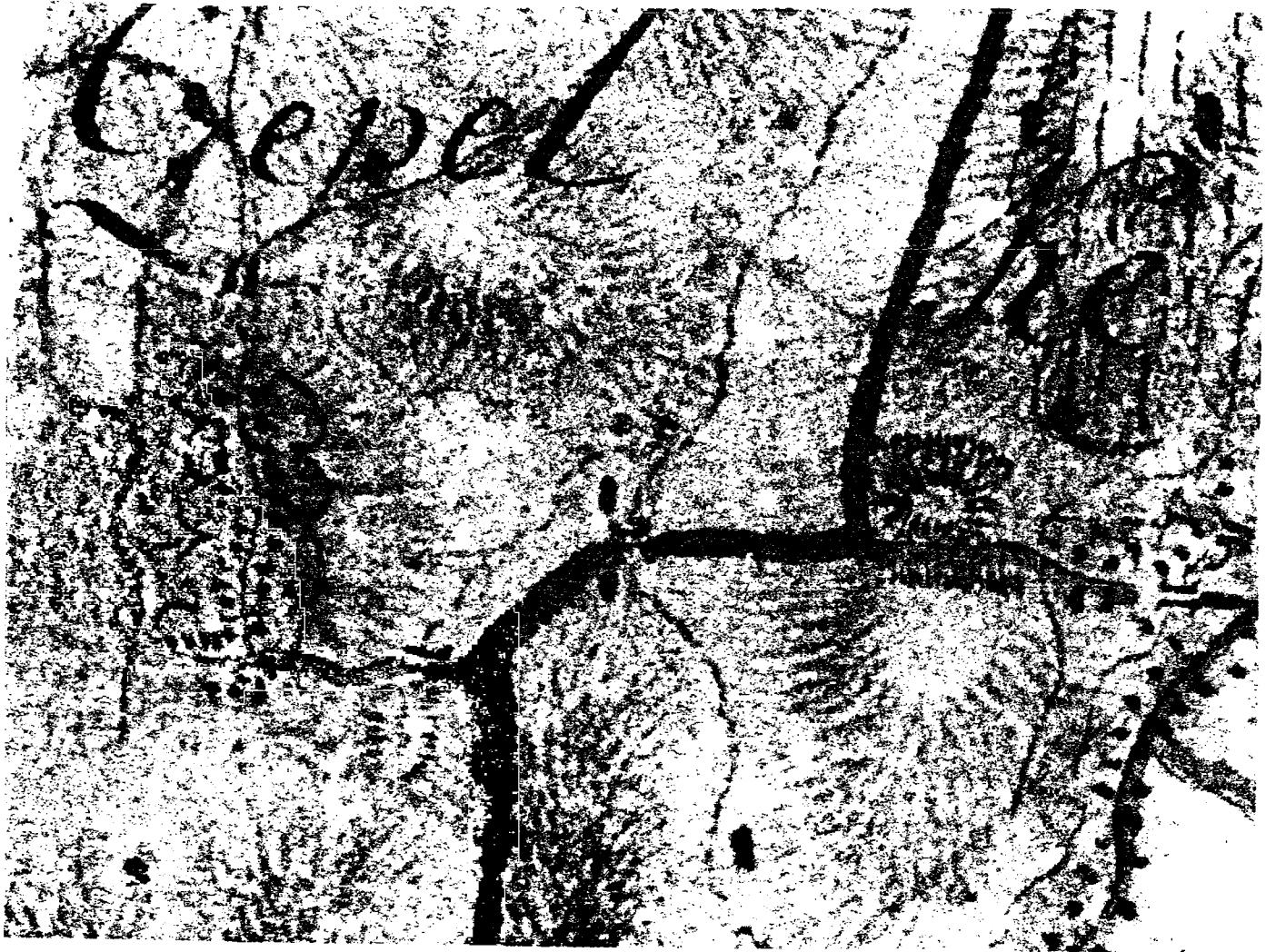


Fig. 5. Ground-plan of the parish church in Csepely.



(without scale)

**Fig. 6. Profile of the moulded stone from the parish church in Csepely.  
(OMF Collection No. 17.643)**



**Fig. 7. Csepely on the First Ordinance Survey from 1783 (Collo IX. Sectio 22)**

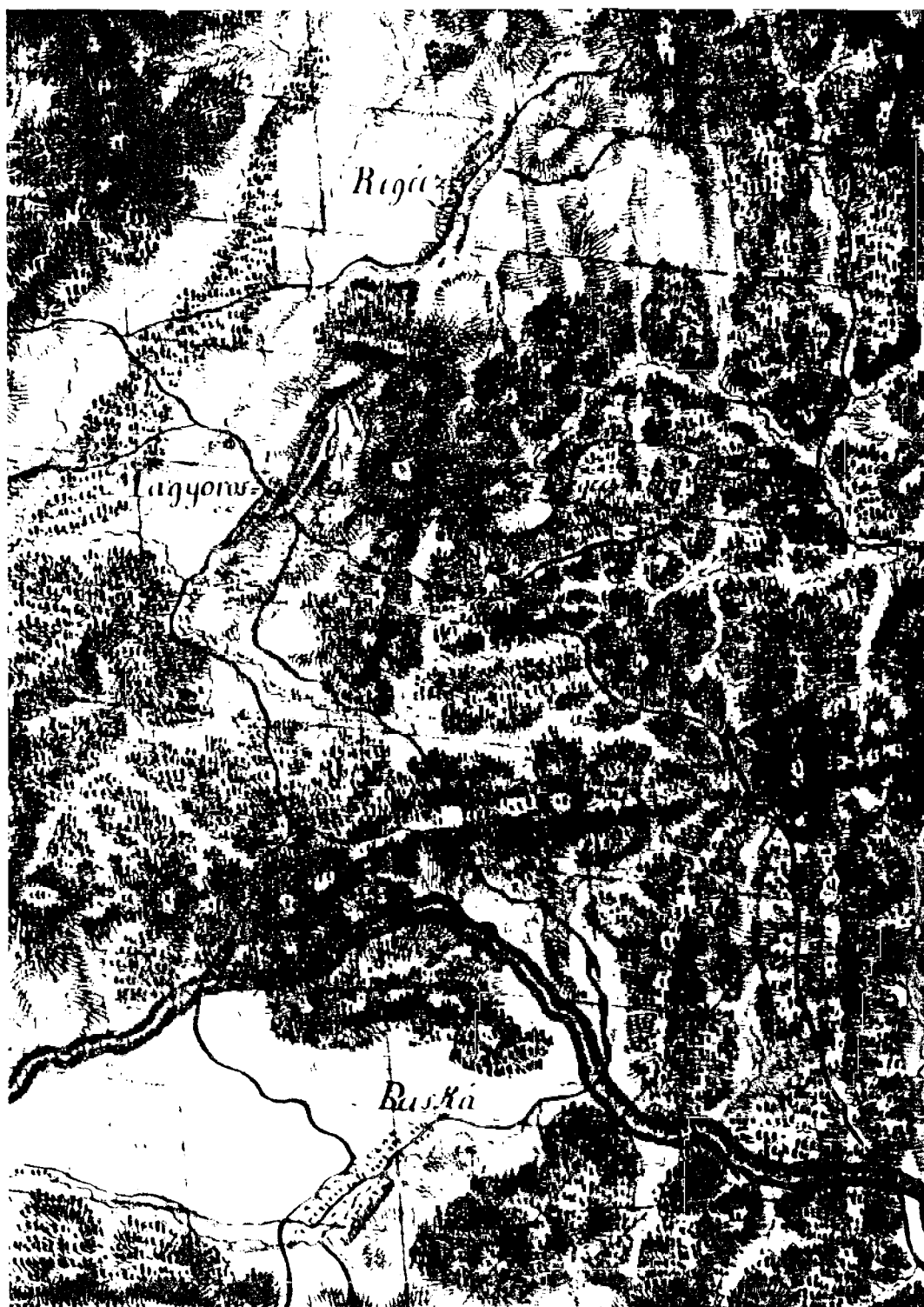
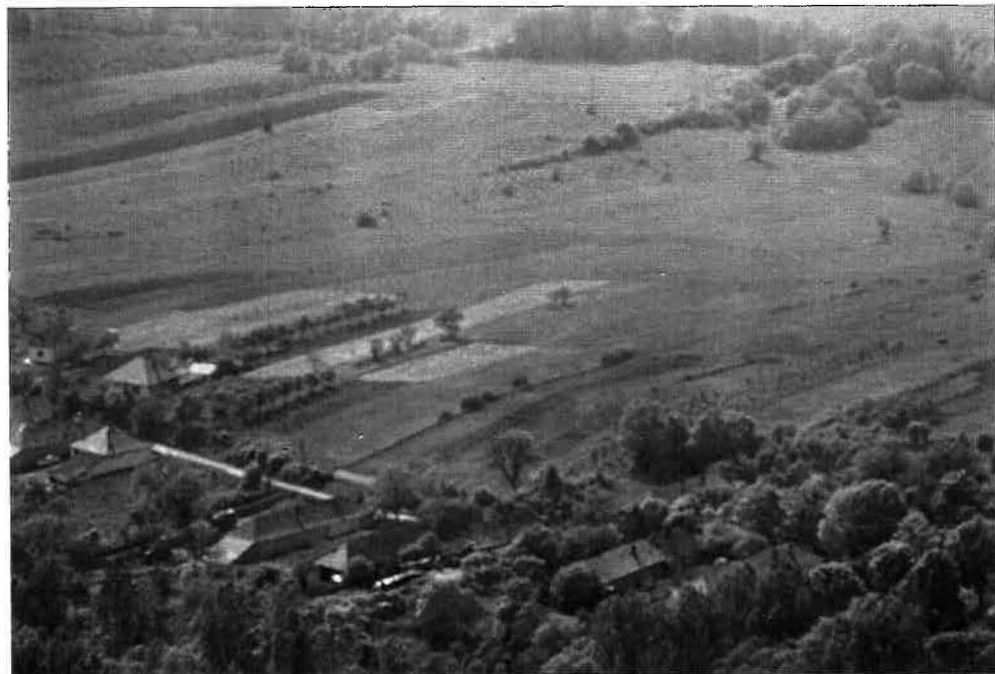
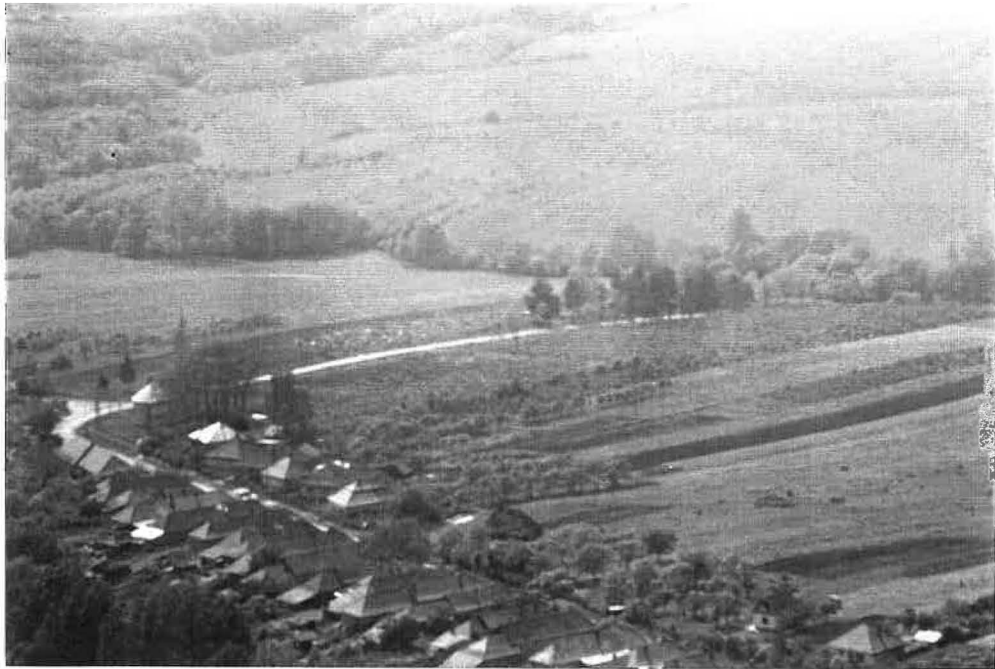
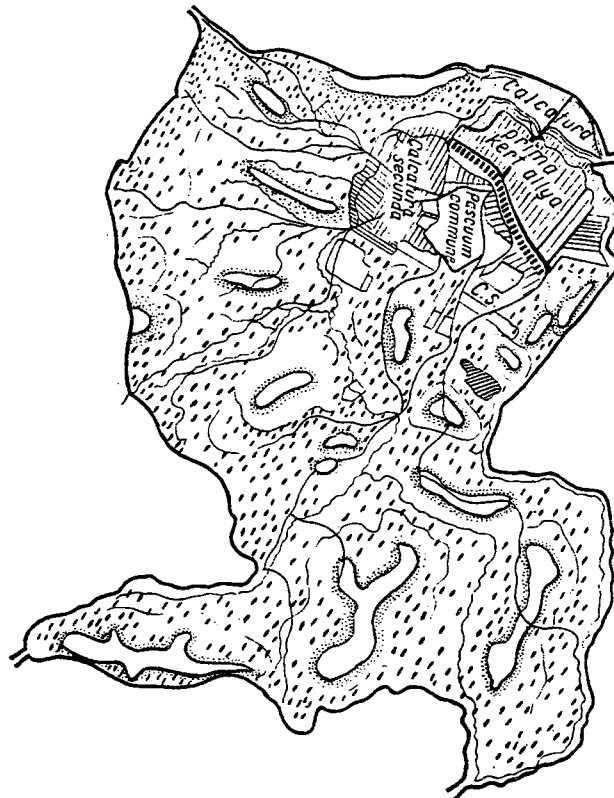


Fig. 8. Mogyoróska on the First Ordinance Survey from 1784. (Collo XXIII. Secto 11.)



**Fig. 9-10. Inner area of Mogyoróska.**

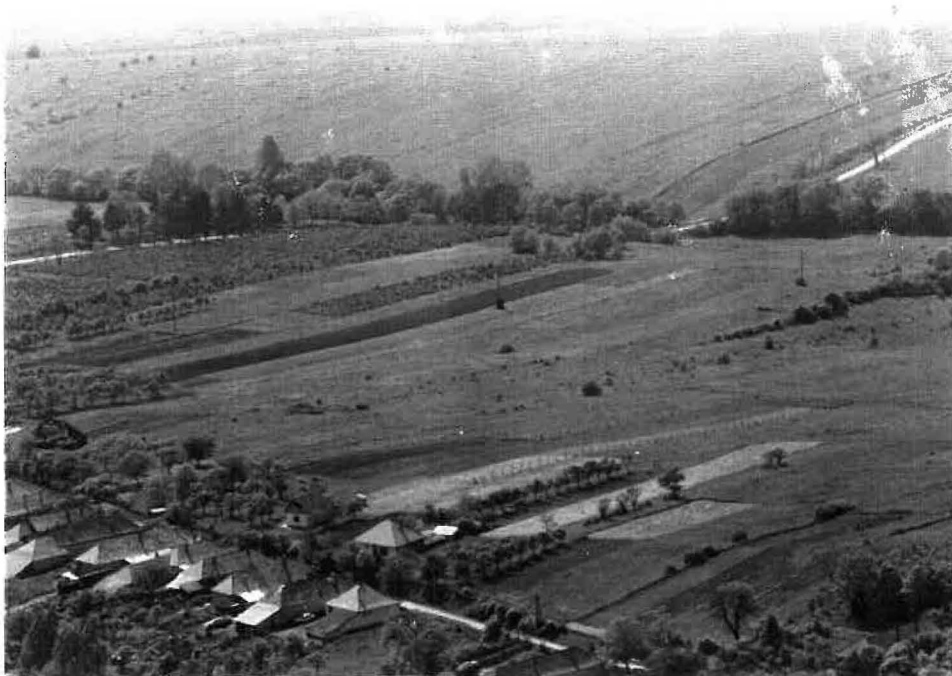


**Fig. 11. Township of Mogyoróska in 1784. (After Maksay 1971)**

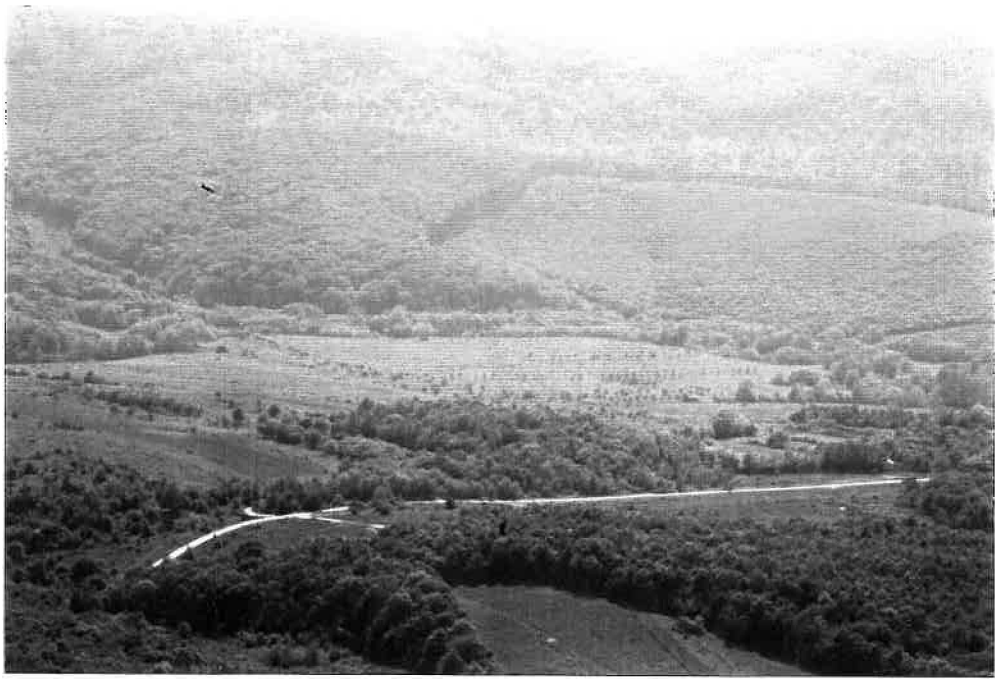




**Fig. 12-13. The fields to the north-west of Mogyoróska.**



**Fig. 14-15. The fields to the south-west of Mogyoróska.**



**Fig. 16-17. The fields to south of Mogyoróska.**



**Fig. 18. Mogyoróska on the Second Ordinance Survey from 1853.  
(Collo XLI. Sectio 41.; 42.)**