

Judit Kodolányi

THE MEDIEVAL CEMETERY ON SIBRIK HILL VISEGRÁD

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

May 2011

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by

Judit Kodolányi

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

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I, the undersigned, **Judit Kodolányi**, candidate for the MA 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 infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, May 2011

Signature

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express hereby my gratitude to all those who helped me in writing this thesis. My heartfelt thanks are due to Mátyás Szőke for putting at my disposal for investigation the documentation and the material of his excavations. I am grateful to my supervisor, József Laszlovszky, who was generously offering me guidance throughout this work, with general advice and in many particular cases, and directed me towards further questions. I thank the important support through the attention and suggestions of my teachers at Central European University, including Gábor Klaniczay, Katalin Szende, Béla Zsolt Szakács, and Judith Rasson. I am grateful to all members of the Central European University Medieval Studies Department, who offered me help.

Before all, my thanks go out to my family and my friends, who stood by me during this effort.

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INTRODUCTION

The topic of this thesis is the interpretation of the medieval cemetery of Sibrik Hill, Visegrád. The settlement of Visegrád situated above the Danube Bend in Northern Hungary played an important role in history during the centuries of the Middle Ages. In the Árpáadian Period (1000-1301) an administrative center was located above the Danube, including a fortification, churches, a settlement and other institutions. During the twentieth century several archaeological investigations were conducted at this site, which revealed information about early Visegrád. However, other parts of the center remained unexplored, and despite the large amount of material excavated from the sites, their analysis and publication was not completed. In the last decade several studies have analyzed and evaluated this material from different points of view. Historical, art historical and archaeological investigations have tried to create a complex image of the life in the early Visegrád and its role in Hungarian history.

In my study I would like to add a new section of this picture, an evaluation of the cemeteries belonging to the center. The cemeteries were explored during the 1970s, but the material has not been analyzed and published yet. The subject requires an archaeological study but in order to evaluate and contextualize the results I will also apply historical methods. Most of the primary sources of my study are archaeological materials which contain written documentation, short reports of the excavations, maps, drawings, photos, descriptions and the objects found.

A cemetery analysis will place the results of the earlier excavations in the wider context of eleventh-twelfth century burial customs, rites and beliefs. Because of the lack of written sources, the cemeteries of this period are mirrors of the life of the people, and as such are the best sources of information for an archaeologist. Through my research, therefore, I intend to get closer to an understanding of living and dying in medieval Central Europe.

CHAPTER ONE

VISEGRÁD IN THE EARLY ÁRPÁDIAN PERIOD (TENTH-TWELFTH CENTURIES)

The subject of this thesis is an analysis of the Árpadian-period graves belonging to or located in the vicinity of the churches on Sibrik Hill, excavated near the castle of Visegrád, on the Sibrik Hill. It is important to take into account the circumstances that applied to early Visegrád settlement because they strongly influenced the formation of the graveyards.

Visegrád, as an important site on the Danube-bend, was a populated area in historical and in prehistorical times¹. The first significant remains of a stone building in this area was the Roman fortification, the fortress of *Pone Navata*, built at the beginning of the fourth century on Sibrik Hill². No data from the Migration Period inform us about the further life of this Roman fortification, only the name of the place could be traced to Slavic people settled in the Carpathian Basin before the Hungarian Conquest. The word “visegrád” means “castle on the top of a hill or an elevation or near to it”. Scholars connected this toponym to the Roman castle on the top of the Sibrik Hill.³

The territory regained its significance when around 970 Prince Géza established his power center in Esztergom.⁴ The re-use and reconstruction of the Roman fortress at Visegrád built in a strategically favourable location probably began at this point and it became an administrative center of the region. According to some theories Visegrád served as a county center in those early times and the castle was the seat of the *comes*, the ruler of the early county. Other scholars claim that Visegrád

¹For the history of Visegrád see the further comprehensive publications: Gergely Buzás, “Visegrád” [Visegrád] in *Medium Regni* [Medium Regni] ed. Julianna Altmann, Piroska Biczó, Gergely Buzás, István Horváth, Annamária Kovács, Gyula Siklósi and András Végh (Budapest: Nap Kiadó 1996), 117-161.; Gergely Buzás, József Laszlovszky and Károly Magyar, “Medieval royal centers” in *Hungarian Archaeology at the Turn of the Millenium*, ed. Zsolt Visy (Budapest: Teleki László Foundation, 2003), 348-363.; *Medieval Visegrád. Royal castle, palace and Franciscan friary*, ed. József Laszlovszky, *Dissertationes Pannonicae* 3.4 (Budapest: University Eötvös Loránd, 1995)

²Mátyás Szőke, *Visegrád, ispánsági központ* [Visegrád, the county-center] *Tájak Korok Múzeumok Kiskönyvtára* 244. (1986), Mátyás Szőke, “The Castle of Visegrád” in *Eurpoe’s centre around AD 1000*, ed. Alfried Wierczorerk and Hans-Martin Hinz, (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2000), 383-384.; Sándor Soproni, “A visegrádi római tábor és középkori vár” [The Roman fortification and medieval castle of Visegrád] *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 81 (1954): 49-54.

³Lajos Kiss *Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára* [Etymological dictionary of geographical names] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980), 697.

⁴György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza IV.* [The historical geography of the Árpadian Period Hungary IV] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994) 497-507, 583-593, 705-712.

was never the seat of a county, but they also agree that the place was important⁵. All these discussions are mainly based on a donation charter from 1009, in which the *civitas* of Visegrád is mentioned, as it is discussed in the next chapter on the problems of written sources. Archeological excavations have shown that the walls of the Roman fortification were renovated and completed around the eleventh century and a stone building was built inside the walls.⁶

This fortification or fortified center was not the only building on Sibrik Hill. On the southeastern side, inside the wall a church was built probably at the beginning of the eleventh century. This church, which has been interpreted as an early parish church, was later demolished in order to construct another larger, more significant building in its place.⁷ Presumably these churches were related to the castle and its inhabitants. Archaeologists have excavated in the environment of the churches the cemeteries, which is the topic of my present discussion. (*Figure 1, 2, 3, 4*)

East of the fort, in the Várkert Valley nearby, an extensive settlement was also discovered in the course of excavations. This village included several workshops, houses and ovens and had also a parish church with almost five hundred graves around it.⁸ Excavations indicate that the site still has unexplored parts. The settlement

⁵About the problem of early Visegrád see: Gyula Kristó, *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon* [The formation of counties in Hungary] (Budapest: Magvető Kiadó, 1988), 251-253.; Attila Zsoldos, "Visegrád vármegye és utódai" [Visegrád county and its descendnats] *Történelmi Szemle* 40 (1998):1-32.; Maxim Mordovin "A vártartomány-szervezet kialakulása a kelet-közép-európai államokban" [The formation of the county system in Eastern and Central European states] PhD Dissertation University Eötvös Loránd 112. Here I would like to tank to Maxim Mordovin that he gave his dissertation to my disposal.; István Bóna, *Az Árpádok korai várairól* [The early castles of Árpád Dynasty] (Debrecen: 1998); Attila Zsoldos "Korai vármegyéink az újabb történelmi kutatások fényében" [New results on the research of the early Hungarian centers] *Castrum* 11 (2010) 5-13.

⁶Buzás, "Visegrád", 126-127.; Mátyás Szőke, "The Castle of Visegrád"; Soproni, *A visegrádi római tábor és középkori vár*; Katalin Tolnai „Visegrád kora árpád-kori emlékei” [Early Árpadian remains of Visegrád] MA Thesis (Budapest: University Eötvös Loránd, Institute of Archaeological Sciences, Department of Medieval and Pos-Medieval Archaeology, 2007); The material found in the site were dated to the eleventh-twelfth centuries, but we do not have exact information about the devastation of the fortification.

⁷Buzás, "Visegrád", 129.; Judit Kodolányi, "A visegrádi esperesi templom" [The archdeaconal church of Visegrád] MA Thesis (Budapest: University Eötvös Loránd, Institute of Archaeological Sciences, Department of Medieval and Pos-Medieval Archaeology, 2009)

⁸Júlia Kovalovszki, "A Visegrád-várkert Árpád-kori falukutatásról" [On the Árpadian Period village research in Várkert, Visegrád] in *A magyar falu régésze, Méri István (1911- 1976)* [The archaeologist of the Hungarian villages, István Méri (1911-1976)], ed. Júlia Kovalovszki (Cegléd: Kossuth Museum, 1986), 61-63.; Júlia Kovalovszki, "Árpád-kori bronzolvasztó kemence Visegrádon" [Árpadian Period brazier oven in Visegrád] in *A kőkortól a középkorig*. [From the Stone Age to the Middle Ages.], ed. Gábor Lőrinczy (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1994) 339-454.; Júlia Kovalovszki, "Az Árpád-kori Visegrád. Ásatások a Várkertben" [Visegrád of the Árpadian Period. Excavations in Várkert], *Műemlékvédelem* 39 (1995): 69-74.; Júlia Kovalovszki, "Árpád-kori házak Visegrád-Várkertben" [Árpadian Period houses in Várkert, Visegrád] in: *Népi építészet a Kárpát-medencében a honfoglalástól a 18. századig*. [Folk-Architectue in the Carpathian Basin from the

existed roughly from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. Scholars suppose that this was the settlement that provisioned the castle on Sibrik Hill, and the Saint Andrew monastery, and the Mongol Invasion put an end to the life of the village in the middle of the thirteenth century, although some human activity cannot be excluded for the second half that century.⁹ Traces of settlement features were also found close to the wall of the Sibrik Hill fortification, they are perhaps related to the service people of this complex.

A monastery on the side of the hill overlooking the Danube also formed part of the complex picture of early Visegrád. The original Saint Andrew Orthodox monastery was probably built in the middle of the eleventh century. Its name implies that King Andrew I may have stand behind its establishment.¹⁰ However, a carved stone capital found among the ruins is very similar to that of the second church excavated near the castle on the Sibrik Hill, which suggests that the two buildings were erected roughly at the same period by the same workshops¹¹. The monastery changed hands in the thirteenth century, when it came under the direction of the Benedictine order. Investigations at the site took place in the nineteenth and twentieth century.

These remains of early Visegrád were excavated by archaeologists from the King Matthias Museum and its archeologists, mostly during the twentieth century.¹²

Recent investigations with geo-physical research methods found that on Sibrik-Hill, inside the castle, there was another church 15 meters in length, with an octagonal building close by. One may date this building too, probably from the

Conquest to the eighteenth century], ed. Miklós Cseri and Judit Tárnoki (Szolnok: Jász-Nagykun Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2001), 81-98.; The comparative study of this cemetery and that of Sibrik Hill would be interesting, but unfortunately the material is unpublished. Only the anthropological material has been studied and some aspects of these studies were also published. See also notes 43, 44.

⁹Péter Gróf, “Újabb adatok Visegrád kora Árpád-kori topográfiájához” [Further data on the topography of the Árpadian Period Visegrád], *Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 30-31 (1993): 513-530.; Péter Gróf, “Újabb kutatások Visegrád-Várkertben” [Further investigation in Várkert, Visegrád], in *Népi építézet a Kárpát-medencében a honfoglalástól a 18. századig*, 99-108.; Péter Gróf, Árpád-kori bronz mellkereszt Visegrád-Várkertből [Árpadian Period bronze cross-pendant from Várkert, Visegrád] in *A fénylő középkor* [The luminous Medieval Ages], ed. István Fodor and Imre Szatmári (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2006), 35-41.

¹⁰Buzás, “Visegrád”, 127.; Gergely Buzás and Bernadett Eszes, “XI. századi görög monostor Visegrádon” [Eleventh century Greek monastery in Visegrád] in *Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben* (Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania) IV. [Medieval ecclesiastic architecture in Transilvania], ed. Péter Levente Szöcs and Adrian Andrei Rusu (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Satu Mare, 2007), 49-93.

¹¹Buzás, “Visegrád”, 127.

¹²Excavations were taking place in 1951, 1955, 1966, 1972-74, 1976, 1977-79 on Sibrik Hill.

Árpáadian Period. Naturally these hypotheses have to be tested by excavation, but in any case the discovery of this church certainly makes the picture even more complex.¹³

The Early Visegrád in the Written Sources

Concerning the written sources, the existence of eleventh-century Visegrád is supported by only a few mentions. In 1009 one of the earliest donation charters of the Hungarian Kingdom decreed Visegrád County “with all its properties and churches” under the authority of the Bishopric of Veszprém.¹⁴ Several scholars find the existence of Visegrád county supported because the word *civitas* is mentioned, which was used for county centers at the time¹⁵. However several other scholars do not agree with this theory.¹⁶

In the *Képes Krónika* (*Illuminated Chronicle*) and also in a note of the *Annales Posonienses* found in the late twelfth-century *Pray Codex* the name of Visegrád is mentioned in reference to a conspiracy planned by King Solomon (1063-1074) against King Ladislas I (1077-1095) These sources inform us that “after the unveiling of his misdeed King Ladislas imprisoned Solomon in Visegrád”¹⁷ but after the canonization of King Stephen I and Prince Emeric in 1083 Ladislas let Solomon go.¹⁸ Before the thirteenth century no place but the stone building of the castle could have been the prison of Solomon.

In the thirteenth century the written sources about Visegrád multiplied, but they refer to a different location. The importance of Sibrik Hill faded away and another site, the Late Medieval Visegrád, came into existence near the bank of the

¹³I would like to thank to Katalin Tolnai that she gave this information to my disposal.

¹⁴György Györffy, “Székesfehérvár feltűnése a történeti forrásokban” [Székesfehérvár in the historical sources] in *Székesfehérvár évszázadai I* [Centuries of Székesfehérvár] ed. Alán Kralovánszky (Székesfehérvár: 1967), 31.; *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima I* ed. Gerogius Györffy (Budapest: In Aedibus Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, 1992), 52.: “...quatuor civitates, nominibus Wespem, in qua ipsius episcopatus sedes est constructa, atque Albam civitates, Colon et Vyssegrad civitates Sancti Michaelis Wespriemiensi subicimus ecclesie cum omnibus ecclesiis, capellis atque titulis seu terminis et finibus.”

¹⁵Kristó, *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon*, 252.; Zsoldos, “Visegrád vármegye és utódai”; László Koszta, “Az egyház és intézményei a középkori Pest és Pilis megyében” [The Church and its institutions in the Medieval Pest and Pilis counties] in *Pest megye monográfiája I*. [Monography of Pest county], ed. Domokos Kosáry, István Torma and Attila Zsoldos (Budapest: Pest Megye Monográfia Közalapítvány, 2001), 186-218.

¹⁶Mordovin “A vártartomány-szervezet kialakulása a kelet-közép-európai államokban”, 112.

¹⁷*Képes Krónika* [Illuminated Chronicle] eds. János Gyurgyák, János Pótó (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2004), 88.; “Annales Posonienses” in *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, 1 ed. Imre Szentpétery, (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1937), 119-27.

¹⁸The imprisonment happened in 1081, while the canonization in 1083.

Danube. The two new fortifications, the Upper and the Lower Castles, are mentioned from the mid-thirteenth century onwards.

The churches of Visegrád and their function

The cemeteries which I am going to discuss in my thesis belonged to the two churches whose ruins came to light in the 1970s on Sibrik Hill, to the northeast of the fortification of Roman origin. The churches were built on top of each other, in the same place in different periods. (*Figure 4, 17 c*)

The first church was a small stone building, about 10 meters long and 4.4 meters wide. It had a single nave and a semi-circular apse, and it was built in quite a simple manner, in the so-called *opus spiccatum*¹⁹ technique. It seems to have had the rights of *ecclesia plebanialis*,²⁰ because a number of graves surrounded to it and were placed around it. After decades, probably by the last third of the eleventh century, this small church was demolished in order to be replaced it with another, larger, well-constructed and decorated stone church with almost the same orientation. This second church measured 18.35 meters by 9.4 meters, and had a square-shaped apse. No trace of violent destruction is visible, therefore it is justified to suppose that the first church ceased to exist as a result of a decision to build a bigger one. The second church had an adjoining building of uncertain function. The construction probably took place in two phases: after the building of the main walls an external staircase and a western gallery were added to the nave. During the excavation archaeologists found an empty tomb in front of the altar, and other graves surrounding the church on the outside. The significance of the church is indicated by the high quality craftsmanship, the stone carvings²¹ and the wall paintings²² on the inner facades which are unique in eleventh-

¹⁹With this technique, flat unhewn stone slabs were placed on each other slantwise, in a fishbone pattern. About its spread in Medieval Hungary see: István Feld, "Románkori templom Nagylózsán" [Romanesque church in Nagylózs] *Műemlékvédelem* 24 (1980): 65-75.; Edit Tari, *Árpád-kori falusi templomok Cegléd környékén* [Árpadian Period village churches in the region of Cegléd] (Cegléd: Kossuth Múzeum, 1995); Ákos Nemcsics "Über das in Opus spiccatum-Form gebaute Mauerwerk am Beispiel der mittelalterlichen Kirchen im Karpatenbecken" *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 134 (2009): 283-287.

²⁰Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, „Les Paroisses Hongroises au Moyen Age”, in Csernus Sándor, Korompay Klára ed. *Les Hongrois et l'Europe: conquête et intégration*, 342-357.; Szabolcs Szuromi, "Templom körüli temetkezés a középkori egyházfegyelem tükrében" [Burials in the churchyard as reflected in medieval church discipline] in "...a halál árnyékának völgyében járok". *A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása*, ed. Ágnes Ritoók, Erika Simonyi, *Opuscula Hungarica* 6 (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2005), 9-12.

²¹Andrea Szebeni, "A visegrádi esperesi templom" [The archdeaconal church of Visegrád] MA Thesis (Budapest: University Eötvös Loránd, Department of Art History, 2001);

²²Beatrix Mecsi, "Magyarország egyik legrégebbi festészeti emléke. A visegrádi esperesi templom falképtörödékei" [One of the earliest paintings of Hungary. The wall paintings of the archdeaconal

century Hungary. This second church was abandoned around the middle of the twelfth century without any sign of destruction.²³ This event is dated by a coin found in the bottom of the destruction layer of the second church, considered to be of the first half of the twelfth century by numismatics²⁴.

Due to the importance of early Visegrád and the quality of the second building, scholars have tried to determine the exact function and state of the churches. Several theories have been proposed, but the issue of the early center of Visegrád is still debated question among scholars. When the church was unearthed, the leader of the excavation, Mátyás Szőke claimed that this was the archdeaconal church of Visegrád.²⁵ According to this interpretation the archdeaconal churches occupied the level between the parish churches and cathedrals in the ecclesiastical organization and were led by the *archipresbiteri*. It has been argued that the structure of these churches developed by the end of the eleventh century, when the most important churches among parish churches, usually in the centers of a region or a county, rose above the others in status; they acquired supervision over them and became regional ecclesiastical centers of a certain area. In the course of the research of early county seats scholars claimed that the archdeaconal-system and the county-system were strongly interwoven in each other and similarities could be observed among the centers. According to these theories, the county seat should have had two churches: in the settlement a parish church, and in the fortification an archdeaconal church, with administrative functions. In the case of Visegrád the location of the church on Sibrik Hill, and the other one in Várkert suggested the same situation. Archaeological investigations took place only in a few early centers, and they could not discover such a schematic system among them, thus the existence of two churches and their location cannot be used as evidences of the function of the center or the churches²⁶.

church of Visegrád] in *Ars Perennis* ed. Anna Tüskés (Budapest: CentrArt, 2010), 19-21.; Melinda Tóth, „Falfestészet az Árpád-korban.” [Mural painting in the Árpadian Period] *Ars Hungarica* 23 (1995): 137-153.

²³ Kodolányi, “A visegrádi esperesi templom”

²⁴ Determined by Csaba Tóth.

²⁵ Mátyás Szőke, “A visegrádi várispánsági központ kutatása” [Investigation of the county seat of Visegrád] in *Dunakanyar* (1980): 35-37.

²⁶ For the problem of early county centers and archdeaconal churches see: Kristó Gyula, *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon*; Mária Wolf, “Ecclesia baptismalis, ecclesia parochialis - A borsodi ispánsági vár templomai” [Ecclesia parochialis, ecclesia baptismalis – The churches of the county seat of Borsod] in *...a halál árnyékának völgyében járok*, 131-139.; Péter Németh, “Civitas et suburbium. Adatok Sopron korai várostörténetéhez” [Civitas et suburbium. Data on the early history of Sopron] in *Soproni Szemle* 35 (1981): 50-58.; *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy* ed. Nora Berend (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 319-368.

Gyula Kristó claimed that the early county of Visegrád was dissolved by the end of the twelfth century and the archdeaconry of Szentendre, mentioned first in 1226 was the successor of the archdeaconry of Visegrád.²⁷ In contrast, Attila Zsoldos has proposed the idea that the *comes*' seat of Visegrád ceased to exist as early as 1079 because of the transformation of state organization.²⁸ Both ideas assert that the site was an archdeaconal seat and other researchers of the region, like Gergely Buzás also agree with this opinion. But the determination of the churches' statuses is still problematic.

If it was not an archdeaconal church, other alternatives can be offered instead. Recent theories suggested that the second church of Visegrád was a royal chapel belonging to a royal court situated in the ancient Roman fortification²⁹ and the archdeaconry of the region was created only probably in the middle of the twelfth century in Szentendre³⁰. In this case one could define the specific status of the church of Visegrád, and its' abandonment could be explained by the decline of the importance of the place. This process can be explained with a change in the royal or the church administration, or with the rising of other places in the region, such as Dömös. The possibility has also been raised that this edifice may have served as a private church. Since it is known that Visegrád and the adjoining areas were royal property at the time, the patron of the church must have been the king or a member of the royal family. Although the exact identity of the patron is not known, his status would explain the high quality of the church and maybe also its later abandonment, for instance by a later successor for whom the place lost its importance. From this point of view it may be significant that at the time of its abandonment the users of the church probably took away the body buried in front of the altar, and maybe exhumed another bodies from the cemetery, too. The exact cause of this removal is still unknown, but clearly it was due to strong personal ties with the buried.

Whatever the functions of the administrative center and the churches were, it is certain that a major change took place here in the second half of the eleventh century. This change influenced the function of the place and extended to the church and maybe even the whole center. The building of the second church may be a result of

²⁷Kristó, *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon*, 227.

²⁸Zsoldos, „Visegrád vármegye és utódai”

²⁹Mordovin “A vártartomány-szervezet kialakulása a kelet-közép-európai államokban”, 109, 112.

³⁰ The first data about the archdeaconry of Szentendre is from 1226, thus date of its foundation can be only a hypothetical calculation.

the changes in function. Also an important change happened in the twelfth century, resulting the abandonment of the church. In this study, the history of the center and the churches is important because changes in them influenced the use of the cemeteries, which I will explore.

Although the number of written sources concerning early Visegrád is limited, and the historical sources do not offer definite answers to the exciting and complex questions arising, this site is still one of the best-investigated early centers in Hungary. It is also a fortunate circumstance that several different spatial components of Visegrád are known, and therefore one can examine the relationships of the various parts and institutions. The many earlier complex investigations may yield information about the operation of such early centers and the place of Visegrád in the state organization of the Hungarian Kingdom. At the same time it is archeological methods that are most suitable for the examination of the area, because most of the majority of the material is archeological. Recently several studies have been undertaken in connection with the medieval fortification and center on Sibrik Hill³¹. Similarly, the material of the churches has been investigated³². At the same time, the material of the cemetery has remained unstudied so far, and thus the opportunities it offers for the research on the early Visegrád center and its history and population has not been explored.

³¹Tolnai “Visegrád kora árpád-kori emlékei”

³² Mecsi, “Magyarország egyik legrégebbi festészeti emléke. A visegrádi esperesi templom falképtöröredékei”; Szébeni, “A visegrádi esperesi templom”; Kodolányi, “A visegrádi esperesi templom”

CHAPTER TWO

THE PROBLEM OF THE CEMETERIES

One particularly current issue in archaeological scholarship is the problem of the cemeteries in the Early Árpadian Period.³³ The cemetery I have explored reflects a transitional period in the Middle Ages. With conversion to Christianity, a whole range of changes began to take place in the life of people, particularly after 1000 AD with the emergence of the Christian Kingdom of Hungary. Sources for this period include many references to resistance to the adoption of Christianity, and pagan uprisings. Although one can discover traces of these changes at the beginning, by the end of the eleventh century a fusion of the two burial rites seems generally to have taken place, which may indicate a major change. The religion and the customs of people were transformed, and the practices of later centuries were founded.³⁴ In the cemeteries this becomes evident in several ways, in the situation and arrangement of graves, traces of rites and also in grave goods. These features are signs of the different social status, rites and culture of the persons buried there. It also seems that the traces of a rite or habitual practice in a grave do not necessarily define the beliefs of the buried person.

The general trend seems to be that the row cemeteries³⁵ of the conquest period, located away from the settlement, were abandoned, and churchyards³⁶ were opened instead. The process of this change is not clear in every case and the generalization may hide important details and differences. In some cases the row cemetery and the churchyard of a settlement were in two different places, and after a certain period of parallel use the cemetery around the church continued into the later centuries. The problems are that the distribution of the users of the two cemeteries in the population, their religion, and their burial customs are not easily definable.

In other cases the two types of graveyards were near to each other, or even they overlapped which raises the question of which graves belonged to which

³³ Ágnes Ritoók, „A templom körüli temetők régészeti kutatása”, [The archaeological research of churchyards], in *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon I.* [Archaeology of the middle ages and the early modern period in Hungary], (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Régészeti Intézete, 2010), 473-493.; Péter Langó, „A kora Árpád-kori temetők kutatása” [Research on cemeteries from the Early Árpadian Period] in *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon I.*, 445-472.

³⁴ Ágnes Ritoók, “Szempontok a magyarországi templom körüli temetők elemzéséhez” [Aspects for the evaluation of churchyards in Hungary] in “*Es tu scholaris*” ed. Beatrix Romhányi, András Grynaeus, Károly Magyar and András Végh (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2004), 116.; Mordovin, “Vártartomány-szervezet kialakulása a kelet-közép-európai államokban”, 105.

³⁵ Cemeteries with the arrangement where the graves form rows or groups.

³⁶ Cemeteries with a church in their centers.

cemetery, and when and how was the church built. Examples in the Carpathian Basin are known, where a church was built in a “pagan” row cemetery, the soil was afterwards consecrated and a churchyard was formed around the church. Although several cemeteries are known where one may suppose that the situation was similar, archaeologists have not yet demonstrated the existence of this in any particular case in Hungary³⁷.

In the cemetery of Visegrád both the row cemetery and the churchyard arrangement appeared, and also traces of both rites could be discovered. This particular phenomenon not only tells a great deal about the early center of Visegrád, but also places the cemetery in the context of contemporary burial places. The indication of this context is one of the broader perspectives of the current work.

The cemeteries of early Visegrád

The first part of the cemetery came to light in 1974, during a rescue excavation before the construction of the Hungarian National Bank’s holiday resort. On a larger, ground several trenches were opened, which revealed traces of a settlement and part of a graveyard. The explanation arose at that time the cemetery was the burial site of the inhabitants of the eleventh- and twelfth-century fortification, and a few graves explored at the time of another rescue excavation in 1966 also seemed to belong to it. The arrangement of the graveyard showed a row cemetery character. In 1976, during a following rescue excavation, seven more graves were discovered to the west of the 1974 excavation.

A major archeological exploration took place west of the previous site in 1977-79. The plan was to investigate of a building supposed to be a Roman villa, defined by a few test trenches in 1955. However, in the course of the work it soon became evident that the building is not Roman origin but two medieval churches built on each other. Then the churches and the part of the cemetery belonging to them were investigated. As a result of all these excavations, two separate parts of a cemetery

³⁷Elemér Zalotay, *Gellértegyházai Árpádkori temető* [The Árpadian cemetery of Gellértegyháza] Régészeti Füzetek 1.7 (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 1957); Mihály Kulcsár, “Az Árpádkori templom körüli temetők kialakulásának kérdéséhez. Előzetes beszámoló az 1993-94. évi baracsi feltárásokról” [On the formation of the Árpadian Period churchyards. Report of the excavation in Barcs in 1993-94] Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei 11 (1992-1995), 249-275.; Ritoók, „A templom körüli temetők régészeti kutatása”; Béla Miklós Szőke and László Vándor, *Pusztaszentlászló Árpád-kori temetője* [The Árpadian Period cemetery of Pusztaszentlászló] Fontes Archeologici Hungariae (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987); Mordovin “A vártartomány-szervezet kialakulása a kelet-közép-európai államokban”, 121.; The recently investigated cemetery of Perkáta is also a possible example for this type of graveyard, but this material has not yet published.

were discovered, which are nevertheless situated near each other. In the course of both major excavations graves were also found in the few trenches opened between the two parts of the cemeteries, yet this intermediate area essentially remained unexplored.

Questions emerging from the investigation of the cemetery can be arranged into three important aspects: the questions of dating, topography and function. From the point of view of the history of the Sibrik Hill fortification and community, one of the most important questions is when the cemetery was opened, and when it was closed. The results of an investigation will also shed light on the relation between the castle, the churches and the population of the site, as well as their changes in function over time. The cemetery could also be informative, if the community using it went through a transformation, or whether the population was changed, and whether different groups of the population can be identified in the cemetery. The differences between the two parts of the cemetery could be the signs of social, cultural or other differences which can be investigated through the material.

In the cemeteries grave goods also were found among them particular objects like a chalice, a paten and a penitential belt. The evaluation of these grave goods and other finds will be carried out in a comparative manner in the following, with regard to their cultural or ritual meanings. Also the traces of burial customs will be investigated and connections and parallels with other cemeteries of the period.

Furthermore, these objects should be discussed in the context of the function and functional changes of the two churches. It can be argued that these particular objects should play a role in the identification of the churches with different types of ecclesiastical buildings on different levels of hierarchy.

Another important aspect is the social context of the burials. Grave goods have been used to indicate social status in contemporary society and some of the objects found in the graves of the Visegrád cemeteries (jewels made of precious metal) are relevant for an interpretation of this kind. Such an investigation is even more justified by the fact that burials around another church at Visegrád-Várkert offer a very close comparative material. The anthropological materials of these cemeteries has already been investigated from this point of view, thus other types of data can also be used in the comparative approach.

Methodology

The major part of my research methods of the evaluation is the archaeological analysis of the source material. A cemetery analysis is a complex multi-layered study with several steps and aspects.³⁸ I have to examine the grave in itself, add to it the results of the anthropological study and the meanings of the objects found in the graves, and then analyze the structure of the cemetery. The various aspects allow the imaginary reconstruction of missing traits, and make possible the creation of groups and categories among the graves. In the following I will list the aspects of the examination.³⁹

I will analyze the arrangement of the graveyard, which has special importance in this case. The relationship of the graves to each other and the buildings will also be examined. After an overview, I will focus on the detailed features of the graves themselves, such as the depth of the grave, the orientation, the position and state of the body. Questions of physical anthropology I will only discuss in a limited way, thus gender and age will be the main attributes here.

A separate chapter will be devoted to the grave goods, where I am searching for answers to the questions of dating, rites, and function. At the same time the analysis of the objects and layers will contribute to establishing of a relative chronology. With a combination of these methods I intend to establish groups and categories of graves and compose a network of similarities. In order to create such distinctions more than one trait should be found identical within a group, because a single parallel trait may be accidental. From this imaginary texture conclusions can be drawn with regard to the function of the respective parts and the whole cemetery.

The comparative interpretation of significant grave goods with contemporary objects from other sites yields a wider context in several respects. Another type of

³⁸In cemetery excavation and analysis Hungarian archaeology introduced precise methods, elaborated by scholars such as István Méri and István Bóna and used in several sites. For the methods see István Méri “Középkori temetőink feltárásmódjáról” [On the methods of Medieval cemetery excavations] in *A magyar falu régésze, Méri István (1911-1976)*

³⁹In my analytical methods I relied on the following studies: Attila Kiss, *Barnaya megye X-XI. századi sírleletei* [The tenth-eleventh century grave finds of Baranya County] Magyarország honfoglalás- és kora Árpád-kori temetőinek leletanyaga 1. ed. Ferenc Fülep, István Dienes (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982); Ritoók, “Szempontok a magyarországi templom körüli temetők elemzéséhez”; Ágnes Ritoók “Zalavár-Vársziget az Árpád-korban. A régészeti kutatások eredményei” [Zalavár-Vársziget in the Árpadian Period. Results of the archaeological investigations] PhD Dissertation (Budapest: University Eötvös Loránd, 2010); Langó, „A kora Árpád-kori temetők kutatása”; Szőke and Vándor, *Pusztaszentlászló Árpád-kori temetője*; Sarolta Tettamanti, “Temetkezési szokások a 10-11. században a Kárpát-medencében” [Burial customs in the eleventh-twelfth century Carpathian Basin] *Studia Comitatus* 3 (1975): 79-123.; I would like to express my thanks to Ágnes Ritoók, who gave her dissertation to my disposal, and whose comments helped me to shape the concept of the present work.

comparative research aims at the examining the graveyard in the light of other cemeteries. In order to gain a more precise insight, I will consult the historical and written materials from this period. Sources referring to ecclesiastical organization and to rites may help me in the evaluation of results.

However in the course of the research it was established that the material of the two excavation is the material of one single cemetery – probably with different periods, parts, and functions – but the two parts were considered as two different cemeteries for a long time in scholarly research. Thus in this study I have decided to name the whole area where graves were found cemetery, and the two parts of it cemetery I (excavated in 1966 and 1974, the eastern part of the area) and cemetery II (excavated in 1976 and 1977-79, the western part). First I evaluated the records of the excavations by using the identifications and on-site interpretations of the archaeologist who excavated the material. At the same time I tried not to have any preconception during my work and examine the material step by step, according to different criteria.

Although as I mentioned earlier, the excavation was not extended to the entire cemetery, but one can suppose that there are not many undiscovered graves left at the site. The explored 221 graves also offer a wide range of material for a detailed study. Remembering that the material is incomplete, the extant material is varied and sufficiently rich for answers to be given to the questions indicated above. Nevertheless a complete result can only be expected from the excavation of the remaining parts of the site.

In order to help with the visualizing and evaluating the data, I created tables of graves, and mapped the cemeteries in detail, from different points of view. I marked the orientation and depth of the graves and in the case of cemetery II the different horizons, too. The grave goods are also represented on a map, but in the case of cemetery I, the visualization of the coins found needed a separate map.

My thesis is not a complete publication of this cemetery. As I do not have the permission and the possibility to perform the entire publication and evaluation of the material, and my topic requires only certain aspects of a complete study, I do not present catalogs and tables with detailed description of all the objects found, nor a catalog of graves with all the information about them. In my “catalog of graves” I only mark the criteria I used for my evaluation. This analysis cannot explore the

material entirely, but I hope that my study may shed light on the main features of the material, and reflect on the most important questions of the topic.

Primary sources

The primary sources for my work are the documentation and archaeological reports of the excavations, including written material, photos, drawings and maps. The material of my thesis was recovered during three excavations, in 1972, 1974 (cemetery I, 129 graves) and in 1977-79 (cemetery II around the churches, 86 graves). Three small rescue excavations complemented this material with four graves in 1966, two graves in 1970 and seven graves in 1976.

From the first two excavations extending cemetery I, I have access to the grave registers, drawings and maps, but not the records of the whole excavation. As this part of the cemetery did not belong to buildings, and superposition cannot be determined, this material will be sufficient for an overall comprehensive evaluation. For cemetery II, I have access to the records of the whole excavation. The documentation contains the drawings and full descriptions of the graves on separate sheets, where the basic data of the graves (depth, length, orientation, etc.) are also marked, from which I can reconstruct the features and conditions of the graves. I also have the two ground plans of the two excavations in which the situation of all the graves are marked and a combining map where the situation of the two cemeteries is marked.

The documentation contains:

Ground plan of the excavation 1974, 1976,

(also marking the situation of the previously found graves from 1966 and 1970)

Ground plan of the excavation 1977-79,

(also marking the situation of the previously found graves from 1976)

Map of Sibrik Hill with the two excavations

129 grave registers from cemetery I (graves 7-135)⁴⁰

86 grave registers from cemetery II (graves 143-221)

13 grave registers from rescue excavations (1966: graves 1-4, 1970: graves 5-6, 1976: graves 136-142)⁴¹

⁴⁰Mátyás Szőke, "Ásatási dokumentáció, Magyar Nemzeti Bank üdülő, 1974" [Documentation of the excavations on Sibrik Hill, Visegrád, Hungarian National Bank holiday resort, 1974] unpublished. (Visegrád: King Matthias Museum, 1974)

The grave goods and other archaeological finds that were recovered in the cemeteries are also form the basis of my discussion. The circumstances in which the objects were found and the original drawings of their position in the graves are recorded in the excavation records. The drawings of the important grave goods and brief descriptions of them are also available in the documentation. Most of the objects are preserved in the King Matthias Museum of Visegrád, where I examined them. The artifactual material also includes earthenware found in the excavation areas and sometimes fragments of pottery from the graves, but no ceramics were identified as grave goods. This fragmented material does not provide information for a detailed study about the earthenware.

It is not the task of this thesis to deal with the skeletons and other anthropological material. This work had been already done by physical anthropologists⁴³, and I will use these studies to complement my own research. The determination of sex and age has been done and thanks to Katherine Kondor, a paleostomatological analysis⁴⁴ also supplements the evaluation of the cemeteries.

As my thesis is an archaeological study, the analysis of this material contributes to the basis of the evaluation. In order to incorporate the material into a complex background, I use written evidence concerning the history of the region and for the history of medieval Visegrád.

⁴¹ Mátyás Szőke, “Ásatási dokumentáció, Magyar Nemzeti Bank üdülő, 1974” [Documentation of the excavations on Sibrik Hill, Visegrád, 1966], Unpublished (Visegrád: King Matthias Museum, 1974) Mátyás Szőke, “Ásatási dokumentáció, Magyar Nemzeti Bank üdülő, 1974” [Documentation of the excavations on Sibrik Hill, Visegrád, Hungarian National Bank holiday resort, 1976] unpublished (Visegrád: King Matthias Museum, 1976)

⁴² Mátyás Szőke, “Ásatási dokumentáció, Magyar Nemzeti Bank üdülő, 1977-79” [Documentation of the excavations on Sibrik Hill, Visegrád, Hungarian National Bank holiday resort, 1977-79] unpublished. (Visegrád: King Matthias Museum, 1977-79)

⁴³ Ildikó Papp and Éva Susa, Pap and Suse, “Complex Anthropological analysis of the Cemetery of the Comitatus Center at Visegrád” *Anthropologia Hungarica* 19 (1986): 51-91.

⁴⁴ Kondor Katherine, “Diet and Social Stratification in Árpád-Period Hungary” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 13 (2007): 51-73.

CHAPTER THREE

DESCRIPTION OF THE MATERIAL

The location of the cemeteries

Sibrik Hill is located to the north of the present-day settlement of Visegrád on the bank of the Danube. It is a small hill north of the steep elevation of the Late Medieval Upper Castle of Visegrád. The Roman fortification was erected on the plateau overlooking the Danube, and the road used from the Roman to the modern period traverses the hill on the western side. The cemeteries were found on the flat side of the plateau, beside the road and at the foot of the neighboring castle hill. Although it is hard to find a totally flat place in the environment, there is a pattern among the cemeteries of the ninth and tenth centuries; they are usually located in such flat areas on the tops of small hills.⁴⁵ Now the recreation center of the Hungarian National Bank occupies the place of the cemetery, which was built after the rescue excavations of the two cemeteries.

The distance between the two cemeteries is small, probably 40 meters from the western wall of the second church to the eastern side of cemetery I. Between the two areas a few trenches were opened and six graves were discovered during the excavations. Unfortunately, what lay between the two areas is not known, but one can suppose that graves were also situated there, and the borderline of the two cemeteries – if there was any – was not clear.

The excavation explored only a part of the cemetery, as the rescue operation was limited by a lack of financial resources and because of the planned buildings in the area. Therefore, the original extent of the cemeteries is not known. Also, one cannot identify the boundaries of the cemeteries on all sides. In the Middle Ages hedgerows, ditches, and later stone or brick walls marked the boundary of sacred ground around the churches. In Visegrád only a hedgerow was found near the western wall of the second church which could be contemporaneous with the churches, but seemingly it did not separate different areas in the cemetery. No other traces of artificial boundaries were identified. However, one can deduce that the south the slope of the hill formed the boundary of cemetery II and maybe of cemetery I, too. On the west the fortification and the hillside must have been the boundary of the burials. On the northern side the walls of the fortification formed the border, but one cannot exclude

⁴⁵Tettamanti, "Temetkezési szokások a 10-11. században a Kárpát-medencében"

the possibility that the burials extended to the other side of the present-day road. On the east the rising slope created a boundary for the cemeteries, but some graves could have been situated on the lower part. However, it is certain that there are more unexplored graves hidden in the soil.

Traces of previous human activity

As traces of human activity from other times are also known in Sibrik Hill, we cannot exclude that they also appeared in the territory of the cemetery and were mixed into its material. However, only two main remains were found in the site, which can be easily differentiated from the medieval graveyard.

Among the medieval graves, in cemetery II a Roman child's grave appeared (grave 151). This burial was very different from the others in orientation and in the shape of the grave pit. It was dated on the basis of its grave finds of the child (infans I), a Roman coin and a bulb-headed fibula. Although the appearance of objects from preceding periods in medieval graves is a well-known phenomenon, the significant differences of this burial confirmed its dating to the late Roman times. However this fact implied the question, whether other Roman graves were mixed in the medieval graveyard, which cannot be identified because of the lack of significant grave goods and other different features. After the examination of the material almost every grave has to be considered as coherent part of the medieval cemetery, on the basis of their grave goods and other features.⁴⁶

In the site the remains of six sunken houses were found. These buildings do not form the part of the material I have examined. According to the documentation and the observations of Mátyás Szőke, the houses had been already destroyed when the cemetery was opened. This observation has become proven, by the fact that the few graves dug into these sunken houses intercut the floor level of the houses and also the destruction level above it. Although the sunken houses were not contemporaneous with the cemetery, it should be interesting to know how they were related to the later institutions of Sibrik Hill, but this could be clarified only by the detailed investigation of their material.

⁴⁶See the chapter „Discussion”.

Arrangement, the position of the grave, structure

In the material examined here, one of the most interesting questions is the arrangement, which is different in the two parts of the graveyard. The graves in cemetery I are in a parallel arrangement, which is related in some manner to the early rites of burial. Cemetery II is around the churches according to the eleventh century laws, concerning this issue.⁴⁷ Both in row cemeteries and churchyards the arrangement of graves was important for the communities, but probably in different ways. As I mentioned earlier,⁴⁸ the examination of these practices and their relations with other phenomena of the material is one of the aims of this thesis.

Characteristic features of the graves

Other aspects of exploration refer to the grave itself.

The pit of the grave

During excavation, in favorable soil circumstances, the contours of the grave pits can be seen at the level of the surface in which they were dug. The appearance of the grave pit in a certain surface can refer to the stratigraphical position of the grave, and this information can be compared with the other graves in shape and orientation of the graves, in order to define similarities in the cemetery. These similarities imply that the graves could be from a similar period, or they belonged to a certain group of the population (family, social group, etc.).

In Visegrád almost every grave where the contours of the pit were found had a rectangular shape with rounded corners. The contours were not observable when the pit lay in the upper layer of the soil, when something disturbed the grave, or when soil conditions were poor. The size of the pit was set to the body, it was not much bigger. In some cases another shape was observable, a rectangle with a curved part on one side (grave 203),⁴⁹ and one can assume that the larger space served for the placement of grave goods. The pit was larger in the cases when the deceased was buried in a coffin, as one can see in graves 168, 182, and 206 for instance. The grave pits of young children were usually oval in form. One single adult's grave (grave 120) was

⁴⁷Szuromi, , "Templom körüli temetkezés a középkori egyházfegyelem tükrében"

⁴⁸ See the chapter "The problem of the cemeteries".

⁴⁹ In grave 203 arrowheads were found besides the body, and the shape of the grave pit implies that other grave goods of perishable material could have been present. In grave 105 the size of the pit was set to an adult's body, but only a child (13 years old) was laid to rest in there. Under his feet a 30x40 cm charred area indicated that a food or an object may have been placed there.

oval in shape: the position of the deceased was different from the others in the bent position of the knees.

The depth of the grave

The depth of a grave is an important aspect as well, although it was measured in relation to the surface contemporaneous with the excavation. The surface can change over time, erosion and other circumstances increase the possibility of mistakes. Therefore, the evaluation of the depth has to be supported by other factors. In Visegrád - according to the actual surface – the site of cemetery I was more or less flat, but in cemetery II the hill around the churches inclines, resulting in a slanting surface, which made it difficult to determine the depths of the graves. Other methods were also helpful in determining the depth of the graves. In the case of cemetery II the foundation depth of the two consecutive churches are different, therefore this information could be correlated with the depth of the graves. (*Figure 6*)

In cemetery I the depth of the graves generally varied between 60-90 centimeters, but graves with a depth of 30 and 100 centimeters also occurred. One can observe that the graves of young children lay mostly at 30-60 centimeters depth. The depth of the graves is not related to other characteristic features of graves, but shows a pattern when graves are arranged in more or less homogenous groups. Shallow graves occurred on the periphery and two deeper groups occupy the main parts of the graveyard. (*Figure 5*)

The case of cemetery II was different from cemetery I from this point of view. The depth of the graves varied on a larger scale, from 40 to 200 centimeters, but in this case the sloping surface and the buildings greatly influenced the features. Despite this circumstances the data show an interesting association with the periods of the cemetery (see further), where the earlier graves are shallower, and those belonging to the second church are deeper. Two characteristic groups were identified east of the chancel. The similarity in depth of these graves may be the result of similar a period or group, but may also of the features of the terrain.

Orientation of the graves

In the Carpathian Basin in both the conquest period and the early Árpáadian Period graves are usually oriented to the east, meaning that head of the body lies in the western part of the grave and the legs in the eastern part. However, the grave had

its own context in the cemetery, hence many times the orientation varies wildly according to the orientation of the church or other graves. In a cemetery used for several generations a similar orientation may show the similar age of graves. By examining the similarities in orientation, I can associate groups among the graves which may be related with each other in time or in other parameters. The inverse or irregular orientation of graves could also be an important feature, marking cultural aspects I will discuss later. (*Figure 19 e*)

The orientation of the graves generally varied between 240-290 degrees, where 270 degrees means a west-east orientation with the head to the west. However, in both cemeteries there were graves oriented in a differently. As orientation can indicate a number of important aspects of the burial practices or is relevant for the chronology of the graves, I have mapped the orientation of the graves in order to visualize how they varied. (*Figure 7* and *Figure 8*) With the help of this method groups of graves can be identified.

In cemetery I, two different groups of graves appeared, one on the northern side of the cemetery and the other on the southern side. Between them other graves occurred with orientations falling between the two groups, and there are others with different positions.

This pattern suggests that two or three main groups formed the cemetery, dividing it into two main wings with a transitional part between them. These groups perhaps belonged perhaps to families, social or other groups. People oriented these graves according to the earlier ones in the group, and they uses the cemetery through generations. Unfortunately, the development of the cemetery is not visible from these features.

In cemetery II, the orientation was similar, but in this part the presence of the church strongly influenced the arrangement and the orientation. The orientation of the two churches was almost the same: the first was 260 degrees and the second church was 265 degrees. Thus the graves around the churches, and those that belonged to the earlier church and lay under the second church were oriented more or less in the same direction as the churches (between 258-270 degrees), and this idea is also supported by the examination of the layers also. The situation was more complex to the east of the chancel, where several graves have different orientations. Some of them seemed to form a row or a group, but others lay alone, in different positions than the majority. Although it is not supported by archaeological evidence yet, one may suppose that

another group can be identified in the eastern part of the cemetery, surviving from an earlier period, even earlier than the churches. Finally, the inverse-oriented graves (west-east oriented with the head to east, or very different orientation) may indicate that the territory later became a marginal place where people excluded from society were buried. It is interesting that in the transitional area between the two cemeteries graves with very different orientations were found. This feature indicates that in these parts different circumstances influenced the position of the graves.

The position of the body

In medieval cemeteries the position of the body can vary. Most commonly the body is laid in an extended (stretched out) position, oriented west to east. If the body is found in a very different position it suggests some kind of difference in time or status, or an abnormality. Usually the arms are beside the body at the two sides, or on the body, or in crossed over the abdomen position. The occurrence of this latter position increased during the centuries of the Middle Ages, and some scholars assign importance to the differences among its variations. However, these theories have not been elaborated yet; for the present we can regard the variations as representations of regional practices.⁵⁰

The typical burial at cemeteries I and II was the extended inhumation. The arms were usually alongside the body, or one or both arms were crossed on the pelvis or on the body. In these variations no system could be observed. As I cannot link this to other studies of the region, I did not examine the position of the hands in a detail. However, one can find graves with different positions in both parts of the cemetery.

Not small differences, like for instance the slightly separated legs in grave 80 the following differences could be observed. The legs were found in a drawn up position, with bent knees (graves 78, 86). There the knees turned on their sides after a while. Two deceased were buried on their sides, one in each of the cemeteries. These bodies are not entirely contracted, but they simply lie on their left sides, with slightly bent legs (87, 215). Maybe it has importance that both of the deceased were woman (juvenis and matusus), with seemingly minor grave goods, but further conclusions cannot be deduced from only two examples. Graves 78-79 are a double grave.

⁵⁰Ritoók "Szempontok a magyarországi templom körüli temetők elemzéséhez"; " Miklós Takács, "Egy vitatott kéztartásról" [On a debated gesture] in "...a halál árnyékának völgyében járok". *A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása*, 85-103.

Although the arrangement is probably intentional, the burials took place at different times.

Sometimes the parts of the body shift because of erosion, decomposition or for other reasons, but this does not have importance here. Another case is when the grave is partly or entirely disturbed. Natural forces, animals and human activity can damage graves and the causes can be seen in most cases. When evaluating these graves one has to calculate with the lost data and in the case of human destruction, one needs to determine the reason for the intrusion. I marked this in the table when a grave was disturbed in earlier periods or modern ages.

In some cases the body was moved from a grave disturbed by the digging of another grave or building activity, and placed in a secondary position in ossuaries, secondary graves, or pits. It is also apparent – especially in cemetery II –, that people emptied graves in order to transfer the bodies somewhere else. The transposition of human remains is a phenomenon which I will discuss later.⁵¹

Coffins, stones and burial buildings

In some cases the traces of coffins survived or several iron nails and linchpins implied their existence. Another common custom in the Middle Ages was placing of stones or bricks into the pit, in order to support the body in the grave or to hold the boards covering the deceased.⁵² They usually arranged asymmetrically, but the symmetric arrangement was also observable (grave 154). This practice is not to be confused up with the cases of built tombs or graves totally lined or built of or covered with stones.⁵³ In the two cemeteries examined in this study the use of these practices is not necessarily obvious, and this question does not bear upon my topic, thus I will not go into a detailed examination of this feature.

Several features could indicate that there was coffin in the grave, such as the position of the body, the pit contours, nails and clasps from the soil or even the fragments of the coffin, which was always made of wood in the cemetery of Visegrád. In cemetery I traces of coffins survived in 37 graves. In other graves (5) the archaeologists suggest the existence of a coffin although no direct evidences for it was found. In cemetery II the existence of a coffin was proven in 24 cases, and four more

⁵¹See chapter “Analysis”

⁵²Ildikó Katalin Papp, “Téglás és téglakeretes temetkezések” [Burials with brick and brick frame] *Comitatensia Archeologica Hungarica* 33 (2002): 177-194.

⁵³Ritoók, “Szempontok a magyarországi templom körüli temetők elemzéséhez”, 118.

graves contained traces indicating this practice. In both parts of the cemetery well preserved fragments of wooden coffins survived, and in grave 206 even the structure of the box-shaped container could be reconstructed on the basis of the iron clasps and nails which held it together.

Stones occur separately, or be in conjunction with the coffin. In cemetery I, 16 graves were found with stones in them, 5 with stones and a coffin; the number in cemetery II was a bit higher: 19 graves had stones and 8 had both stones and a coffin. This difference is interesting, because in cemetery I there are more graves in total than in cemetery II, but no regularity can be observed in the custom. In cemetery I the distribution of coffins seems to be dispersed, and the stones occur in spots. In cemetery II, there is one group (perhaps graves belonging to the first church) where coffins were found and another where only stones were found (to the south-east to the churches). (*Figure 9 and Figure 10*)

In a few cases the archaeologist observed that the body was swathed in a shroud.⁵⁴ The body then was found in a slightly tightened position, the hand often forced on the pelvis or under it, and the ankles close beside each other. This practice could be interesting because one may consider the burying the dead naked, in a shroud rather a Christian custom.

Superposition, layers

To consider the relative chronology among the graves and the buildings, archaeologists can use the method of examining the superposition and layers. If one grave is under another one, it is probably earlier. Sometimes three or four superimposed graves are interwoven. The buildings can help in dating, not just in the cases when a grave is under the foundation of a building, but also when one can define the relation between the building layer and the grave. By examining of the soils from the grave one can also find relations between the layers and the graves. If the characteristic soil of one layer is mixed with the soil of the grave (for example the lime from the building layer) one can suppose that the grave is from a later period than the building period, even if is not possible to determine whether the pit of the grave intersects the building layer.

⁵⁴The grave register mentions that in graves 84, 97, 102 and 103 this feature was visible, but one may suppose that there were also other cases.

In cemetery I, the graves were dug into two layers of soil, the topsoil (humus) and the yellow clay-loess subsoil. Some of the graves lay in the upper humus layer, but most of them were situated in the border area of the two layers or some dozen centimeters deeper in the subsoil. The border of the two layers was in 75-80 cm depth.

In this part of the cemetery, only a few superpositions occurred because of the arrangement of the cemetery and because it was probably used for only a short period. However four graves were dug into earlier pit houses that had already been destroyed before the burials.⁵⁵ Two graves were cut into the contours of earlier graves, but in these cases the earlier body or grave was not destroyed or disturbed, and the stratigraphic relations of the features were clear.⁵⁶

In cemetery II, because of the buildings, several layers could be identified. The characteristic soil type of the area was the same to the east and to west of the churches, just as in cemetery I: humus in the upper part and yellow loess in the lower part. Around the churches the situation was more complex. Under the western part of the second church early houses were found, which were probably destroyed before the first church was built, or at least before the second church was built. These buildings represent the first phase of use of this area. The second phase was the period of the first church with several graves around it. With the building of the second church and its auxiliary buildings earlier graves were disturbed. Some remains of the deceased were left partly under the walls or the floor, but others were removed reburied in another place. Empty graves and secondary burials in the south-eastern part of the area indicate this. This time a thin building layer emerged, which consisted of lime and detritus. Above this building layer lay the trampled surface of the second church-period, and on the top of this was a thick layer of debris, the remains of destroyed buildings accumulated during the centuries. Around and inside the churches the humus covered this layer. According to the layers and the examination of the soil from the graves, one can link some burials to the period of the first or second church.

Superpositioned graves were discovered east of the chancel of the churches. Considering that this part was the most distinguished place in every churchyard, the great frequency of burials is understandable, but one has to suppose that some of the burials here are date from a period before the construction of the churches. (*Figure 19 a, b*)

⁵⁵Graves 55, 77, 129, 132

⁵⁶Grave 93 is later than grave 120, and grave 32 is earlier than grave 33.

Special burials

Tomb and gravestone

In the cemeteries of this period only a few grave markers remained but examples of tombs⁵⁷ are known where one can suppose that the grave was marked somehow. In cemetery II two graves have to be noted from this point of view. Grave 179 inside the auxiliary building was covered with half an originally Roman column. The stone was used secondarily as a gravestone. The column was broken into two parts (100 cm and 130 cm in length), and on the top of the longer part there is an L-shaped carving and a round hole can be seen, of unknown function. The grave dates from the second church period, after the construction of the auxiliary building. (*Figure 18 c*)

The stone built tomb inside the church is important feature of the whole complex. (*Figure 17 a, b*) This was the only burial inside the second church since the other graves found in it belonged to the first church. This tomb was discovered in a thick humus and detritus layer in 1977. The stone sepulcher was sunken into the soil, built of andesite, with the use of lime mortar. It measured 136 centimeters in length, 46-52 centimeters in width and 58 centimeters in depth. The orientation – supposing that the body was oriented west-east – was 269 degrees, correlating with the axis of the church. The covering gravestone was broken and the refuse (detritus) filled up the tomb. Next to the grave and above it a secondary hole had been cut into the terrazzo floor. The tomb was emptied, even the body was absent, only a few bones, three *phalanxes* and a *patella* were left, as well as several iron nails from the coffin, and a broken iron knife. The circumstances support the theory that the body was taken out of the grave before the destruction of the church (the detritus layer covered the tomb completely). This event was probably not grave-robbing because the bones were taken out as well, not only the grave goods. One can suppose that with the abandonment of the second church its users wanted to move the body of the important person buried there.

The practice of burials inside churches is known from the fourth and fifth centuries in the Middle Ages, and became widespread in the ninth century through

⁵⁷Pál Lővei, “*Posuit hoc monumenta pro aeterna memoria*” Academic Doctoral Thesis (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2009) 171-225. I would like to thank to Pál Lővei that he gave his dissertation to my disposal, and to Gábor Klaniczay that helped me to have access to this study.

Frankish and German influences.⁵⁸ In the decrees of the Synod of Mainz (in 813) it was ordered that “no dead body was to be buried within a church, except those of bishops and abbots, or worthy priests, or faithful laity”.⁵⁹ This latter phrase opened a “back door” to the members of the lay aristocracy, who were wealthy and influential enough to benefit from this exception. From Western Europe several examples of burials inside the churches are known, either of royal or ecclesiastical persons, and sometimes also noble or wealthy people. From the Late Middle Ages historical sources also support that distinguished personages founded ecclesiastic institutions in order to be buried there.⁶⁰

In medieval Hungary the most important example is the cathedral of Székesfehérvár, built by King St. Stephen (1001-1038) as a burial church for himself and his dynasty. To the best of our knowledge according to Hartvik,⁶¹ King St. Stephen was buried in the middle of the cathedral, which meant the centerline of the nave. This particular burial place was traditionally reserved for the ruler. The twentieth-century historian, Alán Kralovánszky identified the tomb excavated in the center of the nave as the grave of Stephen based on the description of Hartvik.

During the excavation of the archbishop’s cathedral of Kalocsa several burial places were discovered, among them a tomb very similar to that in Visegrád. The tomb was situated in the nave, in front of the altar, a little bit left of the centerline. According to the head archeologist of the excavation, an ecclesiastical person of high rank was laid to rest in the red marble tomb.⁶² Another important example of this custom is the burial of King Andrew I in Tihany, where the exact place and tomb is known from the eleventh century church. This parallel could be also interesting because one may suppose that King Andrew I founded another church (monastery) in Visegrád.⁶³

⁵⁸Antal Várnagy, *Liturgika* [Liturgy] (Abaliget: Lámpás Kiadó, 1995), 183-192, Szabolcs Anzelm Szuromi, *Egyházi intézménytörténet* [History of ecclesiastic institutes] Bibliotheca Instituti Postgradualis Iuris Canonici 5 (Budapest: Universitas Catholicae de Petro Pázmány, 2003), 75-92.

⁵⁹Lővei, “Posuit hoc monumenta pro aeterna memoria”, 312.: “mortui in ecclesia non sepeliuntur, nisi episcopus aut abbas aut boni presbyteri aut fideles laici”; Szuromi, “Templom körüli temetkezés a középkori egyházfegyelem tükrében”

⁶⁰Recently published summary of the topic: Lővei, “Posuit hoc monumenta pro aeterna memoria”

⁶¹György Siklósi, “Székesfehérvár” in: *Medium Regni*, 67.; Alán Kralovánszky, “The earliest church of Alba Civitas” *Alba Regia* 20 (1983) 35-89.

⁶²Ernö Foerk, “A kalocsai Szt.-Istvánkori székesegyház érseki sírja” [The archbishop’s tomb of the cathedral of Kalocsa of the ages of Saint Stephen] *Archeológiai Értesítő* 31 (1911): 19-33

⁶³Sándor Tóth „Tihany” in *Paradisum plantavit. Bencés monastorok a középkori Magyarországon* [Paradisum plantavit. Benedictian monasteries in medieval Hungary] ed. Imre Takács (Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátság, 2001), 335-338.

Studies of the Hungarian practice of this period in smaller churches – not cathedrals – connected burial inside the church with the institution of private churches.⁶⁴ After the overview above one can suppose that the person buried in the tomb of Visegrád was an important ecclesiastical, or a family member of the founder and owner of the church. Probably they disinterred the bones because after the abandonment of the church they wanted to bury this person in another sacred place⁶⁵ It is important to notice that this person was probably a child. If one considers the size of the tomb, and the fact that it also contained even a coffin, the body could have not been more than 110-120 centimeters in length, probably shorter. Then of our two hypotheses about his/her identity the second one is more probable.

Except for these two cases, no gravestones and tombs were found on Sibrik Hill.

Empty graves

In cemetery II archeologists found seven empty graves⁶⁶ in which had certainly been a body originally. Similarly to the tomb, these graves were not robbed, because the bones were also taken out of them and only nails, coffin clasps, and sometimes small grave goods remained in the graves. In several cases the traces of exhumation were no longer visible; therefore one may suppose that they happened not long after the burials. Probably the cause was not the same in every case. Graves 168 and 196 were disturbed during the construction of the second church. These graves belonged to the first church,⁶⁷ and when the builders found them, they took out the bodies and presumably re-buried them elsewhere. Graves 144, 146 or 148 could be the secondary places of these deceased persons. The situation could be different in the case of graves 157, 180, 190 and 206. Among them, 180 might belong to the earlier period, 190 to the later; 157 and 206 cannot be dated. These graves do not intersect with the walls,

⁶⁴Edit Tari, Pest megye középkori templomai [The Medieval churches of Pest County] Studia Comitatus 27 (2000), 188-191., Ilona Valtér Valtér Ilona, "Egyházszervezés, kolostorok, templomok a 11-13. században" [Church organization, monasteries, churches in the eleventh-thirteenth centuries] in *Zala megye ezer éve* ed. László Vándor and László Kostyál (Zalaegerszeg: Zala Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2002), 61-66.; Ilona Valtér, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok Nyugat-Dunántúlon* [Árpadian Period brick churches in Western Transdanubia] (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 2005)

⁶⁵About the transferred burials: Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550* (London: Routledge, 1998), 93-96

⁶⁶Graves 157, 168, 180, 190, 196, 206, and 165, the tomb.

⁶⁷Identified on the basis of layers.

however, they could have been disturbed during the construction. Otherwise they were emptied for other reasons, like the tomb inside the church. (*Figure 19 c*)

Secondary burials

As I mentioned above, transposed or secondary burials were found in the southeastern part of cemetery II. The collected bones of one person each were found in graves 143, 146, 148 and 202, and grave 144 contained the collected bones of three persons. Probably at the time of these secondary burials the bodies were in a decomposed state and only the bones were moved to the new places. In the case of graves 146 and 202, the contours of oval-shaped pits were observable. One may suppose that some of the secondary burials are from the construction period of the second church. It also occurred that several graves were partly disturbed by the foundations of a wall, but they were left their original place. In these cases –graves 159, 159, 169 and 174 – the disturbed part was taken out of the grave or placed besides the body. From grave 163 only the skull remained under the foundations of the auxiliary building. According to these observations, despite the disturbed and transposed graves, no traces of grave-rubbing were found. In these cases usually a small pit in the area of the hands and the head could be observed, and the bones were thrown mixed into the grave. In Visegrád the circumstances suggested that the bodies were exhumed and transposed. (*Figure 19 d*)

Anthropology – sex and age

If a body is present, the bones can be examined. An anthropological analysis is necessary in every case in order to decide the age and sex of the buried person. These two attributes are relevant for reconstructing the character of the community or communities.

This study used anthropological studies already done on the bone material.⁶⁸ It is important to deal separately with the bone material and the other data, and then compare the results. Anthropological features should not be deduced from the archaeological circumstances, such as grave goods of arrangement.

In the two cemeteries 223 individual skeletons were found in 221 graves, as grave 71 was a double burial and grave 144 a triple one. Several graves – in cemetery II – were empty, therefore five skeletons are missing. The bones from graves 1-6 and

⁶⁸Pap and Suse, “Complex Anthropological analysis of the Cemetery of the *Comitat* Center at Visegrád”

64, 133 were lost. From grave 163 only the skull is extant. Without the poorly preserved material unsuitable for anthropological analysis, and grave 151, considered as Roman grave, 208 skeletons were examined

The skeletons buried in the upper part of the topsoil were in a more damaged condition and in several cases the contours of the grave and the coffin (if they existed) had disappeared. Generally the preservation of the bones was poor in this cemetery. Katharine Kondor, who examined the anthropological material of the cemeteries several years ago⁶⁹, made a detailed study of the diseases and diet of the population of early Visegrád. With the help of paleostomatological methods, she analyzed a sample of the teeth from the Sibrik Hill cemetery and compared them with those of the Várkert settlement cemetery. Among the features she found that although there were some differences between the two communities using the two cemeteries, no major distinction is not observable between them. This result does not exclude the implications of her hypothesis that the Sibrik Hill community was of higher status than that of the village, it only reveals that the differences between the social levels did not necessarily reflect widely variant lifestyles.

The grave register includes the determination of age and sex if it could be determined.

According to this the distribution of gender was the following in cemetery I and II:

Female: 35 (25.9%), male: 48 (38.4%), not determined: 53 (39.3%)

Female: 28 (32.5%), male: 34 (39.5%), not determined: 24(28%)

For the distribution of age concerning the cases when it was observable⁷⁰:

Infans I (0-1 years):	36	26%	14	
16.3%				
Infans II (8-13 years):	13	9.6%	7	8.1%
Juvenis (14-21 years):	9	5.9%	16	18%

⁶⁹Kondor, "Diet and Social Stratification in Árpád-Period Hungary"

⁷⁰The distribution of age groups is established according to physical anthropological studies. Pap and Suse, "Complex anthropological analysis of the cemetery of the comitat center at Visegrád"; Kinga Éry "Történeti embertani alapismeretek" [Fundamentals of physical anthropology in historiography] in *A régésztechnikus kézikönyve I* [Handbook of the archaeologist assistant] Panniculus B 3 ed. Gábor Ilon (Szombathely, 1998) 279-309.; In the analysis I used the identifications marked in the Documentation.

Adultus (22-41 years):	28	21.5%	6	7%
Maturus (41-60 years):	45	33.3%	32	37.2%
Senilis (61-years):	1	0.74%	3	3.5%

It seems likely that the cemetery around the second church served for the burial of ecclesiastical persons (at least partially) because of the significant ecclesiastical grave goods, yet both graveyards included male, female and child burials. Although the distribution of males is higher in both cemeteries, one may suppose that there were more females in the unidentifiable group. The difference in the age distribution is meaningful in the case of infans I and adultus (higher in cemetery I), and juvenis (higher in cemetery II) age groups. After all, the proportions of age and sex seem to be balanced in the two cemeteries, which indicates that there was no functional division influencing the distribution.

Grave goods

One of the most important parts of this discussion is the examination of the grave goods, the objects deposited in the graves. Archaeological research considers grave goods everything which was buried with the deceased, indicating rank, wealth or place in society (like jewelry, insignia, weapons, special clothing). Also there are objects used either in everyday life (as small personal tools) or on special occasions which probably belonged to the deceased, hence he or she was buried with them. Other things were buried because of the idea that the deceased needed it after death (eggs, food, coins, etc.).

These beliefs and customs may be connected with pagan rites that disappeared slowly during our period, but some of them lived on through the Middle Ages. Some objects and traces, however, seem to have been dress accessories. They can reveal fashions of contemporary clothing, like jewelry, belts, and clasps. Whatever the wealth of grave goods is, they are only a fragment of what was originally in the grave. Everything made of perishable material, such as leather, textile, or wood are decompose with time, and sometimes the chemical processes in the soil even disintegrate objects made of bone, glass, or metal. From the surviving part of this material we can only suppose the amount of grave goods originally deposited besides with the deceased.

To note the custom of placing objects in the graves is also important because these practices were not recorded in any written sources. One can gather information about it only with the help of archeological methods. However, cemeteries and burials form part of the life of people and communities and should not be neglected because the customs connected to death always carry the characteristic signs of belief and life.

In this period of the Middle Ages, in the Carpathian Basin a change took place in the custom of grave goods. Written sources do not carry information about this practice, however one can suppose that the Church did not supported it, because according to the Christian belief, the dead do not need anything to carry from this world to the other. The graves rich in grave goods, from the beginning of the period, were the signs of the higher social status and wealth of the deceased, but soon it can be seen that graves become gradually impoverished in grave goods as the century progresses.⁷¹ Material objects loose their variety in types too. Compared to earlier graves which often contained a wealth of weapons, jewelry, clasps and metal ornaments on clothing, animal parts, and food offerings, by the beginning of the twelfth century only some very typical jewelry, sometimes knives and coins can be found. First weapons disappeared, and jewelry remained for the longest time. At the beginning of the period I am researching, the graves of men of leading position were the richest in grave goods, and by the end of the Árpadian Period, the late thirteenth century, the graves of young women, originally not very remarkable, became the most abundant in jewelry. The reason for this is much more a change in burial customs than the change of social values.⁷²

Several methods exist to evaluate grave goods in a cemetery. One possibility is to regard the object types one by one and examine their spatial distribution in the cemetery. From this we can infer conclusions with regard to the formation and internal relationships. The analysis of groups of objects is also an important method. An object has a meaning in itself, but first of all it has to be seen in its context. The parallel appearance of various types of objects and the composition of groups of objects reveal regularities, repetitions and patterns that carry a great deal of information. The third method is the comparative study of grave goods in the context of other cemeteries of the period – in this case, the eleventh-twelfth-century

⁷¹ Szabó János Győző, “Árpád-kori falu és temetője Sarud határában”, [Árpadian Period village and its cemetery on the border of Sarud] in *Egri Múzeumok Évkönyve* 13 (Eger: Heves Megyei Múzeumi Szervezet, 1975), 19-68.

⁷² Langó, „A kora Árpád-kori temetők kutatása”, 456.

cemeteries. This helps us to place the cemetery in a social and historical context and it may also contribute to its absolute dating⁷³.

Although some differences between the cemeteries in the amount of grave goods can be seen at first sight, they are not particularly significant. In cemetery I 43 graves (31.85%) out of 135 contained at least one item of grave good, while in cemetery II archaeologists found objects in 18 graves (20.1%) out of 86. The average of the proportion of the grave goods in the graves is 0.57 for one grave in the case of cemetery I, and 0.29 in the case of cemetery II. The most characteristic items are s-shaped hair rings, finger rings, animal bones, coins, beads and necklaces. In addition to these a clasp, a bracelet, small metal plates, knives, and arrowheads were recovered from the graves. The most interesting objects from the graves were the chalice the paten and the penitential belt, which were found in cemetery II, near the chancel of the second church. These characteristic objects can reveal cultural and social features; therefore it is important to compare the results of anthropological, spatial and other examinations with the grave goods and their distribution in the cemetery.

The first category of grave goods is various kinds of jewelry. The smaller, simple types of jewelry of this period were parts of everyday wear, but one cannot exclude that some of them carried an additional meaning concerning social status, wealth or beliefs. As for the material, gold was quite rare in the tenth through twelfth centuries; the prevalent precious metal was silver and its alloys. Pewter and tin occurred also, although their value was less, the color resembled that of silver, and they had commonly used because of its good malleability too. In the case of bronze, there was a scale of variations, from small, low-quality objects to the finer ones. In the case of the cemeteries of Visegrád, copper was not used for fine, precious objects, it occurred rather as the material of thin rings and trinkets, except for one ring from grave 134. (*Figure 12, 13*)

Hair rings

The most numerous group of objects was hair rings with s-shaped endings. This object was widespread in the period and the changing fashions are easily recognized. It is a small ring-sized object which served for the decoration and

⁷³ The bulb-head fibula in the Roman grave (grave 151) does not belong to the medieval cemetery, and I did not include it among the other grave goods.

fastening of the hair plaits. Usually they were worn in pairs, but one can find one, three, or more rings in one grave as well. They were crafted from a variety of metals (silver, tin, copper, gold) and alloys (bronze, pewter). Some types could probably have been manufactured with rather simple tools, without a well equipped workshop.⁷⁴ They received their name from the little s-shaped tail of one of the ends. This tail was often broken, but people continued to use the broken rings as well. It is more generally characteristic of women's graves, but they also occur in men's and children's graves. Scholars supposed earlier that it had a gendered role, but now it is known that its occurrence is not gender-specific, and one should not consider a deceased as a female only on the basis of hair rings. Naturally, when one finds several s-shaped rings of precious metal in a grave probably means that the person buried there was well-off or of a higher social status, but at the same time one can say that hair rings were a popular fashion and people of modest status could also afford them. S-shaped hair rings already emerged before our period and they continuously characterize Árpadian Period cemeteries until the thirteenth century, although in decreasing numbers. From thirteenth century hoards and from the remains of unburied people killed during the Mongol Invasion (1241-42) it is known that the s-shaped hair rings were widespread parts of women's adornments even to the end of Árpadian Period (eleventh-thirteenth centuries).⁷⁵

The wearing of s-shaped hair rings can be traced back to various items of Hungarian Conquest Period ring jewelry.⁷⁶ The type which is dominant in the period of the Visegrád cemeteries developed in the second half of the ninth century. This thin ring, made from wire, in the beginning was a simple, undecorated type, usually from tin, lead and their alloys. From the beginning it never counted as an object connected with any particular ethnic group. At the turn of the millennium rings made of thicker

⁷⁴In the evaluation of the hair rings with s-shaped ending (and of the other jewelry) I relied on the following comprehensive studies: Szőke and Vándor, "Pusztaszentlászló Árpád-kori temetője"; Károly Mesterházy, "Az S-végű hajkarika elterjedése a Kárpát-medencében" [The spread of the hair ring with S-shaped ending in the Carpathian Basin] *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* 64 (1965); and the following monographs: Kiss, Gábor *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei* [The Treasure-troves and Grave finds of Vas County from the Tenth to the twelfth Centuries]. (Szombathely: Hungarian National Museum, 2000); Istvánovits, Eszter. *A Rétköz honfoglalás és Árpád-kori emlékei* [The Árpadian Period Remains of the Rétköz] *Régészeti gyűjtemények Nyíregyházán* 2 (Nyíregyháza: Hungarian National Museum, 2003)

⁷⁵Nándor Parádi "Münzdatierte Schmuckstücke aus dem 13. Jahrhundert. Der Schatzfund von Nyíregyháza-Pusztapótharasz" *Folia Archaeologica* 26 (1973), 119-161.; József Laszlovsky „Az ország pusztulása" in *A tatárjárás* ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Éva Garam (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2007), 39-43.; Csaba Tóth, „A tatárjárás korának pénzekkel keltezett kincsleletei" in *A tatárjárás*, 79-80.

⁷⁶Szőke and Vándor, "Pusztaszentlászló Árpád-kori temetője", 57-59.

wire emerged, with the s-endings hammered wider in order to make them flexible and durable. At this time rings made of precious metals, especially silver, also wider in diameter, became the most widespread. From the middle of the eleventh century new types appeared again. The decoration of s-shaped rings began as a fashion, the s-endings received grooving and ribbing,⁷⁷ and their manufacturers again started to use less precious, easily workable materials, tin and lead, sometimes employing silver-plating. In the course of later centuries the really sophisticated pieces disappeared, but the simple ones survived for centuries.

In the cemetery of Visegrád 48 s-shaped hair rings were found, 39 in cemetery I and 9 in cemetery II, and among them there were both well preserved and damaged pieces as well. Their forms varied, and so did their materials; there were 2 gold, 14 silver, 6 copper, 5 bronze, and 1 tin among them. In 15 cases only one ring was buried with the deceased, in 12 cases two, in 3 cases three, and in one grave (grave 73) there were five rings were found. However, the number of rings did not necessarily correlate with the importance of the deceased, wealth or higher social status. In grave 73 a *juvenis* (20 years old) woman was buried, and no other grave good were found in her grave but the hair rings. Among them only one was silver, the others were less valuable bronze and copper hair rings. In other cases it is also observable that young women or girls had several hair rings (graves 24, 45, 214), sometimes in addition to glass bead necklaces. Children – whose sex cannot always be definable from the surviving bones – usually had one thin hair ring made of silver (graves 17, 38) or two or three hair rings of less costly material (graves 31, 163). Only two younger males had hair rings: a young boy (12-14 years old) laid to rest in grave 41 had a silver hair ring, and a 20 years old man in grave 74, had three hair rings.⁷⁸ The more valuable, thick silver hair rings were sometimes the only grave goods in a grave, or sometimes were associated with another hair-ring, a finger ring or a coin. These pieces could be observed in women's and men's graves both from the elder (*maturus*) age group. No hair ring was found in a male *adultus* grave. The most important grave from the point of view of s-shaped hair rings was grave 182 in cemetery II. In this grave of a *maturus* (58 year-old) woman, two gold s-shaped hair rings and a gold finger ring was found.

⁷⁷ Mesterházy, "Az S-végű hajkarika elterjedése a Kárpát-medencében"

⁷⁸ In the case of grave 74 it is dubious that the anthropological determination is correct because of the relative high number of hair rings and the glass beads necklace besides them.

These items of jewelry are rare among eleventh-twelfth century grave goods, especially because of their material⁷⁹.

Hair rings found in the same grave are rarely of the same type. One may suppose that people – usually women - wore them for a long time and collected more and more valuable pieces as they became older. No system of types could be seen among the hair rings, although from the only five hair rings with ribbed s-endings three came from the western part of cemetery I (graves 17, 24, 29), one from the territory between the two parts of the graveyard (grave 129), and only one from the middle of cemetery II. However, these few examples are less than enough to reach further conclusions, although they help reveal tendencies and fashions of these objects.

As regards the distribution of hair rings in cemetery I, they were unevenly distributed. In some areas they do not occur at all, and in others they can be found in a whole group of neighboring graves. If one compares them with the distribution of other grave goods (first of all coins and rings), however, one sees that they are concentrations in spots.

In addition, some of these graves contained s-shaped hair rings with ribbed endings (graves 17, 24, 29). According to research,⁸⁰ these types were spread in the second half of the eleventh century. Among the hair rings from the cemetery of Visegrád, only two other rings had ribbed endings: those from graves 98 and 129. This fact could help the dating of cemetery I.

Rings

14 graves of the cemetery contained rings, ten in cemetery I and four in cemetery II. No graves were found with more than one ring. The material was usually silver (six pieces), while three golden and three copper rings were found, and two made of bronze wire.

The simplest ones were the rings made of bronze or copper wire, from graves 14, 103, 120 and probably 129. These pieces could have been made in local workshops or transformed from another piece of broken jewelry, for instance, a hair

⁷⁹József Laszlovszky, „Social Stratification and Material Culture in tenth-fourteenth Century Hungary” in *Alltag und materielle Kultur im mitterlalterlichen Ungarn*, Medium Aevum Quotidianum 22 ed. András Kubinyi and József Laszlovszky (Krems: Central European University, 1991), 32-67.; Károly Mesterházy, „Köznépi ékszerek nemesfém változatai: arany s-végű hajkarikák” *Alba Regia* 20 (Székesfehérvár: Szent István Király Múzeum, 1983) 143-151.

⁸⁰Mesterházy, „Az S-végű hajkarika elterjedése a Kárpát-medencében”

ring. The silver band rings – whether the penannular or the closed ones -- were also common objects of the early Árpadian Period until the first half of the twelfth century. Their manufacture did not require expertise. Male graves 32, 98, and 99 contained this type of ring, and the lost silver ring from the young girl's grave (205) may have been similar. The cast copper circle ring in the male grave 134 is also a characteristic, but not too frequent, object found in eleventh-century cemeteries.

Two categories of rings are worth considering: the group of the so-called runiform written rings⁸¹ from cemetery I, and the golden rings from cemetery II.

Rings with “runiform” decoration

Two silver rings were found in cemetery I (graves 43, 45), that need further examination, with a comparative aspect. (*Figure 21 d, e*) Rings made of thin silver plate, decorated with runiform, hammer-engraved writing or symbols were not widespread, but they have been occurred in several sites in the Carpathian Basin. Béla Miklós Szőke and László Vándor in their monograph about the cemetery of Pusztaszentlászló collected more than thirty examples from Hungary and from the neighboring countries and one can suppose that more such rings lurk in the stores of museums and in the soil. The meaning of the symbols has been argued recently, but these signs, although they resemble writing, do not correlate with any known alphabets. Szőke and Vándor established a typology of these rings, according to which the two rings of Visegrád belong to the first group, that of the octagonal or nine- or ten-sided rings. Each side of these rings is decorated with a symbol or sign (“letter”) in a thin, rectangular frame. The material of the rings is silver – like that of the rings of Visegrád, almost without exception. In contrast to the other rings of the Carpathian Basin where all this type of rings were found in female's graves, one of the rings of Visegrád came from a *maturus* male's grave, grave 43.

Some of these rings can be dated by coins found in the same graves. The research established the first “runiform” decorated ring to the ages of King Andrew I (1046-1060),⁸² and the latest one to the reign of King Béla II (1131-1141). Most of the rings are dated by the coins of St. Ladislav I (1077-1095), similarly to one of the rings of Visegrád (grave 45).

⁸¹Szőke and Vándor, “Pusztaszentlászló Árpád-kori temetője”, 68-73.

⁸²In Székesfehérvár-Maroshegy cemetery, grave 6, and in Pusztaszentlászló cemetery, grave 119. Szőke and Vándor, “Pusztaszentlászló Árpád-kori temetője”, 73.

In their monograph Szőke and Vándor tried to identify the role or meaning of these particular rings. They argued that similarly to the so-called *Thebal rings*, which emerged a bit later, by the beginning of the twelfth century people ascribed protecting power to the rings with “runiform” decoration. However, the *Thebal rings* known from churchyards were in use until the fifteenth century in German territories, and their origin has been associated with incantations protecting against illness. According to Szőke and Vándor, the “runiform” decorated rings had the same role performed through the symbols and letters, which had a power without any other meaning as well. The rings were spread by Christians from the second half of the eleventh century, after the pagan insurrections, in order to counterbalance pagan rites with protective objects associated with Christianity. However, one may suppose that the protective power ascribed to letters and symbols could have been used by non-Christians, pagans as well. On the basis of the material from Visegrád the rings cannot be clearly associated with Christianity, but their pagan features are not provable either.

Gold rings

Three gold rings were found in cemetery II. In grave 179 (male, *maturus*) a band ring twisted of thin golden wire, with flattened endings, was found on a finger of the right hand. In grave 182 (female, *maturus*; two golden hair rings were also found in this grave) a band ring with narrowed endings, made of golden wire, was found on a finger of the right hand. In grave 185 (male, *adultus*) a circle ring was on the right hand. Graves 182 and 185 date from the earlier period of the cemetery, and grave 179 from the period of the second church.

These types of rings are well known from the early Árpadian Period cemeteries, although they are usually made of silver. These three rings are mentioned particularly because they were made of gold, a relatively rare metal in this period. The distribution of objects in a well-defined small area of the graveyard, and the fact that they did not occur in graves with many other grave goods, reveals the differences between the parts of the cemetery.

The further items of jewelry are typical objects from the cemeteries of the tenth through twelfth centuries. Their parallels are known from many row-cemeteries and from churchyards as well, therefore I do not want to analyze all of them in detail,

only mention and describe them, as their appearance may be important in the whole picture of the cemetery.

Necklaces and beads

Glass, frit, and semi-precious stone beads formed necklaces found mostly in children's (graves 5, 45, 71/b, 85) and young woman's grave (grave 91). One older woman (grave 87) and a young man (grave 74) also had a few beads in their graves. The beads were either in a necklace, or there were only one or two of them to hang around the neck. There may have been other parts of this jewelry which have decomposed.

Other grave goods

Simple rings made from wire with flattened ends, were defined as ear rings by the excavating archeologist. They came from graves 113 (one) and 129 (two).

Pendants

Simple metal adornments were common in the Árpáadian Period. Four objects recovered from the cemetery were probably jewelry, or at least they were worn hanging from the neck. From the soil of grave 157 a small, rectangle copper plate was recovered. In grave 170 a pierced, round lead disc with one simple and one striated side was found beside the head. In grave 197, a ring made of copper lay on the right side of the chest. In grave 199, a pierced copper disc, gilt on one side, could have been jewelry or an accessory. It lay beside the right leg.

Bracelet

A twisted copper bracelet, broken in two, was found in grave 96, but should not be regarded as grave goods. According to the grave register it was thrown into the grave.

Clasp or mount

In grave 61 (cemetery I), a small bronze clasp lay beside the left knee. This decorated accessory could be the end of a belt or part of some other item of clothing.

Knives and steel

The practice of putting sharp or pointed iron objects into the graves was alive through out the Middle Ages. It was belived that, these objects protected people from

the malice of the deceased.⁸³ A knife or steel in a grave could be the personal implement of the deceased, but if it is found in abnormal position, it may indicate this different function. Traces of this practice can be seen in several cemeteries and in Visegrád as well. The steel edge of a knife was laid across the feet in grave 58. Two fragments of a knife, and a fragment of the steel blade of a sword, were found in grave 137, in addition, the orientation of grave 137 was different from the other graves (200 degrees). The first two fragments lay on the pelvis, and the third one the third one on the chest. The steel edge of a knife was placed in grave 141 beside the head; this grave 141 was situated alone, far from the main part of the graveyard. Both grave 137 and 141 were situated on the south-eastern side of cemetery II.⁸⁴

Pin

In grave 48 a 4-centimeter-long iron pin was found. As I mentioned, the position of some of the bodies indicated that the deceased were buried swathed in a shroud. This small pin could have served to fasten the shroud on the chest of the deceased. Some parallels also support this theory.⁸⁵ However, the pin could have belong to the deceased or been a grave good serving other purposes.

Arrowheads

In the very eastern part of cemetery II, six arrowheads were found in grave 203, in a heap beside the right knee,. Supposedly they were in a quiver or other container, and been buried in a bundle. They are rhomb-shaped, flat, hammered iron arrowheads, linked to the arrows with a butt. Placing arrowheads in graves was a common custom in the Hungarian Conquest Period. Not only adult men but *juvenis* and adolescent boys also were provided with these weapons in burials, setting them besides the body.⁸⁶ The practice seemingly disappeared during the eleventh century. Arrowheads in graves, like other weapons, are considered signs of pagan rites.⁸⁷

⁸³Sándor Solymossy, "A vas babonás ereje" [The superstitious power of iron] *Ethnographia* 45 (1933): 97-117.; Tettamanti, "Temetkezési szokások a 10-11. században a Kárpát-medencében" 110

⁸⁴The fragment of knife in the tomb also could be a grave good, but more presumptive that this object got into the grave pit with the detritus, during the transposition, or after it.

⁸⁵Ritoók "Zalavár-Vársziget az Árpád-korban. A régészeti kutatások eredményei", 31; Roberta Gilchrist and Barney Sloane, *Requiem. The medieval monastic cemetery in Britain* (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2005), 110.; Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550*, 149, 157

⁸⁶For parallel examples see among others: Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 79.; Istvánovits, *A Rétköz honfoglalás és Árpád-kori emlékménye*, 333-335.

⁸⁷ Tettamanti, "Temetkezési szokások a 10-11. században a Kárpát-medencében"109.

During the excavation of the churches three other arrowheads came to light, from the eleventh-twelfth century layer, but they are of different types: only one of them is rhomboid, and all of them were joined with a socket, not a butt.

Animal bones

If animal bones were found in a grave, it indicates pagan rituals in almost every cases.⁸⁸ The appearance of the animal bones could be for various reasons; several cases of burying animal parts in graves are known from the ninth and tenth centuries. At Visegrád one can observe two forms of this custom. In grave 110 (cemetery I) three bones were found, two beside the two legs and one on the right side of the head. From the regular arrangement the excavator archaeologist suggested that these bones served as grave goods. If so, then the bones were buried in the grave as food items, during perhaps a funeral feast which was held as part of the burial ceremony.

Boar's tusk

The other case of placing animal parts in a grave is seen in cemetery I graves 43, 55 and 72 contained wild boar's tusks. They were placed beside of the head of the deceased or in his/her right hand. As the tusk could not be part of a piece of meat buried with the dead, one may suppose that it was the tusk itself that was placed there as a grave good. In any case, a pagan custom can be observed here, which had a ritual or social significance, or both.⁸⁹

Coins

Coins in graves can have several functions. In one case, if the coin is an *obulus* (a coin placed in the grave)⁹⁰, the rite goes back to an earlier time and the coins were

⁸⁸ Tettamanti, "Temetkezési szokások a 10-11. században a Kárpát-medencében" 108.

⁸⁹ Tettamanti, "Temetkezési szokások a 10-11. században a Kárpát-medencében" 108, Istvánovits *A Rétköz honfoglalás és Árpád-kori emlékanyaga* 355-358.

⁹⁰ The custom of placing an *obulus* in a grave appeared in Hungary with the starting of minting coins around the second decade of the eleventh century, and spread unevenly through the country during the century. It has several variations: people either put the coin in the mouth or in the hand of the dead person, or, - in the cases when archaeologists found it around the skull, the breast, or elsewhere in the grave - they simply placed it or cast it in the grave. About the Árpadian Period coins, their frequent renewal, and the custom of placing them in graves: László Kovács, *A kora Árpád-kori Magyar pénzverésről* [On Hungarian coin minting in the early Árpadian Period] *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica* 7 (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Science, 1997); László Kovács, "A kora Árpád-kori (1000-1141) pénzmellékletadás egyes kérdései a Magyar királyság temetőiben" [Questions of early Árpadian Period (1000-1141) coins as grave goods in the cemeteries of the Hungarian Kingdom] in *"Magyaroknak eleiről"* [About the ancestors of Hungarians] ed. Ferenc Piti (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2000)

issued relatively recently. One of the reasons for this is that these medieval coins were not of stable value and people did not use them for a long time. In this case the dating value of the coin is quite good. The other case is when the coin was used as an amulet or jewelry. Then the pierced, strung coin may be much earlier than the date of burial, and its dating value is uncertain.

The appearance of coins in any archaeological context can be interpreted as markers of *terminus post quem*. That means that the archaeological phenomenon (layer, building, grave, etc.) in which the coin is found cannot be from an earlier age than the coin's date of issue. Fortunately most the eleventh- and twelfth-century coins can be tied to a king or sometimes to an exact year.

Several coins were found in Visegrád,⁹¹ mainly in cemetery I. Their distribution was not equal; 15 coins were recovered from cemetery I, and only three from cemetery II. Both types of coins were among them. (*Figure 11*)

In cemetery I two pierced coins were identified, one in grave 47 on the pelvis, under the right hand, and another in grave 71/b, a child (*infans I*). In these cases the usage of the use of coins as amulets is not certain. The distribution of the other coins in cemetery I was interesting because six (or seven) of them formed a separate group in the center north of the graveyard. The other coins were distributed in graves a bit further from this group, in pairs beside each other or alone.

In cemetery II a Roman coin was found in the Roman child's grave; this grave is not an integrated part of the cemetery. In grave 163 a pierced coin lay beside the skull, worn beyond recognition. Similarly to that of cemetery I, here, too, the pierced coin was found in a child's grave. In grave 186 the silver coin of St. Ladislav I (1077-1095) lay under the left hand of the deceased. This coin is important not only for dating of the grave – which, in this way, may have been contemporaneous with other graves in cemetery that I dated by similar coins --, but also for dating the second church. As the contours of the grave intercut the building layers of the church, the grave should date from a later time than the construction of the church. I would like to discuss this topic below, in the chapter about dating.

⁹¹ I would like to thank to Csaba Tóth for identifying of the coins. For the evaluation of coins I have also used: Emil Unger, "Magyar Éremhatározó" [Hungarian Numismatic Handbook] vol. 1, 2nd edition, (Budapest: Magyar Éremgyűjtők Egyesülete, 1974).

Grave goods with special importance

Two graves in cemetery II contained objects with special importance among the material of the excavation. These two graves (grave 160, grave 164) were located east of the chancel of the churches. As I would like to discuss later, in a churchyard, where every burial had its own definite place according to the social status, wealth and relationships of the deceased, his particular location was considered as “desirable” or reserved for important persons of the community, mostly for clerics.

Penitential belt

In the grave of an adult man (grave 160), a one centimeter wide iron belt was found around the waist of the body. (*Figure 16*) This band is made of forged thin iron plate, originally with both ends flattened. Later the hook was opened at one end, so it could be bent again 5.5 centimeters further inside, making the diameter of the belt smaller. This object was considered as a penitential belt by the archaeologist of the excavation, Mátyás Szőke.

This object is unique in the archaeological material of the period; I found no parallels of it, thus I tried to compare the object to written sources. In several *vita* and *legenda* of saints one can find the mention of a penitential belt among the instruments of asceticism. The penitential belts mentioned in the legends of St. Andrew and St. Benedict were probably similar.⁹² In the legend of St Margaret of Hungary there are also descriptions of one *cilicium* made of iron and another one made of leather.⁹³

Although not only ecclesiastics but secular people could wear penitential belts, the location of the grave and its environment imply that this was presumably a cleric's

⁹²“Szent András és Benedek legendája” [The legend of Saint Andrew and Saint Benedict] in *Árpád-kori legendák és intelmek. Szentek a magyar középkorból I.* [Legends and exhortations from the Árpadian Period. Saints from the Hungarian Middle Ages] ed. Gyula Benda, Iván Bertényi, János Pótó and Géza Érszegi (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 1999), 9.: “This father arrived when the venerable body had already lain dead, in order to be washed. He found the iron belt, which had already touched his internal organs. From the outside his skin had hidden the belt which decomposed his flesh from the inside. Yet we would have never learned about this form of martyrdom, had the tied knot of the metal not come out at his navel.”

⁹³ “Szent Margit legendája” [The legend of Saint Margaret of Hungary] in *Árpád-kori legendák és intelmek. Szentek a magyar középkorból I.*, 133.: “The treasures this holy virgin kept in her chest were these: in it were two penitential belts. One of them was already ragged because of the frequent wear, while the other penitential belt (cilicium) was new, and in it was an iron belt, whit which she had been embraced with great servity.” and *Árpád-házi Szent Margit legrégebb legendája és szentté avatási pere* [The oldest legend of Saint Margaret of Hungary and her canonization trial] ed. Gábor Klaniczay, Ibolya Bellus, Zsuzsanna Szabó (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1999), 38.: “She found the cilicium that she wore too light, therefore, whit two sisters – one of them became prior of the convent later, the other was a servant – she had secretly made a three or four inches broad belt from the skins of porcupines kept at the cloister.”

grave. On the basis of the stratigraphy, I could not decide if the grave was associated with the first or the second church.

Chalice and paten

In grave 164, by the side of an adult man, lay a chalice and a paten. The body held the chalice in his right hand and the paten in his left hand. (*Figure 15*) The chalice was made of lead, tin or pewter⁹⁴. Its *cuppa* is conical, the rim is cut straight. The *nodus* is shaped like a thin ring, the foot widens gradually. It was found in poor condition, fractured and deformed. Its measurable height is 8 centimeters, the width of the base 5 centimeters, the diameter of the top 5 centimeters. No decoration can be seen on it.

The paten, 6.1 centimeters in diameter, is likewise made of a pewter alloy too. It is a round-shaped plate; a protruding rib runs around it one centimeter below the rim, and in the center it is decorated with a carved *cross pattée*. It is damaged and deformed.

The chalice is one of the most important symbolic objects of Christianity. The main act of the mass, the Eucharist, when the wine and the bread transform to the blood and body of Christ is the most sacred moment of this religion. The Church strongly regulated the material and appearance of chalices. Placing chalices and patens in graves is a well-known custom in medieval Western and Central Europe, and has many parallels. Although there are only a few examples from Central Europe in the early ages, in Western Europe, especially from Anglo-Saxon regions, dozens of burials have been excavated with chalices. They are considered funerary symbols of the clergy.⁹⁵

Examining the appearance and material of these objects, two main types can be differentiated. Chalices and patens made of precious metal are represented in lower numbers. The other chalices and patens were made of lead, tin or pewter. These vessels were not consecrated for masses because of the dispositions that objects contacting the sacred body and blood of Christ should be made of precious metal. The

⁹⁴ After the excavations restaurateurs of the King Matthias Museum examined the objects and determined their material as the alloy of tin and lead.

⁹⁵ Roberta Gilchrist and Barney Sloane, *Requiem*, 164. Recent studies revealed (a few) cases when secular people were buried with chalices – if not patens.

regulation concerning the use of chalices was enforced in Anglo-Saxon regions⁹⁶ and also in Central Europe and the Hungarian Kingdom.⁹⁷

The question arises, of how to explain the existence of these objects. These materials were not regarded as appropriate for liturgical vessels, although some of them were not prohibited either, because precious metals were too valuable and rare to be owned by every small church.⁹⁸ It is probable that they were used, too, on some level, since the regulations were brought against their use were formulated later. Thus their number decreased in the Late Middle Ages, but they continued to be used as grave goods.

One explanation is that these chalices were funerary objects, never used for Mass, or only used for extreme unction or remission.⁹⁹ Therefore Gilchrist and Sloane claim that pewter chalices were made especially for burials, and they refer to a source where “the Bishop of Worcester ordered that every church should have a silver chalice for the Mass, and a pewter one for burial with the priest”.¹⁰⁰

In the region of the Hungarian Kingdom two buried chalices came to light during the excavation of the cathedral of Kalocsa.¹⁰¹ In the marble tomb of an adult man in front of the altar a silver chalice and paten, a crozier and three silver nails were found. The grave was considered as the burial place of an archbishop of Kalocsa. This, however, is implied by no other evidence than the grave goods and the location of the grave. The head of the excavation described the chalice and the paten as funerary objects not used for services, and he also mentioned that more than fifty years earlier another, chalice of red copper was found in Kalocsa outside the church.¹⁰²

⁹⁶Roberta Gilchrist and Barney Sloane, *Requiem*, 160.; Beresford, Maurice - Hurst, John, *Wharham Percy Deserted Medieval Village*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Biddle 789-790

⁹⁷The Synod of Tibur in 811 forbade the use of chalices made of not precious metals. The inside of the chalices and the patens should have been gilt. *Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester 1-2*, Winchester Studies 7, ed. Martin Biddle (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 789-790.

⁹⁸*Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester*, 94.

⁹⁹Anu Mänd, “Liturgical vessels in medieval Livonia” MA Thesis (Budapest: Central European University, Medieval Studies Department, 1996), 32.: „Pewter chalices were in the Middle Ages used predominantly at funerals, or for the communion of the sick and criminals. Pewter vessels were to be found, after all, in poorer churches.”

¹⁰⁰*Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester 1-2*, 790; Gilchrist and Sloane, *Requiem*, 160.

¹⁰¹Foerk, “A kalocsai Szt.-Istvánkori székesegyház érseki sírja”

¹⁰²Foerk, “A kalocsai Szt.-Istvánkori székesegyház érseki sírja” 24: “The chalice did not serve for officiating Mass, (it is) a so-called grave chalice, the kind which had been placed in the grave with higher church dignitaries, and which Henszlmann found at this same place, outside the church in 1869, made from copper. The height of the present chalice is 8 and a half centimeters, its upper diameter 8 centimeters, pure silver, without any gold plating. Its’ paten, in simple incised contours shows the divine hand conferring blessings, surrounded by a plaited ornament of 24 divisions, and with two

Other parallels of this custom in Central Europe can be also noted. A chalice and paten ensemble made of bronze came from the Basilica of St Vitus, from Prague. It was found in a grave situated in the passage linking the basilica with the St. Bartholomew Chapel, dated to the twelfth century. The deceased in the grave was considered as “important superior in the church hierarchy, although not a bishop because the bishops were buried inside the church.”¹⁰³

Gilchrist and Sloane list more than thirty pewter chalice and paten ensembles, (or one of them) from the cemeteries of religious houses in medieval England.¹⁰⁴ The objects are dated stratigraphically between 1117 and 1540, but as authors mention, no chalices of the late Middle Ages reflect the changes in form of later times. On the contrary, they seem to have been made in an older style.¹⁰⁵ They show a variety in materials, as sometimes they were made of silver, silver gilt, but even of wax laid.¹⁰⁶ Although these chalices have a simple form, they do not resemble the stylistic features of the one from Visegrád, which has a different, conical, cuppa.

Apparently common people did not make a significant distinction among chalices made of tin, lead, and their alloys those ones made of precious metal. They were cheaper and easily worked, thus their crafting required less professional knowledge.

The sizes of these objects from medieval England are similar to the chalice from Visegrád, the height of the chalices varied between eight and thirteen centimeters and the diameter of the patens was around ten-twelve centimeters. The Victoria and Albert Museum holds a funerary pewter chalice, that originated from France. This fourteenth century chalice is the tallest among the others, 15.5 centimeters.¹⁰⁷ Although the vessels used for Mass could also have been smaller than the few precious and ornamented chalices, one may suppose that the sizes of the everyday vessels were larger than the funerary objects.

concentric circles. The rims of the chalice and the paten are only roughly cut out.”; *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261*, ed. Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 30.

¹⁰³ *The Story of Prague Castle*, ed. Gabriela Dubská et al. (Prague: Prague Castle Administrations, 2003), 86-87

¹⁰⁴ Roberta Gilchrist and Barney Sloane, *Requiem*, 160-161; another an example: Maurice Beresford and John Hurst, *Wharram Percy Deserted Medieval Village*.

¹⁰⁵ Gilchrist and Sloane, *Requiem*, 162

¹⁰⁶ Gilchrist and Sloane, *Requiem*, 163

¹⁰⁷ “Chalice,” Victoria and Albert Museum online collection <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O73151/chalice/> (last accessed May 21, 2011)

Another possibility came up concerning the chalices and patens found in graves: three ensembles are known from Central Europe (Hildesheim, Rheinland, Minden)¹⁰⁸, reportedly found in the graves of ecclesiastical persons. All of them are dated to the eleventh or early twelfth century. The difference between the Anglo-Saxon examples (and also that of Visegrád) and these chalices is that they were made of silver, silver gilt or gold. Theoretically, these precious, finely wrought, but small¹⁰⁹ objects were traveling chalices which were only used occasionally, and later buried with their owners. All of these patens were decorated with engraving in the center, two of them with the representation of *Manus Dei*,¹¹⁰ and one with an *Agnus Dei*.

These particular objects could have been important from the point of view of Visegrád because of the similar situation of being in graves. The precise location of a cleric's grave inside the sacred area was also determined, as we have seen in examples of Prague. Christopher Daniell examining burial places of medieval England concludes that: "The burial of the religious was fairly easy to determine. The priest was often buried in the chancel near to the high altar where he celebrated Mass every day. Abbots were often buried in the chapter house, which was the meeting place of the monks..."¹¹¹

To sum up the theories about these chalices and patens with the examination of the parallels, the objects of Visegrád may be rather funerary objects than ones for traveling. The simple style and material of the chalice and the paten also support this idea. However, if one compares it with other important burials, the particular grave goods and the location of the burial imply that in this case, too, the grave of an ecclesiastic was found.

In several cases the situation of these particular objects in the grave indicates that the chalice originally stood in the grave somewhere, on the chest or in the hand of the deceased, or besides the head or leg.¹¹² The explanation for this could be that they were filled with wine the chalices in the course of some ritual during the burial. This theory is supported by evidence in recently buried ecclesiastics' graves where the

¹⁰⁸*Europas Mitte um 1000. Katalog*, ed. Hans-Martin von Alfried Wiczorek (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2000) 410-11, 442-445.

¹⁰⁹The height of the chalices were around 5-11 centimeters and the patens were also smaller than the objects used during Mass.

¹¹⁰(Psalm 118:16 "The Lord's right hand has done mighty things"); The paten is often decorated with a curved image. "Paténa" in *Magyar Katolikus Lexikon* [Hungarian Catholic Lexicon]

¹¹¹Daniell, *Death and Burial*, 96

¹¹²*Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester 1-2*, 293

remains of wine were found.¹¹³ In the case of the grave at Visegrád one cannot prove that the chalice (or the paten) contained anything, however, its position implies that it stood upright in the right hand of the deceased.

Chalices were often buried with other objects besides patens, such as the pieces of bishop's vestments, pallium, crosiers, and rings.¹¹⁴ These items were broken in several cases, symbolizing the end of the earthly life.¹¹⁵ In the graves or on the bodies pieces of textiles were also often found which could be parts of altar cloths. In Visegrád no such remains came to light.

As we have seen, scholars agree that ecclesiastics were buried with chalices and patens, thus the role of these objects could be to indicate the rank of the deceased. Chalices and patens also had their own symbolism, which becomes more complex if we take into consideration the two examples cited by Daniell:¹¹⁶ on the gravestone of Walter Hubert is an inscription saying that "The altar represents the cross, and the chalice the tomb, and the paten the stone, and the white corporale the winding-sheet." In another case, on the paten in the grave of Sicardus, bishop of Cremona, the following inscription was found: "also the chalice (signifies) the body, because wine is in the chalice, blood is in the body."

Regarding the dating of these funerary chalices one can conclude that from the rare items of the twelfth century to the Late Middle Ages more and more pieces are known. The chalice and paten from Visegrád, -- dated to the late eleventh or early twelfth century according to the dating of the churches -- can be considered as an early example.

Conclusion of the grave goods

As we have seen in the chapter of grave goods, the items besides the dead in the grave could be of various types. Christianity did not support the custom of placing grave goods, although it did not do much against. Supposedly grave goods disappeared slowly from Christian cemeteries during the Middle Ages, probably as a result of the belief that one cannot take anything to the other side but his/her soul, and with the Resurrection only this pure soul will rise from the dead. The accessories and

¹¹³Daniell, *Death and Burial*, 169

¹¹⁴*Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester* 1-2, 792

¹¹⁵ Daniell, *Death and Burial*, 171

¹¹⁶Daniell, *Death and Burial*, 170-171

the jewelry found in graves could have been the parts of clothing, and if the dead were not buried naked, in a shroud, these little objects survive frequently.¹¹⁷ In the cemetery of Visegrád one can find examples for these customs.

Other items, put in the graves for ritual reasons form the second type of grave goods. In these two cemeteries. animal bones, coins, arrowheads, knives, perhaps pendants all into this category. However, the placing of grave goods in Christian cemeteries was not customary, and grave goods such as weapons and food were considered as pagan rites by scholars, while the placing of the chalice and other insignia, and the rituals connected to them, belonged of Christian culture. It is important to know that it was only the higher-ranking priests, who were buried with these objects, giving the custom a symbolic meaning which was different from pagan rituals.

¹¹⁷We have some data indicating that these are the sinners who were buried in clothes, or often were only pushed into a grave pit on the periphery of the cemetery. Therefore, sometimes more items are known from this category of graves. Ritoók “Szempontok a magyarországi templom körüli temetők elemzéséhez”, 121.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS

In order to evaluate the cemetery of Visegrád, one has to take into consideration three main points of view: the questions of chronology, topography, and function. Evaluating the data and features described in the previous chapters I have tried to find regularities and differences. My analysis focused on answering the questions: How the two parts of the cemetery developed in time and space? Where the graves formed into groups according to their age or other features? What were the differences among the different parts and groups, and how were these phenomena linked to the function of the cemetery? Now I would like to give an overview of the results and the patterns they form, according to the three points of view.

Chronology

In the course of the present examination of the material of the cemeteries on Sibrik Hill it has become clear that the two parts of the cemetery were used (at least partly) in the same period. To define more precisely these periods, I have used different methods in the two parts of the cemetery.

In cemetery II the situation was complex because of the buildings, layers, and superposition, which helped me to define the relative chronology of the graves.¹¹⁸ In my previous research I have already created two horizons of graves on the basis of these relations, in order to support the dating and function of the churches, which was the topic of my previous MA thesis.¹¹⁹ In that study I limited the survey to the graves in directly related with the buildings. Based on the results of that study, I extend the examination to the whole of cemetery II.

As a first step, I tried to define two main horizons according to the building periods of the churches, then define the relationship among graves and divide them into cohesive groups. The destruction of the first church and the building of the second church was the most important episode on the site, which can be more or less easily defined using archaeological methods. This event also bears on the importance of the change in the social or institutional role of the site with an influence on the usage of the cemeteries. Hence, I stated this event as a boundary, and defined the two

¹¹⁸I do not include grave 151, because it is a Roman grave and was not the integrated part of the medieval cemetery.

¹¹⁹Kodolányi, "A visegrádi esperesi templom"

main horizons,¹²⁰ the “the horizon before the building of church II” as horizon I, and “the horizon after the building of church II” as horizon II. (On the map one can see the distribution of the graves in two groups. (*Figure 14*) The first group of graves are associated with the first church, but some of them may be of earlier origin. In the second group I classified graves associated with the second church and to later periods. The other graves are not datable with certainty.

The second period seems to be more homogenous regarding the other features of the graves. Taking into consideration that – with the chronology based on the layers and the coins found – the abandonment of the second church was the end of the use of the area as a cemetery, no archaeological evidence divides this second horizon into separable parts. On the contrary, in the case of horizon I, the examination of orientation, the depths of the grave, and the superposition indicates that it may contain graves from different periods. Especially to east to the chancel of the churches are denser and there is more superposition of graves which indicates that the place was used for burials in different times. Among these graves some were oriented precisely the same as the churches, but others differed from it. Some of these differently oriented graves were demonstrably from horizon I, and they seem to form a group, or rows (graves 140, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156). The division of horizons is visible on the map marking the depth of the graves (*Figure 5, 6*). The graves of horizon I were dug into almost the same depth, except the graves to the east to the chancel, which are shallower. The graves of horizon II show similar depths. However, the features of resemblance are not undeniable evidences, and the existence of a group of graves earlier than horizon I is not proven.

Besides the relative chronology of the graves, the absolute dating of the cemetery is important. According to historical and archaeological sources the construction of the first church may have been constructed around the turn of the first millennium. Therefore the beginning of the churchyard belonging to the first church could not have been before this time. If one suppose that earlier burials had existed in Sibrik Hill before the first church, they could be not much earlier than the turn of the millennium, because graves were cut into almost all of the tenth century sunken houses and settlement traces. The churchyard developed during the eleventh century and had two main horizons, as I have deduced above. Fortunately, the construction

¹²⁰The archaeological term ‘horizon’ means artificial objects and features created in a certain period of time.

date of the second church is supported by a coin, which gives it *terminus ante quem*. In grave 186, which belonged to horizon II a coin of Ladislav I (1077-1095) was found. The pit of this grave was cut into the building layer of the second church; therefore, the coin from this grave can help dating the church. The grave cannot be earlier than 1077 and probably – in view of the practices of the period – not more than a few years later than 1095. Consequently, the second church was constructed in the last quarter of the eleventh century, no later than 1100. Thus, the graves of horizon II date from this period or a later time, and the graves of horizon I anticipated them, and were buried before the last quarter of the century, or a bit later. The destruction of the second church is dated by a twelfth-century coin found in the detritus above the right side altar. Thus, along with the church, the cemetery also ceased to be in used.

In the case of cemetery I, because of the lack of buildings,¹²¹ superpositioning of graves and other points of reference, the chronology discussed here is based on the coins found in graves. Fourteen coins were unearthed from this part of the cemetery all of them from the second half of the eleventh century (*Figure 11*) The frequency of coins is higher on the northern side of cemetery I. Here – according to the examination of other features such as the depth and orientation of the graves and the grave goods – a separable group stands out. In the middle of this group (graves 43, 44, 45, 47) four coins were found, even from among the earliest ones (Géza Dux, Géza). On the periphery of the group later coins (St. Ladislav) appeared. This arrangement implies that the development of the group started from the middle, and the graves on the sides date from a few decades later than the first ones. Concerning the other parts of the cemetery, the most frequent coins, those of St. Ladislav and of Géza Dux appeared in three other places, alone or in pairs, in neighboring graves. Two coins were pierced: a denarius of Salomon I (1063-1074) and a coin of St. Ladislav I (1077-1095). The dating value of the pierced coins is uncertain, because of their secondary function possibly as amulets or jewelry, but in these two cases the objects lay around the hands or on the chest, indicating that they were put in the graves as *obuloi*. Two parts of the cemetery, the very eastern part and the center in the north, did not contained any coins. This feature could mark a difference in time or rather in social

¹²¹Only a few houses and a ditch were situated in the area earlier– probably in the tenth century, but all of the graves intercut them. These remains of a settlement were earlier than the period of the cemeteries.

stratification or custom. We must not to forget that cemetery II similarly contained only a few coins.

In order to compare the periods and dating of the two parts of the cemetery, the first starting point is the coin of St. Ladislav, found in grave 186 (cemetery II). As there were six pieces of the same king's coins in cemetery I, and they were distributed over the larger part of it, including what seem to have been the most important graves, one can suppose that an important part of cemetery I was contemporaneous with cemetery II, horizon II. The other coins pre-dated the St. Ladislav coins, therefore the other parts of cemetery I belong to earlier periods. One cannot correlate precisely the parallel horizons of the two parts of the cemetery. If horizon I is earlier than the reign of St. Ladislav, it does not necessarily mean that it is precisely contemporaneous with the graves dated by the coins of Géza or Géza *Dux*. Also, the graves in cemetery I dated by the denarius of St. Ladislav were not necessarily contemporaneous with horizon II. To sum up, one may state that the two parts of the cemetery belonged to a period very close in time, and the existence of graves from other periods (earlier or later) cannot be excluded.

Topography

There is a major difference the topographical features between the two parts of the cemetery, which I mentioned earlier: cemetery I was a row cemetery, and cemetery II a churchyard. But given these general descriptions, the spatial analysis of graveyards reveals more differences in the internal relations and development of the cemetery.

Cemetery I

Comparing the different features in cemetery I like depth of the graves, grave orientation, and grave goods, a similar pattern began to appear. In the center northern part was a well-defined group of graves situated. This group was not different from the others, but the graves inside the group were similar to each other both in orientation and in depth. Comparing this pattern with the map of grave goods, one can state that this group is the wealthiest in the cemetery. Three graves were situated, graves 43 (male, 47 years old), 44 (female, 32 years old), 45 (female, 11 years old) in the middle of the group. All three graves were dated with coins (St. Ladislav, Géza *Dux*, unidentified), and were provided with jewelry: hair rings and even finger

rings.¹²² Other, graves in the group, without valuable grave goods but with similar orientations and depths were situated in concentric circles around the main graves, while further away from them other graves with similar orientation but less depth and without grave goods were found.

In the other, thinly arranged group of graves the similarity was less detectable and did not occur in every feature. However, the examination of the features showed that from the eastern part of the excavated area to the south-central part, graves were arranged more or less in rows and their depths were also similar. The occurrence of grave goods reveals a few more important graves among the others. On the northern and southern sides of this area, shallow, less important graves, and children's graves occurred. The distribution of grave goods highlights another group on the south-western side; some of these graves are children's graves, or the burials of young women or men, but two *adultus* men's graves also occurred among them (graves 7, 29). However, in orientation and depth there were no significant similarities among them: they seem to be disordered somehow. This does not mean that there was no order to regulate the burials, rather, this part was mixed, and these features imply that the deceased were buried here in various periods or according to different custom.

It is important to note, that to the north of the main part of cemetery I, and south of the southern group of graves no burials were found. Since the area is not fully excavated, one can suppose that there may be other graves a bit further away, however, a strip of a few meters wide seems to have been left empty. Other boundaries cannot be seen, although in places on the periphery of the cemetery the density of graves is lower. Other graves were found in the transition territory between the two parts of the cemetery and one has to suppose that somehow they were also parts of the graveyard.

From the data available one cannot reconstruct how cemetery I began and filled up. Although there are some parts from where we do not have dated grave goods; one cannot exclude that these graves were contemporaneous with the relatively better dated ones.

In sum, the arrangement of cemetery I shows at least one center, and possibly other groups among the graves and related with the development of the graveyard. This kind of topography is well known in the research of early Árpadian Period

¹²² The rings with "runiform" decoration

cemeteries. The row cemeteries of this period were in some cases large graveyards where the arrangement of the burials developed in more or less concentric circles. The cemeteries of Majs or Halimba¹²³ are good examples of this type. According to the theories, the basis of these cemeteries of large extent was a population with generally homogenous social status, living in basic families.¹²⁴ In other cases, smaller cemeteries with several centers imply a social structure of extended families, burying their relatives in previously defined areas in the cemeteries. In the center of these areas usually the most important burials were usually situated, while on the periphery people filling a less important social status in the family or smaller community were buried. In these examples it is sometimes observable that groups in the cemetery evolved separately, creating a fan shape, as it can partly be seen in Visegrád too, progressing from east to west. On the basis of this idea, cemetery I at Visegrád could also belong to this second type of graveyard.

Cemetery II

A significant difference was observable in the topography of the two parts of the cemetery, despite the short distance between them. In cemetery II the existence of the churches was the main feature influencing the graves contemporaneous with them.

In order to understand this phenomenon, one has to take into consideration the Christian beliefs connected to the dead. According to this concept, during the waiting for the Resurrection, and at the moment of the Last Judgment the deceased should be the closest to the altar, or the places where relics of saints were deposited, because that would help them be purified from their sins. In the early Christianity people were buried *ad sanctos*,¹²⁵ near the altars or churches because they expected salvation from the proximity of the relics of the saint martyrs. This practice became common; however, the Church prohibited the burials inside the churches in several times, and designated the place of the graveyards around the churches. At the time when the Hungarian Kingdom institutionally adopted Christianity,¹²⁶ this latter rule was already in force. At the beginning this practice was less observed, but by the end of the

¹²³Kiss, *Barnaya megye X-XI. századi sirleletei*, 176, 190.

¹²⁴Gyula Török, *Sopronkőhida IX. századi temetője* [The ninth century cemetery of Sopronkőhida] *Fontes Archaeologici Hungariae* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1973)

¹²⁵Lővei, “*Posuit hoc monumenta pro aeterna memoria*” Academic Doctoral Thesis (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2009) 309-395.; Daniell, *Death and Burial*, 100.

¹²⁶After 1000 A.D.

eleventh century, with the regulations of Kings Ladislas I and Koloman I,¹²⁷ churchyards became the main places of burial.

As the deceased were buried in the churchyard, in sacred soil, they remained members of the Christian community, took part of the Mass and the sacredness of the place, which helped them to be cleansed of their sins. Thus, they remained in contact with the community, they were remembered by it. In this context it becomes understandable why those who were excluded from the sacred community,¹²⁸ were buried outside the graveyard, or on the periphery or on the ditch¹²⁹.

The other important aspect of this burial practice was the phenomenon of the conservation of *memoria*.¹³⁰ As I have mentioned, the Church prohibited burials inside the churches, but permitted them in exceptional cases for members of the Church or the aristocracy. With a tomb inside the church these people not only gained a *sepultura ad sanctos*, and remained members of the Christian community, but also were evoked every time when the members of their family and the religious community attended the sacred services, and they were preserved in *memoria*. Naturally we have no exact idea about the identity of the person buried at the altar of the church on Sibrik Hill, but one can imagine that the considerations described above played a significant role the choice of location.¹³¹

From the point of view of Visegrád it is also important that if burying inside the church was prohibited, people chose other buildings linked to the church for burials. Thus, one can observe in many cases that important ecclesiastics or laics were buried in the atrium, or portals of the churches, in the ambulatory of courtyard of the monasteries, or at least around these buildings.¹³² Buildings not constructed especially for burial gave places for graves, and “the distinction between the church and the

¹²⁷Szuromi, “Egyházi intézménytörténet”

¹²⁸András Kubinyi “Késő középkori temetkezések a történeti forrásokban” [Late medieval burials in historical sources] in. “...a halál árnyékának völgyében járok.” *A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása*, 13-18.

¹²⁹Daniell, *Death and Burial*, 95: „A medieval church can be described as a series of concentric rings. The most holy area was the high altar at the east end; the holiness lessening towards the west end and into the churchyard. All the holy areas were enclosed within the boundary of the cemetery. The concentric rings were not uniform, and even within the cemetery some areas were more holy than others (and therefore desirable).”

¹³⁰Lővei, “Posuit hoc monumenta pro aeterna memoria”, 117-171.

¹³¹In the Saint Andrew monastery there was also an eleventh century burial in a similar place, in front of the altar: Lővei, “Posuit hoc monumenta pro aeterna memoria”, 429.; Buzás and Eszes, “XI. századi görög monostor Visegrádon”

¹³²Paul Binski, *Medieval Death. Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 70-71.

cemetery was not always clear.”¹³³ In Visegrád graves from horizon II were found in the auxiliary building and next to its entrance, therefore one may suppose that this building, that its function has not been clarified yet exactly, could serve – at least to some extent -- for burials.

These three aspects may also have influenced the phenomenon of the transposed graves. With the abandonment of the second church, people carried away the remains from the tomb and probably from other graves in the churchyard, in order to reinstall them in another, functioning church. In their new place the deceased could rest in sacred soil, remained the member of the community and were commemorated by it.

As regarding the other burials outside the church, on the maps one can clearly see that the graves associated with the first church were oriented precisely in a similar way. The graves of the first church were situated around it, although the graves associated with the second church with certainty formed two groups: one on the eastern side of the chancel and another beside the western wall of the building. This second group is significant not only because of its location – beside the church, at the entrance of the auxiliary building -- but also because their grave goods (gold rings and gold hair rings), which indicate that persons of higher status were buried here. In the graveyards around the churches the most prestigious place was the eastern side of the sanctuary, and the space south of the aisle was also important. In the cemetery at Visegrád the grave goods found in the graves east to the church confirmed this idea: the chalice and the paten are the most significant objects from horizon II. Two other graves were considered as being from horizon II, one inside the church and one to the south, in the auxiliary building.

Because of the strong similarity of these relatively datable graves in orientation and depth, the differences became more visible in the eastern part of cemetery II. Some of the graves in this area seemed to form a row or a group, but others lay alone, in a very different position than the majority. The orientation of these graves was around 280 degrees, instead of 260-265 degrees, which is the position of the churches. This is not a great difference, and it is important to emphasize that only one different feature of a single grave is not necessarily significant. The distinction is reasonable if

¹³³Binski, *Medieval Death. Ritual and Representation*, 73.

groups of graves show similar features differing from other groups. Although it is not supported by archaeological evidence yet, one may suppose that another group appeared in the eastern part of the cemetery surviving from an earlier period, even earlier than the churches.

The evaluation of the graves in the southeastern part is not easy, because no evidence links them to the two defined horizons. Maybe with the observation of their features (arrangement, depth, orientation, grave goods) one can infer that this area was the periphery of the cemetery in a certain time. The graves in inverse orientation (137, 139) and buried with knives, and the fact that the re-burials were here also support this theory.

Unfortunately the comparison of the two parts of the cemetery is not complete without knowing the unexplored territory between them. The excavation of these parts could reveal more information.

Function

As the examination of coins and other features showed, in the life of the two parts of the cemetery there was a parallel period. Despite this, there were many differences between them. Therefore the reason of this difference should be the result of a difference in function. In the course of the previous chapter the idea arose that cemetery I could be the burial place of one or more extended families, and in cemetery II some of the graves could be considered as ecclesiastics' burials. Examining the distribution of gender and age groups in the cemetery, one may find that it was similar in both cemeteries. Since the graves belonging to the first church show variability in gender, age and grave goods, a major change can be observed in cemetery II with the building of the second church. The graves of horizon II are all graves of *adultus* or *maturus* persons. Although in cemetery II in horizon II, to the east of the chancel only men's graves were found, the number of burials is not enough to state that only ecclesiastics were buried in this area.

From this one can suppose that a certain community used the cemetery on Sibrik Hill during several periods, and in one of these periods – possibly in horizon II (during the period of the second church) – the functions of the two parts of the cemetery were different. In cemetery I the main families of the community were buried, among other, less important people, while in cemetery II the clerics of the church were buried on the eastern side, and other people on the western side.

CONCLUSION

In my present study I examined the cemetery on Sibrik Hill, Visegrád. I analyzed the material using archaeological methods, and came to the following main conclusions.

Regarding the cemetery in the context of the eleventh- and twelfth-century Visegrád, it could be established that the life of this site took place in two major periods. The first of them can be estimated to the first half of the eleventh century, when a smaller church and a community belonging to it existed on Sibrik Hill. In the second half of the eleventh century, probably around its 1070's, a greater change followed, in the course of which a new church was built and the function of the center was transformed. These events affected the life of the community and traces can be detected in the material of the cemetery. Significant differences occurred between different parts of the cemetery.

Unexpectedly, by the middle of the twelfth century, for unknown reasons the second church was abandoned, and the cemetery discontinued. We have no certain knowledge either about the site in the time preceding our periods, or the reason of the abandonment. The archeological investigation of the material cannot go beyond the above statements.

Comparing our historical sources and archaeological observations with the results of the cemetery analysis, one may conclude that around the beginning of the eleventh century a new community appeared on Sibrik Hill, or the existing community stepped forward in a new phase. This process may have been in relation with the donation charter of King St. Stephen (1009), the building of the first church, and probably the beginning of the medieval re-use of the fortification. In cemetery I a significant part of the community was buried, formed a group, and lived probably for several decades. As we do not know the exact construction date of the second church, we cannot decide if that group was contemporaneous with the second church or preceded it. However one may suppose that the existence of the community was in relation with this important building activity.

Differences between the two parts of the cemetery can be observed, in arrangement and topography, and in special grave finds too. A certain part of the community continued to bury their dead in cemetery I, where some features suggest

the practice of earlier customs, while others chose the significant places around the church, in cemetery II. The graves with precious grave goods in the west side of the church could be the burials of this group, but the graves in the eastern side reveal a stronger connection with Christianity, indicating a new, supposedly cleric part. This latter fact implies that the second church had a higher status in the ecclesiastic hierarchy, although its exact function has not been clarified yet.

Judging from the grave goods, the prosperity of the center of Sibrik Hill could be dated to the second half of the eleventh century, the period for which our written sources reported the imprisonment of King Solomon, suggesting the importance of the place. After that a margin could be observed, and traces associated with later periods did not appear in a significant number. At the same time the usage of the second church discontinued, and its destruction probably started. These results support the theory of the decline of the early center Visegrád in the first half of the twelfth century, but do not provide answer to the question of the status of the center and the churches.

In the cemetery one can observe the main characteristics of contemporary cemeteries. In its character it manifests a transitional period when earlier features were still active, while later features also appeared.

New excavations would be needed in the site, in order to extend our knowledge about early Visegrád. The results of this present analysis of the cemetery could contribute to a comprehensive analysis of medieval graveyards in the Carpathian Basin.

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APPENDIX - CATALOG OF GRAVES

I prepared the catalog on the basis of the documentation and the grave registers. I marked the following data:

Number of the grave: the number of the grave in the documentation

Depth: in centimeters, measured from the actual surface

Orientation: in degrees, where 0 degree means north and 270 degree west. The orientation indicates the position of the head.

State: if the body was disturbed or the grave was empty

Sex: defined by physical anthropologists

Age: defined by physical anthropologists

Coffin: "1" means that in the grave traces of coffin could have been observed

Stone: "1" means that in the grave stones could have been observed

Grave goods: the grave finds of the grave with the catalog number of King Matthias Museum

Situation: period, superposition and layers – features helping to set the grave in its context

Notes: other observations

Catalog of graves

number	grave		body			burial custom			situation	notes
	depth	orientation	state	sex	age	coffin	stone	grave goods	period, superposition and layers	
66/1	50	south-west	disturbed		16-20	1		ceramic fragments, 2 nails, coin of Coloman I (lost)	a ditch intercus its leg, above it a layer of 1-2 centimeters with charcoal and ceramic fragments	
66/2	40	south-west	disturbed						in the upper layer of the soil	
66/3	56	south-west	disturbed	male	40-50					
66/4	70	west	disturbed	female	senex	1				
70/5	70	285			infans II		1	glass beads, a piece of chalk		
70/6	84	275			infans I					
74/7	70	250		male	50	1		s-shaped hair rings: silver on the left side, tin on the right side 74.12.1-2		
74/8	0-60	255			2-4					
74/9	46	270			0-1				in the humus	
74/10	67	265			8-10				on the border of the humus and yellow undersoil	
74/11	60	270			adultus	1	1		on the border of the humus and yellow undersoil, sunken 3-4 centimeters to the undersoil	
74/12	105	295			10-11				in the yellow soil	
74/13	82	250			23	1			in the humus	

Catalog of graves

number	grave		body			burial custom			situation	notes
	depth	orientation	state	sex	age	coffin	stone	grave goods	period, superposition and layers	
74/14	100	275			6	1		copper ring 74.14.1	sunken a little to the undersoil, fragments of the wooden coffin	
74/15	85	270			7	1				
74/16	95	250		female	30	1?			sunken 8-10 centimeters to the yellow soil, the body squeezed, probably coffin	
74/17	24	270			infans II	1		silver hair ring, left ear, 74.15.1	it was not possible to measure the original depth because the grave was under the modern road e	
74/18	90	270		female	36	1	1	animal (wild boar) skull beside the head	fragments of the wooden coffin	
74/19	70	270		female	18					
74/20	55	270		female	40				on the border of the humus and yellow undersoil	
74/21	37	260			6-7				fekete földréteg alján	
74/22	90	275		female	45					fragments of the wooden coffin
74/23	55	295	disturbed		2				sunken into the black soil	
74/24	100	265	CEU eTD Collection	female	30			2 silver hair rings, besides the left and right ear, 74.16.1-2		
74/25	80	265		male	36	1				
74/26	100	280			2-3				sunken into the yellow soil	
74/27	77	270			20-25					

Catalog of graves

number	grave		body			burial custom			situation	notes
	depth	orientation	state	sex	age	coffin	stone	grave goods	period, superposition and layers	
74/28	70	265		male	52					the left femur had broken, but it healed
74/29	95	230		male	52				sunken 10-12 cm in the yellow soil	
74/30	78	245	disturbed		4-6				in the humus	
74/31		280			4-6			2 copper hair rings; 74.19.1-2		
74/32	55	252		male	42	1?			earlier than grave 33, in the black soil layer	
74/33		265		male	16-17	1		silver denarius of Prince Géza, 83.59.1 (lost)	later than grave 32, sunken a little into the yellow soil	
74/34	55	270		female	6					
74/35	70	277			1					
74/36	60	267		male	25	1				
74/37	55	270		male	15-16	1				
74/38	30	277			3-4	1		hair ring, 74.20.1		
74/39	95	280		male	17-18	1				
74/40	38	258	disturbed		4-6					
74/41	65	275		male	12-14			hair ring besides the chin; 74.22.1		
74/42	105	273				1				
74/43	86	270		male	47		1	wild board fang, ring, 2 hair rings, coin of St. Ladislav I (CNH.I.31), 74.23.1-3		
74/44	100	272		female	32			coin of Prince Géza (CNH.I.23.), ring, silver hair ring; 74.24.1-3		

Catalog of graves

number	grave		body			burial custom			situation	notes
	depth	orientation	state	sex	age	coffin	stone	grave goods	period, superposition and layers	
74/45	100	270		female	11			ring, coin (lost?), 3 hair rings, glass and semi-precious stone necklace; 74.25.1-6	charred fragments of wood	
74/46	90	270		male	50	1				
74/47	75	275		male	46	1		coin of Géza I (CNH.I.24); 74.26.1	the left arm had been broken but healed	
74/48	90	267		female	52			coin of St. Ladislav (CNH.I.36), silver s-shaped hair ring, iron nail; 74.27.1-3		
74/49	90	275		male	40	1	1			
74/50	60	260		male	7	1			The pit was dug in a tenth century ditch	
74/51	70	275			4				sunken a little into the yellow soil	
74/52		280		male	47					
74/53	80	260		female	44			coin of St. Ladislav (CNH.I.25); 74.28.1	sunken a little into the yellow soil	
74/54	75	250			11-15	1?		pierced coin of Solomon I (CNH.I.21); 74.28.1	on the border of the humus and yellow undersoil	
74/55	70	255		male	25	1?		wild board fang in the right hand		
74/56	65	250		male	49					
74/57	75-67?	275		male	58					
74/58	58?-68	260			11	1		knife steel edge, above the left leg		
74/59	60	290		female	13				under the modern road	

Catalog of graves

number	grave		body			burial custom			situation	notes
	depth	orientation	state	sex	age	coffin	stone	grave goods	period, superposition and layers	
74/60	55	250		female	30	1		s-shaped hair ring; 75.12.1		
74/61	60	252		male	30			bronze clasp besides the left knee; 75.13.1		
74/62	47	255			16-20	1				
74/63	50	260		male	30					
74/64	30	240?			infans					
74/65	85	257			6		1	one bead besides the chin; 75.14.1		
74/66	62	250			0-1					
74/67	80	280			0-1					
74/68	84	260								
74/69	86	270		male	16-18					
74/70	70	275			1-2					
74/71/a	66	250	disturbed		1-2					
74/71/b	66	250			1-2	1		frit beads 75.15.1-2, pierced coin of St. Ladislav I (CNH.I.31); 75.15.1	charred fragments of wood - coffin?	
74/72	30	260	disturbed 1972	female	40	1		wild board fang in the hand	in the humus	
74/73	50	255		female	20	1		5 s-shaped hair rings; 75.16.1-5		
74/74	80	255		male	20			3 hair rings 75.17.1-2, glass beads		
74/75	83	272		male	56			animal teeth		the back and the shoulders in an abnormal position
74/76	40	255			2				in the humus	

Catalog of graves

number	grave		body			burial custom			situation	notes
	depth	orientation	state	sex	age	coffin	stone	grave goods	period, superposition and layers	
74/77	38	255			1-2	1			sunken into an earlier house; besides the left ear a green corroded spot	
74/78	83	272		male	50				grave 79 is earlier than grave 78	
74/79	87	272		male	50	1			grave 79 is later than grave 78	
74/80	35	255		male	50					
74/81	42	265		male	50+		1			
74/82			disturbed (tree)	male	56		1		dug into a destroyed sunken house	
74/83	55	255		male	17-20					
74/84	35	240		male	30					maybe buried in a shroud
74/85	55	240		male	56	1				green spot besides the skull
74/86	29	265			30					the bent knees turned to the south after the burial
74/87	40	255			54			2 frit beads 75.18.1-2		the body was lying in the left side, knees were bent
74/88	40	257		female	7					
74/89	45	235	disturbed		2					
74/90	50	265			1					
74/91	74	260		female	20	1		hair ring, beads 75.19.1-3, állatfog a koporsó mellett		

Catalog of graves

number	grave		body			burial custom			situation	notes
	depth	orientation	state	sex	age	coffin	stone	grave goods	period, superposition and layers	
74/92	70	255		female	53	1		silver coin of Prince Géza under the left hand (CNH.I.23);75.20.1		
74/93	75	263		male	58			silver coin of St.Ladislav I under the right hand (CNH.I31);75.39.1, 2 s-shaped hair rings; 75.21.1-2	intercut grave 74/120	
74/94	72	255		male	53					
74/95	65	265		male	52	1	1			
74/96	72	268		female	50			hair ring 75.22.1, fragment of a bracelet, probably was thrown into the grave, not grave good		
74/97	42	276		male	44					maybe buried in a shroud
74/98	70	270		female	adultus	1		ring, 2 hair ring 75.24.1-3		
74/99	50	276		female	44	1		silver ring 75.25.1		
74/100	70	282		male	48		1	3 hair rings (one lost); 75.26.1-2		
74/101	36	277			4-5				in the humus layer	
74/102	40	270			8				in the border of the humus and the yellow layers	maybe buried in a shroud
74/103	38	275			36			ring 75.27.1	in the border of the humus and the yellow layers	maybe buried in a shroud
74/104	85	270		male	31		1			

Catalog of graves

number	grave		body			burial custom			situation	notes
	depth	orientation	state	sex	age	coffin	stone	grave goods	period, superposition and layers	
74/105	55	240		male	13		1			the length of the pit was 204 cm! Much longer than enough for a child. Under the feet a charred area and stones
74/106	45	235		female	5					
74/107	60	275			2				in the humus layer	
74/108	10	275			2+					
74/109	20	265		male	56	1	1	coin of Prince Géza (CNH.I23), hair ring; 75.28.1, hair ring		
74/110	70	270		female	29		1	coin of St. Ladislav I (CNH.I.31), 2 s-shaped hair rings, iron nail		
74/111			only skull		2					
74/112	42	235		male	2	1				
74/113	78	260		female	35	0		2 s-shaped hair rings, and one ear ring; 75.30.1-3		
74/114	36	255		male	21	0	1			
74/115	41	255			2-					
74/116	15	285	disturbed - no skull		20					
74/117		268	disturbed	female	30					
74/118	53	255		male	44	0				
74/119	56	255			52	0				

Catalog of graves

number	grave		body			burial custom			situation	notes
	depth	orientation	state	sex	age	coffin	stone	grave goods	period, superposition and layers	
74/120	93	268			56	0		ring 75.32.1	intercut by grave 93	turned a little to the left side, the knees were bent, the head could be in a "pillow"
74/121	55	255		male	30-40					
74/122	48	250		female	10+	1				
74/123	48	260		male	40	0				
74/124	70	255		female	54	0		half a coin of St. Ladislav I (CNH.I.31), 2 s-shaped hair rings; 75.33.1-3		
74/125	90	255		female	56	0		2 hair ring 75.34.1-2		
74/126	80	260	disturbed		0-1					
74/127	58	255			20	01?		1 nail?		
74/128	58	258	disturbed		25					
74/129	80	240		female	48	0		ring 75.36.1-2, hair ring, 2 ear rings		
74/130	78	230	disturbed	male	53	0				
74/131	125	275		female	52	0	1			in the northern side of the vallum
74/132	100	270		male	48	0				inside an earlier house, 32 cm above the floor layer of the house, around the grave stones from the house
74/133										no data, no drawing
74/134	110	270	disturbed	female	47			ring 75.37.1	under the modern road, in the border of humus and yellow layers	

Catalog of graves

number	grave		body			burial custom			situation	notes
	depth	orientation	state	sex	age	coffin	stone	grave goods	period, superposition and layers	
74/135				female	24				under the modern road	
76/136	60	280	disturbed	female	50					
76/137	60	210		female	58		1	3 fragments of knives and a sword; 83.61.1		
76/138	40	275	disturbed	male	37				in the humus	
76/139	46	128		male	59					curved legs
76/140	74-96	275	disturbed - modern	female	20					
76/141	95	265	disturbed		40			iron knife on the right side of the head; 83.61.1		
76/142	80	265		male	20-30				in the yellow soil	
77/143	30		secondary	female	20-30					secondary burial
77/144			secondary		iuvenis, infans II					3 skeletons in a secondary burial
77/145	52	275		male	64				in the yellow loess	
77/146	77	270	disturbed	male	53					
77/147	62	270		male	55					
77/148	103	272	secondary	male	54					secondary burial
77/149	92	256			4		1			
77/150	80	264		female	12-14		1			
77/151	96	140			2			fibule, coin (Diocletianus)		roman grave
77/152	84	280		male	19					
77/153	110	288		female	12	1		silver s-shaped hair ring		
77/154	107	286		male	62					
77/155	78	258		male	56					
77/156	96	280		female	18					

Catalog of graves

number	grave		body			burial custom			situation	notes
	depth	orientation	state	sex	age	coffin	stone	grave goods	period, superposition and layers	
77/157	155	244	empty grave				1	small bronze plate		
77/158	110									55/1 grave
77/159	100	258		female	62					
77/160	80	258		male	59			penitential belt		
77/161	122	266		male	58		1			
77/162	115	258		male	20	1				
77/163	?	258			infans I			bronze s-shaped hair ring, perfored coin		
77/164	89	265		m	43	1		chalice, pathen		
77/165	140	265				1		nail or fragment of a knife		
77/166	125	264			11					
77/167	150	276		female	55	1	1			
77/168	175?	258				1				too long grave pit
77/169	159	270		female	14	1				
77/170	140	286		female	17	1	1	little, pierced lead disc		
77/171	110	258		male	13					
77/172	65	?		female	14					
77/173	90	286		male	58					
77/174	130	276			3	1				
77/175	155	270		female	25					
77/176				male	42	1				
77/177	150	280		male	1-2	1				
77/178	195	276		female	2-3	1				
77/179	65	276		male	57	1		golden ring on the right hand		
77/180		258				1				
77/181	135	275		male	58		1			

Catalog of graves

number	grave		body			burial custom			situation	notes
	depth	orientation	state	sex	age	coffin	stone	grave goods	period, superposition and layers	
77/182	180	270		female	58	1	1	2 golden s-shaped hair rings, golden ring in the right hand		
77/183	163	278		male	53	1				
77/184	150	264		male	44	1				
77/185	200	264		male	37	1		golden ring in the left hand		
77/186	138	284		female	56			coin under the left hand, in the pelvic		
77/187	102	254			1		1			
77/188	150	280		female	21		1	s-shaped hair ring		
77/189	150	275		male	49	1	1			
77/190	110	258	empty grave							
77/191	124	258		female	56		1			
77/192		265			0-1				in a sunken house	
77/193		270		female	10					
77/194	20?	270			20					
77/195	120	258		male	18					
77/196	160		empty grave			1				
77/197	120	250		male	20			ring		
77/198	80	258			0-1					
77/199	10?	258		male	53		1			
77/200	125	280		male	56					
77/201	150	276		male	55	1				
77/202	88	270		female	20					
77/203	40?	286		male	20		1	arrowheads next to the right leg		

Catalog of graves

number	grave		body			burial custom			situation	notes
	depth	orientation	state	sex	age	coffin	stone	grave goods	period, superposition and layers	
77/204	157		empty grave							
77/205	136	258		female	2			silver ring in the right hand		
77/206	110	292	empty grave			1		iron key		
77/207	100	258		female	53	1	1			
77/208	85	258		male	48					
77/209	140	268		male	58	1	1			
79/210	115	236			1-2					
79/211	65	245			0-1					
79/212	70	258			34					
79/213	80	270		male	48	1				
79/214	95	278		female	16			copper hair ring		
79/215	55	258		female	8		1			
79/216	85	286		female	54	1	1			
79/217	90	270		male	56					
79/218	100	282		female	20					
79/219	80	258		male	4					
79/220	75	265			1					
79/221	110	265		male	52	1				



Figure 1 - Sibrik Hill and the site of the excavations

The site of the cemetery on Sibrik Hill

1 The site of cemetery I

2 The site of cemetery II

— Borders of the excavation



Figure 2 - The site of the cemetery on Sibrik Hill

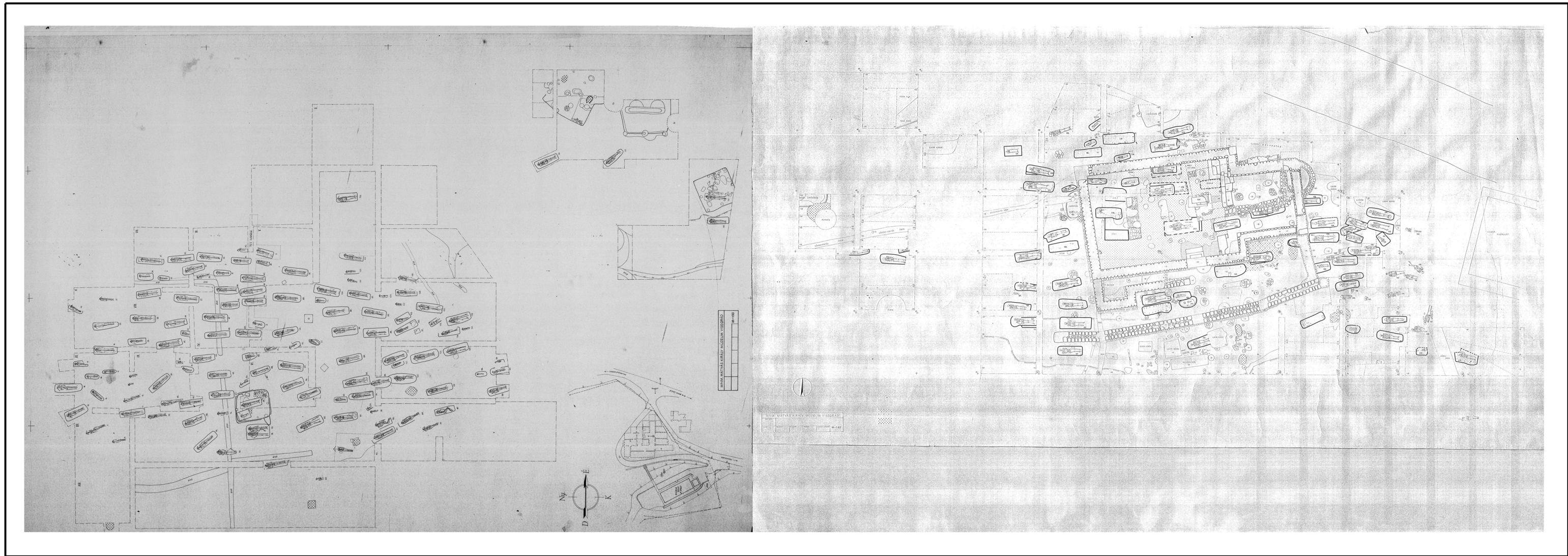


Figure 4 - The supposed relation of the two cemeteries

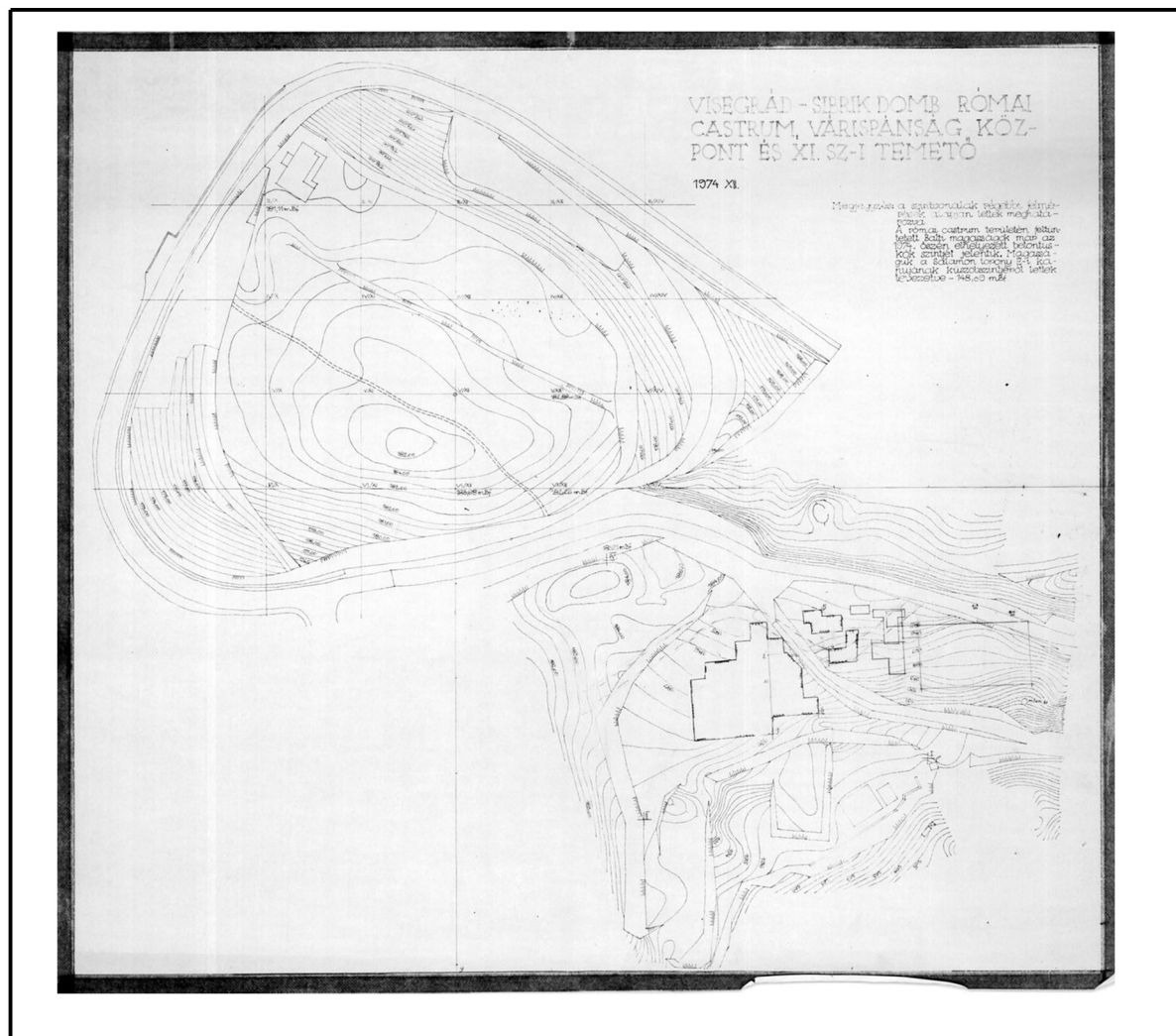
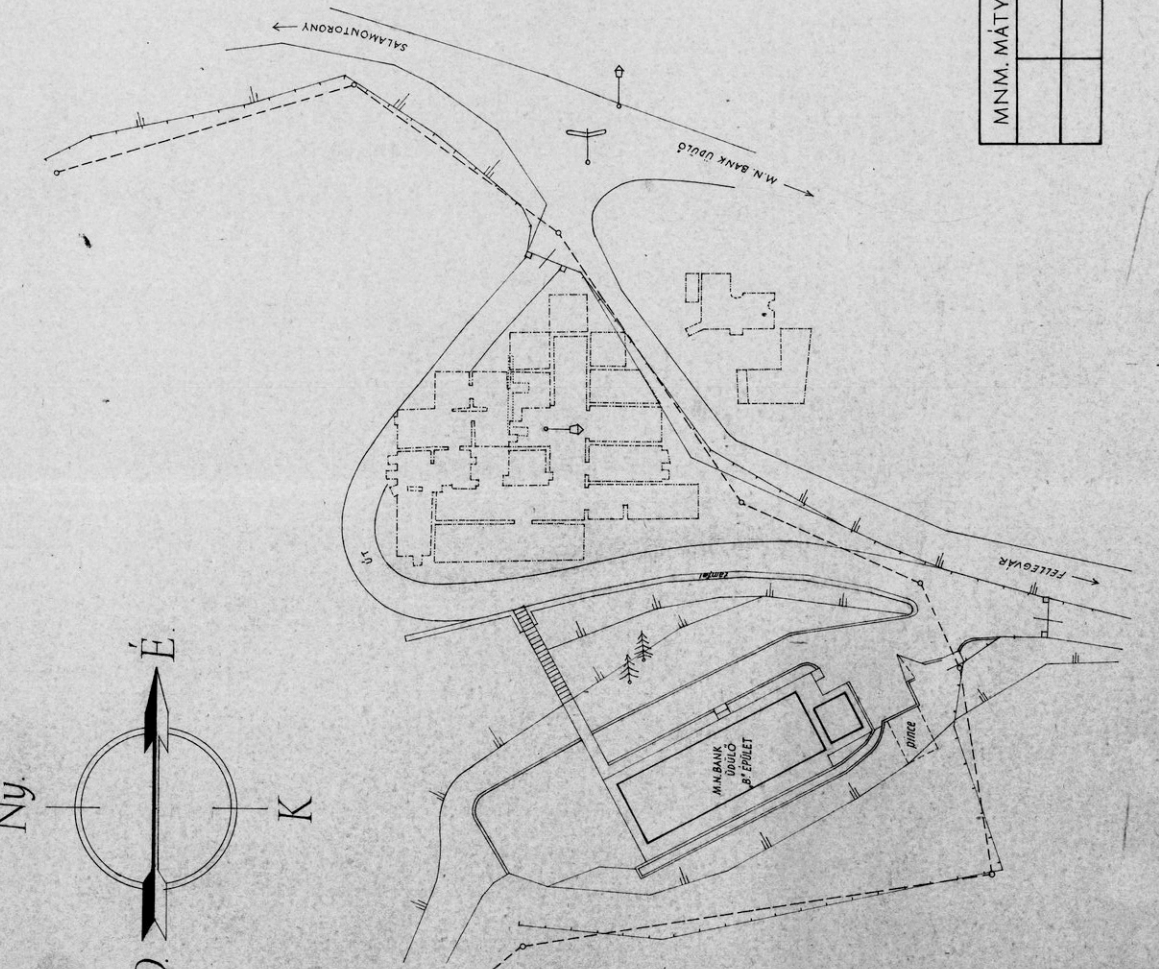
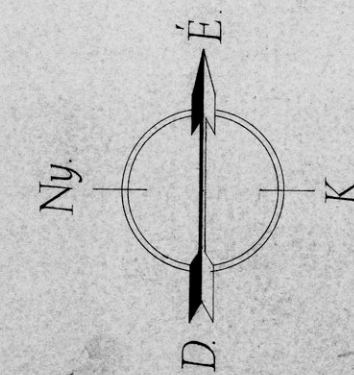
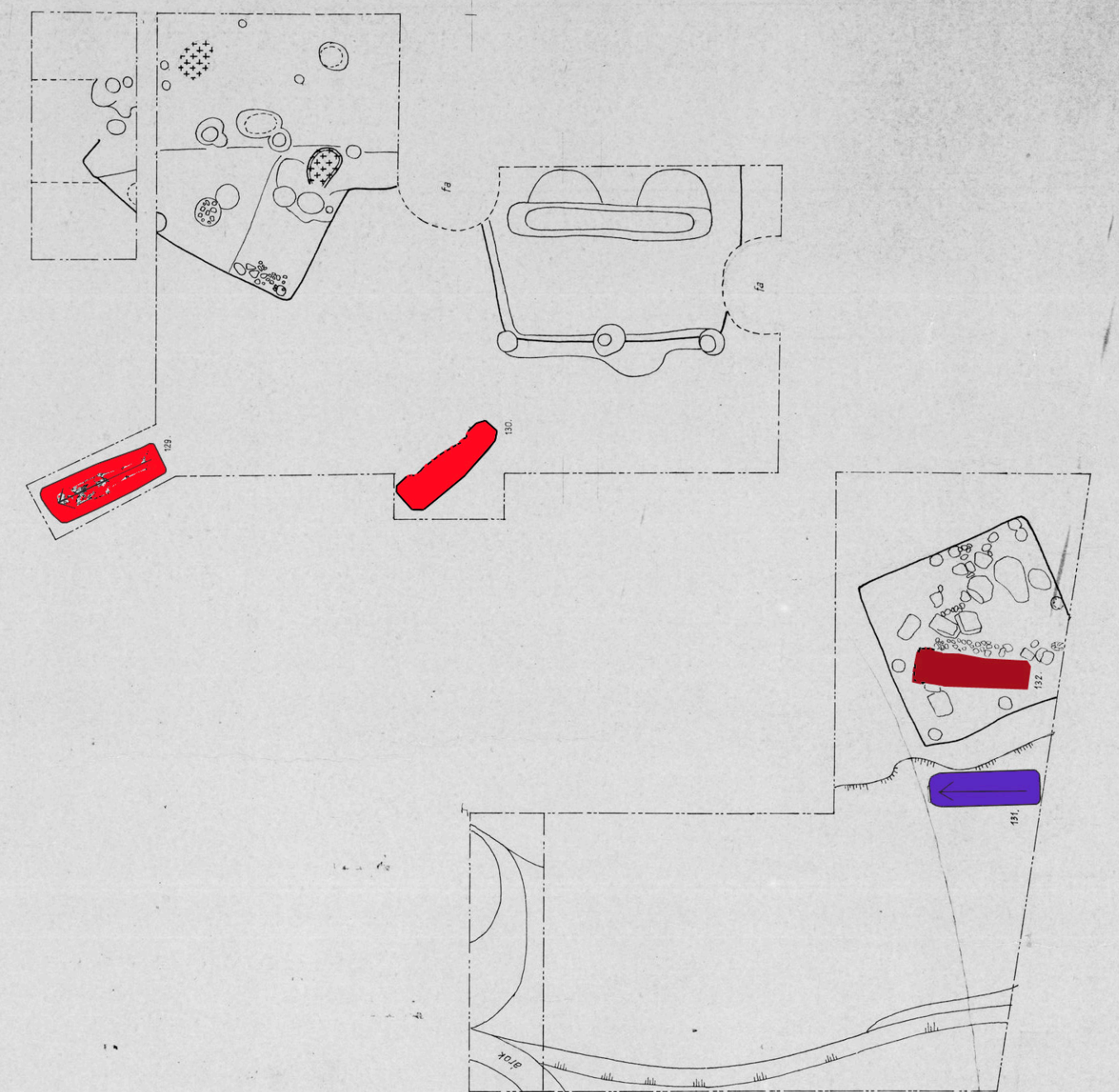


Figure 3 - The plan of Sibrik Hill with the site of cemetery excavations and the fortification

Figure 5 - The depth of the graves in cemetery I



5 meters



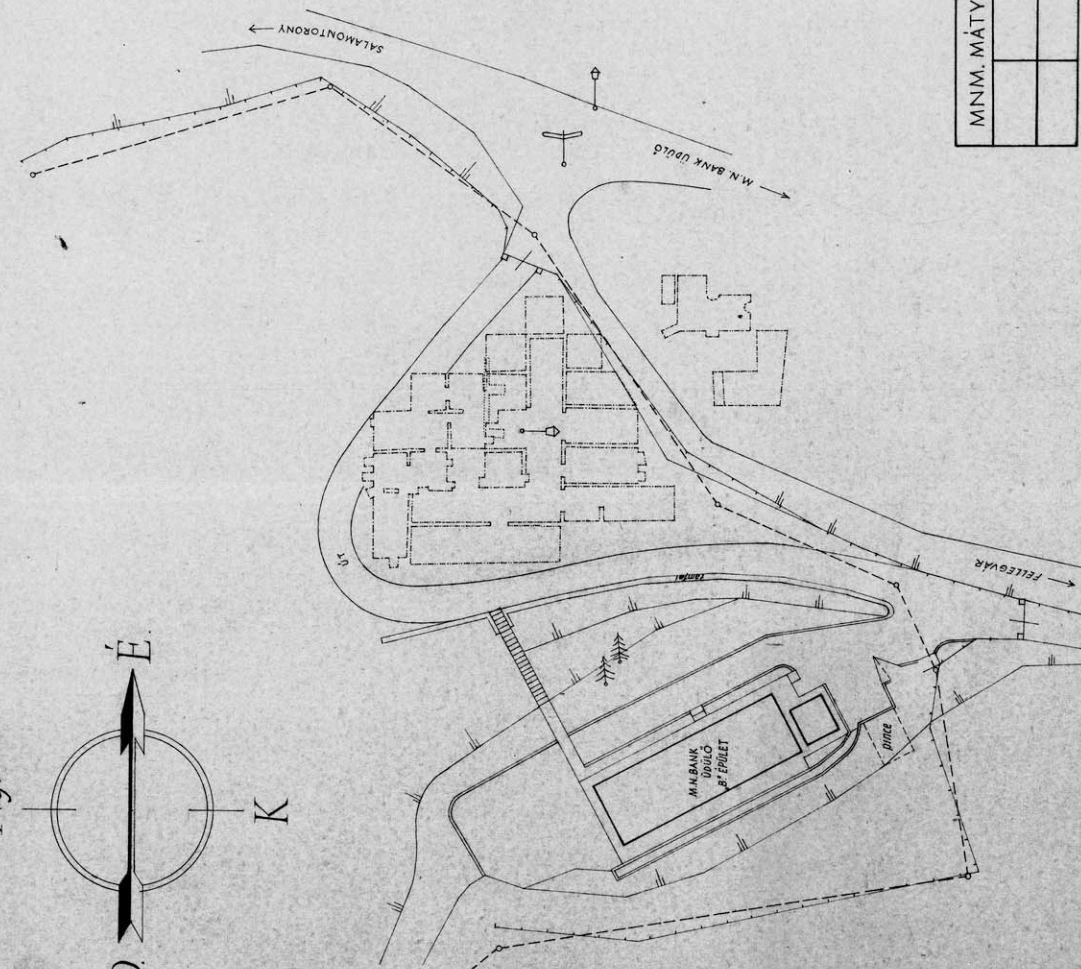
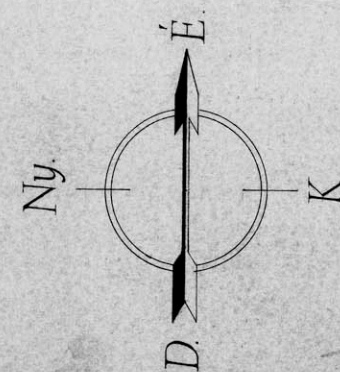
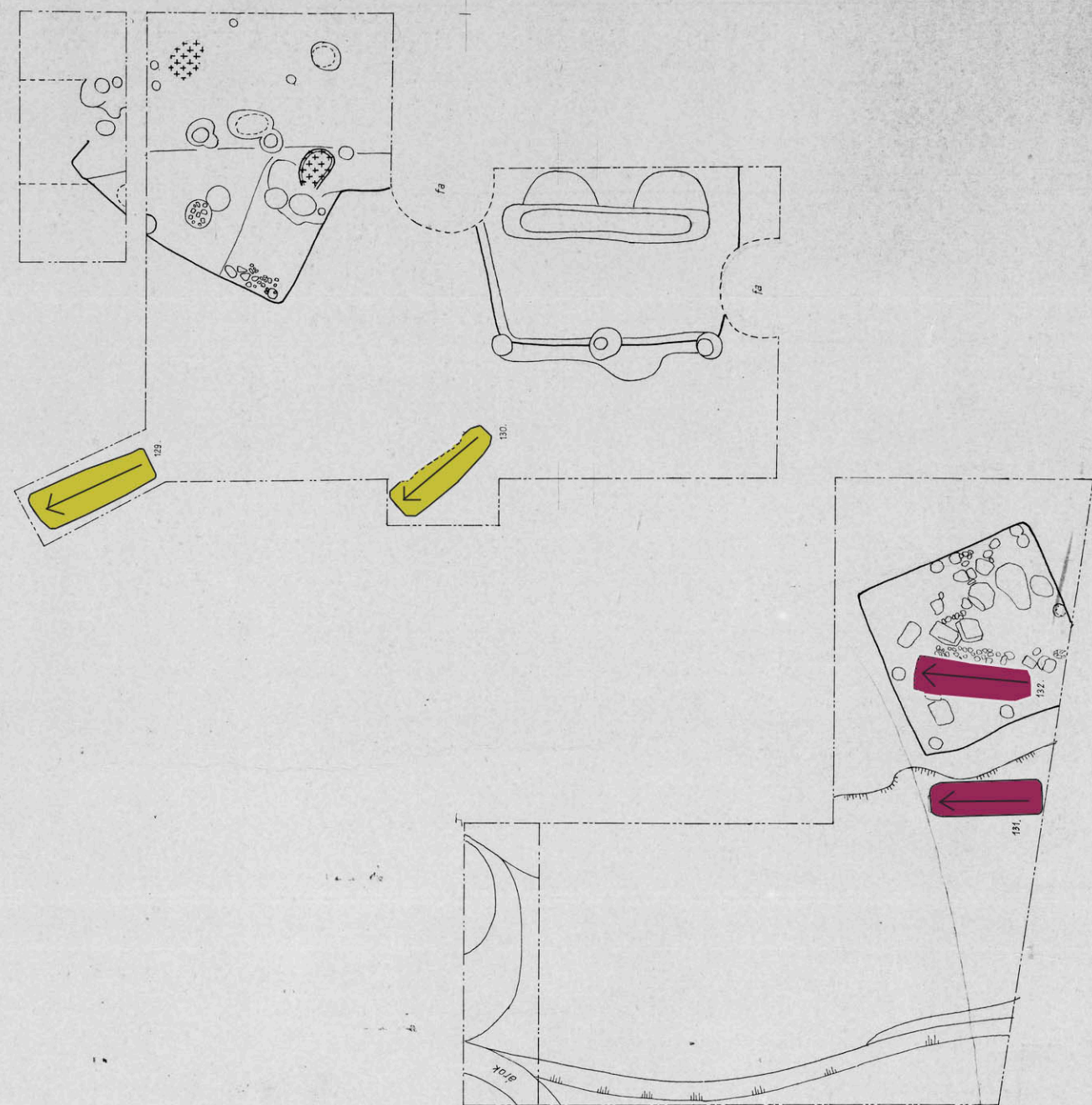
M. Matyas Kiraly Múzeum Visegrád	M. Matyas Kiraly Múzeum Visegrád
M. Matyas Kiraly Múzeum Visegrád	M. Matyas Kiraly Múzeum Visegrád
M. Matyas Kiraly Múzeum Visegrád	M. Matyas Kiraly Múzeum Visegrád
M. Matyas Kiraly Múzeum Visegrád	M. Matyas Kiraly Múzeum Visegrád



Figure 6 - The depth of the graves in cemetery II

- 250 degrees
- 251-260 degrees
- 261-270 degrees
- 271-280 degrees
- 281- degrees

5 meters



MNM. MÁTYÁS KIRÁLY MŰZEUM VISEGRÁD			
			M=1:50

Figure 7 - The orientation of graves in cemetery I



Figure 8 - The orientation of the graves in cemetery II

Figure 9 - The distribution of coffins and stones in cemetery I



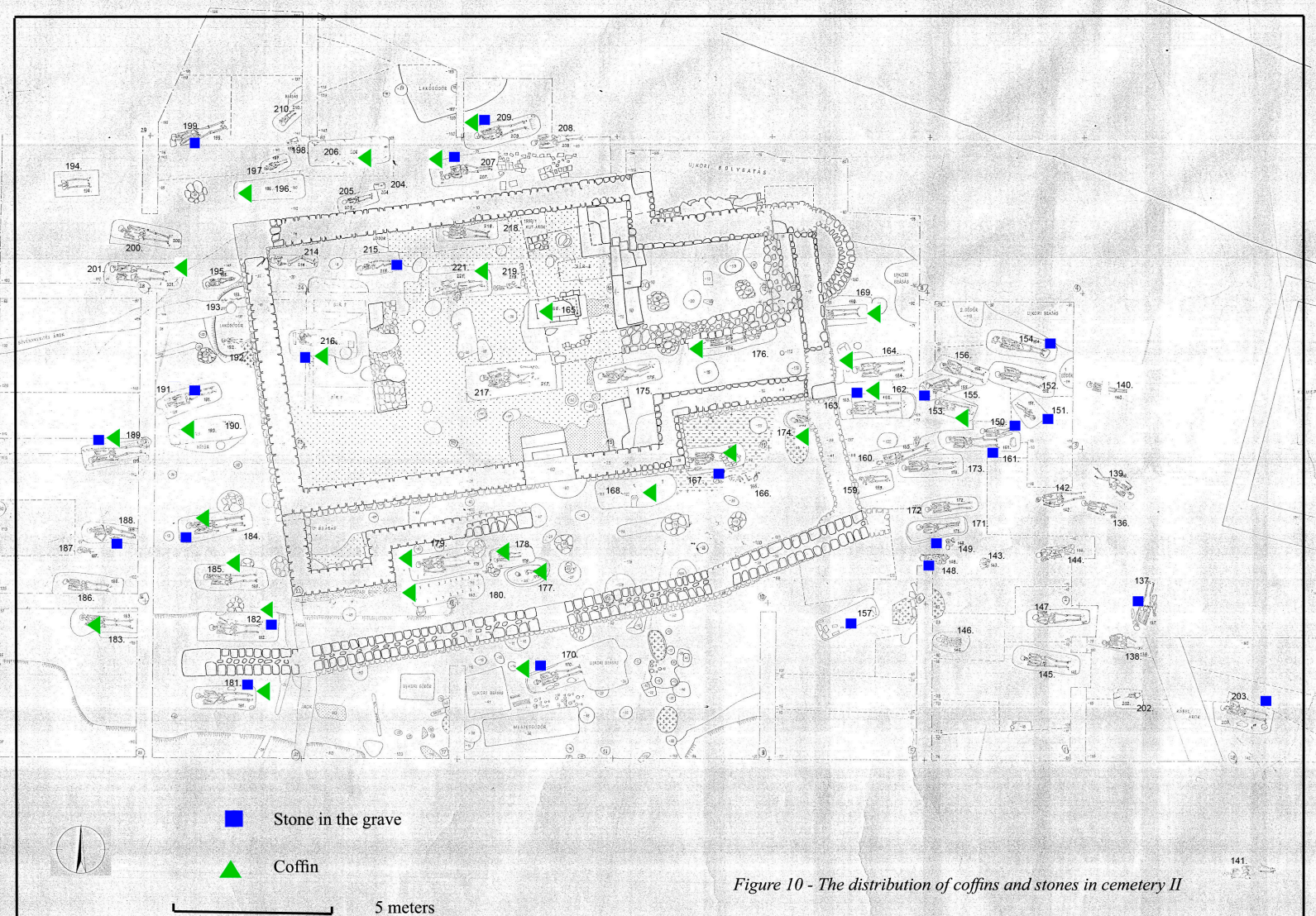
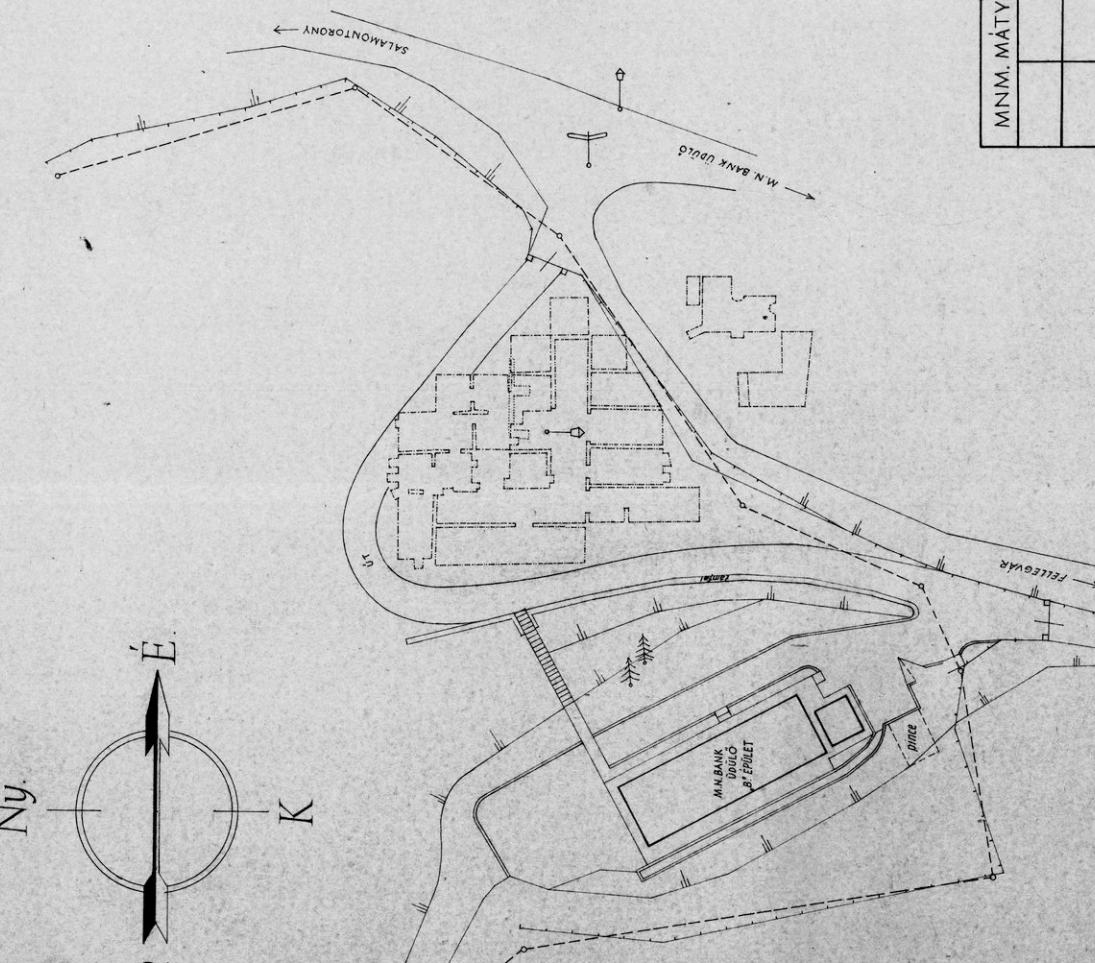
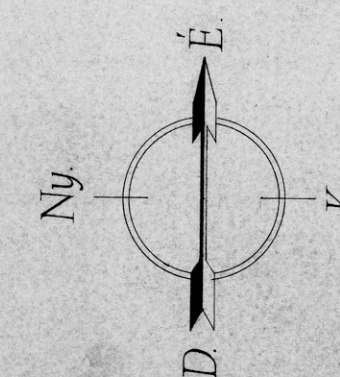
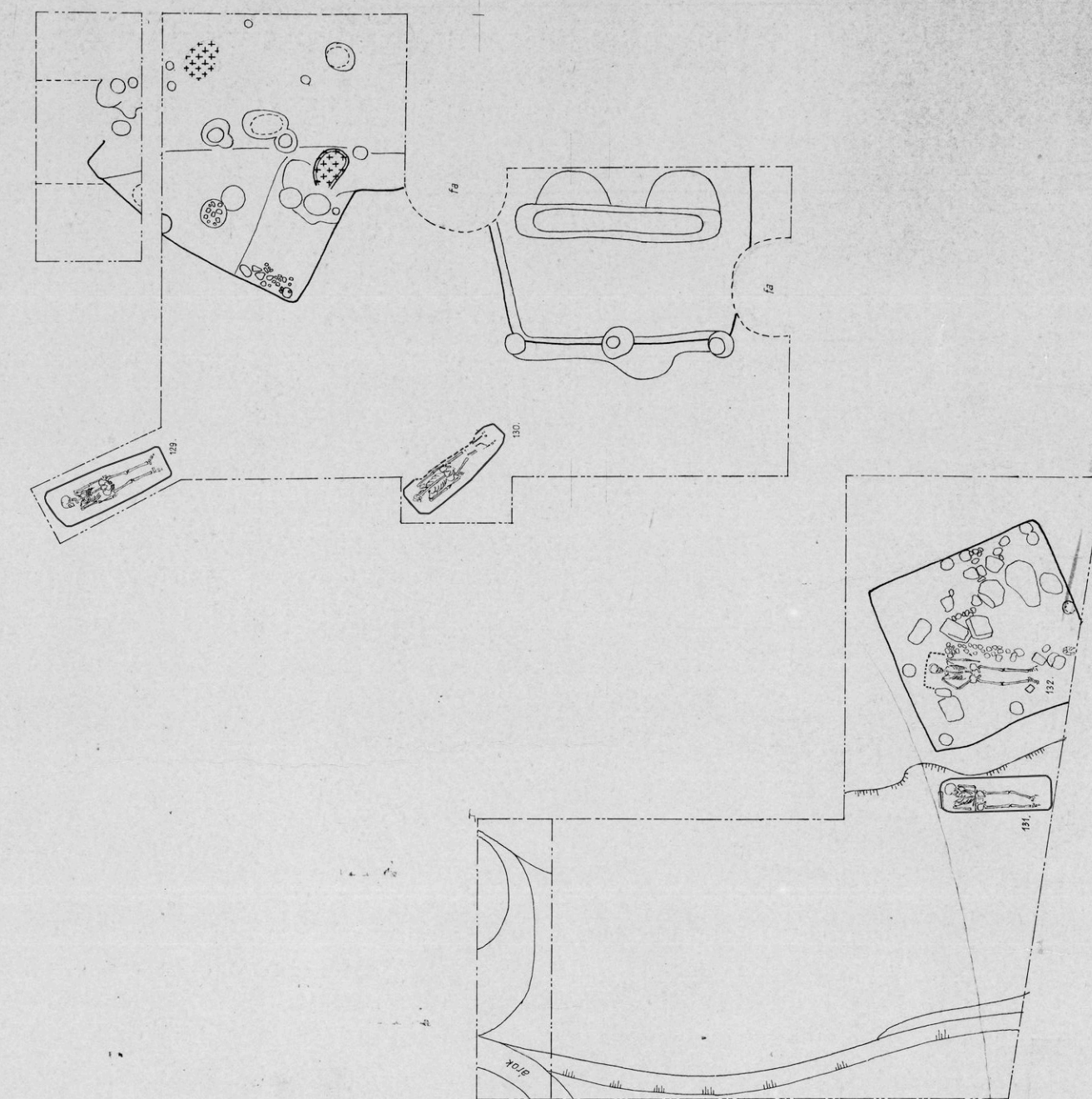


Figure 10 - The distribution of coffins and stones in cemetery II

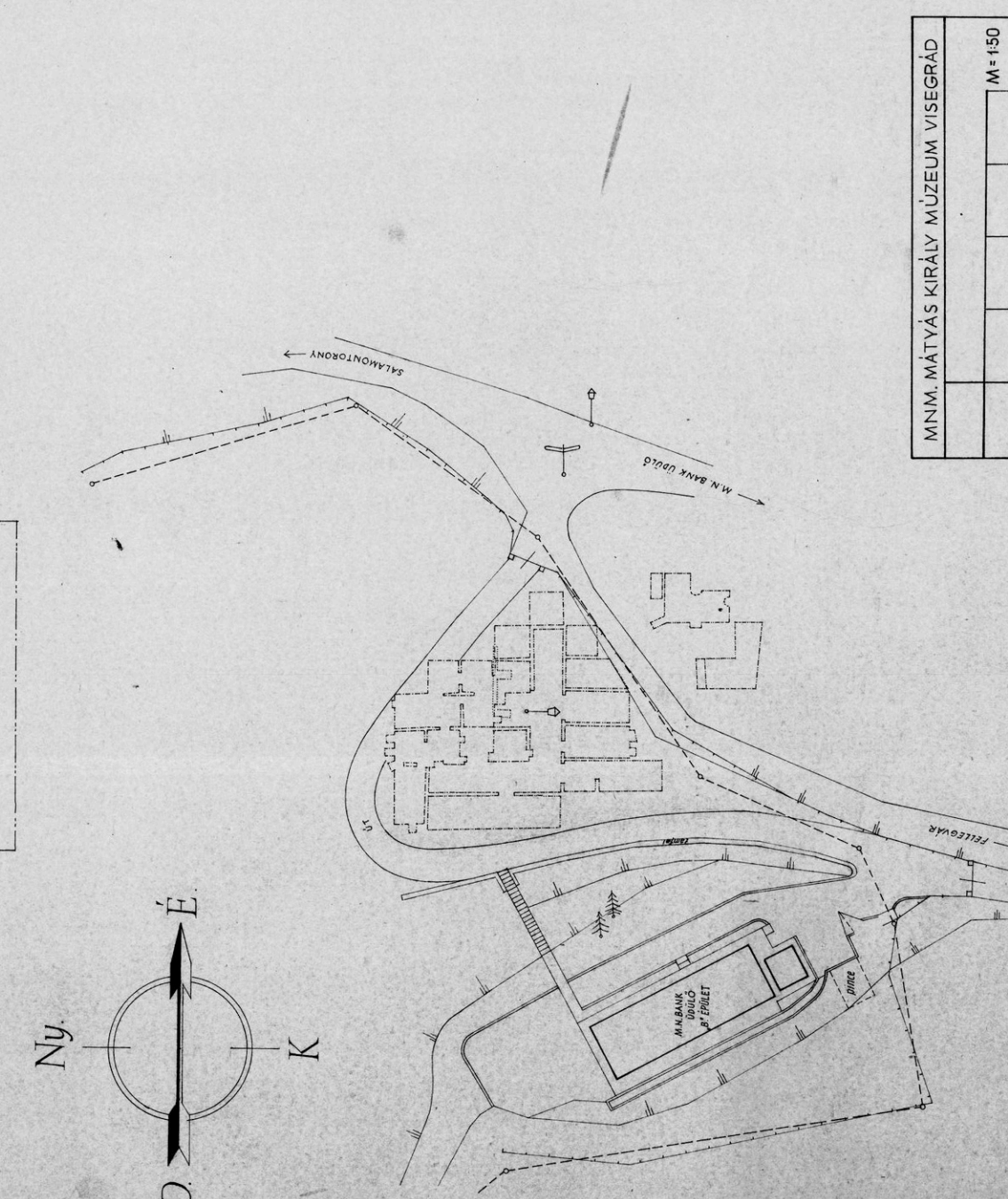
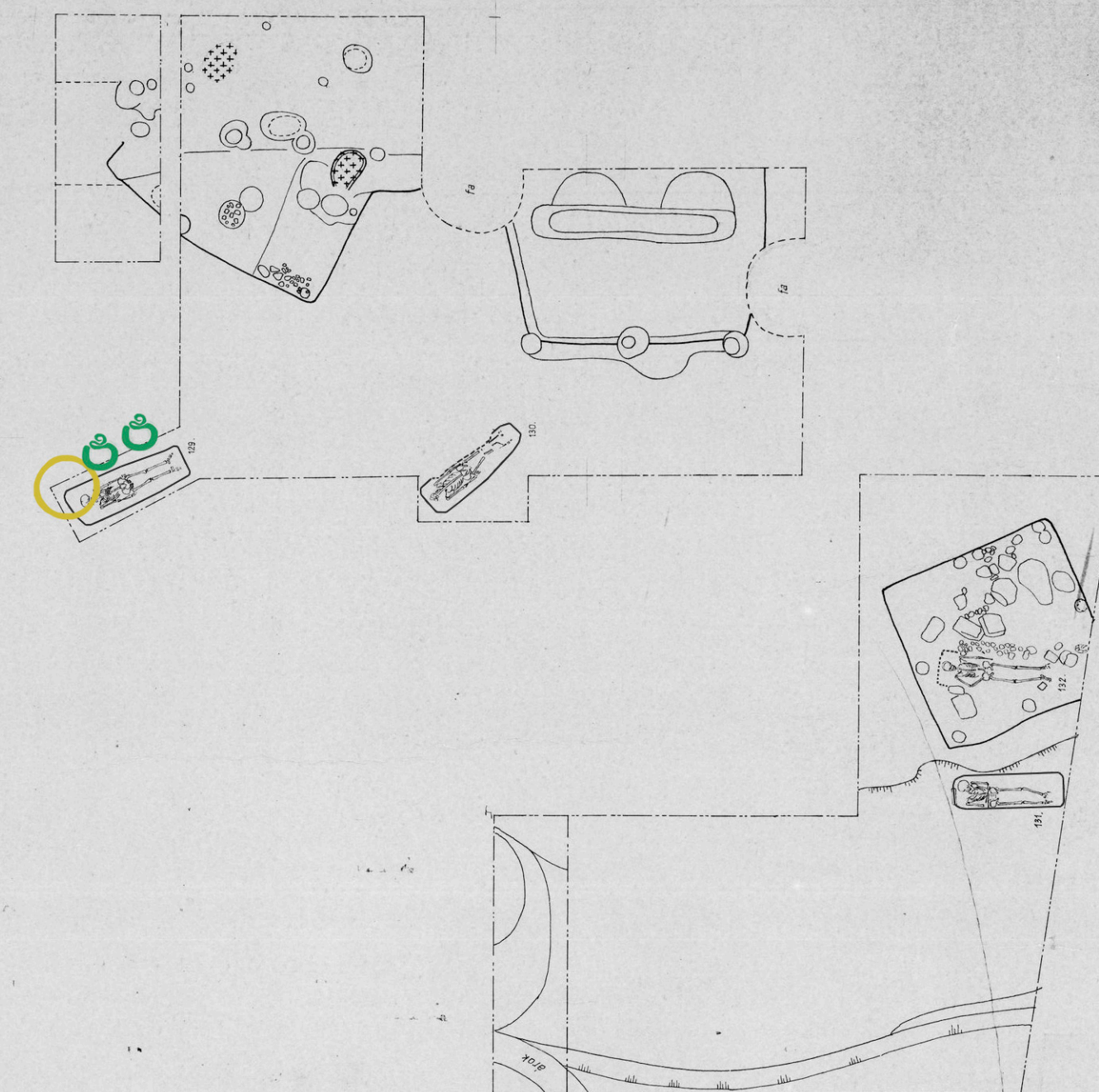
$$+$$

-
- 5 meters





5 Broken parts of a bracelet



MNM. MÁTYÁS KIRÁLY MÚZEUM VISEGRÁD

 $M = 1:50$



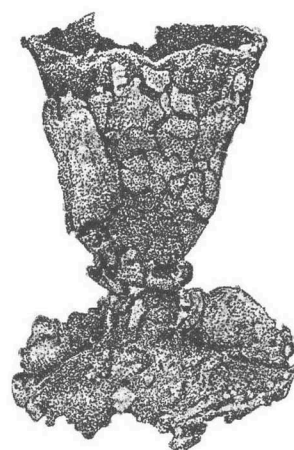
Figure 13 - Grave goods in cemetery II



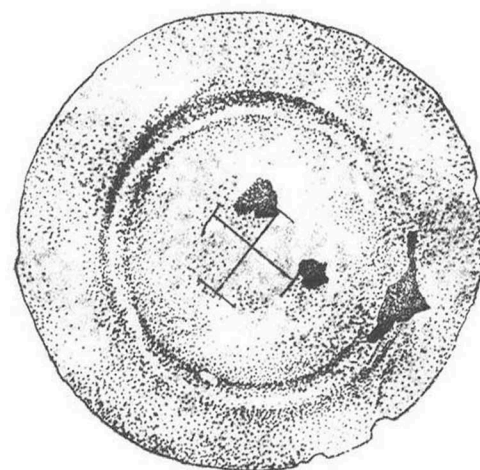
Figure 14 - The horizons of cemetery II

2 cm

a)



b)



c)

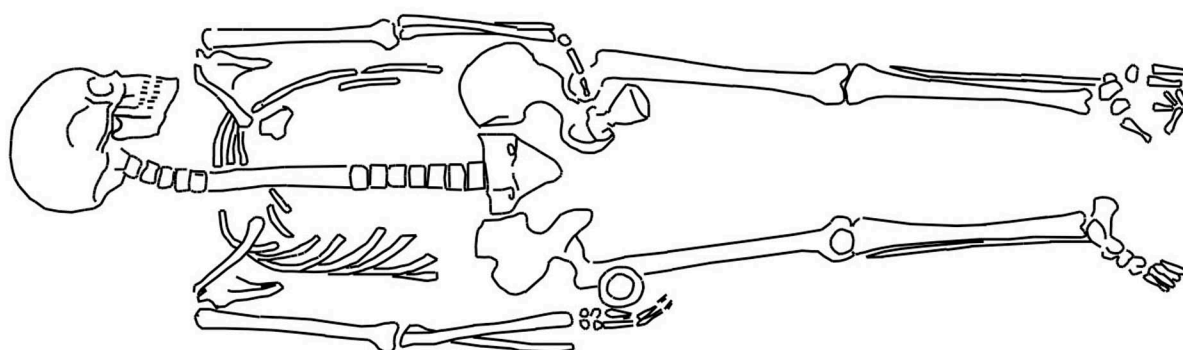
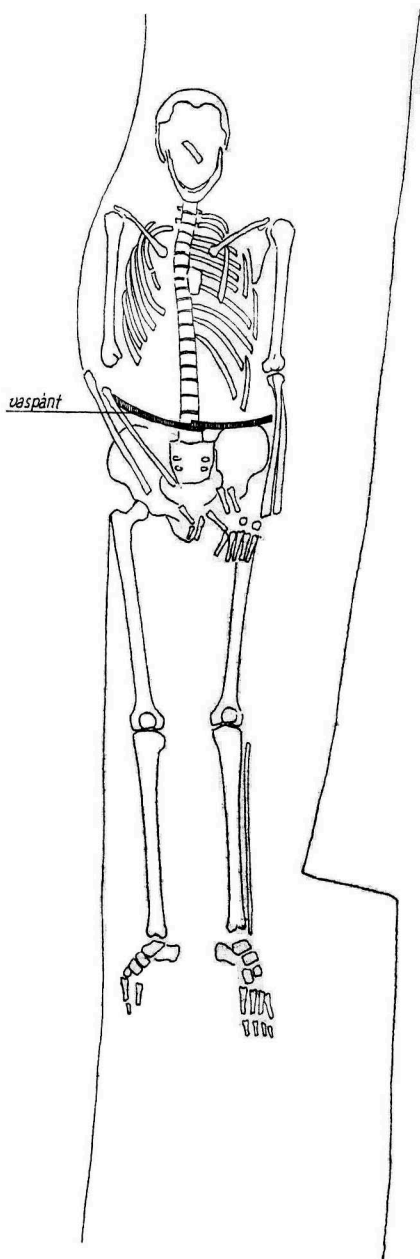


Figure 15 - Grave 164 and its grave finds: a) the chalice (photo and drawing) b) the paten (photo and drawing) c) the drawing of the grave



a)



b)

c)

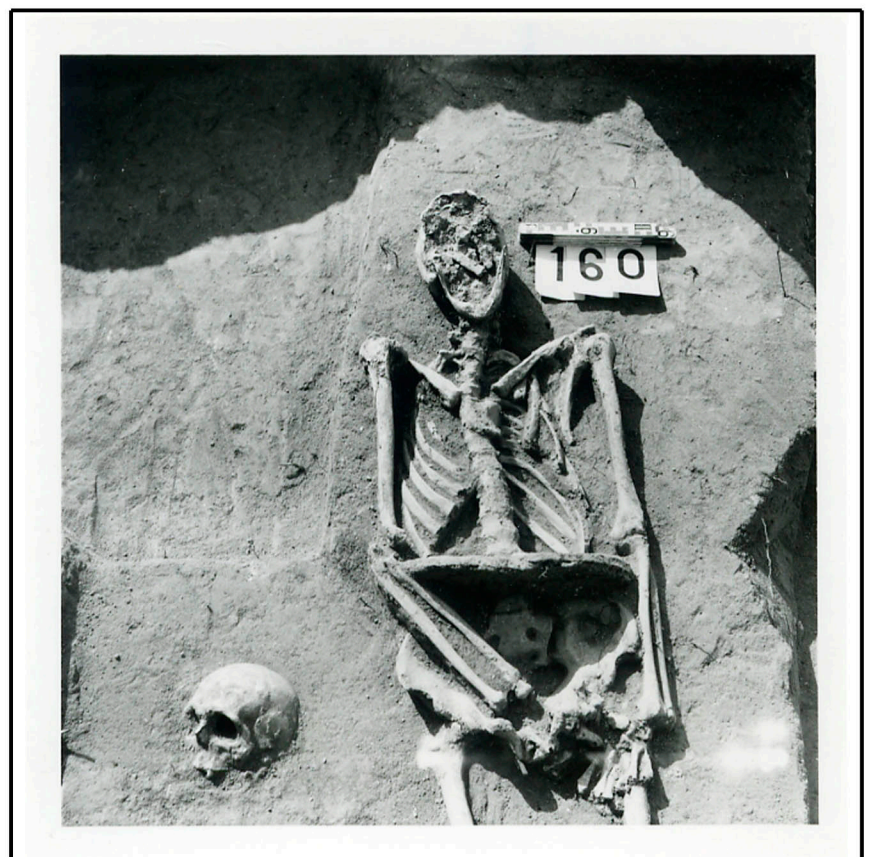
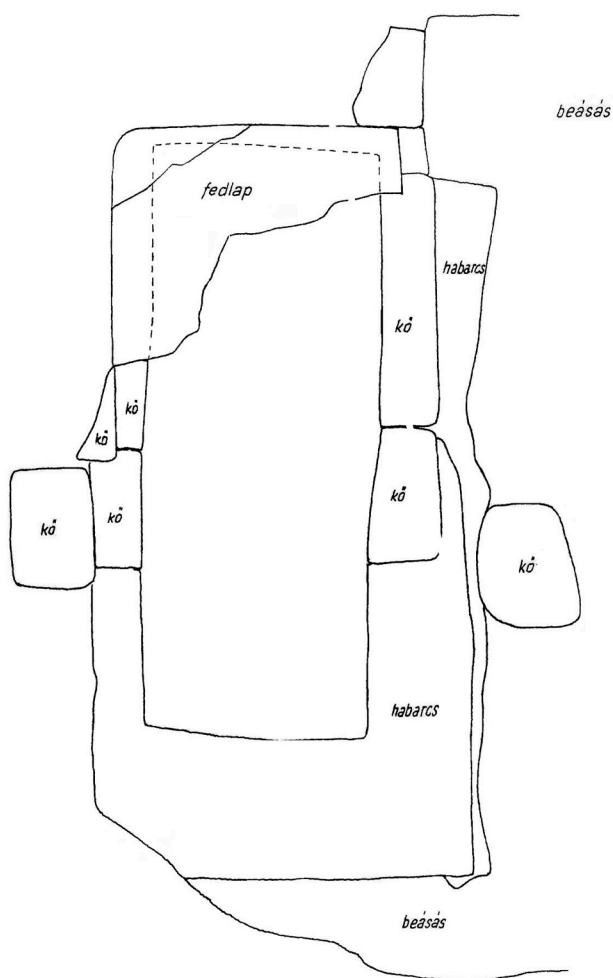
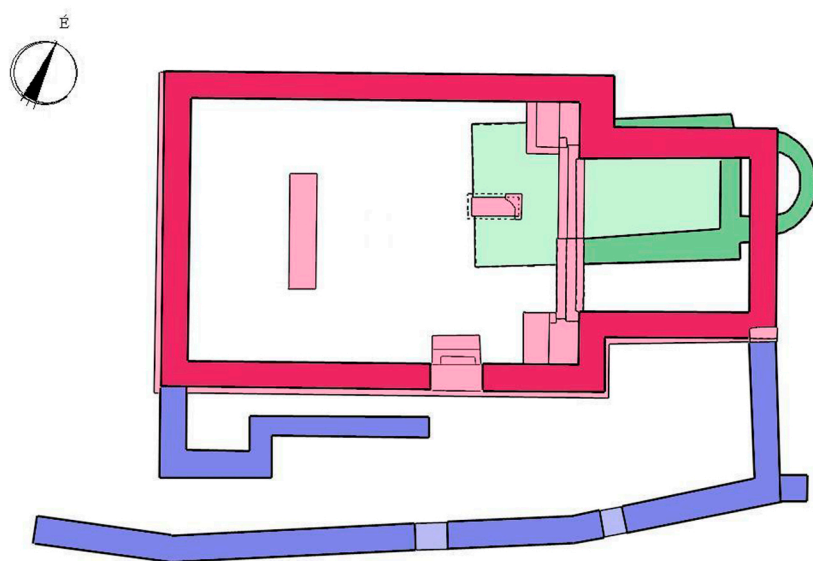


Figure 16 - Grave 160: a) drawing of the grave in the documentation b) photo of the cilicium c) the photo of the grave



b)



c) The plan of the churches:
 green - the first church; red - the second church; pink - the foundation of the western gallery, the stairs, side altars and in the middle the tomb (grave 165); blue - the auxiliary buildings: staircase and walls

Figure 17 - Grave 165 (tomb): a) drawing of the grave form the western side b) photo of the grave from the eastern side c) the plan of the churches and their parts

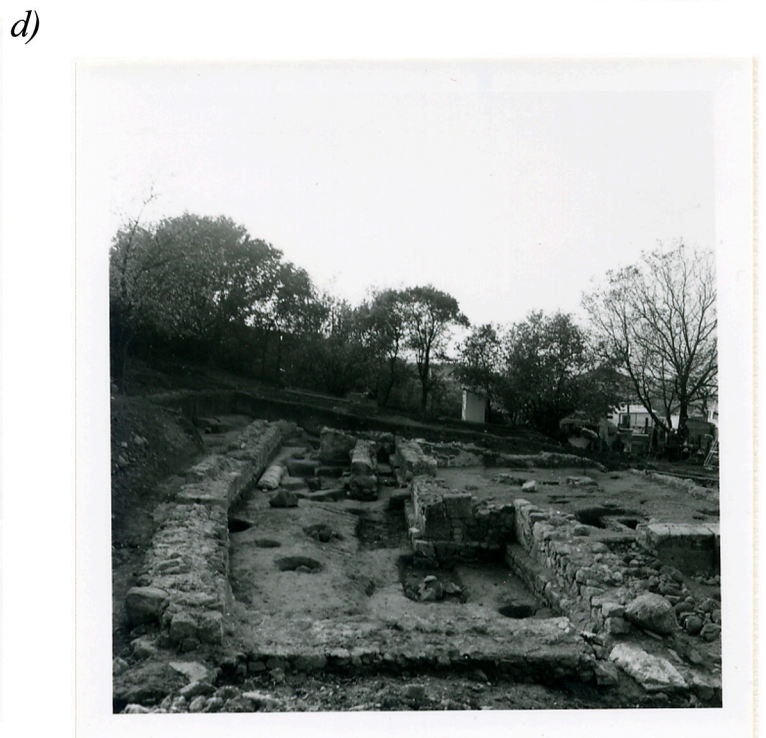
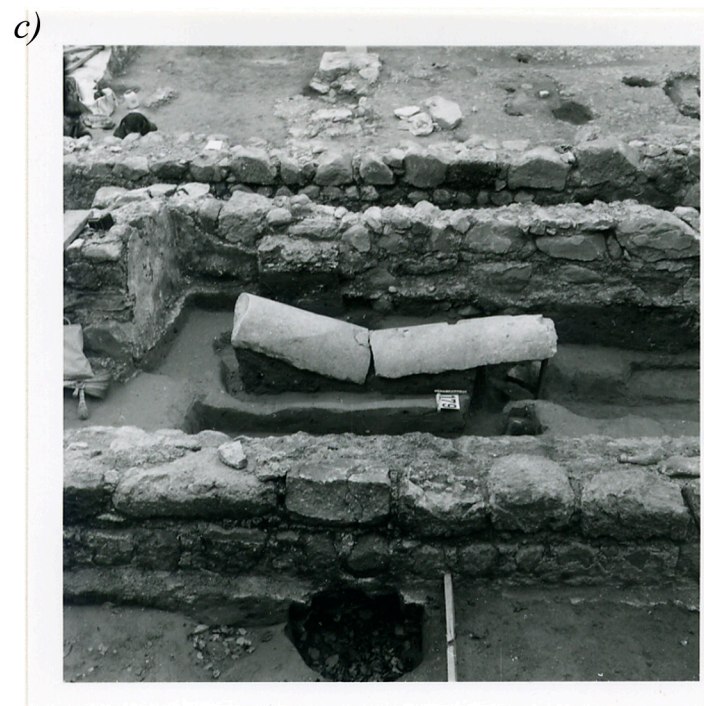
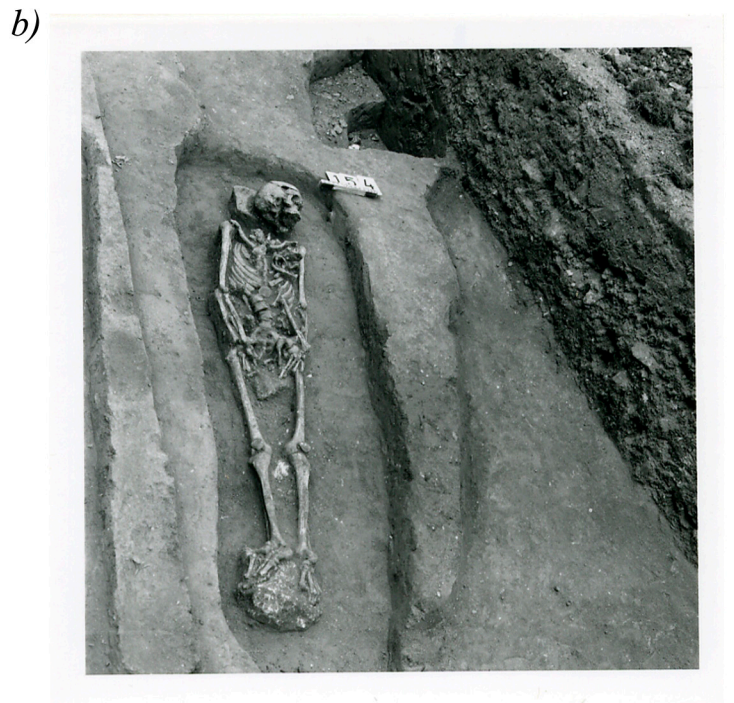
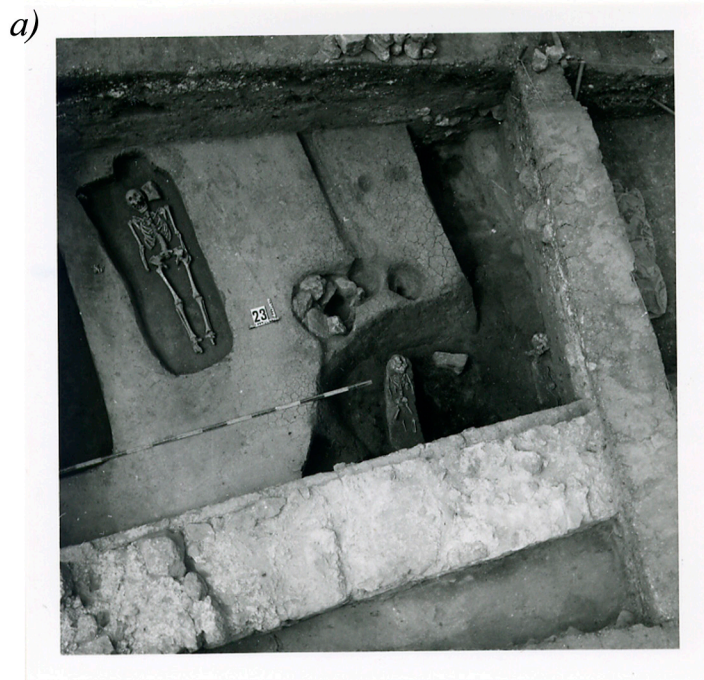


Figure 18 - photos of excavation

- a) Graves near the western wall of the second church and in a sunken house*
- b) Grave 154 - stones in the grave, the body was probably swathed in a shroud*
- c) Grave 179 and the Roman column as gravestone*
- d) The site of cemetery II*
- e) Graves 181, 182, besides the wall of the auxiliary building*

a)



b)



c)



d)



e)



Figure 19 - photos of excavations

a) Grave 169 under the walls of the second church

b) Graves to southeast the chancel (graves 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156)

c) The empty grave 180 and the remains of the coffin

d) Secondary burial

e) Graves 136, 139 - different orientation

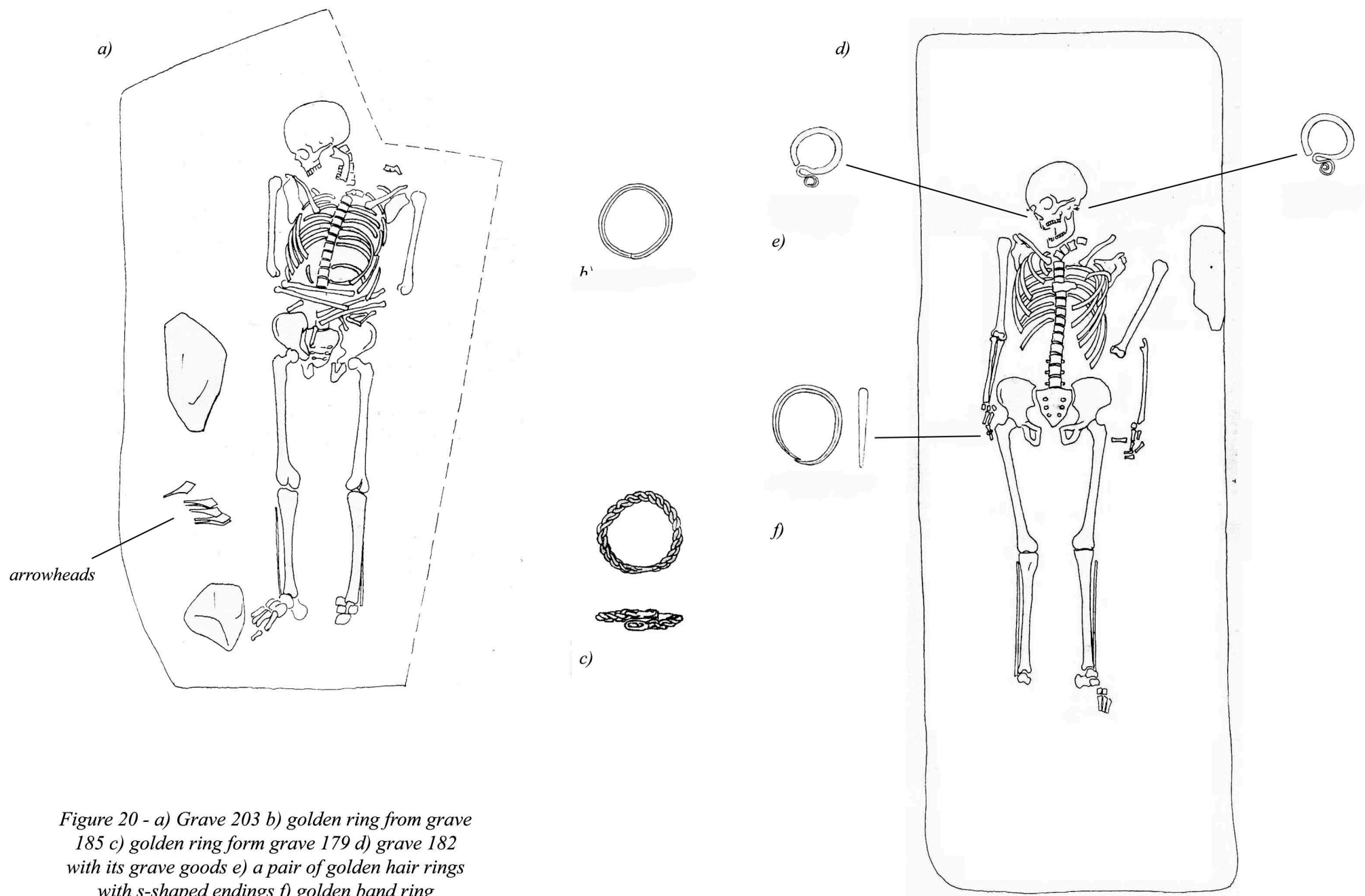


Figure 20 - a) Grave 203 b) golden ring from grave 185 c) golden ring form grave 179 d) grave 182 with its grave goods e) a pair of golden hair rings with s-shaped endings f) golden band ring

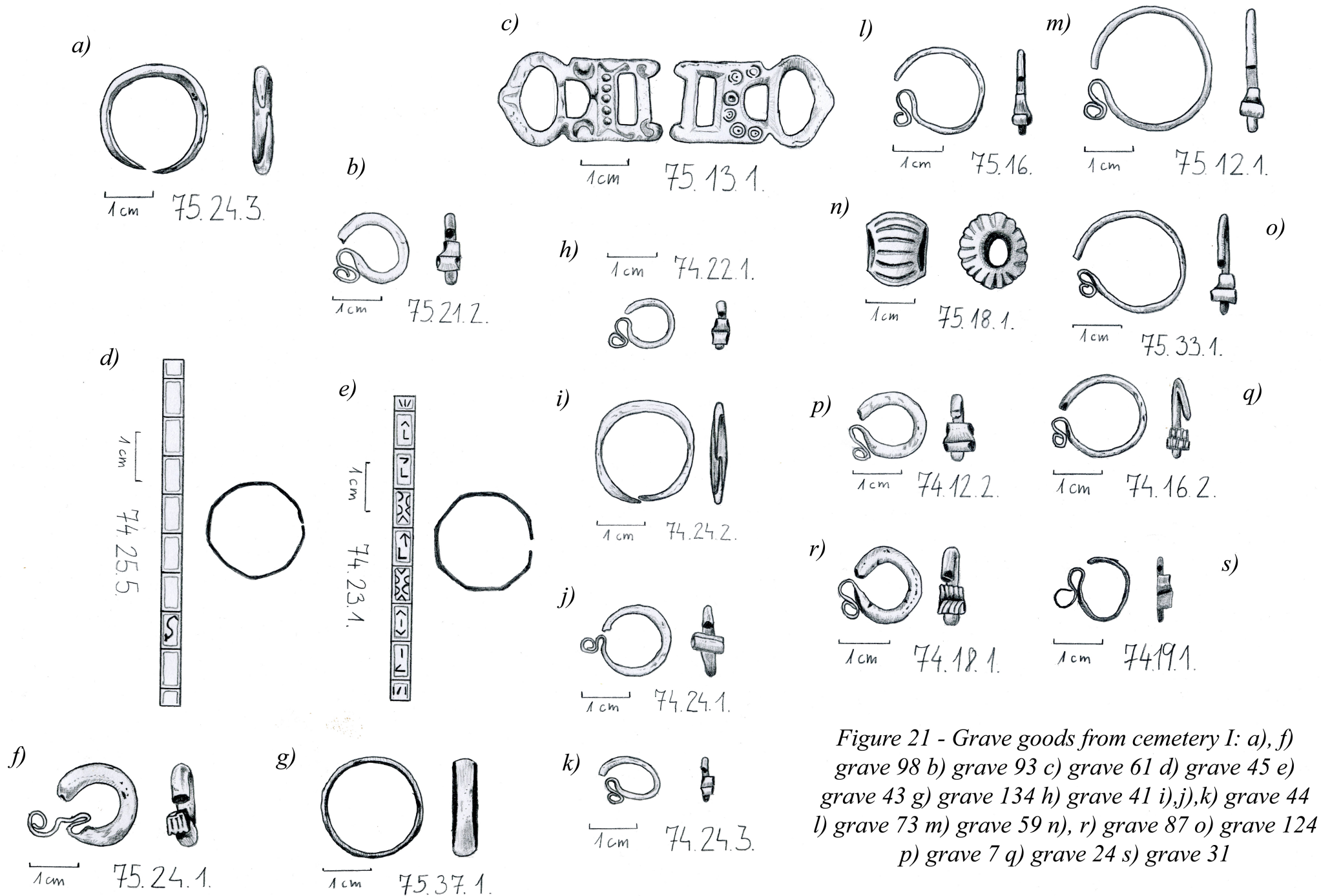


Figure 21 - Grave goods from cemetery I: a), f) grave 98 b) grave 93 c) grave 61 d) grave 45 e) grave 43 g) grave 134 h) grave 41 i), j), k) grave 44 l) grave 73 m) grave 59 n), r) grave 87 o) grave 124 p) grave 7 q) grave 24 s) grave 31