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**ÁRPÁD PERIOD COMMUNICATION NETWORKS:
ROAD SYSTEMS IN WESTERN TRANSDANUBIA**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS	I
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	IV
LIST OF FIGURES	V
LIST OF TABLES	VI
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	VII
1. TERMS.....	VII
2. ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS	VIII
3. SOURCES AND LITERATURE	IX
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON MEDIEVAL ROADS IN HUNGARY	4
1.2 THE CHRONOLOGICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE DISSERTATION	9
1.2.1 Time frames	10
1.2.2 Geographical boundaries	11
1.3 THE AIMS OF THE DISSERTATION	15
1.4 SOURCES	16
1.4.1 Written sources	16
1.4.2 Maps	20
1.4.3 Toponyms	23
1.4.4 Archaeological sources	24
1.5 METHODOLOGY.....	28
1.6 THE STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION.....	32
2. TERMINOLOGY AND CHARACTERIZATION OF ÁRPÁD PERIOD ROADS	34
2.1 THE HIERARCHY OF ROADS.....	39
2.2 LEGAL ASPECTS.....	39
2.2.1 Roads in Western European laws	41
2.2.2 Public roads	45
2.2.2.1 <i>Public highways</i>	45
2.2.2.2 <i>Open roads</i>	46
2.2.2.3 <i>King's highway</i>	46
2.2.2.4 <i>Legal and illegal roads</i>	49
2.2.3 Common roads.....	53
2.2.4 Private roads and easements	54
2.3 FUNCTIONAL ASPECT.....	56
2.3.1 Pilgrims' routes.....	56
2.3.2 Military roads	59
2.3.3 Trade routes	77
2.3.3.1 <i>Market roads</i>	78
2.3.3.2 <i>Salt routes</i>	87
2.3.3.3 <i>Wine routes</i>	97
2.3.4 Ecclesiastical roads.....	102
2.3.4.1 <i>Church roads</i>	103
2.3.4.2 <i>Corpse roads</i>	105
2.3.5 Agricultural routes	106
2.3.5.1 <i>Drove roads</i>	106
2.3.5.2 <i>Mill roads</i>	109
2.3.5.3 <i>Hay routes</i>	112
2.3.6 Industrial roads	114
2.3.6.1 <i>Stone routes</i>	114
2.3.6.2 <i>Timber routes</i>	115
2.4 MODES OF TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION	118
2.4.1 Footpaths	118
2.4.2 Bridle-ways.....	120

2.4.3	Cart roads.....	121
2.4.4	Sledge roads.....	126
2.5	RELATION TO OTHER ROADS.....	127
2.5.1	Crossroads and bifurcations.....	127
2.5.2	Short-cuts.....	129
2.5.3	Relative positions	130
2.6	PHYSICAL PROPERTIES	131
2.6.1	Material and surface	131
2.6.1.1	<i>Earth</i>	131
2.6.1.2	<i>Clay</i>	132
2.6.1.3	<i>Stone</i>	132
2.6.1.4	<i>Gravel and cement</i>	137
2.6.2	Relief	142
2.6.2.1	<i>Elevated roads</i>	142
2.6.2.2	<i>Hollow ways</i>	143
2.7	VEGETATION	146
2.7.1	Plants covering the road.....	146
2.7.1.1	<i>Grass</i>	146
2.7.2	Plants around the road	147
2.7.2.1	<i>Trees</i>	147
2.7.2.2	<i>Sedge</i>	147
2.8	DATING THE ROAD	148
2.9	RIVER-CROSSING PLACES	149
2.9.1	Bridges.....	150
2.9.2	Ferry ports	155
2.9.3	Fords.....	157
2.10	CONCLUSIONS	158
3.	LANDSCAPE FEATURES OF WESTERN TRANSDANUBIA.....	164
3.1	RELIEF AND THE REGIONAL DIVISION OF THE LANDSCAPE.....	164
3.1.1	The Fore-Alps.....	165
3.1.2	The Mura valley.....	170
3.1.3	Völgység.....	171
3.1.4	Hegyhát and Kemenesalja	172
3.1.5	Lake Fertő and its environs.....	175
3.1.6	Hanság	177
3.1.7	Rábaköz	178
3.1.8	Tóköz.....	179
3.1.9	Fenyér	180
3.1.10	Sokoró.....	181
3.2	RIVERS AND STREAMS	183
3.2.1	Danube.....	187
3.2.2	Leitha.....	189
3.2.3	Ikva.....	190
3.2.4	Rába.....	191
3.2.5	Rábca.....	196
3.3	ROMAN ROADS	199
3.3.1	Road sections.....	199
3.3.2	Structure and material.....	205
3.4	CONCLUSIONS	210
4.	THE ROAD NETWORK OF COUNTY VAS IN THE ÁRPÁD PERIOD.....	214
4.1	LONG-DISTANCE AND PROVINCIAL ROUTES.....	217
4.1.1	The north—south bound route (The Sopron—Muraszombat Road)	217
4.1.2	West-bound routes	227
4.1.2.1	<i>To the south-west (Via Latinorum, Muraút, and Katonák útja)</i>	229
4.1.2.2	<i>To the west (Via Theutonica)</i>	234
4.1.2.3	<i>To the north-west (Road in the Pinka valley)</i>	239
4.2	REGIONAL ROUTES	243
4.2.1	Vasvár and its region	243
4.2.1.1	<i>The Vasvár—Sárvár route</i>	247
4.2.1.2	<i>The Vasvár—Oszkó—[Veszprém—Fehérvár] route</i>	250

4.2.1.3	The Vasvár—Egervár—[Egerszeg] route	250
4.2.1.4	The Vasvár—Szentgotthárd route	253
4.2.2	Kőszeg and its region	258
4.2.2.1	The Kőszeg—Sopron route	261
4.2.2.2	The Kőszeg—Sárvár route	261
4.2.2.3	The Kőszeg—Szombathely route	264
4.2.2.4	The Kőszeg—Rohonc—Szalónak—Borostyán route	264
4.2.2.5	The Kőszeg—Léka—Borostyán route	269
4.2.2.6	The Kőszeg—Léka—Kirchschlag route	272
4.2.3	Szombathely and its region	273
4.2.3.1	The Szombathely—Kőszeg route	276
4.2.3.2	The Szombathely—Csepreg route	276
4.2.3.3	The Szombathely—Lak—(Győr) route	280
4.2.3.4	The Szombathely—Ikervár route	284
4.2.3.5	The Szombathely—Rum route	288
4.2.3.6	The Szombathely—Körmend route	295
4.2.3.7	The Szombathely—Pornó route	295
4.2.3.8	The Szombathely—Szentmihály route	297
4.2.3.9	The Szombathely—Rohonc route	299
4.2.4	Körmend and its region	301
4.2.4.1	The Körmend—Szombathely route	304
4.2.4.2	The Körmend—Sárvár route	304
4.2.4.3	The Körmend—(Lövd) route	308
4.2.4.4	The Körmend—Szentgotthárd route	311
4.2.4.5	The Körmend—Küszin route	311
4.2.5	Sárvár and its region	314
4.2.5.1	The Sárvár—Lak—(Kapuvár) route	316
4.2.5.2	The Sárvár—Dömölk—(Pápa) route	319
4.2.5.3	The Sárvár—Karakó route	323
4.2.5.4	The Sárvár—Körmend route	325
4.2.5.5	The Sárvár—Kőszeg route	325
4.2.5.6	The Sárvár—Kál—(Sopron) route	326
4.3	CONCLUSIONS	328
4.3.1	Roads in the landscape: topographic questions	328
4.3.2	Roads on the border: questions of political and military history	334
4.3.3	Roads between central places: questions of economic history	335
5.	CONCLUSIONS AND OUTLOOK	342
6.	BIBLIOGRAPHY	348
6.1	WRITTEN SOURCES	348
6.2	TOPOGRAPHY AND TOPONYMS	351
6.3	MAPS	352
6.4	SCHOLARLY LITERATURE	354
7.	APPENDIX	379
7.1	DATA ON THE ROUTES OF COUNTY VAS	379
7.1.1	Long-distance and provincial routes	379
7.1.2	Regional routes	383
7.1.2.1	Vasvár and its region	383
7.1.2.2	Kőszeg and its region	384
7.1.2.3	Szombathely and its region	388
7.1.2.4	Körmend and its region	396
7.1.2.5	Sárvár and its region	400
7.2	CHARTERS	405
7.2.1	County Vas	405
7.2.2	County Sopron	467
7.2.3	County Zala	471
7.2.4	County Veszprém	472
7.2.5	County Győr	473
7.2.6	Austria	474
7.3	MAPS	475

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LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1. County Vas among the historic counties of the Hungarian Kingdom (After Szabó 2005, Fig. 5).....	10
Fig. 2. The territory of historic and modern County Vas (The latter is indicated in blue)	13
Fig. 3. The profiles of various types of hollow ways (Denecke 1969, 61, Fig. 24)	26
Fig. 4. Pilgrims' route leading through the Hungarian Kingdom to the Holy Land (Györffy 1983, 301, Fig. 47).....	58
Fig. 5. The border zone of Western Hungary in the Árpád Period (Herényi 1996, 343)	61
Fig. 6. The <i>gyepű</i> lines of Western Transdanubia in the Árpád Period (Gömöri 2002, 34, Fig. 11)	63
Fig. 7. The main roads of Western Transdanubia controlled by castles and gates in the Árpád Period (Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány 1998, 102, Fig. 87)	71
Fig. 8. The reconstructed Iron Gate and rampart at Vasvár (September 2011).....	72
Fig. 9. Medieval military roads in Transdanubia reconstructed by Lajos Glaser (After Glaser 1932, 161)	75
Fig. 10. The market-places of Western Transdanubia (Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, 1998, Fig. 95).....	85
Fig. 11. Salt mines and centres of salt distribution in Hungary around 1233 (Kubinyi 1988, 228).....	89
Fig. 12. The salt mines and salt routes of the Hungary on the map of Imre Milecz from 1773 (OSZK TK 2200).....	92
Fig. 13. The reconstruction of salt routes in medieval County Vas	96
Fig. 14. Roman road north-west of Kemenesszentpéter (July 2011)	97
Fig. 15. Roman road remains scattered by ploughing, north-east of Kemenesszentpéter (July 2011).....	97
Fig. 16. Horse-drawn wagon carrying a barrel. The high altar of Jánosrét (Lúčky, C. Bars) ca. 1480	124
Fig. 17. St. Gerard rolled down from the hill on a <i>biga</i> . The Hungarian Angevin Legendary, 1320/1340.....	124
Fig. 18. The so-called <i>Általút</i> located west of Bőd, 1843 (VaML U 464)	130
Fig. 19. <i>Kövesút</i> road sections and the road network of Roman Pannonia	134
Fig. 20. " <i>Via Lapidea vulgo Kő-út</i> " north-east of Vörösvár, 1759.....	136
Fig. 21. " <i>Via Regia Lapidibus Strata per Regem Ladislaum facta</i> " between Érd and Kisapostag on the map of County Fejér by Sámuel Mikoviny from the mid-eighteenth century	136
Fig. 22. <i>Öttevény</i> road sections and the road network of Roman Pannonia	139
Fig. 23. " <i>Öttevényi Ut a'melley a régi Romaiak által készitetett</i> " north of Csénye on the <i>Mappa predii Esztergács</i> from 1797 (VaML T 33).....	140
Fig. 24. " <i>Eöttevén seu antiqua Via Romanorum</i> " south of Vág, 1840 (VaML T 6)	141
Fig. 25. " <i>Eöttevén seu antiqua Via Romanorum</i> " between Várkesző and Kemenesszentpéter, 1830's (VaML T 463).....	141
Fig. 26. " <i>Öttevény ut</i> " between Vát and Bögöt, 1806 (VaML T).....	141
Fig. 27. Hollow way linking the monasteries of Bél and Pannonhalma (Szabó 2005, 141, Fig. 69)	145
Fig. 28. Hollow way leading to the Pauline monastery of Szakácsi (Zatykó 2011, 391, Fig. 3)	145
Fig. 29. Natural passes and foreign trade routes of the Hungarian Kingdom in the 10 th -13 th centuries (After Kralovánszky 1990, 53).....	165
Fig. 30. The regions of Western Hungary (after Kogutowicz 1936, 224, Fig. 58)	166
Fig. 31. Ethnographic regions in the valley of the Mura (Kogutowicz 1936, 208, Fig. 54)	170
Fig. 32. The Vas and Sopron plains with its streams and rivers (After Kogutowicz 1936, 250, Fig. 65).....	171
Fig. 33. The map of Kemenesalja (Kogutowicz 1936, 217, Fig. 56)	173
Fig. 34. Water regulation plan from 1781 indicating Lake Fertő, the Hanság, Tóköz and Rábaköz (MOL S 12 Div. 13 No. 295:3).....	176
Fig. 35. Reconstruction drawing of the Árpád Period hydrological conditions in Tóköz (Takács, 2003, 303, Fig. 1.).....	185
Fig. 36. The map of the Csallóköz and Szigetköz from 1670 (OSZK TK 3026).....	188
Fig. 37. The main ancient routes in Roman Pannonia reconstructed on the basis of the <i>Itinerarium Antonini</i> , the <i>Tabula Peutingeriana</i> , and the <i>Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum</i> (Mócsy and Szilágyi 1990, 124).....	201
Fig. 38. The reconstructed borders of <i>centuriae</i> around Savaria (Mócsy 1965, Fig. 11).....	202
Fig. 39. The reconstruction of the street system of Savaria and surrounding roads (After Tóth 1977, 66, Fig. 1)	204
Fig. 40. Diagrammatic cross-section of a characteristic Roman highway	206
Fig. 41. Diagrammatic cross-section of a principal Roman highway	206
Fig. 42. Cross-section of a Roman road near the Szemcse Stream, Körmen (Vámos 2000, 215, Fig. 8)	208
Fig. 43. Cross-section of a Roman road at Kemenesszentpéter (Palágyi 1992, 33, Fig. 6)	208
Fig. 44. Cross-section of the Amber Route at Városi erdő, Sopron, in County Sopron (Nováki 1956, 178)	208
Fig. 45. Segment of a Roman road from the second century AD at 314 Bécsi Road, Budapest (Láng 2003, 105, Fig. 4)	209
Fig. 46. Segment of a medieval road at 314 Bécsi Road, Budapest (Láng 2003, 99, Fig. 2).....	209

Fig. 47. The most important trade routes and military roads in the Hungarian Kingdom in the 13 th -14 th century (by Attila Zsoldos, in KMTL, 95)	217
Fig. 48. The Amber Route (Redő 2005, 109, Fig. 4)	224
Fig. 49. Roman long-distance routes in the southern part of County Vas (After Kiss and Z. Czigány 2010, 715)	226
Fig. 50. Medieval long-distance routes in the southern part of County Vas (After Kiss and Z. Czigány 2010, 715)	226
Fig. 51. The <i>Katonák útja</i> (Soldiers' Road) and the <i>Vas kapu</i> (Iron Gate) south of Vasvár from 1790 (OSZK TK 1642).....	232
Fig. 52. The <i>Katonák útja</i> (Soldiers' Road) south of Vasvár, Nagymákfa and Kismákfa from 1840 (OSZK TK 1045).....	232
Fig. 53. The <i>Katonák útja</i> (Soldiers' Road) east of Sál from ca. 1790 (OSZK TK 720)	233
Fig. 54. The <i>Katonák útja</i> (Soldiers' Road) east of Sál from 1790 (OSZK TK 755).....	233
Fig. 55. The road running from Vasvár to Körmenđ on the left bank of the Rába shown on a map of postal routes from 1795 (MOL S 12 Div. 18, No. 58).....	236
Fig. 56. The topography of Vasvár in the Árpád Period	246
Fig. 57. The Vasvár—Sárvár Road represented by the map of County Vas from ca. 1740 (OSZK TK 1068) ..	248
Fig. 58. Roads along the Rába on a map of postal ways from ca. 1787 (OSZK TK 25)	255
Fig. 59. The topography of late medieval Kőszeg (Holl 1997, 96, Fig. 1)	259
Fig. 60. The topography of Savaria-Szombathely between the ninth and twelfth centuries (After Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány 1998, 116, Fig. 90).....	275
Fig. 61. The map of Körmenđ from 1667 (After Tóth 1979, 657, Fig. 2)	302
Fig. 62. The reconstructed plan of thirteenth-century Körmenđ (After Szende 2011, 198, Fig. 5b)	304
Fig. 63. Bridges over the Rába in the vicinity of Körmenđ (detail of MOL S 12 Div. 11, No. 125:1/3).....	310
Fig. 64. Central places in fifteenth-century South-Western Transdanubia (After Kubinyi 1990, 329)	338
Fig. 65. The market towns of late medieval County Vas and their market areas (Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány 1998, 163, Fig. 116)	339
Fig. 66. An overview map of County Vas with sites and routes from the eleventh to the mid-fourteenth century	475

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. The classification of terms referring to roads in medieval Transdanubia.....	38
Table 2. Earth and timber fortifications and castles belonging to the <i>gyepű</i> lines of Western Transdanubia	69
Table 3. Market-places in Western Transdanubia up to the mid-fourteenth century	83
Table 4. Central places in County Vas at the end of the Middle Ages (After Kubinyi 1990, 328)	337
Table 5. The distance between market towns within late medieval County Vas.....	339

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. TERMS

a.	<i>ante</i> , before
Au.	Austria
Bg.	Bulgaria, Bulgarian
c.	county
c.	century
ca.	<i>circa</i> , about
cap.	<i>caput</i> , chapter
cf.	<i>confer</i> , compare
div.	<i>division</i>
esp.	especially
fasc.	fascimile
Ge.	German
Hu.	Hungary, Hungarian
Lat.	Latin
lib.	<i>liber</i> , book
n.	note
No.	number
p.	<i>post</i> , after
Ro.	Romania, Romanian
Ser.	Serbia, Serbian
Sl.	Slovenia, Slovenian
Sk.	Slovakia, Slovakian
sect.	<i>sectio</i>
s.v.	<i>sub verbo</i> , under the word
tit.	<i>titulus</i> , title
Tr.	Turkey, Turkish
Ukr.	Ukraine, Ukrainian

2. ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS

- BLA: Burgenländisches Landesarchiv (Burgenland State Archive), Eisenstadt
- ELTE EK: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Egyetemi Könyvtár (University Library of Eötvös Loránd University), Budapest
- Dipl. Aut. Kézirattár (Department of Manuscripts): Diplomatarium autographum
- EPFL: Esztergomi Prímási és Főkáptalani Levéltár (Archives of the Primate of Hungary and the Esztergom Cathedral Chapter), Esztergom
- FL Acta Rad. Esztergomi Székesfőkáptalan Magánlevéltára (Archives of the Esztergom Cathedral Chapter): Acta Radicalia
- HIM: Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum (Institute and Museum of Military History), Budapest
- HT Hadtörténeti Térképtár (Department of Military Maps)
- MOL: Magyar Országos Levéltár (National Archives of Hungary), Budapest
- DL Diplomatikai Levéltár (Archives of Diplomats), Q szekció: Mohács előtti gyűjtemény (Section “Q”: Pre-1526 Collection)
 - DF Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény (Photographic Collection of Diplomats), U szekció (Section “U”)
 - P Családok, testületek és intézmények levéltárai (Archives of Families, Corporations, and Institutions)
 - S Térképtár (Collection of Maps)
 - S 11: *Kamarai térképek (Maps of the Royal Chamber)*
 - S 12: *Helytartótanácsi térképek (Maps of the Lieutenancy Council)*
 - S 78: *Kataszteri térképek (Cadastral Maps)*
 - S 107: *Bírósági levéltárakból kiemelt térképek (Maps from Judicial Archives)*
- MTAK: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára (Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences), Budapest
- Okl. Kézirattár (Department of Manuscripts): Oklevélgyűjtemény (Collection of Charters)
- OSZK: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Széchényi Library), Budapest
- K Kézirattár (Collection of Manuscripts)
 - TK Térképtár (Collection of Maps): Önálló kéziratos térképek (Separate Manuscript Maps)
- PBFL: Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátsági Levéltár (Archives of the Benedictine Abbey of Pannonhalma), Pannonhalma
- Capsa Konventi levéltár (Convent Archives): Capsarium
- SAH: Stiftsarchiv Heiligenkreuz
- SL: Győr-Moson-Sopron Megye Soproni Levéltára (Archives of County Győr-Moson-Sopron), Sopron
- Káldy Káldy család levéltára (Káldy Family Archives)
 - Niczky Niczky család levéltára (Nicky Family Archives)
 - SVL Sopron város levéltára (Sopron Municipal Archives)
- SNA: Slovenský Národný Archív (Slovak National Archives), Pressburg
- TMÖL: Tolna Megyei Önkormányzat Levéltára (Archives of County Tolna), Szekszárd
- VaML: Vas Megyei Levéltár (Archives of County Vas), Szombathely
- T Törzsanyag
- VeML: Veszprém Megyei Levéltár (Archives of County Veszprém), Veszprém

VSzSzL: Vasvár-Szombathelyi Székeskáptalani Levéltár (Archives of the Vasvár-Szombathely Cathedral Chapter), Szombathely

3. SOURCES AND LITERATURE

- A. Nagy, Imre and Gyula Tasnádi Nagy, ed. *Anjoukori okmánytár / Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis*. 7 vols. Budapest: MTA, 1878-1920.
- AARGnews Newsletter of the Aerial Archaeology Research Group (Edinburgh)
- AC L'Antiquité Classique (Louvain)
- ActaArchHung Acta Archaeologica Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
- Acta Climatologica Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Pars Climatologica Scientiarum Naturalium (Szeged)
- Alba Regia Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis (Székesfehérvár)
- ÁMTF Györffy, György. *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* (A historical geography of Hungary in the Árpád Period). 4 vols. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963-1998.
- Ann. Altah. Annales Altahenses maiores, in MGH SS XX, 772-824.
- Anon. P. magistri, qui Anonymus dicitur, Gesta Hungarorum
- Antaeus Antaeus. Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologici Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
- AOKI Kristó, Gyula, et al. *Anjou-kori oklevéltár / Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia (1301-1387)*. Budapest-Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1990-
- AqFüz Aquincumi Füzetek (Budapest)
- ArchÉrt Archaeologiai Értesítő (Budapest)
- Archivum Archivum. A Heves Megyei Levéltár Közleményei (Eger)
- ArchKözl Archaeologiai Közlemények (Budapest)
- Arrabona Arrabona. A Győri Xántus János Múzeum Évkönyve (Győr)
- BHBI Burgenländische Heimatblätter (Eisenstadt)
- BL Burgenländisches Leben (Eisenstadt)
- BMFN Pesti, János, ed. *Baranya megye földrajzi nevei* [Toponyms in County Baranya]. 2 vols. Pécs: Baranya Megyei Levéltár, 1982.
- BTOE Gárdonyi, Albert, and Bernát Kumorovitz, ed. *Budapest történetének okleveles emlékei / Monumenta diplomatica civitatis Budapest*. 3 vols. Budapest: Budapest Székesfőváros and Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 1936-1988.
- Castrum Castrum. A Castrum Bene Egyesület Hírlevele (Budapest)
- Chron. Hung. Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV
- saec. XIV.
- CDSI Marsina, Richard, ed. *Slovenský Diplomatár / Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*. 2 vols. Bratislava: Academia Scientiarum Slovaca, 1971-1987.
- CommArchHung Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae (Budapest)
- Csánki Csánki, Dezső and Antal Fekete Nagy, ed. *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* [A historical geography of Hungary in the age of the Hunyadis]. 5 vols. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1890-1941.
- DHA I Györffy, György, ed. *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima* I. 1000-1131. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992.

- Dipl. Eml. Wenzel, Gusztáv, ed. *Magyar Diplomacziái Emlékek az Anjou-korból*. [Sources of Hungarian diplomatics from the Angevin Period]. 3 vols. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1875-1878.
- DRMH Bak, János Mihály, et al. *Decreta regni mediaevalis Hungariae / The Laws of the medieval kingdom of Hungary*. 5 vols. Idyllwild: Schlacks, 1999-2005.
- Du Cange *Gloss.* Du Cange, Charles du Fresne, et al. *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*. 10 vols. Niort: L. Favre, 1883-1887.
- DuSz Dunántúli Szemle (Szombathely)
- Econ. Hist. Rev. The Economic History Review (Oxford)
- ÉÉ Építés- építészettudomány (Budapest)
- EFHU Kubinyi, András, Mónika Jánosi, Péter E. Kovács, József Köblös, István Tringli. *Elenchus fontium historiae urbanae III/2*. Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1997.
- Eperjes* Iványi, Béla. *Eperjes szabad királyi város levéltára / Archivum liberae regiaeque civitatis Eperjes (1245-1526)*. Szeged: A Magyar Királyi Ferencz József-Tudományegyetem Barátainak Egyesülete, 1931.
- Életünk Életünk (Szombathely)
- Etnographia Etnographia (Budapest)
- EtSz Gombocz, Zoltán and János Melich. *Magyar etymologiai szótár / Lexicon critico-etymologicum linguae hungaricae*. 2 vols. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1914-1943.
- ÉTtK Értekezések a Történeti Tudományok Köréből (Budapest)
- F. Fejér, Georgius, ed. *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. 11 vols. Buda: n.p., 1829-1844.
- FE Föld és Ember (Budapest)
- FNESz Kiss, Lajos. *Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára* (An etymological dictionary of geographical names). 2 vols. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.
- FolArch Folia Archaeologica (Budapest)
- Germania Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Mainz)
- GJ The Geographical Journal (London)
- GyF Győri Történelmi és Régészeti Füzetek (Győr)
- GYMSFN Balogh, Lajos, and Ferenc Ördög, eds. *Győr-Moson-Sopron megye földrajzi nevei I. Kapuvári járás* [Toponyms in County Győr-Moson-Sopron I. District Kapuvár]. Győr: Apáczai Csere János Tanítóképző Főiskola, 1998.
- Házi Házi, Jenő. *Sopron szabad királyi város története. I/1-7, II/1-6. Oklevelek*. [The history of Sopron free royal town. Charters]. Sopron: Székely nyomda, 1921-1943.
- Her. Aug. Chron. Herimanni Augiensis Chronicon, in PRT SS V, 67-133.
- Herényi Herényi, István. *Helytörténeti lexikon 800-1400. Nyugat-Magyarország az Árpádok és Anjouk korában*. [Lexicon of local history, 800-1400. Western Hungary at the time of the Árpád and Angevin rulers]. Velem: self-published by the author, 2000.
- HK Hadtörténelmi Közlemények (Budapest)

- HO Nagy, Imre, ed. *Hazai okmánytár / Codex diplomaticus patrius*. 8 vols. Győr and Budapest: n.p., 1865-1891.
- HOKl Nagy, Imre, Farkas Deák, and Gyula Nagy, ed. *Hazai oklevéltár / Codex Diplomaticus Patrius*. 1234-1536. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1879.
- HT Helynévtörténeti tanulmányok (Debrecen)
- Itin. Ant. Itinerarium Antonini Augusti
- Kállay Szentpétery, Imre, ed. *A nagykállói Kállay-család levéltára (Az oklevelek és egyéb iratok kivonatai)* [The archives of the Kállay family from Nagykálló (Excerpts of charters and other documents)]. 2 vols. Budapest: A Magyar Heraldikai és Geneológiai Társaság, 1943.
- KMFN Ördög, Ferenc and József Végh, ed. *Komárom megye földrajzi nevei* [Toponyms in County Komárom]. Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1985.
- KMHsz Hoffmann, István, ed. *Korai Magyar Helynévszótár (1000-1350)* [A dictionary of early Hungarian toponyms (1000-1350)]. Vol. 1. *Abaúj–Csongrád vármegye* [Counties Abaúj—Csongrád]. Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem, 2005.
- KMTL Kristó, Gyula, ed. *Korai Magyar történeti lexikon (9-14. század)* [Early Hungarian historical lexicon (9th-14th c.)]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994.
- Korall Korall Társadalomtörténeti Folyóirat (Budapest)
- Kóta, *Regeszták* Kóta, Péter. *Középkori oklevelek Vas megyei levéltárakban. Regeszták a vasvári káptalan levéltárának okleveleiről (1130) 1212-1256*. Vas megyei levéltári füzetek 8. Szombathely: Vas Megyei Levéltár, 1997.
- LAHU 5-6 Lövei, Pál, ed. *Vas megye műemlékeinek töredékei* [Fragments and monuments in County Vas]. 2 vols. *Lapidarium Hungaricum* 5-6. Budapest: Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal, 2002.
- LK Levéltári Közlemények (Budapest)
- MFME A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve (Szeged)
- MGH LL *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Legum Sectio I. Leges Nationum Germanicarum*. 5 vols. Hannover: Hahn, 1888-1969.
- MGH SS Pertz, Georgius Henricus, et al. ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*. 32 vols. Hannover: Hahn, 1826-1926
- MGtSz Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Szemle (Budapest)
- MKLSz Boronkai, Iván, and Kornél Szovák, ed. *A magyarországi középkori latinság szótára / Lexicon latinintatis medii aevi Hungariae*. 5 vols. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó – Argumentum Kiadó, 1987-1999.
- MMO III Thallóczy Lajos, and Sándor Horváth, eds. *Magyarország melléktartományainak oklevéltára / Codex diplomaticus partium Regno Hungariae adnexarum*. Vol. 3. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1912.
- MNy Magyar Nyelv (Budapest)
- MNySz Czuczor, Gergely, and János Fogarasi. *A magyar nyelv szótára*. 5 vols. Pest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1862.
- Mon. Strig. *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*. 4 vols. Esztergom and Budapest: n.p., 1874-1999.
- MRT *Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája* [An archaeological topography of Hungary]. 10 vols. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966-1998.
- MTAK(II) A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Társadalmi-Történeti Tudományok

	Osztályának Közleményei (Budapest)
Műemlékvédelem	Műemlékvédelem (Budapest)
NéprÉrt	Néprajzi Értesítő (Budapest)
NéprK	Néprajzi Közlemények (Budapest)
NévÉrt	Névtani Értesítő (Budapest)
NKNT	Népi kultúra – Népi társadalom (Budapest)
North. Hist.	Northern History: A Review of the History of the North of England and the Borders (Leeds)
NyK	Nyelvtudományi Közlemények (Budapest)
Nyr	Magyar Nyelvőr (Budapest)
OJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology (Oxford)
OkISz	Szamota, István and Gyula Zolnay, eds. <i>Magyar oklevél-szótár. Pótlék a magyar nyelvtörténeti szótárhoz / Lexicon vocabulorum Hungaricorum. Supplementum ad lexicon linguae Hungaricae aevi antiquioris</i> . Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1902-1906.
OÖHBI	Oberösterreichische Heimatblätter (Linz)
Ortvay	Ortvay, Tivadar. <i>Magyarország régi vízrajza a XIII-ik század végéig</i> [The old hydrography of Hungary to the end of the thirteenth century]. 2 vols. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1882.
ÖKT 40	Schmeller-Kitt, Adelheid, ed. <i>Die Kunstdenkmäler des politischen Bezirkes Oberwart</i> . Österreichische Kunsttopographie 40. Vienna: Schroll, 1974.
Pilis	Békefi, Remig, ed. <i>A pilisi apátság története</i> [The history of the Pilis Abbey]. 2 vols. A zirczi, pilisi, pásztói és szent-gothárdi ciszterci apátságok története I-II [The history of the Cistercian abbeys of Zirc, Pilis, Pásztó, and Szentgotthárd I-II]. Pécs: Taizs Nyomda, 1891-1892.
PL	Migne, Jacques-Paul, ed. <i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina</i> . 221 vols. Paris: Garnier, 1844-1865.
PRT	Erdélyi, László and Ignác Sörös, ed. <i>A pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-rend története</i> (A history of the Benedictine Order of Pannonhalma). 12 vols. Budapest, 1902-1916.
RA	Szentpétery Imre and Iván Borsa, ed. <i>Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke / Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica</i> . 2 vols. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1923–1987.
RégFüz	<i>Régészeti Füzetek</i> (Budapest)
Reg. Slov.	Sedlák, Vincent, ed. <i>Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae</i> . 2 vols. Bratislava: Slovenská Akadémia Vied, 1980-1987.
Savaria	Savaria (Szombathely)
<i>Simon de Kéza</i>	<i>Simonis de Kéza Gesta Hungarorum</i>
Smičiklas	Smičiklas, Tadeus and Marko Kostrenčić, eds. <i>Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije / Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae ac Slavoniae</i> . 18 vols. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1904-1990.
SMM	Somogy Megye Múltjából. Levéltári Évkönyv (Kaposvár)
Sopron vm.	Nagy, Imre, ed. <i>Sopron vármegye története. Oklevéltár</i> . (A history of County Sopron. Charters). 2 vols. Sopron: Sopron vármegye közönsége, 1889-1891.
SRH	Szentpétery, Imre, ed. <i>Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum</i> . 2 vols. Budapest: MTA, 1937-1938. Reprint: Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999.

SSz	Soproni Szemle (Sopron)
Századok	Századok (Budapest)
Tájszótár	Szinnyei, József. <i>Magyar tájszótár</i> . Budapest: Nap kiadó, 2003.
TBM	Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából (Budapest)
TeltudK	Településtudományi Közlemények (Budapest)
TESz	Benkő, Loránd, ed. <i>A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára</i> (Historical-etymological dictionary of the Hungarian language). 3 vols. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1967-1976.
Történelmi Szemle	Történelmi Szemle (Budapest)
Történeti Szemle	Történeti Szemle (Budapest)
<i>Tripartitum</i>	<i>The customary law of the renowned kingdom of Hungary: A work in three parts rendered by Stephen Werbőczy (The "Tripartitum")</i> . Edited and translated by János M. Bak, Péter Banyó and Martyn Rady. Idyllwild: Charles Schlacks, 2005.
TT	Magyar Történelmi Tár; Történelmi Tár (Budapest)
TVMK	A Tapolcai Városi Múzeum Közleményei (Tapolca)
UB	Wagner, Hans and Irmtraut Lindeck-Pozza, ed. <i>Urkundenbuch des Burgenlandes und der angrenzenden Gebiete der Komitate Wieselburg, Ödenburg und Eisenburg</i> . 5 vols. Graz and Cologne: Böhlau, 1955-1999.
UJb	Ungarische Jahrbücher (Berlin—Leipzig)
Uránia	Uránia (Budapest)
VaMFN	Végh, József and Lajos Balogh, ed. <i>Vas megye földrajzi nevei</i> [Toponyms in County Vas]. Szombathely: Vas Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1982.
VeMFN	Balogh, Lajos and Ferenc Ördög ed. <i>Veszprém megye földrajzi nevei</i> [Toponyms in County Veszprém]. 4 vols. Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1982-2000.
VHHK	Vasi Honismereti és Helytörténeti Közlemények (Szombathely)
VMMK	A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei (Veszprém)
VSz	Vasi Szemle (Szombathely)
VVO	Gutheil, Jenő, ed. <i>Veszprém város okmánytára</i> .
VVOP	Érszegi, Géza and László Solymosi, ed. <i>Veszprém város okmánytára. Pótkötet (1000-1526) / Supplementum ad Monumenta Civitatis Vesprimiensis (1000-1526)</i> . Veszprém: Veszprémi Érseki és Főkapitányi Levéltár, 2010.
Veszpr. Reg.	Kumorovitz L. Bernát, ed. <i>Veszprémi Regeszták / Regesta litterarum ad episcopatum et capitulum ecclesiae Veszpremiensis pertinentium</i> (1301-1387). Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1953.
W.	Wenzel, Gusztáv, ed. <i>Árpádkori Új Okmánytár / Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus</i> . 12 vols. Pest and Budapest: n.p., 1860-1874.
Zala vm.	Imre Nagy, Dezső Véghely, and Gyula Nagy, ed. <i>Zala vármegye története. Oklevéltár</i> . (A history of County Zala. Charters). 2 vols. Budapest: Zala vármegye közönsége, 1886-1890.
Zichy	Nagy, Imre, Iván Nagy, Dezső Véghely, Ernő Kammerer, and Pál Lukcsics, ed. <i>A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára / Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vasonkeő</i> . 12 vols. Pest – Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1871-1931.
ZMFN	Balogh, Lajos et al., ed. <i>Zala megye földrajzi nevei</i> [Toponyms in County

Zs. Zala]. 2 vols. Zalaegerszeg: Zala Megyei Levéltár, 1964-1986.
Mályusz, Elemér and Iván Borsa, ed. *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* (Charters from the Sigismund period). 7 vols. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó and Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1951-2001

*“The history of roads
is not the study of the dead past,
but of the living present.”
(Christopher Taylor)*

1. INTRODUCTION

The Middle Ages is commonly considered a time when due to badly passable roads and the dangers of the highways and by-ways,¹ people travelled little and inward-looking communities had, more or less, isolated existences. When, however, we consider how varied motives people had for travelling, that popular notion simply does not hold water. Particularly long journeys were taken to places of pilgrimage,² universities, or fairs. Shorter but regular routes led the populace to weekly markets, to church, or into the fields. There were several a groups of people who were constantly on the move: merchants transported their commodities from one town to another, apprentices wandered to get their training, and craftsmen frequently took to the road in hope of finding work. It should not be forgotten either that in the Middle Ages – given the absence of telecommunication – many kinds of social contact required mobility. People had to take to the road in order to discuss common problems, to hand over a message or a piece of writing, to visit relatives, or to find a spouse. Nevertheless, it was not only people but also goods and animals that were on the move. Domestic animals, agricultural produce, handicraft products, timber, stone, minerals as well as a great variety of other items had to be transported from their place of production to that of distribution, or directly to the place of use or consumption.³

¹ For the various dangers a medieval traveller might encounter see, Áron Petneki, “*Tanta malitia itineris, avagy az utazásnak veszedelmes voltáról. A középkori utazó a művelődéstörténész és a mentalitástörténész szemével,*” [*Tanta malitia itineris, or on the dangerous nature of travel. The medieval traveller from the perspective of a cultural historian and a historian of mentalities*], *Századok* 128:2 (1994): 350-393.

² On pilgrimages originating in Hungary see Enikő Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok* [Medieval Hungarian pilgrims] (Budapest: História and MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2003).

³ For the great variety of motivations for travel in medieval Hungary, see András Kubinyi, “Költözés, helyváltoztatás, utazás a későközépkori Magyarországon (A horizontális mobilitás kérdései)” [Migration, change of place, and travel in late medieval Hungary (The questions of horizontal mobility)], *TVMK* 2 (1991): 229-241. For the same in Germany and Austria with a rich bibliography see, Dietrich Denecke, “Zur Entsehung des

The movement of people and goods in the landscape did not take place haphazardly but according to sets of rules and regulations. Routes developed in accordance with the demands of the natural environment, contemporary political conditions, economic needs, social phenomena (ethnicity, religion, etc.), and many other factors. In addition, the distance to be covered, the extent of use, the typical means of transportation, or the morphology of the terrain generally brought about different types of roads. For local communication a narrow footpath was adequate, whereas to drive large numbers of livestock for great distances demanded wide, flat and direct routes with pastures and watering places nearby. Roads were, however, by no means static elements in the landscape, but responded to potential changes in circumstances and environment. If, for example, a route became more frequented for some reason its width was increased, if there were changes in estate boundaries the path of the road was altered, if the destination to which it led was abandoned the road faded away, yet if a new focal place arose new roads appeared in the region. Therefore, the road network was (and is still) an intricate, hierarchically multi-layered, and constantly evolving system, reflecting economic, political, social, and environmental changes.

In the Middle Ages horizontal mobility was connected to many aspects of life, and therefore the identification of communication lines comprise a research task for a variety of historical studies. The history of settlements and towns cannot be fully examined without having a look at their links to other locations, because the settlement system and the road network were equally important, mutually interrelated elements in the landscape. They mutually presupposed each other, and the transformation of one necessarily brought about change in the other. Similarly, economic transactions would be unimaginable without roads. When investigating the trade activity in a country, region, or town it is not only important to know what commodities were exchanged and the participants in trade relations, but also on

Verkehrs,” in *Stadt. Strom – Straße – Schiene. Die Bedeutung des Verkehrs für die Genese der mitteleuropäischen Städtelandschaft*, ed. Alois Niedersätter (Linz: Landesverlag, 2001), 1-26, esp. 6-16.

what routes the goods travelled, whether merchants had to pay tolls along the way or offer their merchandise for sale somewhere. Furthermore, roads also have relevance for military history. In addition to the question of where battles, the siege of towns and castles, as well as the occupation of lands took place it is also of interest to know on what routes the sites of military events were approached by the troops, or along which roads villagers fled from the enemy.

Medieval roads and communication networks not only fall within the field of history but also that of human geography. Traditionally, historical geography deals with the evolution of spatial forms in the past.⁴ In this sense, the historical-geographical investigation of medieval roads means the reconstruction of the development and changes in the road system. However, when dealing with medieval roads one cannot restrict the investigations to the Middle Ages since the road network developed over the infrastructural heritage of preceding eras and determined the cultural landscape of subsequent centuries. The early modern period cannot be ignored from a methodological point of view either, since one can frequently infer the state of the medieval road network in a retrogressive way from more recent data. Furthermore, historical geography also has a present dimension and might even be used for future planning, because “the events of history pass while the shape of the cultural landscape and the processes of change are vivid, present history. In this sense the heritage of the past is an object of modern geography and so of planning.”⁵ In other words, there are “recent

⁴ For the subject, methods and results of historical-topographical investigations see the volume Alan R.H. Baker and Mark Billige, ed. *Period and Place. Research Methods in Historical Geography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). For the investigation of roads using the methods of historical geography, see Dietrich Denecke, “Methoden und Ergebnisse der historisch-geographischen und archäologischen Untersuchung und Rekonstruktion mittelalterlicher Verkehrswege,” in *Geschichtswissenschaft und Archäologie*, ed. Herbert Jankuhn and Reinhard Wenskus (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1979), 433-483; Dietrich Denecke, “Linienführung und Netzgestalt mittelalterlicher Verkehrswege – eine raumstrukturelle Perspektive,” in *Straßen- und Verkehrswesen im hohen und späten Mittelalter*, ed. Rainer Christoph Schwinges (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2007), 49-70.

⁵ Dietrich Denecke, “Applied historical geography and geographies of the past: historico-geographical change and regional processes in history,” in *Period and Place. Research Methods in Historical Geography*, ed. Alan R. H. Baker and Mark Billige (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 127-135 and 332-338.

developments in human geography which argue for temporal explanations.”⁶ If one can reconstruct the layout and evolution of the medieval road system, that will lead to a better understanding of the origins and dynamics of the modern road network, and the observation of patterns can even be applied to road planning. In this way, the past can be utilized for the benefit of the future.

1.1 PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON MEDIEVAL ROADS IN HUNGARY

In Hungary investigations into roads were at first directed at ancient Roman roads. In the eighteenth century Roman (and supposedly Roman) roads were represented on handwritten maps among other features that could be clearly seen in the landscape (such as the ancient ruins of forts, canals, ramparts, etc.).⁷ The ancient Roman heritage was a beloved subject for amateurs who enthusiastically came up with various interpretations of the Roman road system. In the mid-nineteenth century, however, Flóris Rómer already emphasized that investigations into the Roman road network must necessarily be based on field work. Without observation of road sections and the identification of Roman *castra* one is only “building castles in the air.”⁸ The archaeological investigations into Roman tracks and milestones started in the second half of the nineteenth century with the work of Flóris Rómer,⁹ Róbert

⁶ William Norton, “Historical geography as the evolution of spatial form,” in *Period and Place. Research Methods in Historical Geography*, ed. Alan R. H. Baker and Mark Billige (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 251-257 and 253-254, esp. 257.

⁷ See, for example, the maps of Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli (1658-1730), Sámuel Mikoviny (1698-1750), or in County Vas by József Kenedics (1756-1809). Árpád Papp-Váry and Pál Hrenkó, *Magyarország régi térképeken* [Hungary on old maps] (Budapest: Gondolat Könyvkiadó and Officina Nova), 1989, 96-97; László Bendefy, ed. *Mikoviny Sámuel megyei térképei* [County maps by Sámuel Mikoviny], 2 vols (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1976); Ágnes Kenedich, “Josephus Kenedics Vas vármegye hites geometrája” [Josephus Kenedics the well-known land-surveyor of County Vas], *VHHK* 1999/3, 52-57; László Gróf, “Kenedics József Vas vármegye térképe” [The map of County Vas by József Kenedics], *VHHK* 2000/3, 54-57.

⁸ Flóris Rómer and Imre Henszlmann, *Műrégészeti kalauz különös tekintettel Magyarországra* [Archaeological handbook with especial regard to Hungary] (Pest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Archaeologiai Bizottsága, 1866), 83.

⁹ Flóris Rómer, “Érdekes római mértföldmutatók Komárom megyében” [Interesting Roman milestones in County Komárom], *ArchÉrt* 5 (1871): 40-42; Flóris Rómer, “Kiadatlan római feliratok” [Unpublished Roman milestones], *ArchKözl* 10 (1876): 24-57; Flóris Rómer, “Kiadatlan római feliratok” [Unpublished Roman milestones], *ArchKözl* 11 (1877): 27-46.

Fröhlich,¹⁰ and Géza Vásárhelyi.¹¹ In the early twentieth century Gábor Finály¹² had already synthesised the accomplishments of his forerunners.

As opposed to Roman roads, the interest to medieval roads of Transdanubia dates only from the first decades of the twentieth century. Because of the lack of easily recognisable road sections research into roads stemmed from the study of written documents instead of archaeology. In the first half of the twentieth century, road research focussed generally on foreign and internal trade routes in the kingdom¹³ as well as the routes of military campaigns.¹⁴ In 1917, József Holub reconstructed the road system of County Zala based on the sites where tolls were collected. At the beginning of his study he pointed out that “one would be able to form a correct picture of the entire road network of the kingdom only if all toll collection locations of the county have been assembled.”¹⁵ Special mention must be made of the survey by Lajos Glaser on the medieval road network of Transdanubia.¹⁶ He called attention to the fact that the road network was a complex system that was transformed over time. Considering the terminals of the main Transdanubian roads and the level of royal intervention into the direction of roads, he differentiated between two periods: one before and

¹⁰ Róbert Fröhlich, “Három római mérföldmutató” [Three Roman milestones], *ArchÉrt* 7 (1887): 251-255; Róbert Fröhlich, “Két római mérföldmutató kő” [Two Roman milestones], *ArchÉrt* 8 (1888): 289-295.

¹¹ Géza Vásárhelyi, “Az Aquincumból Brigetióba vezető római út irányáról és fennmaradt nyomairól” [On the direction and surviving remains of the Roman road leading from Aquincum to Brigetio], *ArchÉrt* 12 (1892): 71-74.

¹² Gábor Finály, “Római utak a Dunántúl” [Roman roads in Transdanubia], *ArchÉrt* 23 (1903): 164-173; Gábor Finály, “Római utak a Dunán túl” [Roman Roads in Transdanubia], *Uránia* 16 (1915): 221-225.

¹³ András Diószegi, *A Magyarországon keresztülvezető kereskedelmi utak az árpádházi királyok idejében* [Trade routes passing through Hungary in the time of Árpád rulers] (Kolozsvár: Stief, 1909); Ambrus Pleidell, *A nyugatra irányuló magyar külkereskedelem a középkorban* [Hungarian foreign trade towards the West in the Middle Ages] (Budapest: Budavári Tudományos Társaság, 1925); Dénes Huszti, *Olasz-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok a középkorban* [Italian-Hungarian trade relations in the Middle Ages] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1941).

¹⁴ Gyula Pauler, “Horvát-Dalmátország elfoglalásáról (1091-1111)” [On the occupation of Croatia and Dalmatia (1091-1111)], *Századok* 22 (1888): 197-215 and 320-333; Lajos Glaser, “Középkori hadiutak Dunántúlon” [Medieval military routes in Transdanubia], *HK* 33 (1932): 158-164; István Miskolczy, “Nagy Lajos nápolyi hadjáratai. Az első hadjárat” [The campaigns of King Louis the Great to Naples. The first campaign], *HK* 34 (1933): 46-70, 123-146; Idem, “Nagy Lajos második hadjárata” [The second campaign of King Louis the Great to Naples], *HK* 35 (1934): 41-57.

¹⁵ József Holub, “Zala vármegye vámhelyei és úthálózata a középkorban” [The toll places and road network of County Zala in the Middle Ages], *Századok* 51 (1917): 45-60.

¹⁶ Lajos Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata” [The medieval road network of Transdanubia], *Századok* 63-64 (1929-1930), 138-167, 257-285.

the other following the Mongol Invasion (1241-1242). His study was also ahead of all previous works on medieval routes from a methodological point of view because he compared the data on road sections yielded by documents connected to pragmatic literacy with eighteenth—nineteenth-century maps, and also consulted the historical geographical encyclopaedia by Dezső Csánki¹⁷ for towns and toll places. In another study Glaser also dealt with the question of Roman roads reflected in medieval charters¹⁸ creating a linguistic debate in the periodical *Magyar Nyelv* over the meaning of the term *öttevény*.¹⁹

After the Second World War it was research into settlement history and urban history that gave fresh impetus to the investigation of medieval roads in Hungary. The interrelationships between the development of market towns and roads was already being emphasized by Elemér Mályusz in 1953.²⁰ Using the example of Western Transdanubian villages Jenő Major illustrated in 1959 the way main roads affected the morphology of medieval villages.²¹ In his 1971 monograph on the settlement structure of Hungarian villages Ferenc Maksay called attention to the fact that “researchers of the Árpád Period settlement system must also take into account a new phenomenon, the gradually developing road network.”²² András Kubinyi demonstrated that medieval towns were closely inter-connected with the infrastructure while changes in the road system necessarily affected the hierarchical

¹⁷ Dezső Csánki and Antal Fekete Nagy, ed., *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* [A historical geography of Hungary in the age of the Hunyadis], 5 vols, (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1890-1941) (hereafter Csánki).

¹⁸ Lajos Glaser, “A római utak nevei középkori okleveleinkben” [The names of Roman roads in medieval Hungarian charters], *MNy* 27 (1931): 317-319.

¹⁹ Dezső Pais. “Öttevény,” *MNy* 28 (1932): 119-120; Dénes Szabó, “Öntvény,” *MNy* 39 (1943): 298-305; Dezső Pais, “Névvizsgálatok a ‘Zala megye földrajzi nevei’ című kiadvány segítségével” [Toponymic investigations with the help of the publication entitled ‘The geographical names of County Zala’], *MNy* 62 (1966): 69-72. Endre Tóth dealt with the question from an archaeologist’s point of view: Endre Tóth, “Eötteven seu via antiqua Romanorum,” *MNy* 73 (1977): 194-201.

²⁰ Elemér Mályusz, “A mezővárosi fejlődés” [The development of market towns] in *Tanulmányok a parasztság történetéhez Magyarországon a 14. században* [Studies on the history of the peasantry in Hungary in the fourteenth century], ed. György Székely (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1953), 128-191, esp. 176.

²¹ Jenő Major, “Szempontok a faluépítési hagyományok kutatásának módszeréhez” [Considerations on the methods of research into village construction traditions], *TeludK* 11 (1959): 3-16.

²² Ferenc Maksay, *A magyar falu középkori településrendje* [The medieval settlement structure of Hungarian villages] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 44-46.

position of towns, as well.²³ When ranking the central places in Hungary, András Kubinyi considered the role of towns as road junctions as one of the ten indicators that reflected their hierarchical position. He graded the central places, among other things, on the basis of the number of roads that linked them directly with other central places.²⁴ Last but not least, mention must be made of the historical-geographical encyclopaedia of Árpád Period Hungary by György Györffy.²⁵ He supplemented the databases of settlements arranged by counties with an introductory part on the historical topography of the given county. Within these introductions, he reconstructed the counties' roads (still mainly based on written sources), which he also mapped together with the settlements. The four published volumes of Györffy's topography (encompassing counties with the initials between A and P) can be consulted for the following Transdanubian counties: Baranya, Fejér, Győr, Komárom, Moson and Pilis.

The most recent development in the investigation of medieval roads is represented by the application of an interdisciplinary approach involving the sources and methods of history, historical geography, and medieval archaeology. In 1985, for example, Gábor Kiss and Endre Tóth conducted archaeological excavations at the so-called *Vas kapu* (Iron Gate) crossing an earthen rampart south of Vasvár as well as the road passing through the gateway. Based on early modern maps and toponyms that route has been long known as the *Katonák útja* (i.e. Soldiers' Road) and was regarded as an ancient Roman road. The excavation, however, demonstrated that the road in fact developed in the Middle Ages. In addition, the archaeologists identified the excavated road with the long-distance route known from written documents as the Italian Road (*via Latinorum*, 1274) and Mura Road (*via media, que ducit ad*

²³ András Kubinyi, "A középkori Magyarországi városhálózat hierarchikus térbeli rendjének kérdéséhez" [On the hierarchical spatial arrangement of the urban networks in medieval Hungary], *TeludK* 23 (1971): 58-78, esp. 65.

²⁴ See, for example, András Kubinyi, "Mezővárosok egy városmentes tájon. A középkori Délnyugat-Magyarország" [Market towns in a region without towns. Medieval south-western Hungary], *TVMK* 1 (1990): 319-335, esp. 320 and n. 14; András Kubinyi, "Városhálózat a késő középkori Kárpát-medencében" [Urban networks in the Carpathian Basin in the Late Middle Ages], *Történelmi Szemle* 46 (2004): 1-30, esp. 15.

²⁵ György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* [A historical geography of Hungary in the Árpád Period] 4 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963-1998) (hereafter ÁMTF).

Muram, 1236; *via, per quam itur ad Muram*, 1313; *via magna Murauta*, 1326), called after both its farther and closer destinations.²⁶ In County Vas, Gábor Kiss and Balázs Zágórhídi Czigány identified several more roads (south-east of Vasvár,²⁷ in the southern part of County Vas,²⁸ etc.) with the help of written, archaeological, cartographic, and toponymic data. The topographical investigations by Csilla Zatykó on Transdanubian sites have also demonstrated the benefits of using various data in the reconstruction of roads.²⁹ Furthermore, Csilla Zatykó called attention to the fact that within archaeology the methods of landscape archaeology are particularly suitable for research on roads, because instead of single archaeological sites it deals with structures encompassing sites as well as the links between them.³⁰

In general, it can be concluded that while at the beginning of the twentieth century the research into medieval roads meant reconstruction of long-distance and regional roads, local roads have now also become the subjects of the investigations. Formerly, with the exclusive use of written documents and early modern maps one could only reconstruct lines of communication. In contrast, use of landscape archaeology and toponyms enable the identification of physical tracks, as well. The complementary analytical use of a great variety of sources and methods (written documents, early modern maps, toponyms, aerial

²⁶ Gábor Kiss and Endre Tóth, “A vasvári ‘Római sánc’ és a ‘Katonák útja’ időrendje és értelmezése” [The chronology and interpretation of the ‘Roman Rampart’ and the ‘Soldiers’ Road’ at Vasvár], *CommArchHung* 1987, 101-135.

²⁷ Gábor Kiss and Balázs Z. Czigány, “Régészeti és történeti adatok egy mikrotáj topográfiájához. Vasvár délkeleti határa az Árpád-korban” [Archaeological and historical data in the topography of a micro-region. The territory south-west of Vasvár in the Árpád Period], in *Sötét idők falvai. 8-11. századi települések a Kárpát medencében* [The villages of the Dark Ages. Eighth to eleventh-century settlements in the Carpathian Basin], ed. Barbara Kolozsi and Antal Krisztián Szilágyi (Debrecen: Déri Múzeum, 2011), 593-567.

²⁸ Gábor Kiss and Balázs Z. Czigány, “A Lapincs—Rába vonaltól délre eső terület Árpád-kori történeti földrajzához” [On the Árpád Period historical geography of the territory south of the Lapincs and Rába], *VSz* 64 (2010): 711-721.

²⁹ Csilla Zatykó, “Adalékok egy 1460-as Zala megyei birtokmegosztó levélhez” [Contributions to a letter of division of a landed property in County Zala from 1460], in *‘Es tu scholaris.’ Ünnepi tanulmányok Kubinyi András 75. születésnapjára* [‘Es tu scholaris.’ Studies in honour of András Kubinyi on his seventyfifth birthday], ed. Beatrix Romhányi (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2004), 125-131; Eadem, “Medieval Villages and their Landscape: Methods of Reconstruction,” in *People and Nature in Historical Perspective*, ed. József Laszlovszky and Péter Szabó (Budapest: Medieval Studies CEU and Archaeolingua, 2003), 343-375; Eadem, “Reconstruction of the settlement structure of the medieval Nagyszakácsi (Somogy county),” *Antaeus* 27 (2004): 367-431, for roads see pages 385-386.

³⁰ Csilla Zatykó, “Integrált kutatások: a tájrégészet” [Integrated investigations: landscape archaeology] in *Régészeti kézikönyv* [An archaeological handbook], ed. Róbert Müller, CD-ROM edition (Budapest: Magyar Régész Szövetség, 2011), 388-402, esp. 389-392.

photographs, field surveys, etc.) has made possible an in-depth reconstruction of roads and tracks. However, such detailed work is feasible only at the level of settlements and micro-regions, but not yet for counties and regions.

1.2 THE CHRONOLOGICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE DISSERTATION

In the first part of the dissertation, however, I will deal with the different types of roads within a broader geographical and chronological context, and draw examples from other parts of Western Transdanubia³¹ (especially for Counties Győr, Moson, Sopron, Zala, and Veszprém), as well. The second part of the present dissertation will concern the road system of County Vas (Fig. 1) between the foundation of the Hungarian State up to the mid-fourteenth century.

³¹ The name Transdanubia (Hu. Dunántúl) indicated (and still indicates) that part of Hungary found south and west of the Danube River. The term originates from the time of the Ottoman occupation when the capital of the kingdom was temporarily moved from Buda (C. Pest) to Pressburg (C. Pozsony), and from that perspective Transdanubia was ‘beyond the Danube,’ (Hu. *Dunán túl*). The first written appearance of the term dates to about 1566: *Dunántúl*, Lajos Kiss, *Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára* [An etymological dictionary of geographical names] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), vol. I, 397 (hereafter FNESz). See in detail: László Kádár, *A magyar nép tájszemlélete és Magyarország tájnevei* [Hungarian people’s perspective on the landscape and the names of regions in Hungary] (Budapest: Országos Táj- és Népkutató Intézet 1941), 13-14; László Kósa and Antal Filep, *A magyar nép táji-történelmi tagolódása* [The regional-historical division of the Hungarian people] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975), 84-86; Pál Engel, “A középkori Dunántúl mint történelmi táj” [Medieval Transdanubia as a historical region], in *Honor, vár, ispánság. Válogatott tanulmányok* [Honor, castle, county. Selected studies], ed. Enikő Csukovits (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), 433-450, esp. 433-435; Gyula Kristó, *Tájszemlélet és térszervezés a középkori Magyarországon* [Perspectives on the landscape and spatial organization in medieval Hungary] (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2003), 34-35.



Fig. 1. County Vas among the historic counties of the Hungarian Kingdom (After Szabó 2005,³² Fig. 5)

1.2.1 Time frames

The occupation of the Carpathian Basin by the Magyars in the late ninth and early tenth centuries brought profound changes in the history of the territory, not only in terms of ethnicity and culture, but also concerning the cultural landscape. Large-scale changes began, in fact, under the reign of King Stephen I (1000-1038), the descendant of Prince Árpád³³ (for whom the dynasty was named). It was under the reign of King Stephen I that Hungary emerged as a Christian monarchy, a state politically unified under the royal crown.

³² See n. 51.

³³ Árpád (ca. 845-ca. 900) was a leader of the seven Magyar tribes when they conquered the Carpathian Basin. At that time the Magyars had, in fact, two rulers, a major one called the *kende* or *künde* with secular leadership, and an inferior one called the *gyula* who exercised effective power. Historians hold different views as to which title Árpád held. György Györffy, for example, regards Árpád as the *gyula* and thus the military leader of the conquering Magyars, while Gyula Kristó attributes to him the higher but nominal position of the *kende*. See, György Görffy, *István király és műve* [King Stephen and his work] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1983), 29; Gyula Kristó and Ferenc Makk, *Az Árpádok. Fejedelmek és királyok* [The Árpáds. Princes and kings] (Budapest: Szukits Könyvkiadó, 2000), 16-20. For a brief overview see, Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 18-20.

Topographically, the early Árpád Period was characterized by the rise of administrative centres in the form of castles, the foundation of churches and monasteries, the development of village-like settlements, and the formation of a set of new roads that joined all these landscape features into a network. The first half of the thirteenth century saw the beginning of profound changes in terms of power-relations, the economy, the military defensive system, the administration of the counties, lay and ecclesiastical estates, the social structure, and many other aspects.³⁴ These events culminated in the political struggles that began after the death of last Árpád ruler, King Andrew III (1290-1301). Finally, with the consolidation of the realm and royal power in the mid-fourteenth century the processes that had characterised the thirteenth century came to an end. It was particularly changes concerning the frontier defensive system, settlement system, territorial organization, foreign trade relations, and economic policy that had direct implications for the communication network of Western Transdanubia. An overview of these 350 years, therefore, allows us to follow the development of the road network at the western border from the creation of the first roads, through the intensification of trade and travel, followed by the development of new points of gravity, to the evolution of the late medieval layout.

1.2.2 Geographical boundaries

The territory of Western Transdanubia is an intriguing area where processes described above can be clearly observed. Between the tenth and twelfth centuries there was a strong political intention to block communications in the western zone of Counties Moson, Sopron, Vas, and Zala. The marchland (Hu. *gyepű*) set up there was meant to be an impenetrable area with natural and artificial impediments separating Hungary and the Holy Roman Empire. In the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, however, the military defensive system of the

³⁴ For these changes in detail see, Jenő Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok* [The last Árpáds] (Budapest: História and MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1993).

frontiers started to be transformed: the *gyepű* that had been laid out in depth gradually dissolved and was replaced by private castles.³⁵ Those castles were, at the same time, the *foci* of private estates and therefore demanded accessibility. In the 1180s, the Cistercian abbey of Szentgotthárd (founded in 1183) started the colonization of the south-western part of County Vas that formerly formed part of the *gyepű*.³⁶ The settlements and manors that developed on the estate of the monastery again needed to be connected by roads. In addition, by the first half of the thirteenth century, Hungary developed intensive trade relations with Italian,³⁷ German, and Austrian³⁸ towns which again necessitated the presence of roads across the western border of the realm that previously had been a strictly controlled military zone.

The natural and cultural landscapes are further factors that render Western Transdanubia an intriguing sample area for the investigation of routes. The territory has a geographically structured surface, the most dominant features of which are its low mountains located in the west as well as its rivers and streams originating in the Alps. Both the mountains and river valleys were covered with vast forests that – similarly to the geomorphological and hydrographic features – restricted and determined the possible direction of communication lines. Furthermore, the territory of Transdanubia, having belonged to the Roman Empire between the first and fourth centuries AD, has another

³⁵ Attila Zsoldos, “A vasi várispánság felbomlása” [The dissolution of the royal castle district of Vas], *VSz* 54 (2000): 27-46; Gábor Kiss and Balázs Z. Czigány, “Korai uradalmak Vas vármegye délnyugati részén (1187-1213)” [Early dominions in the south-western part of County Vas (1187-1213)], in *‘Hadak útján...’ A népvándorlaskor fiatal kutatói 15. konferenciájának előadásai* [‘On the way of warriors...’ Proceedings of the 15th conference of young researchers of the Migration Period], ed. János László and Richárd Schmidtmyer (Tatabánya: Tatabányai Múzeum, 2006), 175-186.

³⁶ Elek Kalász, *A szentgotthárdi apátság birtokviszonyai és a ciszterci gazdálkodás a középkorban* [The estates of the Szentgotthárd Abbey and Cistercian economy in the Middle Ages] (Budapest: self-published by the author, 1932), esp. 15-16 and 20-31; József Kovacsics, *Szentgotthárd és környéke. Szentgotthárd környéki, dél-burgenlandi, őrségi és vendvidéki falvak és nemzetiségek (1183-1995). Település és népességtörténeti lexikon.* [Szentgotthárd and its region. Villages and ethnic groups around Szentgotthárd, in the South Burgenland, Őrség, and Vend region (1183-1995). A lexicon of settlement and population history] (Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 2000), 11-15.

³⁷ See, for example, Huszti, *Olasz-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok; Zsuzsa Teke, Velencei-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok a XIII.-XV. században* [Venetian-Hungarian trade relations between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971).

³⁸ István Gedai, “A Dunántúl szerepe az Árpádkor kereskedelmében numizmatikai adatok alapján” [The role of Transdanubia in Árpád Period trade on the basis of numismatic data], *VMMK* 8 (1969): 253-256.

important landscape element, the remains of ancient Roman constructions (roads, walls, edifices, etc.).³⁹ Consequently, when investigating the communication sequences of medieval Transdanubia one must bear in mind the fact that its Roman past was yet another layer in the infrastructure of the territory developing over the heritage of former periods.

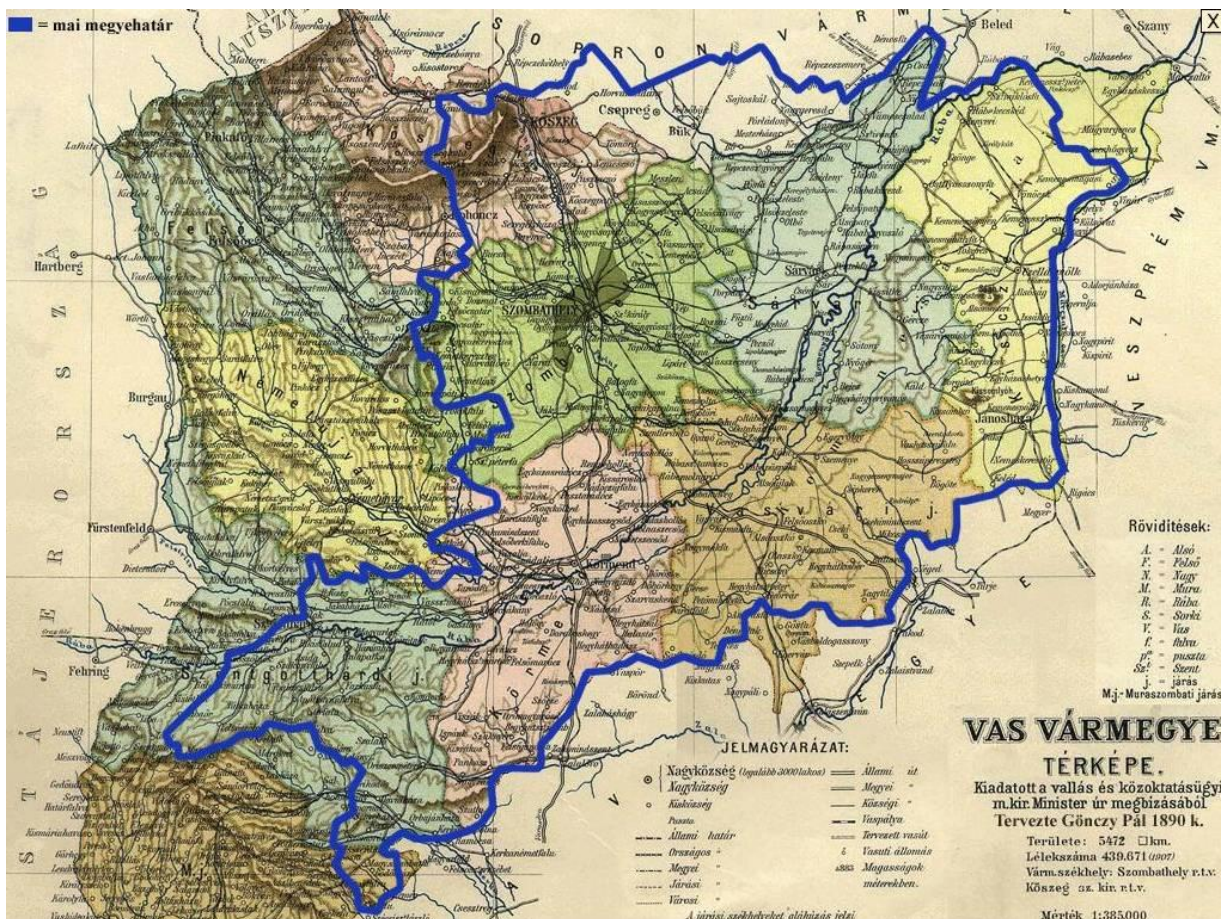


Fig. 2. The territory of historic and modern County Vas (The latter is indicated in blue) (From the DVD-ROM *Vas megye az első kataszteri felmérés térképein* [County Vas maps of the first cadastral measurements])

In the Árpád Period, County Vas (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2) had natural boundaries: on the north it was separated from County Sopron by the Rábca and the Rába Rivers, on the east it was divided from County Veszprém by the Marcal River, on the south it was adjacent to County Zala along the Vas Hegyhát plateau, while on the west it shared borders with the Holy

³⁹ On the survival of Roman landscape elements for the subsequent centuries in Transdanubia see, Neil Christie, “The Survival of Roman settlements along the Middle Danube: Pannonia from the fourth to the tenth century AD,” *OJA* 11 (1992): 317-339; Réka Virágos, “Continuities and change in early medieval landscapes in Western Hungary (research possibilities),” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 13 (2007): 213-240.

Roman Empire along the Lapincs River (Ge. Lafnitz) and the Kutschenitza Stream (Sl. Kučnica). The territory of historical County Vas is shared today by three countries: the greatest part of it still belongs to Hungary as County Vas, its western zone now belongs to Austria forming south Burgenland (Ge. Südburgenland), while the south-western part of the county – the so-called Vend region (Sl. Porabje) and the Mura region (Sl. Prekmurje) – is now part of Slovenia. These new borders basically developed after the First World War. Due to country planning in the 1950s the borders of County Vas was subjected to some further changes. The territory around Csepreg and Bük, formerly belonging to County Sopron was attached to County Vas, whereas the areas around Várkesző and Egervár formerly part of County Vas were attached to Counties Veszprém and Zala, respectively (Fig. 2).

The territory of County Vas⁴⁰ was either established during the reign of King Stephen I (1000-1038) in the first decades of the eleventh century, or developed out of County Karakó in the late eleventh and early twelfth century.⁴¹ In the Árpád Period written sources, County Vas appears mainly as a *comitatus* (county), and rarely as a *parochia* and *provincia*. The centre of the county was Vasvár, and the first reference to its *comes*⁴² (Hu. *ispán*) dates to 1108. Vasvár (*Ferreum Castrum*) received its name after being the centre of iron (Hu. *vas*) production from the tenth century on, and it was most probably its seat that County Vas was named after.⁴³ In terms of ecclesiastical organisation, County Vas – along with Counties Győr, Moson, Sopron, and the later (after 1156 and after 1263) the dissolved Counties Karakó⁴⁴ and

⁴⁰ On Árpád Period County Vas see, Frigyes Pesty, *A magyarországi várispánságok története különösen a XIII. században* [The history of Hungarian counties, particularly in the thirteenth century] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1882), 533-543; Gyula Kristó, *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon* [The development of counties in Hungary] (Budapest: Magvető Könyvkiadó, 1988), 274-276; Gábor Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei* [The tenth to twelfth-century gravegoods and treasure hoards of County Vas] (Szombathely: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2000), 274-288.

⁴¹ Kristó, *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon*, 282-283.

⁴² KMLSz II, s.v. “comes,” 191-196.

⁴³ Kristó, *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon*, 273-276.

⁴⁴ On County Karakó see, Pesty, *A magyarországi várispánságok története*, 263-276; Kristó, *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon*, 282-283.

Locsmánd⁴⁵ – belonged to the diocese of Győr, founded sometime between 1001 and 1009.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, there was no traditional archdeaconry (*archidiaconatus*) covering the whole territory of County Vas, which might be explained by the fact that around the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries the archdeaconry developed in Karakó, the seat of County Karakó. When, however, Karakó ceased to exist in the second half of the twelfth century, it also lost its role in the church organisation. Vasvár did become an archdeaconry as in the meantime the provost of the newly founded Vasvár collegiate chapter took over the duties of the archdeacon in the county.⁴⁷

1.3 THE AIMS OF THE DISSERTATION

The communication sequences of eleventh- to fourteenth-century Western Transdanubia display great dynamism both in time and space. The aim of my dissertation is to reveal its most important features and test the validity of my findings within the territory of County Vas. The research questions of the dissertation can be formulated as follows:

- How can one classify medieval roads in terms of their hierarchy, use, physical properties, and other considerations? To what extent do the terms preserved by medieval written sources reflect different categories?
- How did the morphological relief and the waters of the landscape, as well as the Roman infrastructural heritage affect (restrict or promote) the lines and directions of Árpád Period communication?
- Which were the most important nodes and links in the road network in County Vas between the eleventh and mid-fourteenth centuries?

⁴⁵ On County Locsmánd see, Pesty, *A magyarországi várispánságok története*, 313-319; Kristó, *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon*, 278-280.

⁴⁶ Kristó, *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon*, 262-263; Kristó, *Tájszemlélet és térszervezés*, 63-65. Cf. György Györffy, *István király és műve* [King Stephen and his work] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1983), 182-183.

⁴⁷ Kristó, *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon*, 282-283; Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 282.

- Which long-distance routes passed through County Vas? To what extent did they encourage the rise of towns and market towns?
- In what ways were the road network and the settlement system related to each other? How did the changes in one influence the other?
- How did the current political and economic situation affect the direction of communication routes?
- To what extent did the frontier position of County Vas determine its inner topography?

1.4 SOURCES

My dissertation is based on four major types of primary sources: written documents, early modern maps, toponyms and the data from archaeological investigations, controlling and complementing each other throughout the work.

1.4.1 Written sources

The medieval written sources I relied on involve various products from pragmatic literacy that fall under the umbrella term ‘charter’ (Hu. *oklevél*). The applicability of these types of documents for the purposes of local history and archaeology has already been shown in the Hungarian context by László Solymosi⁴⁸ and Dénes Jankovich Bésán.⁴⁹ As opposed to narrative sources,⁵⁰ charters were drawn up for some kind of pragmatic purpose, and it was generally in the interest of the issuing authorities that the contents of the document would indeed be factually correct. These documents deal with various legal transactions and (in a

⁴⁸ László Solymosi, “A helytörténet fontosabb középkori forrásainak kutatása és hasznosítása” [The research and use of the major medieval sources in local history], *Történeti Szemle* 19 (1976): 123-155.

⁴⁹ Dénes Jankovich B., “Középkori okleveleink régészeti hasznosításának kérdései” [On the question of the archaeological utilization of medieval Hungarian charters] in *Középkori régészetünk újabb eredményei és időszerű feladatai* [Recent results and current issues in Hungarian medieval archaeology], ed. István Fodor and László Selmeczi (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1985), 443-453.

⁵⁰ The number of Árpád Period narrative sources (chronicles, saints’ lives, etc.) is low in comparison with documents from pragmatic literacy. Extant literary works contain only very few data on roads, and related subjects such as travel, means of transport etc. Yet it is mainly because of their questionable reliability that they will be very little used in my thesis.

smaller proportion) other issues from daily life. That characteristic gives them a high source-value and reliability for historical research.

The types of documents I found most useful in my work are the letters of inspection of boundaries (*litterae metales/reambulatoriae*) or simply perambulations.⁵¹ In the Middle Ages perambulations functioned as ‘maps in words.’ In the terrain the boundaries of a landed property were identified by natural (mound, stream, grove, etc.) and man-made (road, house, mill, etc.) features that were either originally part of the landscape or created during the inspection of boundaries – such as, earthen boundary marks (*meta terrea*).⁵² These landmarks were committed to writing when a new owner was introduced⁵³ or reconfirmed⁵⁴ in possession of an estate or when there was a controversy⁵⁵ over the boundaries with the neighbour(s). The texts of perambulations frequently contain references to roads as they were conspicuous and fairly permanent elements in the landscape. The location of a road mentioned in a perambulation may be reconstructed from its relative position to the settlement (e.g. *ad aquilonem usque viam magnam*⁵⁶), but often the direction (e.g. *per viam ad meridiem*⁵⁷), or one (e.g. *iuxta unam viam qua itur ad Wep*⁵⁸) or both (e.g. *iuxta publicam viam, que iretur de Rum ad civitatem Zombothel*⁵⁹) terminals of the road are also defined.⁶⁰ Letters of donation (*litterae donationales*) testifying to the endowment of an estate,⁶¹ as well as letters of division (*litterae concambiales*) attesting to the partition of a formerly united

⁵¹ Solymosi, “A helytörténet fontosabb középkori forrásainak kutatása,” 129-130; Péter Szabó, *Woodland and forests in medieval Hungary* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005), 29-31; DRMH I/3, 124.

⁵² On boundary signs and perambulations see, Lajos Takács, *Határjelek, határjárás a feudális kor végén Magyarországon* [Boundary signs, perambulations at the end of the feudal era in Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987).

⁵³ See, for example, charters No. 16, No. 65, No. 68, No. 74, No. 101.

⁵⁴ See, for example, charters No. 19, No. 51, No. 72, No. 131.

⁵⁵ See, for example, charters No. 12, No. 20, No. 58, No. 66, No. 99.

⁵⁶ Charter No. 48.

⁵⁷ Charter No. 2.

⁵⁸ Charter No. 7.

⁵⁹ Charter No. 46.

⁶⁰ The study of Csilla Zatykó on the settlement structure of Nagyszakácsi (C. Somogy) clearly demonstrates the practical use of perambulations in the reconstruction of roads, see Csilla Zatykó, “Reconstruction of the settlement structure of the medieval Nagyszakácsi,” 385-387. For the methodology see Zatykó, “Medieval villages and their landscape,” 351-352.

⁶¹ For letters of donation see, for example, charters No. 13, No. 15, No. 46, No. 86, No. 107.

estate (often between the members of a kindred or family),⁶² or even town privileges frequently conclude with a perambulation recording the new boundaries. In addition to the various types of sources dealing with landed properties, mention must be made of documents drawn up in the course of legal proceedings.⁶³ People on the road could easily fall victim to violent trespass (*potentia, factum potentiae*): travellers could be held up, beaten, captured or killed, and deprived of their goods, carts, oxen, or personal clothes by a landowner and his retainers out of revenge or for the sake of loot.⁶⁴ The victims or their overlord could bring a charge against the aggressors. The documents drawn up in connection with the case from the complaint through the reports of witnesses to the judgment – the latter called letters of adjudication (*litterae adiudicatoriae*) and letters of sentence (*litterae sententiales*) – may yield valuable data on the road as the scene of the crime, as well as about the means and circumstances of travelling.⁶⁵ Finally, descriptions of territory that is terriers may also yield relevant data on roads.⁶⁶ These sources were mainly concerned with pieces of arable land or meadows, and were commissioned at the time of selling, donation, division, and inheriting. When locating the landed property in question these sources sometimes named a road as a topographical reference point (e.g. *fenetum ...existens ab occidente iuxta viam de Capella beati Ladislai versus Sabariam*;⁶⁷ *quattuor iugera terrarum fimatarum iuxta viam forensium*⁶⁸).

⁶² See for example, the letters of division made for the Rum family (No. 3), the Ják kindred (No. 21), the Hermán kindred (No. 30) or the Szecsődi family (No. 60).

⁶³ Solymosi, “A helytörténet fontosabb középkori forrásainak kutatása,” 130-132.

⁶⁴ For the definition see, DRMH I/1, 148. For cases of violent trespasses see, András Kubinyi, “A belkereskedelem a késő középkori Magyarországon” [Domestic trade in late medieval Hungary], in *Gazdaság és gazdálkodás a középkori Magyarországon: gazdaságtörténet, anyagi kultúra és régészet* [Economy and farming in late medieval Hungary: economic history, material culture, and archaeology], ed. András Kubinyi, József Laszlovszky, and Péter Szabó (Budapest: Martin Opitz, 2008), 229-251, esp. 239-240.

⁶⁵ See, for example, charter No. 110; and n. 178.

⁶⁶ The term does not have a medieval name. For the description see, Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 31-32; Péter Szabó, “Sources for the Historian of Medieval Woodland,” in *People and Nature in Historical Perspective*, ed. József Laszlovszky and Péter Szabó (Budapest: CEU Department of Medieval Studies and Archaeologia, 2003), 265-287, esp. 271-272.

⁶⁷ Charter No. 100.

⁶⁸ Charter No. 124. For further examples see, for example, No. 8.

Having now examined the variety of sources that are available for the investigation of roads, I would like to dedicate a few words to their availability. In my dissertation I chiefly consulted documents from pragmatic literacy dated between 1000 and 1350 yielding data on the infrastructure of County Vas and its broader context. These documents are held in the pre-1526 collection (Q section) of the Hungarian National Archives.⁶⁹ The institution preserves both original documents (108,000 pieces)⁷⁰ and photographs of charters related to medieval Hungary kept in other Hungarian and foreign archives (70-80,000 pieces).⁷¹ The Árpád Period documents constitute 6 per cent (i.e. 12,000 charters) within the collection as a whole.⁷² That earliest and best-studied part of medieval Hungarian archival material is available almost without exception in reliable modern editions, which made it unnecessary to transcribe unpublished documents for the sake of the present work. I relied on all the nine types of charter editions differentiated by Elemér Mályusz.⁷³ Among the publications, special mention should be made of the *Urkundenbuch des Burgenlandes*,⁷⁴ five volumes of which published have been to date, and which contain documents from pragmatic literacy from the territory of medieval Western Hungary (Counties Moson, Sopron, and Vas in particular) dated between 808 and 1349. Due to its geographical and chronological framework the *Urkundenbuch* to a great extent facilitated my gathering of charters. Further advantages of the edition are that it contains revised, accurate transcriptions of formerly published sources, as well as many new

⁶⁹ Magyar Országos Levéltár [The Hungarian National Archives] (hereafter MOL).

⁷⁰ Diplomatikai Levéltár [Archives of Diplomats] (hereafter DL).

⁷¹ Diplomatikai Fényképtár [Photographic Collection of Diplomats] (hereafter DF).

⁷² Jankovich, "Középkori okleveleink régészeti hasznosításának kérdései," 449.

⁷³ These groups set up by Elemér Mályusz are: 1. independent edition of one archival fond in full text, 2. independent edition of one archival fond in excerpts, 3. independent edition of several archival fonds in full text, selected on a chronological basis, 4. independent edition of several archival fonds in excerpts, selected on chronological basis, 5. independent edition of several archival fonds in full text, selected on a territorial basis, 6. independent edition of several archival fonds in excerpts, selected on a territorial basis, 7. edition in the appendix of a scholarly work, 8. edition in a separate volume belonging to a scholarly work, 9. edition in a journal, Elemér Mályusz, "A magyar közévisztika forráskérdései" [On the question of the sources of Medieval Studies in Hungary], *LK* 38 (1967): 3-29, esp.16-19.

⁷⁴ *Urkundenbuch des Burgenlandes und der angrenzenden Gebiete der Komitate Wieselburg, Ödenburg und Eisenburg I-V*, ed. Hans Wagner and Irmtraut Lindeck-Pozza (Graz and Cologne: Böhlau, 1955-1999) (hereafter UB).

ones. I also relied heavily on source editions and regestas covering the Árpád⁷⁵ and Angevin⁷⁶ Periods. In addition to the publications above, I found the online database of the Hungarian National Archives⁷⁷ very useful as it enabled me to access the data of the documents easily, and have a quick look at the photographs of unpublished documents.

1.4.2 Maps

The earliest map to represent the territory of Hungarian Kingdom is the *Tabula Hungariae ad quatuor latera* made by Lazarus between 1514 and 1528. The map is an invaluable cartographic source for toponyms preserving the names of 1400 settlements, 85 streams and rivers, and 75 other geographical features.⁷⁸ However the map of Lazarus, similarly to the great majority of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century maps,⁷⁹ does not indicate roads at all. The earliest map of Hungary to be based on geographical surveys was made by Johann Christoph Müller, and appeared in 1709 in print.⁸⁰ Maps dated before the eighteenth century⁸¹ have, therefore, limited use in historical-topographical and archaeological surveys.

⁷⁵ Gusztáv Wenzel, *Árpádkori Új Okmánytár / Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*, 12 vols (Pest: n.p., 1860-1874) (hereafter W.); Imre Szentpétery and Iván Borsa, *Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke / Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica*, 2 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1923-1987) (hereafter RA); and György Györffy, *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima*, vol. I: 1000-1131 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992) (hereafter DHA I).

⁷⁶ Gusztáv Wenzel, *Magyar Diplomacziái Emlékek az Anjou-korból* [Sources of Hungarian diplomatics from the Angevin Period], 3 vols (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1875-1878) (hereafter Dipl. Eml.); and Imre Nagy and Gyula Tasnádi Nagy, *Anjoukori okmánytár / Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis*, 7 vols (Budapest: MTA, 1878, 1920) (hereafter A.).

⁷⁷ See, <http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf> (Last accessed on 5 August 2012)

⁷⁸ Lajos Stegena, *Térképtörténet* [History of Cartography] (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1981), 90-96; Árpád Papp-Váry and Pál Hrenkó, *Magyarország régi térképeken* [Hungary on old maps] (Budapest: Gondolat and Officina Nova, 1989), 54-55.

⁷⁹ On the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century maps of Hungary see, Karl Ulbrich, "Bemerkungen zu ungarischen historisch-kartographischen Arbeiten," *BHBl* 23 (1961): 221-227; Klára Nemes, *Cartographia Hungarica I. Magyarország térképei a XVI. és XVII. századból. Faksimile kiadás* [Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century maps of Hungary. Facsimile edition] (Budapest: Magyar Helikon and Cartographia, 1972).

⁸⁰ Stegena, *Térképtörténet*, 137-138.

⁸¹ For an overview of eighteenth-century maps representing Western Hungary see, Zoltán Ambrus-Fallenbüchl, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der kartographischen Arbeiten des 18. Jahrhunderts im burgenländisch-westungarischen Raum," *BHBl* 27 (1965): 118-130.

During the reconstruction of the Árpád Period roads of County Vas, I mainly relied on three types of maps: military surveys, handwritten road maps, and cadastral maps.⁸² Among the military maps special mention must be made of the First Military Survey (*Josephinische Aufnahme*)⁸³ of the Habsburg Empire conducted between 1763 and 1787. (The territory of the Hungarian Kingdom was mapped in 1782-1785). The map sheets, made on a scale of 1:28,800, provide the earliest representations of the whole empire beyond the level of individual settlements. That is why I used the First Military Survey as the basis for mapping the medieval routes in County Vas. The map sheets of the Second Military Survey (*Franzische Aufnahme*)⁸⁴ made between 1806 and 1869 were prepared on the same scale, but with an even greater accuracy than the first one. (The territory of the Hungarian Kingdom was mapped in 1819-1869). In addition, they indicate a great number of additional topographical names that are missing from the first survey.⁸⁵

In addition to the First and Second Military Surveys, I found the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century handwritten road-maps the most useful cartographic sources for the purposes of my dissertation. These maps normally represent the infrastructure of only one or a few neighbouring counties. They are generally schematic maps exclusively indicating either

⁸² For the use of cartographic data in local historical investigations see, Ferenc Derdák and Gábor Kiss, “Térképi adatok Vas megye történeti földrajzához” [Cartographic data on the historical geography of County Vas], *VHHK* 2001:1, 21-30, as well as Ferenc Derdák and Gábor Kiss, *Térképi adatok Vas megye történeti földrajzához. Szombathely és környéke (1762-1862)* [Cartographic data on the historical geography of County Vas. Szombathely and its vicinity (1762-1862)] (Szombathely: Panniculus and Vas Megyei Levéltár, 2008).

⁸³ On the First Military Survey see, Annamária Jankó, *Magyarország katonai felmérései (1763-1950)* [The military surveys of Hungary (1763-1950)] (Budapest: Argumentum, 2007), 13-55. The original map sheets are preserved in the *Kartenabteilung* of the *Kriegsarchiv* in Vienna. The territory of the Hungarian Kingdom is found under the registry number B IX 527. The photographs of the map sheets are found in the Department of Maps of Institute of Military History in Budapest under the registry numbers B IX a 527 (black and white) and B IX a 1116 (colour). The entire survey is available now in a DVD-ROM edition: *Az első katonai felmérés* [The First Military Survey] (Budapest: Arcanum, 2004). (Also published in a geo-referenced version).

⁸⁴ On the Second Military Survey see, Jankó, *Magyarország katonai felmérései*, 56-84. The original map is preserved in the *Kartenabteilung* of the *Kriegsarchiv*. The map sheets representing the Hungarian Kingdom have the registry number B IX a 530, and their photographs preserved in the Department of Maps of Institute of Military History in Budapest under the registry numbers B IX a 530 and B IX a 1163. The whole survey is available in a DVD-ROM edition: *A második katonai felmérés. A Magyar Királyság és a Temesi Bánság nagyfelbontású, színes térképei* [The Second Military Survey. Colour Map Sections of Kingdom of Hungary and Temes] (Budapest: Arcanum, 2005). (Also published in a geo-referenced version). For an online edition, with a parallel view of the modern map see: http://archivportal.arcanum.hu/maps/html/katfelm2b_google.html

⁸⁵ For the Third and Fourth Military Surveys see, Jankó, *Magyarország katonai felmérései*, 85-114.

postal ways with their stations,⁸⁶ or differentiate between two⁸⁷ or three⁸⁸ different types of roads (e.g. postal ways, commercial roads, and other maintained routes), and represent the most important settlements. Road sections belonging to the different levels of hierarchy were differentiated with different colours and/or legends. I found these maps particularly useful in identifying the terminals of the regional roads.

The third group of maps that I consulted most often, are the so-called cadastral surveys. The map sheets of the first cadastral survey of County Vas were drawn between 1856 and 1860 (predominantly in the years of 1857 and 1858).⁸⁹ The maps generally on a scale of 1:2,880, represent, among other things, the settlements' borders, roads, building grounds, fields, and forests. What makes these maps very informative sources from the point of view of roads is that, in addition to representing the roads (some of which are demonstrably historical ones), they often also indicate the names of the roads. The maps label the roads along with their destinations, but in some cases ploughlands or woodlands may also be called after an adjacent or crossing road, such as *Rohontzi ut mellett*⁹⁰ (i.e. ploughland by the road to Rohonc), *Vásár uti tábla* (i.e. ploughland by the market road), and also *Posta uti erdő*⁹¹ (i.e. postal-way forest), *Pornóuti erdők*⁹² (i.e. Pornó-road woods).

The majority of the maps described above are held in four institutions, namely the Military Archives of the Austrian State Archives, the County Vas Archives,⁹³ the Map

⁸⁶ See, for example, *Cursus postalis Weszprimio Sabariam modernus et projectatus* by József Kenedics (ca. 1800) MOL S 12, Div. 8, No. 63.

⁸⁷ See, for example, *Charte, und Tabelle, der Strassen, und Brücken, des Eisenburger Comitats* by József Kenedics (ca. 1787), OSZK TK 25.

⁸⁸ See, for example, the Map of County Vas by Ferenc Dobrovics (1869), OSZK TK 1104.

⁸⁹ Available in a DVD-ROM edition: Sándor Biszak and Gábor Tímár, ed., *Vas megye az első kataszteri felmérése térképein (1856-1860)* [County Vas on the maps of its first cadastral survey (1856-1860)] (Budapest: Arcanum, 2006).

⁹⁰ At Kőszeg, VaML K 133.

⁹¹ At Doroszló, VaML K 134.

⁹² At Náriai, VaML K 167.

⁹³ Ferenc Horváth, Mária Kiss, and Pál Rosdy, *Vas Megyei Levéltár* [County Vas Archives] (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1968); Domokos Kosáry, *Bevezetés Magyarország történetének forrásaiba és irodalmába. I. Általános rész. 3. Megyei levéltárak és forrásközlések* [Introduction to the sources and literature of the history of Hungary I. General part 3. County archives and source publications] (Budapest: Osiris and Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2008), 101-104. The homepage of the archives: <http://www.vaml.hu> (Last accessed on 6 April 2012).

Collection ('S' section) of the Hungarian National Archives,⁹⁴ as well as the National Széchényi Library.⁹⁵ Research in these institutions is aided by printed catalogues.⁹⁶ In addition, a growing number of maps are available in DVD-ROM or on-line editions⁹⁷ and also the online Unified Search of Archives⁹⁸ can be easily used for having a quick look at the maps.

1.4.3 Toponyms

The names of modern roads, ploughlands, meadows, and woodlands – similarly to cadastral maps – sometimes preserve the memory of old roads and bridges. The term *öttevény*, for example, generally indicates Roman roads. The words *horhó* and *horhos* denote hollow ways that may go back to the Middle Ages. The hodonym *Katonák útja* appearing among the toponyms of more settlements in County Vas indicate sections of a medieval military road. The list might continue endlessly.

From the last third of the eighteenth century on, numerous statistical-descriptive lexicons are available for the investigation of Hungarian toponyms.⁹⁹ Among them, special mention must be made of the collection of toponyms compiled by Frigyes Pesty from 1864. The toponyms gathered in the territory of County Vas comprise two volumes. These manuscripts are kept in the National Széchényi Library.¹⁰⁰ Although these volumes have not yet been published, some data from County Vas can be found in Pesty's general lexicon on

⁹⁴ László Bendefy, ed., *A Magyar Országos Levéltár térképeinek katalógusa 1. Helytartótanácsi térképek* [A catalogue of the maps of the Hungarian National Archives 1. Maps of the Lieutenantcy council], 3 vols, (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1976-1977); László Bendefy, *A Magyar Országos Levéltár térképeinek katalógusa 2. Kamarai térképek* [A catalogue of the maps of the Hungarian National Archives 2. Maps of the Royal Chamber], 3 vols (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1978-1991).

⁹⁵ Patay Pálné and Katalin Plihal, ed., *Kézírtos Térképek az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Térképtárában I. Önálló kézírtos térképek* [Manuscript maps in the Map Department of the National Széchényi Library I. Separate manuscript maps] (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1984-1990).

⁹⁶ Domokos Kosáry, *Bevezetés Magyarország történetének forrásaiba és irodalmába I. Általános rész 1. Könyvtárak és bibliográfiák* [Introduction to the sources and literature of the history of Hungary I. General part 1. Libraries and bibliographies] (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2000), 301-305.

⁹⁷ For selected map editions see Bibliography.

⁹⁸ <http://www.archivportal.arcanum.hu/kozos/> (Last accessed on 4 April 2012)

⁹⁹ For a bibliography of these lexicons see, Kosáry, *Bevezetés Magyarország történetének forrásaiba I/1*, 294-296.

¹⁰⁰ OSZKK Fol. Hung. 1114.

the toponyms of Hungary published in 1888.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, the *Vas megye földrajzi nevei* (Toponyms of County Vas) edited by József Véghe (et al.) also subsume Pesty's data.¹⁰² This latter publication contains place names collected in County Vas between 1965 and 1969 with the contribution of local intellectuals. These toponyms are compared with Pesty's data (indicated by 'P') as well as toponyms shown by the First ('C') and Second ('K') Cadastral Surveys of County Vas carried out in 1857-60 and 1907-1934.

1.4.4 Archaeological sources

In Hungary there are only two areas where medieval roads can be investigated by archaeological excavation: in peatlands and within towns. Bogs and swamps were made passable by wooden trackways raised on rails. Timber was conserved in the wet and anaerobic conditions for centuries. (That is why why trackways made of brushwood and withes,¹⁰³ plank-roads,¹⁰⁴ and corduroy roads¹⁰⁵ have mainly been discovered in the the coastal plains and wetland areas of Europe.) Within Western Hungary there are some sites where posts from medieval plank roads or corduroy roads were preserved in peatlands (particularly near Lake Balaton and in the Hanság/Ge. Waasen).¹⁰⁶ In addition, seventeenth-century corduroy roads

¹⁰¹ Frigyes Pesty, *Magyarország helynevei történeti, földrajzi és nyelvészeti tekintetben* [The toponyms of Hungary from the historical, geographical and linguistic points of view] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1888).

¹⁰² József Véghe and Lajos Balogh, ed., *Vas megye földrajzi nevei* [The geographical names of County Vas] (Szombathely: Vas Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1982) (hereafter VaMFN).

¹⁰³ Over forty trackways made of withes and brushwood were discovered in the Somerset Levels in South-West England from a period dating between 2000 and 3000 BC. Christopher Taylor, *Roads and Tracks of Britain* (London: Dent, 1979), 13. Between 1985 and 1990, Barry Raftery uncovered more than sixty wooden trackways in County Longford in Ireland. The simplest of these trackways consisted of relatively thin logs and brushwoods and were constructed in the middle of the fourth millennium BC. Barry Raftery, "Die vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Bohlenwege Irlands," in *Die Welt der Europäischen Straßen*, ed. Thomas Szabó (Cologne: Böhlau, 2009), 139-153, esp. 140.

¹⁰⁴ In 1985, Barry Raftery uncovered a one-kilometre long trackway made of split planks in the Corlea Moors of Central Ireland. The timbers it was made of were felled in 148 BC. Raftery, "Die vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Bohlenwege Irlands," 144.

¹⁰⁵ The excavation at Sukow in Northern Germany yielded a 1.2 kilometre-long medieval corduroy road. The road leading across a marshy area to the old castle of Sukow was constructed in the ninth century and had been renewed several times by the eleventh-twelfth centuries. Ingolf Ericsson, "Straßen des Mittelalters im archäologischen Befund," in *Die Welt der Europäischen Straßen*, ed. Thomas Szabó (Cologne: Böhlau, 2009), 155-171, esp. 163-165.

¹⁰⁶ West of Zalavár (C. Zala) the peatland that once formed a gulf in Lake Balaton conserved a whole network of posts which were identified by the archaeologist József Csalog as part of a system of timber trackways and

with a gravel base were uncovered within some Transdanubian towns (in Győr, Sopron, and Kőszeg).¹⁰⁷ In addition to road remains, urban topography also yields valuable information on the direction of roads. For example, late Roman Scarbantia had a main gate to the north and one to the south in order to allow the north-south running Amber Route pass through its territory. Its successor, Árpád Period Sopron also had a northern gate in the direction of Vienna. The other main gate, however, was no longer located in the south, but – corresponding to the changed infrastructure – in the east, opening towards to inner parts of the realm.¹⁰⁸

In the Árpád Period, the great majority of roads connecting settlements were simple dirt roads. Field surveys can be more widely and successfully applied than excavations in the investigation of such roads. On sloping terrain, abandoned medieval roads became deeply entrenched as turned, in practice, into channels of rushing water at times of heavy rainfall. In woodlands and other uncultivated areas, these roads were preserved as so-called ‘hollow ways’ over the centuries (Fig. 3, Fig. 27, and Fig. 28).¹⁰⁹ The archaeological dating of these

corduroy roads. Some of these roads were dated by the archaeologist to the Árpád Period and the Middle Ages. József Csalog, “Híd- és dorongutak Zalavár környékén” [Trackways and corduroy roads around Zalavár], in *A Göcseji Múzeum Jubileumi Emlékkönyve (1950-1960)* [Jubilee volume of the Göcsej Museum (1950-1960)], ed. Imre Szentmihályi, (Zalaegerszeg: Zala Megyei Tanács Végrehajtó Bizottsága, 1960), 137-149. See also, MRT 1, 184, site No. 59/12. In addition, the oak posts and planks of a presumably medieval wooden road were uncovered at Vindornyaszőlős (C. Veszprém) during peat extraction in the Vindornya Lake in 1966. MRT 3, 256, site No. 64/9.

¹⁰⁷ The remains of seventeenth-century corduroy roads were observed during canalization work in Sopron, Győr, and Kőszeg in the 1970s. János Gömöri, “Faburkolatú utak maradványai Sopronban és Győrött” [The remains of timber-surfaced roads in Sopron and Győr], *Arrabona* 17 (1975): 91-107; and János Gömöri, “Újabb dorongútmaradványok Sopronban és Kőszegen” [New remains of corduroy roads in Sopron and Kőszeg], *SSz* 39 (1985): 170-177. In 2006 Lilla B. Benkhard and Gábor Ilon also observed the remains of a late medieval - early modern corduroy road in the Main Square of Kőszeg, SM RA 2169-07.

¹⁰⁸ Imre Holl, “Sopron középkori városfalai” [The medieval town walls of Sopron], *ArchÉrt* 94 (1967): 155-183; Imre Holl, “Sopron középkori városfalai IV” [The medieval town walls of Sopron IV], *ArchÉrt* 100 (1973): 180-207; Sándor Tóth, “Régészeti adatok az Elő- és Hátsókapu történetéhez” [Archaeological data on the history of the Front and Back Gates], *SSz* 42 (1988): 56-77; János Gömöri, *Castrum Supron. Sopron vára az Árpád-korban* (The castle of Sopron and its county in the Árpád Period) (Sopron: Scarbantia Társaság, 2002), 79-84.

¹⁰⁹ As a comparison, I would like to refer here to the field surveys for medieval roads carried out by Dietrich Denecke in the southern part of Lower Saxony. Denecke found that nearly eighty per cent of medieval roads in woodlands could be identified as hollow ways, while in ploughlands only ten to twenty per cent of sunken roads were preserved. Dietrich Denecke, *Methodische Untersuchungen zur historisch-geographischen Wegforschung im Raum zwischen Solling und Harz. Ein Beitrag zur Rekonstruktion der mittelalterlichen Kulturlandschaft* (Göttingen: Erich Goltze, 1969), 41. On medieval sunken roads in Lower Austria see, Csendes, *Die Straßen Niederösterreichs*, 32-33. For analogies from England see, Taylor, *Roads and tracks of Britain*, 116-130; Michael Aston, *Interpreting the Landscape. Landscape Archaeology and Local History* (London: Routledge,

sunken roads is rather problematic as the erosion that deepened their track also removed small finds (coins, pottery shreds, etc.) that would help in dating them. The medieval origins of hollow ways may, however, be confirmed with the help of written records, toponyms, and by means of the medieval archeological sites connected to them.

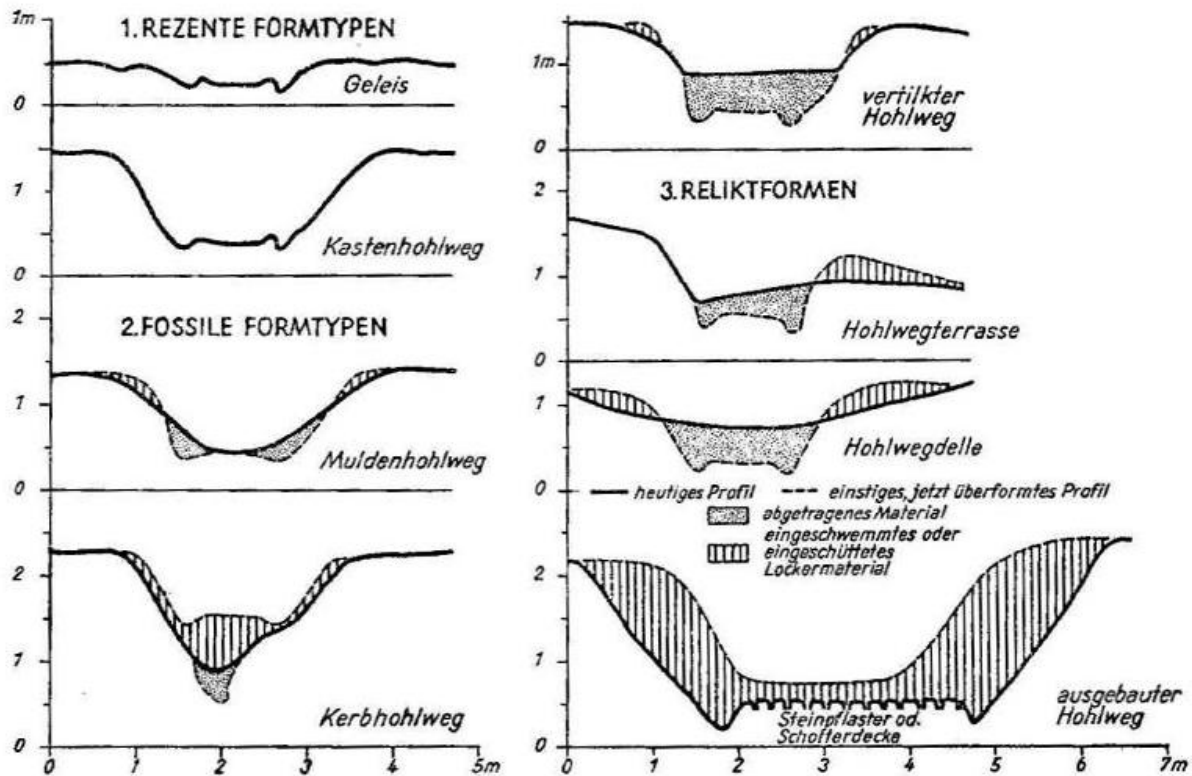


Fig. 3. The profiles of various types of hollow ways (Denecke 1969,¹¹⁰ 61, Fig. 24)

The methods of landscape archaeology that examines patterns involving archaeological sites as well as the links between them can be effectively used in the investigation of medieval roads. Roads observed in the field as leading to medieval sites (a deserted village, the ruins of a church, monastery, or castle etc.)¹¹¹ can on the basis of their

1997), 141; Paul Hindle, *Medieval Roads and Tracks* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2008), 36-40, and also Paul Hindle, "Sources for the English Medieval Road System," in *Die Welt der Europäischen Straßen von der Antike bis in die frühe Neuzeit*, ed. Thomas Szabó (Cologne: Böhlau, 2009), 55-68, esp. 63-66.

¹¹⁰ See n. 109.

¹¹¹ Cf. MRT 1, 106, site No. 25/5; MRT 3, 37, site No. 7/1; MRT 3, 100, site No. 18/11.

connections be dated to the Middle Ages. Similarly, the road passing by a medieval bridge must also be regarded as a medieval one.¹¹²

The spatial distribution of medieval coins can demonstrate trading links, and – by implication – the routes used. The Friesach denars appearing in the Carpathian Basin around the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries testify to intensive foreign trade relations with Carinthia, the Rhine valley, and Cologne up to the mid-thirteenth century. The Friesach denars hidden during the Mongol Invasion (1241-42) of Hungary reveal a western trade route that crossed the Hungarian border north of the Drava, and led through Transdanubia in a north-eastern direction to Buda.¹¹³ In the late thirteenth century, the appearance of Viennese denars in Hungary testifies to newly developed trade relations with towns located in the Vienna Basin. In this case the distribution of coin finds demonstrates that the commodities were transported on and down the valley of the Danube, in the northern part of Transdanubia.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, coin finds also demonstrate the medieval use of ancient Roman roads.¹¹⁵

Medieval roads, however, should not be treated as isolated but rather as links between various features of the landscape. That is the reason why I laid an emphasis on gathering archeological data on Árpád Period settlements, churches, castles, and tried to explain the reason why connections between them was necessary. In the archaeological repositories of the Savaria Museum (Szombathely) I consulted reports of field surveys and excavations conducted in County Vas. Furthermore, I collected brief yearly archaeological reports

¹¹² Zatykó, “Integrált kutatások: a tájrégészet,” 389-392; Aston, *Interpreting the Landscape*, 141.

¹¹³ Gedai, “A Dunántúl szerepe az Árpádkor kereskedelmében,” 253-255; Csaba Tóth, “A tatárjárás korának pénzekkel keltezett kincsleletei” [Hoards dated by coins from the period of the Mongol Invasion], in *A tatárjárás (1241-42). Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban 2007. május 25 – szeptember 30* [The Mongol Invasion (1241-42). Exhibition in the Hungarian National Museum, 25 May – 30 September 2007], ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Éva Garam (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2007), 79-90, esp. 79-80.

¹¹⁴ Gedai, “A Dunántúl szerepe az Árpádkor kereskedelmében,” 255.

¹¹⁵ For example, the coins hidden at Bögöt demonstrate the eleventh-century use of the Roman Savaria–Arrabona road, while the hoard (consisting of three gold bracelets) discovered at Zsenye testifies to the eleventh-century use of the ancient road running along the northern bank of the Rába. Both the coins and the bracelets must have been hidden during the 1051 campaign of Emperor Henry III. Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 9-10, 264-268, 277.

appearing in the periodicals *Archaeologiai Értesítő* (since 1952¹¹⁶), and *Régészeti Füzetek* (since 1956).¹¹⁷ Although there have been several initiatives for the publication of the Archaeological Topography of County Vas,¹¹⁸ the volume has not yet appeared in print. The eleventh- and twelfth-century hoards and grave goods of County Vas have recently been collected by Gábor Kiss.¹¹⁹ The data on Western-Transdanubian Romanesque churches were compiled by Ilona Valter.¹²⁰ A general description of architectural monuments located within modern County Vas can be found in the volume edited by Erzsébet C. Harrach and Gyula Kiss.¹²¹ There is a recent two-volume publication on the architectural fragments of County Vas that can be used for churches and castles, alike.¹²² For those parts of former County Vas that are located outside of the borders of modern Hungary one may use the Burgenland¹²³ and Oberwart¹²⁴ volumes on art historical topography.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

As we have seen above, one can rely on a wide spectrum of sources for data on medieval roads and tracks. It depends on one's primary research interests which types of data are considered primary or secondary ones. The medieval road network, similarly to the medieval

¹¹⁶ In volume 81 (1954).

¹¹⁷ The reports from County Vas sites that appeared in the *Archaeologiai Értesítő* and *Régészeti Füzetek* between 1952 and 1989 have been selected and published in a separate volume, László Mayer and Kálmán Tóth, *Régészeti kutatások Vas megyében (1952-1989)* [Archaeological investigations in County Vas (1952-1989)] (Szombathely: Panniculus Régiségtani Egylet and Vas Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1993).

¹¹⁸ For the preparations of the volume see, Gábor Ilon, Melinda Mészáros, and László Kövecses. "Előmunkálatok Vas megye régészeti topográfiájához az Árpád-kortól a kora újkorig I" [Preparations for the archaeological topography of County Vas from the Árpád Period to the early modern period I], *VSz* 54 (2000): 245-264.

¹¹⁹ Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*.

¹²⁰ Ilona Valter, *Romanische Sakralbauten Westpannoniens* (Eisenstadt: Roetzer, 1985); Ilona Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok Nyugat-Dunántúlon* [Árpád Period brick churches in Western Transdanubia] (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközössége, 2004).

¹²¹ Erzsébet C. Harrach and Gyula Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek. Településtörténet, építészettörténet, művelődéstörténet* [Monuments in County Vas. Settlement history, architectural history, cultural history] (Szombathely: Vas Megyei Tanács Művelődési Osztálya, 1984).

¹²² Pál Lövei, ed. *Vas megye műemlékeinek töredékei* [Fragments of monuments in County Vas], *Lapidarium Hungaricum* 5-6 (Budapest: Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal, 2002) (hereafter LAHU 5-6).

¹²³ Alfred Schmeller, *Das Burgenland. Seine Kunstwerke, historische Lebens- und Siedlungsformen* (Salzburg: Verlag St. Peter, 1974); Adelheid Schmeller-Kitt, ed., *Burgenland. Dehio-Handbuch. Die Kunstdenkmäler Österreichs* (Vienna: Schroll, 1980).

¹²⁴ Adelheid Schmeller-Kitt, ed., *Die Kunstdenkmäler des politischen Bezirks Oberwart, Österreichische Kunsttopographie* 40 (Vienna: Schroll, 1974) (hereafter ÖKT 40).

settlement system,¹²⁵ forms the subject of three different disciplines: history, archaeology (esp. landscape archaeology), and geography (esp. historical geography).

From the perspective of history the investigation of medieval roads aims at placing the activities of medieval people in space (e.g. trade, military campaigns, royal itineraries, and pilgrimages). These investigations have relevance to numerous sub-disciplines of history, such as economic, political, military, legal, ecclesiastical, social, agricultural and industrial history. Historical road investigations deal with the routes of travel and transport as well as their implications, rather than the physical tracks themselves. The most important sources for such investigations are written documents (charters, laws, annals, chronicles, travel reports, itineraries, etc.) and old maps studied with methods from diplomatics, pelegraphy, genealogy, and cartography.¹²⁶

The main subject and goal of historical geography is the reconstruction of historical landscape in its own right. Historical geographers tend to focus on the reconstruction of the medieval road network and settlement system as well as their changes over time. In addition, at a local level, geographers deal with the role that such roads played in the physical shaping of towns and settlements. The investigation of old roads is equally related to human geography (with all its human, political, cultural, social, and economic aspects) and physical geography (esp. the geography of soil, climate, waters, and landforms). Thus, the most important sources for these disciplines are the landscape itself and old maps, studied using land survey methods, interpretation of aerial photographs and toponyms, as well as historical hydrography and cartography.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Dietrich Denecke, "Historische Siedlungsgeographie und Siedlungsarchäologie des Mittelalters. Fragestellungen, Methoden und Ergebnisse unter dem Gesichtspunkt Interdisziplinärer Zusammenarbeit," *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters* 3 (1975): 7-36.

¹²⁶ For the application of these methods see, for example, the 1967 dissertation of Peter Csendes published in 1969 on the medieval roads of Lower Austria, Csendes, *Die Straßen Niederösterreichs im Früh- und Hochmittelalter*, 25-37.

¹²⁷ For research into medieval roads from a geographical point of view see, for example, the dissertation of Dietrich Denecke on the medieval and early modern roads found in the southern part of Lower Saxony published in 1969, Denecke, *Methodische Untersuchungen*, 37-41.

Within the discipline of archaeology, landscape archaeology is devoted particularly to the study of the spatial and functional interrelationships between roads and other cultural landscape features. The archaeological investigation of medieval roads is related to the archaeology of churches, castles, towns, and settlements. Archaeological excavations can demonstrate trade links by producing the evidence of goods and commodities being moved about in the landscape although it is a less efficient method in the research into medieval roads. The most important source for landscape archaeology, similarly to historical geography, is the landscape studied by archaeological field surveys and aerial photography. In addition, valuable comparative material is provided by written documents and place names (field names and local names) testifying to roads, paths, and crossing places through and over streams and rivers.¹²⁸

In the first half of my dissertation I approach the question of medieval roads from a primarily historical perspective, and try to answer questions related to the function and use of roads. I have gathered references to roads, fords and bridges, from eleventh- to mid-fourteenth-century written documents from Western Transdanubia. I interpret the meaning and implications of these terms by placing them in their historical context and draw ethnographical parallels to their function.

In the second half of my dissertation, I will reconstruct the road system of County Vas between the eleventh and mid-fourteenth centuries. In this part, in addition to historical sources, I also employ sources and methods from historical geography and archaeology. Since my aim has been to identify routes existing at a given period of time, the most obvious sources to start with are written records. With this method, not only am I able to exclude irrelevant data on roads that developed later, but also can identify road sections as they would have been seen by contemporary people. In perambulations roads appear as points of

¹²⁸ For the archaeological investigations on medieval roads see, Aston, *Interpreting the landscape*, 138-148. In Hungary see Zatykó, "Integrált kutatások: a tájrégészet," 389-392.

reference in the landscape, and are therefore often mentioned together with one or both of their terminal points. On the basis of these terminals – which could be neighbouring settlements, a more distant town or market-place, or even a foreign land – I am able to identify medieval road sections and differentiate between local, regional, provincial, and long-distance routes. Sometimes there is only one reference to a particular route in written records; in other cases, a route appears in several sources concerning different sections or with overlapping parts. After having compiled these data, I compare the preliminary model of road sections in a retrogressive way based on written sources with data obtained from early modern maps and toponyms. For example, the 1288 perambulation of Szenese refers to a *via publica* that led to Rohonc (*per quam itur ad castrum Rohonch*).¹²⁹ That road formed part of the road connecting Rohonc and Szombathely (*via que ducit de dicta civitate Rohonch in Sabariam, 1374*)¹³⁰ mentioned by another source. On the basis of these data, conclusions on the existence of a Szombathely—Rohonc road in the Middle Ages can be drawn. Using handwritten maps (e.g. *via comercialis, Sabaria ad Rohoncz ducens*, ca. 1790¹³¹) and such toponyms as *Rohonci ut*¹³² and *Rohonci postaut*¹³³ found in the western part of Szombathely it can be demonstrated that this route still existed as a single entity up to the early modern and modern periods.

The lines of communication developed in relationship with other elements of the culturally-impacted landscape and embedded in an already existing natural landscape (e.g. relief, hydrography, vegetation). With the help of written records one can identify the settlements that were connected by regional, provincial, and long-distance roads. I present the data of archaeological field surveys and excavations for churches, castles, and deserted villages, which both mark the path of roads and date them. Furthermore, reconstruction of the

¹²⁹ Charter No. 128.

¹³⁰ Charter No. 104.

¹³¹ VaML T19.

¹³² VaMFN 136, No. 37/363.

¹³³ VaMFN 131, No. 37/171.

environment that the roads were adapted to is based on the data from written records, early modern maps, and toponyms.

In my dissertation, I use sources and methods that enable me to obtain a general picture of the Árpád Period road system, and understand its implications. However, because knowing the physical tracks themselves would add relatively little extra information to the whole of the dissertation, I decided not to use such time consuming and costly methods such as the identification of roads in the field or the interpretation of aerial photographs here.

1.6 THE STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

Following the introduction, the dissertation continues with *Part 2* dedicated to the terminology of Árpád Period terms for roads. The basis of the survey are common terms found in written documents from the Árpád Period, which I compare with toponyms and the inscriptions on early modern manuscript maps. I deal with the semantics of the occurring terms in eight major categories: (1) Hierarchy, (2) Legal aspects, (3) Functional aspects, (4) Modes of travel and transportation, (5) Connections to other roads, (6) Physical properties, (7) Vegetation, and finally, (8) Date. In some cases only a few examples were found in the sub-categories of the groups listed above. The reason for these gaps in data is simply the relatively low number and rather incidental survival of the Árpád Period sources rather than the actual absence of a type of road. That is why, in this part of the dissertation, I somewhat broadened the geographical and chronological framework of the survey, and also took into consideration medieval data beyond the borders of County Vas. The aims of this part are to illustrate the variability of historical terms indicating roads, to uncover the semantics of these terms, and to provide a brief overview of characteristics and use of the different types of roads in Árpád Period Western Transdanubia.

Part 3 is dedicated to the relief, hydrography, and Roman roads in Western Transdanubia. It is a common thread running through these landscape features that they all

existed prior to the conquest of the territory by the Magyars, and themselves fundamentally determined the formation of the Árpád Period road network and settlement system from its inception. Therefore, it is essential to collect information on these features to understand the course and choices in routes.

In addition to *Part 2*, *Part 4* comprises an essential part of the dissertation. Here I present the Árpád Period road network of County Vas in detail, and investigate how the general results from the two preceding parts can be applied in practice. After discussing the main long-distance trade routes passing through the county, I will provide a clockwise description of those regional routes that evolved around Vasvár, Kőszeg, Szombathely, Körmend and Sárvár, that is the five most important nodes of the county's road system in the Árpád Period. I present each route through seven pre-defined points of view, and in order to make the descriptions easier to follow I indicate each route on a map using the First Military Survey as a basis. In addition, charts on the written, cartographic and toponymic data used for the identification of the routes also facilitate understanding. These data can be found in the appendix in the same order as the route descriptions follow each other in the main text.

After a concluding part and bibliographies comes the dissertation appendix which – in addition to the maps and lists of data mentioned above – concerns excerpts from those eleventh- to mid-fourteenth-century charters that contain data on roads discussed in *Part 4*. The charters are arranged geographically (by county and by settlement), and within that chronologically. The numbers on the documents are used throughout the dissertation as reference numbers.

2. TERMINOLOGY AND CHARACTERIZATION OF ÁRPÁD PERIOD ROADS

In the first part of the dissertation I am dealing with the semantics of terms indicating roads and classify these terms on the basis of different criteria. However, before embarking on the different categories it must be clarified first what the concept road itself meant in the Middle Ages. In the case of the Roman Period the term road is generally used in the sense of “a physical entity, a thin strip of land with definite boundaries,” which was generally planned, designed, measured, and constructed. As opposed to that, in the Middle Ages the road was rather “a right of way, an ‘easement,’ with both legal and customary status, leading from one village or town to the next.”¹³⁴ When much frequented, the route turned into a physical track, yet at some sections multiple tracks may have developed, as well. If, for example, the road was obstructed or became partly impassable because of wet weather, travellers could diverge from the standard route, and choose another track where they were able to move unimpeded. Similarly, if the road ascended a hill or bank travellers normally took the easiest route available, which again resulted in the development of multiple tracks. When, however, these tracks descended the slope or if they arrived at a river crossing, they naturally converged and ultimately reunited into one single track.¹³⁵

Although medieval routes and even the tracks themselves have been preserved up to now, on the basis of their physical remains one cannot make subtle differences between the different types of roads. The denominations of roads preserved by various contemporary and early modern sources (written documents, maps, toponyms) are much more informative as to the function and use of medieval roads. The denominations of roads have been preserved in the form of common nouns (*nomina appellativa*) and proper names (*nomina propria*), alike. The first group encompasses a great variety of common nouns or appellative terms, as it is

¹³⁴ Hindle, *Medieval Roads*, 6, also in Hindle, “Sources for the English Medieval Road System,” 56.

¹³⁵ Hindle, *Medieval Roads*, 6, 36-37, Fig. 18-21; Paul Hindle, “Sources for the English Medieval Road System,” 56, Fig. 3; Ericsson, “Straßen des Mittelalters im archäologischen Befund,” 157-159, Abb.1-2.

demonstrated by Table 1. The second group involves hodonyms and toponyms.¹³⁶ Hodonyms are the names of individual roads and streets, for example *Rohonci ut*¹³⁷ (“road to Rohonc”) or *Irottkő utca*¹³⁸ (“Irottkő street”) in Kőszeg (C. Vas). Finally, the names of fields (toponyms) have also preserved both appellative terms for roads, such as the *Két-ut-közi-düllő*¹³⁹ (“ploughland between two roads”), as well as the names of individual roads, such as *Zanati-uton-aluli-düllő*¹⁴⁰ (“ploughland below the road to Zanat”) in the vicinity of Szombathely (C. Vas).

There are basically two modes of investigating the semantics of terms referring to old roads: a semasiological approach (i.e. What is the exact meaning of the extant denominations?), as well as an onomasiological approach (i.e. How did medieval people call a given type of road?).¹⁴¹ While in France, Belgium, and Germany, and Austria an immense number of scholarly works have been dedicated to the meaning of terms indicating old roads,¹⁴² in Hungary the historical semantics of roads has been an understudied field of research, which has been addressed only by one or two studies.¹⁴³ What is more, these investigations have focused both in Western Europe and in Hungary on ancient Roman roads, and terms referring to medieval roads have been greatly understudied, in general.

¹³⁶ For the description of the three forms of denominations indicating old roads see Wolfgang Haubrichs, “Die volkssprachlichen Bezeichnungen für alte Fernwege im Deutschen vorwiegend nach westmitteldeutschen Quellen dargestellt,” in *Auf den Römerstraßen ins Mittelalter. Beiträge zur Verkehrsgeschichte zwischen Maas und Rhein von der Spätantike bis ins 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Friedhelm Burgard and Alfred Haverkamp (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1997), 97-181.

¹³⁷ VaMFN 55, No. 195.

¹³⁸ VaMFN 55, No. 199.

¹³⁹ VaMFN 155, No. 1219.

¹⁴⁰ VaMFN 138, No. 442.

¹⁴¹ Haubrichs, “Die volkssprachlichen Bezeichnungen für alte Fernwege,” 98.

¹⁴² Ernst Christmann, “‘Kem, Kim, Kümmel’ als Benennungen für Römerstraßen von Luxemburg—Metz bis Speyer—Lauterburg,” *Germania* 27 (1943): 72-79; J. Vannérus, “Calciata et calcipetra,” *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 18 (1945): 5-24; Herbert Jandaurek, “Der Mitterweg,” *OÖHbl* 3 (1949): 176-177 and 4 (1950): 75-79; Herbert Jandaurek, “Die Hochstraße,” *OÖHbl* 4 (1950): 159-167; Albert Carnoy, “Toponymie des chaussées romaines en Belgique et dans les régions avoisinantes. Essai d’hodonymie I-II,” *AC* 22 (1953): 297-321 and 23 (1954): 5-28.

¹⁴³ Glaser, “A római utak nevei középkori okleveleinkben,” 317-319; Tóth, “Eötteven seu via antiqua Romanorum,” 194-201.

Terms for medieval roads have been classified by scholars according to different aspects, but there are certainly some overlaps between the categories set up. Here are some examples from Austria and Germany.

Peter Csendes reconstructing the early and late medieval road network of Lower Austria classified the names of old roads preserved by field names. He set up the following categories: 1. Terms involving the name of a nation and thus indicating the direction of communication (e.g. *Böhmstraße*, *Ungarnstraße*); 2. Terms locating roads in the landscape (e.g. *Hochstraße*, *Straßenberge*, *Mitterweg*); 3. Terms directly referring to the old character of a road (e.g. *An der alten Straße*, *Am alten Weg*); 4. Terms involving place names (e.g. *Am Kremser Weg* at Stockerau), where the farther the site mentioned the longer the road is.¹⁴⁴

Dietrich Denecke dealing with roads found in the southern part of Lower Saxony grouped the denominations of roads under seven categories: 1. Regional aspect (e.g. *Thüringer Straße*, *Kirchweg*); 2. Relief (e.g. *oberer Weg*, *unterer Weg*); 3. Position within the road system (e.g. *Mittelweg*, *Schratweg*); 4. Natural paths and constructed roads (e.g. *Rasenweg*, *Bollweg*); 5. The means of transport (e.g. *Karweg*, *Eselstieg*); 6. Function (e.g. *Messeweg*, *Butterweg*), as well as 7. Jurisdictional aspect (e.g. *Heerstraße*, *gemeine Landstraße*).¹⁴⁵

Wolfgang Haubrachs divided the names of roads occurring in German sources into eight groups: 1. The legal character and the status of roads (e.g. *via/strata publica*, *via regia*), 2. The function and utilization of roads (e.g. *Pilgerweg*, *Karrenweg*), 3. The position and characteristics of the roads (e.g. *Hohe Straße*, *Steinweg*), 4. Chronology (e.g. *alte Straße*, *Heuneweg*), 5. Starting point and destination (e.g. *Flandernstraße*, *via Ungarorum*), 6. An important event or person (founder, owner, etc.) (e.g. *Frederikeswech*, *via strata*

¹⁴⁴ Csendes, *Die Straßen Niederösterreichs*, 27.

¹⁴⁵ Denecke, *Methodische Untersuchungen*, 108-118.

Brunechildis), 7. Metaphoric denominations (e.g. *Güldene Straße*, *Eisenweg*), and 8. Metonymic (*pars pro toto*) denominations (e.g. *Lange Meile*, *Staindam*).¹⁴⁶

In the first half of the dissertation I classify and describe various medieval Hungarian roads according to similar aspects detailed above. The collected data come from the territory of Western Transdanubia (Counties Vas, Sopron, and Zala) and the period between the eleventh and mid-fourteenth centuries, but because of the uneven distribution of the extant data I handle both the geographical and the chronological frames in a more or less flexible way. I make an attempt to demonstrate how varied the terms used for roads in medieval Western Hungary really were, yet I have carried out the collection without the aim of completeness. In each chapter I discuss the terms referring to roads according to one well-defined aspect, which does not necessarily represent one type of road. In other words, certain types of roads may be mentioned in relationship with more than one aspect. Footpaths (*semita*, *gyalogút*, etc.), for example, represent one type of road and I describe them in detail among terms indicating the modes of travel and transportation. However, they are also relevant from the aspect of hierarchy as they were frequently local roads, or even from functional aspect as church roads and corpse roads leading from one village to the other were again mainly footpaths. The broader aim of the classification is to define the meaning and characteristics of terms used for roads as much as possible, and by means of that to differentiate between different types of roads used in medieval Transdanubia.

¹⁴⁶ Haubrichs, "Die volkssprachlichen Bezeichnungen für alte Fernwege," 97-181.

THE MAIN GROUPS AND TYPES	APPELLATIVE TERMS FROM WRITTEN SOURCES
2.1 Hierarchy of roads <u>Long-distance routes</u> <u>Provincial routes</u> <u>Regional routes</u> <u>Local routes</u>	<i>via magna / regia / publica / exercituum, etc.</i> <i>via salifera, borhordóút, etc.</i> <i>via forensis, via castrensis, etc.</i> <i>semita, trames, via graminosa, erdőlö út, szénahordó út, etc.</i>
2.2 Legal aspect 2.2.2 <u>Public roads</u> 2.2.2.1 <u>Public highways</u> 2.2.2.2 <u>Open roads</u> 2.2.2.3 <u>King's highway</u> 2.2.2.4 <u>Legal and illegal roads</u> 2.2.3 <u>Common roads</u> 2.2.4 <u>Private roads</u>	<i>via/strata publica</i> <i>libera via</i> <i>via regia, királyút</i> <i>via recta / iusta; via falsa / sinistra</i> <i>via /strata communis</i> <i>via privata</i>
2.3 Functional aspect 2.3.1 <u>Pilgrims' routes</u> 2.3.2 <u>Military roads</u> 2.3.3 <u>Trade routes</u> 2.3.3.1 <u>Market roads</u> 2.3.3.2 <u>Salt routes</u> 2.3.3.3 <u>Wine routes</u> 2.3.4 <u>Ecclesiastical roads</u> 2.3.4.1 <u>Church roads</u> 2.3.4.2 <u>Corpse roads</u> 2.3.5 <u>Agricultural routes</u> 2.3.5.1 <u>Drove roads</u> 2.3.5.2 <u>Mill roads</u> 2.3.5.3 <u>Hay routes</u> 2.3.6 <u>Industrial routes</u> 2.3.6.1 <u>Stone routes</u> 2.3.6.2 <u>Timber routes</u>	- <i>hadút, hadiút; via exercituum; várút, váruta</i> <i>vásárút, vásárosút, via forensis / ad forum</i> <i>sóút, sajtút, sajtosút, via salifera</i> <i>borhodóút</i> <i>via/semita ad ecclesiam</i> <i>holtasút, halotthordóút</i> <i>csordaút, csordauta, via gregis / gregum; ménesút</i> <i>molomút, malomuta, malomló út, via molendinaria</i> <i>szénahordó út</i> <i>kőhordó út</i> <i>erdőlö út, via lignaria</i>
2.4 Modes of travel and transportation 2.4.1 <u>Footpaths</u> 2.4.2 <u>Bridle-ways</u> 2.4.3 <u>Cart roads</u> 2.4.4 <u>Sledge roads</u>	<i>gyalogút, semita, trames</i> <i>szárguldóút</i> <i>székérút, via currus / currium; hatlónagyuta</i> <i>szánút</i>
2.5 Relation to other roads 2.5.1 <u>Crossroads and bifurcations</u> 2.5.2 <u>Short-cuts</u> 2.5.3 <u>Relative position</u>	<i>keresztút, via crucis, crux viarum; via bifurca(ta), bivium</i> <i>általút, kisáltalút, via media</i> <i>alsóút, középút, felsőút</i>
2.6 Physical properties 2.6.1 <u>Material and surface</u> 2.6.1.1 <u>Earth</u> 2.6.1.2 <u>Clay</u> 2.6.1.3 <u>Stone</u> 2.6.1.4 <u>Gravel and cement</u> 2.6.2 <u>Morphology</u> 2.6.2.1 <u>Elevated roads</u> 2.6.2.2 <u>Hollow ways</u>	<i>strata terrea</i> <i>agyagosút, via agyagos</i> <i>kövesút, kövecses út, via köves / lapidosa / saxosa</i> <i>öttevény</i> <i>hochstraße</i> <i>horhó, horhosút, mélyút, via caverna</i>
2.7 Vegetation 2.7.1 <u>Plants covering the road</u> 2.7.1.1 <u>Grass</u> 2.7.2 <u>Plants around the road</u> 2.7.2.1 <u>Trees</u> 2.7.2.2 <u>Sedge</u>	<i>fűvesút, via (h)erbosa / (h)erbida / graminosa / graminea</i> <i>nyárút</i> <i>sásút</i>
2.8 Age of the road <u>Old roads</u> <u>New roads</u>	<i>óút, via antiqua, via vetus</i> <i>via nova</i>

Table 1. The classification of terms referring to roads in medieval Transdanubia

2.1 THE HIERARCHY OF ROADS

In terms of hierarchy one may establish four main categories: local, regional, provincial, and long-distance routes. Local routes were the smallest of all. They served movement within a particular land unit, such as a village, a township, or parish. Such roads provided access to the church, ploughlands, hayfields, woodlands, mills, and fish ponds. Regional routes represent the next level in the hierarchy of roads. They passed through several parishes, but were normally found within a county. They were used to approach markets, fairs, monasteries, castles, and towns. Roads connecting a town with a row of settlements around were typically regional routes. Provincial routes passed through several counties, but were located within the borders of the realm. Medieval Hungary had two great provincial routes, an east—west route on which salt was transported, and a south—north one that was used for the transportation of wine. Although provincial routes also served long-distance communication, in the present dissertation I apply the term long-distance route to indicate those routes that beyond connecting several regions of the realm crossed the frontiers over to foreign lands.¹⁴⁷

Although each of these four categories encompassed a certain group of roads, on the basis of their denominations they cannot be distinctly separated from one another. For example, military routes, wine routes and salt routes tended to be provincial routes; market roads and castle roads were typically regional routes, while hay roads and timber roads were frequently local roads. However, these are only tendencies, and each road must be examined separately in order to define which level of hierarchy it belonged to.

2.2 LEGAL ASPECTS

For the classification of roads from a legal aspect it is inevitable to examine the ancient Roman origins of the denominations. Legal terms used for roads in the Roman Period re-

¹⁴⁷ Denecke, *Methodische Untersuchungen*, 113; Aston, *Interpreting the landscape*, 143-146.

appear in the laws of medieval European realms. German customary laws borrowed the terms *via publica* or *via vicinalis* from Roman legislation.¹⁴⁸ The *Lex Baiwariorum*, for instance, differentiated *via publica* that was under the control of the prince from *via convicinalis vel pastoralis* and *semita convicinalis*.¹⁴⁹

The description of the ancient public, local, private, and common roads is provided, among others, by the first-century Roman surveyor Siculus Flaccus in his *De condicionibus agrorum*. Flaccus defined public highways (*viae publicae*) as roads that were constructed at the expense of the State and bore the names of magistrates that built them. These highways connected the towns and could be accessed from settlements (*vici*) with the help of approach roads (*viae vicinales*). These latter roads were constructed and maintained by the *pagi*,¹⁵⁰ and along these roads there was free movement. At local level, one can differentiate between private roads (*viae privatae*) and common roads (*communes viae*). The former led through a private estate and belonged to the owner of that estate, while the latter belonged jointly to two neighboring landowners, who took charge of them together and shared their upkeep.¹⁵¹

The legal terms *strata publica* and *via publica*, *via communis*, and *via privata* also appeared in Hungarian documents of pragmatic literacy, and we may suppose that their use goes back to ancient Roman origins mediated by Carolingian and Ottonian legislation of the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ Csendes, *Die Straßen Niederösterreichs*, 38.

¹⁴⁹ *Lex Baiwariorum* [6th-8th c.], Tit. 10, Cap. 19-21, MG LL V/2, 394-395. Cf. *Lex Burgundionum, Liber Constitutionum* [late 5th – early 6th c.], Cap. 27, §3, MG LL II/1, 64.

¹⁵⁰ The *pagus* was an administrative unit made up of several settlements called *vicus*. Hence the term *via vicinalis*. Chevallier, *Roman roads*, 65.

¹⁵¹ Flaccus, *De condicionibus agrorum*, Cap. 19: *Nam sunt viae publicae, que publice muniuntur et auctorum nomina optinent... Vicinales autem [viae], de publicis quae devertuntur in agris... aliter muniuntur, per pagos... Ad omnes autem agros semper iter liberum est... [Privatae viae] non universo populo itinera praestari videntur, sed eis ad quorum agros per eas vias pervenire necesse est. Hae ergo de vicinalibus solent nasci. Nam et communes viae [quae] ex vicinalibus nascuntur; quae aliquando inter binos possessores in extremis finibus, pari utrimque modo sumpto, communique inpensa, iter praestant.* Source: http://www.intratext.com/IXT/LAT0339/_P7.HTM (last accessed on 6 September 2012).

¹⁵² Thomas Szabó, “Antikes Erbe und karolingisch-ottonische Verkehrspolitik,” in *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Lutz Fenske, Werner

2.2.1 Roads in Western European laws

Since Árpád Period Hungarian laws still did not deal with roads, one must depend on comparative data yielded by contemporary Western European laws in order to obtain a general picture of legal issues related to roads in that period. In the following, I will use data obtained from the *Leges Henrici Primi* (ca. 1115), the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* (ca. 1283), and the *Sachsenspiegel* (ca. 1220-1235). These laws were in force in a given territory (England, Clermont and Saxony, respectively) and for a limited period of time. Still, they are of interest as they provide an insight into the western medieval perception of roads and the most frequently occurring matters related to roads. They deal with such issues as road classification, ownership and legal authority, road maintenance, as well as sanctions against the damage or deterioration of roads, and criminal offences committed on roads.

Roads were classified in medieval sources either by their width or by proprietorship. Concerning the **width** of roads, the most detailed classification is provided by the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* written by the jurist Philippe de Beaumanoir (b. ca. 1247-1252, d. 1296) shortly before 1283. The customs divided the roads of County Clermont into five groups:

The first type is four feet wide, called a path [*sentier*], and these paths were made so that you could go from one road to another or from one town to another; and no cart should go on a path at any time when it could cause damage to the land or things built nearby. – **The second type of road** that was made **was eight feet wide, called a cart track** [*chariere*]; and on such a road carts can go one behind the other, but animals cannot go unless they are on a rope, nor carts two abreast, except when they cross. – **The third type of road** which was made **is sixteen feet wide**; and on these carts can go two abreast with a path on either side. And you can drive animals before you... provided they do not stop to graze at a time or season they can do damage to the surrounding property... – **The fourth type of road** that was made **was thirty-two feet wide**, and carts can go on this and animals can stop and graze or rest without offence, and all kinds of merchandise pass... everywhere that carts can go, provided they do not fail to pay tolls. – **The fifth type of road** which were made were those which Julius Caesar had made; and these roads were laid down in a straight line in places where a straight line can go without being obstructed by too high mountains or rivers or marshes they **are sixty-four feet wide**. And it should be understood that the reason why they are so wide is so that all products of the earth and

Rösener, and Tomas Zotz (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1984), 125-145; Peter Johanek, “Die Straße im Recht und in der Herrschaftsausübung des Mittelalter,” in *Die Vielsichtigkeit der Straße*, ed. Kornelia Holzner-Tobisch, Thomas Kühnreiter, Gertrud Blaschitz (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012), 231-262, esp. 240.

living things ... can be transported or carried along them, so that everyone can come and go and transport supplies for all his needs in the width of the road.

Coutumes de Beauvaisis, cap. 719.¹⁵³

The five types of roads described by the Customs of Beauvais are therefore footpaths (four feet), cart roads (eight feet), public roads (sixteen feet), highways (thirty-two feet), and Roman roads used as the king's highways [*chemin royal*] (sixty-four feet).¹⁵⁴ The law of King Henry I (1100-1135) formulated around 1115 prescribed the width of the king's highway (*via regia*) as follows: "The highway should be wide enough for two wagons to meet and pass there, and for herdsmen to be able to make contact, with their goads at full length, and for sixteen knights, armed, to ride side by side."¹⁵⁵ Similarly, the fourteenth-century *Sachsenspiegel* defined the width of the king's highway (*Königs Straße*) in relation to carts: "The king's highway shall be wide enough that one cart can leave room for another."¹⁵⁶

With respect to **proprietorship** and authority over roads, legal sources testify that originally all roads belonged to the king, but later with the donations of lands roads fell into the hands of landowners whose lands they led through. According to the Law of King Henry I, all highways [*herestrete*] were still "completely the concern of the king," that is they were within the king's own jurisdiction. The late thirteenth-century *Customs of Beauvaisis* reports that "according to common law all roads... belong in all ways to the lord who holds the land directly from the king, whether the roads pass through their personal lands or the lands of their subjects, and they have jurisdiction and lordship over the roads." In County Clermont there was a custom that the owner of the land adjacent to a certain road had jurisdiction over

¹⁵³ *The Coutumes de Beauvaisis of Philippe de Beaumanoir*, transl. Akehurst, F.R.P. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 263-264.

¹⁵⁴ See also *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, cap. 720, transl. Akehurst, 264. Cf. Charles du Fresne Du Cange, et al., *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (Niort: L. Favre, 1887) vol. VIII, s.v. "via," 302 (hereafter Du Cange *Gloss.*); István Miskolczy, *A középkori kereskedelem története* [The history of medieval trade] (Máriabesnyő and Gödöllő: Attraktor, 2008), 104.

¹⁵⁵ *Leges Henrici Primi* cap. 80.3, See: *Leges Henrici Primi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), ed. and transl. L. J. Downer, 248-249.

¹⁵⁶ *Sachsenspiegel* lib. II, cap. 59. See: *Der Sachsenspiegel (Landrecht)*, ed. Hans Christoph Hirsch, and transl. Eike von Repgow (Berlin: Verlag Walter de Gruyter, 1936), 215; *The Saxon Mirror. A Sachsenspiegel of the Fourteenth Century*, transl. Mária Dobozy (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 111.

the road as long as it was running through his land. If, however, the lands on the two sides of the road belonged to different owners, half of the road would be under the proprietorship and jurisdiction of one landowner, and the other half would belong to the other landowner.¹⁵⁷

In medieval Europe roads outside towns were not metalled. They were normally dirt roads that most often came into existence through constant use. However, uneven surfaces caused by wheel tracks and erosion by weather conditions ruined the quality of roads to a great extent, and as a consequence they required frequent **maintenance**. The Customs of Beauvais records that “all roads belong to the person whose land borders them,” and because they hold everything from the count, “the count should make them maintain the roads at their proper width for the common good.”¹⁵⁸ Yet, in practice, roads were often not as wide as they were supposed to be. They were “downgraded by the greed of those whose lands border them and by the ignorance of the lords who should maintain them at the proper width.”¹⁵⁹ The Customs also gives instructions concerning heavily damaged roads: “When a road is in such disrepair in certain places that it cannot be repaired without too great cost, the sovereign can have it relocated as near as possible to the place where it was and at the same width as it should be.”¹⁶⁰

The **deterioration** and illegal **diversion** of roads normally carried fines (ten shillings in early twelfth-century England and sixty sous in late thirteenth-century Clermont). What did count as the deterioration of roads? The Law of King Henry I refers to the damage and diverting of roads altogether as *stretbreche*, and explains that “the offence of *stretbreche* occurs where someone destroys a road by closing it off or diverting it or digging it up.”¹⁶¹ The Customs of Beauvais provides other examples for the deterioration of roads, “such as causing erosion on the roadway, or making walls or ditches or buildings, or taking away dirt to the

¹⁵⁷ *Coutumes de Beauvisis* cap. 721, transl. Akehurst, 264-265.

¹⁵⁸ *Coutumes de Beauvisis* cap. 724, transl. Akehurst, 264.

¹⁵⁹ *Coutumes de Beauvisis* cap. 720, transl. Akehurst, 264.

¹⁶⁰ *Coutumes de Beauvisis* cap. 730, transl. Akehurst, 267.

¹⁶¹ *Leges Henrici Primi* cap. 80.5a, ed. and transl. Downer, 251.

detriment of the road.”¹⁶² In addition, it explains that “damage is done by a person who interferes with the paving that was done to improve the road, or who takes away the stones or planks which were put there in the bad places, or who cuts the trees which were planted there for rest areas as or for shade.”¹⁶³

Last but not least, laws deal with different **criminal offences** committed on roads. According to the law of King Henry I “the offence of *forestel* occurs if someone attacks his enemy unexpectedly or lies in wait for him on the road and assaults him.”¹⁶⁴ Since *forestel* – similarly to *stretbreche* – was within the king’s jurisdiction,¹⁶⁵ the compensation for an assault made on the king’s highway could be up “to one hundred shillings to be paid to the king.”¹⁶⁶ The other offence committed on roads referred to by the law of Henry I was manslaughter (*murdrum*), and pursuant to the law if *murdrum* “occurs on the king’s highway, the lord whose land is found to be adjacent shall pay penalty for it.”¹⁶⁷ The Customs of Beauvais prohibited the arrest of and inference with pilgrims and merchants because it was a public privilege that everyone must travel peacefully on the roads. Therefore if anyone arrested pilgrims “the sovereign should have them freed and their losses restored to them, and the same with all foreign persons going along the roads.”¹⁶⁸ In addition, the Customs gave instructions as to the proper handling of things discovered on the road. According to the Customs “when someone finds something that has fallen on the road, he can pick it up and carry it openly,” and if someone comes looking for the thing and “gives a good description of it, the finder should give it back to him.” If no one is looking for their lost property “the finder

¹⁶² *Coutumes de Beauvisis* cap. 727, transl. Akehurst, 267.

¹⁶³ *Coutumes de Beauvisis* cap. 729, transl. Akehurst, 267.

¹⁶⁴ *Leges Henrici Primi* cap. 80.3a, ed. and transl. Downer, 249.

¹⁶⁵ *Leges Henrici Primi* cap. 10.1, ed. and transl. Downer, 109.

¹⁶⁶ *Leges Henrici Primi* cap. 80.2, ed. and transl. Downer, 249.

¹⁶⁷ *Leges Henrici Primi* cap. 91.4, ed. and transl. Downer, 287.

¹⁶⁸ *Coutumes de Beauvisis* cap. 742, transl. Akehurst, 271.

should take it to the person who has the high justice in the place where the find was made,” and the judge must announce at the church or in the market what has been found.”¹⁶⁹

2.2.2 Public roads

Similarly to other parts of medieval Europe, in Hungary public roads were generally in public use, under royal legal authority, and travellers on it enjoyed the protection of the king.

2.2.2.1 Public highways

In Árpád Period Hungary public roads were called *via publica*¹⁷⁰ and *strata publica*.¹⁷¹ The *via publica* is alternatively called *via magna* in sources.¹⁷² The two terms seem to have been used more or less as synonyms,¹⁷³ and it is most likely to have been mainly a question of purpose which one was used in a given document. While the term *via publica* highlights the open and public character of roads, the term *via magna* expresses that those roads were (due to their size) at the top of the hierarchy of roads. Consequently, references to *viae magnae* and

¹⁶⁹ *Coutumes de Beauvisis* cap. 737, transl. Akehurst, 269-270.

¹⁷⁰ +1086: *via publica* (Ketelaka, C. Veszprém), PRT VIII, 268; W. I, 32; +1086: *ad viam publicam* (Kajár, C. Veszprém), PRT VIII, 268; W. I, 31-32 1093: *in via publica* (Apáti, C. Zala), W. VI, 69; 1217: *per viam publicam* (Vasvár, C. Vas), charter No. 131; 1223: *ad publicam viam* (Röjtökör, C. Sopron), UB I, 92; 1234: *ad viam publicam, et per viam publicam ad Fyzeg* (Kajár, C. Győr), PRT VIII, 283; W. I, 332; 1256: *iuxta viam publicam, que procedit ad Appacchasulua* (Endréd, C. Veszprém), PRT VIII, 258; (1263-1270): *ad viam publicam* (Köveskút, C. Vas), charter No. 58; [1270]: *in via publica*, UB I, 369; 1270/1411: *via publica* (Ketelaka, C. Veszprém), PRT VIII, 299; PRT VIII, 437; 1271: *viam publicam* (Kövesszarv, C. Vas), charter No. 59; 1275: *iuxta viam publicam* (Ól and Csép, C. Vas), UB II, 85; (1272-1290): *iuxta publicam viam, qua iretur de Rum ad civitatem Zobothel* (Rum and Szombathely, C. Vas), UB II, 223; 1292: *iuxta publicam viam* (Döröske, C. Vas), charter No. 20; 1307: *exinde a villa Tergenyne, vadit quaedam publica via (terra Falussy and Tergenyne, C. Hont)*, F. VIII/6, 188; 1356: *ipsa via intraret publicam viam quae Szent Markyuth vocaretur* (Dienesfölda and Szentmárk/Endréd, C. Veszprém), PRT II, 421; F. IX/7, 162; 1402: *in via publica et communi* (Bártfa, C. Sáros), MOL DL 212722; Zs. II/1, 230.

¹⁷¹ +1217: *in publica strata* (Legénytő, C. Moson), UB I, 71; 1263: *in stratam publicam Supruniensem et Chepregh*, UB I, 293; 1264: *stratam publicam per quam itur in Copurnuk* (Kapornak, C. Zala), Zala vm. I, 42; 1273: *transita quandam strata publica* (Váró, C. Zala), W. IX, 42; 1279: *ad strata publica* (Apsa, C. Zala), HO VI, 256; 1279: *strate publice, per quam de Levka itur in Chirihslag* (Limbach, C. Vas), charter No. 152; (1272-1290): *iuxta publicam stratam, que iret versus Zechun* (Szécsény, C. Vas), UB II, 224.

¹⁷² 1299: *magna via sive publica, per quam itur ad inferiorem villam Vrs nuncupatam* (Alsóórs, C. Zala), Zala vm. I, 118; 1391: *via magna et publica, que duceret ad villam Zerdahelij* (Szerdahely, C. Győr), TT 20 (1875), 272; 1408: *magna et publica via de Eghazaskarmach ad Kerezthur ducente* (Karmacs and Keresztúr, C. Zala), MOL DL 42954, Zs. II. No. 6245; 1412: *viam magnam et publicam qua itur de Ormanhyda ad Komar* (Ormánhida and Komár, C. Somogy), MOL DL 9890.

¹⁷³ Cf. Éva B. Huszár, “Magyarország úthálózatának történeti áttekintése és Heves megye útviszonyai a XVIII. század végén” [A historical overview of the road system of Hungary and the road conditions of County Heves in the eighteenth century], *Archivum* 13 (1994): 5-30, esp. 24.

viae publicae represent altogether the backbone of overland traffic in Árpád Period Hungary.¹⁷⁴ In terms of function, a *via publica* could serve as a military road,¹⁷⁵ a trade route,¹⁷⁶ or as an ecclesiastical road.¹⁷⁷

2.2.2.2 Open roads

The *libera via*¹⁷⁸ was another term used for public roads. It appears first in fourteenth-century sources. It was used predominantly in relation with cases of violent trespass (*potentia, factum potentiae*).¹⁷⁹ The plaintiffs relating the crimes committed against them often emphasise that they themselves, their servants or relatives were attacked on a *libera via*, which seem to be an aggravating circumstance in the case. The *via libera* was, therefore, a legal term applied to open highways on which travellers enjoyed the special protection of the king and laws.¹⁸⁰

2.2.2.3 King's highway

Finally, among public roads mention must be made of the **king's highway**. The term was generally used in medieval Europe in the sense of an open, public road that was legally associated with the king.¹⁸¹ The king guaranteed public peace on the royal highway and any

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Huszár, "Magyarország úthálózatának történeti áttekintése," 9.

¹⁷⁵ 1288: *ad viam publicam, per quam itur ad castum Rohonch* (Rohonc, C. Vas), charter No. 128; 1368: *ad viam publicam hadwth vocatam* (Lelle and Gamás, C. Somogy), PRT X, 635.

¹⁷⁶ 1336: *via seu strata publica mercatorum*, Dipl. Eml. I, 343; 1420: *via publica vasaruth vocata, qua de opido Forro versus dictam possessionem Alsow Fyged transsitur* (Forró and Alsó-Füged, C. Abaúj), Zs. VII, No. 2387

¹⁷⁷ 1274: *iuxta viam publicam circa ecclesiam sancti Nicolai* (Szentmiklós, C. Sopron), UB II, 62.

¹⁷⁸ 1319: *filiū Benedicti, et Petrus, filius Nicolai, Beken filium Iohannis, in libera via sua occidissent sine culpa et res triginta marcas valentes ab eodem recepissent*, F. VIII/1, 479. For further cases of violent trespass committed on a *libera via* see also: 1393: F. X/8, 364-365; n.d.: F. VIII/7, 293; 1394: Zs. I, 367; 1399: Zs. I, 635; 1399: Zs. I, 635; 1410: Zs. II/2, 374; 1412: Zs. III, 599; 1414: Zs. IV, 390; 1415: Zs. V, 201; 1417: Zs. VI, 167; 1417: Zs. VI, 220; 1417: Zs. VI, 257, etc.

¹⁷⁹ See n. 64.

¹⁸⁰ Gyula Kristó, ed., *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9-14. sz.)* [Early Hungarian historical lexicon (9th-14th c.)] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), s.v. "út," 702 (hereafter KMTL).

¹⁸¹ Out of the numerous royal highways here are two examples: In England there was a royal highway (*alta via regia strata; regia strata et alta*) between York and Duham, mentioned in 1361 and going back to the Roman Period, Margaret Harvey, "Travel from Durham to York (and back) in the fourteenth century," *North. Hist.* 42 (2005): 119-130, esp. 123. The Holy Roman Empire had a great west-east directed royal highway running from the Rhine through Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig to Breslau (Wrocław) in Silesia. That road was first mentioned in a written document in 1252 as *strata regia*, but its origins goes back to the Carolingian period. Bernd W. Bahn, "Zur VIA REGIA zwischen Thüringen und Sachsen." Source: <http://www.via->

criminal offence committed on the road was within the king's own jurisdiction.¹⁸² In Hungary the king's highway is called in written documents from the early thirteenth century on as *királyút*,¹⁸³ *királyuta*,¹⁸⁴ *via regis*,¹⁸⁵ *via regia*,¹⁸⁶ and *via regalis*.¹⁸⁷

In Hungarian scholarly literature the term 'king's highway' has been interpreted in two major ways: 1. as ancient roads constructed by the Romans, 2. the routes of military campaigns led by the king. Lajos Glaser attributed Roman origins to roads called *királyuta* or *via regis*, similarly to *öttevény*, *kövesút*, *via levata*, and *via murata*.¹⁸⁸ In his study on *öttevény* roads, however, Endre Tóth demonstrated that it is exclusively the term *öttevény* that is applied in each and every case to Roman roads. Other roads called *királyuta/via regis/via regia*, *kövesút/via lapidosa*, *via murata*, *via levata*, etc. may also be of Roman origins, but it must always be supported by further data.¹⁸⁹ The road *via regni magna lapidosa* near Oroszvár (C. Moson),¹⁹⁰ the *magna via regni* near Porpác (C. Vas) called otherwise

regia.org/bibliothek/pdf/Thueringen.Sachsen.Anhalt.pdf and Christine Bub, "Via Regia." Source: <http://www.altstrassen-in-hessen.de/altstrassen/viaregia.html>

¹⁸² Cf. Csendes, *Die Strassen Niederösterreichs*, 38-42; Johaneck, "Die Straße im Recht," 249-251; See also: *Leges Henrici Primi* cap. 10.2, and 80.3a, ed. and transl. Downer, 249.

¹⁸³ 1274: *ad quandam viam kyalwt vocatam* (Halogy and Tótfalu, C. Vas), charter No. 26.

¹⁸⁴ 1256: *iuxta stratam Kyalwta* (Novaj, C. Abaúj) F. VII/5, 321; Cf. ÁMTF I. s.v. "Novaj," 124; 1261/1364: *usque viam kyalwta dictam*, MOL DL 4902; Cf. István Szamota and Gyula Zolnay, eds., *Magyar oklevél-szótár. Pótlék a magyar nyelvtörténeti szótárhoz / Lexicon vocabulorum Hungaricorum. Supplementum ad lexicon linguae Hungaricae aevi antiquioris* (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1902-1906), s.v., "király," 501-502 (hereafter OklSz); 1347: *ad vnam viam Kyalwta dictam* (Zala and Bodolya, C. Baranya), A. V, 89; Cf. OklSz, s.v., "király," 501-502 and István Hoffmann, ed., *Korai Magyar Helynévszótár (1000-1350)* [A dictionary of early Hungarian toponyms (1000-1350)], Vol. 1. *Abaúj-Csongrád vármegye* [Counties Abaúj—Csongrád] (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem, 2005), s.v. "király útja," 154 (hereafter KMHSz); 1406: *viam publicam Kyalwta vocata* (Hedreh, C. Szatmár), MOL DL 90754; Zs. II/1, 640; 1420: *in quadam via publica Abawtha alio nomine Kyalwtha vocata* (Felső-Füged, C. Abaúj), Zs. VII, No. 2387, MOL DL 67424.

¹⁸⁵ +1157: *ad viam regis* (Küszin, C. Vas), charter No. 61; +1209: *via Regis (terra Pisana, C. Gorra)*, W. XI, 97; +1209: *per magnam viam regis, que vadit Zagrabiam* (C. Gorra) W. XI, 98; 1214: *venit ad quandam publicam stratam, que in illis partibus via regis vocatur* (Szepnice/Sopnica, C. Zágráb), W. XI, 128; 1217: *in via regis (terra Opor, C. Zágráb)*, F. III/1, 219; 1257: *iuxta quandam viam, que via Regis nuncupatur* (Szentmargita, C. Zala), W. VII, 470; 1283: *venientes ad vnam magnam viam, quae videlicet via regis vocatur* (Mariatelke and Kajántó, C. Kolozs), F. V/3, 155, see also Cs. V, s.v. "Kajántó," 364.

¹⁸⁶ 1217: *ad regiam viam, per quam ad Hegeshalm usque pervenitur* (Legénytő and Hegyeshalom, C. Moson), UB I, 69.

¹⁸⁷ 1247: *ad viam regalem* (Szekcső, C. Baranya), CDSI II, 194.

¹⁸⁸ Glaser, "A római utak nevei középkori okleveleinkben," 317;

¹⁸⁹ Tóth, "Eötteven seu via antiqua Romanorum," 195.

¹⁹⁰ 1266: *ad viam regni magnam lapidosam...; ad dictam viam regni lapidosam* (Oroszvár, C. Moson), UB I, 325-326.

öttevény,¹⁹¹ were Roman roads used as royal highways in the Middle Ages. Similarly, the road indicated as *Via Regia Lapidibus Strata per Regem Ladislaum facta* between Érd and Kisapostag on the map of County Fejér by Sándor Mikoviny (Fig. 21) is, in fact, the Roman *limes* road that could be still identified as a road covered with crushed stone in the eighteenth century.¹⁹² Kings must have preferred Roman roads for various reasons: they were broad (possibly the broadest of all roads within the realm¹⁹³), straight, and still preserved traces of their stone and/or gravel foundation. These features made the remaining Roman roads provide fast movement for the king, his soldiers, and his messengers in any season, even when other roads of the realm were impassable because of heavy rains. Nevertheless, it must be emphasised that it was not exclusively Roman roads that served as royal highways in medieval Hungary. The *királyuta* near Hedreh (C. Szatmár), or the *Abauta* near Felső Füged (C. Abaúj) also called *királyuta* were, for example, located in such parts of the country that were never subjugated by the Romans.

As early as 1888 Gyula Pauler drew attention to the military use of the king's highway. He pointed out that the *via Colomanni regis* in Slavonia preserves the memory of the Croatian campaigns led by King Coloman (1095-1116).¹⁹⁴ Collecting references to the road of King Coloman¹⁹⁵ one can reconstruct the route that ran southwards in county Körös via Jagnjedovac, Velika, Rojcsa (Rovišće, Cr.), and Mački (Cr.), Csázma (Čazma, Cr.), and

¹⁹¹ 1329: *ad magnam viam regni, que Utteuim vocatur* (Porpác, C. Vas), charter No. 101.

¹⁹² Bendefy, *Mikoviny Sámuel megyei térképei* II, Map 6; TMÖL T. 45.

¹⁹³ As a parallel we may refer to the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, which reports at one point that the broadest roads of Claimont were Roman roads that were sixty-four feet wide, and later it adds that “the widest of all” roads were “called a royal road [*chemin royal*].” *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* cap. 719-720, transl. Akehurst, 264.

¹⁹⁴ Pauler, “Horvát-Dalmátország elfoglalásáról,” 212-213, n.1.

¹⁹⁵ 1200: *terre meta prima est pons Regis Colomani... hinc via dicti Regis dirigitur super magnum montem usque ad puteum eiusdem* (Csázma, C. Körös), W. XI, 72; 1227: *prima meta est pons Regis Colomani... hinc via dicti Regis dirigitur super magnum montem ad puteum eiusdem* (Csázma, C. Körös), W. I. 238; 1255: *ad magnam viam...et ipsa via vocatur via regis Kolomani...; meta autem terre Haleta incipit in via regis Kolomani* (Csázmafő and Haleta, C. Körös), F. IV/2, 317; 1255: *via que dicitur via Colomani* (Mački, C. Körös), HO VIII, 124; 1237: *ascendit per strata Colomani Regis* (Pekrec, C. Körös), W. VII, 39; 1255: *ad magnam viam Colomanni regis* (Rojcsa, C. Körös); F. IV/2, 348; 1270: *iuxta viam Colomani...; declinat de via Colomany* (terra Macek near Velika, C. Körös), W. VIII. 328; 1351: *ad quandam viam dictam Colomani regis, que vadit inter villas Jagnedowch et Rouische* (Jagnjedovac and Rojcsa, C. Körös), A. V, 530.

then turning towards south-east it ran through Pekrec (Pakrac, Cr.) to County Pozsega. The road of King Coloman seems to have branched off from the military road (*hadút*) near Kapronca (Koprivnica, Cr.), which crossed the Drava River near Zákány (C. Somogy) and ran through Zagreb to Croatia. Both roads can be connected with the military campaigns of King Coloman. Certain sections of royal highways could therefore have served as military roads, but certainly not all of them.¹⁹⁶

2.2.2.4 Legal and illegal roads

In Hungary there are only a limited number of written sources that contain regulations for roads, and even those date after the mid-fourteenth century. In late medieval laws roads appear mainly in connection with tolls, and deal with fundamentally two questions: Where was it legal to collect tolls from travellers? What were the rights and obligations of toll-collectors and payers?

On the basis of the **place of toll-collection** one may differentiate between two main types of tolls: traffic tolls and market tolls.¹⁹⁷ Traffic tolls involve dry tolls paid on roads, and water tolls paid at bridges, at ferry ports, and on waterways.¹⁹⁸ The twofold division of traffic tolls appears, for example, in the charter of King Ladislas IV (1272-1290) from 1287 differentiating between tolls collected on roads and on waterways. Dry tolls collected on roads¹⁹⁹ were called *tributum de via*,²⁰⁰ *pedagium*,²⁰¹ and *tributum terrestre*.²⁰² These customs were paid by those who travelled overland on foot, on horseback, or by wagon. Árpád Period

¹⁹⁶ Huszár, "Magyarország úthálózatának történeti áttekintése," 24.

¹⁹⁷ Here I will only deal with traffic tolls. Market tolls will be discussed in detail in a later chapter on market roads. On the different types of tolls see, Boglárka Weisz, *Vámok és vámszedés az Árpád-kori Magyarországon* [Customs and toll collection in Árpád Period Hungary], Doctoral dissertation (Szeged: University of Szeged, 2006), 4-12.

¹⁹⁸ KMTL, s.v. "vám," 710; In his charter authorising Buda to hold a fair King Ladislas IV refers to tolls collected both on overland routes and on waterways: 1287: *de teulonio...seu tributo tam per vias terrestres seu aquaticas*, EFHU, 82.

¹⁹⁹ Weisz, *Vámok és vámszedés*, 4.

²⁰⁰ 1238: *tributi...de viis* (C. Sopron), F. IV/1, 106; UB I, 182.

²⁰¹ [1185-1195]: *pedagiis*, 444; 1217: *pedagium tributis de Diduag* (Dudvág, C. Pozsony), CDSI I, 171; 1239: *tributum seu theolonium aut pedagium*, EFHU, 33.

²⁰² 1263: *tributo...terrestres* (Füzítő, C. Komárom), EFHU, 56.

water tolls²⁰³ were collected at bridges (*tributum pontis*,²⁰⁴ *tributum de ponte*,²⁰⁵ *teloneum pontis*,²⁰⁶ *redditus pontis*²⁰⁷), at ferry ports (*tributum portus*,²⁰⁸ *tributum de portu*,²⁰⁹ *tributum in portu*,²¹⁰ *tributum transitus*,²¹¹ *tributum aque*,²¹² *tributum nauli*,²¹³ *tributum de carinis*²¹⁴) as well as on boats (*tributum in navigio*,²¹⁵ *ascendens tributum*,²¹⁶ *redditus aque*²¹⁷).

At the time of King Stephen I (1000-1038) tolls were part of the royal prerogatives. In each county both traffic and market tolls were collected by the *comes* (Hu. *ispán*)²¹⁸ on behalf of the king. The king received the two-thirds of the tolls, and the *comes* could keep the remaining one-third.²¹⁹ The royal two-thirds were called *királykettei*,²²⁰ for which there are also data from thirteenth-century Western Hungary.²²¹ On the basis of the account of royal

²⁰³ Weisz, *Vámok és vámszedés*, 4-5.

²⁰⁴ 1238: *tributi pontis* (C. Sopron), F. IV/1, 107; 1183: *tercia parte tributi pontis Narhyd* (Nyárhíd, C. Nyitra), CDSI I, 90; +1247: *pontis tributi eiusdem ville* (Béb, C. Csanád), W. VII, 243; +1247: *tributo pontis in fluvio Zala* (Barlabáshida, C. Zala), Zala vm. I, 19; 1251: *tributi portus et pontis de Sala* (Sellye, C. Nyitra), CDSI II, 257; 1251: *super aquam Raba contulimus duo molendina, et tributum pontis*, (Mórichida, C. Győr), F. IV/2, 87; UB I, 230; 1266: *tributum Pontis... prope Monasterium de Saagh, in fluuio Ipul* (Ság, C. Hont), F. IV/3, 313; [1281]: *cum tributo pontis* (Fövenyszaru, C. Bihar), RA II/2-3, 282.

²⁰⁵ +1237: *partem tributi de ponte, qui est super aquam Soyov* (Vadna, C. Borsod), W. XI, 300.

²⁰⁶ +1247: *telonio pontis in fluvio Zala*, (Barlabáshida, C. Zala), Zala vm. I, 18.

²⁰⁷ +1019: *redditus... aque et pontis civitatis* (Kolon, C. Zala), DHA I, 91.

²⁰⁸ 1148: *tributum portus Pest et Kerepes* (Buda) EFHU, 11; 1251: *tributui portus et pontis de Sala* (Sellye, C. Nyitra), CDSI II, 257; [1254]: *tributo de portus* (Rákos, C. Sopron), UB I, 234; 1263: *de tributo portu Danubii* (Füzítő, C. Komárom), EFHU, 56; 1286: *duas partes tributi portus et fori* (Komárom, C. Komárom), PRT VIII, 301; W. IV, 284; 1295: *tributum portus de Zigethfeu* (Szigetfő, C. Fejér), F. VI/1, 383.

²⁰⁹ +1037: *tributa... de foro Zyl et de portu Arpas in Raba* (Árpás, C. Győr), charter No. 148; UB I, 15; 1086: ... *de portu Wag dantur tributa* (Komárom, C. Komárom) DHA I, 254.

²¹⁰ 1215: *tributum nostrum regale in portu ville Kokat* (Kakat, C. Esztergom), EFHU 24; 1270: *tributi in portu de Soyov* (Ónod, C. Borsod), W. VIII, 293; 1283: *terciam tributi... tam in portu, quam in nauigio* (Sellye, C. Nyitra) Mon. Strig. II, 163; 1284: *tributi de Berthem... in portu Crysij* (Bertény, C. Bihar), W. IX, 401.

²¹¹ 1075: *tributum transitus super Tizam* (Bőd, C. Csongrád), DHA I, 218.

²¹² 1209: *tributum aque in Beld* (Bőd, C. Csongrád), CDSI I, 119.

²¹³ 1268: *dicti naute [i.e. de Pest] dampnificarent ecclesiam Budensem... in tributo nauli* (Pest, C. Pest), BTOE I, 100; 1285: *super tributo nauli* (Pest and Jenő, C. Pest), BTOE I, 219.

²¹⁴ 1287: *tributum de carinis* (Pest, C. Pest), BTOE I, 231.

²¹⁵ 1283.: *terciam tributi... tam in portu, quam in nauigio* (Sellye, C. Nyitra), Mon. Strig II, 163.

²¹⁶ 1295: *contra... iuratos et cives de Castro Budensi super ascendenti tributo ipsorum* (Buda, C. Pilis), BTOE I, 296.

²¹⁷ +1019: *redditus... aque et pontis civitatis* (Kolon, C. Zala), DHA I, 91.

²¹⁸ From the eleventh and thirteenth centuries the *comes* (Hu. *ispán*) was a royal officer in charge of a county or the border district. He was the commander castle warriors, the supervisor of serving people, and collector of revenues in his district. His deputy was called *vicecomes* (Hu. *alispán*). DRMH I/1, 139 and 143-144; KMLSz II, s.v. "comes," 191-196.

²¹⁹ Györfy, *István király és műve*, 346-347; Boglárka Weisz, "Vásártartás az Árpád-korban" [Fairs and markets in the Árpád Period], *Századok* 141 (2007): 879-942, esp. 888, n. 54.

²²⁰ OklSz, s.v. "király-ketteje," 502.

²²¹ 1238: *in Comitatu Soproniensi concessimus illas duas partes tributi, de foris et viis omnibus, quae vulgariter appellatur Kyralkettei*, F. IV/1, 106; see also UB I, 182; 1282: *eidem Magistro Corraldo de nostra gracia concessimus speciali medietatem tributi, quod est in Musunio, qui keralquetey dicitur wlgari*, W. XII, 355.

revenues drawn up for King Béla III (1172-1196), the tolls collected by the king at roads, ferry ports, and markets were as much as thirty thousand marks, which made 18.1 per cent of all royal revenues.²²² In the second half of the twelfth century tolls were still predominantly in royal hands, and although one some tolls were given away in that period, the large-scale donations of tolls – along with other royal revenues – took place only during the reign of King Andrew II (1205-1235).²²³ The collection of customs on roads and rivers was regulated by King Béla IV (1235-1270) in the 1250s,²²⁴ and the new principles were laid down, for example, in the customs tariffs of Győr, Abda, and Füzitő.²²⁵

Tolls were collected on roads for two reasons: to cover the expenses of road maintenance,²²⁶ and in return for the military protection provided by the owner of the road.²²⁷ However, by the second half of the thirteenth century tolls had become so numerous that the kings of Hungary themselves had to interfere in order to put an end to their abuse.²²⁸ In 1284 King Ladislas IV (1272-1290) ordered the abolition of tolls that were set up after the death of King Béla IV (1235-1270).²²⁹ In 1289 he issued another charter on tolls set up since the death of his father, King Stephen V (1270-1272).²³⁰ However, these measures seem to have had

²²² [1185-1195]: *Rex Ungariae... habet de pedagogiis et passagiis et mercatis seu foris, que omnia sua sunt, triginta millia marcarum*, János Barta and Gábor Barta, “III. Béla király jövedelmei (Megjegyzések középkori uralkodóink bevételeiről) [Revenues of King Béla III. (Remarks about the incomes of the Hungarian kings in the Middle Ages)],” *Századok* 127 (1993): 413-449, esp. 444.

²²³ Barta and Barta, “III. Béla király jövedelmei,” 433.

²²⁴ Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 70-72.

²²⁵ 1260: F. IV/2, 323-324 (dating the charter to 1255); W. VII. 523-524; EFHU, 51-52. See also, Boglárka Weisz, “A győri vám Árpád-kori története” [The history of the customs and the toll in Győr in the Árpád Period], in *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok* [Studies on the Middle Ages], ed. Eadem (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely 2003), 227-236.

²²⁶ Sándor Domanovszky, “A harmincadvám eredete” [The origins of the thirtieth], *ÉTiK* 24(1918): 245-298, esp. 26.

²²⁷ Johanek, “Die Straße im Recht,” 249-250.

²²⁸ Holub, “Zala vármegye vámhelyei és úthálózata a középkorban,” 46.

²²⁹ 1284: *ipse dominus Rex super diuersitate tributorum, que in locis indebitis exiguntur, de omnium Baronum et Nobilium Regni sui consilio prouide ordinando, tributa, que post obitum domini Regis Bele felicis memorie ortum vel originem habuerunt, omnino decreuisset abolere, nec ex aliqua causa rationabili in locis ad transeundum grauibus transitus fieret preparatus*; W. IX 400.

²³⁰ 1289: “*uniuersa tributa que post mortem domini Stephani patris nostri carissimi pie recordationis regis, ubicunque locorum in regno nostro, tam in terris quam in aquis fuerant instituta, penitus et per omnia debeant aboleri ac et annullari*,” n.a., “A Bél-háromkúti apátság okmánytárának kiadatlan okmányai a XIII. századtól a XV. századig” [Unpublished documents from the archives of the Bél-háromkút Abbey from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century], *ArchKözl* 6 (1866): I-XXV, esp. I.

little result. That is why King Andreas III (1290-1301) needed to confirm them in his laws of 1290²³¹ and 1298.²³²

Merchants trying to evade tolls often sought alternative tracks to customary roads. Although these customary roads were never formally codified, they were apparently well-known to merchants and travellers.²³³ The detours appear from the fourteenth century on as *via falsa*²³⁴ and *via sinistra*,²³⁵ and were differentiated from legal roads called *via recta*²³⁶ and *via iusta*.²³⁷ The use of illegal routes caused great loss of tolls, and that is why they were prohibited by kings. In his law of 1435 King Sigismund describes illegal routes as follows:

[the sworn judges are] bound **to investigate, examine and restrict those illegal routes and detours which are used to evade the tolls**; they are also to decide how far from or close to these illegal routes the toll collectors should have and ought to have customary and just right to prohibit or hinder travellers from using these roads. **Where, moreover, roads have never been established, no one may dare to create new ones** across his fields for the common and general crossing of travellers, to the loss and damage of nearby tolls.

Sigismund, cap. 21²³⁸

²³¹ Cap. 11: *Item omnia tributa tempore Ladizlai regis facta omnino exstirpentur. Volumus etiam, quod in locis antiquorum tributorum populi nobilium et ecclesiarum tributa non persolvat, sed tantummodo mercatores de aliis regnis ad alia regna transeuntes.* DRMH I/1, 44.

²³² Cap. 9: *Statuimus, ut omnia tributa a tempore regis Ladislai facta penitus deleantur; et quicumque res aliquas in huiusmodi deletis tributis retinere presumpserint, sententiam excommunicationis incurrant, possessiones vero se terre, ubi huiusmodi illicita exiguntur, ad ius regium devolvantur.* DRMH I/1, 49.

²³³ Glaser, "Dunántúl középkori úthálózata," 151; DRMH I/2, 207, n. 38.

²³⁴ 1335: *tributum...in villa...Namyán vocata...exigi consvetum abolitum esset et annihilato, eo quod homines ad ipsum tributum de iure venire debentes, per alias vias procederent et per possessiones aliorum nobilium falsas et indirectas vias sibi transeundi ordinarent* (Nyomja, C. Baranya), A. VI, 407; 1347: *Nuncciaverunt nobis cives et hospites nostri de Eperyes, quod cum ipsi cum rebus eorum mercimonialibus ac aliis is regno nostro de loco ad locum in iustis et consvetis viis eorum procedere vellent, vos ipsos in eorum iustis et consvetis viis procedere non permetteretis, sed eosdem ad tributa vestra in falsis et disuetis viis procedere non permetteretis, sed eosdem ad tributa vestra in falsis et disvetis viis ire compelleretis* (Eperjes, C. Sáros), Eperjes, 20-21. 1424: *de Zenche ad Agoth transirent, illi in falsa via tributi de ipsa Mania ambularent* (Szencse and Mánya, C. Bars; Agacs, C. Nyitra), F. X/6, 659. Cf. *A magyarországi középkori latinság szótára / Lexicon latininitatis medii aevi Hungariae*, ed. Iván Boronkai and Kornél Szovák (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó and Argumentum Kiadó, 1993) vol. IV (hereafter MKLSz), s.v. "falsus," 19-20.

²³⁵ 1417: *per vias seu stratas sinistras, alienas et inconsuetas* (Ság, C. Hont), MOL DL 10599, Zs.VI, 131.

²³⁶ 1416: *versus Haynburgam vel in Kerchenburg in via recta* (Hainburg and Oroszvár, C. Moson), MOL Df 239364; Zs.v. 1681;

²³⁷ 1261/1262: *inde directe vadit meta per semitam iustam* (Izsép, C. Baranya), Mon. Strig. I, 460. MKLSz V s.v. "iusta," 460-461.

²³⁸ Cap. 21: *Similiter inquiratur, discutiatur et moderetur, que et ubi sint false vie et indirecte quorumlibet tributorum, et quantum longe vel prope huiusmodi vias falsas singuli tributarii obsidendi ac itinerantes in eisdem prohibendi vel impediendi iustam et consuetudinariam habuerint et habere debeant facultatem. Vias autem novas in locis, quibus vie ab olim nunquam esse consueverunt, nemo pro communi et universali transitu itinerantium in detrimentum et dampnum tributorum vicinorum in faciebus suarum terrarum adinvenire presumat.* DRMH I/2, 75.

2.2.3 Common roads

The terms *via communis*²³⁹ and *strata communis*²⁴⁰ appear in Hungarian written documents from the mid-thirteenth century on. The Latin word *communis* had different meanings in medieval Hungary,²⁴¹ but in relation with roads it was most often used in the sense of “being shared by more owners.”²⁴² The terms *via* and *strata communis* must therefore be interpreted as roads belonging to more proprietors, who shared all the rights and duties related to the road. Firstly, there were common roads that belonged to two or more landowners whose estates were located along the road.²⁴³ Secondly, a common road could be shared by a group of villagers or any other community. (The *via magna* in Al-Gerence, for example, was owned by local fishermen.²⁴⁴) Finally, in the broadest sense of the term, common roads could also belong to the inhabitants of the whole realm, and thus they were at the same time public roads (*via communis et publica*).²⁴⁵

In order to highlight the question of authority in connection with the creation and use of public and common roads, I would like to refer to the dispute between the Pauline monastery dedicated to Saint Ladislas near Gyula and the villagers of Dergescse (C. Baranya).²⁴⁶ On 28 July 1395 the Pauline friars laid a complaint that the tenant peasants of the bishop of Pécs destroyed the fence around their meadow in Szentága, and made a road across

²³⁹ 1268: *transitque ad lacum, qui dicitur Kuper, cuius via est communis* (Örs, C. Komárom), F. IV/3, 448; 1267/1270: *per eandem viam comunem* (Prodaviz, C. Körös), W. VIII, 284; 1371: *quamdam comunem viam* (Gyánt, C. Tolna), F. IX/4, 363;

²⁴⁰ 1251: *mercatores stratam comunem versus mare Adriaticum transeuntes* (C. Modrus), W. XI, 371; 1293: *per quamdam stratam comunem (terra Hubena, C. Körös), F. VII/5, 516; 1397: via communis, qua itur ad curiam Archiepiscopalem* (Spalato, Croatia), F. X/3, 203; 1402: *supra littus Danubii, et prope stratam comunem tendentem uersus Dewen, sub monte Castri Nostri Posoniensis* (Dévény, C. Pozsony) F. X/4, 117;

²⁴¹ MKLSz II, s.v. “communis,” 221-222.

²⁴² Cf. *silva communis*, Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 57.

²⁴³ Cf. KMTL, s.v. “út,” 702.

²⁴⁴ 1257: *exit ad magnam viam, que est communis via piscatorum* (Al-Gerence, C. Veszprém), HO VII, 66.

²⁴⁵ 1400: *per medium terre eiusdem ecclesie alia via communis et publica regnicolarum* (Dergescse, C. Baranya), MOL DL 1430, Zs. II, No. 44. See also: 1410: *quamdam viam publicam et comunem* (Pér, C. Hont), MOL DL 73477; Zs. II, No. 7926; 1287: *ad vnam comunem et publicam viam* (Necpál, C. Turóc), W. XII, 468.

²⁴⁶ MOL DL 1430. Cf. ÁMTF I, s.v. “Dörgicse (Dergescse),” 298; ÁMTF I, “Szentlászló (Szentága),” 388.

that.²⁴⁷ On 7 January 1400 the *vicecomes* of Baranya was charged with the investigation of the friars' complaint, namely that the villagers of Dergescse made a new road across their field (*publicam viam et stratam de novo ordinassent*) and by frequenting that road they caused a lot of damage to the monastery.²⁴⁸ Having investigated the case above, on 12 January 1400 the *vicecomes* of County Baranya prohibited the villagers of Dergescse to use the fields, forests, meadows and roads of the monastery except for the common road (*magna et communis via regnicolarum*) that led to Hasságy (C. Baranya).²⁴⁹ In 26 January 1400 the *vicecomes* authorised the Pauline friars to close down the new road made by the villagers of Dergescse, because there was already a common road (*via communis et publica regnicolarum*) across the field of the monastery, and, if any village or person can construct roads wherever they please, the monastery would easily be disregarded.²⁵⁰

2.2.4 Private roads and easements

Roads within a private estate were under the jurisdiction and proprietorship of the landowner.²⁵¹ A charter from 1314, for example, refers to a *via privata* that led through the landed property of Jurk son of Jurk to a forest near Sümeg (C. Szepes).²⁵² In most of the cases, however, private roads are simply referred to as *viae* in written documents.²⁵³

Landowners had the right to prohibit entry to their estate, but there is also evidence that they sometimes gave permission to certain people to pass through their properties. To illustrate this, here are some examples from Transdanubia. In 1259 *Comes* Dés and Stephen of Hermán halved their landed property in Hermán (C. Vas, now: part of Szombathely as

²⁴⁷ 1395: *per medium ... prati eorumdem fratrum Heremitarum publicam viam ordinassent* (St. Ladislas monastery near Gyula, C. Baranya), F. X/2, 328; Zs. I, No. 4049.

²⁴⁸ Zs. II/1, 2.

²⁴⁹ Zs. II/1, 3, No. 19.

²⁵⁰ 1400: *singule ville aut persone quelibet ad suum libitum vias inibi fecerint, extunc ipsam ecclesiam de facili in nichilum redigi contingeret*, Zs. II/1, 8, No. 44.

²⁵¹ KMTL, s.v. "út," 702.

²⁵² 1314: *via vero privata versus silvam debeat super parte ipsius Iurk pertransire* (Sümeg, C. Szepes), Reg. Slov. I, 515.

²⁵³ KMTL, s.v. "út," 702.

Gyöngyöshermán). They agreed that the mill in Bogát (now: part of Szombathely) would belong to Dés, while the mill in Hermán would belong to Stephen, and both parties undertook to give way (*dare viam*) each other across their own landed properties.²⁵⁴ In another document from 1288 the chapter of Győr attested that two landowners, Zuda and Erd, divided their common landed property in Szöröcsök (C. Veszprém, now: Karakószöröcsök and Borsszöröcsök): Zuda and his relatives received the western part, while Erd and his relatives got the eastern part of it. However, because Zuda had another landed property in Kis-Szöröcsök beyond Erd's estate, and Erd also possessed a vineyard beyond Zuda's estate, they mutually agreed to provide each other pathway (*viam dare*) across their own properties.²⁵⁵ In 1290 Ladislav son of Moys and Paul son of Pousa, and their brothers agreed before the Vasvár chapter about the exchange of their mills on Medves (now: *Mürbischbach*) and Esztürmén (now: *Strém/Strembach*) Streams and provided each other the right of way (*viam eundi*) to the mills.²⁵⁶ When in 1292 Nicolaus of Döröske and Andreas of Hídvég settled their dispute over the borders of their estates at Döröske (C. Vas), they agreed that the former is liable to provide pathway (*dare viam*) to the tenant peasants of the latter to the well found on his property.²⁵⁷ Finally, let me refer to the letter of the bishop's vicar, Demeter from 1402. According to the testimony of that source noblemen from Kisfalud (C. Vas, now: Sorkifalud) appeared before the vicar and related, that in accordance with an agreement made sixty-three years before they had a secure way (*secura via*) across the estate belonging to the noblemen of Szentlénárt (C. Vas). They also claimed their right to a places in the cemetery and in the

²⁵⁴ See, No. 30

²⁵⁵ 1288: *Erd et cognati sui predicti, Zwda, Carachino et cognatis suis ad dictam terram minoris Zwrchek et ad silvam transeundi, et e converso Zwda, Carachinus et cognati eorum eisdem Erd et cognatis suis eundi ad vineas suas in terris suis sive porcionibus latitudine unius iugeris in alterutrum viam dare tenebuntur* (Szöröcsök, Veszprém), HO VIII, 259.

²⁵⁶ 1290: *Lad[izlaus] et Stephanus filii Moys... constituti unum locum molendini... situm in aqua Uzturga reliquerunt Paulo filio Pouse, Petro et Morhardo ac Andree.... possidendum; e converso Paulus et fratres sui unum locum molendini situm in rivo Meduspataka vocato relinquerunt Ladizlao et fratribus suis supradictis dando eisdem duo iugera terrarum ante ipsum molendinum, et iidem Ladizlaus ac Stephanus viam eundi in molendinum Pauli et fratrum suorum predictorum concesserunt iuxta unum rivum ab oriente a parte ecclesie beati Petri existentis in ipsa terra*, UB II, 231; HO VIII, 290.

²⁵⁷ See, No. 38.

church where they would be buried, and they testified their statement with a charter of King Charles I.²⁵⁸ The sources above give the impression that the terms *viam dare*, *via eundi* and *secura via* referred to the right of way, that is easement with both legal and customary status, rather than a physical track, a strip of land with definite boundaries.

2.3 FUNCTIONAL ASPECT

A substantial part of roads can be categorised from a functional point of view. They involve both long-distance and provincial routes with religious, military, or commercial functions (e.g. pilgrims' routes, military roads, transcontinental trade routes), as well as regional routes with religious or some kind of economic roles (e.g. church roads, trade routes).²⁵⁹

2.3.1 Pilgrims' routes

In Hungarian written sources pilgrims' routes were not distinguished from other types of roads. Still, I find it important to present a brief overview of Árpád Period pilgrimages here, partly because the earliest long-distance route across Hungary was a pilgrimage route, and partly because that road also served as a military and trade route in the subsequent centuries.

From the late 1010s on Western European pilgrims could access Jerusalem on an overland route across Hungary that was opened by King Stephen I (1000-1038), the first Christian ruler of the Hungarians.²⁶⁰ The route of the *via Hierosolymitana* is known from the itinerary of an anonymous author recorded sometime between 1031 and 1043. Pilgrims

²⁵⁸ 1402: *...relatum, quod ipsi nobiles de Kysfalud haberent securam via in terris nobilium de Sancto Leonardo ac partem ecclesia et cimiterio eiusdem ecclesie Sanci Leonardi, necnon sepulturam vellent habere in eadem, de quibus exhibuunt quandam litteram antiquam sine sigillo serenissimi condam Karuli regis Hungariae* (Kisfalud and Szentléránt, C. Vas), *VSz* 25(1971), 142; Péter Kóta, ed. *Középkori oklevelek Vas megyei levéltárakban. Regeszták a vasvári káptalan levéltárának okleveleiről (1130) 1212-1256* [Medieval charters preserved in County Vas archives. Regestas of charters issued by the Vasvár chapter (1130) 1212-1256] (Szombathely: Vas Megyei Levéltár, 1997), 81, No. 222.

²⁵⁹ Denecke, *Methodische Untersuchungen*, 117.

²⁶⁰ Györffy, *István király és műve*, 293. On eleventh-century pilgrimages from Hungary to the Holy Land see, András Borosy and József Laszlovszky, "Magyarország, a Szentföld és a korai keresztes hadjáratok" [Hungary, the Holy Land and the early Crusades] in *Magyarország és a keresztes háborúk. Lovagrendek és emlékeik* [Hungary and the Crusades. The Military Orders and their relics] ed. József Laszlovszky, Judit Majorossy and József Zsellengér (Máriabesnyő: Attraktor, 2006), 75-90, esp. 77-79.

arriving at the western border of Hungary entered the realm at Hainburg (*Heimenburch*), and passed through Transdanubia via the castles of Győr (*Raua*), Fehérvár (*Wzzenburch*, now: Székesfehérvár), Tolna (*Hanenburch*), Baranyavár (*Duldumast*, now: Branjin Vrh, Cr.), and Valkóvár (*Dordomest*, now: Vukovar, Cr.).²⁶¹ The Hungarian section of the pilgrimage route, therefore, followed more or less the path of the ancient Roman Danubian road (chapter 3.3.1). The road diverged from the Roman *limes* route between Győr and Tolna, having a shorter, diagonal route across Fehérvár, the royal seat of the kingdom.²⁶² In the Balkans the pilgrims' route continued to follow the path of the ancient Roman military road via Belgrade (*Belgrada*, now: Beograd, Ser.), Nish (*Nis*, now: Niš, Ser.), Straliz (*Straliz*, now: Sofia, Bg.), Philippopolis (*Philoppopolis*, now: Plovdiv, Bg.), Adrianople (*Adrianopolis*, now: Edirne, Tr.), to Constantinople. Passing through the Byzantine Empire and Syria, the pilgrims eventually reached Jerusalem. According to the testimony of the itinerary, the whole route took approximately three months, from which the Hungarian section between Hainburg and the Sava River was a nineteen-day journey.²⁶³

²⁶¹ Györffy, *István király és műve*, 300-301, Fig. 47.

²⁶² Fehérvár had been the royal seat of Hungary from 1018. ÁMTF II, s.v. "Fehérvár," 363, 376.

²⁶³ Györffy, *István király és műve*, 299-302, Fig. 47; Elena Koytcheva, "Logistics of the early Crusades in the Balkans on *Via Militaris*," in *Die Vielsichtigkeit der Straße*, ed. Holzner-Tobisch, Kornelia, Thomas Kühtreiber, and Gertrud Blaschitz (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012), 209-232, esp. 218-219.



Fig. 4. Pilgrims' route leading through Bari through the Hungarian Kingdom to the Holy Land (Györffy 1983,²⁶⁴ 301, Fig. 47)

The *Vita Sancti Stephani Regis* attests that King Stephen I not only allowed pilgrims to pass through Hungary to Jerusalem, but he also supported them by establishing a church in Constantinople²⁶⁵ and a monastery in Jerusalem.²⁶⁶ In addition, the legend above records that Hungarians already made pilgrimages to Rome in the early eleventh century, as King Stephen I set up houses and guest accommodations for them in Rome.²⁶⁷ No itinerary has been preserved considering Árpád Period Hungarian pilgrimages to Rome. However, in the

²⁶⁴ See n. 33.

²⁶⁵ *Vita Sancti Stephani Regis*, cap. 11: *Ipsam quoque regiam urbem Constantinopolim beneficiorum munere non privavit, qui ecclesiam mirifici operis constructam cum omnibus necessariis suis donavit.* SRH II, 368.

²⁶⁶ *Vita Sancti Stephani Regis*, cap. 11: *Construxit enim in ipsa conuersionis Christi secundum humanitatem civitate Ierusalem monachorum cenobium, prediis ditavit et vineis, ad victum cottidianum copiam ministrantibus.* SRH II, 386.

²⁶⁷ *Vita Sancti Stephani Regis*, cap. 11: *In capite quoque mundi Roma, sub titulo protomartyris Stephani XII. canonicorum congregationes cunctis pertinentiis habundanter statuit et maceriam in circuitu lapide muratam cum domibus et hospitibus Ungarorum, orationis causa beati principis apostolorum Petri limina querentium.* SRH II, 386.

eleventh and twelfth centuries pilgrims supposedly used the same route on which later military campaigns were led to Italy (see chapter 2.3.2), and on which North-Italian merchants arrived to Hungary (see chapter 4.1.2.1).²⁶⁸ In addition, from the twelfth century on, Hungarian pilgrims could also approach Rome on the so-called *Venediger Strasse* (also known as *Ungarweg* from the seventeenth century on) via Bruck, Wiener Neustadt, Friesach, Sankt Veit, Feldkirch, Villach, and Tarvisio.²⁶⁹ In addition to Rome and Jerusalem,²⁶⁹ there is written evidence that Hungarians went on pilgrimages to Aachen and Santiago de Compostela from the late Middle Ages.²⁷⁰ However, these latter are beyond the time frames of the present dissertation.

2.3.2 Military roads

In the Árpád Period military roads connected castles, fortifications, and other strategically important parts of the Hungarian Kingdom, and also they provided fast movement for military troops marching to war. Consequently, when searching references to military roads in written sources one must take into account both castle roads – *váruta*,²⁷¹ *várút*,²⁷² *via castrensis*,²⁷³ and *via castris*²⁷⁴ – and the routes of military troops – *hadút*,²⁷⁵ *hadiút*,²⁷⁶ *hadinagyút*,²⁷⁷ *via exercituum*,²⁷⁸ *via exercitus*,²⁷⁹ and *via exercitualis*.²⁸⁰

²⁶⁸ Teke, *Velencei-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok*, 22; Huszti, *Olasz—magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok*, 99.

²⁶⁹ Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 118; Csendes, *Die Straßen Niederösterreichs*, 242-248.

²⁷⁰ Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 119-120.

²⁷¹ 1269: *iuxta magnam viam que Varutha dicitur* (Nivegy valley, C. Veszprém), Zala vm. I, 54; 1336: *iuxta viam waruth dicta*, Cf. OklSz, s.v. “vár,” 1057-1058.

²⁷² 1437: *viam magnam, que vocatur Varut de Zerje Bakonya ad Urhida* (Szerjebakonya and Úrhida, C. Fejér), MOL DL 103584. Cf. Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózat,” 142, n. 35.

²⁷³ 1243: *per vallem Mellele ascendit in verticem montis ad tyliam, quae est secus viam castrensem et per eandem viam tenet metam secus versus occidentem cum Scarus* (Lice, C. Gömör), CDSI II, 87.

²⁷⁴ 1229: *ad magnam stratam castris* (Bohunic, C. Trencsén), CDSI I, 253; 1243: *per vallem Mellele ascendit in verticem montis ad tyliam, quae est secus viam castrensem et per eandem viam tenet metam secus versus occidentem cum Scarus* (Lice, C. Gömör), CDSI II, 87.

²⁷⁵ 1055: *Feheruarurea meneh hodu-utu-rea* (Fehérvár, C. Fejér), PRT X, 492; F. I, 391; 1055: *ad viam, quae dicitur Haduth; inde per eandem viam ad illam villam Gamás* (Gamás, C. Somogy), F. VII/5, 62; 1093: *ad viam hodut* (Gamás, C. Somogy), PRT X, 498; W. VI, 68; F. VII/5, 78; 1211: *per campum metis interpositis ad Hodut...* (Fadd, C. Tolna); *tendit versus occidentalem plagam ad viam, que dicitur Hoduth...* (Gamás, C. Somogy); *ad magnam viam, que dicitur Hoduth...* (Szántó, C. Somogy), PRT X, 511, 514, 516; W. I. 118, 122, 125; 1221: *ad Hodut* (Bracon, C. Varasd), F. VII/5, 223; 1255: *transit per viam que vulgariter hodut vocatur* (Petrinja, C. Zágráb), W. XI, 183; 1251: *usque ad locum, qui vocatur Hodut* (Csicsal, C. Somogy) PRT X, 522;

Between the tenth/eleventh and thirteenth centuries the frontiers of Hungary were protected by a fortified marchland (Hu. *gyepű*,²⁸¹ Lat. *indago*²⁸²) and an uninhabited zone (Hu. *gyepűelve*)²⁸³ beyond that (Fig. 5). The marchland or *gyepű* consisted of natural impediments (rivers, streams, fens, hills, forests, etc.) strengthened by man-made constructions (*opera*), such as castles, earth and timber fortifications, elongated ramparts, dams (*clausurae*),²⁸⁴ obstacles (*obstacula*), ditches, and hedges.²⁸⁵ In addition to natural and man-made obstacles the frontiers of the realm were controlled by guards (Hu. *őrök*,²⁸⁶ Lat. *speculatores*, Ge. *Wart*), archers (Hu. *lövők*,²⁸⁷ Lat. *sagittarii*, Ge. *Schützen*), and spies (Hu. *lesők*,²⁸⁸ Lat. *exploratores*²⁸⁹) settled on the borderland. Many of them belonged to distinct

F. IV/2, 116; 1268: *de inde haduc uadit versus orientem* (Bárd, C. Somogy), W. III. 191; 1320: *ad viam hatuth dictam* (Gelse, C. Zala), A. I, 550; 1345: *iuxta viam publicam Hoduth vocatam* (Diszel, C. Zala), Zala vm. I, 427; 1389: *prope unam viam vulgariter hathwt vocatam* (Bezzeg, C. Zala), Zala vm. II, 236; 1393: *viam haduth vocatam* (Oszlár, C. Somogy), MOL DL 43491; Iván Bors, “A Somogyi konvent oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban. Hatodik közlemény” [The charters of the Somogy convent in the Hungarian National Archives. Sixth publication,” *SMM* 31 (2000): 7-60, esp. 27, No. 511; 1397/1416: *pervenissent ad aliam viam haduth...* *abhinc versus partem septemtrionalem per eandem viam Haduth* (Budavárimuszt, C. Somogy), F. X/8, 573; 1399: *in quadam via Hadwth vocata* (Tarcza, C. Heves), Zs. I, 660; 1402: *in territorio dictae possessionis Keowago eurs penes quamdam viam Haduth vocatam* (Kövágóórs v. Felsőórs, C. Veszprém), F. X/4, 166; 1406: *usque viam hathuth...*, *ultra dictam viam hathuth* (Erenye, C. Zala), Zala vm. II, 325; 1416: *ad viam Hadwth...*; *ad viam publicam, hadwth vocatam...*; *pro via hadwth de ipsa Gywgh venientem* (Gamás, C. Somogy), PRT X, 629, 6. 35; 1430: *penes vnam viam Hadwth vocatam* (Bélc, C. Somogy), MOL DL 12302. Cf. OklSz, s.v. “hadi-út,” 331.

²⁷⁶ 1472: *vie strate magne Hadywth vocate* (Fadd, C. Tolna), OklSz, s.v. “hadi-út,” 330.

²⁷⁷ 1335: *ad quamdam viam Hadinogoth vocatam* (Zalavár, C. Zala), Zala vm. I, 301.

²⁷⁸ +1086: *ad viam exercituum* (Koppány, C. Veszprém), PRT VIII, 267; W. I, 31.

²⁷⁹ 1209: *a publica strata, que vulgo via exercitus dicitur, et tendit ad Treztenic* (Trstenik, C. Zágráb), W. XI, 98; 1217: *a publica strata, que vulgo via exercitus dicitur* (Glina, C. Zágráb), W. XI, 98; 1245: *de via exercitus ibidem transit, et ibit in eadem via exercitus versus Orientem* (Bokonue, C. Kőrös), F. IV/1, 387; 1254: *exit ad montem ad viam exercitus* (Selnica, C. Varasd), W. XI, 451.

²⁸⁰ I found examples for these roads from the territory of Slavonia: 1217: *regressu ad viam exercituaelem, quae fuit prima meta Cassina* (Cassina, C. Zágráb), F. III/1, 219; 1256: *uenit ad partem meridionalem ad magnam uiam exercituaelem (terra Graboscelo, C. Varasd)*, W. VII, 440; 1293: *cadit in magnam viam exercituaelem (terra Hubena, C. Kőrös)*, F. VII/5, 516; F. X/3, 279.

²⁸¹ OklSz, s.v. “gyepű,” 317; TESz I, s.v. “gyepű,” 1127.

²⁸² MKLSz V, s.v. “indago,” 148.

²⁸³ The term *gyepűelve* is a compound formed of *gyepű* and *elv~elü*, and means “the territory lying beyond the *gyepű*,” TESz I, s.v. “gyepűelve,” 1127.

²⁸⁴ MKLSz II, s.v. “clausura,” 146-147.

²⁸⁵ Károly Tagányi, “Gyepű és gyepűelve” [The marchland and the territory beyond that], *MNy* 9 (1913): 97-104, esp. 99; Gábor Kiss and Endre Tóth, “Adatok a nyugat-dunántúli korai magyar gyepű topográfiájához” [Data on the topography of the early Hungarian marchland in Western Transdanubia], in *Magyarok térben és időben* [Hungarians in space and time], ed. Éva Mária Fülöp and Julianna Kisné Cseh (Tata: Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Múzeumi Szervezet, 1999), 105-123, esp. 106-107; KMTL, s.v. “gyepű,” 242.

²⁸⁶ OklSz, s.v. “ör,” 724-725.

²⁸⁷ OklSz, s.v. “lövér,” and “lövő,” 596.

²⁸⁸ OklSz, s.v. “leső,” 585.

²⁸⁹ KMLSz III, s.v. “explorator,” 444-445.

tribes of the Hungarians or ethnic groups related to them (Kabars, Székelys, Pechenegs, etc.).²⁹⁰ The presence of these peoples in medieval Hungary is attested among other sources by toponyms referring to ethnicity (Kozár, Besenyő, Pecsényéd, Székely, etc.) or occupation (Őr-, Őri,- Strázsa-, Lő-, Lövő-, Kolo(z)s-, Les,- etc.).²⁹¹

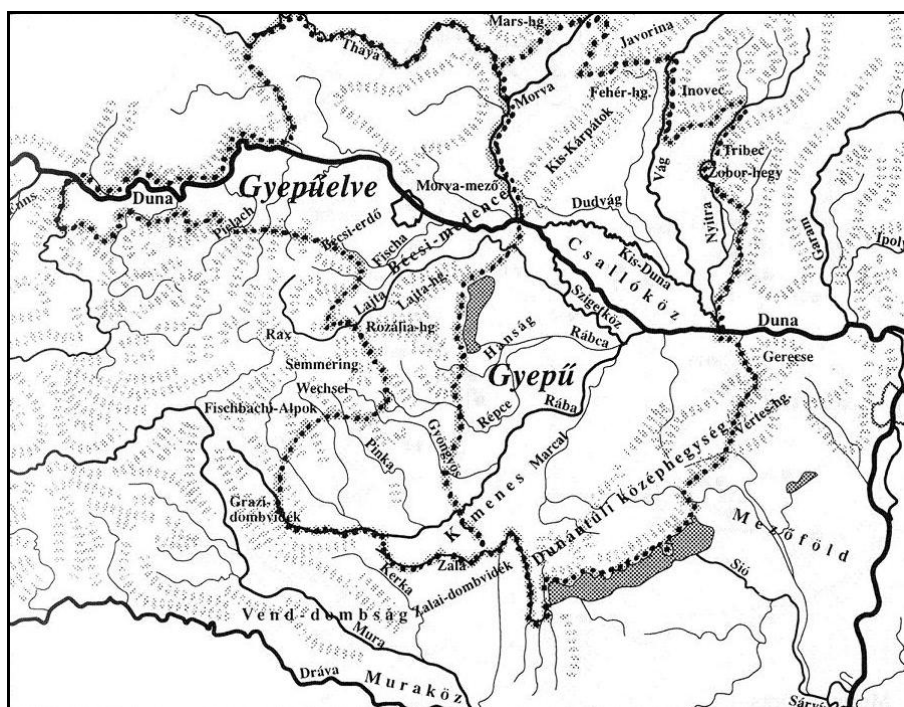


Fig. 5. The border zone of Western Hungary in the Árpád Period (Herényi 1996,²⁹² 343)

Chronologically the development of the western marchland of Hungary can be divided into three phases. (1) **900/907-955**: Following the occupation of Transdanubia Hungarian and Székely guards were settled in the western border zone. At that time the western border of the

²⁹⁰ On the border guards of medieval Hungary in detail see, Hansgerd Göckenjan, *Hilfswörter und Grenzwächter im Mittelalterlichen Ungarn* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1972). See also, Tagányi, “Gyepü és gyepüelve,” 100-102; Gyula Kristó, Ferenc Makk, and László Szegfű, “Szempontok és adatok a korai magyar határvédelem kérdéséhez” [Considerations and data on the question of the early Hungarian defence of borders], *HK* 20 (1973): 639-658, esp. 650-656; István Herényi, *Magyarország nyugati végvidéke 800-1242* [The western border of Hungary 800-1242] (Budapest: Argumentum, 1996), 48-51.

²⁹¹ For a collection of toponyms related to the *gyepü* see Ferenc Fodor, “Adatok a magyar gyepük földrajzához” [Data on the geography of the Hungarian marchlands], *HK* 37 (1936): 113-144, esp. 115-123, and István Herényi, “Az Őrség helynevekben” [The toponyms of Őrség (Wart)], in *Város—mezőváros—városiasodás* [Town, market town, urbanization], ed. László Solymosi and Balázs Somfai (Veszprém: Veszprémi Akadémiai Bizottság, 1992): 77-79, esp. 78.

²⁹² Cf. n. 290.

gyepűelve was the Enns River. (2) **955-970/973**: After the battle of Augsburg in 955 the Hungarians started to defend the western border with earth and timber fortifications. In addition, Pecheneg and Russian guards were settled in the marchland. At that time the westernmost border was the Fischa. (3) **970/973-1240s**: With the formation of Ostarrichi (ca. 970) and Carniola (ca. 973), Hungarians had to give up further territories on the Western border zone, and finally the Leitha River became the frontier. The early eleventh century saw the construction of castles in the centres of royal counties, and a series of border castles under royal control. These castles were responsible for the defence of the borders until the mid-thirteenth century, when the *gyepű* started to break up and frontier defence was taken over by private stone castles erected near the frontiers.²⁹³

²⁹³ János Belitzky, “Nyugatmagyarország védelmi rendszere és határőrnépei a középkorban” [The border fortifications and border guards of Western Hungary in the Middle Ages], *A gróf Klebelsberg Kuno Magyar Történetkutató Intézet Évkönyve* 4 (1934): 56-73, esp. 64-65; Gyula Kristó, *Az Árpád-kor háborúi* [Wars in the Árpád Period] (Budapest: Zrínyi Kiadó, 1986), 42-44, 46-47; KMTL, s.v. “gyepű,” 242; Herényi, *Magyarország nyugati végvidéke*, 57-72; Gömöri, *Castrum Supron*, 35; Attila Zsoldos, “Confinium és Marchia: Az Árpád-kori határvédelem néhány intézményéről” [Confinium and Marchia: On some institutions of border protection in the Árpád Period], *Századok* 134 (2000): 99-116, esp. 99-103.

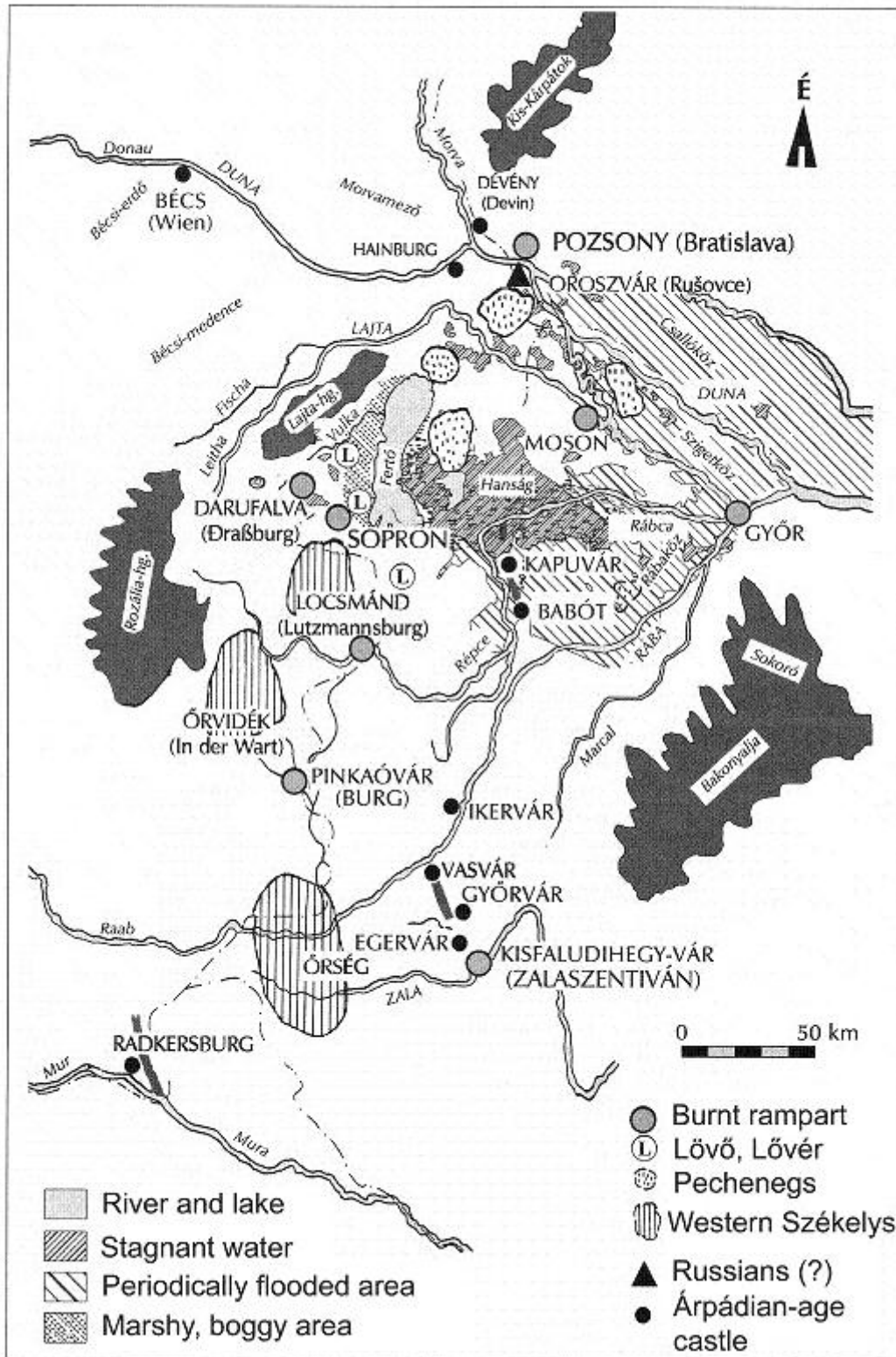


Fig. 6. The *gyepű* lines of Western Transdanubia in the Árpád Period (Gömöri 2002,²⁹⁴ 34, Fig. 11)

²⁹⁴ See n. 108.

Topographically the western border zone of Western Transdanubia was defended by three *gyepű* lines.²⁹⁵ Out of these fortified lines the strongest was **the westernmost *gyepű* line**. From 996 on the western border of Hungary was along the Morva/Morava and Lajta/Leitha (see chapter 3.2.2). The territory between the two rivers was controlled by the Hainburg Castle, which belonged to Hungary between 1030 and 1044.²⁹⁶ In addition to the Morava and Leitha Rivers, the Lake Fertő and the swampy area around it (see chapter 3.1.5), as well as the Leitha and Rozália Mountains also represented natural obstacles (chapter 3.1.1). The area north and east of the Lake Fertő was guarded by Pechenegs²⁹⁷ settled at Legénytő/Monóudvar (now: Mönchhof, Au.),²⁹⁸ Besenyő/Königshof (now: Königshof, Au.),²⁹⁹ Besenyő/Fertés (now: part of Mönchhof, Au.),³⁰⁰ Patfalva (now: Podersdorf am See, Au.),³⁰¹ and Káta (now: Gattendorf, Au.)³⁰² in County Moson.

West and south of the Fertő, on the other hand, Székely³⁰³ archers were settled as it is attested by the toponym Lövő (C. Sopron).³⁰⁴ The Pinka valley around Felsőőr (now: Oberwart, Au.),³⁰⁵ as well as the territory around the river-head of the Zala³⁰⁶

²⁹⁵ János Karácsonyi, "Halavány vonások hazánk Szent István korabeli határaitól" [On the borders of Hungary at the time of Saint Stephen], *Századok* 35 (1901): 1039-1058, esp. 1043-1047; Belitzky, "Nyugatmagyarország védelmi rendszere," 65-68; Gömöri, *Castrum Supron*, 33, 243.

²⁹⁶ ÁMTF IV, 136, 139.

²⁹⁷ Göckenjan, *Hilfswörker und Grenzwächter*, 89-113, esp. 99-102; György Györffy, *A magyarság keleti elemei* [Oriental elements of the Hungarian people] (Gondolat: Budapest, 1990), 124-126; András Pálóczi-Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians. Steppe peoples in medieval Hungary* (Budapest: Corvina, 1989), 27-38, Fig. 17; András Pálóczi-Horváth, "Nomád népek a kelet-európai steppén és a középkori Magyarországon" [Nomadic peoples in the Eastern European steppe and in medieval Hungary] in *Zúduló sasok. Új honfoglalók – besenyők, kunok, jászok – a középkori Alföldön és Mezőföldön* [New conquerors – Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians – in the medieval Great Plain and Mezőföld], ed. Péter Havassy (Gyula: Erkel Ferenc Múzeum, 1996), 7-36, esp. 14-15.

²⁹⁸ ÁMTF IV s.v. "Monóudvar," 158-160.

²⁹⁹ ÁMTF IV s.v. "Königshof," 153-154.

³⁰⁰ ÁMTF IV s.v. "Besenyő," 144.

³⁰¹ ÁMTF IV s.v. "Patfalva," 174.

³⁰² ÁMTF IV s.v. "Káta," 151-152.

³⁰³ Göckenjan, *Hilfswörker und Grenzwächter*, 114-139; Györffy, *A magyarság keleti elemei*, 41; Gábor Balás, *A székelyek nyomában* [In search of Seklers] (Budapest: Panoráma, 1984), 60-62.

³⁰⁴ István Herényi, *Helytörténeti lexikon 800-1400, Nyugat-Magyarország az Árpádok és Anjouk korában* [Lexicon of local history, 800-1400, Western Hungary at the time of the Árpád and Angevin rulers] (Velem: self-published by the author, 2000), s.v. "Lövä," 342 (hereafter Herényi).

³⁰⁵ Károly Viski, *Etnikai csoportok, vidékek* [Ethnic groups and regions] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1938), 4; Kósa and Filep, *A magyar nép táj-történeti tagolódása*, 97.

³⁰⁶ Kósa and Filep, *A magyar nép táj-történeti tagolódása*, 155-156.

(*Zalafeu/Zalafew*)³⁰⁷ called *Őrség* (Ge. Wart)³⁰⁸ were also inhabited by Székely guards.³⁰⁹ The presence of guards in the Pinka valley is attested by settlement names involving constituents - *őr*, *lő-*, and *lövő-*, such as Felsőőr,³¹⁰ Alsóőr³¹¹ (now: Unterwart, Au.), Herényőr,³¹² Alsólövő³¹³ (now: Unterschützen, Au.), Felsőlövő³¹⁴ (now: Oberschützen, Au.), Lődös³¹⁵ (now: Litzelsdorf, Au.), Nagylövő³¹⁶ (now: Deutsch Schützen, Au.), and Kislövő³¹⁷ (now: Horvátlövő, C. Vas).³¹⁸ By the early fourteenth century the *gyepű* had dissolved, and these guardsmen settled in the territory between the castles of Újvár/Küszén (now: Güssing, Au.) and Borostyán (now: Bernstein, Au.).³¹⁹ In 1327 King Charles I ordered *Comes* Nicolaus of Felsőőr (*de Superiore Eör*) to gather these people and settle them together where they formerly lived. It was after that the administrative unit of the guards called *örnagyság* (*capitaneatus vulgariter eörnaghsagh*) was established.³²⁰ Concerning the region (*districtus*) called *Őrség*, Árpád Period sources refer to border guards living at the source of the Zala River (*Zalafewewr*),³²¹ in the valley of the Zala (*speculatores de Zala*),³²² as well as along the

³⁰⁷ 1325: *Zalafeu*, HO I, 140; 1327: *Zalafeu*, HO I, 152; 1393: *Zalafew*, Zs. I. No. 2791=MOL DL 65838. In the fourteenth century the term *Zalafő* was still alternatively used to the *Őrség*, but from the fifteenth century on only the latter term appears in sources. KMTL, s.v. “*Őrség*,” 520; Kristó, *Tájszemlélet és térszervezés*, 46.

³⁰⁸ 1409: *Ewrzegh*, Zs. II/2, No. 6672=MOL DL 92332; 1413: *Ewrseg*, Zs. IV, No. 1297=MOL DL 10139; See also Viski, *Etnikai csoportok, vidékek*, 3; Kósa and Filep, *A magyar nép táj-történeti tagolódása*, 155.

³⁰⁹ Györffy, *A magyarság keleti elemei*, 41.

³¹⁰ 1327: *Superior Eör*, UB III, 245.

³¹¹ 1333: *terra speculatorum Olewr*, UB IV, 163. Herényi s.v. “*Alsóőr*,” 66-67.

³¹² 1333: *terra Herinewr/Herynewr*, UB IV, 163.

³¹³ 1391: *Lew et alia Lew*, MOL DL 839; Zs. I, No. 2181; 1393: *utraque Lewe*, MOL DL 78650. Cs. II s.v. “*Lövő*,” 772; Herényi s.v. “*Alsólövő (Felsőlövő)*,” 64.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

³¹⁵ 1333: *villa Ludus*, UB IV, 163. Cs. II “*Lődös (falva)*,” 772.

³¹⁶ 1391: *Nagsych*, Zs.I, No. 2181; MOL DL 65839.

³¹⁷ Herényi s.v. “*Horvátlövő*,” 259.

³¹⁸ Herényi, “*Az Őrség helynevekben*,” 77-79.

³¹⁹ 1327: *spiculatores... qui, inter castra Viuar et Borostyan vocata residencias et possessiones haberent*, UB III, 245.

³²⁰ UB III, 245. Cf. Herényi s.v. “*Alsóőr*,” 66-67.

³²¹ MOL DL 41557.

³²² 1213: *speculatores de Zala*, UB I, 64. The guards in the Zala valley also appear in sources after the Árpád Period. 1391: *universos spiculatores nostros vulgariter zalaewr nuncupatos*, MOL DL 65838. The regesta is published in Antal Fekete Nagy and Iván Borsa, ed., *A Balassa család levéltára 1193-1526* [The archives of the Balassa family 1193-1526] (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1990): No. 199. Transcribed in 1393 and 1406. See: *Ibid.*, No. 207 and 240.

Kerca/Kercsica (*speculatores Kurcite*)³²³ and Monyorósd (*speculatores de Monorosd*)³²⁴ Streams.³²⁵

The western *gyepű* was heavily fortified by a row of strong earth and timber fortifications and castles erected at Darufalva (now: Draßburg, Au.), Sopron, Locsmánd (now: Lutzmannsburg, Au.), Velem (C. Vas), Szombathely (C. Vas), Pinkaóvár (now: Burg, Au.), Polány (now: Sorokpolány, C. Vas), and Zalak (now: part of Sorkifalud, C. Vas) (for the details see Table 2 and Fig. 6).

The second or **middle *gyepű* line** was created along the marshland of Hanság (Ge. Waasen) and the river valleys of the Rábca and Rába (see chapters 3.1.6, 3.2.4, and 3.2.5). At its northern part in County Moson, the territory between the Danube and Leitha was protected by Pechenegs (e.g. at Besenyősziget/Flanschendorf; now: part of Bratislava as Petržalka, Sk.)³²⁶ and Russians (e.g. Oroszvár, now: part of Bratislava as Rusovce, Sk.).³²⁷ The right bank of the Danube was controlled by the castle built at Moson. South of the swampy and boggy area of the Hanság there was a row of castles and fortifications built along the the Rábca and Rába Rivers, such as Kapuvár, Babót (C. Sopron), Ikervár, Rum, Kám, and Vasvár (C. Vas). On the south, the territory between the Rába and Zala Rivers was defended by the castles of Győrvár and Egervár (C. Vas), as well as an earth and timber fortification of Zalszentiván (C. Zala) (for details see Table 2 and Fig. 6).

Finally, the third or **inner *gyepű* line** formed along the Rába and Marcal Rivers in County Győr. On the north it was controlled by the Győr Castle and an earth and timber fortification at Bácsa (now part of Győr). Between the Rába and Sokoró, Pechenegs were

³²³ 1208: *terra ville speculatorum Kurcite* (Felsőlendva, C. Vas), UB I, 56.

³²⁴ 1270: *speculatores de Monorosd* (Órimagyarósd, C. Vas), UB I, 380. Due to the same source the guards of Monyorósd (now: Órimagyarósd, C. Vas) had to protect the frontier from the border of County Zala to the Lugos Stream: *a metis comitatus de Zala usque locum qui Lug dicitur*, UB I, 382.

³²⁵ Kiss and Z. Czigány, "A Lapincs—Rába vonaltól délre eső terület," 568-570; Gyula Benczik, *Ivác* (Budapest: Száz magyar falu könyvesháza, [n.d.]), 20-22.

³²⁶ Györffy, *A magyarság keleti elemei*, 126; ÁMTF IV, s.v. "Flanschendorf," 147-148.

³²⁷ ÁMTF IV, s.v. "Oroszvár," 169-171.

settled (e.g. in Árpás, Szerecseny, and Tét, C. Győr).³²⁸ On the south the inner *gyepű* line was controlled by the Karakó Castle (Cf. Fig. 6 and Table 2).

	Medieval name	Medieval county	Archaeological site	Modern location	Archaeological dating	First written data	Source
1. The westernmost line	Darufalva	Sopron	Darufalva / Draßburg – Taborac Hill ³²⁹	Burgenland, Austria	9/10 th -11 th c.	–	–
	Sopron	Sopron	Sopron ³³⁰	Győr-Moson-Sopron	10/11 th -13 th c.	(1000-1038): <i>comitatus castri Soproniensis</i>	W. I. 22
	Locsmánd	Sopron	Locsmánd/ Lutzmannsburg– Kirchberg ³³¹	Burgenland, Austria	10 th -12/13 th c.	–	–
	Szombathely	Vas	Szombathely – Inner Castle ³³²	Vas	9 th -13 th c. (?)	1274: <i>castrum Zombothel</i>	UB II, 60
	Óvár	Vas	Pinkaóvár/ Burg ³³³	Burgenland, Austria	9 th -10 th c.	1244: <i>castrum Ovwar</i> ³³⁴	UB I, 210
	Polány	Vas	Sorokpolány – ‘Triangle’ ³³⁵	Vas	unexcavated	–	–
	Zalak	Vas	Sorkifalud – Zalak ³³⁶	Vas	first half of the 13 th c.	1278: <i>locum castri situm in terra Zalak</i>	UB II, 124

³²⁸ ÁMTF II, 567; Györffy, *A magyarság keleti elemei*, 126-128;

³²⁹ The earth and timber fortification at Darufalva was first excavated by Lajos Bella in 1891, see: Lajos Bella, “A ‘Sopronmegyei Régészeti Társulat’ 1891. évi kutatásai” [The archaeological investigations of the ‘Archaeological Society of County Sopron’ in 1891], *ArchÉrt* 12 (1892): 280-284, esp. 283-284. For summaries of the subsequent archaeological excavations with relevant literature see, Karl Kaus, “Darufalva (Drassburg), Locsmánd (Lutzmannsburg), Pinkaóvár (Burg),” *SSz* 41 (1987): 330-339, esp. 330-334, Fig. 2-4, and Gömöri, *Castrum Supron*, 36-42, Fig. 12-16.

³³⁰ The earth and timber fortification inside the town walls of Roman Scarbantia was first archaeologically investigated by Lajos Bella in the 1890s, see: Lajos Bella, “Scarbantia sánca” [The rampart of Scarbantia], *ArchÉrt* 16 (1896): 223-226. For a list of the subsequent archaeological excavations with references to their publications see, Gömöri, *Castrum Supron*, 50-53. Between 1297 and 1340 stone walls were erected at the inner side of the burnt rampart. For the building phases of the triple wall system of Sopron see, Imre Holl, Gyula Nováki, and Klára Póczy, “Városfalmaradványok a soproni Fabricius-ház alatt” [The remains of town walls under the Fabricius House in Sopron], *ArchÉrt* 89 (1962): 47-67, esp. 61-64; Holl, “Sopron középkori városfalai IV,” 205-206.

³³¹ Earth and timber fortification excavated first by Lajos Bella in 1900. For a summaries of the subsequent archaeological investigations see, Gyula Nováki, “Zur Frage der sogenannten ‘Brandwälle’ in Ungarn,” *ActaArchHung* 16 (1964): 99-149, esp. 142; Kaus, “Darufalva, Locsmánd, Pinkaóvár,” 334-337, Fig. 5-7 and Gömöri, *Castrum Supron*, 46-47, Fig. 20.

³³² For details see chapter 4.2.3.

³³³ The earth and timber fortification was first archaeologically investigated in 1953. In the early twelfth century stone walls were built over the fortification, Kaus, “Darufalva, Locsmánd, Pinkaóvár,” 337-339, Fig. 8.

³³⁴ The castle had certainly been destroyed by 1244. See, 1244: *locum illum, qui dicitur Ovwar, ubi antiquitus tastrum fuisse dicebatur; ... et ibi est magna uia, per quam itur ad castrum Owar*, W. VII, 161-162.

³³⁵ Small castle with a ditch around it identified by aerial photography, Kiss and Tóth, “Adatok a nyugat-dunántúli korai magyar gyepű topográfiájához” 112, Fig. 1.

³³⁶ Small round castle (d.: 20 m) with a ditch (d.: 40 m) around it archaeologically investigated by Gábor Kiss and Endre Tóth between 1987 and 1989. Gábor Kiss and Endre Tóth, “Sorkifalud–Zalak Árpád-kori vára [The Árpád Period castle of Sorkifalud–Zalak], *Castrum Bene* 1989. *Várak a 13. században* [Castles in the thirteenth century] (Gyöngyös: Mátra Múzeum, 1990), 198-202; Gábor Kiss and Endre Tóth, “Zalak Árpád-kori vára” [The Árpád Period castle of Zalak], *VHHK* 1990, 79-89, esp. 79-80 and 87; Kiss and Tóth, “Adatok a nyugat-dunántúli korai magyar gyepű topográfiájához” 112, Fig. 1.

2. The middle line	Mosonvár	Moson	Moson-magyaróvár – Királydomb ³³⁷	Győr-Moson-Sopron	10/11 th -13 th c.	[1063]: <i>in castrum Musun</i>	SRH I, 362
	Kapuvár	Sopron	Kapuvár – castle ³³⁸	Győr-Moson-Sopron	11 th -?	[1074]: <i>castrum porte</i>	SRH I, 394
	Babót	Sopron	Babót – Feketevár ³³⁹	Győr-Moson-Sopron	13 th c.	[1074]: <i>castrum Bobuth</i>	SRH I, 394
	Ikervár	Vas	Ikervár – Pókadomb and Fazékomb ³⁴⁰	Vas	unexcavated	[1073]: <i>Geminum Castellum</i>	SRH I, 379
	Rum	Vas	Rum – Dénesmajor ³⁴¹	Vas	unexcavated	–	–
	Kám	Vas	Kám – Várárka ³⁴²	Vas	unexcavated	–	–
	Vasvár	Vas	Vasvár ³⁴³	Vas	unexcavated	–	–

³³⁷ Earth and timber fortification excavated by Rezső Pusztai and Péter Tomka in 1952 and between 1971 and 1972. See I/25 (1972): 71-72; I/26 (1973): 84, Gyula Nováki, “A magyarországi földvárak az őskortól a középkorig” [Earth and timber fortifications in Hungary from Prehistory to the Middle Ages], *ÉÉ* (1975): 323-339, esp. 335; Gyula Nováki, “Várépítészetünk kezdete” [The beginnings of castle architecture in Hungary], in *Várépítészetünk* [Castle architecture in Hungary], ed. László Gerő (Budapest: Műszaki Könyvkiadó, 1975), 45-61, esp. 54; István Bóna, *Az Árpádok korai várairól. 11-12. századi ispáni várak és határvárak*. [On the early castles of the Árpáds. *Ispán*'s castles from the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the border castles] (Debrecen: Ethnica, 1995), 28.

³³⁸ The earth and timber fortification below the Kapuvár Castle was investigated by Sándor Faragó in 1960, *RégFüz* I/14 (1960), 68. See also: Sándor Faragó, “A kapui vár” [The castle of Kapu], *Arrabona* 4 (1962): 85-95, esp.,” 85-86; Gyula Nováki, “A sopronkörnyéki régészeti kutatások tíz éve (1945-1955)” [Ten years of archaeological investigations around Sopron (1945-1955)], *SSz* 9 (1955): 143-146, esp. 144; Nováki, “‘Brandwälle’ in Ungarn,” 131-132, Fig. 24-27; Nováki, “Várépítészetünk kezdete,” 58; Gömöri, *Castrum Supron*, 42.

³³⁹ Small castle excavated by Sándor Faragó in 1965. It is uncertain whether the excavated castle can be identified with the eleventh-century castle referred to by the chronicles, Kiss, “A Nyugat-Dunántúl Árpád-kori építészetéhez,” 160-162, Fig. 6 and 7. See also: Cs. III, s.v. “Babót,” 598; Endre Csatai, *Sopron és környéke műemlékei* [The monuments of Sopron and its environs], (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1956), 462; Gömöri, *Castrum Supron*, 44-45, Fig. 19.

³⁴⁰ Ikervár and its Latin equivalent *Geminum castellum* means twin castles. Traditionally the term “twin castles” was interpreted as two castles. These were archeologically indetified with the motte castles at Pókadomb or Rózsadomb and Fazékomb, out of which the latter one was demolished together with its mound in 1960. György Sándorfői, “Három korai magyar motte” [Three early Hungarian motte-and-bailey castles], *Műemlékvédelem* 30 (1986): 1-7, esp. 2-3; Gábor Kiss, “Régészeti adatok Vas megye 10-11. századi történetéhez” [Archaeological data on the history of County Vas in the tenth and eleventh centuries], *VSz* 50 (1996): 325-338, esp. 336; Kiss and Tóth, “Adatok a nyugat-dunántúli korai magyar gyepű topográfiájához” 112, Fig. 2; The existence of two castles at Ikervár has been questioned recently. It is suggested now that the name of Ikervár refers to the existence of one castle with two towers. Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 99; Borbála Vajk, “Adalékok Ikervár korai történetéhez” [Data on the early history of Ikervár], *VSz* 64 (2010): 698-710, esp. 699-700 and 706; Gábor Kiss has recently located the Ikervár Castle near the nineteenth-century Batthyány Castle. Gábor Kiss, “Topográfiai megfigyelések Vas vármegye kora Árpád-kori központjaiban” [Topographical observations in the early Árpád Period centres of County Vas] in *Központok és falvak a honfoglalás és kora Árpád-kori Magyarországon* [Centres and villages in Hungary in the tenth century and in the early Árpád Period], ed. Julianna Kisné Cseh (Tatabánya: Tatabányai Múzeum, 2002), 255-272, esp. 262-263, Fig. 3.

³⁴¹ It is a small round castle with a ditch around it identified by aerial photography, Kiss and Tóth, “Adatok a nyugat-dunántúli korai magyar gyepű topográfiájához” 113, Fig. 1.

³⁴² It is a small round castle with double ditch around it, Kiss and Tóth, “Adatok a nyugat-dunántúli korai magyar gyepű topográfiájához” 112, Fig. 2.

³⁴³ The site of the *ispán*'s castle has not been archaeologically identified, yet. See chapter 4.2.1 for the topography of Vasvár.

	Győrvár	Vas	Győrvár – Bodavár	Vas	unexcavated	–	–
	Egervár	Vas	Egervár ³⁴⁴	Vas	?-14 th c.	1288: <i>castrum... Egurwar</i>	UB II, 210
	–	Zala	Zalaszentiván – Kisfaludi Hill ³⁴⁵	Zala	10 th /11 th c.	–	–
3. The eastern line	Bácsa	Győr	Bácsa – Szent Vid Hill ³⁴⁶	Győr-Moson-Sopron	9 th -12 th c.	–	–
	Győr	Győr	Győr – Káptalan Hill ³⁴⁷	Győr-Moson-Sopron	10 th /11 th c.	[1997]: <i>in portam... lauriensem</i> ³⁴⁸	SRH I, 313-314

Table 2. Earth and timber fortifications and castles belonging to the *gyepű* lines of Western Transdanubia

Roads leading from the borders to the inner parts of the country were fortified by long earthen ramparts. Communication through those ramparts was enabled by **fortified gates** (Hu. *kapu*,³⁴⁹ Lat. *porta*).³⁵⁰ The road along the right bank of the Danube was controlled by a gate at Mosonvár.³⁵¹ The road leading from Vienna through Sopron and Kapuvár and Csorna to

³⁴⁴ In the fifteenth century a stone castle was erected over the Árpád Period castle. A timber construction was discovered under the late medieval stone walls by Emese Nagy in 1960, which may have belonged to the Árpád Period castle. Emese Nagy, “Az egervári vár építéstörténete” [The architectural history of the Egervár Castle], *ArchÉrt* 92 (1965): 192-206, esp. 196-198, Fig. 5-8; Nováki, “A magyarországi földvárak,” 338, n. 94. See also József Dénes, “Kérdések az egervári vár körül” [Questions concerning the Egervár Castle], *VSz* 56 (2002): 519-522.

³⁴⁵ Nováki, “‘Brandwälle’ in Ungarn,” 120-131.

³⁴⁶ Excavated by Gyula Nováki in 1958 and in 1964, see Nováki, “‘Brandwälle’ in Ungarn,” 132-136, Fig. 28-31 and *RégFüz* I/17 (1965): 47. See also, Nováki, “Várépítészetünk kezdete,” 54.

³⁴⁷ The *ispán*'s castle of Győr must have been located within the Roman fortification of former Arrabona on Káptalan Hill. See, Péter Tomka, “Régészeti adatok a győri, mosoni és soproni koraközépkori sáncvárak történetéhez” [Archaeological data concerning the early medieval history of earth and timber fortifications in Győr, Moson, and Sopron], *SSz* 41 (1987): 147-156, esp. 148-151. For the medieval topography of the Káptalan Hill see also, Dénes Gabler, Eszter Szőnyi, and Péter Tomka, “The settlement history of Győr (Arrabona) in the Roman Period and in the Middle Ages,” in *Towns in medieval Hungary*, ed. László Gerevich (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), 9-25, esp. 22-25.

³⁴⁸ It is uncertain whether the gates belonged to the *ispán*'s castle of Győr or the ruins of the Roman fortification of Arrabona. Cf. Bóna, *Az Árpádok korai várainól*, 24-25.

³⁴⁹ *OkI Sz*, s.v. “kapu,” 452.

³⁵⁰ For the role of gates in frontier defence, see Karácsonyi, “Hazánk Szent István korabeli határaitól,” 1040-1041; Tagányi, “Gyepű és gyepüelve,” 99; Göckenjan, *Hilfswörter und Grenzwächter*, 10; Kristó, Makk, and Szeffü, “Szempontok és adatok a korai magyar határvédelem kérdéséhez” 648-650; Kiss and Tóth, “Adatok a nyugat-dunántúli magyar gyepű topográfiájához,” 111.

³⁵¹ *Chron. Hung. saec. XIV*, cap. 85 [ad 1046]: *Petrus... rex cum suis Teutonicis fugam iniit versus Musun, ut abinde in Austriam pertransiret, sed evadere non potuit. Interim enim Hungari portas et exitus regni primo occupaverunt*, SRH I, 342; *Chron. Hung. saec. XIV*, cap. 93 [ad 1060]: *Rex... Andreas fugit versus Teutonium, sed evadere non potuit, captus est enim ad portas Musun*, SRH I 357; *Ann. Altah.* [ad 1060]: *rex Andreas ... in*

Győr was controlled by a gate at Sopron³⁵² and one at Kapuvár (hence the name of Kapuvár, meaning ‘gate of the castle’).³⁵³ The gate at Kapuvár belonged to a rampart that originally started in the Hanság (near Földvárímajor) and led towards south-east through Kapuvár, Babót, Mihályi and Kecöl (now: Rábakecöl) to the Rába.³⁵⁴ The so-called *via Latinorum* from Styria through Vasvár and Veszprém towards Fehérvár was controlled by a gate at Regede (now: Bad Radkersburg, Au.) and another at Vasvár (see chapter 4.1.2.1). The former gate was called Németkapu (*Nemethkapu*, German gate)³⁵⁵ and it crossed a six kilometre long rampart between Regede and Muraszombat (C. Vas). The other gate – called today Vaskapu (i.e. Iron gate)³⁵⁶ – crossed an eight-kilometre-long rampart running from Vasvár to Győrvár (C. Vas).³⁵⁷

ipsis faucibus viarum, quas portam regis vocant, a tergo adgreditur, MGH SS XX, 810. Cf. ÁMTF IV, s.v. “Mosonvár,” 160-161, 167.

³⁵² Thirteenth-century sources name Babót as the gate of Sopron: 1217: *tributum porte de Supran, quod nominatur Bobech*, UB I, 72; F. III/1, 240; 1268: *in porta de Supron, quae Bobet vulgariter nominatur*, F. IV/3, 471. Gömöri, *Castrum Supron*, 44-45. It must be noted, however, that the Babót is located rather far from Sopron. The so-called Back Gate (Ge. *Hinterthor*) of the Sopron Castle must have also played an important role in the control of the road. Tóth, “Régészeti adatok az Elő- és Hátsókapu történetéhez,” 74; Gömöri, *Castrum Supron*, 81; Katalin Szende, “Settlement structure and topography in Sopron between the Hungarian Conquest and the late seventeenth century,” in *Sopron. Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns* No.1, ed. Eadem (Sopron: Soproni Levéltár and Soproni Múzeum, 2010), 12-27, esp. 13.

³⁵³ Nováki, “A magyarországi földvárak,” 333-334; Kiss and Tóth, “A vasvári ‘Római sánc’ és a ‘Katonák útja,’” 101-137, esp. 129, Fig. 13.

³⁵⁴ Kiss and Tóth, “A vasvári ‘Római sánc,’ és a ‘Katonák útja,’” 129, Fig. 13; Gábor Kiss, Endre Tóth, and Balázs Z. Czigány, *Savaria–Szombathely története a város alapításától 1526-ig* [The history of Savaria—Szombathely from the foundation of the town to 1526] (Szombathely: Szombathely Megyei Jogú Város Önkormányzata, 1998), 103.

³⁵⁵ 1331: *vadit ad porticum seu transitum Nemethkapu vocatam in fossato inter civitatem Regede et terram Belmura..., super quo fossato venit ad ipsum Kapw et in magna via, que venit de Theutonia ad orientem declinando* (Muraszombat, C. Vas and Radkersburg), UB IV, 91; 1348: *transit usque ad portam wlgo Nemethkapu vocatam*, OklSz, 452.

³⁵⁶ VaMFN 527, No. 214/195.

³⁵⁷ The rampart was excavated by Gábor Kiss and Endre Tóth in 1985, Kiss and Tóth, “A vasvári ‘Római sánc’ és a ‘Katonák útja,’” 101-137.

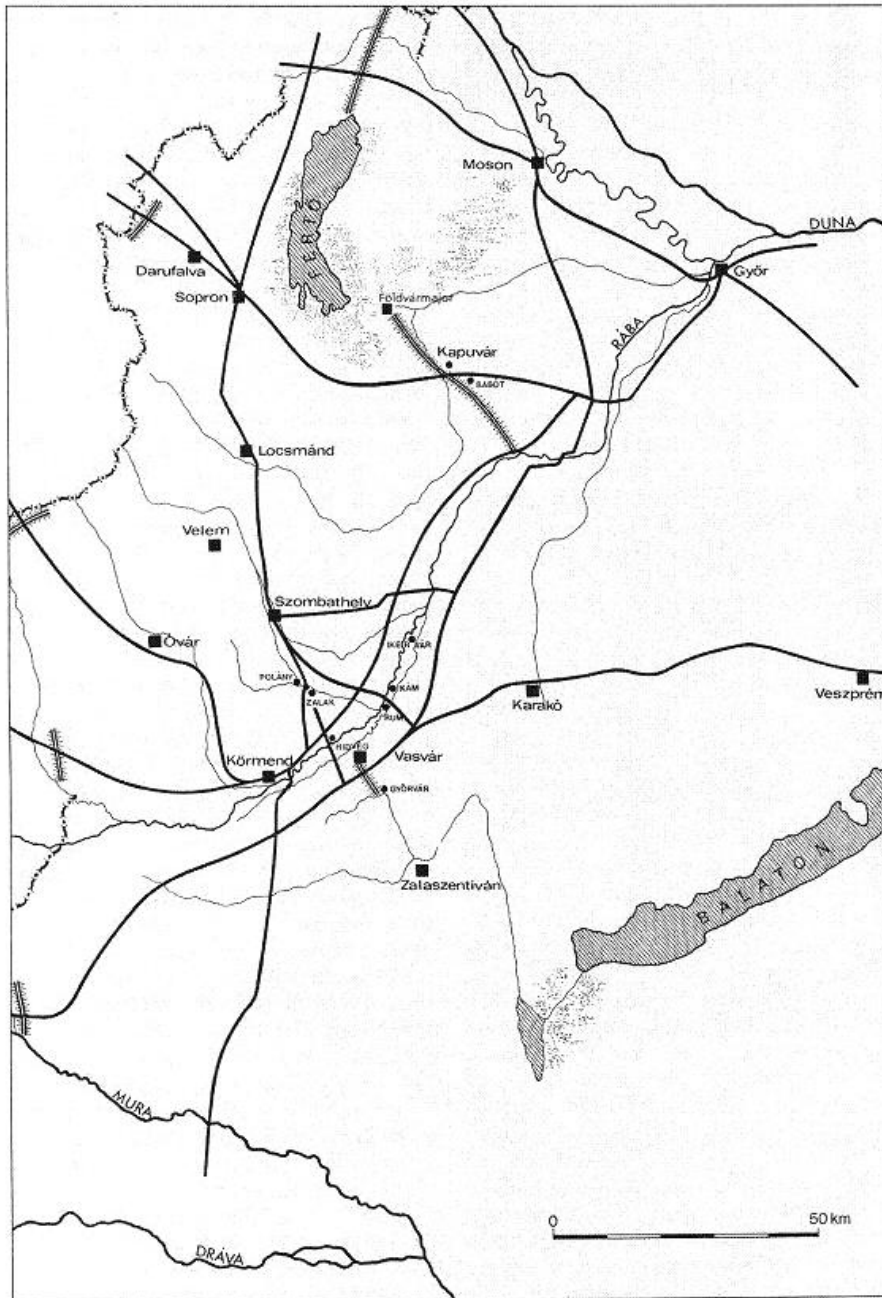


Fig. 7. The main roads of Western Transdanubia controlled by castles and gates in the Árpád Period (Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány 1998,³⁵⁸ 102, Fig. 87)

³⁵⁸ See n. 354.



Fig. 8. The reconstructed Iron Gate and rampart at Vasvár (September 2011)

The settlements and roads of Western Transdanubia were protected at several points by earthen **dams** (Hu. *eszteru*,³⁵⁹ Lat. *clausura*³⁶⁰) constructed against the inundations of the Rábca and Rába Rivers.³⁶¹ At the same time, these dams served as parts of the military defensive system, as in the case of an offense against Hungary they could be used for causing artificial floods, making thus roads impassable for the enemy.³⁶² In 1044, for example, Emperor Henry III (1039-1056) conducting a campaign against Hungary was impeded at Babót by the floods of the Rábca.³⁶³ What makes us believe that it was not a natural inundation is that Hungarians supporting the emperor could lead his troop to a ford where they could easily cross the Rába and Rábca. There are also data on other military campaigns of Holy Roman emperors against Hungary where the German troops were held up only by the

³⁵⁹ OklSz, s.v. “ösztrü,” 1192-1193; Miklós Kázmér, *Alsó-szigetköz földrajzinevei* [Geographical names of the Lower Szigetköz] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1957), s.v. “töltés,” 41; Zoltán Gombocz and János Melich, *Magyar etymologiai szótár / Lexicon critico-etymologicum linguae hungaricae* vol. II (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1943), s.v. “észtrü,” 91-92 (hereafter EtSz); TESz III, s.v. “ösztrü,” 44-45.

³⁶⁰ MKLSz s.v. “clausura,” 146-147.

³⁶¹ See chapter 3.2, and sub-chapters 3.2.4 and 3.2.5, in particular.

³⁶² For the role of dams in defence see, Tagányi, “Gyepü és gyepüelve,” 256-258; Kiss and Tóth, “Adatok a nyugat-dunántúli magyar gyepü topográfiájához,” 111.

³⁶³ Chron. Hung. saec. XIV, cap. 76 [ad 1044]: [*Cesar Hericus*] *invasit fines Hungarie intrans per Supronium et cum vellet per Bobuth Rabcha pertransire, fluvium Rabcha stagnantibus aquis et densissimis nemoribus et scaturientibus paludibus impermeabilem transire non potuit. Hungari ergo qui erant cum cesare et Petro rege, duxerunt exercitum tota nocte equitantes sursum iuxta fluvios Raba et Rabcha, quos illucescente sole facili vado transierunt.* SRH I, 331.

the waters of the Rába, Rábca (in 1030,³⁶⁴ 1042,³⁶⁵ 1043,³⁶⁶ etc.). These campaigns took place in late June and early July, when (after the main spring floods) there could have been a secondary flood period on the Rába and Rábca Rivers. Thus whether the inundations above were the result of a fortunate coincidence with rainy summer seasons or caused artificially by the Hungarians could be decided only with knowledge of precipitation conditions in the campaign periods.³⁶⁷

In Transdanubia there are four roads that must have served as the *routes of military campaigns* in separate periods. The oldest military road was beyond doubt the one that – with the exception of the Danube bend – followed the path of the ancient Roman military road *along the right bank of the Danube*. (It was, therefore, identical with the Danubian pilgrims' route discussed above.) When relating the events of the occupation of Transdanubia by the Magyars, the anonymous author of the *Gesta Hungarorum* reports that Prince Árpád, after setting up his camp at Százhalom (C. Fejér), commanded one part of his army along the Danube to Baranyavár (C. Baranya).³⁶⁸ The same road must have been used by King Stephen I when he waged war against Bulgaria in the 1110s in alliance with Emperor Basil II (976-1025).³⁶⁹ Western European troops of the First Crusade must have used that route when

³⁶⁴ Her. Aug. Chron. [ad 1030]: *Counradus imperator, iam dudum inimicitiiis cum Stephano Ungariorum rege conflatis, Pannoniam petiit, et quantum fluminibus et paludibus non obstantibus poterat, Rabam usque devastavit*, MGH SS V, 121.

³⁶⁵ Her. Aug. Chron. [ad 1042]: *Heinricus quoque rex autumnio Pannonias petens, Heimenburg et Brezesburg evertit, septentrionalem Danubii partem, quia flumina australem et paludes munierant, usque ad Grana flumen vastavit seu in dedicionem accepit; et pars exercitus bis numero Ungariis incursantibus congregiendiens, strages magnas effecit*, MGH SS V, 126.

³⁶⁶ Ann. Altah. [ad 1043]: *Veniens ergo rex [Petrus] ad terminum regni, ubi exercitus recensereetur, decrevit, ut hostilis terra procul dubio invaderetur, et factis machinis contra opus, quo fluvium Rapiniza occluserant, in crastinum impugnare disposuerant*, MGH SS XX, 798.

³⁶⁷ Andrea Kiss, *Floods and long-term water-level changes in medieval Hungary*, Doctoral dissertation (Budapest: Central European University, 2011), 213-216.

³⁶⁸ Anon., cap. 47: *Prima die castra metatus est iuxta Danubium versus Centum Montes. Tunc ordinatum est, quod dux de exercitu suo unam partem mitteret iuxta Danubium versus castrum Borona*, SRH I, 95-96.

³⁶⁹ Glaser, "Középkori hadiútak Dunántúlon," 163. For the Bulgarian campaign in chronicles, see *Simon de Kéza*, cap. 43, SRH I, 172; *Chron. Hung. saec. XIV*, cap. 66, SRH I, 315-316; Kristó, *Az Árpád-kor háborúi*, 56-57. For dating of the war see, *István király és műve*, 288-289.

marching through Hungary to the Holy Land.³⁷⁰ In May 1096 the Crusaders led by Peter of Amiens, for example, entered Hungary at Mosonvár (C. Moson),³⁷¹ and left the country at Zemun/Zimony (C. Szerém).³⁷² In June 1096 Gottschalk and his troop also crossed the border of Hungary at Mosonvár but before reaching Fehérvár (C. Fejér) they were held up and dispersed by King Coloman's army because they were devastating the countryside.³⁷³ The memory of the Danubian military road is also preserved by references to *hadút* at Fehérvár and Fadd (C. Tolna), in Árpád Period charters,³⁷⁴ and by the toponym *Hadút* between Bellye/Bilje (C. Baranya) and Kopács/Kopačevo (C. Baranya).³⁷⁵

There are data on the existence of two more medieval military roads running across Transdanubia in a north-east—south-west direction *towards Slavonia and Croatia*. Both roads are most likely to have started from Fehérvár, but while one was running along the southern shore of Lake Balaton via Szántó, Gamás and Budavárimuszt (C. Somogy), the other evaded the Balaton, and arriving from Úrhida, Szerjebakonya (C. Fejér),³⁷⁶ it led through Kővágóörs,³⁷⁷ the Nevegy valley south of Nagyvázsony (C. Veszprém),³⁷⁸ Diszel, Zalavár, Bezzeg, and Gelse (C. Zala).³⁷⁹ After leaving the region of the Balaton the military routes above continued southwards to County Varasd. We may accept the argumentation of Lajos

³⁷⁰ There is a traditional view in Hungarian historiography that it was the pilgrims' road on which German and French troops marched to the First Crusade. See, for example, Gyula Pauler, *A Magyar nemzet története az Árpádházi királyok alatt* [The history of the Hungarian nation under the House of Árpáds] (Budapest: Athaneum, 1899), 192-193 and more recently Borosy and Laszlovszky, "Magyarország, a Szentföld és a korai kereszties hadjáratok," 80-82. Endre Tóth questioned that theory arguing that it was not safe to let foreign troops cross Hungary on a route where the royal seats of the Hungarian Kingdom (Esztergom, Fehérvár, and Veszprém) were located. He suggested instead that the Crusaders' route led through Western Hungary, turned south-east at Rum (C. Vas) and continued along the ancient Roman road via Keszthely, Pécs, Eszék, Belgrade, and Zemun. Endre Tóth, "Via imperatoris (1217)," in "Quasi Liber et Pictura," *Tanulmányok Kubinyi András hetvenedik születésnapjára* [Studies in Honour of András Kubinyi on his Seventieth Birthday], ed. Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: ELTE: Régészettudományi Intézet, 2004), 575-580, esp. 576-578.

³⁷¹ Guibertus Abbas, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, lib. 2, cap. 4, PL 156, 705-706.

³⁷² Albertus Aquensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, lib. 1, cap. 7-8, PL 166, 392-394.

³⁷³ Albertus Aquensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana* lib. 1, cap. 24-25, PL 166, 405-406.

³⁷⁴ See note 275 above.

³⁷⁵ ÁMTF I, 261, and s.v. "Bellye," 283. Cf. János Pesti, ed., *Baranya megye földrajzi nevei* [Toponyms in County Baranya] Vol. 2 (Pécs: Baranya Megyei Levéltár), 490, No. 223/795 (hereafter BMFN).

³⁷⁶ Cf. n. 272.

³⁷⁷ Cf. n. 275.

³⁷⁸ Cf. n. 271.

³⁷⁹ Cf. n. 275 and 277.

Glaser that from geographical point of view the military roads were most likely to have crossed the Drava River at Zákány (C. Somogy).³⁸⁰ On the territory of Slavonia only one route can be reconstructed from written sources. It had a meandering path leading through Bracon,³⁸¹ Selnica (now: Donja Selnica, Cro.) (C. Varasd), Bokonue³⁸² (C. Kőrös), Cassina,³⁸³ Zágráb (now: Zagreb, Cro.), Petrinja (now: Petrinja, Cro.), and Glina (now: Glina, Cro.) (C. Zágráb) (Fig. 9).³⁸⁴

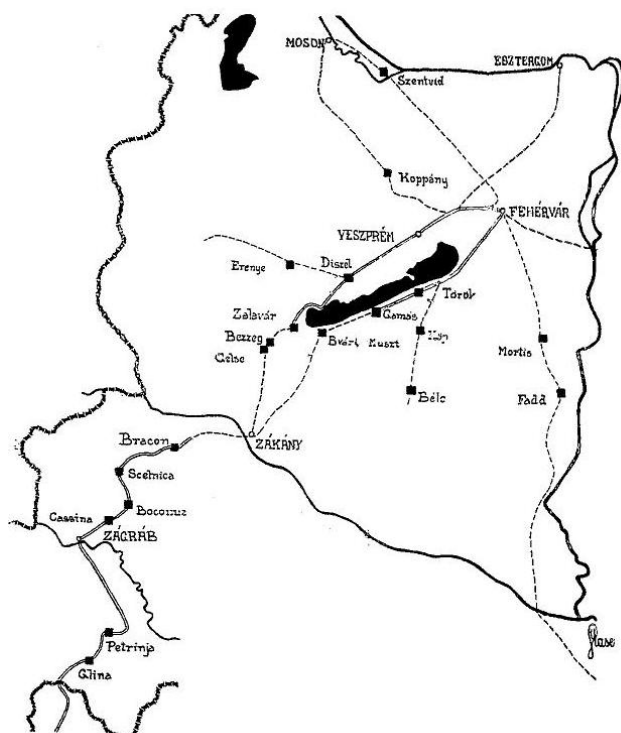


Fig. 9. Medieval military roads in Transdanubia reconstructed by Lajos Glaser (After Glaser 1932,³⁸⁵ 161)

conducted by King Ladislas I (in 1091) and by King Coloman (in 1102 or 1105) for the occupation of Croatia and Dalmatia.³⁸⁶ In contrast, the northern route running through County

From the dating of the written sources referring to the military roads along the southern and northern shores of the Balaton, it can be conjectured that their use fundamentally belonged to different periods. The southern route through County Somogy seems to have been the older one as the earliest sources referring to its sections come from the second half of the eleventh century. Therefore, that road must have already been used in the military campaigns

³⁸⁰ Lajos Glaser contradicted Gyula Pauler, according to whom the military road crossed the Dráva River around Vaska. See, Pauler, "Horvát-Dalmátország elfoglalásáról," 1888, 212, n.1; Glaser, "Középkori hadiútak Dunántúlon," 160.

³⁸¹ In the valley of the Bednya (Bednja), Glaser, "Középkori hadiútak Dunántúlon," 160, n. 10.

³⁸² In the valley of the Lónya (Lonja), Glaser, "Középkori hadiútak Dunántúlon," 160, n. 12.

³⁸³ In the valley of the Sava, Glaser, "Középkori hadiútak Dunántúlon," 160, n. 13.

³⁸⁴ Cf. n. 275, 279, and 280.

³⁸⁵ See n. 14.

³⁸⁶ For the Croatian and Dalmatian campaigns see, Pauler, "Horvát-Dalmátország elfoglalásáról (1091-1111)," 197-215, 320-333; Kristó, *Az Árpád-kor háborúi*, 68-69 and 72.

Veszprém dates to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. That road must have certainly been used at the time of the struggles for the throne of Hungary following the death of the last Árpád ruler, King Andrew III (1290-1301). In the spring of 1301 the twelve-year-old Charles of Anjou must have arrived on that road from Zágráb/Zagreb, through Veszprém to his coronation in Esztergom.³⁸⁷ In addition, it could also have an important role in the wars related to the succession to the throne between 1301 and 1308 as it connected the south-western provinces held by the supporters of Charles of Anjou with Buda, where the two other claimants to the throne – Wenceslas, son of Wenceslas II of Bohemia, and subsequently Otto, duke of Bavaria – set up their residence.³⁸⁸

Finally, mention must be made of a military road that was running from the centre of Hungary *towards Italy*. A source dating from 1515 preserved in an eighteenth-century translation calls the road *Katonák utya* (i.e. Soldiers' Road) in the vicinity of Gerse and Karátföldre.³⁸⁹ The *Katonák útja* connected the *ispán's* castles in Fehérvár (C. Fejér), Veszprém (C. Veszprém), Karakó and Vasvár (C. Vas) along a more or less east-west line. At Vasvár the road turned south-west and continued its way as through Styria, Carniola, Carinthia, and to Northern Italy. South-west of Vasvár sections of the road were called *Muraút*³⁹⁰ and *via Latinorum*,³⁹¹ the former named after the nearer destination, the latter referring to the farther destination of the road. From Italy to the region of Körmend (C. Vas) the road followed the path of the ancient Amber Route, but from the Hegyhát its path developed consistent with the geomorphological and hydrographic features of the terrain.³⁹²

³⁸⁷ Glaser, "Középkori hadiútak Dunántúlon," 162-163.

³⁸⁸ For a summary of the internal military events during the period of interregnum (1301-1308) see, for example, Gyula Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi* [Wars in the Angevin Period] (Budapest: Zrínyi Kiadó, 1988), 11-26; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 124-130. For the wars of Charles I conducted against the oligarchs see: Pál Engel, "Az ország újraegyesítése. I. Károly küzdelmei az oligarchák ellen (1310-1323)," [The reunification of the realm. The fights of King Charles I against the oligarchs (1310-1323)], *Századok* 122 (1988): 89-146.

³⁸⁹ Vas Megyei Állami Levéltár, Mohács előtti gyűjtemény, No. 755 (The Archives of County Vas, Collection before 1526); Kiss and Tóth, "A vasvári 'Római sánc,' és a 'Katonák útja,'" 107.

³⁹⁰ 1410: *penes viam Murauta* (Hodász and Szőce, C. Vas), Zs. II, 335.

³⁹¹ 1274: *viam, que Via Latinorum nuncupatur* (Halogy and Tótlak, C. Vas), UB II, 73, W. IX, 97.

³⁹² Kiss and Tóth, "A vasvári 'Római sánc,' és a 'Katonák útja,'" 126-130.

The *via Latinorum* was already regularly used by the Hungarians for their raids on Italy and Carinthia from 899 until their defeat at Augsburg in 955,³⁹³ which is demonstrated, for example, by the field names *via Ungarorum* and *strata Ungarorum* in North Italy. In addition, written sources reporting on the military campaigns conducted by the Hungarian kings – such as Samuel Aba (in 1042) or Andrew (in 1054) – against Carinthia also testify the relatively early military use of the *via Latinorum* by the Hungarians.³⁹⁴ However, the peak of the military use of the road dates to the Angevin Period, and started with the first military campaign of King Louis I (1342-1382) against Naples between 1347 and 1348.³⁹⁵

2.3.3 Trade routes

Trade routes of the Hungarian Kingdom belonged to two levels of hierarchy serving regional and provincial commerce, respectively. At the regional level one finds market roads that connected market-places with settlements within their area. Provincial trade in Hungary was based on the domestic circulation of two commodities: salt and wine. In addition, there were foreign trade routes directed to the west (Austria and the Rhineland), to the north-west (Moravia and Bohemia), to the north (Poland), to the south (the Balkans), and to the south-west (North Italy).³⁹⁶

³⁹³ For a summary of the tenth-century raids of the Hungarians see, Kristó, *Az Árpád-kor háborúi*, 21-45.

³⁹⁴ Kiss and Tóth, “A vasvári ‘Római sánc,’ és a ‘Katonák útja,’” 127.

³⁹⁵ Kiss and Tóth, “A vasvári ‘Római sánc,’ és a ‘Katonák útja,’” 112-113. On the first and second military campaigns of King Louis I against Naples see, Miskolczy, “Nagy Lajos nápolyi hadjáratai. Első hadjárat,” 46-70; Miskolczy, “Nagy Lajos második nápolyi hadjárata,” 41-57; Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*, 109-125.

³⁹⁶ For Árpád Period foreign trade routes in general, see: Diószegi, *A Magyarországon keresztülvivő kereskedelmi utak*; Szücs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 230-241. For the respective long-distance trade routes see, Pleidell, *A nyugatra irányuló magyar külkereskedelem*; Lajos Glaser, “Der Levantehandel über Ungarn im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert,” *UJb* 13 (1933): 356-363; Zsigmond Pál Pach, “Egy évszázados történésvitáról: áthaladt-e a levantei kereskedelem útja a középkori Magyarországon?” [On a century-long historical debate: did the Levantine trade route lead through Hungary?], *Századok* 106 (1972): 849-891; Huszti, *Olasz-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok*; Teke, *Velencei-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok*.

2.3.3.1 Market roads

Market roads³⁹⁷ are referred to as *vásárút*,³⁹⁸ *vásárosút*,³⁹⁹ *via forensis*,⁴⁰⁰ and *via ad forum*⁴⁰¹ by Árpád Period and medieval Hungarian written sources.⁴⁰² In addition, there is evidence of an Árpád Period settlement called *Vásárút* (C. Pozsony),⁴⁰³ which evidently received its name from being located by a much frequented market road.⁴⁰⁴ The *Vásár út* field names also preserve the memory of market roads surviving from different ages.⁴⁰⁵

From the territory of Western Transdanubia one can cite two examples for medieval market roads: one from County Vas and the other from County Sopron. The first was called *vásárosuta* in the document of the Vasvár chapter from 1374.⁴⁰⁶ It was located near Hodász (C. Vas), and must have formed part of the great road leading from Szombathely, through Rohonc and Szalónak to Austria.⁴⁰⁷ The other market road, located in County Sopron, is referred to by the charters of the Fehérvár chapter from 1381 and that of the Győr chapter

³⁹⁷ OklSz, s.v. “vásár-út,” 1069; s.v. “vásáros-út,” 1070.

³⁹⁸ 1406: *usque viam Vasaruth*, (Apsa, C. Zala), Zala vm II, 327; 1412: *secus quandam viam Vasarwth vocatam* (Jánok, C. Pozsony), MOL DL 9883, Zs. III, 1705; 1420: *in alia via publica vasaruth vocata* (Felső-Füged, C. Abaúj), Zs. VII, No. 2387; 1420: *ad quandam viam magnam, quam ... Wasarwth vocari dixissent* (Repesoka and Hegymagas, C. Zala), MOL DL 10923, Zs. VII, 402; 1422: *ad viam wasarut dictam* (Repesoka and Hegymagas, C. Zala), MOL Df 200415, Zs. IX, 268; 1431: *quandam viam Saythwsuth alio nomine Wasaruth vocatam* (Kolozsmonostor, C. Kolozs), MOL DL 31132.

³⁹⁹ 1145/1443: *iuxta quandam viam vasarusuth vocatam* (Madocsa, C. Tolna), F. II.122; 1344: *ad magnam viam Vasarusvth dictam* (Badacsonytomaj, C. Zala), Zala vm. I, 417; 1364: *ad quandam magnam viam Vasarus-nogut vocatam* (Bucsuta, C. Zala), Zala vm. II, 3; 1390: *in magnam viam, que veniet de villa Mogas, que vulgariter dicitur Vasaruswth* (Németi and Magas, C. Somogy), MOL DL 7647, Zs. I, 193; 1389: *ad quandam viam pupplicam vulgariter Wasarazwth vocatam* (Surány, C. Nyitra), MOL DL 95290, Zs. I, 89; 1410: *penes viam Vasarusuth* (Keszi, C. Zala), MOL Df 201143, Zs. II/2, 356; 1414: *viam Wasaruswth dictam de prefata Beren ad Kethel ducentem* (Berény and Kethely, C. Somogy), MOL DL 92442, Zs. IV, 466; 1420: *in via vasarusuth* (Szentpéter, Somogy), MOL DI 10877, Zs. VII, 307; F. X/6, 270; 1420: *in quadam viam publica vulgo Wasarusuth/Wasaruswth declinando; ... in eadem via Vasarusuth/Vasaruswth* (Szentpéter, Somogy), MOL DL 10881 and 10882, Zs. VII, 370.

⁴⁰⁰ 1240: *ad unam viam forensem* (Gortva, C. Gömör), CDSI II, 49.

⁴⁰¹ 1247: *juxta viam, que ducit ad forum secunde ferie* (Sálfölde, C. Baranya) W. VII, 248; ÁMTF I, s.v. “Sálfölde,” 374; ÁMTF I, s.v. “Harsány,” 313.

⁴⁰² Cf. *Messestraße* in Denecke, *Methodische Untersuchungen*, 112.

⁴⁰³ 1235: *possessio Vásárut* (C. Pozsony), F. IV/1, 28.

⁴⁰⁴ FNESz II, s.v. “Vásárút,” 740.

⁴⁰⁵ Examples from Western Transdanubia: VaMFN, s.v. “Vásár ut,” 126, No. 36/178: a road from Vép to Szombathely; VaMFN, s.v. “Város ut: Vásár ut,” 306, No. 108/70: a road Kemenssömjén to Celldömölk; László Papp and József Végh, eds., *Zala megye földrajzi nevei* [Toponyms in County Zala] Vol. 1 (Zalaegerszeg: Zala Megye Tanácsának Végrehajtó Bizottsága, 1964), s.v. “Vásáros-út,” 240, No. 98/48 (hereafter ZMFN): a road from Csáford to Dötk.

⁴⁰⁶ 1374: *plateam Vasarusvta dictam* (Hodász, C. Vas), Zala vm. II, 116.

⁴⁰⁷ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 163.

from 1416.⁴⁰⁸ It is reported to have been a *via magna* called *vásárosút* going from Vág (C. Sopron) to the *predium* Diáktelke (C. Sopron). Diáktelke was located south-west of Szil (C. Sopron),⁴⁰⁹ where weekly markets were held from 1086 on (Table 3). Therefore, the market road between Vág and Diáktelke apparently provided an approach to the weekly markets of Szil from the south. At the same time, it must have been part of the north-south directed road connecting Kapuvár (C. Sopron) with Somlóvásárhely (C. Veszprém).⁴¹⁰

Markets (*mercatum, mercatus, forum*⁴¹¹) were regularly held in Hungary from the eleventh century on.⁴¹² To illustrate this, it is enough to mention that King Ladislas ordered that the place of selling and buying should be exclusively the market.⁴¹³ In terms of frequency, one can distinguish between three types of markets: daily (*forum cottidianum*), and weekly markets (*forum ebdomadale seu septimanale, forum sollempne / generale / commune / publicum*), as well as annual fairs (*nundinae seu forum annuale, forum annuum, congregatio, feria*).⁴¹⁴

Out of these three categories above the oldest one seems to have been the weekly market in Hungary. Weekly markets were originally held on Sundays,⁴¹⁵ which – among other things – is reflected by the etymology of the Hungarian word for Sunday (*vasárnap*).⁴¹⁶

⁴⁰⁸ 1381/1416: *a quandam via magna vasaruswth dicta, que veniret de dicta Vaagh et directe transiret ad quoddam predium Dyaktheleke* (Vág and Diáktelke, C. Sopron) (Sopron vm. II, 35).

⁴⁰⁹ Cs. III, s.v. “Diák-(telke),” 605.

⁴¹⁰ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 162.

⁴¹¹ KMLSz IV, s.v. “forum,” 135-136.

⁴¹² For a collection of the earliest written sources (charters, laws and narrative sources) related to markets and fairs in Hungary see, Péter Püspöki Nagy, *Piacok és vásárok kezdetei Magyarországon* [The beginnings of markets and annual fairs in Hungary] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1989)

⁴¹³ See Laws, Ladislaus II.7.

⁴¹⁴ For the terminology of medieval markets and fairs see, Kubinyi, “A belkereskedelem a késő középkori Magyarországon,” 234-237, and Boglárka Weisz, “Vásárok a középkorban” [Fairs and markets in the Middle Ages], *Századok* 144 (2010): 1397-1454, esp. 1397-1402.

⁴¹⁵ Although no such law is preserved in extant collections, it must have been King Stephen who ordered weekly markets to be held on Sundays. That law is referred to in later sources, such as the Law of King Coloman, cap. 34, DRMH I/1, 27, and 91, n. 30; Püspöki Nagy, *Piacok és vásárok*, 160. See also: Weisz, “Vásártartás az Árpád-korban,” 885, n. 28.

⁴¹⁶ The Hungarian word *vasárnap* meaning ‘Sunday,’ in fact, originates from the word *vásárnap* that denotes ‘the day of the market,’ TESz III, s.v. “vásárnap,” 1096.

Weekly markets were later moved by King Béla I (1060-1063)⁴¹⁷ or King Géza I (1074-1077)⁴¹⁸ to Saturdays. From the twelfth century on markets could also be held on weekdays (Table 3).⁴¹⁹ Toponymic and written evidence demonstrate that in the Árpád Period weekly markets were most frequently held on Saturdays, but there is also plenty of evidence for markets held on any weekday from Monday to Friday.⁴²⁰ Settlements that had the right to hold weekly markets had the opportunity to become regional centres of inner trade with time.⁴²¹ However, it is important to note here that these settlements did not necessarily become market towns (Lat. *oppidum*, Hu. *mezőváros*) in the high Middle Ages. In the late medieval Hungarian Kingdom there were only twelve settlements named after the former market-places that got the rank of market towns – six of which were located in Transdanubia –, others lost their role as a market-place, or were even deserted.⁴²²

Regarding daily markets, the earliest written evidence comes from the first half of the thirteenth century.⁴²³ In the Árpád Period daily markets were usually held in towns (Esztergom, Pest, Zagreb, Buda, and Győr) frequented by foreign merchants, and were primarily meant to enable merchants sell their merchandise at any time they arrived in these

⁴¹⁷ Chron. Hung. saec. XIV, cap. 94: *Dux igitur Bela... omnia fora die Sabbati constituit pro vendendo et emendo*, SRH I, 358.

⁴¹⁸ György Györffy argues that it was not Béla I but Géza I who introduced Saturday markets, Györffy, *István király és műve*, 335; György Györffy, “Az új társadalmi rend válsága. Trónküzdelmek” [The crisis of the new social order. Throne fights], in *Magyarország története* [The history of Hungary] vol. I/1, ed. Antal Bartha (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 835-888, esp. 870; Cf. Püspöki Nagy, *Piacok és vásárok*, 160-162; Mónika Jánosi, *Törvényalkotás Magyarországon a korai Árpád-korban* [Lawmaking in Hungary in the early Árpád Period] (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1996), 102.

⁴¹⁹ The first evidence for a market held on a weekday can be found in the charter of Béla III from 1177, Püspöki Nagy, *Piacok és vásárok*, 108-109.

⁴²⁰ Jenő Major, “A magyar városok és városhálózat kialakulásának kezdetei” [The beginnings of the development of Hungarian towns and urban networks], *TeludK* 18 (1966): 48-90, esp. 51-55; Ferenc Szabó, “A hét napjai a helységnevekben” [Days of the week in toponyms], *NévÉrt* 16 (1994): 51-55, esp. 51-52; Weisz, “Vásártartás az Árpád-korban,” 886-888.

⁴²¹ Erik Fügedi, “Középkori magyar városprivilegiumok” [Medieval Hungarian town privileges], *TBM* 14 (1961): 17-105, esp. 34.

⁴²² Major, “A magyar városok és városhálózat kialakulásának kezdetei,” 78-80.

⁴²³ The earliest known daily market was held in Esztergom, donated to the archiepiscopal town by King Béla IV in 1239, Püspöki Nagy, *Piacok és vásárok*, 154-155.

towns. In addition to that, there were apparently daily markets of lesser importance (Hu. *piac*), where the inhabitants of towns could buy food from peasants on an everyday basis.⁴²⁴

The earliest annual fairs were held in the thirteenth century in Zagreb, Fehérvár, and Buda. In the fourteenth century they were followed by three other towns: Sopron and Pressburg in 1344, as well as Kassa in 1347.⁴²⁵ Annual fairs were normally held on a moveable or stable feast, such as Easter, Pentecost, the yearly return of the day when the local church was consecrated, or on the feast of its patron saint.⁴²⁶ If we said that market-places holding weekly markets were potential centres of regional trade, then the emergence of annual fairs signalled the rise of foreign trade in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. At the time of their inception, annual fairs were primarily meant to enable the distribution of merchandise originating from foreign trade, which is supported by the fact that until the mid-fourteenth century annual fairs were only held at the royal centres and in major towns located close to the border.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁴ Weisz, “Vásártartás az Árpád-korban,” 884; Weisz, “Vásárok a középkorban,” 1399-1402, 1453.

⁴²⁵ Fügedi, “Középkori magyar városprivilegiumok,” 33-34; István Tringli, “Vásártér és vásári jog a középkori Magyarországon” [Market-place and market law in medieval Hungary], *Századok* 144 (2010): 1291-1344, esp. 1315.

⁴²⁶ Weisz, “Vásárok a középkorban,” 1408-1411; Tringli, “Vásártér és vásári jog,” 1315-1317;

⁴²⁷ Fügedi, “Középkori magyar városprivilegiumok,” 34-36. See also: Tringli, “Vásártér és vásári jog,” 1315.

Medieval name	Medieval c.	Modern name	Modern c.	Type of the market / fair	First data	Source
Szil	Sopron	Szil	Győr-Moson-Sopron	Weekly market	1086	DHA I, 254
Sopron	Sopron	Sopron	Győr-Moson-Sopron	Weekly market (on Tuesdays)	1277	EFHU 70
				Annual fair (July 13)	1344	Házi I/1, 83
Menyhárt	Sopron	Répcethely/ Mannersdorf an der Rabnitz	Burgenland, Austria	Weekly market	ca. 1200	UB I, 37
Micske	Sopron	Répcemcske/ Strebersdorf	Burgenland, Austria	Weekly market	ca. 1200	UB I, 37
Lasztaj	Sopron	Répcethely/ Mannersdorf an der Rabnitz	Burgenland, Austria	Weekly market	+1224	UB I, 97
Presznig	Sopron	Peresznye	Győr-Moson-Sopron	Weekly market	+1224	UB I, 97
Csorna	Sopron	Csorna	Győr-Moson-Sopron	Weekly market	1230	UB I, 124
Széplak	Sopron	Fertőszéplak	Győr-Moson-Sopron	Weekly market (on Mondays)	1261	Sopron vm. I, 25
Szerdahely	Sopron	part of Fertő-szentmiklós	Győr-Moson-Sopron	Weekly market (on Wednesdays)	1261	UB I, 272
Hegykő	Sopron	Hegykő	Győr-Moson-Sopron	Weekly market (on Mondays)	1262	Sopron vm. I, 25
Keddely	Sopron	Borsmonostor/ Klostermarienberg	Burgenland, Austria	Weekly market (on Tuesdays)	1263	MMO III, 111
Szerdahely	Sopron	Selegd/Stöttera	Burgenland, Austria	Weekly market (on Wednesdays)	1318	UB III, 111
Fertőfő-szombathely	Moson	Nezsider / Neusiedl am See	Burgenland, Austria	Weekly market (on Saturdays)	1209	UB I, 57
Moson	Moson	part of Moson-magyaróvár	Győr-Moson-Sopron	Weekly market	1231	UB I, 137
Csütörtökhely	Moson	Várbalog	Győr-Moson-Sopron	Weekly market (on Thursdays)	1297	UB II, 312
Szerdahely	Moson	In the vicinity of Pomogy/ Pamhagen	Burgenland, Austria	Weekly market (on Wednesdays)	1297	UB II, 312
Mórichida	Győr	Mórichida	Győr-Moson-Sopron	Weekly market	1251	F. IV/2, 85-87
Szerdahely	Győr	north of Lovászpátona	Veszprém	Weekly market (on Wednesdays)	1258	F. IV/2, 482
Győr	Győr	Győr	Győr-Moson-Sopron	Weekly market (on Saturdays)	1271	EFHU 62
Alsok/ Szentmárton	Győr	part of Pannonhalma	Győr-Moson-Sopron	Weekly market (on Thursdays)	1334	HO I, 168
				Weekly market (on Wednesdays)	1350	PRT II, 404
Écs	Győr	In the vicinity of Győr-szentmárton	Győr	Weekly market (on Wednesdays)	1350	PRT II, 404
				Weekly market (on Mondays)	1350	PRT II, 404

Hétfőhely	Vas	part of Németlővő/ Deutsch-Schützen	Austria	Weekly market (on Mondays)	1221	UB I, 83
Körmend	Vas	Körmend	Vas	Weekly market (on Wednesdays)	1244	EFHU 38
Karakó	Vas	Karakó	Vas	Weekly market	+1251	RA I, 294
Szombatfalva	Vas	Magyar-szombatfa/ Sumetendorf	Vas	Weekly market (on Saturdays)	1255	HO (1234- 1536), 27
Szerdahely	Vas	Kőszeg-szerdahely	Vas	Weekly market (on Wednesdays)	1279	UB II, 140
Vasvár	Vas	Vasvár	Vas	Weekly market (on Mondays)	1279	EFHU 72
Szombathely	Vas	Szombathely	Vas	Weekly market (on Saturdays)	1288	MOL DL 40189
Szóce	Vas	Szóce	Vas	Weekly market	1310	Zala vm. I, 133
Kőszeg	Vas	Kőszeg	Vas	Weekly market (on Wednesdays)	1328	UB IV, 36
Sárvár	Vas	Sárvár	Vas	Weekly market (on Mondays)	1328	UB IV, 27
Marác	Vas	Felsőmarác	Vas	Weekly market (on Mondays)	1342	A. IV, 193
Pinkafő	Vas	Pinkfeld	Vas	Weekly market (on Wednesdays)	1343	UB V, 11
Lugos- vásárhely	Vas	Lugapuszta (near Ivác)	Vas	Weekly market	1346	UB V, 115
Muraszombat	Vas	Murska Sobota	Slovenia	Weekly market (on Saturdays)	1348	A. V, 212
Báránd	Zala	near Zalavár	Zala	Weekly market (on Mondays)	+1024	DHA I, 101
Csány	Zala	Zalacsány	Zala	Weekly market (on Saturdays)	+1019	DHA I, 91
Csütörökhely	Zala	Csütörtök puszta	Zala	Weekly market (on Thursdays)	1327	Zala vm. I, 209
Egerszeg	Zala	Zalaegerszeg	Zala	Weekly market	1329	F. VIII/3, 384
Fancsika	Zala	part of Zalaszentlőrinc	Zala	Weekly market	1325	Zala vm. I, 185
Harkály	Zala	Salomvár	Zala	Weekly market (on Saturdays)	1327	Zala vm. I, 209
Karos	Zala	Zalakaros	Zala	Weekly market	1276	F. VII/2, 48
Szelce	Zala	south of Zalalövő	Zala	Weekly market	1310	Zala vm. I, 133
Szemenye	Zala	Muraszemenye	Zala	Weekly market (on Mondays)	1325	MOL DL 2293
Szerdahely	Zala	Magyar-szerdahely	Zala	Weekly market (on Wednesdays)	1323	Zala vm. I, 164
Szombathely	Zala	Kísszabadka / Mala Subotica	Croatia	Weekly market (on Saturdays)	1240	HO VIII, 38
Tapolca	Zala	Tapolca	Veszprém	Weekly market	1272	Zala vm. I, 69
Újudvar	Zala	Újudvar	Zala	Weekly market	1329	F. VIII/3, 384
Zalavár	Zala	Zalavár	Zala	Weekly market	1329	F. VIII/3, 384

Table 3. Market-places in Western Transdanubia up to the mid-fourteenth century
(Data assembled partly on the basis of the dissertation and publications by Boglárka Weisz)

Market-places and settlements within their market area were joined by market roads. (As noted above, a market area normally developed around a settlement holding weekly markets.) From the early fourteenth century there is written evidence that in the interest of an already existing market-place it was prohibited to hold new markets within a certain distance (Hu. *méröldjog*, Ge. *Bannmeilrecht*).⁴²⁸ However, in the Árpád Period there was still no need for such provisions to be taken. This tolerance of proximity can be partly explained by the fact that when a new market-place was set up in the close vicinity of an already existing one, the new weekly market was regularly held on a different day of the week, so as not to challenge the former market-place.⁴²⁹ It can also be observed on a regional scale that in market-places surrounding a bigger city the weekly markets were often set to different days than that of the regional centre. Szombathely in County Vas (first called like that in 1288), for example, was surrounded by market-places where the day of the market was Tuesday or Wednesday. The nearest market-places with Saturday markets were Szombatfalva (C. Vas; since 1255) 30 kilometres to the south-west, Harkály (C. Zala, since 1327) 60 kilometres to the south, Muraszombat (C. Vas; since 1348) 90 kilometres to the south-west, Szombathely 110 kilometres southwards, and Fertőfőszombathely (C. Sopron; since 1209) 110 kilometres northwards (Table 3, Fig. 9). What does this all mean? Saturday markets – Saturday being the most important market day of the week – were donated to settlements that were already important centres of a given area. Szombathely (C. Vas), having a church and a castle, had already been an important road junction before it started to hold Saturday markets.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁸ Weisz, “Vásárok a középkorban,” 1418.

⁴²⁹ Weisz, “Vásártartás az Árpád-korban,” 901.

⁴³⁰ Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, *Savaria—Szombathely története*, 127.



Fig. 10. The market-places of Western Transdanubia (Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, 1998,⁴³¹ Fig. 95)

In the early Árpád Period it was royal prerogatives to hold markets, and the king practiced his judicial authority over the market through his *ispán*.⁴³² From the mid-twelfth century on the kings of Hungary started to assign the right of holding markets to ecclesiastical and secular landowners, which involved judicial authority and toll-collecting. The toll collected at the market served as a rent of market-pitches, but at the same time it was a price paid for protection in return for which the holder of the market guaranteed the safety of those who visited the market and kept the peace of the market.⁴³³

Royal charters giving permission to hold markets at private estates frequently used the term *forum liberum*. The freedom of market partly meant that neither the king, nor the *ispán* collected tolls there.⁴³⁴ More importantly, however, *forum liberum* also expressed that the king guaranteed the safety of everyone travelling to or back from the market, because on the roads they got out of the

⁴³¹ Cf. n. 354.

⁴³² Fügedi, "Középkori magyar városprivilegiumok," 29.

⁴³³ Tringli, "Vásártér és vásári jog," 1331-1334; Weisz, "Vásártartás az Árpád-korban," 889.

⁴³⁴ Fügedi, "Középkori magyar városprivilegiumok," 30-31. See also: Major, "A magyar városok és városhálózat kialakulásának kezdetei," 50; Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 53, 72.

protection of the holder of the market.⁴³⁵ The royal charters donating markets at Bachus⁴³⁶ (C. Gora; Cr.), Semjén⁴³⁷ (C. Szabolcs), and Csolnok⁴³⁸ (C. Esztergom), for example, prohibited the harassment of anyone going to and returning from the market, so that people could travel freely and safely (*libere et secure*). Although merchants and buyers enjoyed the protection of the king on the road, they were still likely to fall victims of attack. Beginning with the late thirteenth century, there are a great number of legal documents reporting of such cases. Here are only a few examples selected at random.⁴³⁹ In 1295 ten wagons were robbed to the value of one hundred marks (*ad ualorem centum marcarum*) while heading for the annual fair of Buda to be held at Pentecost.⁴⁴⁰ In 1394 three peasants from Karácsonyfalva (C. Zala) returning home from the market held in Bak (C. Zala) were deprived of their goods (*ad ualorem sedecim pensarum denariorum Vyennensium*).⁴⁴¹ In 1417 three peasants and their wives from Szalka (C. Szatmár) travelling home from the market held in Vada (C. Szatmár) were arrested near Fábíánháza (C. Szatmár). The women were beaten, and carried away to Börvely (C. Szatmár) where they were held in captivity for a long time. In addition, they were deprived of their two wagons and other properties.⁴⁴² In 1420 a peasant and his wife from Mátyusfölde (C. Bodrog) travelling on a cart to the market of Szeremlyén (C. Bodrog) were held up in the Baja forest, the man was beaten, and they were deprived of six oxen and their money (*viginti quatuor florenos parvos*).⁴⁴³

⁴³⁵ Kubinyi, "A belkereskedelem a késő középkori Magyarországon," 236; Weisz, "Vásártartás az Árpád-korban," 895-897; Weisz, "Vásárok a középkorban," 1414-1417; Tringli, "Vásártér és vásári jog," 1324.

⁴³⁶ 1211: *...sub pena regie indignacionis indicimus, ne quis homines undecunque ad dictum forum venientes, seu inde recedentes impedire vel molestare presumat, sed potius graciae nostre recuperacionis obtentu eos protegat et defendat.* (Bachus, C. Zágráb) W. XI, 127. See also Püspöki Nagy, *Piacok és vásárok*, 132-133.

⁴³⁷ 1271: *"...quicunque ad idem forum cum suis... ...[ve]nire voluerint, libere veniant, nullo penitus prohib... volumus per omnia fora nullo prohibente..."* (Semjén, C. Szabolcs), HO VII, 128; MOL DL 50623.

⁴³⁸ (1277): *volumus publice proclamari, quod quicunque ad ipsum forum venire voluerit causa mercacionis faciende, libere veniat et secure, nullusque ad ipsum forum venientes audeat impedire uel aliquatenus presumat molestare*" (Csolnok, C. Esztergom), W. IX. 548.

⁴³⁹ For further examples see, Kubinyi, "A belkereskedelem a késő középkori Magyarországon," 239-240.

⁴⁴⁰ 1295: Mon. Strig. II, 368. See also, András Kubinyi, *Die Anfänge Ofens* (Berlin: Duncker and Humbolt, 1972), 52.

⁴⁴¹ 1394: MOL Df 200359; Zs. I, 367.

⁴⁴² 1417: MOL Df 220995; Zs. VI, 327.

⁴⁴³ 1420: MOL DL 79641; Zichy VI, 629-630; Zs. VII, 499.

Although the victims above normally did not explain the reasons of their attack, their cases are most likely to have been in connection with the customs of arrest (Lat. *arrestatio*,⁴⁴⁴ Ge. *Gefangnuss*) and reprisal (Lat. *repraesalia*),⁴⁴⁵ that were arbitrary ways of enforcing one's rights. *Arrestatio* meant that the debtor was caught and held in captivity or his property was forcibly seized and sequestered until his demands were met. *Repraesalia* was, on the other hand, reprisal made against the person and property of people related to the debtor. The special royal protection provided to people travelling to and from the market gave exemption from arrest and reprisal. The time span of the protection could be different. In the case of weekly markets it lasted normally for three days, from the noon of the day before the market to the noon of the following day. In the case of annual fairs the protection lasted longer, it varied from a few days, through a week, to a fortnight before and after the market.⁴⁴⁶

Market roads, therefore, enjoyed extraordinary protection among roads. Travellers were generally under royal protection against highway robbery and other crimes. It was the duty of the *comes*, the county courts of justice, judges with special authority, as well as manorial courts that had occasionally power of life and death to prosecute and sentence criminals.⁴⁴⁷ In contrast, roads leading to a market were under royal protection during a given period even from arrest and reprisal otherwise approved by customary law.

2.3.3.2 Salt routes

The term "salt route" indicates all those routes on which salt was transported from the salt mines to the store houses, and from there further to the consumers.⁴⁴⁸ Salt routes are referred

⁴⁴⁴ *Arrestatio: Captio, injectio manuum in aliquem vel in ejus bona*, Du Cange *Gloss.* I, s.v. "arrestatio," 404; MKLSz I, s.v. "arrestatio," 243-244.

⁴⁴⁵ *Repraesalia est potestas pignerandi contra quemlibet de terra debitoris data creditori pro injuriis et damnis*, Du Cange *Gloss.* VII, s.v. "repraesalia," 134. On cases of reprisal connected to Hungary see, József Holub, "Magyar vonatkozású represszáliák, Adalékok a nemzetközi jog történetéhez" [Reprisals related to Hungary, Contributions to the history of international law], *Történeti Szemle* 8 (1919): 52-78.

⁴⁴⁶ Tringli, "Vásártér és vásári jog," 1325-1333.

⁴⁴⁷ Tringli, "Vásártér és vásári jog," 1324.

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. Huszár, "Magyarország úthálózatának történeti áttekintése," 24.

to as *via salifera*,⁴⁴⁹ *sóút*,⁴⁵⁰ *sótút*,⁴⁵¹ *sajtút*,⁴⁵² *sajtaút*,⁴⁵³ as well as *sajtosút*⁴⁵⁴ in Árpád Period and late medieval sources.⁴⁵⁵ Furthermore, among field names one finds *Só út* (Salt road) and *Sóhordó út* (Road for carrying salt). Before dealing with these toponyms in detail, I would like to provide a general overview of medieval salt routes and trade in salt in the Hungarian Kingdom – with special attention to Transdanubia.

In the Middle Ages salt was not only an important dietary mineral used for the flavouring and preservation of food, but it also had industrial and medical application, which altogether made it a much called for article of merchandise.⁴⁵⁶ In addition, cubes of salt counted as exchange commodities, and debts to the king's account were often acquitted by paying in salt cubes.⁴⁵⁷ In the Árpád Period the Hungarian Kingdom received salt from the rich salt mines of Transylvania opened in Dés (Ocna Dejului, Ro.), Szék (Sic, Ro.), Kolozsakna (Cojocna, Ro.), Torda (Turda, Ro.), and Vízakna (Ocna Sibiului, Ro.) (Fig.

⁴⁴⁹ 1235: *usque uiam que uocatur salifera* (Pityord, C. Győr), W. II, 35.

⁴⁵⁰ Late thirteenth century: *via sahuth (terra Lomb, C. Veszprém)*, HO III, 38; 1411: *penes quandam viam de possessione Zalard ad possessionem Marya ducentem, Soowth dictam* (Szalárd and Marja, C. Bihar), Zs. III, 728, No. 3191.

⁴⁵¹ 1228: *a loco, qui Sohtut dicitur* (Nána, C. Esztergom), Mon. Strig. I, 269; 1257: *viam antiquam, que wlgariter Sohtuch vocatur* (Irény, C. Győr), W. II, 282; 1320: *circa viam Souhtwth nominatam* (Peszej, C. Veszprém), Zala vm. I, 152; 1323: *circa viam Shocut vulgariter appellatam* (C. Veszprém), Zala vm. I, 170.

⁴⁵² 1271: *iuxta magnam viam Sahtuth a vulgo vocatam* (Veszprém, C. Veszprém), W. III, 269; 1340: *usque viam Sahtwt dictam* (Peszej, C. Veszprém), Zala vm. I, 365.

⁴⁵³ 1361: *iuxta viam antiquam, que vulgariter Sahtawt vocatur* (Örkény, C. Győr), PRT II, 478; HO I, 238.

⁴⁵⁴ 1379: *ad vnam magnam viam Sohtusuth vocatam* (Bonchida, C. Doboka). F. IX/5, 342, Cf. ÁMTF II, s.v. "Bonchida," 61-62; 1431: *quandam viam Saythwsuth alio nomine Wasaruth vocatam* (Kolozsmonostor, C. Kolozs), MOL DL 31132; Cf. Csánki V, s.v. "Kolozsmonostora," 307-310; ÁMTF III, s.v. "Kolozsmonostor," 353-356; 1450: *quandam viam publicam Saythoswth vocatam* (Boroszlótelke, C. Kolozs), MOL DL 36407; Csánki V, s.v. "Boroszlótelke," 337. Cf. OklSz, s.v. "sajtos-út," 826.

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. OklSz, s.v. "só-út," 852 and István Szamota, "A tihanyi apátság 1055-iki alapítólevele, mint a magyar nyelv legrégebb hiteles és egykorú emléke" [The foundation charter of the Tihany abbey from 1055, as the earliest authentic and contemporary document of Hungarian language], *NyK* 25 (1895): 129-167, esp. 163.

⁴⁵⁶ Investigation into the history of mining and trade with salt in Medieval Hungary has a long tradition. For a recent overview of the subject and selected bibliography see, István Draskóczy, "Só a középkori Magyarországon" [Salt in medieval Hungary], in *Gazdaság és gazdálkodás a középkori Magyarországon: gazdaságtörténet, anyagi kultúra, régészet* [Economy and farming in late medieval Hungary: economic history, material culture, and archaeology], ed. András Kubinyi, József Laszlovszky and Péter Szabó (Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2008), 147-161. See also, András Kubinyi, "Die königlich-ungarischen Salzordnungen des Mittelalters," in *Das Salz in der Rechts- und Handelsgeschichte*, ed. Jean-Claude Hocquet and Rudolf Palme (Schwaz: Berenkamp, 1991), 261-270. For short summaries see, KMTL, s.v. "só," 603-604, s.v. "sóbányászat," 604, s.v. "sókamara," 604.

⁴⁵⁷ Györffy, *István király és műve*, 340; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 63; Draskóczy, "Só a középkori Magyarországon," 151.

11).⁴⁵⁸ In the early fourteenth century Máramaros (Maramureş, Ro.)⁴⁵⁹ also started to produce salt in large quantities,⁴⁶⁰ and trade routes used for the transportation of salt still appear on early modern maps as *sóhordó út*.⁴⁶¹

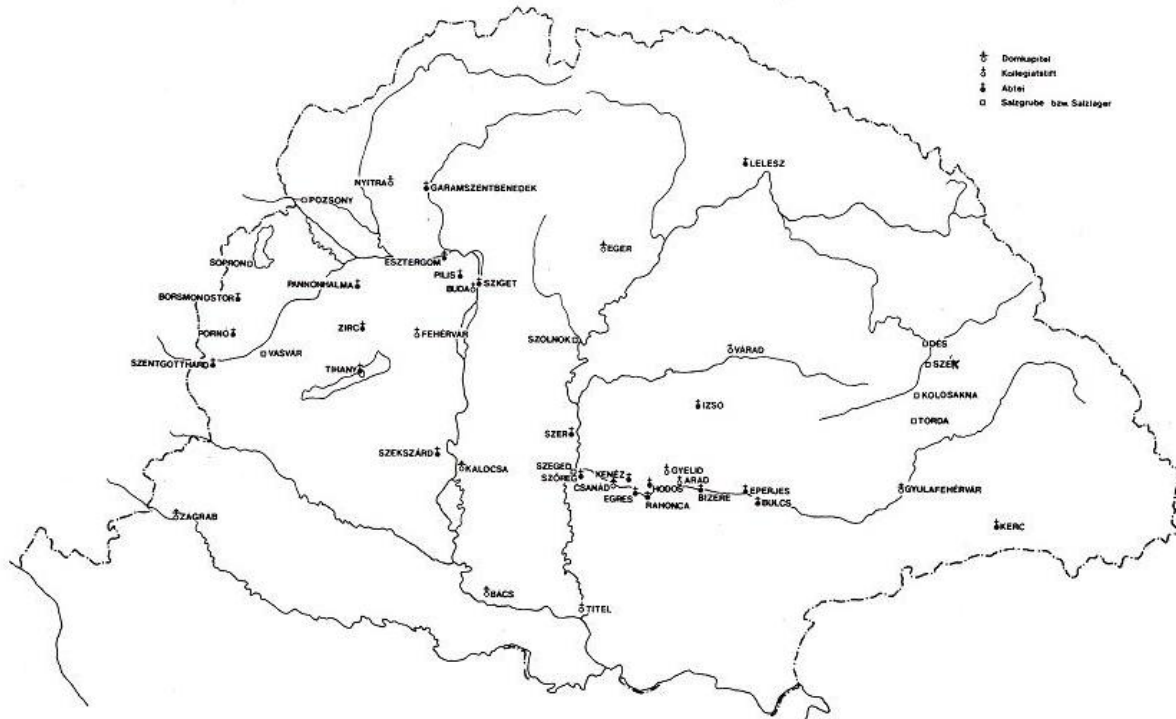


Fig. 11. Salt mines and centres of salt distribution in Hungary around 1233 (Kubinyi 1988,⁴⁶² 228)

Salt mining represented an important source of the royal revenue: in the Árpád Period the most important salt mines were in royal hands, and from the fourteenth century on the

⁴⁵⁸ Gusztáv Wenzel, *Magyarország bányászatának kritikai története* [The critical history of mining in Hungary] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1880), 147-149; Bálint Hóman, *A magyar királyság pénzügyei és gazdaságpolitikája Károly Róbert korában* [Finance and economic policy in the Hungarian Kingdom at the time of King Charles I] (Budapest: Budavári Tudományos Társaság, 1921), 155; András Kubinyi, “Königliches Salzmonopol und die Städte des Königreichs Ungarn im Mittelalter,” in *Stadt und Salz*, ed. Wilhelm Rausch (Linz: Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1988), 213-232, esp. 213-214; KMTL s.v. “sóbányászat,” 604.

⁴⁵⁹ FNESz II, s.v. “Máramaros vármegye,” 90.

⁴⁶⁰ A source from 1308 mentions Visk (Viškove, Ukr.), Huszt (Khust, Ukr.), Técső (Tiachiv, Ukr.), and Hosszúmező (Cimpulung la Tisa, Ro.) when describing the main watercourses of Máramaros that had a role in the transportation of salt. ÁMTF IV, 120; Kubinyi, “Königliches Salzmonopol,” 220.

⁴⁶¹ The *sóhordó út* in Nagybocksó (C. Máramaros) is indicated on a map from c. 1840, OSZ TK 2061. The *sóhordó út* between Máramarossziget and Aknasugatag (C. Máramaros) is shown on another map from c. 1840, MOL S 12 Div. 13, No. 663.

⁴⁶² Cf. n. 458.

mining and selling of salt also became the king's prerogatives.⁴⁶³ Under the Árpáds there were two methods for the distribution of salt, it was partly realized by the establishment of royal store houses of salt (Lat. *camerae salium*⁴⁶⁴),⁴⁶⁵ and partly by allocating trade in salt to the Church.⁴⁶⁶ From Transylvania the extracted salt was transported through two great centres of distribution, namely Szeged (C. Csongrád) and Szalacs (Sălacea, Ro.) (Fig. 11).⁴⁶⁷ It was in those two centres that the king's men, churchmen, and Muslim merchants collected salt and transported it to consumers throughout the realm.

East of the Danube there was a southern and a northern salt route that served for the transportation of salt from the eleventh century on. In the case of the "southern salt route," salt was at first shipped from the salt mines of Central Transylvania (Torda, Kolozsakna, and Szék) and South Transylvania (Vízakna, etc.) to Szeged on the Maros River (Mureş, Ro.).⁴⁶⁸ The salt cubes were loaded there onto wagons, which carried them westwards on the so-called "Káliz route" (called after Muslim Kaliz merchants).⁴⁶⁹ At Szekcső (C. Baranya) salt was reloaded onto boats and shipped on the Danube to Pest and further to the west. After the Mongol Invasion the Káliz route lost its significance, and instead salt was transported by

⁴⁶³ Oszkár Paulinyi, "A sóregále kialakulása Magyarországon" [The development of royal monopoly on salt in Hungary], *Századok* 57-58 (1923-1924): 627-647, esp. 633. The total annual income of King Béla III is estimated to 166 000 marks, out of which 16 000 marks came from salt mining, Bálint Hóman, *Magyar pénztörténet 1000-1325* [The history of Hungarian currency between 1000 and 1325] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1916), 425-430; Barta and Barta, "III. Béla király jövedelmei," 422-424, 444. In the 1420s the annual revenue of King Sigismund was around 330 000 florins, approximately one third of which (100,000 florins) came from salt monopoly. The royal revenues from salt, therefore, had grown by a 32 per cent from the late twelfth to the early fifteenth century. Barta and Barta, "III. Béla király jövedelmei," 427, 432.

⁴⁶⁴ MKLSz II, s.v. "camera," 21-22.

⁴⁶⁵ Hóman, *A magyar királyság pénzügyei*, 237-239; Kubinyi, "Königliches Salzmonopol," 217-219.

⁴⁶⁶ Kubinyi, "Königliches Salzmonopol," 216-217; The treaty of Bereg in 1233 confirmed the role of the Church in the trade of salt, F. III/2, 319-326.

⁴⁶⁷ The Golden Bull of King Andrew II from 1222 prohibited the establishment of salt distribution centres in the middle of the country, except for Szalacs, Szeged, and the borderland: *Sales in medio Regni non teneantur nisi tantum in Zoloch, et in Scegved, et in Confiniis*, F. III/1, 377. Cf. Kubinyi, "Königliches Salzmonopol," 214; ÁMTF I, s.v. "Szalacs," 663-664 and "Szeged," 900-902. For the role of salt in the rise of Szeged as an economic centre with further literature see Sándor. Bálint, "Újabb adatok Szeged középkori történetéhez" [New data on the medieval history of Szeged], *MFME* 1970:1, 199-212, esp. 199-201.

⁴⁶⁸ Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 256.

⁴⁶⁹ 1158/1403 *Kaluzwt* (Baja, C. Bodrog), DHA I, 78; Cf. ÁMTF I, s.v. "Baja," 708; 1208/1395: *viam, que vocatur Caluzutu* (Büked, C. Bodrog), MOL DL, 87639, ÁMTF I, s.v. "Büked(egyháza)," 714. Cf. György Györffy, "A magyar nemzetségtől a vármegyéig, a törzstől az orszáig" [From the Hungarian kindred to the county, from the tribe to the country], *Századok* 92 (1958): 12-87 and 565-615, esp. 64, and KMHSz, s.v. "Káliz út," 142.

wagons on the so-called “great Buda road” that crossed the Danube–Tisza Interfluve via Kecskemét (across the lands of the Cumans) to Buda (Fig. 12). The “northern salt route” across Szalacs was an overland road that led from northern Transylvania (Dés, etc.) across Szalacs to Szolnok and Buda. Nevertheless, from the thirteenth century on that early Árpád Period route was replaced by another route running in the valley of the Sebes–Körös (Crișul Repede, Ro.) across Várad (Oradea, Ro.) to Szolnok (C. Szolnok) and Buda.⁴⁷⁰ From Pest and Buda salt was transported to Transdanubia. Because salt was also exported to the West, royal store houses were set up on western border of the kingdom in Pressburg, Sopron, and Vasvár (Fig. 11).⁴⁷¹ Consequently, the transportation of salt from Transylvania, across the Great Plain to Transdanubia defined the most important east-west channels of inter-regional trade from the eleventh century on.⁴⁷²

Salt must have been put into circulation in enormous quantities as its normal measure of account was the *tumen*, meaning ten thousand cubes.⁴⁷³ That large amount of salt cubes evidently represented an enormously heavy load, which was easier to be transported by waterways than on wagons.⁴⁷⁴ Consequently, in regions with navigable rivers boats were often preferred to wagons as the means of transportation. As we have seen above, in the case of the southern salt route overland transportation was combined with shipping on the Maros (Mureș, Ro.) and on the Danube. In addition – alternatively to the overland northern salt route – salt mined in the region of Désakna was also carried to Szolnok on the Szamos and Tisza.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷⁰ Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 54, 256.

⁴⁷¹ Wenzel, *Magyarország bányászatának kritikai története*, 150; Kubinyi, “Königliches Salzmonopol,” 215.

⁴⁷² Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 256.

⁴⁷³ Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 63.; cf. István Bogdán, *Régi magyar mértékek* [Old Hungarian measures] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1987), 124.

⁴⁷⁴ For the role of the Maros and Tisza in the transportation of salt see, ÁMTF I, 167, 840, 886; ÁMTF II, 124; László Blazovich, “Az Alföld 14-16. századi úthálózatának vázlata” [An outline of the fourteenth to sixteenth-century road network of the Great Plain], *Tanulmányok Csongrád Megye Történetéből* 26 (1998): 51-61, esp. 59.

⁴⁷⁵ Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 256.



Fig. 12. The salt mines and salt routes of the Hungary on the map of Imre Milecz from 1773 (OSZK TK 2200)

According to the testimony of written sources there were salt routes not only in Transylvania and in the Great Plain, but also in Transdanubia. In the eastern part of County Győr there was a north-south salt route originating from the Árpád Period. The first piece of evidence for that road dates to 1235.⁴⁷⁶ The road is referred to as *via salifera*, and from the text it can be conjectured to have been situated somewhere between Pityord and Asszonyfalva (C. Győr). On the basis of that, it can be identified with the road connecting Pityord and Táp.⁴⁷⁷ There is another reference to a salt road in the 1257 perambulation of Irény (C. Győr).⁴⁷⁸ It is described as an ancient road (*via antiqua*) called *sóút* in vernacular. The perambulation locates the road east of Irény, and it is most likely to have belonged to the

⁴⁷⁶ See. n. 449.

⁴⁷⁷ ÁMTF II, s.v. "Pityor(d)," 618. Cf. Glaser, "Dunántúl középkori úthálózata," 156.

⁴⁷⁸ See n. 451.

same salt road that was running near Pityord.⁴⁷⁹ A perambulation from 1361⁴⁸⁰ locates an old road called *sajtaút* near Örkény (C. Győr), north of Irény, which was apparently identical with the salt road above. Mention must be made of that in Pest⁴⁸¹ (C. Pest), at Nána, Kakat⁴⁸² (C. Esztergom), and Győr⁴⁸³ (Győr) toll was collected after salt – regardless whether it was carried by water or overland – which seems to testify to the transportation of salt both on the Danube and by land along the Danube.⁴⁸⁴

On the basis of written data one can reconstruct the route of Árpád Period salt transportation in Transdanubia as follows. From Pest salt was carried westwards through the tolls of Kakat, Nána, and Győr both by ships on the Danube and by wagons along the river (Fig. 12). The shipping of salt is shown by that toll was collected in the port of Pest (1292: *tributum salium in portu Pest*), while overland transportation is testified by a reference to a salt road at Nána (1288: *sótút*), and that tax was collected at Győr after cartloads of salt (1255: *curru salium*). Before Győr that salt route branched off southwards and lead through Örkény (1361: *sajtaút*) and Irény (1257: *sótút*) to Pannonhalma,⁴⁸⁵ where the abbey evidently had a salt storehouse. From Pannonhalma the salt route continued southwards across Pityord (1232: *via salifera*) to the Abbey of Zirc, and from there across Veszprém (1271: *sajtaút*), and Peszej (1320: *sótút*; 1340: *sajtaút*) to the Lake Balaton (Fig. 11). That salt route apparently continued to the Tihany Abbey along northern shore of Balaton.

When comparing medieval salt routes with the ancient Roman road system, one finds that salt tended to be carried on the extant remains of Roman roads in Transdanubia. At times

⁴⁷⁹ Szamota, “A tihanyi apátság 1055-iki alapítólevele,” 163; ÁMTF II, 575.

⁴⁸⁰ See n. 453.

⁴⁸¹ 1244: *ad tributa de salibus exigenda* (Pest, C. Pest), EFHU, 40; 1246: *hospites de Pest... tributum salium secundum morem consuetum solvere debeant* (Pest, C. Pest), BTOE I, 46; RA I, 254, No. 841; 1292: *tributum salium in portu Pest* (Pest, C. Pest), BTOE I, 280.

⁴⁸² 1157: *tributum salium de nana et de cokot* (Nána, C. Veszprém, and Kakat, C. Esztergom), Mon. Strig. I, 111.

⁴⁸³ 1255: *item de curru salium Ungarorum duos sales et dimidium cum portione comitis Iauriensis* (Győr, C. Győr), EFHU, 51.

⁴⁸⁴ Weisz, *Vámok és vámszedés*, 5 and 34.

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. ÁMTF II, 575.

of heavy rain medieval dirt roads could quickly become impassable. If one considers that the cubes of salt represented a particularly heavy load, it is not difficult to imagine that in wet weather there was no draught-animal that would have been able to move a wagon full of salt stuck in the mud. That explains why Roman roads were preferred for the overland transportation salt. The salt route along the right bank of the Danube from Pest to Győr was apparently identical with the Roman *limes* road (for details see chapter 3.3.1). In County Győr the salt routes of Örkeny any Irény were referred to by Árpád Period sources as ancient roads (*via antiqua*), which raises the possibility that they were, in fact, ancient Roman roads. South of them, at Pázmánd–Szentimre Hill the remains of a gravelled road leading towards Pannonhalma were archaeologically observed, which again might be dated to the Roman Period.⁴⁸⁶

Former County Vas had several tracks called salt route (*Só út, Sóhordó út*), which also seem to go back to the Roman Period. North-east of **Egyházaskesző** (C. Veszprém; medieval Kesző, C. Vas⁴⁸⁷) there is an east-west directed road called *Sós út* and *Sóhordó út* on which – according to local tradition – salt was transported from Győr to Celldömölk.⁴⁸⁸ That route can be identified with the east-west directed Roman road section preserved west of Egyházaskesző.⁴⁸⁹ Another section of the road was identified north of **Kemenesszentpéter** (C. Veszprém; medieval Szentpéter, C. Vas⁴⁹⁰). The east-west directed road appears on early modern hand-written maps as *Eöttévén seu via antiqua Romanorum* (Fig. 24. and Fig. 25).⁴⁹¹ Its ancient Roman origins (Fig. 14 and Fig. 15) have been confirmed by archaeological

⁴⁸⁶ András Bödőcs, *A római kori úthálózat térinformatikai vizsgálata a mai Magyarország területén* [The investigation of the Roman road network on the territory of modern Hungary using GIS], Doctoral dissertation (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2008), 337.

⁴⁸⁷ The site of the medieval Kesző has been identified south of modern Egyházaskesző, MRT 4. 95-96, No. 26/4.

⁴⁸⁸ Lajos Balogh and Ferenc Ördög ed., *Veszprém megye földrajzi nevei* [Toponyms in County Veszprém] Vol. 2 (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1987), 81, No. 18/89 and 16/90 (hereafter VeMFN).

⁴⁸⁹ MRT 4, 96, No. 26/8.

⁴⁹⁰ Árpád Period and medieval Szentpéter must have been located at the same place where Kemenesszentpéter is found today, MRT 4, 127, No. 37/1.

⁴⁹¹ VaML T 6 and T 463.

investigations.⁴⁹² The road was called by local people *Római út*, *Öttevényi út*, as well as *Sóhordó út*.⁴⁹³ In the vicinity of **Kenyeri** (C. Vas) ten metre wide remains of a gravelled road were observed by Ervin Türr (1953).⁴⁹⁴ A section of the same Roman road was discovered by Terézia Buocz (1963) north of **Vönöck** as leading to Kenyeri.⁴⁹⁵ That Roman road was known by local people as *Só-út* and *Sóhordó út*.⁴⁹⁶ In the vicinity of **Meggyeskovácsi** a large Roman site was identified by Terézia Buocz, next to which the remains of a Roman road were observed along the left bank of the Rába.⁴⁹⁷ That Roman road can be identified with the *Sóhordó út*,⁴⁹⁸ the parallel depressions of which were known by local people north of Meggyeskovácsi (C. Vas).⁴⁹⁹ Finally, in the eastern part of **Nemesrempehollós** (C. Vas) a north-south directed Roman road has been identified,⁵⁰⁰ which is known locally *Só út*, and alternatively *Római út* and *Gövecses út* (gravelled road).⁵⁰¹ (For the location of the sites see Fig. 13.)

⁴⁹² Sylvia K. Palágyi, “Adatok a Savariából Arrabonába vezető római út kemenesszentpéteri szakaszának kutatásához” [Data on the investigation of the Kemenesszentpéter section of the Roman road leading from Savaria to Arrabona], in *A Dunántúl Településtörténete 9. Város – mezőváros – városiasodás* [The settlement history of Transdanubia 9. Towns – market towns – urbanization], ed. László Solymosi and Balázs Somfai (Veszprém: Veszprémi Akadémiai Bizottság, 1992), 27-34, esp. 27-28; Endre Tóth, *Itineraria Pannonica, Római utak a Dunántúlon* [Roman Roads in Transdanubia] (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2006), 21.

⁴⁹³ MRT 4, 127-129, No. 37/5; VeMFN II, 57, No. 9/55 and 9/60; Bödöcs, *A római kori úthálózat térinformatikai vizsgálata*, 560-561.

⁴⁹⁴ SM RA 58.

⁴⁹⁵ SM RA 1172.

⁴⁹⁶ Bödöcs, *A római kori úthálózat térinformatikai vizsgálata*, 508-509.

⁴⁹⁷ P. Buocz, “Római kor,” 73.

⁴⁹⁸ VaMFN, s.v. “Körmendi út: Sóhordó út,” 264, No. 94/50.

⁴⁹⁹ Bödöcs, *A római kori úthálózat térinformatikai vizsgálata*, 516.

⁵⁰⁰ Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, *Savaria—Szombathely története*, 22; Bödöcs, *A római kori úthálózat térinformatikai vizsgálata*, 522.

⁵⁰¹ VaMFN, s.v. “Város út: Gövecses út: Só út: Római út,” 417, No. 159/65.

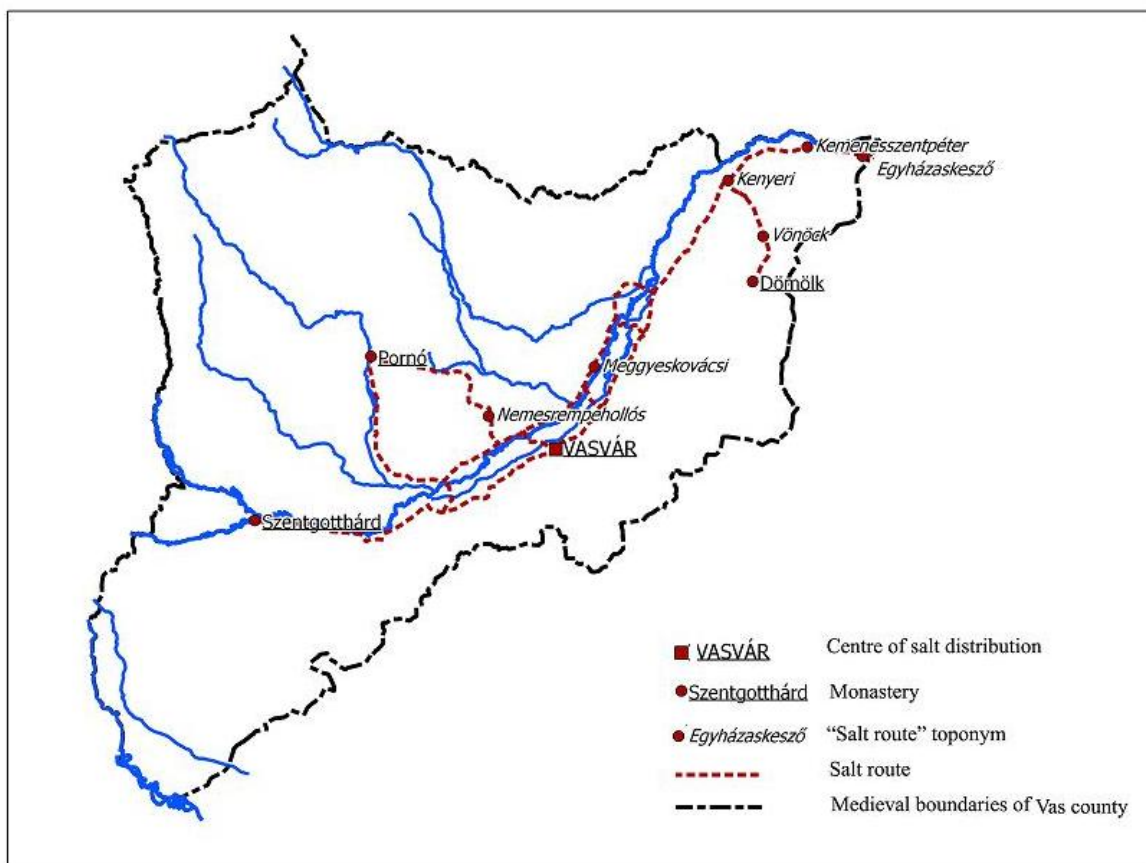


Fig. 13. The reconstruction of salt routes in medieval County Vas

On the basis of the toponyms *Só út* and *Sóhordó út* related above, one can reconstruct the salt routes of medieval County Vas as follows. Salt from Győr was carried on carts along the right bank of the Rába through Egyházaskesző, Kemenesszentpéter, and Kenyeri to Vasvár⁵⁰² and further to the Szentgotthárd Monastery.⁵⁰³ From Kenyeri the road must have had a branch through Vönöck to the Dömölk Monastery. On the basis of toponyms, salt was also transported along the left bank of the Rába. The salt route must have crossed the Rába at Sárvár, led through Meggyeskovácsi to Körmend (cf. Fig. 12), from where it continued along

⁵⁰² In the Árpád Period Vasvár was one of the Transdanubian centres of salt distribution. See chapter 4.2.1.

⁵⁰³ In 1233 King Andreas II confirmed the letter of donation by King Béla III, which allowed the monastery of Szentgotthárd (*monasterii de sancto Gothardo Citerciensis ordinis*) to transport yearly twenty thousand stone cubes (*sales magni*) on wagons to the German borders (*ad confinia Teutonie*). They can collect ten thousand salt cubes on 24 July (*in nativitate sancti Iohannis baptiste*) and ten thousand cubes on August 20 (*in festo Sancti Regis*) in Vasvár (*Castrum Ferreum*). UB I, 146; RA No. 505.

the left bank of the Pinka to the Pornó Monastery.⁵⁰⁴ Alternatively, salt must have been carried to Pornó via Nemesrempehollós (Fig. 13).



Fig. 14. Roman road north-west of Kemenesszentpéter (July 2011)



Fig. 15. Roman road remains scattered by ploughing, north-east of Kemenesszentpéter (July 2011)

2.3.3.3 Wine routes

Although there are plenty of data on the production and transportation of wine in Árpád Period Transdanubia, the term *borhordó út*⁵⁰⁵ meaning “wine route” occurs only in late medieval sources. All the three *borhordó út* references I found in medieval sources can be located in County Veszprém, one of them is a *via magna*, and another is a *via publica*.

⁵⁰⁴ Due to a letter of donation by Andreas II, from 1233 on the Pornó Monastery could collect one thousand stone cubes in Vasvár around June 24 every year: *abbati et conventui sancte Margarete de Pernou Cisterciensis ordinis... contulerimus mille zuanos in Woswar a salinariis annuatim circa festum sancti Ioannis baptiste* (Pornó, C. Vas), UB I, 145; RA I, No. 504.

⁵⁰⁵ 1382: *pervenissent ad quandam magnam viam Borhordouth nominatam* (Kemece and Tótmező, C. Veszprém), VVOP, 323; 1507: *via Borhordowth vocata* (C. Veszprém); 1509: *via publica Borhordo wth vocata* (C. Veszprém), OklSz, s.v. “borhordó-út,” 84. See also TESz I, s.v. “bor,” 341.

Similarly to medieval *borhordó út* references, the field names *Borhordó út*⁵⁰⁶ and *Bor út*⁵⁰⁷ also preserve the memory of routes on which wine (Hu. *bor*) was transported from its place of production to those of storage and consumption.⁵⁰⁸

Although there is hardly any evidence for the viticulture of the conquering Magyars,⁵⁰⁹ wine production can be demonstrated in Hungary from the eleventh century on. There were already vine-dressers (Hu. *szőlősök*, Lat. *vinitores*) among the royal servicing people of the Árpáds,⁵¹⁰ and monasteries also produced large quantities of wine before the end of the eleventh century. When around 1093, for example, King Ladislas I had the movable and immovable properties of the Benedictine monastery of Pannonhalma drawn up, the monks had already had seventy-four vineyards (*vinee*) and eighty-eight vine-dressers (*mansus vinitorum*)⁵¹¹ at that time. In the twelfth century the monastery was endowed with further vine-lands by lay people, who made their donations in hope that the monks would pray for the salvation of their souls.⁵¹² In addition, settlements called Szőlős also testify to early Hungarian wine growing.⁵¹³ Between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries Transdanubia had ten such settlements located in Counties Baranya (3), Veszprém (2), Zala (2), Győr (1), Vas (1), and Somogy (1).⁵¹⁴

⁵⁰⁶ For example, at Kám (VaMFN 511, No. 208/98) and at Oszkó (VaMFN 532, No. 216/68) in County Vas. At Taliándörögd (VeMFN I, 56, No. 10/58), Tapolca (VeMFN I, 144, No. 29/234), Lesencetomaj (VeMFN I, 170, No. 35/97), Gyulafirátót (VeMFN IV, 185, No. 25/335), Szentgál (VeMFN IV, 222, No. 29/317), and at Tótvázsony (VeMFN IV, No. 379, 50/129) in County Veszprém.

⁵⁰⁷ At Cák (VaMFN 67, No. 9/24) in County Vas.

⁵⁰⁸ Huszár, "Magyarország úthálózatának történeti áttekintése," 24.

⁵⁰⁹ Melinda Égető, "Középkori szőlőművelésünk kérdéséhez" [On the question of medieval vine-growing in Hungary], *Ethnographia* 91 (1980): 53-78, esp. 56.

⁵¹⁰ György Györffy, "Az Árpád-kori szolgálónépek kérdéséhez" [On the question of servicing people in the Árpád Period], *Történelmi Szemle* 15 (1972): 261-320, esp. 277-278.

⁵¹¹ PRT I, 592.

⁵¹² 1116-1131: *ego Acha Uespremensis...pro redemptione anime mee et remedio... tradidi ergo quatuor hominum capita simul cum vinea et molendino*, PRT I, 595; c. 1186: *ego Hoda...patronitio Dei et Beati Martini et abbatis S(imilis) eiusdem cenobii et fratrum pariter orationibus humiliter me committo...offero ita predicta cenobio terram in Nulas... et quinque vineas cum quattuor colonis...item terram in Sebus* (Nyulas, C. Győr and Sebes, C. Sopron) PRT I, 611.

⁵¹³ Györffy, "Az Árpád-kori szolgálónépek kérdéséhez," 278.

⁵¹⁴ Györffy, "Az Árpád-kori szolgálónépek kérdéséhez," 304-305, Égető, "Középkori szőlőművelésünk kérdéséhez," 74, Fig. 4.

From historical and technological aspects, the wine regions of medieval Transdanubia divided into two groups. On the one hand, the old, traditional wine-growing districts encompassed the Balaton region, the territory around Pécs, as well as the area of the Sokoró Hill (for details see 3.1.10), where – based on Celtic (?) and ancient Roman traditions⁵¹⁵ – wine was produced by peasants from the eleventh century on. On the other hand, in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries vine growing also emerged around the towns of Sopron, Pozsony, Nagyszombat, and Buda, where – in addition to the old technologies – the burghers started to apply new, advanced techniques of viticulture transmitted by Latin (French, Walloon, and Italian) and German monks or settlers.⁵¹⁶

Documents describing the duties of peoples serving the monasteries provide various data not only for monastic vine growing but also for the transportation of wine.⁵¹⁷ The 1086 conscription of the holdings of the Bakonybél Monastery (C. Veszprém),⁵¹⁸ for example, relates that the horsemen (*equitantes*) of the monastery had to transport wine for the abbot and his community once a year.⁵¹⁹ The 1226 charter of Palatine Nicolaus records that the peasants (*udwornici ecclesie*) of the Pannonhalma Monastery (C. Győr),⁵²⁰ as well as other peoples from Counties Somogy and Zala had to provide the monastery with wagons and draught-

⁵¹⁵ For archaeological evidence on the ancient Roman viticulture in Pannonia see, Péter Kecskés and Mária Pető, “A pannóniai szőlőművelés és mustnyerés tárgyi emlékeinek értékeléséhez” [The evaluation of Pannonian material culture related to vine-growing and grape juice making], *NéprÉrt* 51 (1974): 131-159.

⁵¹⁶ Márta Belényesy, “Szőlő- és gyümölcsstermesztésünk a XIV. században” [Vine- and fruit-growing in Hungary in the fourteenth century], *NéprÉrt* 37 (1955): 11-30, esp. 16-17; Égető, “Középkori szőlőművelésünk kérdéséhez,” 54; István Vincze, “Történeti-néprajzi összehasonlító vizsgálatok a kelet-európai szőlőkultúra körében” [Historical-ethnographical comparative examinations concerning Eastern European viticulture], *NKNT* 5-6 (1971): 310-314, esp. 314; Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 199; KMTL s.v. “Szőlőművelés és borászat,” 656.

⁵¹⁷ For monastic viticulture in Pannonhalma, see Tamás Dénesi and Zsigmond Csoma, eds., “*ad vinum diserti...*” *Monostori szőlő- és borgazdálkodás* [Monastic vine-growing and winemaking] (Budapest: Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátság Levéltára and Magyar Bortörténeti Társaság, 2009), with special regard to the studies by Tamás Dénesi and Zsigmond Csoma, “Monostori szőlő- és borkultúra Pannonhalmán” [Monastic vine-growing and winemaking in Pannonhalma], 9-25; and Géza Érszegi, “A szőlő és a bor szerepe Pannonhalma gazdálkodásában az Árpád-korban a tatárjárásig” [The role of grapes and wine in the economy of Pannonhalma in the Árpád Period to the Mongol Invasion (1241-1242)], 69-73.

⁵¹⁸ Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* [Monasteries and collegiate chapters in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000), 12.

⁵¹⁹ 1086: *hii equitantes cum abbate vel fratribus...trahentes vinum semel per annum ...in mon[as]terio*, DHA I, 253; W. I, 34.

⁵²⁰ Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 64.

animals in order to transport their wine (*ad portandum vinum*).⁵²¹ According to the testimony of the so-called “Albeus conscription”⁵²² drawn up sometime between 1237 and 1240, out of ninety-four properties belonging to the Pannonhalma Monastery twenty-four took part in the monastery’s wine production.⁵²³ The inhabitants of Nyalka,⁵²⁴ Tényő⁵²⁵ (C. Győr), Varsány⁵²⁶ (C. Veszprém), and Szántód⁵²⁷ (C. Komárom) were liable to transport wine for the monastery. In Nyalka each household was bound to carry at their own expense one barrel of wine from Counties Somogy and Zala to Pannonhalma. In the case of the three other settlements, however, the text does not define the amount of wine to be transported.

According to the testimony of written records, wine was transported in barrels on special wine wagons (cf. Fig. 16). In 1233, for example, the equestrian servants complained about – among other things – that they had to supply the Pannonhalma Monastery with wine wagons (*currus viniferus*).⁵²⁸ The inhabitants of Tényő also complained that abbot Urias had their light wine wagons (*levis currus vini*) loaded so heavily with wine that they were hardly able to carry it.⁵²⁹ Concerning the latter issue the assigned arbitrators decided that the abbot’s wine must be transported on light wagons instead of heavy ones (*gravis currus vini*), and the load should not exceed the amount of wine that was sufficient for the abbot and his retinue for

⁵²¹ 1226: *omnes udwornici ... similiter omnes ceteri populi, serviciales scilicet pelliparii, sutores, fabri ceterique omnes alii, qui nominantur in privilegio Sancti Ladizlai ad omnia genera officiorum, debent dare currus cum animalibus ad portandum vinum abbati et monachis, quocumque necesse fuerit ire*, PRT I, 678; W. VI, 438. Cf. ÁMTF II, s.v. “Szentmárton monostor,” 631.

⁵²² On the Albeus conscription, see: Érszegi, “A szőlő és a bor szerepe Pannonhalma gazdálkodásában” 70-71; KMTL, “Albeus-féle összeírás,” 35-36. For publications of the text see, PRT I, 771-788, and W. II, 1-26.

⁵²³ For the properties of the Pannonhalma abbey in Counties Győr, Sopron, Veszprém, Komárom, Zala, Somogy and Vas, see, PRT I, 191-283, 303-324, 332-336.

⁵²⁴ [1237-1240]: *Item unaqueque mansio tenetur in suo curru et animalibus portare tunellam vini de vino monasterii in propriis expensis de Symigio et de Sala usque ad dictum monasterium Sancti Martini* (Nyalka, C. Győr), PRT I, 772; W. II, 3.

⁵²⁵ [1237-1240]: *isti tenetur portare vinum* (Tényő, C. Győr). PRT I, 780; W. II, 16.

⁵²⁶ [1237-1240]: *hec... debet vinum portare* (Varsány, C. Veszprém), PRT I, 776; W. II, 9.

⁵²⁷ [1237-1240]: *isti... debent vinum portare* (Szántó, C. Komárom) PRT I, 781; W. II, 9.

⁵²⁸ 1233: *Item hec sunt gravamina equestrium servientum: non tenentur dare equum nunciis abbatibus, nec tenentur ferre currum viniferum, nec abbas dat prebendam equis ipsorum in via, quod facere deberet, nec extra regnum ducere equos ipsorum...*, PRT I, 717.

⁵²⁹ 1233: *Item villa Teneu tenetur portare cum abbate levem currum vini ad expensam unius diei; sed abbas Vrias imponit curru ipsorum honus importabile* (Tényő, C. Győr), PRT I, 717.

one day.⁵³⁰ Finally, mention must be made of the fact that – similarly to salt –, wine was transported by ships (*naves*,⁵³¹ *carina*⁵³²) wherever the watercourses were suitable for that. The Danube was evidently one of those rivers on which wine was regularly transported (the barrels being shipped and unshipped at the ports of Pest, Esztergom, and Győr).

In addition to salt, wine was the only product that was the subject of intensive inter-regional or provincial trade before the end of the Árpád Period. The commercial importance of wine is shown among other things by the fact that toll had always been collected after it by the barrel and not by the cartload.⁵³³ Wine appears in the toll tariffs of Buda (1255),⁵³⁴ Győr (1255),⁵³⁵ and Esztergom (1288).⁵³⁶ The latter toll tariff attests that wine was transported to Esztergom from the Srem region (Hu. Szerémség, Lat. Marchia),⁵³⁷ as well as from Somogy, Zala, Sokoró and Pest by wagons and ships, alike. Wine produced in the Srem region was the highest quality of all Hungarian wines, and its transportation from the Srem to the north defined the most important south-north trade route of the time.⁵³⁸ The Srem wine was either shipped northwards on the Danube, or carried by wagons on the so-called *Baranyai nagyút*⁵³⁹

⁵³⁰ 1233: *Item laudamus, quod dictus abbas non cogat homines de villa Teney gravem currum vini ducere vel deffere, sed levem, scilicet tantum, quod sufficiat ad unum diem abbati et secum euntibus...*(Tényő, C. Győr), PRT I, 720.

⁵³¹ 1148/1253: *tributum portus Pest et Kerepes, navium etiam cum vino sive cum salibus ascendentium, sive cum aliis venalibus descendendum* (Pest and Kerepes, C. Pest), BTOE I, 3.

⁵³² 1288: *carina de vino Bulgan* (Esztergom, C. Esztergom), Mon. Strig. II, 238.

⁵³³ Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 258.

⁵³⁴ 1255: *item de tunella vini, quod venditur in foro, duo pondera; item de tunella vini, quod ponitur in cellario, duo pondera; item de curru, in quo extra castrum tres tunelle deferuntur, tributarii recipiant dimidium fertonem, infra autem tria pondera* (Buda, C. Pilis) EFHU, 45; BTOE I, 56.

⁵³⁵ 1255: *item de qualibet tunella vini tributarii octo denarios et et comiti duos* (Győr, C. Győr), EFHU 51. Weisz, “A győri vám Árpád-kori története,” 231-234.

⁵³⁶ 1288: *Item si de Bulgan, qui dicitur Marchia, ciues Strigon. portent vinum, siue in karinis, siue in curribus, de qualibet Tunella soluent duo ponera. Item si homines de marchia vina deferunt in Strigonium, de viginti Tunellis Soluunt unam marcam. Item si vina de uenalia de quocumque locorum Strigonium deferantur, siue de Symigio, siue de Zala, siue de Sukurou, siue eciam de Pest, siue in Carina, siue in curru, de qualibet Tunella unum pondus debetur.* (Esztergom, C. Esztergom), Mon. Strig. II, 238. On the tolls collected at Esztergom see in detail, Boglárka Weisz, “Az esztergomi vám Árpád-kori vám története,” [The history of the customs and the toll in Esztergom in the Árpád Period], *Századok* 137 (2003), 973-981.

⁵³⁷ KMTL, s.v. “Marchia,” 442-443.

⁵³⁸ Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 257.

⁵³⁹ 1431: *versus Danobium usque viam Baronyaynogwt dictam antiquiorem* (Régenszenttamás and Labdásvarsány, C. Fejér), BTOE III, 168; 1431: *ascendendo usque viam Baronyawth vocatam, antiquam* (Régenszenttamás, C. Fejér), BTOE III, 170; Cf. Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 140-141. For a

which crossed the Drava at Eszék (Osijek),⁵⁴⁰ and passed through Nyárád,⁵⁴¹ Szekcső⁵⁴² (C. Baranya), Fadd⁵⁴³ (Tolna), and Iváncsa⁵⁴⁴ (C. Fejér) to Buda, or across Martonvásár to Esztergom.⁵⁴⁵ The Srem wine was also sought after outside Hungary and there is evidence that from Esztergom it was transported further to Bohemia and other foreign lands.⁵⁴⁶ Wine produced in the Balaton region was, on the other hand, transported across County Veszprém to Pannonhalma and Esztergom, a section of which in Veszprém is referred to as *borhordóút* in medieval written sources.⁵⁴⁷

2.3.4 Ecclesiastical roads

Ecclesiastical roads at local level involve church roads and corpse roads. People living in farmsteads without a church of their own had to take the road in order to attend the Sunday mass at the parish church they belonged to. These paths appear in documentary evidence throughout Europe as church roads or mass roads. They are called ‘church way’ and ‘church path’ in English, and *Messeweg* in German. Furthermore, because the dead had to be buried in the churchyards of parish churches, corpses needed to be carried to the church. The paths used for such purpose appear as corpse roads in written sources. Toponyms also testify to the existence of old corpse roads, such as the ‘Lich Way’ (from Old English *lich* meaning ‘body’)

schematic map of the route see, Magdolna Szilágyi, “The sequence of Roman and medieval communication routes in Transdanubia,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 13 (2007): 241-262, esp. 244, Fig. 2.

⁵⁴⁰ 1339: *mercatores per fluvium Drawe in portum de Ezyk transeuntes* (Eszék, C. Baranya), ÁMTF I, 301.

⁵⁴¹ 1413: *per magnam viam, que duceret de Zekchew ad villam Narad* (Szekcső and Nyárád, C. Baranya), Zichy VI, 243.

⁵⁴² 1329/1329/1378/1388: *magnam viam, que itur in Zekchew* (Bár and Szekcső, C. Baranya), MOL DL 7345; ÁMTF I, s.v. “Bár,” 279.

⁵⁴³ 1424: *penes magnam viam, quae de villa Zenthgurg ad praedictam villam Faad duceret* (Szentgyörgy and Fadd, C. Tolna), F. X/6, 632.

⁵⁴⁴ 1291: *circa magnam viam* (Iváncsa, C. Fejér), W. X, 39; Cf. ÁMTF II, s.v. “Iváncs(a),” 389.

⁵⁴⁵ 1337: *pervenit ad magnam viam per quam ad Strigonium consuevissent ire* (Kuldó, C. Fejér), A. III, 409; Cf. ÁMTF II, 341 and s.v. “Kuldó,” 393.

⁵⁴⁶ 1288: *Item si vina de Marchia, uel de alijs Locis delata Strigonium, aliqui extranei siue in aurifodinam, uel eciam in Boemiam, quocumque extra regnum de qualibet Tunella debet emptor unum podnus, ante quam transeat danubium.* (Esztergom, C. Esztergom), Mon. Strig. II, 238.

⁵⁴⁷ Cf. n. 505.

in England, and the *Totenweg* in Saxony.⁵⁴⁸ Medieval Hungarian written sources preserve the memory of the existence of both church roads and corpse roads.

2.3.4.1 Church roads

In Hungary roads leading up to churches appear as *via/semita ad ecclesiam* in Árpád Period and medieval written sources.⁵⁴⁹ In addition, the field names *Mise út*⁵⁵⁰ and *Misés út* (i.e. mass way) indicate roads on which villagers without a church of their own could walk to the parish church of the neighbouring village in order to attend the Holy Mass there.⁵⁵¹

Regular attendance at the Sunday mass was prescribed by royal edicts from the early eleventh century on. King Stephen I (1000-1038) in his First Law Book made the observance of the Lord's Day mandatory,⁵⁵² and had the priests and the *comes* order the village reeves to command everyone that they – except for those who guarded the fire at home – should gather in the church on Sundays.⁵⁵³ Nevertheless, at the beginning of the eleventh century there were still few churches in the realm. Settlements were located generally fifteen to twenty-four kilometres from the nearest church, which was a too great distance to enable regular church-

⁵⁴⁸ For church roads and corpse roads in England see: Hindle, *Medieval Roads*, 10-12. For Germany see: Denecke, *Methodische Untersuchungen*, 112, 117.

⁵⁴⁹ 1193: *ad magnam viam et per illam viam ad Ecclesiam Beatae Mariae* (Gadány, C. Somogy), F. II, 287; Cf. ÁMTF I, s.v. "Fehérvár-Sziget," 382-384; 1252: *uiam, que ducit ad ecclesiam* (Úrög/Ireg, C. Baranya), HO 1234-1536, 26; 1257: *in qua uia itur ad ecclesiam Sancti Georgij* (Szentgyörgyvölgy, C. Zala), W. VII, 466; (1272-1290): *ad unam viam, qua iretur ad ecclesiam sancti Michaelis parochyalem* (Horó, C. Vas), charter No. 46; 1296: *in magnam viam de Saagh decurrentem ad ecclesiam Beate Marie de Luka* (Franceusfölde, Ság and Luka, C. Baranya), W. X, 240; Cf. ÁMTF I, s.v. "Franceusfölde," 303, "Luka," 337 and "Ság," 374; 1314: *semitam qua itur ad ecclesiam omnium sanctorum* (Mindszent, C. Vas), charter No. 78; 1337: *ad unam parvam viam, sive semitam, qua itur ad ecclesiam de Pogh* (Páty, C. Vas), charter No. 92; 1358: *ad viam magnam, qua itur ad ecclesiam sancti Nicolai* (Egyházasnick, C. Vas), charter No. 82.

⁵⁵⁰ *Mise út* field names from Western Transdanubia: VaMFN 62, No. 7/44; 78, No. 14/26; 91, No. 21/18; 104, No. 27/89; 121, No. 35/7; 153, No. 37/1074 and No. 37/1082; 170, No. 43/9; 177, No. 46/103; 180, No. 49/10; 187, No. 51/64; 209, No. 62/94; 210, No. 63/38; 213, No. 65/29; 218, No. 68/34; 233, No. 77/7; 236, No. 79/3; 263, No. 94/32; 269, No. 97/1; 272, No. 99/59; 312, No. 111/74; 343, No. 125/88; 348, No. 128/31, etc. ZMFN I, 117, No. 40/22; 137, No. 50/1; 199, No. 80/76; 219, No. 88/29; 240, No. 98/49; 265, No. 110/22; 271, No. 113/39; 277, No. 116/38 and 116/42; 297, No. 124/49; 299, No. 125/22; 325, No. 138/28; 345, No. 148/57; 363, No. 157/71; 367, No. 159/61; 393, No. 172/45; 433, No. 185/115 and 185/210, etc.

⁵⁵¹ BMFN II, 956; VeMFN I, 22. Cf. FNESz II, s.v. "Miseúti-dűlő," 148;

⁵⁵² Stephen I, Lib. I, cap. 8. See, DRMH I/1, 3.

⁵⁵³ Stephen I, Lib. I, cap. 9: *A sacerdotibus vero et comitibus commendatur omnibus villicis, ita ut illorum iussu omnes concurrant die dominica ad ecclesiam, maiores ac minores, viri ac mulieres, exceptis qui ignes custodiunt. Si quis vero non observationis causa remanebit perr illorum negligentiam, vapulent ac depilentur.* DRMH I/1, 3.

going.⁵⁵⁴ That is the reason why, in his second Law Book, King Stephen commanded that ten villages should erect one church and endow it with two households (*mansiones*), two bondmen, and a defined number of animals.⁵⁵⁵ In the subsequent centuries the number of churches gradually increased and by the fifteenth century generally every second village had a parish church of its own. It was usually small settlements consisting of a few dwelling-houses and/or settlements located in mountainous regions that were not able to build their own church.⁵⁵⁶ As the number of churches grew, the route to them became naturally shorter and shorter. In the late Middle Ages there was normally one parish church within a radius of five kilometres from any village.⁵⁵⁷ However, even in the early modern period not each village has had a parish church of its own, which explains why there are so many *Mise út* field names today.

Returning to Árpád Period church roads, it can be ascertained that because beginning with the reign of King Stephen I churches had to be frequented on a weekly basis, one of their basic feature was good accessibility. In early Árpád Period Transdanubia – when the road network of the realm was still at a stage of development – ancient Roman roads played a key role in communication (chapter 3.3). That explains why, in County Vas out of twenty-six eleventh- and twelfth-century churches seventeen were erected in near proximity to, at the junction of, or at the bifurcation of Roman roads.⁵⁵⁸ In the case of churches that were erected outside a settlement, or those belonging to several settlements accessibility was again a

⁵⁵⁴ Györffy, *István király és műve*, 186.

⁵⁵⁵ Stephen I, Lib. II, cap. 1: *Decem ville ecclesiam edificent, quam duobus mansis totidemque manicipiis dotent, equo et umento, sex bubus et duabus vaccis, XXX minutis bestiis. Vestimenta vero et cooperatoria rex provideat, presbiterium et libros epsicopi.* DRMH I/1, 9.

⁵⁵⁶ István Szabó, *A középkori magyar falu* [The medieval Hungarian village] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969), 184-186.

⁵⁵⁷ Máté Stibrányi, “A Sárvíz középkori településhálózatának vázlata, avagy a templom és a hozzá vezető út” [An outline of the medieval settlement system of Sárvíz, or the church and the road leading to it], *Alba Regia* 37 (2008): 189-196, esp. 195.

⁵⁵⁸ Gábor Kiss, “A történeti Vas vármegye 11-12. századi templomairól” [On the churches of historical County Vas between the eleventh and twelfth centuries], in *Hadak útján. A népvándorlaskor fiatal kutatóinak 10. konferenciája* [‘On the way of warriors...’ Proceedings of the tenth conference of young researchers of the Migration Period], ed. Lívia Bende, Gábor Lőrinczy, and Csaba Szalontai (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2000), 379-391, esp. 385-386, Table 1.

fundamental requirement. In County Vas such extra-settlement churches were the Saint Cecilia Church near Rábatöttös, the Saint Wenceslas Church near Kercaszomor, and the Saint Martin Church that served as the parish church of Szombathely (chapter 4.2.3).⁵⁵⁹

2.3.4.2 Corpse roads

Among high medieval sources I came upon two references to corpse roads. One charter dated to 1398 mentions a *holtasút* (i.e. corpse road) near Füle (C. Veszprém).⁵⁶⁰ The other source from 1489 records that from Leányfalu (C. Veszprém) the dead were carried on the *halothordóút* (i.e. the road on which the dead were carried)⁵⁶¹ to Vázsony (C. Veszprém) to be buried in the cemetery of the Pauline monastery.⁵⁶²

Although in Árpád Period written documents I did not find evidence on corpse roads, the existence of such roads can be conjectured from that Hungarian rulers ordered the burial of the dead in churchyards from the eleventh century on. We can first read about that in the First Law Book of King Ladislas (1077-1095), who also gave instructions considering the burial of the poor. He commanded that the masters must have their poor servants' bodies carried to the church, and the village reeves have to do the same with the corpses of poor villagers.⁵⁶³ King Coloman (1095-1116) affirmed the law above ordering that all Christians must be buried only in churchyards.⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁵⁹ Kiss, "A történeti Vas vármegye 11-12. századi templomairól," 384.

⁵⁶⁰ 1398/1446: *ad quandam viam holthaswth vocatam* (Füle, C. Veszprém), OklSz s.v. "halottas," 343; TESz II, s.v. "holt," 135.

⁵⁶¹ 1489: *penes quandam viam hebosam que halothhordowth diceretur* (Leányfalu, C. Veszprém), MOL DL 19562; OklSz s.v. "halott," 343.

⁵⁶² Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 72.

⁵⁶³ Ladislas I, Lib. I, cap. 25.

⁵⁶⁴ Coloman, cap. 73: *Sepulture christianorum non nisi in atriis ecclesiarum fiant*. DRMH I/1, 30.

2.3.5 Agricultural routes

The territory of village-like settlements was divided into zones of different function in the Árpád Period.⁵⁶⁵ The core of the settlement was made up of dwelling-houses as well as stables and sties around them. Those were surrounded by stack-yards (Hu. *szérű*, Lat. *horreum*,⁵⁶⁶ *area*⁵⁶⁷)⁵⁶⁸ and gardens (Lat. *ortus*).⁵⁶⁹ The third zone involved arable lands (Hu. *telek*, Lat. *terra fímata*,⁵⁷⁰ *terra culta*⁵⁷¹).⁵⁷² Finally, the outermost zone included woodlands (Lat. *silva*) and meadows (Lat. *pratium*). Each zone of the settlement could be accessed via local or rural routes. These roads were not only used by people working in the fields, but they also assisted a variety of other activities related to agriculture: driving animals to the pastures, transporting hay from the meadows, and bringing wood from the forest.

2.3.5.1 Drove roads

In medieval and early modern Europe drove roads were called *driftway*⁵⁷³ in English, or *Ochsenweg*, *Jokweg* and *Schäferweg* in German.⁵⁷⁴ Similarly, written records from Árpád Period Hungary hold reference to roads used for driving two types of livestock: cattle and horse.

⁵⁶⁵ Györffy, *István király és műve*, 406-408. For the archaeology of Árpád Period village-like settlements, see József Laszlovszky, “Einzelhofsiedlungen in der Arpadenzeit,” *ActaArchHung* 38 (1986): 227-255, esp. 236-254; József Laszlovszky, “Tanyaszerű települések az Árpád-korban” [Farm-steads in the Árpád Period], in *Falvak, mezővárosok az Alföldön* [Villages and market towns in the Great Hungarian Plain], ed. László Novák and László Selmeczi (Nagykőrös: Arany János Múzeum, 1986), 131-151, esp. 132-140.

⁵⁶⁶ MKLSz IV, s.v. “horreum,” 281.

⁵⁶⁷ MKLSz I, s.v. “area,” 233.

⁵⁶⁸ Márta Belényesy, “A földművelés Magyarországon a XIV. században” [Agriculture in Hungary in the fourteenth century], *Századok* 90 (1956): 517-555, esp. 539-542.

⁵⁶⁹ Belényesy, “A földművelés Magyarországon a XIV. században,” 549-552.

⁵⁷⁰ MKLSz IV, s.v. “fímatum,” 92.

⁵⁷¹ MKLSz II, s.v. “cultus,” 434.

⁵⁷² Márta Belényesy, “A földművelés fejlődésének alapvető kérdései a XIV. században [The fundamental questions of the development of agriculture in the fourteenth century], *Ethnographia* 65 (1954), 387-415, esp. 393-394.

⁵⁷³ Hindle, *Medieval Roads*, 14-15.

⁵⁷⁴ Denecke, *Methodische Untersuchungen*, 112.

According to the testimony of written records originating from the second half of the thirteenth century, cattle drove roads in Hungary were called *csordaút*, *csordauta*,⁵⁷⁵ *via gregis*,⁵⁷⁶ and *via gregum*.⁵⁷⁷ In vernacular ‘*csordaút*’ the element ‘*csorda*’ refers to a herd of livestock, typically cattle (Lat. *grex*⁵⁷⁸).⁵⁷⁹ The Latin equivalent of *csordaút* was *via gregis* as it is shown by the 1291 perambulation of Mocsá (C. Komárom).⁵⁸⁰ But how can *csordaút* and *via gregis* be interpreted? The perambulation of Mocsá above records that the *csordaút* / *via gregis* was at the same time a *via magna*. At Igmánd (C. Komárom) that cattle road joined the Buda—Győr main route,⁵⁸¹ which suggests that the cattle road leading from the direction of Mocsá could have been used for driving cattle to the market. However, cattle drove roads could have had other functions, as well. The perambulations of Dorog (C. Esztergom) and Daj (C. Fejér) describe the *via gregum* as a road leading to a meadow (*de villa...versus fenetum; de villa ad campum*). Thus, in these cases the terms *csordaút* and *via gregum* were used to indicate routes on which cattle held around the houses were driven to the pastures for grazing. The pastures were certainly located in the vicinity of the settlement and the livestock must have been led there in the mornings and back in the evenings.⁵⁸² In this latter sense *csordaút*

⁵⁷⁵ 1255: *ad viam Charadaoth vocatam* (Szarakad, C. Vas), charter No. 125; 1291: *vadit per magnam viam, qua itur ad Chychoharazta, que via uocatur vulgariter Churda uta* (Mocsá, C. Komárom), Mon. Strig. II, 308; 1293: *a parte meridionali via vulgariter Churdaut dicta* (west of Veszprém, C. Veszprém), F. IX/7, 711-712; 1343: *duas vineas in monte Churdawth* (Szöllős, C. Zala), Veszpr. Reg. 152; 1340/1449: *a parte inferiori Chordawt* (Peszej, C. Veszprém), Zala vm. I, 367; 1388: *viam Chordaut vocatam*, Zs. I, No. 550. Cf. OklSz, s.v. “csordaút, -uta,” 138.

⁵⁷⁶ 1291: *per viam gregis* (Mocsá, C. Komárom), Mon. Strig. II, 308.

⁵⁷⁷ +1082: *predio Tuzuk, prima meta ponitur, in portu Peýt, ... in uia gregum, que ducit ad locum, qui dicitur Tuzukteluc*, (Pét and Tuzoktelek, C. Veszprém), HO IV, 3; F. I, 451; F. VI/2, 352; 1277: *per viam gregum uenit super eodem berch* (Zahara, C. Nógrád), W. IV, 93; 1296: *iuxta viam gregum* (C. Veszprém), F. IX/7, 722; 1297: *sub uia gregum, que exyt de villa Dorog per portam uersus fenetum* (Dorog, C. Esztergom), W. X, 286; BTOE I 306-307; 1272: *iuxta unam uiam antiquam, que gregum uia dicitur, uenientem directe de villa sancti Stephani ad paruum Danobium* (Esztergom–Szentistván, C. Esztergom), Mon. Strig. I, 600; Cf. ÁMTF II, s.v. “Esztergom-Szentkirály,” 281; 1300: *iuxta uiam gregum siue que vadit de uilla ad campum* (Daj, C. Fejér), HO VII, 298.

⁵⁷⁸ MKLSz IV s.v. “*grex*,” 226.

⁵⁷⁹ TESz I, s.v. “*csorda*,” 555-556; OklSz, s.v. “*csorda*,” 137; Ottó Herman, *A magyar pásztorok nyelvkincese* [The vocabulary of Hungarian herdsman] (Budapest: A Királyi Magyar Természettudományi Társulat, 1914), 396.

⁵⁸⁰ See note 576 above. Cf. ÁMTF III, s.v. “Mocsá,” 441-442.

⁵⁸¹ ÁMTF III, 399.

⁵⁸² Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 196.

has a similar meaning to that of early-modern *csapás*⁵⁸³ that appears as a field-name in the whole territory of Transdanubia.⁵⁸⁴ k

The other type of drove road found in Árpád Period written sources is *ménesút*,⁵⁸⁵ where the first element of the compound indicates a herd of horses.⁵⁸⁶ In the 1289 perambulation of Harta (C. Fejér) *Ménesút* occurs as the name of a swamp (*stagnum*), which suggests the rearing of horses in distant pastures, instead of stables.⁵⁸⁷ The term *ménesút* also occurs in the perambulation of Kesztlöc (C. Tolna) from 1381. In this case, the road *ménesút* passes by meadows and hayfields, which again seems to support the pasturing of horses. It must be noted here that in medieval sources one also finds terms such as *ló út*⁵⁸⁸ (horse road), and *szamár út*⁵⁸⁹ (donkey road). These terms might be interpreted as drove roads on which horses and donkeys were driven to the pastures. However, toponymic analogies⁵⁹⁰ suggest that these roads were used by saddle-horses and donkeys carrying loads, instead of droves. It means that – as opposed to *ménesút* – *ló út* and *szamár út* must have been rather narrow trails.

Finally, in connection with Árpád Period drove roads mention must be made of *csordajárás*.⁵⁹¹ As we have seen above, *csorda* denotes a herd of cattle, whereas *járás*⁵⁹² (Lat. *ambulatio*,⁵⁹³ *meatus*) literally means “a place that is trodden”. According to the testimony of toponymic data, *Csordajárás* and related terms (*Birkajárás*, *Borjújárás*, *Csikójárás*, *Gyulyajárás*, *Marhajárás*, *Tehénjárás*, and *Üszőjárás*) have recently been used to indicate

⁵⁸³ EtSz I, s.v. “csapás,” 852; MNySz 2, s.v. “csapás, 3),” 899; Herman, *A magyar pásztorok nyelvkinése*, 264.

⁵⁸⁴ BMFN II, 952; Ferenc Ördög and József Végh, ed., *Komárom megye földrajzi nevei* [Toponyms in County Komárom] (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1985), 23 (hereafter KMFN); VeMFN I, 17; VeMFN II, 17; VeMFN IV, 21-22.

⁵⁸⁵ 1289: *Stagnum Vzh, qui Menesuth vocatur* (Harta, C. Fejér), HO 1234-1536, 115; Cf. ÁMTF II, s.v. “Harta,” 425; 1381: *prata et fenilia inter aquam Keszteulche et viam Menesuth* (Kesztlöc, C. Tolna), F. IX/6, 264.

⁵⁸⁶ OklSz, s.v. “ménés,” 645; Herman, *A magyar pásztorok nyelvkinése*, 325.

⁵⁸⁷ ÁMTF II, 339.

⁵⁸⁸ 1428: *ad quendam locum lo vth vocatum, ... ad quendam locum Lovth uocatum*, OklSz, s.v. “ló,” 590.

⁵⁸⁹ 1269: *ad locum, qui dicitur Zamarvth* (Bodajt, C. Sopron), UB I, 361; OklSz, s.v. “szamár,” 882-883.

⁵⁹⁰ At Újudvar (C. Zala), for instance, the *Szamár-út* was the route of the water-carrying donkey. ZMFN I, 555, No. 232/90.

⁵⁹¹ 1282/1325: *ad locum quendam Charadajaras* (Majtény, C. Pozsony), W. XII, 371; HO III, 38.

⁵⁹² MNySz 5, s.v. “járás,” 213.

⁵⁹³ MKLSz I, s.v. “ambulatio,” 150.

either those wide tracks along which animals are driven to the pastures every day, or the pastures themselves.⁵⁹⁴ Ottó Herman recorded that in the vocabulary of Hungarian herdsmen the *csordaút* and *csordajárás* were synonymous terms.⁵⁹⁵ In the Árpád Period, however, they were more likely to have had different meanings. As Jenő Szűcs had demonstrated it, the latter term must have been connected with the two-field crop rotation system that became generally applied in Hungary in the second half of the thirteenth century. Within that system the *csordajárás* was the name of those fallow fields that were grazed and trodden by animals, helping thus to control weeds and preparing the land for cultivation.⁵⁹⁶

2.3.5.2 Mill roads

Árpád Period and medieval sources hold references to mill roads: *malomuta*,⁵⁹⁷ *malomút*,⁵⁹⁸ *malomló út*,⁵⁹⁹ as well as *via molendinaria*⁶⁰⁰ and *via ad molendinum*.⁶⁰¹ Since mills (Hu. *malom*, *molna*, Lat. *molendinum*, *mola*)⁶⁰² were usually built at some distance from the main channels of communication, they had to be linked up by access roads providing a means of approach for wagons.⁶⁰³ These access roads often occur as “mill roads” in sources. Field-

⁵⁹⁴ VaMFN, 32-35; BMFN II, 952; KMFN 23-24; VeMFN I, 17-18; VeMFN II, 19.

⁵⁹⁵ Herman, *A magyar pásztorok nyelvkinccse*, 264, 396-397.

⁵⁹⁶ Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 182-183.

⁵⁹⁷ 1277: *ibi separatur a terra Mykoufeulde prenotata, et pervenit directe ad viam, que Molumuta vulgariter vocatur, et ibi coniungitur terre populorum de Supuna* (Csösz, Mikófolde and Soponya, C. Fejér), F. VII/2, 56; Kóta, *Regeszták*, 19, No. 26. Cf. ÁMTF II, s.v. “Csösz(i),” 358; 1342: *viam Molunuta vocatam* (Asszonyfa, C. Vas), charter No. 3.

⁵⁹⁸ 1377: *penes quandam viam Molonwth vocatam* (Kajár, C. Veszprém), MOL DF 200276, Veszpr. Reg. 277, No. 715; 1400: *juxta viam Malumvth* (Kerekharaszt, C. Vas), Házi, “Vas megyei középkori oklevelek,” XI, 135, No. 57; Kóta, *Regeszták*, 80, No. 219. Cf. OklSz, s.v. “malom,” 612-613, and “út,” 1034-1037.

⁵⁹⁹ 1339: *in loco Laaz inter duas vias molunlout* (Nevegy valley, C. Zala), MOL DF 200864, Veszpr. Reg. 124, No. 312; 1400: *iuxta viam Malonlowth* (Szécsény, C. Vas), Házi, “Vas megyei középkori oklevelek,” XI, 135, No. 56; Zs. II/1, 18, No. 99; Kóta, *Regeszták*, 79, No. 217. Cf. OklSz, s.v. “malom,” 612-613, and “út,” 1034-1037.

⁶⁰⁰ 1212: *vadit de Breinde via molendinaria sub arbore Tulfa*, MOL DF 207541; 1342: *infra viam molendinariam* (Asszonyfa, C. Vas). Zala vm. I, 403.

⁶⁰¹ 1208: *tenet metas cum terra Nuethlen et inde vadit ad viam, per quam itur ad molendinum, iuxta quam est meta de terra* (Al-Sásony and Nevetlen, C. Moson), UB I, 54; F. III/1, 63; 1342: *viam magnam... que vadit ad molendinum et aquam* (Rum, C. Vas), charter No. 112; 1388: *quadam via seu platea, per quam itur ad molendinum, usque fluvium Dobra vocatum* (Dezsér, C. Trencsén), Zs. I. 68, No. 685; 1411: *liberam viam ad molendinum* (Somogyvár, C. Somogy), Zs. III, 166, No. 475.

⁶⁰² OklSz, s.v. “malom,” 612-613.

⁶⁰³ József Holub, *Zala megye középkori vízrajza* [Medieval hydrography in County Zala] (Zalaegerszeg: Zala megye Tanácsa, 1963), 48.

names *Malom-út* or *Malomi-út*⁶⁰⁴ also preserve the memory of mill-roads surviving from different times.

In Árpád Period Hungary mills were built by lay landowners or monasteries producing crops for subsistence. A manor or a monastery could have several mills that were either powered by water, or – in lack of that – by working animals. (There are no data on wind-mills from this early period, yet.)⁶⁰⁵ In Transdanubia water-mills – the type originating from the Carolingian period – are documented from the eleventh century on. The earliest document to mention mills was the 1061 foundation charter⁶⁰⁶ of the Zselicszentjakab Monastery (C. Somogy).⁶⁰⁷ The use of water-mills gradually spread in Hungary. In County Zala, for example, there is documentary evidence for the existence of approximately two hundred water-mills in the Árpád Period and the late Middle Ages.⁶⁰⁸ Since at times of inundations the great amount of water rolling down a river could have caused serious damages to the mills, they were normally built not on the rivers themselves, but rather on channels connected to them. Channels were safer as the quantity of water running through the mill could be more easily controlled with the help of dams and floodgates.⁶⁰⁹ A charter from 1247, for example, provides a description of such a water-mill. It records that when palatine Csák arrived at Vica

⁶⁰⁴ Some data from Western Transdanubia: VaMFN 90, No. 20/51; 376, No. 139/21; 444, No. 172/275; 453, No. 177/51; 551, No. 225/127; ZMFN I, 41, No. 3/105; 75, No. 20/33; 101, No. 33/32; 223, No. 90/36; 249, No. 102/12; Lajos Balogh and Ferenc Ördög, eds. *Győr-Moson-Sopron megye földrajzi nevei I. Kapuvári járás* [Toponyms in County Győr-Moson-Sopron I. District Kapuvár] (Győr: Apáczai Csere János Tanítóképző Főiskola, 1998), 35, No. 4/22; 65, No. 17/11 (hereafter GYMSFN).

⁶⁰⁵ For a brief overview of mills in the Árpád Period see, KMTL, s.v. “malom,” 441. On water-mills from 1301 and 1325, see Tamás Vajda, “Hazai vízimalmaink 1301-1325 közötti okleveles adatai” [Charter evidence to Hungarian water mills from 1301 to 1325], in *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok* [Studies on the Middle Ages], ed. Boglárka Weisz (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2003), 193-213; For issues related to medieval mills see, Holub, *Zala megye középkori vízrajza*, 43-54; For the historical development of dry and water-mills see, Pál Pongrácz, *Régi malomépitészet* [Old architecture of mills] (Budapest: Műszaki Könyvkiadó), 7-16; Antal Juhász, “Malmok, molnárság, sütő-vagy pékmesterség” [Mills, millers, and the craftsmanship of baking], in *Magyar Néprajz* [Hungarian ethnography], vol. 3, ed. Ottó Domonkos (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991), 157-213, esp. 163-173.

⁶⁰⁶ 1061: *mola cum molario* (Zselicszentjakab, C. Somogy); *molarium cum mola* (Pest, C. Pest), etc., DHA I, 173; L. Bernát Kumorovitz, “A zselicszentjakabi alapítólevél 1061-ből. ‘Pest’ legkorábbi említése” [The foundation document of the Zselicszentjakab Monastery from 1061. The earliest reference to ‘Pest’], *TBM* 16 (1964): 43-83, esp. 53-54.

⁶⁰⁷ Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 76.

⁶⁰⁸ Holub, *Zala megye középkori vízrajza*, 44.

⁶⁰⁹ Juhász, “Malmok, vagy molnárság, sütő- vagy pékmesterség,” 171.

(C. Sopron) in the Rábaköz he found the water-mill belonging to the church of Csorna (C. Sopron) in very good condition, “well-protected by the best dams and channels with strong embankment of earth.”⁶¹⁰

In Árpád Period sources one finds numerous data on the milling of monasteries, as well as on the transportation of their grains and flour. One of the earliest such sources is the 1086 inventory of the Bakonybél Monastery (C. Veszprém) recording that horsemen (*equites*) living in Koppány (C. Veszprém), Kajár (C. Győr), Farkasi (C. Zala), Ketelaka (C. Veszprém), and Ponyvád (C. Győr) had to serve the monastery – among other things – by gathering the crops into the barn, transporting their grains to the mill, and from there to the monastery.⁶¹¹ Another Árpád Period source, the 1226 charter of palatine Nicolaus – transcribed and partly modified by King Béla IV in 1240⁶¹² – attests that peasants (*udwornici ecclesie*) belonging to the Pannonhalma Monastery also had various duties connected to milling. These included: 1. providing the monastery with a given amount of wheat, barley and grains for six months; 2. transporting the grains (*portare segetes*) of the monastery from County Somogy or anywhere else to the mill of the monastery for another six months; 3. collective grinding in the mill of the monastery; 4. providing wagons with draught-animals for transporting the flour (*ad farinam portandam*) of the abbot and his monastery.⁶¹³ Finally, concerning milling on manorial estates, I would like to refer to a charter from 1355 that

⁶¹⁰ 1247: *in villam Wiccha vocatam in Rabakuz constitutam accessissemus, invenimus ibidem molendinum ecclesie de Churna ... in cursu alvei optimis clausulis et validissimis fossatorum aggeribus vallatum firmiter et munitum*, UB I, 218; See also, Zsigmond Károlyi, “A magyar vízi munkálatok rövid története különös tekintettel a vizek szabályozására” [A short history of water-related works in Hungary with special regard to the regulation of waters], in *A magyar vízszabályozás története* [The history of Hungarian water management], ed. Dénes Ihrig (Budapest: Országos Vízügyi Hivatal, 1973), 23-147, esp. 36.

⁶¹¹ 1086: *Tali decreto hii equites monasterio ministrent: arant dietas verni, autumpni et estivi novem dies; postea metunt, congregant in horrea, triturant; trahunt ad molendinum, inde ad monasterium; ...* PRT VIII, 269.

⁶¹² PRT I, 789-791.

⁶¹³ 1226: *Primum debitum eorum est a tempore novarum frugum persolvere in sex mensibus, unoquoque videlicet mense, de suis propriis centum et triginta acones farine de frumento et quadraginta acones de siligine et centum et septuaginta acones de annona. Item debitum eorum est ad alios sex menses portare segetes tam Symigii, quam in aliis partibus existentes centum videlicet et septuaginta acones ad molendinum ecclesie et ea ibi molare et reportare ad clicium. Item debitum eorum est facere communem farinam usque ad viginti acones pro pastu cuiusque mensis, de segetibus tamen ecclesie... Preterea omnes udwornici communiter debent dare currus cum animablibus ad farinam portandam abbati et monachis, quocumque necesse fuerit ire pro negotiis ecclesie sive ad curiam regis, sive alias* (Pannonhalma, C. Győr). PRT I, 678.

records a debate between landowners over a mill and a mill-road. According to the testimony of the document, Demetrius of Mindszent and his brother laid a complaint, claiming that Nicolaus of Lendva and his sons had not only caused damage to them by erecting a new mill on Island Csama belonging to Mindszent (C. Zala), but they also unrightfully constructed a road to that mill across their arable land and meadow.⁶¹⁴

2.3.5.3 Hay routes

Roads leading to or through meadows are often referred to by the general terms *via*⁶¹⁵ and *semita*.⁶¹⁶ Occasionally, these paths are indicated as *szénahordó út* meaning ‘a road on which hay (Hu. *széna*, Lat. *fenum*) is carried.’ That term occurs in medieval written sources,⁶¹⁷ and can be found among toponyms, as well.⁶¹⁸ In Árpád Period Hungary monastic communities – especially the Benedictines, Cistercians, and Premonstratensians – practiced high-level management of hayfields (Lat. *foena, pratum desertum*).⁶¹⁹ The 1226 charter of palatine Nicolaus records that people belonging to the Pannonhalma Monastery had to serve the monastery with a three-day labour: one day collecting hay, one day transporting hay, and one day reaping.⁶²⁰

⁶¹⁴ 1355: *subtus molendinum eorum in fluvio Zala, in insula Chama ad dictam possessionem Mendzenth pertinenti, in ipsorum preiudicium et adnihilacionem molendini eorumdem ab antiquo constructi, facerent edificari, et dictam possessionem suam ipsi populi et iobagiones uterentur, viamque in terra ipsorum arabili et prato facerent minus iuste*, Zala vm. 563-564.

⁶¹⁵ 1367: *via per ipsum pratum* (Csicsal, C. Somogy), PRT II, 526.

⁶¹⁶ 1295: *in vna semita, vbi pratum Saxonum de S. Ladislao, et pratum Martini ad inuicem coniunguntur* (Csütörtökhely, C. Szepes), F. VI/1, 375; +1298: *ipsa semita transit per quoddam pratum* (Őr, C. Szepes), RA II, No. 4183.

⁶¹⁷ 1326/1355: *usque viam scenahurdout vocatam* (Szomola, C. Nyitra), A. II, 248. Cf. ÁMTF IV s.v. “Szomola,” 471 and OklSz, s.v. “széna-hordó,” 910.

⁶¹⁸ Some examples from Western Transdanubia: VaMFN 454, No. 178/29; 468, No. 185/16; ZMFN I, 351, No. 151/24; 449, No. 189/215; 467, No. 195/94; ZMFN II, 88, No. 23/103.

⁶¹⁹ For an overview of Árpád Period haymaking see Attila Paládi-Kovács, *A magyar parasztság rétgazdálkodása* [The meadow management of the Hungarian peasantry] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 33-36.

⁶²⁰ 1226: *Preterea omnis populus, tam udwornici quam et alii tenentur colligere fenum, quilibet eorum una die, similiter et una die portare fenum, et una die metere* (Pannonhalma, C. Győr) PRT I, 679; W. VI, 438.

In the Árpád Period hay was already transported by special hay wagons. The toll tariffs of Buda⁶²¹ and Gölnicbánya⁶²² from the second half of the thirteenth century refer to cartloads of hay, which at the same time attest that by the late Árpád Period hay had become a type of merchandise. Hay played a great importance in the feeding of livestock, especially before the growing of fodder-crops started in the fourteenth century.⁶²³ Consequently, the transportation of hay required such wagons that were able to take a great amount of hay. Wagons developed for the transportation of hay could carry 800 to 1000 kilograms hay at one time, which was nearly enough for the feeding of one cow in wintertime.⁶²⁴ The Cistercian monastery of Heiligenkreuz prepared hay wagons not only for their own use but also for selling, which testifies to the high standard of monastic hay-making.⁶²⁵ Transportation with hay wagons is again testified by high medieval documents recording cases of violent trespass. A charter from 1418, for example, records the violent seizure of a meadow that could yield twenty wagons of hay.⁶²⁶ Other sources report that wagons loaded with hay were seized by force on on roads.⁶²⁷

There is ethnographic evidence for the towing of hay on a leafy branch or a summer sleigh (especially in waterlogged areas). In addition, hay could also be carried on the back in a piece of cloth or in a wickerwork basket.⁶²⁸ These simple modes and tools must have also been applied in the Middle Ages in cases when only a small amount of hay was needed.

⁶²¹ 1255: *item currus feni duos denarios* (Buda, C. Pilis), EFHU, 46; BTOE I, 57.

⁶²² 1278: *item currus feni duos denarios* (Gölnicbánya, C. Szepes), W. IX, 205; RA I, No. 2926.

⁶²³ Márta Belényesy, "Az állattartás a XIV. században Magyarországon" [Animal husbandry in Hungary in the fourteenth century], *NéprÉrt* 38 (1956): 23-59, esp. 44.

⁶²⁴ Paládi-Kovács, *A magyar parasztság rétgazdálkodása*, 36, n. 86.

⁶²⁵ Kalász, *A szentgotthárdi apátság birtokviszonyai*, 67-68.

⁶²⁶ 1418: *unum pratium ad viginti currus feni se extendens* (Klokocsavac, C. Baranya), Zs. VI, 585, No. 2370.

⁶²⁷ 1390: *quinquaginta currus feni* (Odra and Lomnica, C. Zágráb), Zs. I, No. 1327; 1420: *sedecim currus feni* (Nagymuzsaj, C. Bereg), Zs. VII, No. 1380.

⁶²⁸ For ethnographic data on the transportation of hay see, Paládi-Kovács, *A magyar parasztság rétgazdálkodása*, 311-369.

2.3.6 Industrial roads

From the territory of Transdanubia there is direct and indirect evidence for two types of industrial roads: the routes of stone and timber transportation.

2.3.6.1 Stone routes

Medieval Hungarian written sources hold reference to routes called *kőhordó út*,⁶²⁹ which means “a road on which stone is carried.” A document of the Veszprém chapter from the late thirteenth century records that there was a *kőhordó út* near Peszej⁶³⁰ (C. Veszprém, now: part of Felsőörs). In the region of Felsőörs⁶³¹ medieval quarrying is testified not only by the existence of the nearby *kőhordóút*, but also by the fact that from the mid-fourteenth century on Felsőörs was alternatively called Kővágóörs,⁶³² where the element *kővágó* means “stone-cutting” (Lat. *lapicida*).⁶³³ The red stone obtained from the quarries of Felsőörs was utilized in the building of numerous churches along the northern shore of Lake Balaton – such as the Mary Magdalene Provostry Church at Felsőörs,⁶³⁴ the undercroft of the Tihany Abbey, the churches of Révfülöp (C. Veszprém) and Felsődorög (C. Veszprém, now: Taliándörög), – as well as for the Veszprém Castle.⁶³⁵ The building of the Veszprém Castle in stone after the Mongol Invasion (1241-1242) certainly required the transportation of thousands of wagons of stone for decades.⁶³⁶ It is not surprising then that the route on which stone was carried from Felsőörs to Veszprém appears in late thirteenth and early fourteenth-century sources as

⁶²⁹ Late thirteenth century: *per illam uiam cadit in aliam Cuhurdovhut vocatam* (Peszej, C. Veszprém), HO III, 38; 1323: *versus occidentem tenduntur ad viam Keuhordovth dictam ... de ipsa via Keuhordout dicta* (C. Veszprém) Zala vm. I, 169-170; Cf. OklSz, s.v. ‘kő-hordó,’ 530.

⁶³⁰ MRT 2, 90, site No. 19/3; Csaba Veress D, *Felsőörs évszázadai. A település története a kezdetektől napjainkig* [The centuries of Felsőörs. The history of the settlement from the beginnings till today] (Veszprém: Veszprém Megyei Levéltár, 1992), 28 and 33; Cs. III, s.v. “Pesze(j),” 247.

⁶³¹ For the stone-quarry of Felsőörs see, MRT 2, 89, site No. 19/1.

⁶³² 1341: *de eadem possessione Kwvagowrs;... ecclesie beate Marie Magdalene in eadem Wrs* (Kővágóörs / Felsőörs, C. Veszprém), Zala vm. I, 381; 1363: *Wagowrs... in comitatu Vesprimiensi* (Kővágóörs / Felsőörs, C. Veszprém), Zala vm. I, 636. Cf. Cs. III, s.v. “Örs,” 89-90; Veress D., *Felsőörs évszázadai*, 19.

⁶³³ Cf. OklSz, “kő-vágó,” 531.

⁶³⁴ MRT 2, 89-90, No. 19/2.

⁶³⁵ Géza Entz and László Gerő, *A Balaton környék műemlékei* [Monuments of the Balaton region] (Budapest: Képzőművészeti Alap Kiadóvállalata, 1958), 24.

⁶³⁶ Veress D., *Felsőörs évszázadai*, 28.

kőhordóút. That road was not necessarily a very broad one, but it certainly required a strong, solid surface.

2.3.6.2 Timber routes

In medieval times wood was used in different forms, for a variety of purposes. Firewood was needed for heating and cooking. Timber was used for the construction of dwelling-houses, churches, castles, fortifications, ships, bridges and dams. In addition, mining and smelting also demanded large quantities of wood, especially in the form of charcoal.⁶³⁷ From the examples above, burning wood in fireplaces and ovens seems to have been the most ancient and most general mode of using wood, which appears in numerous Árpád Period sources. The charter of King Coloman from 1109 issued for the nuns of Veszprémvölgy (now: part of Veszprém) records that the fields and woods belonging to the village of Szárberény (C. Veszprém, now: part of Balatonalmádi as Vörösberény) was to be jointly owned with the villagers, except for the “kitchen wood” that was fenced around.⁶³⁸ According to the testimony of the 1226 charter of Palatine and Comes Nicolaus, the peasants (*udwornici ecclesie*) living in settlements attached to the Pannonhalma Monastery had to provide the monastery – among other things – with firewood for heating its ovens and baths.⁶³⁹ It appears again in the 1240 document of King Béla IV (1235-1270) regulating the duties of villages

⁶³⁷ For the use of wood in the Middle Ages see, Pál Csöre, “Adatok a középkori fakitermelés történetéhez Magyarországon” [Data on the history of medieval timber felling in Hungary]. In *Az erdőgazdálkodás története Magyarországon* [The history of forestry in Hungary], ed. Kolossváry Szabolcsné (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975), 88-106; esp. 95-100; Pál Csöre, *A magyar erdőgazdálkodás története* [The history of Hungarian forestry] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980), 195-209; Ilona Sz. Jónás, “A fa a középkori ember világában [Wood in the world of medieval people], in *Az erdő és a fa régészete és néprajza* [The archaeology and ethnography of forests and timber] (Sopron: MTA VEAB Soproni Tudós Társasága, 2007), 123-132; Eszter Magyar, *A feudalizmuskori erdőgazdálkodás az alsó-magyarországi bányavárosokban (1255-1747)* [Forestry in the Lower-Hungarian mining towns in pre-industrial times] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983); KMTL, s.v. “fafeldolgozás,” 207.

⁶³⁸ 1109: *terra ad ipsam villam pertinens est communis, et sylua ipsius ville habitatoribus, preter syluam coquine, qua circumiacet in metis* (Szárberény, C. Veszprém), F. VII/1, 140.

⁶³⁹ 1226: *Preterea vduornici debent administrare ligna et aquam ad furnum et ad coquinam, preter balnea, et datur eis prebenda ex parte Ecclesie per mensem, in quo seruiunt.* (Pannonhalma, C. Győr), W. VI, 438; PRT I, 678.

belonging to Pannonhalma.⁶⁴⁰ High-quality wood, on the other hand, was used as timber prepared for building, carpentry, and cooperage.⁶⁴¹ A charter from 1233, for example, records that people subjected to the Pannonhalma Monastery were liable to transport five wagons of stave wood (Hu. *donga*) to the mill of the monastery on the Kapos for making barrels.⁶⁴² Furthermore, from the high Middle Ages there are numerous data on timber used for building (*ligna pro edificiis*).⁶⁴³

When forests around a settlement had been exploited, farther ones had to be sought. Roads leading to the woodlands served the transportation of firewood and timber.⁶⁴⁴ The perambulation of Bizs (C. Borsod, now: part of Sajósenye) from 1262, for example, holds reference to a road on which wood was carried.⁶⁴⁵ The perambulation of Györöd (C. Bars; now: Dolný Ďur, Sk.) from 1278 also mentions a road used for the transportation of wood.⁶⁴⁶ High medieval sources also contain the terms *erdőlőút*⁶⁴⁷ and *via lignaria*.⁶⁴⁸ The term *erdőlőút* derives from the Hungarian verb *erdől* meaning “to fell down trees in a wood,”⁶⁴⁹ and indicates roads on which wood was carried from the forest to the village.⁶⁵⁰ The Latin word *lignarius*, on the other hand, was used for timber-merchants. Consequently, the term *via lignaria* can be interpreted as a route on which timber was transported by merchants.

⁶⁴⁰ W. VII, 98.; PRT I, 790.

⁶⁴¹ On the different use of timber and underwood see, Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 67-70.

⁶⁴² 1233: *inter omnes teneantur portare quinque plaustra de lignis ad tunellas faciendas, que vulgo dicuntur dunga, scilicet usque ad molendinum Abbatis de Copus* (Pannonhalma, C. Győr), W. VI, 543; PRT I, 721.

⁶⁴³ 1399: *ligna pro edificiis domorum de silva in eadem possessione Cheb existenti* (Cseb, C. Abaúj), Zs. I, No. 5666; 1405: *predicti domini cum eorum iobagionibus de silvis, nemoribus pro edificiis ac aliis necessariis ducendi ligna liberan prout alias habeant facultatem* (Eger, C. Heves), Zs. II/1, No. 3608; 1431: *ligna pro edificiis ecclesie sue* (Tas, C. Szabolcs), Zichy VIII, 461.

⁶⁴⁴ Csöre, “Adatok a középkori fakitermelés történetéhez Magyarországon,” 104; Csöre, *A magyar erdőgazdálkodás a története*, 207-209.

⁶⁴⁵ 1262: *iuxta viam, per quam portantur ligna* (Bizs, C. Borsod), ÁMTF I, s.v. “Bizs,” 759.

⁶⁴⁶ 1278/1322: *ad unam viam super quam ligna ducuntur* (Györöd, C. Bars), HO VI, 236.

⁶⁴⁷ 1401: *ad unam viam Erdelewth dictam, que tenderet ad eandem possessionem Perbar* (Perbál, C. Pilis), *Pest megye történetének okleveles emlékei 1002-1599-ig* [Charters of the history of the County Pest from 1002 to 1599], ed. László Bártfai Szabó (Budapest: self-published by the author, 1938), 116; 1410: *a quandam via Erdelewth wth vocato usque ad metas possessionis Sary* (Besenyő and Sári, C. Pest) Zs. II/2, No. 7640; 1413: *inter viam Erdelewth et Zelewsuth vocatam* (Zombor, C. Zemplén), Zs. IV, 209, No. 853.

⁶⁴⁸ 1420: *de eadem via alia via lignaria ad sillvam divertitur;.... per quandam viam lignariam* (Nyárád, Kurityán, C. Borsod), Zs. VII, No. 2276.

⁶⁴⁹ EtSz II, s.v. “erdő,” 2; MNySz III, s.v. “erdől,” 377.

⁶⁵⁰ Cf. OklSz, s.v. “erdől,” 196.

According to the testimony of written sources, firewood and timber were equally transported on roads and by waterways. In 1187 Pope Urban III (1185-1187) granted five cartloads of wood per day for the Hospitallers of Esztergom, which not only testifies to transportation of wood by wagons, but it also reflects the existence of extensive woodland management as early as the twelfth century.⁶⁵¹ The toll tariff of Buda from 1255 has references to the transportation of wood both by wagons and in the form of rafts.⁶⁵² Another evidence for the transportation wood by land and water is provided by the charter of King Charles I (1301-1342) from 1318. In that document the king deprived the bishop of Veszprém of his landed property in Szentendre together with the toll levied on wagons and ships carrying wood, and donated them to the Visegrád Castle.⁶⁵³ Transportation of wood by wagons occasionally appears in connection with cases of violent trespass. The charter of the Nyitra chapter from 1408, for example, reports that peasants from *Selchen* were transporting timber to their own village when they were attacked in an open road and were robbed of two wagons loaded with timber as well as eight oxen pulling the wagons.⁶⁵⁴ In his letter from 1410 King Sigismund (1387-1437) allowed some noblemen to have ferry-boats in the port of Lóól (C. Komárom, now: a farmstead north-east of Ács) in order to ship as much timber across the Danube as they needed.⁶⁵⁵

⁶⁵¹ 1187: *ad cotidianos usus ipsius domus singulis diebus de propria silua sua, que uulgo Pilis nuncupatur, quinque currus lignorum portandi liberam uobis contulit facultatem* (Esztergom, C. Esztergom), Mon. Strig. I, 133; W. VI, 168. On trees and woodland in the medieval Pilis region, see Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 99-103.

⁶⁵² 1255: *item de strue lignorum, que regitur per duos remos, duo pondera et sic de strue lignorum ascendendo tributum persolvantur... item quilibet currus lignorum intrans castrum debet demittere in porta unum lignum.* (Buda, C. Pilis). EFHU 46; BTOE I, 57.

⁶⁵³ 1318: *cum tributo de navibus et curribus, qui ibidem ex lignis honerantur*, Veszpr. Reg. 49, No. 96.

⁶⁵⁴ 1408: *duos currus lignorum... simulcum octo bobus ipsos currus trahentibus*, Zs. II/2, No. 6456.

⁶⁵⁵ 1410: *super portu Danobii pro se ipsis et pro eorum iobagionibus in eadem Luool... ad succidenda ligna silvarum ipsorum ex alia parte dicti Danobii existentium ad transfretandum ipsum fluvium Danobii totiens, quotiens ipsis expedierit ac necesse et opportunum videbitur... ultra dictum fluvium exercendis naves necessarias* (Lóól, C. Komárom), Zs. II/2, No. 7738.

2.4 MODES OF TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION

Communication indicates ‘movement with a definite destination.’ The change of place can have different modes: on foot, mounted (on donkeys, mules, horses, etc.),⁶⁵⁶ or with the help of vehicles.⁶⁵⁷ Overland travel evidently required roads, paths, and tracks, which were sometimes called after the mode of travel (footpaths, riding-roads, etc.). The term transportation, on the other hand, covers those activities the goal of which is to take something (either animals or objects) from one place to another. Transportation has various traditional forms: by human force (in hands, on the shoulders, etc.), with pack-animals, or with various types of vehicles pulled either by humans or draught-animals.⁶⁵⁸ Similarly to travel, transportation demanded roads. They were sometimes called after the vehicles used (e.g. carts, sledges), or after the goods (e.g. hay, stone, salt, wine) carried.

In chapters above I have already dealt with roads that were called after the goods (salt, wine, hay, timber, stone, etc.) transported. The following sections will be dedicated to those routes that were named after the modes of travel and transport that is footpaths, bridle-ways, cart roads, and sledge roads.

2.4.1 Footpaths

In written sources from medieval Hungary⁶⁵⁹ footpaths appear as *gyalogút*, *semita*,⁶⁶⁰ and *via pedestris*.⁶⁶¹ Footpaths were passable only on foot because of their narrowness, steepness, or

⁶⁵⁶ For a summary of animals used as mounts, draught-, and pack animals in the Middle Ages, see Norbert Ohler, *The medieval traveller* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989), 15-21.

⁶⁵⁷ For the term communication and for the various types of communication see, László K. Kovács, *A magyar népi közlekedés kutatása. Közlekedés, teherhordás, hír- és jeladás* [The investigation of Hungarian people's communication. Travel, transport, delivery of message, and signalling] (Budapest: Néptudományi Intézet, 1948), 1-3.

⁶⁵⁸ For the term transportation and various traditional modes of transportation see, K. Kovács, *A magyar nép közlekedése*, 3-4.

⁶⁵⁹ Western European sources yield further terms, such as *via semitata* and *via ad pedes*. 1257: *unum jornale in fovea Diaboli et in via semitata de dicto Prailleio*; 1496: *via ad pedes seu talon est communis et publica omnibus per eam meare et transire volentibus*; Du Cange *Gloss.* VIII, s.v. “1. via,” 303.

⁶⁶⁰ 1320: *venit ad vnum locum petegyaluguta* (Gelse, C. Zala), A. I, 551-552; 1338: *semita Zenthivanra menu golugwth vocata* (Szentiván, C. Zala), Zala vm. I, 339; 1340: *uersus orientem usque semitam que wlgo golugwth*

uneven surface. They were the narrowest of all types of roads,⁶⁶² which is also reflected by the fact that the term *parva via* was used as the synonym for footpaths.⁶⁶³ Footpaths were also used when the steep gradient rendered communication with vehicles difficult or impossible. It is supported by the fact that many footpaths are described ascending a mountain,⁶⁶⁴ but paths leading to a vineyard⁶⁶⁵ or a valley⁶⁶⁶ can also be mentioned here. In addition, roads with rough and uneven surface were again often impassable but on foot. It is well expressed, for example, by the field name *Buka-cser* located east of Dobri (C. Zala).⁶⁶⁷ It was the name of a footpath full of potholes descending from the hill, and was called in this way because many people fell down when using it. Footpaths were often local roads that led from the settlement to or through a woodland⁶⁶⁸ or a ploughland,⁶⁶⁹ to a water,⁶⁷⁰ or to a main road.⁶⁷¹ In addition, they could also serve as shortcuts between two settlements.⁶⁷²

nuncupatur, Oklsz, s.v. “gyalog-út,” 313; 1340: *iuxta unam semitam vulgo Gyaloguth dictam* (Mihályfalva, C. Vas), UB IV, 301. Cf. Oklsz, s.v. “gyalog-út,” 313.

⁶⁶¹ +1258: *currit vna via pedestris, ad montem Sertesheg* (Ságzsidód, C. Hont), F. IV/2, 472; Cf. ÁMTF III, s.v. “Ságzsidód (Tölgyes),” 241; 1451: *quedam via parua seu pedestris wlgo gyaloghwth* (Külső-Szakácsi, C. Somogy), MOL DL 14498; Zsuzsanna Bándi, “A szakácsi pálos kolostor középkori oklevelei” [The medieval charters of the Pauline monastery of Szakácsi], *SMM* 17 (1986): 27-65, esp. 42, No. 38.

⁶⁶² Cf. *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, cap. 719.

⁶⁶³ 1336: *iuxta unam parvam semitam* (Radling, C. Vas), UB IV, 213; 1337: *ad unam parvam viam sive semitam* (Paty, C. Vas), UB IV, 231; 1378: *semita, seu parua via* (Apáti, C. Somogy), F. IX/5, 300.

⁶⁶⁴ +1086: *per semitam in sumitatem Lessu montis* (Endréd, C. Veszprém), PRT VIII, 268; W. I, 33; 1255: *in eadem semita descendit de monte, et uenit ad aquam Logyna* (Milaj, C. Szepes), HO 1234-1536, 30; 1256: *per quandam semitam uertitur ad montem* (Kamarja, C. Körös), W. VII, 427; 1256: *veniendo de Foro Sabbathi in semita vadit per montem Cost transeundo riuulum Scunk (terra Secek and Szepesszombat, C. Szepes), W. VII, 432; RA I, No. 1078; 1256: per quandam semitam ascendens ad verticem (Wodychan, Bezdig, Mekuyn, C. Zággráb), Smičiklas V, 9; F. VII/4, 119; RA I, No. 1083; 1263: per quandam semitam transit sub monte (Zólyom, C. Zólyom), F. IV/3, 143; 1277: in qua quidem semita ascendit ad verticem montis (villa Casna, C. Zággráb), W. XII, 194; RA II, No. 2769; 1292: per quam semitam per montem... ad meridiem tendendo (Gragyena, C. Körös), W. X, 80; 1367: per quandam semitam inter duos colles Eurin hegye Wrs hegye vocatas (Üröm and Örs, C. Pilis), F. IX/4, 80-81.*

⁶⁶⁵ 1287: *per quandam semitam, que ducit ad vineam* (Uzsa, C. Zala), W. IV, 308; 1295: *venit ad semitam quamdam, per quam inter vineas ascendit in montem* (Stupna, C. Körös), F. VI/1, 377; 1356: *per quamdam semitam erbosam inter vineas* (Höflein, C. Sopron), F. IX/2, 531.

⁶⁶⁶ 1296: *quam vineam descenditur ad quandam semitam in medium vallis decurrentem* (Nádasd, C. Tolna), W. X, 238.

⁶⁶⁷ ZMFN I, 451, No. 190/73.

⁶⁶⁸ 1201/1227: *transit silvam per semitam ad flumen Bensiza* (Varasd, C. Varasd), W. I, 234; 1253: *per quandam semitam intra silvulas* (Gimes, C. Nyitra), CDSI II, 295; 1255: *reflectitur per unam semitam ad silvam* (Lakócsa, C. Somogy), W. XI, 419; 1270: *per semitam intrat silvam, venit ad Kalistam* (Mački, C. Körös), HO VIII, 124; 1270: *de eodem fonte in sylua per semitam descenditur* (Tesmag, C. Hont), F. V/1, 202; Cf. ÁMTF III, s.v. “Tesmag,” 259; 1293: *per siluam per unam semitam* (Sümeg, C. Szepes), F. VI/1, 246.

⁶⁶⁹ 1320: *per vnam semitam inter terras arabiles* (Gelse, C. Zala), A. I, 550.

⁶⁷⁰ 1201/1227: *per semitam, signatis diversis arboribus et truncis, transit rivum Camenni* (Kamenica, C. Varasd), W. I, 233; 1297: *in eadem semita descendit in vnum fluium Svyna vocatum* (Koritnik, C. Szepes), F.

2.4.2 Bridle-ways

The 1330 perambulation of Endréd (C. Sopron, now: Fertőendréd, Hu.) holds reference to a *magna via* called *száguldóút* (*Zaguldowth*) in vernacular.⁶⁷³ Outdated meanings of the stem *szág-* suggest that the word *száguld* must have originally been used in the sense “to gallop, to ride a horse at full speed.”⁶⁷⁴ There is another data on a *száguldóút* in the perambulation of Alacska (C. Borsod) from 1415, where the term is described as a mountain road (*semita in monte; via*).⁶⁷⁵ *Száguldóút* was therefore a riding-road, but not necessarily a highway. Nevertheless, from the etymology of the word one may infer that it was meant to provide the shortest way for riders who needed to get from one place to another as fast as possible. Consequently, one may rightfully consider that *száguldóutak* were bridle-ways used by royal messengers.⁶⁷⁶ Among the royal servants there were couriers (*cursores*) as early as the eleventh century. They normally rode horses from the royal stables, the horses of castles, and in emergency they also had the right to requisition horses.⁶⁷⁷ However, according to the laws of King Ladislas I (1077-1095), the requisitioned horse could not be lead farther than the third

VI/2, 78; 1248: *per quandam semitam venit ad torrentem Donoch*, W. II, 203; 1338: *in quadam semita ... intrat in fluvium zyruthova vocatum* (Kerész, C. Ung), F. VIII/6, 162; 1341: *in eadem semita descendit in vnum fluu. Sagra vocatum* (Koritnik, C. Szepes), F. VIII/5, 280; 1358: *in qua... semita venissent ad Balatinum* (Ecsér and Szepezd, C. Zala), PRT X, 557; F. IX/2, 719.

⁶⁷¹ 1254: *in eadem semita vadit versus occidentem et venit ad magnam viam Ittewen, que ducit ad Worosd* (Varasd, C. Varasd), W. XI, 404; 1277: *descendit in semita, et vadit ad magnam viam (terra Numsy, C. Turóc)*, W. IX, 193; 1295: *in eadem semita tendens cadit ad magnam viam, qua itur versus villam Gyuk* (Gyuk, C. Szepes), F. VI/1, 375; 1294: *in eadem semita tendens, cadit ad magnam viam, qua itur versus villam Pyuk* (Csantafalva, C. Szepes), F. VII/5, 522; 1355: *semita peruenitur ad magnam viam, quae ducit versus Albam Ecclesiam Beatae Virginis* (Fehéregyház, C. Pilis), F. IX/2, 379.

⁶⁷² 1244: *iuxta semitam, quae ducit ad villam Wossiam*, F. IV/1, 312; 1411: *iuxta quandam semitam de eadem Nesethe ad villam Kohan ducentem* (Nezéte and Kohány, C. Trencsén), MOL Df 243916; Zs. III. No. 1238.

⁶⁷³ 1330: *ad magnam viam Zaguldowth vulgariter nuncupatam* (Endréd, C. Sopron), UB IV, 70.

⁶⁷⁴ TESz III, s.v. “száguld,” 646.

⁶⁷⁵ 1415: *circa unam semitam in monte seu berch Zagoldowth vocata* (Alacska, C. Borsod), MOL DL 70365; Zs. 5, 196; 1415: *particule terre ad ipsam Alachka pertinentes iuxta viam Zagoldowth* (Alacska, C. Borsod), MOL DL 70735; Zs. 5, 316.

⁶⁷⁶ In a source from 1546-1550 the term *száguldó* was used in the sense ‘courier.’ TESz III, s.v. “száguld,” 646.

⁶⁷⁷ Györffy, *István király és műve*, 241; DRMH I/1, 87, n. 35.

village,⁶⁷⁸ and after the courier left the horse, it had to be returned to its master or to the king's collector.⁶⁷⁹

2.4.3 Cart roads

In Árpád Period Hungary there are numerous data on the use of both four-wheel wagons (Hu. *szekér*)⁶⁸⁰ and two-wheel carts (Hu. *taliga*), the types of which will be discussed below in detail. Árpád Period and late medieval sources hold reference to cart roads as *szekérút*,⁶⁸¹ *via currus*,⁶⁸² and *via curruum*.⁶⁸³ The term *szekérút* was the vernacular equivalent of Latin *via currus*, as it is demonstrated by a 1406 document.⁶⁸⁴ In addition to written sources, there are also toponymic data on cart roads called *Szekérút*,⁶⁸⁵ *Taligaút*,⁶⁸⁶ and *Taligásút*.⁶⁸⁷ Written sources and toponyms equally suggest that these roads did not belong among the most important roads either in medieval times, or in the early modern period.⁶⁸⁸ Medieval sources

⁶⁷⁸ King Ladislas I, Lib. III, cap. 28: *Nemo cursorum audeat ducere equum ultra tertiam villam vel accipere ad ecclesiam euntium vel redeuntium, sive ad curiam episcoporum seu comitum, nec de presbiteris et clericis ac in curribus eorum. Accipiat autem qualescumque invenerit equos, ut regis legatio citius expediatur.* DRMH I/1, 22.

⁶⁷⁹ King Ladislas I, Lib. III, cap. 14: *Si quis equos cursores dimittunt, habuerit, per tres septimanas ad ecclesiam vel mercatum monstrandi causa ducat. Et si dominus eius non venerit, donet eum Regis collectori.* DRMH I/1, 20.

⁶⁸⁰ The Hungarian word *szekér*, meaning wagon, is an Iranian loan word originating from the second millennium BC. TESz III, s.v. "szekér," 702. Irrespective of etymological data archaeological evidence also points to that the ancestors of Magyars and Ob-Ugrians learnt to know the wheel from Iranian people in their land of origin situated in the South-Ural region. István Fodor, "A magyar szekerezés kezdetei" [The beginnings of the use of wagons by the Hungarians], in *Történelem, régészet, néprajz. Tanulmányok Farkas József tiszteletére* [History, archaeology, and ethnography. Studies in honour of József Farkas], ed. Zoltán Ujvári (Debrecen: Ethnica, 1991), 115-123, esp. 117-121; Attila Paládi-Kovács, "Szekerek és fogatok a honfoglalás korában" [Hungarian wheeled vehicles and drawing animals in the Conquest Period], *Ethnographia* 108 (1997): 175-203, esp. 180-181, 203.

⁶⁸¹ 1395: *juxta viam Zekervth* (Ládony, C. Sopron), HO I, 287; 1535: *iuxta viam Zekerwth*, OklSz, s.v. "szekér-út," 902.

⁶⁸² 1288: *iuxta magnam viam Strigoniensem, in quam cadit via currus* (Esztergom-Úrkút, C. Esztergom), Mon. Strig. II, 244; Cf. MKLSz II, s.v. "currus," 453-454.

⁶⁸³ 1332: *ubi via currium transit versus Crasnahor* (Szomolombánya, C. Szepes and Krasznahorka, C. Gömör), *Oklevéltár a gróf Csáky család történetéhez. (A Kőrösszegi és Adorjáni gróf Csáky család története. Oklevéltár)*. [Archives to the history of the count Csáky family. (The history of the count Kőrösszegi and Adorjáni branches of the Csáky family. Archives)], ed., László Bártfai Szabó (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1919), vol. I/1, 68.

⁶⁸⁴ 1406: *in quandam viam Currus wgo Zekerwth* (Tessény, C. Nyitra), HO I, 301.

⁶⁸⁵ VaMFN, 482, No. 193/22; ZMFN I, 575, No. 242/31.

⁶⁸⁶ VaMFN, 104, No. 27/114; 267, No. 96/11; 418, No. 159/90; 443, No. 172/205; 449, No. 175/51; 472, No. 186/82; 474, No. 187/74, No. 187/90, and No. 187/93; 477, No. 189/52; 482, No. 192/42; 491, No. 198/99; ZMFN I, 102, No. 33/146; 375, No. 163/38; 426, No. 183/70; 480, No. 200/89; 539, No. 224/47.

⁶⁸⁷ ZMFN I, 91, No. 28/88; 205, No. 83/5; 259, No. 107/6; 261, No. 108/24; 267, No. 111/105; 281, No. 118/31; 285, No. 120/25; ZMFN II, 53, No. 13/26; 60, No. 16/49; 61, No. 16/108.

⁶⁸⁸ Huszár, "Magyarország úthálózatának történeti áttekintése," 24. We may also cite here the *Coutumes Beauvaisis* that ranks carts roads as the second narrowest type of road after footpaths.

describe cart roads so wide as to let “a wagon go over”⁶⁸⁹ or “two wagons go past each other.”⁶⁹⁰ In addition, the toponyms *Taliagút* and *Taligásút* are normally interpreted as paths going across the fields (Hu. *dűlőút*),⁶⁹¹ and were normally narrower than regular roads.⁶⁹² The exact width of Árpád Period carts and wagons is unknown. Concluding from ethnographical analogies, their size must have varied according to the type of load they were used to transport. Each type of cart and wagon could carry a given amount of load. That is the reason why the term *currus* (and its Hungarian equivalent *szekér*) became a unit of capacity forming the basis of collecting tolls.⁶⁹³

The 1295 perambulation of Kovácsi (C. Esztergom, now: part of Esztergom) includes the term *hatlónagyuta* meaning a ‘the great road of six horses.’⁶⁹⁴ How can one interpret that term? From 1343 there are data on that Queen Elisabeth (1320-1380), mother of King Louis the Great, was travelling to Naples accompanied by eight noblewomen in a carriage pulled by six horses.⁶⁹⁵ The last will of Queen Elisabeth from 1380 also refers to a carriage and six horses, which the queen ordered to be given to the monastery of the Poor Clares in Óbuda⁶⁹⁶ after her death.⁶⁹⁷ Nevertheless, prior to 1343 there are no data on such carriages.⁶⁹⁸ Consequently, the term *hatlónagyuta* cannot refer to a road frequented by noble carriages pulled by six horses. It seems more likely that wagons had to be pulled by six horses on it,⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁸⁹ 1340: *viam... in qua currus transire potest* (Paty, C. Vas), charter No. 93; Cf. 1217: *ibi est via, in qua currus transeunt* (Blato, C. Zágráb), F. III/1, 221.

⁶⁹⁰ 1275/1281: *via, per quam duo currus se obuiantes transire poterunt* (Bicske, C. Pest), W. IX, 320.

⁶⁹¹ VaMFN, 37.

⁶⁹² Cf. ZMFN I, 102, No. 33/46.

⁶⁹³ The meaning of *szekér* or *currus* as a unit of capacity depended on the type of the load. In general, one wagon could carry, for example, 1.71 m³ timber, 4.6-38.4 m³ hay, or approximately 6 quintal (i.e. 600 kilogram) grain, and 11.2 quintal salt. Bogdán, *Régi magyar mértékek*, 111.

⁶⁹⁴ 1295: *ad quandam publicam viam, Hotlounoguta uocatam* (Esztergom-Kovácsi, C. Esztergom), Mon Stig. II, 374; Cf. OklSz, s.v. “hat,” 354.

⁶⁹⁵ 1343: *Regina haec Hungariae in Rheda ducebatur, rhedam sex equi vehebant, octo comitissae cum ipsa considebant*, F. IX/1, 115.

⁶⁹⁶ Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 48.

⁶⁹⁷ 1380: *vnum currum nobilem cum sex equis*, F. IX/5, 402.

⁶⁹⁸ Cf. László Tarr, *The History of the Carriage* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1969), 184-185.

⁶⁹⁹ It has also been suggested that the term *hatlónagyuta* referred to a road of extremely poor quality, and that is the reason why wagons had to be pulled by six horses on it. However, the fact that it was a great road (*nagyút*) seems to contradict this explanation. See, FNEsz I, s.v. “Hatlópaták,” 575.

because they were heavily loaded. If this interpretation is a correct one, the road needed to be wide enough not only for six horses harnessed in pairs,⁷⁰⁰ but also for a vehicle of relatively great size.⁷⁰¹

Among Árpád Period wagons the largest type was beyond doubt the so-called *mázsaszekér*.⁷⁰² It was a large four-wheel wagon with a single pole that was used to carry goods (*currus magnus oneratus*), particularly in long-distance trade. There are no exact data on its size, but concluding from toll tariffs its capacity must have been four to six times as large as that of a common wagon. It was often heavily loaded with merchandise, such as salted fish, oxhide, bales of cloth or spices packed into barrels. In accordance with the weight of the load, the wagon was pulled by four or more horses harnessed in pairs. Written documents⁷⁰³ demonstrate that the *mázsaszekér* was mainly used in Transdanubia and Upper Hungary. The first reference to it dates from 1255, and there is plenty of evidence for it until the early sixteenth century.⁷⁰⁴ Besides *mázsaszekér*, the lighter one-pole four-wheel cart called

⁷⁰⁰ For further examples of carts pulled by six horses see, for example, 1419: Zs. VII, No. 459; 1420: Zs. VII, No. 2158.

⁷⁰¹ For the overview of different types of vehicles used in medieval Hungary see, K. Kovács, *A magyar népi közlekedés*, 7-8; KMTL, s.v. “közlekedés,” 376-377; Attila Paládi-Kovács, “A magyar parasztság kerek járműveinek történeti és táji rendszerezéséhez” [To the historical and regional systematization of the wagons of the Hungarian peasantry], *NéprK* 18 (1973): 7-79, esp. 15. For the role of carts, wagons and carriages in medieval cultural history see, Tarr, *The History of the Carriage*, 156-190.

⁷⁰² The Hungarian word *mázsa* now means “hundredweight.” DRMH I/2, 192, n. 28. Cf. TESz II, s.v. “mázsa,” 868.

⁷⁰³ The data on *mázsa* become so numerous from the reign of King Sigismund on that, for lack of space, it would not be possible to cite all of them here. I have selected some thirteenth- and fourteenth-century examples: 1255: *de curru magno piscium, qui vulgo masa dicitur* (Buda, C. Pilis), EFHU, 46; BTOE I, 57; 1278: *de curru magno piscium, quod vulgo masa dicitur* (Gölnicbánya, C. Szepes), W. IX, 205; 1280: *de vno curru, qui masa dicitur* (Kompolt, C. Heves), F. V/3, 22; 1282: *de cadriga una, que masa dicitur* (Pata, C. Somogy), RA II, 317; 1288: *de curru, Masa uocato* (Esztergom, C. Esztergom), Mon. Strig. II, 238; F. VII/2, 234; 1306: *de uno Curru Masa* (Bicske, C. Fejér), A. I, 111; 1312: *de magno curru pleno, masa vocato* (Nagymihály, C. Ung), F. VIII/1, 441; 1312: *de quolibet Curru onerato qui vulgo Masa dicitur* (Telegd, C. Bihar), A. I, 264; 1314: *a curru honerato, quod uulgo masa dicitur* (Bácsi, C. Valkó), HO 1234-1536, 187; 1320: *de curru Masa dicto* (Fegyvernek, C. Heves), A. I, 570; 1327: *de singulis equis currum, vulgo Masa vocatum, trahentibus* (Hídvég, C. Heves), F. VIII/3, 201; 1285/1358: *de curru magno, vulgariter Masa vocato* (Somos, C. Sáros), F. IX/2, 730-731, RA II, 363; 1365: *de curru, Masa vocato* (Esztergom, C. Esztergom), F. IX/3, 478.

⁷⁰⁴ For *mázsaszekér*, see Sándor Domanovszky, “Mázsaszekér” [Centner wagon], in *Gazdaság és társadalom a középkorban* [Economy and society in the Middle Ages], ed. Ferenc Glatz (Budapest: Gondolat, 1979), 101-135, esp. 103-110. For the role of *mázsaszekér* in long-distance trade, Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 331.

the *rudas szekér*⁷⁰⁵ was also used in trade, particularly when shorter journeys had to be made.

It was called after its pole (Hu. *rúd*) to which horses were harnessed in pairs (Fig. 16).⁷⁰⁶



Fig. 16. Horse-drawn wagon carrying a barrel. The high altar of Jánosrét (Lúčky, C. Bars) ca. 1480 (Török 1990,⁷⁰⁷ 29)



Fig. 17. St. Gerard rolled down from the hill on a *biga*. The Hungarian Angevin Legendary, 1320/1340 (CD-ROM edition⁷⁰⁸)

In addition to four-wheel wagons, there was a variety of two-wheel carts used in Árpád Period Hungary. The *ajoncaszekér*,⁷⁰⁹ for example, was a light two-wheel cart with

⁷⁰⁵ EtSz I, 'ajonca,' 40; TESz III, s.v. 'rúd,' 461.

⁷⁰⁶ 1326: *de quolibet curru magno vulgo rudas seu maza dicto* (Óbuda, C. Pilis), *TT* 4 (1857), 128. Although this source identifies *rudas szekér* and *mázaszekér*, the two terms did not necessarily mean the same. For an argumentation see, Domanovszky, "Mázaszekér," 111-112. See also Paládi-Kovács, "A magyar parasztság kerekcses járműveinek rendszerezéséhez," 27. 1336: *de quolibet curru mercimoniali, qui vulgariter rudas dicitur* (Sasvár, C. Nyitra), *Dipl. Eml. I*, 343;

⁷⁰⁷ Gyöngyi Török, *The Altarpiece of St Nicholas from Jánosrét in the Hungarian National Gallery* (Budapest: Corvina and Helikon, 1990).

⁷⁰⁸ Béla Zsolt Szakács, T. Sajó, and D. Dósa, ed. *The Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. CD-ROM edition (Budapest: Department of Medieval Studies, CEU, 1996-1998).

⁷⁰⁹ The word *ajonca* comes from the Slavic word *ojnice* meaning a fork-shaped pole used to harness one horse. EtSz I, 'ajonca,' 40. Cf. Lajos Kropf, "Ajanca szekér, fakó-szekér, mázas szekér, szamar" ['Ajanca' cart, 'fakó' cart, centner wagon, and donkey], *Nyr* 28 (1899): 87; Antal Pór, "Az 'ajonca' szó értelmezése" [The

two shafts. It was pulled by one or more horses harnessed in single file, the shafts of the cart flanking the rearmost animal (the so-called wheeler). Although the first written evidence for it comes from 1336,⁷¹⁰ it was certainly used already in the second half of the thirteenth century, and remained in use until the end of the fourteenth century.⁷¹¹ The *csille*⁷¹² was a light cart (*levis currus*) used from the late thirteenth century on.⁷¹³ The term has remained in use in the Fertő region, in Counties Győr and Veszprém until today.⁷¹⁴ It indicates a small cart employed in the narrow mountain roads to carry coal, lime, timber, straw or hay.⁷¹⁵ Finally, mention must be made of the **two-wheel taliga**,⁷¹⁶ also called **biga** (Cf. Fig. 17).⁷¹⁷ It was a small two-wheel cart pulled either by draught-animals or humans. There are data on its use from the Árpád Period until today.⁷¹⁸

interpretation of the term ‘ayancha’], *Századok* 27 (1893): 167; Károly Tagányi, “A besztercei szószedet kultúrtörténeti jelentősége” [The cultural-historical importance of the Beszterce vocabulary], *Századok* 27 (1893): 305-327, esp. 323.

⁷¹⁰ 1336: *de quolibet curru aynczas dicto* (Sasvár, C. Nyitra), Dipl. Eml. I, 343.

⁷¹¹ For *ajoncaszekér* see, Domanovszky, “Mázsaszekér,” 110-112; Paládi-Kovács, “A magyar parasztság kerekcsajmúveinek rendszerezéséhez,” 27.

⁷¹² The word *csille* is of unknown origins. TESz I, s.v. ‘csille,’ 528; EtSz I, s.v. ‘csille,’ 1054-1055.

⁷¹³ The first written evidence for a *csille*: 1285/1358: *de curribus leuioribus Chele vocatis* (Somos, C. Sáros), F. IX/2, 731, RA II, 363.

⁷¹⁴ MNySz II, s.v. ‘csille,’ 1003; Magyar Tájszótár, s.v. ‘2. csille,’ 315.

⁷¹⁵ 1519: *tenetur portare ad castrum fenum cum uno chelle*; 1529: *ligna septem czellye*; 1559: *negwen chellye zenat*, Oklsz, s.v. ‘csellye,’ 118-119; For *csille* see, Domanovszky, “Mázsaszekér,” 112-113.

⁷¹⁶ 1493: *thaligas paruas emi*; 1494: *pro emendis Thalyga ad piscinam*; 1496: *una Byga wlgariter Thalyga*; 1516: *ad Thaligas pro thengel*; 1518: *ad paruas bigas wlgo thalyga pro laboracione karyka et thengel dedi ferra syn was*, Oklsz, s.v. ‘taliga,’ 954. The word *taliga* is of uncertain origins, but its use certainly dates from the pre-Conquest period. TESz III, s.v. “taliga,” 829-830; Paládi-Kovács, “Szekerek és fogatok a honfoglalás korában,” 182.

⁷¹⁷ c. 1395: *Byga: thalíga*, TESz III, ‘taliga,’ 829; Chron. Hung. saec. XIV, cap. 185: *Illo tempore biga, scilicet duarum rotarum vehiculum a regni incolis currus regis Ladizlai ducebatur, quia propter continua spolia animalia vehicula trahentia defecerant in regno, sed homines more pecorum bigis iuncti vices animalium inpendebant*. SRH I, 474; Legenda S. Gerhardi Episcopi, cap. 15: *impetum fecerunt in eum et everterunt currum eius in Rippam Danubii ibique abstracto eo de curru eius in biga positum de monte Kreenfeld submiserunt*, SRH II, 502; Cf. MKLSZ I, s.v. “biga,” 341.

⁷¹⁸ For Árpád Period *taliga* and *biga* see, Kropf, “Ajanca szekér, fakó-szekér, mázsás szekér, szamar,” 87 and Domanovszky, “Mázsaszekér,” 112-113. For ethnographical analogies see, István.Györffy, “Teherhordás, közlekedés” [Transportation and travel], in *Tárgyi néprajz. A magyarság néprajza* [Ethnography of material culture. The ethnography of Hungarians] vol. 2., ed. Károly Viski (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, n.d), 214, Plate 29; and Paládi-Kovács, “A magyar parasztság kerekcsajmúveinek rendszerezéséhez,” 17-20.

2.4.4 Sledge roads

Among Árpád Period written records I discovered evidence only to one sledge road. It was a west-east directed *szánút* (*zaanuth*, *zanuth*)⁷¹⁹ between Vág and Sebes (C. Sopron, now: Rábasebes), north of a port on the Rába.

The sledge (Hu. *szán*,⁷²⁰ Lat. *traha*), similarly to carts and wagons, is an ancient, common type of vehicle. Ethnographers differentiate between summer and winter sledges. **Summer sledges** were simple constructions used in mountainous regions (Upper Hungary, the Fore-Alps, etc.) for the transportation of timber, or in boggy and swampy meadows and hayfields (Nagy-Kunság, Sárrét, etc.) for pulling hay, sedge, or reed. They were normally proportioned to human force, but there are also data on summer sledges to be pulled by draught-animals.⁷²¹ **Winter sledges** were used instead of wheeled vehicles over ice and snow both for transportation and travel. Since sledges – unlike carts and wagons – were exempt from tolls, there is very little written evidence for them, and even those date from the late Middle Ages.⁷²² Ethnographical literature, however, distinguishes a great variety of winter sledges. They fundamentally consisted of the same parts (2 runners curving upwards towards the front, 2-4-6 upright bars supporting the cross slats, and 2-4-6 stanchions fixed to the slats). Although there were small sledges pulled by humans, most of them were large vehicles drawn by oxen or horses. Oxen were mainly used for the transportation of heavy load (timber, stone,

⁷¹⁹ 1263/1326: *in viam, que vocatur Zaanuth; ...in Zaanuth usque viam, que vocatur Wasaruth;... Zanuth* (Vág, C. Sopron), UB I, 283.

⁷²⁰ The Hungarian word *szán* is of uncertain origins, but it is most likely to have been borrowed from an Eastern-European language. For the etymology of the word see, TESz III, s.v. 'szán,' 672; Györffy, "Teherhordás, közlekedés," 212; Attila Paládi-Kovács, "Szánfélék és szánrészek nevei" [The names of the different types of sledges and the parts of sledges], in *Szekerek, szánok, fogatok a Kárpát-medencében* [Wagons, sledges, and draught animals in the Carpathian Basin], ed. Idem, (Szentendre: Szabadtéri Néprajzi Múzeum, 2003), 197-209, esp. 198.

⁷²¹ For ethnographical data on summer sledges see, Györffy, "Teherhordás, közlekedés," 212-213; Attila Paládi-Kovács, "Ökrös- és lovasszánok a Kárpát-medencében" [Sledges drawn by oxen and horses in the Carpathian Basin], in *Szekerek, szánok, fogatok a Kárpát-medencében* [Wagons, sledges, and draught animals in the Carpathian Basin], ed. Idem, (Szentendre: Szabadtéri Néprajzi Múzeum, 2003), 210-218, esp. 210.

⁷²² 1422: *unam trahem [!] ferratam*, Zs. IX, 376; 1511: *octuaginta vehicula vlgo Zan*; 1544: *vöttem ég szan fat*; 1587: *ég zán*, Oklsz, s.v. 'szán,' 883.

etc.), while horses were preferred when goods had to be carried to a great distance and also when passengers had to be transported.⁷²³

2.5 RELATION TO OTHER ROADS

Árpád Period terms reflecting the relationship of roads to other roads make three main groups.⁷²⁴ The first involves cross-roads (i.e. places where two roads passed across each other) and bifurcations (i.e. places where one road divided into two or more branches). The second group encompasses short-cuts (i.e. roads that provided a short and direct way between two roads or sites). Finally, there are terms expressing the relative position of roads, where several alternative routes evolved in a region. Roads belonging in the first and third groups tend to be of equal importance, whereas short-cuts forming the second group are subordinate roads.

2.5.1 Crossroads and bifurcations

Places where two (or more) roads met were well-identifiable points of orientation in the landscape. That is why cross-roads and bifurcations frequently appear in perambulations indicating the boundary of estates either by themselves or as the sites of boundary marks.⁷²⁵

Places where two roads met and passed across each other were called *via crucis*⁷²⁶ and *crux viarum*,⁷²⁷ but they were also often circumscribed as “two roads forming a cross” (*ad/in/per modum crucis*).⁷²⁸ On the other hand, places where one road forked into two branches were

⁷²³ For ethnographical data on winter sledges see, Paládi-Kovács, “Ökrös- és lovasszánok a Kárpát-medencében,” 212-21. For the different types of sledges and the terminology of the parts of sledges see, Paládi-Kovács, “Szánfélék és szánrészek nevei,” 197-209.

⁷²⁴ In terms of their position within the road system, Dietrich Denecke differentiated the following types of medieval roads in Germany: main roads (e.g. *Mittelweg*), side-roads (e.g. *Beiweg*, *Seitenweg*), and cross-roads (e.g. *Dwarsweg*, *Schratweg*). Denecke, *Methodische Untersuchungen*, 116.

⁷²⁵ On the different types of natural and artificial boundary-signs see, Takács, *Határjelek, határjárás*, 15-09.

⁷²⁶ 1263: *ubi est via crucis* (Karló, C. Sopron), UB I, 294; 1279: *iuxta viam crucis* (Ágfalva, C. Sopron), UB II, 135. Cf. MKLSz II, s.v. “crux,” 429.

⁷²⁷ 1236: *usque ad crucem viarum* (Sár, C. Vas), charter No. 116.

⁷²⁸ 1211: *ubi due vie sunt in modum crucis* (Fadd, C. Tolna), PRT X, 511; 1236: *in modum crucis concursus est viarum* (Sár, C. Vas), charter No. 116; 1266: *transit ad modum crucis, quas vias terminatur terra ville Kurtuil* (Oroszvár and Körtvélyes, C. Moson) UB I, 325; 1278: *ubi due vie in modum crucis coniunguntur*

referred to as *via bifurcata*,⁷²⁹ *via bifurca*,⁷³⁰ and *divisio viarum*.⁷³¹ The term *bivium*⁷³² was used in both senses above: it indicated bifurcations⁷³³ and crossroads,⁷³⁴ alike. The Hungarian term *keresztút*⁷³⁵ was fundamentally used to indicate places where two roads crossed each other at right angles.⁷³⁶ In medieval sources vernacular *keresztút* appears not only as a common word, but also as a toponym: the settlements Keresztút in Counties Somogy⁷³⁷ and Szabolcs⁷³⁸ were apparently called so because they developed at the junction of two frequented roads.⁷³⁹ Nevertheless, it must be noted here that the term *keresztút* had a second meaning, as well. In perambulations it occasionally appears as the vernacular equivalent of *divisio viarum*⁷⁴⁰ or *bivium*,⁷⁴¹ which suggests that *keresztút* was sometimes used in the sense of ‘bifurcation’.

(Flanschendorf, C. Moson), UB II, 120; (1283): *iuxta terram ville Wolf, ubi sunt vie ad modum crucis* (Kópháza and Balf, C. Sopron), UB II, 163; 1301: *usque dum via per modum crucis* (Polány, C. Vas), charter No. 100; 1333: *ad viam per modum crucis untatam* (Olbér, C. Vas), charter No. 83; 1420: *ad quandam aliam viam in modum existentem crucis* (Szentpéter, C. Somogy), Zs. VII, No. 1592. Further examples outside Transdanubia: 1201/1227: *ad magnam viam, que est in modum crucis disposita* (Kamenica, C. Varasd), W. I, 233; 1246: *descendit altera via in modum crucis* (Krencs, C. Nyitra), CDSI II, 162; 1420: *vie figurantur per modum crucis* (Nyárád and Kurityán, C. Borsod), Zs. VII, No. 2276; 1420: *penes eandem viam in modum crucis pertranssitam* (Alsó-Füged, C. Abaúj), Zs. VII, No. 2387.

⁷²⁹ 1367: *ad unam viam bifurcatam perrexisset et ibi una via, que a capite ipsius vie bifurcate derivaretur, versus plagam aquilonis ad villam Polcha se extendens;... ad caput dicte vie byfurcate* (Csicsal and Póca, C. Somogy), PRT II, 526; 1423: *ad viam bifurcatam* (Szutor/Baráti, C. Győr), Zs. X, No. 598; Cf. MKLSz I, s.v. “bifurcatus,” 341.

⁷³⁰ 1334: *meta venit ad quandam viam bifurcam* (Kisfalud, C. Gömör), A. III, 108; MKLSz I, s.v. “bifurcus,” 341.

⁷³¹ 1211: *ad divisionem viarum* (Fadd and Tolna, C. Tolna) PRT X, 511; W. I, 118.

⁷³² +1055: *ad locum, ubi bivium est* (Fülöp, C. Zala) PRT X, 491; DHA I, 155; 1240: *in bivio* (Kenéz, C. Vas), charter No. 52; 1263: *pergit in bivium* (Felsőpéterfalva, C. Sopron), UB I, 294; 1279: *intrat bivium* (Limbach, C. Vas), charter No. 152; 1333: *pervenit ad byvium* (Óbér, C. Vas), charter No. 83; 1358: *venissent ad quandam viam, in cuius fine foret bivium* (Szántód, C. Somogy), PRT X, 558; 1367: *ad quoddam bivium* (Csicsal, C. Somogy), PRT II, 526; MKLSz I, s.v. “bivium,” 345.

⁷³³ 1396: *circa bivium seu divisionem viarum* (Montaj and Bábolna, C. Borsod), Zs. I, No. 4443.

⁷³⁴ 1211: *ad locum, ubi bivium sit in modum crucis* (Fadd, C. Tolna), PRT X, 511; W. I, 118.

⁷³⁵ 1253: *in quandam viam in formam crucis factam, quae vulgo keruztvth dicitur* (Gimes, C. Nyitra), CDSI II, 295; 1274: *pervenit ad viam Kurustwt vocatam* (Nevegy, C. Sopron), UB II, 62; 1377: *iuxta viam Kerezwth* (Óbér, C. Vas), MOL DL 100159; Cf. Oklsz, s.v. “kérészt-út,” 482-483.

⁷³⁶ 1409: *ad coniunctionem duarum viarum per modum crucis se intersecantium Kerestut vocatarum* (Nagypoltár, C. Nógrád), Zs. II/2, No. 7106; 1340/1449: *circa cruceam viam que vulgariter quiristuut dicitur* (Peszej, C. Veszprém), Zala vm. I, 366. Cf. TESz II, s.v. “kereszt,” 457.

⁷³⁷ 1438: *Kerezthut* (C. Somogy), Cs. II, s.v. “Keresztút,” 619.

⁷³⁸ 1447: *Kerezthut* (C. Szabolcs), Cs. I, s.v. “Keresztut,” 518.

⁷³⁹ FNESz I, s.v. “Kótaj,” 784.

⁷⁴⁰ 1256: *in divisione duarum viarum, que vulgo dicitur cryst ut* (Endréd, C. Veszprém), PRT VIII, 294; W. II, 265, RA I, No. 1075;

⁷⁴¹ 1412: *ad bivium seu viam kerezthut* (Dobrakucsá, C. Körös), LK 7 (1929): 283.

2.5.2 Short-cuts

Árpád Period perambulations from Transdanubia hold references to roads called *általút*⁷⁴² in Hungarian. The prefix *által*⁷⁴³ has two meanings: 1. ‘through, across,’ as well as 2. ‘short, straight.’ Accordingly, the term *általút* also has a twofold meaning: 1. a road that crosses an other road, and 2. a straight road making a journey short (i.e. a short-cut).⁷⁴⁴ *Általút* sometimes led from a village to a river or a settlement nearby,⁷⁴⁵ but it could also link up two roads directly across the fields.⁷⁴⁶ The Latin equivalent of *általút* was *via media*,⁷⁴⁷ which also reflects that such a road served as a direct connection *between* two sites or roads.

In accordance with their function, short-cuts tended to be local roads that belonged to the territory or close vicinity of a settlement. The perambulation of Paty (C. Vas; now: Rábapaty) from 1337 records that there was a road called *kisáltalút*⁷⁴⁸ going from Paty northwards to Zsédeny, which was located east of the *via magna* connecting Hegyfalú and Sömjén (now: Rábasömjén), and west of the *via magna* connecting Jákfa and Sárvár. The meaning and role of the two *viae magnae* and *kisáltalút* can be well juxtaposed: while the former were roads of regional significance connecting a row of settlements, the latter was only a small local road leading from one village to the neighbouring one. The rural character of *általút* is also supported by the toponym *Általútaljaföld* (i.e. a field below a short-cut) from

⁷⁴² 1269: *vadit ad viam que altalvt vocatur* (Lég and Patony, C. Pozsony) HO I, 41; W. XI, 585; RA I, No. 1645; 1297: *per viam a Lapus Nyar usque ad aquam Kysdunad uocatam que via dicitur Altalut* (Lovad, C. Komárom), HO VI, 424; ÁMTF III, s.v. “Lovad,” 438; 1334: *vadit versus occidentem usque ad altalut, que venit de Pomlen;... in latitudine duorum iugerum a via altalut per longitudinem ad Rabam adiacentem* (Paty, C. Vas), charter No. 91; 1341: *via antiqua que dicitur althaluth* (Zaheus, C. Pest), MOL DL 24467. Cf. Oklsz s.v. “általút,” 20-21.

⁷⁴³ TESz I, s.v. “által,” 144.

⁷⁴⁴ MNySz I, s.v. “általút,” 318.

⁷⁴⁵ Cf. n. 742.

⁷⁴⁶ VaMFN, 32; For example, VaMFN, s.v. “Átoli ut,” 92, No. 23/42.

⁷⁴⁷ 1259: *usque viam mediam, que vulgariter Altolut dicitur;... de illa media via* (Hermán, C. Vas), charter No. 30; 1263: *in via media, que ducit ad Muram;... ad mediam viam Mure* (Sár, C. Vas), charter No. 116.

⁷⁴⁸ 1337: *ad unam viam Kisaltalut vocatam, qua itur de Pogh in Sedun* (Paty and Zsédeny, C. Vas), charter No. 92.

1239.⁷⁴⁹ It was the name of a field (*terra*) belonging to Vata (C. Pozsony; now: part of Lehnice, Sk.) and was apparently called after an adjacent *általút*.



Fig. 18. The so-called *Általút* located west of Bőd, 1843 (VaML U 464)

The term *által út* has preserved its meaning “short-cut running across the fields” up to the modern period. An 1843 map of the estates of Bőd (C. Vas; now: Nemesbőd) shows a road labelled ‘*Által Út*’ west of the settlement (Fig. 18). The north-south road connecting Vép and Surány (C. Vas, now: Vassurány) is flanked by ploughlands called after such a road (*Általuton-belöl*, *Általuton-kévöl*). The memory of the same road has been preserved up to now by the name of the field *Általuti-dűlő* located west of modern Nemesbőd.⁷⁵⁰

2.5.3 Relative positions

The relative topographic position of roads is reflected by the terms *alsóút*,⁷⁵¹ *középut*,⁷⁵² and *felsőút*,⁷⁵³ meaning lower, middle, and upper road. The perambulation of Hecse (C. Győr; now: farmstead north-east of Győr) – preserved in a forgery made in the late seventeenth century, bearing the date 1222⁷⁵⁴ – records that there was an upper and a middle road leading

⁷⁴⁹ 1239: *quamdam terram de terra Votha, quae vulgo vocatur Altalutollya-föld* (Vata, C. Pozsony), F. IV/1, 150.

⁷⁵⁰ VaML 109, No. 29/63.

⁷⁵¹ 1239: *ad alsout coniunguntur metae aliis metis de Vatha* (Vata, C. Pozsony), F. IV/1, 152.

⁷⁵² 1329/1378: *circa viam Kezepwth vocatam* (Vámosmézadó, C. Vas), charter No. 74; 1312: *uenit ad kuzepwt, et per kuzepwt peruenit ad Topl* (Megyes, C. Sáros), A. I, 268; 1332/1355: *circa viam Kwzepwth* (Veszprém) Veszpr. Reg., No. 246, n. 62; 1329: *transeundo quamdam viam Kuzepwth;... in dictam viam Kwzepwth vocatam* (Kisdér, C. Baranya), ÁMTF. I, s.v. “Kisdér,” 327; F. VIII/3, 400; Cf. Oklsz, s.v. “közép,” 550.

⁷⁵³ +1222 (17th c.): *ad quamdam viam, qua Felső Ut dictam;... eundo, ad viam Kösep ut dictam, qua de civitate Gauriensi itur ad Vrugang aliter S. Iuan* (Hecse, Győr and Szentiván, C. Győr), PRT I, 798.

⁷⁵⁴ Cf. n. 753; Lajos Glaser also cites two fifteenth-century sources: 1467: *viam publicam kezepwth nominatam per quam de civitate Jauriense itur ad dictam possessionem Zenthiwan;... aliam viam publicam felsewth apellatam per quam de civitate Jauriense iretur ad dictam possessionem Zenthiwan*,” MOL DL 1797; 1471: *viam publicam kewzepwth vacatam per quam iretur de civitate Jauriense ad antedictam possessionem Zent*

from Győr to Szentiván (C. Győr, now: Győrszentiván), from which it can be inferred that there must have also been an *alsóút* in the region. On the basis of the topography of roads around Győr it seems plausible that the road running from Győr eastwards along the right bank of the Danube could have been that *alsóút*.⁷⁵⁵

2.6 PHYSICAL PROPERTIES

Considering the physical properties of roads Árpád Period written documents hold reference to the material and to the morphology of roads.

2.6.1 Material and surface

Árpád Period and high medieval written sources name earth, clay, and stone as the material of roads, which may reflect either the mode of construction or the natural properties of the territory around. In terms of age, these roads include paths of uncertain age, the remains of ancient Roman roads, and medieval roads.

2.6.1.1 Earth

Since – unlike the engineered roads of Roman Pannonia (see chapter 3.3) – the routes of Árpád Period and medieval Hungary developed in a more or less natural way, the majority of them were certainly dirt roads. Yet there is only little written evidence for such roads. In addition to the *strata terrea*⁷⁵⁶ found in the perambulation of Herény (C. Vas; now: part of Szombathely as Herény) from 1263, I have knowledge of only one Árpád Period *semita terrea* from Slavonia.⁷⁵⁷ The reason for the lack of dirt roads in contemporary written documents must be that they were so common that it was not necessary stress that their

Iwan;... aliam publicam viam felsewwith nuncupatam per quam itur similiter de dicta civitate Jauriense ad pretactam possessionem Zenth Iwan, MOL DL 17901, Glaser, Dunántúl középkori úthálózat, n. 223 and n. 224.

⁷⁵⁵ Glaser, *Dunántúl középkori úthálózat*, n. 224; ÁMTF II, 575.

⁷⁵⁶ 1263: *iuxta stratam que est terrea* (Herény, C. Vas), charter No. 28.

⁷⁵⁷ 1201/1227: *ad semitam terream* (Vaska, C. Körös), W. I. 237; RA I, No. 193.

material was earth. In general, sources named the material of a road only if it was different from earth.

2.6.1.2 Clay

In Árpád Period Transdanubia we find written evidence to roads called *via agyagos*⁷⁵⁸ (*argillaceous*) and *agyagosút*.⁷⁵⁹ In medieval Hungary there were some settlements called Agyagos,⁷⁶⁰ which received their names after their argillaceous soil.⁷⁶¹ However, because the only settlement called Agyagos that had demonstrably existed by the mid-thirteenth century was located in County Sopron, it does not seem plausible that the *agyagosút* and *via agyagos* situated in Counties Zala and Baranya would have referred to that distant settlement. It is more reasonable to conclude that the roads above were called after their clayey material or surface.⁷⁶² *Agyagosút* can therefore be regarded as the vernacular equivalent of *via argillosa*⁷⁶³ and *via limosa*⁷⁶⁴ known from Upper Hungary.

2.6.1.3 Stone

The terms *kövesút*,⁷⁶⁵ *via köves*,⁷⁶⁶ *kövecsesút*,⁷⁶⁷ *via lapidosa*,⁷⁶⁸ *via saxosa*⁷⁶⁹ meaning stony road (Hu. *köves*, *kövecses*)⁷⁷⁰ equally appear in medieval written sources, on early

⁷⁵⁸ 1252: *iuxta viam Agogus* (Ürög, C. Baranya), HO 1234-1536, 26; F. IV/2, 162.

⁷⁵⁹ 1273: *ad uiam agagusuth uocatam* (Váró, C. Zala), W. IX, 43; 1338: *ad viam Agyaguswth uocatam* (Kalló, C. Zala), Zala vm. I. 339; OklSz, s.v. “agyagos,” 8.

⁷⁶⁰ 1256: *terra Ogegus* (C. Sopron), Cs. III, s.v. “Agyagos,” 597; 1341: *Agyagus* (C. Veszprém), Cs. III, “Agyagos,” 218; 1415: *Agyagus* (C. Sáros), Cs. I, “Agyagos(falva),” 288; 1442: *Agyagos, Agyagaspatak* (C. Zemplén), Cs. I, “Agyagos(-patak),” 340; 1453: *predium Agyagas* (C. Fejér), Cs. III, “Agyagas,” 316; 1510: *possessio Agyagos* (C. Tolna), Cs. III, “Agyagos,” 413.

⁷⁶¹ Cf. FNESz I, s.v. “Agyagosszergény,” 61.

⁷⁶² Similarly, field-names *Agyagos út* indicate today argillaceous roads. Some examples from Transdanubia: VaMFN s.v. “Agyagos út,” 173, No. 44/98; VeMFN IV, s.v. “Agyagos kocsiút,” 97, No. 14/142.

⁷⁶³ 1337: *per viam argillosam* (Nénye, C. Hont), F. VIII/4; 1367: *ad viam argillosam* (Teszér, C. Hont), F. IX/4, 95.

⁷⁶⁴ 1281: *per antiquam viam limosam descendit usque magnam viam* (Gáj, C. Turóc), W. XII, 334; F. V/3, 77; F. X/3, 268; RA II, No. 3089.

⁷⁶⁵ 1322: *ad quandam viam, que dicitur Kuesutha* (Aszófő and Derzsülése, C. Pilis), A. II, 16; ÁMTF IV, s.v. “Aszófő,” 595; 1325/1347: *in quadam via Kuwesuth uocata* (Miskolc, C. Borsod), F. VIII/7, 181; ÁMTF I, s.v. “Miskolc,” 789; Cf. KMHSz, s.v. “köves út,” 166; 1327: *vadit ad kuesut* (Hollókő, C. Nógrád), A. II, 289; ÁMTF IV, s.v. “Hollókő(vár),” 251; 1356: *iuxta quandam magnam viam vulgariter kuwesuth nuncupatam* (Mogyorós and Tát, C. Esztergom), A. VI, 515; 1435: *magnam viam Kwesuth uocatam per quam de Komarom*

modern maps, and among toponyms.⁷⁷¹ Whether these terms indicated natural paths covered with stone or artificial metalled roads is sometimes evident from the topography of the road itself. Stony roads running through the mountainous region of Upper Hungary – Harkács (C. Gömör; now: Gemerská Ves, Sk.)⁷⁷², Miskolc (C. Borsod)⁷⁷³, etc. – must without exception be regarded as roads naturally covered with stone. The reason is simply that roads were not metalled in medieval Hungary, and the Roman origins of these roads can also be excluded as the territories of Upper and eastern Hungary did not belong to the Roman Empire in the antiquity.

itur ad Jaurinum (Komárom, C. Komárom, and Győr, C. Győr), Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 146, n. 82.

⁷⁶⁶ 1274: *per viam, que venit a parte septemtrionali de Chen, per quam itur in K[urth] via vocata Kuest; ... ad viam de Chenkeust vocatam* (Csév, C. Esztergom and Kürt, C. Pilis), W. IX, 574-575; ÁMTF II, s.v. “Csév,” 230.

⁷⁶⁷ 1478: *in Herpenyethorok prope Kewecheswth*, OklSz, s.v. “kövecsés,” 546.

⁷⁶⁸ 1181/17th c.: *iuxta viam lapidosam* (Esztergom – Szentkirály and Dorog, C. Esztergom), W. VI, 147; ÁMTF II, s.v. “Esztergom-Szentkirály,” 280; +1294/1471: *iuxta viam lapidosam, Kevetzesut dictam; ... per viam lapidosam Kevesut dictam* (Harkács, C. Gömör), F. VII/2, 248; ÁMTF II, s.v. “Harkács (Barancsi),” 507.

⁷⁶⁹ 1299: *iuxta viam saxosam* (Boron and Kandé, C. Pilis), Pilis I, 419; 1419: *per unam viam saxosam inter duos montes magnos* (Kapi, C. Sáros), Zs. VII, No. 833.

⁷⁷⁰ OklSz s.v. “köves,” 547.

⁷⁷¹ For a recent overview see, Magdolna Szilágyi, “The perception of Roman roads in medieval Hungary,” in *Die Vielsichtigkeit der Straße*, ed. Kornelia Holzner-Tobisch, Thomas Kühtreiber, and Gertrud Blaschitz (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012), 147-171, esp. 163-170.

⁷⁷² Cf. n. 768.

⁷⁷³ Cf. n. 765.

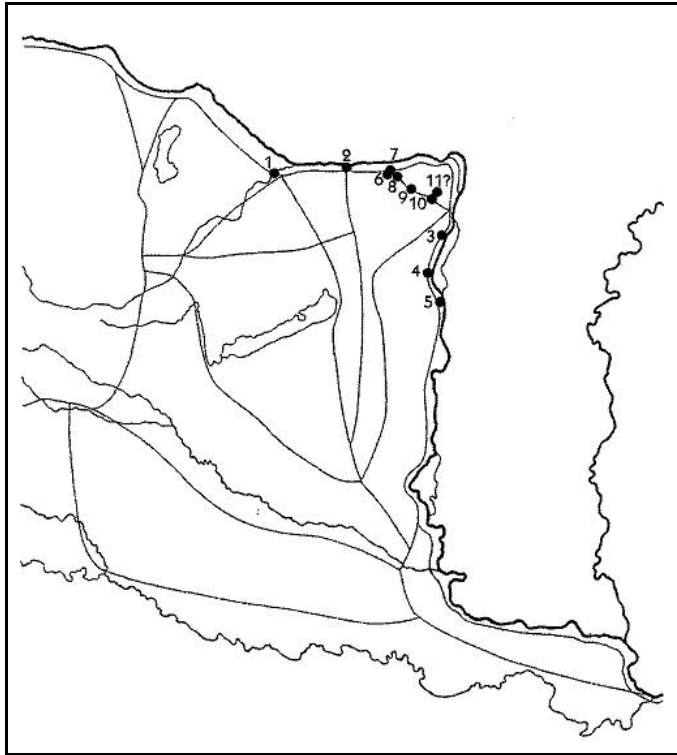


Fig. 19. *Kövesút* road sections and the road network of Roman Pannonia (Szilágyi 2012,⁷⁷⁴ 164, Fig. 4)

The sites form part of two Roman roads, a) the Limes road: 1. Győr, 2. Komárom, 3. Százhalombatta, 4. Adony, 5. Dunapentele; and the b) Brigetio-Aquincum road: 6. Mogyorósbánya, 7. Tát, 8. Dorog, 9. Kiscsévpuszta, 10. Pilisvörösvár, 11. Csobánka (?)

In the case of Western Hungary the origins of stony roads is a more complex question. Because the territory formed part of the Roman Empire, medieval references to Transdanubian stony roads may equally indicate the remains of Roman roads⁷⁷⁵ and natural stony paths, which can only be determined with the help of archaeological data. Comparing the different types of evidence it seems that in medieval Transdanubia *kövesút* and similar terms – when not indicating natural stony paths – were applied to two ancient metalled routes (Fig. 19). One was the *limes* road running along the right bank of the Danube via Győr,⁷⁷⁶ Komárom,⁷⁷⁷ Érd⁷⁷⁸ and Százhalombatta⁷⁷⁹ (Fig. 21). The other was the ancient Brigetio–

⁷⁷⁴ See n. 771.

⁷⁷⁵ Lajos Glaser already called attention to the Roman origins of *kövesút* mentioned by medieval charters, but he was overgeneralizing when attributing ancient origins to all these roads. Glaser, “A római utak nevei középkori okleveleinkben,” 317.

⁷⁷⁶ In 1878 a fifteen-metre-long stretch of the Roman road with sandstone pavement was discovered within the earliest cemetery of Roman Arrabona, Eszter T. Szönyi, “Római kori útadatok Győr megyében” [Data on Roman roads in County Győr], *Arrabona* 37 (1999): 83-98, esp. 84. Cf. n. 765.

⁷⁷⁷ East of Győr the Roman military road is running either below or near modern main road 10. Between Ács and Vaspuszta the road can be identified on the terrain as a distinct strip of gravel, Zsolt Visy, *The Ripa Pannonica in Hungary* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2003), 21-22, 25-27. Cf. n. 765.

⁷⁷⁸ Between Érd and Százhalombatta the Roman road can be observed both on the terrain and on aerial photographs, MRT 7, 102-103 and 240-240, site No. 9/25 and 27/10; Visy, *The Ripa Pannonica in Hungary*, 64-

Aquincum bypass road cutting off the Danube Bend via Mogyorósbánya, Tát,⁷⁸⁰ Dorog,⁷⁸¹ Kiscsévpusztá,⁷⁸² Pilisvörösvár⁷⁸³ (Fig. 20), and Csobánka⁷⁸⁴. Examining the geographical distribution of ancient stony roads, one finds that all of them were located east of Győr, and the reason for that must be sought in the engineering of Roman roads. In Eastern Pannonia – the territory being poor in gravel – roads were generally made of broken stone instead of gravel⁷⁸⁵ (see chapter 3.3.2 for details). After the abandonment of Pannonia by the Romans in the early fifth century, these roads were left unrepaired, and due to centuries of decay what remained of them was a stony path. Erosion and the cultivation of land have destroyed these roads by now, but in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they could be still well observed in some places as it is demonstrated by early modern maps (Fig. 20 and Fig. 21).

66. Cf. 18th. c: “*Via Regia Lapidibus Strata per Regem Ladislaum facta*” shown on a map between Érd and Kisapostag (C. Fejér), TMÖL T 45.

⁷⁷⁹ In 1953 during the excavation conducted outside the auxiliary fort of Roman Matrica András Mócsy discovered a six metre wide and ninety centimetre high road constructed of stones separated by four layers of gravel, András Mócsy, “A Százhalombatta–dunafüredi római tábor és település” [Roman camp and settlement at Százhalombatta—Dunafüred], *ArchÉrt* 82 (1955) 59-69, esp. 60. Cf. 1743: “*Király köves útja*” (Százhalombatta, C. Fejér), MOL P 1341, fasc. 30, No. 40; MRT 7, 240-240, site No. 27/10.

⁷⁸⁰ In the region of Mogyorósbánya (C. Komárom-Esztergom) 500 m-long indistinct strip of scattered gravel has remained of the Roman road. At Tát (C. Komárom-Esztergom) the road continues to a length of 1,700 m in a nearly west-east direction. MRT 5, 322-324, site No. 21/4 and 21/8. Cf. n. 765 and ÁMTF II, 219.

⁷⁸¹ In the late nineteenth century the track of the Roman road could be still observed at the Dorog – Régi-dűlő archaeological site (C. Komárom-Esztergom). Local people collected there many stones from the ploughlands. Vásárhelyi, “Az Aquincumból Brigetióba vezető római út,” 71-74; MRT 5, 63, site No. 5/11. Cf. 768.

⁷⁸² At Piliscsév – Hosszú rétek (C. Komárom-Esztergom) the track of the Roman road is marked by an 800 metre long and 4-5 metre wide strip of rubble consisting of limestone and gravel. MRT 5, 279, site No. 16/5. Cf. n. 766.

⁷⁸³ North-east of Pilisvörösvár (C. Pest) there is an 800-900 metre-long and 4-5 metre wide stony strip running in a south-east—north-west direction. The Roman origin of the road is supported by several Roman milestones discovered nearby, MRT 7, 173-174, site No. 21/21. Cf. “*Via Lapidea vulgo Kő-út,*” shown north-east of Vörösvár on a map from 1759, MOL S 107 No. 11.

⁷⁸⁴ The *via saxosa* in the perambulation of medieval Boron (C. Pilis) can be identified with the Roman road discovered at the foot of the Kis-Kevély Hill, near Csobánka (C. Pest). The road has a 20-30 cm-high foundation of broken stone superimposed by a 10 cm-thick layer of gravel, MRT 7, 76-77, site No. 6/28. Cf. n. 769.

⁷⁸⁵ Tóth, *Itineraria Pannonica*, 21; Szilágyi, “The perception of Roman roads,” 171.



Fig. 20. "Via Lapidea vulgo Kő-út" north-east of Vörösvár, 1759 (MOL S 107 No. 11)⁷⁸⁶

Fig. 21. "Via Regia Lapidibus Strata per Regem Ladislaum facta" between Érd and Kispostag on the map of County Fejér by Sámuel Mikoviny from the mid-eighteenth century (TMÖL T 45)⁷⁸⁷

Eastern Transdanubia was not the only part of the Hungarian Kingdom where the remains of ancient Roman roads used to be called “stony roads.” In Transylvania, which formed part of the Roman Empire as province Dacia, sections of ancient metalled roads also demonstrably survived to the Middle Ages. The great road running from Gyulafehérvár (C. Fehér, now: Alba Julia, Ro.) towards Northern Transylvania, for example, followed the path of an ancient Roman road. Parts of that route were referred to as *via lapidea* in the

⁷⁸⁶ Published in MRT 7, Plate 64, Fig. 1.

⁷⁸⁷ Published in Bendefy, *Mikoviny Sámuel megyei térképei II*, Map. 6.

perambulations of Vajasd⁷⁸⁸ (now: Oiejdea, Ro.), Orbó⁷⁸⁹ (now: Gîrbova de Jos, Ro.), and Tinód⁷⁹⁰ (now: part of Aiud, Ro.) in County Fehér.⁷⁹¹ In addition, there are also data on *via lapidosa*, *kövesút*⁷⁹² in other parts of Transylvania. However, as in the case of Transdanubia, one must take care to avoid overgeneralization and should relate these roads to the ancient Romans only where it can be supported by archaeological evidence.

2.6.1.4 Gravel and cement

Öttevény⁷⁹³ is an outdated Hungarian term (the derivative of the Hungarian verb *önt* meaning ‘to pour’)⁷⁹⁴ that already appears in written sources dated to the first half of the thirteenth century.⁷⁹⁵ The interpretation of the term has caused a scholarly debate among the representatives of various disciplines. Lajos Glaser regarded *öttevény* as roads of Roman origins, and argued that – although the word itself meant dam (Hu. *töltés*, Ge. *Damm*) – it was not their high embankment that they were called after. In his opinion, *öttevény* was rather the synonym for *cementarium opus* and *murata via*,⁷⁹⁶ and indicated roads covered with stones bonded by mortar.⁷⁹⁷ Dezső Pais disagreed with Lajos Glaser, and argued for the term’s being related to the embankment of roads (either Roman or not). He saw the proof of this in the fact that the settlement Öttevény (C. Moson) is called Hochstrass in German. According to his view, the term *öttevény* was synonymous with *via levata*⁷⁹⁸ and Croatian *násap*⁷⁹⁹ meaning

⁷⁸⁸ 1238/1296: *ad viam lapideam* (Vajasd, C. Fehér), MOL DL 30354; ÁMTF II, s.v. “Vajasd,” 190.

⁷⁸⁹ 1282/1285: *infra viam lapideam* (Orbó, C. Fehér), HO VIII, 223-224; ÁMTF II, s.v. “Orbó,” 177.

⁷⁹⁰ 1299/14th c.: *ad viam lapideam* (Tinód, C. Fehér), MOL DL 30622; s.v. ÁMTF II, s.v. “Tinód,” 188.

⁷⁹¹ ÁMTF II, 124.

⁷⁹² 1362: *viam Keuesuth nominatam* (Szentmárton, C. Torda), MOL DL 31102; 1410: *ad viam Keueswt vocatam* (Kutyfalva, C. Fehér), Zs. II, No.7547; 1440: *penes viam lapidosam vulgo Kevesut vocatam* (Kutyfalva, C. Fehér), MOL DL 31136.

⁷⁹³ OklSz, “Öttevény,” 734; KMTL, s.v. “út,” 702.

⁷⁹⁴ FNEsz II, s.v. “Öttevény,” 303.

⁷⁹⁵ On the various interpretations of the term *öttevény* see the scholarly debate in the journal called *Magyar Nyelv*. Cf. n. 18 and 19. For a recent overview of data on road sections called *öttevény* see, Szilágyi, “The perception of Roman roads,” 156-163.

⁷⁹⁶ Glaser referred here to the charter of King Andrew II from 1209: *dirigitur ad viam antiquam cementario opere supereffusam, ... revertitur ad dictam muratam viam* (C. Gorra) W. XI, 98.

⁷⁹⁷ Glaser, “A római utak nevei középkori okleveleinkben,” 318.

⁷⁹⁸ Cf. 1201/1227: *in Garaustino prima meta est iuxta magnam viam levatam; ... super eandem levatam viam* (Varasd, C. Varasd), W. I, 234.

dam (Hu. *öntés, töltés*; Ge. *Damm*, Lat. *Agger*) and embankment (Hu. *feltöltés, földhányás*; Ge. *Anschütt*).⁸⁰⁰ Dénes Szabó neither accepted Glaser's interpretation of *öttevény*. In his view, the term bore the following meanings: (1) alluvial deposit, gravel or sand drift left by a river on the bank; (2) an embankment; and (3) a road running on top of an embankment.⁸⁰¹ More recently Endre Tóth has dealt with the question. He demonstrated with archaeological data that although Roman roads were sometimes indeed running on top of embankments, it was not their most conspicuous feature in the Middle Ages. The 8-10 metre wide strips of gravel and mortar that remained from Roman roads after centuries of decay are much more eye-catching in the landscape (see chapter 3.3.2). They look like the alluvial deposit of rivers, which seems to have been the reason why they were called *öttevény*.⁸⁰² In addition, Endre Tóth called attention to that – unlike *királyuta, via regia, kövesút, via lapidosa*, etc. – the term *öttevény* was consistently used to indicate roads of Roman origins.⁸⁰³

⁷⁹⁹ Cf. 1413: *ad viam magnam que nazyp vocatur* (Varasd, C. Varasd), MOL DL 34056.

⁸⁰⁰ Pais, "Öttevény," 120; Pais, "Névvizsgálatok," 71-72.

⁸⁰¹ Szabó, "Öntvény," 302-303.

⁸⁰² Tóth, "Eötteven seu via antiqua Romanorum," 199-200.

⁸⁰³ Tóth, "Eötteven seu via antiqua Romanorum," 195. As an analogy we can mention here the term *via calciata* (from Latin *calx* for limestone), which appears in medieval French sources in the sense of "a road surfaced with limestone." This technique of road construction was again characteristic only for the Romans. See, Vannérus, "Calciata et calcipetra," 5-24.

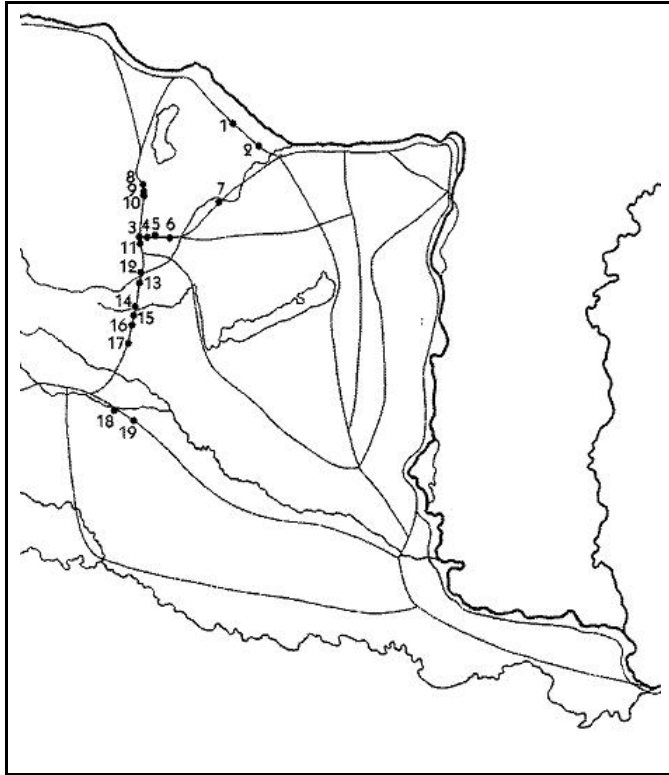


Fig. 22. *Öttevény* road sections and the road network of Roman Pannonia (Szilágyi 2012,⁸⁰⁴ 157, Fig. 3)

The sites closely follow the path of the following ancient Roman routes: a) Limes road: 1. Kimle, 2. *Öttevény*; b) Savaria—Arrabona road: 3. Szombathely, 4. Vát, 5. Porpác, 6. Csénye, 7. Kemenesszentpéter; c) Amber Route: 8. Kisfalud, 9. A site north of Borsmonostor/Kloster Marienberg, 10. Borsmonostor/Kloster Marienberg, 11. Gyöngyöshermán and Gyöngyösszőlős, 12. Körmend, 13. Nádasd, 14. Zalalövő, 15. Irsapuszta, 16. Kálócfa, 17. Kerkabarabás, d) Road along the Drava: 18. Varasd/Varaždin, 19. Ludbreg

Comparing medieval written sources, cartographic data (Fig. 23-Fig. 26) and toponyms one finds that the road sections called *öttevény* formed part of four Roman routes: (1) the limes road (at Kimle⁸⁰⁵ and *Öttevény*⁸⁰⁶); (2) the Savaria—Arrabona road (at Szombathely,⁸⁰⁷ Vép,⁸⁰⁸ Vát,⁸⁰⁹ Porpác,⁸¹⁰ Csénye,⁸¹¹ and Kemenesszentpéter⁸¹²); (3) the Amber Route (at Kisfalud,⁸¹³ Peresznye,⁸¹⁴ Borsmonostor/Kloster Marienberg,⁸¹⁵

⁸⁰⁴ See n. 771.

⁸⁰⁵ 1210: *via que dicitur parata, que vulgo vocatur etteuen* (Kimle, C. Moson), UB I, 60.

⁸⁰⁶ *Öttevény* is a settlement located to the west of Győr (C. Moson) that was called after the *öttevény* road running nearby, Cs. III, s.v. “*Ötvény (Öttevény)*,” 554; ÁMTF II, 575.

⁸⁰⁷ 1321: *via Wetewyn que vadit versus Sabariam* (Kápolnafölde and Szombathely, C. Vas), charter No. 49.

⁸⁰⁸ *Etevin ut*, the name of a road north of Vép (C. Vas), VaMFN 125, No. 36/120.

⁸⁰⁹ *Öttevényi ország ut*, the name of a pasture near Vát (C. Vas), VaMFN 105, No. 27/-.

⁸¹⁰ 1329: [*ad magnam viam regni, que Utteuim vocatur* (Porpác, C. Vas) charter No. 101; 1364: *ad quondam publicam stratam vulgo vtteuen vocatam* (Porpác and Vát, C. Vas), MOL DL 41607.

⁸¹¹ *Öttevény / Öttevény*, a ploughland north of Csénye (C. Vas), VaMFN 248, No. 85/23; *Öttevényi út*, road north of Csénye (C. Vas), VaMFN 248, No. 85/26.

⁸¹² Cf. n. 491.

⁸¹³ 1232: *super viam etteue et ad villam fratrum Ieuriensium, que Cusfolud vocatur* (Enyed and Ligvánd/Nebersdorf, C. Sopron), UB I, 142. On the identification of toponyms in the perambulation see Tóth, “*Eötteven seu via antiqua Romanorum*,” 195-196.

⁸¹⁴ 1237: *per quondam antiquam viam que dicitur eetheven* (Enyed and Peresznye, C. Sopron), UB I/ 173. Cf. Pesty, *Magyarország helynevei*, s.v. “*Öttevény*,” 242.

⁸¹⁵ 1225: *ad antiquam viam, que vulgo dicitur utwengut;...utwengut* (Borsmonostor / Kloster Marienberg, C. Sopron), UB I, 105.

Gyöngyösszőlős,⁸¹⁶ Körmend,⁸¹⁷ Nádasd,⁸¹⁸ Zalalövő,⁸¹⁹ Irsapuszta,⁸²⁰ Kálócfa,⁸²¹ Kerkabarabás⁸²²); and (4) a road running along the Drava (Varasd,⁸²³ Ludbreg⁸²⁴) (Fig. 22; see also chapter 3.3.1). All the data on *öttevény* come from Western Transdanubia and Slovenia, which can be explained by the fact that those parts of the province abounded in gravel (see chapter 3.1.3), and therefore it was frequently used for the construction of roads. The Romans constructed their roads there with a 50-70 cm high foundation made of well rammed down gravel and large pieces of stone, and 20-30 cm thick pavement made of gravel solidified by some mortar-like binding. Although erosion and ploughing have caused a lot of damage to these roads, their path is still recognizable from a wide strip of gravel in many parts of Western Transdanubia (cf. Fig. 14 and Fig. 15).⁸²⁵

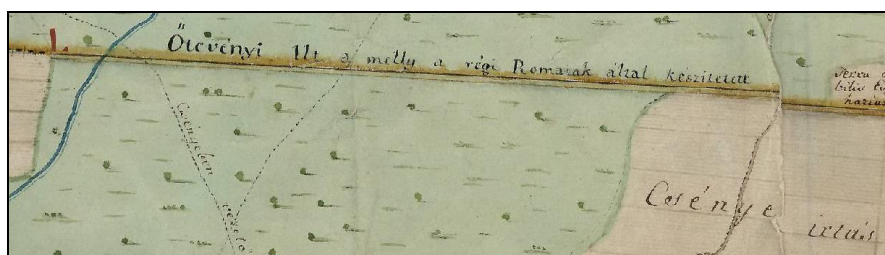


Fig. 23. "Ötevényi Ut a mely a régi Romaiak által készített" north of Csénye on the *Mappa predii Esztergács* from 1797 (VaML T 33)

⁸¹⁶ 1259: *a parte ville Sceleus usque viam Ettevin;... via...Etteuin* (Hermán and Szöllős, C. Vas), charter No. 30.

⁸¹⁷ 1329: *ad viam magnam Etheuenuth vocatam* (Vámosmészadó, south of Körmend, C. Vas), MOL DL 42068.

⁸¹⁸ *Ötevényes-út*, a road near Nádasd (C. Vas), Pesty, *Magyarország helynevei*, s.v. "Ötevényes-út," 242.

⁸¹⁹ *Ötevényi ut*, a road in Zalalövő (C. Zala), ZMFN I, 101, No. 33/11.

⁸²⁰ 1265: *ad magnam viam, que vulgariter Ehtewen dicitur;... uia Ettewen* (Irsa, C. Zala), HO VI, 131.

⁸²¹ *Ötevény*, a ploughland at Kálócfa (C. Zala), ZMFN I, 303, No. 127/41.

⁸²² *Etejin / Zetejin / Nagyetevén*, ploughland at Kerkabarabás (C. Zala), ZMFN I, 331, No. 141/59.

⁸²³ 1254: *ad magnam viam Itteven, que ducit ad Worosd* (Varasd, C. Varasd), W. XI, 404.

⁸²⁴ 1371: *ad unam magnam viam fundatam Vttonyn vocatam, per quam de Warasd predicta transiretur in Ludbreg* (Varasd, C. Varasd and Ludbreg, C. Körös), Smičiklas XIV, 352.

⁸²⁵ Tóth, "Eötteven seu via antiqua Romanorum," 201; Tóth, *Itineraria Pannonica*, 21.

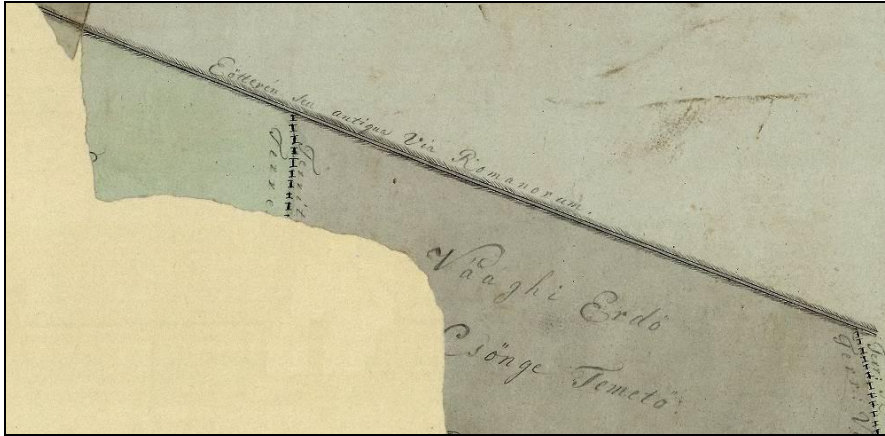


Fig. 24. "Eötvén seu antiqua Via Romanorum" south of Vág, 1840 (VaML T 6)



Fig. 25. "Eötvén seu antiqua Via Romanorum" between Várkesző and Kemenesszentpéter, 1830's (VaML T 463)

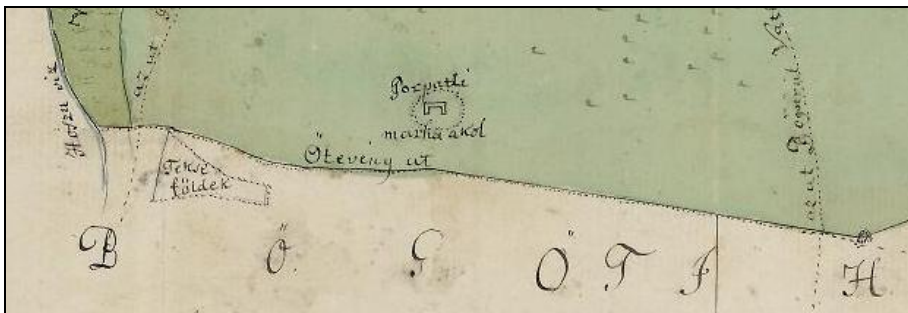


Fig. 26. "Ötevény ut" between Vát and Bögszék, 1806 (VaML T)

2.6.2 Relief

Árpád Period sources hold reference to the relative position of roads in the landscape. Depending on whether the track of a road was running higher or lower than its environment one can talk about elevated roads or hollow ways, respectively.

2.6.2.1 Elevated roads

There are two Transdanubian settlements called Hochstraß, the names of which can be brought into connection with the height of roads in different ways. The one in County Moson (called Öttevény in Hungarian) received both its German and Hungarian names after the remains of the Roman *limes* road that leads through the settlement in a south-east—north-west direction.⁸²⁶ Nevertheless, while its Hungarian name refers to the strip of gravel that remained of it,⁸²⁷ the German name is concerned with its embankment.⁸²⁸ It is worth mentioning here that the track of the Danubian *limes* road is also signalled by a series of Hochstraß toponyms in present-day Austria (at Holzling, Ordnung, Pöverding, Ursprung, and Vienna). In addition, the Austrian sections of the same road also appear as *hochsraß* in written sources dated to different periods: *hochstrazze* (1011), *hôstraze* (1216), *Hochsrtazze* (1302), *Hochstraß* (15th c.), *Hochensteeg* (16th c.), *Hochstraße* (1822).⁸²⁹

The other Transdanubian settlement called Hochstraß was belonged to County Sopron.⁸³⁰ The settlement's Hungarian name Kisotoros (now: part of Lockenhaus, Au.) also derives from the German term Hochstraß.⁸³¹ The etymology of the settlement's name can be

⁸²⁶ Between Öttevény and Győr the Roman *limes* road is initially overlapped by the modern road, but they diverge after a short distance. The ten metre wide Roman gravelled road ends at an old dead branch of the Danube. Visy, *The Ripa Pannonica in Hungary*, 20.

⁸²⁷ Cf. n. 806.

⁸²⁸ Formerly, Dezső Pais argued that both Hochstraß and Öttevény were related to the embankment of the settlements' ancient Roman road. Pais, "Öttevény," 119-120. Cf. Tóth, "Eötteven seu via antiqua Romanorum," 198-200.

⁸²⁹ Csendes, *Die Straßen Niederösterreichs*, 226-233.

⁸³⁰ 1326: *duas possessiones Teluk et Hostraaz* (Telök and Hochstrass, C. Sopron), HO V, 101.

⁸³¹ Elemér Schwartz, *A Nyugatmagyarországi német helységnevek* [German settlement names in Western Hungary] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1932), 219.

interpreted with the nearby 421 high pass connecting the valleys of the Répce and Gyöngyös, which gives an unimpeded view in every direction.⁸³² Consequently, in this case the term *Hochstrass* does not refer to the embankment of the road itself, but rather indicates the height at which the road was running above the valley.⁸³³

Although it is unknown from Transdanubia, here mention must be made of the term *via levata*.⁸³⁴ The term appears in two Árpád Period perambulations from Slavonia. Both data refer to an ancient Roman road near Varasd (C. Varasd, now: Varaždin, Cr.). The attribute *levata* thus seems to express that the road was running on top of an embankment.⁸³⁵

2.6.2.2 Hollow ways

In Árpád Period and medieval written documents sunken roads appear under the terms *horh(ó)*,⁸³⁶ *horhosút*,⁸³⁷ *mélyút*,⁸³⁸ and *via cavernea*.⁸³⁹ In addition to sunken roads, the term *horhó* also signified a deep hole (*vorago*),⁸⁴⁰ ditch (*fossatum*),⁸⁴¹ or valley (*vallis*),⁸⁴² that is all kinds of landscape features that were formed and deepened by rushing water.⁸⁴³ In connection with the terms above still mention must be made of *árkosút*.⁸⁴⁴ In this latter case the attribute

⁸³² FNESz I, s.v. “Kisostoros,” 753.

⁸³³ In Austrian scholarly literature one finds various interpretations for roads called *Hochstraß*. Here are the three main ones: 1) Roman roads with embankment, 2) roads running on the ridge of a hill, 3) main roads, highways. See, Jandaurek, “Die Hochstraße,” 159-160, and Csendes, *Die Straßen Niederösterreichs*, 28-29.

⁸³⁴ 1201/1227: *in Garaustino prima meta est iuxta magnam viam levatam, que dividit terram Stane; ... deinde super eandem levatam viam ad villam Suetesclavo* (Varasd, C. Varasd), W. I, 234; 1209: *exit ad quamdam viam leuatam* (Ivanec, C. Varasd), F. III/1, 88.

⁸³⁵ Glaser, “A római utak nevei középkori okleveleinkben,” 319.

⁸³⁶ 1055: *inde vero ad Hurhu, hinc usque ad aliam viam* (Disznó, C. Somogy), PRT X, 491; Szamota, “A tihanyi apátság 1055-iki alapítólevele,” 137; 1292: *uia cauernea... que horh nominatur* (Gyöngyös, C. Somogy), W. XII, 593.

⁸³⁷ 1275: *ad uiam Hurhuswt vocatam (terra Pazaka, C. Zala)*, Zala vm. I, 77; 1335: *ad quamdam viam similiter ad plagam occidentalem similiter horhas nominatam* (Rokolyán, C. Zala), Zala vm. I, 300; 1339: *ad magnam viam Hurhasuth* (Csepely and Kötöcs, C. Somogy), Veszpr. Reg., 127, No. 318; Cf. OklSz, s.v. “horhos,” 392; MNySz 5, s.v. “horhos,” 1690.

⁸³⁸ 1348: *Melvt* (Körtvélyestelek, C. Szatmár), Kállay I, 218, No. 951.

⁸³⁹ 1292: *uia cauernea... que horh nominatur* (Gyöngyös, C. Somogy), W. XII, 593; MKLSz II, s.v. “caverneus,” 80.

⁸⁴⁰ +1086: *ad caput voraginis, quod dicitur Churchufeu* (Kajár, C. Veszprém), PRT VIII, 267.

⁸⁴¹ 1335: *perveniret ad quoddam fossatum vulgariter horh vocatum* (Rokolyán, C. Zala), Zala vm. I, 300.

⁸⁴² 1334: *in fine...parue uallis uulgariter Horh dicte* (Torvaj, C. Somogy), HO III, 125.

⁸⁴³ OklSz s.v. “horh,” 391; TESz II, s.v. “horh,” 146; MNySz 5, s.v. “horhó,” 1690.

⁸⁴⁴ 1314: *circa Arcusvth* (Szentkirályszabadja, C. Veszprém), Veszpr. Reg., 39, No. 70; 1332/1355: *circa viam Arkusvth* (Szarberény, C. Veszprém) Veszpr. Reg., 100, No. 246.

árkos meaning ‘trenched’ does not seem to indicate that the road itself was entrenched. It rather refers to that a ditch or ditches were dug at the edge of the road in order to lead away rain-water.⁸⁴⁵

The terms *mélyút* and *horhó / horhos / horgos / horgas / horog* also occur among the toponyms of Transdanubia.⁸⁴⁶ In addition to the medieval settlement called Horhi (C. Pest; now: part of Budapest),⁸⁴⁷ one can also mention here a great number of field names *Mélyút*,⁸⁴⁸ *Horhos (út)*,⁸⁴⁹ and *Horgos (út)*.⁸⁵⁰ However, these latter toponyms can only be regarded of ancient origins if their medieval use can be testified by documentary and/or archaeological evidence. The same stands for hollow ways observed in the landscape, as well. Medieval roads, entrenched due to long continuous use, were further deepened by erosion caused by water (particularly when they descended a slope). At times of heavy rain, these sunken roads turned into channels of rushing water.⁸⁵¹ Medieval hollow ways are preserved especially at places that have been exempt from agricultural cultivation. The road that connected the Benedictine monasteries of Bél (C. Veszprém; now: Bakonybél) and Pannonhalma (C. Győr) in the Árpád Period has, for example, partly survived as a hollow way in the Bakony forest (Fig. 27).⁸⁵² Near Bakonybél,⁸⁵³ Bakonyszűcs⁸⁵⁴ and Fenyőfő⁸⁵⁵ (C. Veszprém) the road is still called *Barát út* (Monks’ road). As another example, one may mention here the road

⁸⁴⁵ MNySz 1, s.v. “árkos,” 337.

⁸⁴⁶ BMFN II, 954; KMFN, 25, 26; VaMFN 34, 36; VeMFN I, 19, 22; VeMFN II, 19; VeMFN IV, 24, 27.

⁸⁴⁷ Cs. I, “Horhi,” 29; ÁMTF IV, s.v. “Horhi,” 571; MRT 7, 65, site No. 5/12.

⁸⁴⁸ Data from County Vas: VaMFN 53, No. 6/82; 73, No. 12/20; 364, No. 134/44; 375, No. 138/69; 379, No. 140/27; 468, No. 185/12; 479, No. 191/4; 540, No. 220/41. From County Zala: ZMFN I, 127, No. 45/52; 211, No. 86/63; 229, No. 93/9; 275, No. 115/11; 469, No. 196/96; 469, No. 197/6; 477, No. 199/84; 485, No. 202/3; 488, No. 202/204; 557, No. 233/10; ZMFN II, 32, No. 7/8; 38, No. 9/95; 49, No. 12/88; 51, No. 12/242; 75, No. 22/24; 88, No. 23/67; 89, No. 24/13; 92, No. 24/176; 98, No. 26/41; 106, No. 28/102.

⁸⁴⁹ Data from County Vas: VaMFN 462, No. 181/34. From County Zala: ZMFN I, 153, No. 58/4; 193, No. 77/2; 197, No. 79/38; 201, No. 81/29; 211, No. 86/40; 243, No. 99/30; 261, No. 108/51; 277, No. 116/1; 309, No. 130/2; 355, No. 153/45; 365, No. 158/22; 509, No. 209/24; 555, No. 232/11.

⁸⁵⁰ See, for example, VaMFN 452, No. 177/8; ZMFN II, 28, 5/96.

⁸⁵¹ In England Paul Hindle brings examples for 3 to 10 metres deep medieval roads, Hindle, *Medieval Roads*, 39-40, Fig. 1, 26, 27.

⁸⁵² Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 140-141. Cf. MRT 4, 20, site No. 2/1.

⁸⁵³ VeMFN IV, 99, No. 14/203; Cf. MRT 4, 19.

⁸⁵⁴ VeMFN II, 173, No. 36/116 and 36/129; Cf. MRT 4, 55.

⁸⁵⁵ VeMFN IV, 51, No. 3/137; Cf. MRT 4, 101.

joining Szakácsi (C. Somogy; now: Nagyszakácsi) with the Pauline monastery⁸⁵⁶ located north-east of the settlement. The road leading to the monastery is mentioned by the perambulation of Szakácsi from 1382,⁸⁵⁷ and it survived in the terrain as a 2-3 metre deep hollow way (Fig. 28),⁸⁵⁸ the stretches of which are also indicated by the Second Military Survey (Coll XXV, sect. 60).



Fig. 27. Hollow way linking the monasteries of Bél and Pannonhalma (Szabó 2005,⁸⁵⁹ 141, Fig. 69)



Fig. 28. Hollow way leading to the Pauline monastery of Szakácsi (Zatykó 2011,⁸⁶⁰ 391, Fig. 3)

⁸⁵⁶ Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 59.

⁸⁵⁷ 1382: *ad aliam viam in latere sylvae praedicti Ioannis, filij Petew, de dicta Szakács, quae duceret de dicta Szakács, ad praedictum heremitorium* (Szakácsi, C. Somogy), F. IX/5, 619; Bándi, "A szakácsi pálos kolostor középkori oklevelei," 30, No. 5.

⁸⁵⁸ Zatykó, "Reconstruction of the settlement structure of the medieval Nagyszakácsi," 386; Zatykó, "Integrált kutatások: a tájrégészeti," 391-392.

⁸⁵⁹ See n. 51.

⁸⁶⁰ See n. 30.

2.7 VEGETATION

Written data and toponyms reflect two types of relationship between roads and vegetation: they either express that roads were overgrown with plants (typically grass), or that they were lined with or surrounded by plants (such as trees).

2.7.1 Plants covering the road

2.7.1.1 Grass

In Western European medieval sources one finds various terms indicating roads overgrown with grass, such as ‘green road’⁸⁶¹ in English, or *Grüner Weg* and *Rasenweg* in German.⁸⁶² Similarly, written records from Árpád Period Hungary hold various references to roads overgrown by grass (Hu. *fű*). These are the vernacular *fűvesút*,⁸⁶³ and its Latin equivalents the *via (h)erbosa*,⁸⁶⁴ *via (h)erbida*,⁸⁶⁵ *via herbidea*,⁸⁶⁶ *via graminea*,⁸⁶⁷ and *via graminosa*.⁸⁶⁸ These roads were sometimes also called footpaths (*pedestri semita*,⁸⁶⁹ *semita erbosa*,⁸⁷⁰

⁸⁶¹ Hindle, *Medieval Roads*, 15.

⁸⁶² Denecke, *Methodische Untersuchungen*, 111.

⁸⁶³ 1268/1347: *ad locum, qui dicitur Fyuesuth* (Örke, C. Komárom), F. IV/3, 447; Mon. Strig. I, 553; Cf. ÁMTF. III, s.v. “Örke(j),” 447.

⁸⁶⁴ +1086 (ca. 1135-71): *a quo ducitur terminus per herbosam viam ad angulum munimenti* (Kígyós, C. Zala), PRT VIII, 269; 1240: *per viam herbosam* (Kenéz, C. Vas), charter No. 52; 1240: *in via herbosa* (Száka, C. Sopron), UB I, 200; W. VII, 110; 1258: *in quadam via herbosa seu pedestri semita* (Tényő, C. Győr), PRT II, 307; W. II, 309; 1263: *in viam herbosam (villa Patri, C. Sopron)*, UB I, 293; 1266: *secus viam erbosam* (Oroszvár, C. Moson), UB I, 325; 1268: *per silvam transiens in via herbosa* (Gencs, C. Vas), charter No. 22; 1269: *via erbosa* (Bodajt, C. Sopron), UB I, 361; W. VIII, 248; 1301: *via herbosa* (Polány, C. Vas), charter No. 100; Cf. MKLSz IV, s.v. “herbosus,” 253.

⁸⁶⁵ 1236: *in herbida via* (Sár, C. Vas), charter No. 116; 1249: *in una herbida via* (Bogát, C. Vas), charter No. 6; 1249: *per unam herbidam viam*, (Hermán, C. Vas), charter No. 29; 1266: *iuxta viam erbidam, que vadit ad Danubium* (Oroszvár, C. Moson), UB I, 326; Cf. MKLSz IV, s.v. “herbidus,” 253.

⁸⁶⁶ 1256/1273: *ad quandam viam herbideum* (Káld and Gulács, C. Vas), HO VIII, 71; Cf. MKLSz IV, s.v. “herbideus,” 253.

⁸⁶⁷ 1266: *per eandem viam gramineam* (Oroszvár, C. Moson), UB I, 325; Cf. MKLSz IV, s.v. “gramineus,” 212.

⁸⁶⁸ 1313: *in unam viam graminosam; ... in valle iuxta viam graminosam* (Paty, C. Vas), charter No. 89; 1328: *per viam graminosam* (Ölbö, C. Vas), charter No. 87; 1333: *ad viam graminosam* (Pöse, C. Vas), charter No. 102; 1334: *in viam graminosam* (Szőlös, C. Vas), charter No. 129; 1367: *ad vnam graminosam viam* (Teszér, C. Hont), F. IX/4, 95; 1411: *ad aliam viam graminosam vulgo Ffyuesuth dictam* (Polány and Kápolna, C. Vas) Zs. III, no. 462; Cf. MKLSz IV, s.v. “graminosus,” 212.

⁸⁶⁹ See n. 864.

⁸⁷⁰ 1356: *per quamdam semitam erbosam inter vineas* (Höflein, C. Sopron), F. IX/2, 531.

*semita graminosa*⁸⁷¹). They tended to be local roads leading to the forest,⁸⁷² the vineyard⁸⁷³ or to the church⁸⁷⁴ of a settlement.

2.7.2 Plants around the road

Among the toponyms of any Hungarian county there are numerous examples for roads called after the plants (especially a given species of tree) growing around its track. Late medieval sources also hold references to roads called after the natural vegetation (e.g. *erica*⁸⁷⁵ and heath⁸⁷⁶), and cultivated plants (e.g. *vine*⁸⁷⁷) growing in the territory that the road passed through. However, from the territory of Árpád Period Transdanubia I discovered only a limited number of data on such roads.

2.7.2.1 Trees

Although Árpád Period and high medieval perambulations yield data on a great variety of trees,⁸⁷⁸ from the territory of Transdanubia I found only one piece of evidence for a road called after a type of tree. It is a *nyár út* mentioned by the 1297 perambulation of Lovad (C. Komárom; now: a farmstead near Ács), which was named after the nearby poplar forest.⁸⁷⁹

2.7.2.2 Sedge

The 1268 perambulation of Örs (C. Komárom; now: a farmstead near Komárom) refers to a *sásút*,⁸⁸⁰ a sedgy road⁸⁸¹ that was linked with a waterlogged road (*via aquatica*).⁸⁸² The

⁸⁷¹ 1277: *per quandam semitam graminosam protendit directe versus ecclesiam* (Tornava, C. Zágráb), W. XII, 197.

⁸⁷² See n. 864.

⁸⁷³ See n. 870.

⁸⁷⁴ See n. 871.

⁸⁷⁵ 1430: *ad quandam viam graminosam wlgó hangaswth vocatam*, MOL DL 12298, OklSz, s.v. “hanga,” 346.

⁸⁷⁶ 1304: *inter eandem viam Lomwt vocatam et inter viam Fenerut*, OklSz, s.v. “fenyér,” 238.

⁸⁷⁷ 1653: *szőlő utak*, OklSz, s.v. “szőlő-út,” 941.

⁸⁷⁸ In the Bakony region, for example, Péter Szabó differentiated between twenty-six types of trees with the help of forty-six medieval perambulations, Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 129.

⁸⁷⁹ 1297: *per quandam viam, que habetur pro meta dicta Nyaruth, per quam itur usque ad silvam Lapus Nyar nuncupatam* (Lovad, C. Komárom), HO VI, 424; ÁMTF III, s.v. “Lovad,” 438.

⁸⁸⁰ 1268/1347: *per uiam aquaticam, que habet transitum ad locum, qui dicitur sasuch* (Örs, C. Komárom), Mon. Strig. I, 553; Cf. ÁMTF III, s.v. “Örs,” 447.

denominations of these roads are in accordance with that Örs was located in the territory Vágköz covered with innumerable streamlets in the Árpád Period.⁸⁸³

2.8 DATING THE ROAD

Dating the road is reflected by such terms as Hungarian *óút*⁸⁸⁴ (old road), and Latin *via antiqua*,⁸⁸⁵ *via vetus*,⁸⁸⁶ and *via nova*,⁸⁸⁷ which already turn up in Árpád Period perambulations from Transdanubia. These terms offer evidence only of the relative age of the roads. In the case of *via antiqua*, for example, all we can assume is that according to common knowledge, the road is old or older than another road. However, it would be too far-fetched to expect ancient roads in each case. As Lajos Glaser had already pointed out, these *viae antiquae* also occur in those parts of the country that were never subjugated to Romans,⁸⁸⁸ such as Upper Hungary.⁸⁸⁹

In addition to topography, what tools do we have then to determine whether the *via antiqua* in a medieval source referred to a still extant ancient Roman road, or to a

⁸⁸¹ Cf. *sáshordóút* in OklSz, s.v. “sás,” 834; and FNESz II, s.v. “Sás-tó,” 458.

⁸⁸² MKLSz I, s.v. “aquaticus,” 216.

⁸⁸³ ÁMTF II, 386.

⁸⁸⁴ +1015: *Owvut* (Belisz, C. Baranya), DHA I, 74; Cf. KMHSz, s.v. “Ó út,” 209; 1055: *hinc ohut cutarea (locus Mortis)*, C. Tolna), PRT X, 492; Cf. Szamota, “A tihanyi apátság 1055-iki alapítólevele,” 140; OklSz, s.v. “ut,” 1034.

⁸⁸⁵ +1217: *per viam antiquam* (Legénytő / Mönchhof, C. Moson), UB I, 71; 1244: *ibi est via antiqua, per quam itur ad Inched* (Óvár and Inczéd, C. Vas), charter No. 86; 1257: *iuxta viam antiquam, que wlgariter Sohtuch vocatur.... transit prefatam antiquam viam...* (Irény and Örkény, C. Győr), W II, 282-283; 1263: *per unam antiquam viam vadit versus meridiem* (Sáh, C. Vas), UB I, 296; (1283): *iuxta quandam viam antiquam* (Kópháza, C. Sopron), UB II, 163; 1309: *usque ad antiquam viam* (Harka, C. Sopron), UB III, 39; 1331: *ad viam magnam antiquam* (Lipótfalva, C. Vas), UB IV, 96; 1334: *vaderet in viam antiquam* (Zarkad, C. Vas), charter No. 126; 1340: *ad unam viam antiquam, in qua antiqua via, que ad orientem separat terram Abronuk longe currit versus aquilonem* (Mihályfalva, C. Vas), charter No. 77; 1342: *vias antiquas* (Kedhely, C. Sopron), UB IV, 353.

⁸⁸⁶ 1288: *per veterem viam pervenit ad viam publicam, per quam itur ad castrum Rohonch* (Szenese and Rohonc, C. Vas), UB II, 208; 1289: *cadit inquandam viam veterem... Rapachuswt nuncupatam* (Bökény, C. Zala), Zala vm. I, 99; HO I, 80; (1331): *iuxta veterem viam* (Kecsenér and Szécseny, C. Sopron), UB IV, 94.

⁸⁸⁷ 1401: *de dictam Fuen quandam novam viam ad clausuram molendini* (Fövény, C. Fejér), Zs. II/1, No. 960.

⁸⁸⁸ Glaser, “A római utak nevei középkori okleveleinkben,” 317.

⁸⁸⁹ 1231: *ad antiquam viam* (Bobróc and Hódos, C. Liptó), RA No. 482; 1281: *per antiquam viam* (Gáj, C. Turóc), see n. 764; 1283: *per eandem antiquam viam vadit in Heburche (terra Ztoynrete, C. Zólyom)*, RA No. 3245; 1284: *ad antiquam viam, qua itur in Leuche* (Koncsán and Lócse, C. Szepes), HO 1234-1356, 102; RA II, no. 3329; 1291: *transit super viam antiquam* (Bori, C. Hont), F. VI/1, 134; ÁMTF III, s.v. “Bori,” 182; 1294: *per eandem viam vadit versus villam Gumur, et perueniet ad aliam viam antiquam* (Harkács and Gömör, C. Gömör), F. VII/2, 246.

contemporary one? In some cases reference to a technology not applied in medieval Europe provides the necessary information. In the 1255 foundation document of Borsmonostor (C. Sopron; now: Klostermarienberg, Au.) and in the 1237 perambulation of Enyed (C. Sopron, now: unknown) the *via antiqua* is paraphrased by the text as *öttevény*,⁸⁹⁰ which was a term used exclusively to indicate Roman roads in medieval sources.⁸⁹¹ Similarly, the *via antiqua* near Trstenik (C. Záhgráb) characterised as having pavement covered with mortar⁸⁹² cannot be anything else but an ancient Roman road.⁸⁹³ In other cases it is archaeological evidence that aids dating. The 1265 perambulation of Vicsep (C. Esztergom) refers to a *via antiqua* and a *via nova*.⁸⁹⁴ Árpád Period Vicsep was neighboured by Gyilok on the north and Mogyorós on the south.⁸⁹⁵ Vicsep was therefore located east of Nyergesújfalu, at the eastern part where the remains of the ancient *limes* road can be still observed for a 1 kilometre long and for a 1.2 kilometre long section. It is marked by a 15-20 metre wide strip of scattered gravel and a 0.5-1 metre high and 5-6 metre wide embankment.⁸⁹⁶ The *via antiqua* from the perambulation can be identified with the remains of the Roman road, while north of it the *via nova* was a medieval road forming part of the Győr—Buda route.⁸⁹⁷ In cases when the exact age of the “old road” and “new road” cannot be supported by any reliable evidence, these terms can only be used for making comparison, and by no means for absolute dating.

2.9 RIVER-CROSSING PLACES

Although the present part of the dissertation fundamentally deals with the terminology of roads, I felt it necessary to discuss briefly bridges, ferry ports, and fords, as well. Aerial

⁸⁹⁰ 1225: *ad antiquam viam, que vulgo dicitur utwengut* (Borsmonostor, C. Sopron), UB I, 105; 1237: *per quandam antiquam viam que dicitur eetheven* (Enyed and Peresznye, C. Sopron), UB I, 173;

⁸⁹¹ Cf. chapter 2.6.1.4 on *öttevény*.

⁸⁹² 1209: *dirigitur ad viam antiquam cementario opere supereffusam* (C. Gorra), W. XI, 98; Cf. n. 279.

⁸⁹³ Cf. Tóth, “Eötteven seu via antiqua Romanorum,” 199.

⁸⁹⁴ 1265: *iuxta nouam viam; ... iuxta viam antiquam* (Vicsep, C. Esztergom), Mon. Strig. I, 530.

⁸⁹⁵ ÁMTF II, s.v. “Vicsep(cs),” 317.

⁸⁹⁶ MRT 5, 270, site No. 15/16, Fig. 38.

⁸⁹⁷ ÁMTF II, 219.

photographs of hollow ways taken at different parts of Europe clearly demonstrate the way crossing-places gathered roads arriving from various directions, and how roads fanned out again after passing through a watercourse.⁸⁹⁸ Bridges, ferries and fords represent the prolongation of roads over water, which means that the identification of these places yields the larger or smaller nodes of medieval road network.⁸⁹⁹

2.9.1 Bridges

In medieval written sources the term generally used for bridges in Latin is **pons**. Its Hungarian equivalent, **híd**⁹⁰⁰ usually appears as a suffix (*-hyd*, *-hdya*, *-hid*, *-hida*, *-heda*) in the names of settlements called after their bridge, such as Megyehíd (*predium Megehid*, *predium Megyehyd*, *possessio Megehyd*)⁹⁰¹ in County Vas, Barlabáshida (*terra Barlabashyda*)⁹⁰² in County Zala, and Móríchida (*Mauruchhida*,⁹⁰³ *Moruchyda*⁹⁰⁴) in County Győr. Occasionally, *híd* also appears as a prefix (*hyd-*), as in the names of Hídvég (*terra Hyduig*, *predium Hydwegh*)⁹⁰⁵ in County Vas (now: Rábahídvég), or another Hídvég (*villa Hydueg*)⁹⁰⁶ in County Zala (now: a farmstead Balatonhídvépuszta near Kolon) that were called after their being built at the foot or end (Hu. *vég*) of a bridge.⁹⁰⁷

Bridges were certainly most frequently constructed of wood (*pons ligneus*, *fahíd*⁹⁰⁸).

There was, for example, a wooden bridge over the Danube at Óvár (now: Mosonmagyaróvár)

⁸⁹⁸ Ericsson, "Straßen des Mittelalters im archäologischen Befund," 159, Abb. 2;

⁸⁹⁹ Csendes, *Die Straßen Niederösterreichs*, 25-26.

⁹⁰⁰ OklSz, s.v. "híd," 376-377; TESz II, s.v. "híd,," 108-109.

⁹⁰¹ Charter No. 71 - No. 73.

⁹⁰² 1230: *terra Barlabashyda vocata sita iuxta Zala* (Barlabáshida, now part of Pakod, C. Zala), Zala vm. I, 5; 1246: *possessio... Barbashyda*, Zala vm. I, 18.

⁹⁰³ 1251: UB I, 230.

⁹⁰⁴ 1287: HO VI, 324.

⁹⁰⁵ Charter No. 31 - No. 45.

⁹⁰⁶ 1374: *circa quandam viam que iret ad villam Hydueg* (Hídvég, C. Zala), Zala vm. II, 105.

⁹⁰⁷ FNEsz II, s.v. "Rábahídvég," 388.

⁹⁰⁸ The Hungarian term *fahíd* meaning wooden bridge is preserved by the name of the settlement Fahíd located in Transylvanian County Fehér. 1330: *Datum in Fahyd*, A. II, 484; 1346 *Johannes de Fahyd*, A. IV, 564. Cf. ÁMTF II, s.v. "Fahíd," 142; OklSz s.v. "fa-híd," 209.

in County Moson.⁹⁰⁹ Stone bridges (*lapideus pons*, *kőhíd*⁹¹⁰) also existed, but because their construction was more expensive, they were less numerous than timber bridges.⁹¹¹ One stone bridge was found, for example, near Rákos⁹¹² (now: Fertőrákos) in County Sopron. A post-medieval settlement that emerged near the bridge still bears the name Sopronkőhida.⁹¹³ In addition, the name of Kőhídpordány (*Kuhidparadan*,⁹¹⁴ *Kuhydparadan*,⁹¹⁵ *possessio Kwhydparadan*,⁹¹⁶ *possessio Kuhidparadan*,⁹¹⁷ now: Wulkaprodorsorf, Au.), found in County Sopron, also preserves the memory of a nearby stone bridge. There is evidence to a *hidas árok* (i.e. a ditch with a bridge) at Hof⁹¹⁸ (now: Hof, Au.) that might be interpreted as a construction that enabled a cart cross over a channel of water.⁹¹⁹

Within the territory of Western Transdanubia, there are several data on bridges from the period between the eleventh and the mid-fourteenth centuries. The Rába (*flumen / fluvius Raba*),⁹²⁰ the greatest river of the region after the Danube, had bridges documented at Hídvég,⁹²¹ Rum⁹²² (C. Vas), Móríchida,⁹²³ and Győr⁹²⁴ (C. Győr). In County Vas bridges are known to have been constructed over the Gyöngyös (*Gungys, aqua Gungus*) at Megyehíd,⁹²⁵

⁹⁰⁹ 1273: *rex Boemie... transiens Danubium per pontem ligneum usque Altenburch, pervenit, quod castellum expugnans eiectis incolis suis munivit*, ÁMTF IV, s.v. “Óvár,” 171.

⁹¹⁰ OklSz s.v. “kő-híd,” 530.

⁹¹¹ Ilona Bolla, “A középkori magyarországi hidak történetéhez” [To the history of medieval bridges in Hungary], in *Ünnepi tanulmányok Sinkovics István 70. születésnapjára, 1980 augusztus 19* [Studies in honour of István Sinkovics on his seventieth birthday, 19 August 1980], ed. Iván Bertényi (Budapest: ELTE Sokszorosítóüzem, 1980), 33-43, esp. 34.

⁹¹² 1254: *descenderet per lapideum pontem Sasaag et iret usque ad metas Peresnye* (Rákos, C. Sopron), UB I, 234.

⁹¹³ FNEsz II, s.v. “Sopronkőhida,” 490.

⁹¹⁴ 1307: UB III, 30.

⁹¹⁵ 1308: UB III, 33.

⁹¹⁶ 1327: UB III, 242.

⁹¹⁷ 1327: UB III, 244.

⁹¹⁸ 1208: *ad Hidas arch* (Hof, C. Moson), W. VI, 324.

⁹¹⁹ Bolla, “A középkori magyarországi hidak történetéhez,” 34.

⁹²⁰ 1283: *pons*, charter No. 132; 1291: *pons*, charter No. 133.

⁹²¹ (1286): *pons Hydwegh* (Hídvég, C. Vas), charter No. 35.

⁹²² 1313: *in Sylva Raba prope pontem possessionis Rum* (Rum, C. Vas), No. 110; 1350: *cum ponte super ipsum fluvium Raba in possessione sua Rum existente* (Rum, C. Vas), No. 114.

⁹²³ 1242: *datum apud Pontem Mauricij* (Móríchida, C. Győr), W. VII, 126; 1251: *Maurichhida*, UB I, 230; 1279: *datum in ponte Mauricii*, UB III, 283; 1287: *Moruchyda*, HO VI, 324. Cf. ÁMTF II, s.v. “Móríchida,” 609-610; Herényi s.v. “Móríchida,” 363.

⁹²⁴ 1208: *supra pontem Raba* (Győr, C. Győr), UB I, 55.

⁹²⁵ Cf. n. 901.

the Sorok (*aqua Sork*) at Polány,⁹²⁶ the Mákfa (*Makua*),⁹²⁷ the Velemér (*aqua Welemyr*) at Velemér,⁹²⁸ and the Kerka (*aqua Karka*) at Kerca⁹²⁹ (now: Kercaszomor). In County Zala the Zala River (*fluvius Zala*) had bridges at Barlabáshida⁹³⁰ (now: part of Pakod), at Kehida⁹³¹ (now: Kehidakustány), and at Zalavár.⁹³² There were also bridges over the Tornova (*aqua Turnua*) at the estate of Orbán⁹³³ (near Egeraracs), the Zápolya (*Zapola*) at Bille (now: Mindszent puszta),⁹³⁴ and the modern Válicka at Oltárc.⁹³⁵ In County Moson bridges are known to have been constructed over the Leitha (*fluvius Saar*) at Göncölhida⁹³⁶ (now: Bruckneudorf, Au.) and Óvár,⁹³⁷ the Milej (*aqua Miley*) at Lébény,⁹³⁸ and the Pinka (*Pinkova*) at Mindszent (now: Pinkamindszent).⁹³⁹ In County Győr the Rábca had bridges at Abda⁹⁴⁰ and Kenézhida⁹⁴¹ (now: unknown).

The boundary between Hungary and the Holy Roman Empire was marked by the Morva/March, Lajta/Leitha, and Lapincs/Lafnitz Rivers.⁹⁴² East of the border, rivers and streams also functioned as natural boundaries and were incorporated in the *gyepű* lines. Bridges that enabled crossing over watercourses were of great strategic importance, which needed to be protected by fortifications, castles, and guards. Among the guards of the western

⁹²⁶ 1267: *pons Bese* (Polány, C. Vas), charter No. 99.

⁹²⁷ 1283: *pons*, charter No. 132.

⁹²⁸ 1273: *pons Torsey* (Velemér, C. Vas), charter No. 134.

⁹²⁹ 1257: *ad locum, qui dicitur Bokonhyda, ubi cadit in aquam Karka* (Kerca, C. Zala), W. VII, 466.

⁹³⁰ 1246: *cum duobus molendinis et ponte in fluvio Zale* (Barlabáshida, C. Zala), Zala vm. I, 17. See also, Zala vm. I, 18; Zala vm. I, 19.

⁹³¹ 1232: *datum in ponte Ketud* (Kehida, C. Zala), W. XI, 251; 1322: *villa Kedhyda iuxta fluvium Zala*, Zala vm. I, 160.

⁹³² 1237-40: *In eodem comitatu de Zala iuxta fluvium eiusdem nominis [ex citra] et ultra pontem habet ecclesia Sancti Martini terras in duobus locis* (Zalavár, C. Zala and Pannonhalma, C. Győr), PRT I, 779.

⁹³³ 1237: *ad aquam Turnua in superiorem partem pontis (terra Vrbani, near Egeraracs, C. Zala)*, Zala vm. I, 14.

⁹³⁴ 1264: *in ponte Zapola* (Bille, C. Zala), W. VIII, 117.

⁹³⁵ 1239: *pons Dunai* (Oltárc, C. Zala), Zala vm. I, 16.

⁹³⁶ Anon. [ca. 1200 ad saec. X.]: *ad pontem Guncil* (Göncölhida, C. Moson), SRH I, 113; ÁMTF IV, s.v. "Bruck," 145.

⁹³⁷ (1270): *super portu pontis fluvii Saar* (Óvár, C. Moson), UB I, 373.

⁹³⁸ 1208: *venit ad pontem aque Miley* (Lébény, C. Moson), UB I, 53. Cf. ÁMTF IV, s.v. "Lébény," 155-157.

⁹³⁹ 1221: *sylva vero, que est super Pinkova incipiens de ponte qui est sub ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum* (Mindszent, C. Vas), charter No. 79.

⁹⁴⁰ 1280: *apud pontem Abada* (Abda, C. Győr), UB II, 143; 1291: *datum iuxta pontem Abada*, HO VIII, 446.

⁹⁴¹ 1208: *in ponte Kenez super Rabca* (Kenézhida, C. Győr), UB I, 55.

⁹⁴² ÁMTF IV, 136-137.

border the guards of bridges formed a separate group.⁹⁴³ The 1280 letter of donation by King Ladislas IV (1272-1290), for example, mentions the guards of the bridge over the Rába in County Vas (*custodes pontis Rabe de comitatu Castri Ferrei*) who had a landed property by Hídvég.⁹⁴⁴ At bridges the enemy penetrating into the country could be easily held up. That is the reason why they often became the sites of battles or played an important role in their outcome. The correspondence between an Austrian lord (*baro*) and Duke Frederick of Austria and Styria in 1235 shows that the former planned to enter and attack Hungary by constructing bridges (*struunt pontes ubicumque vident aditum terre nostre*) over one of the rivers on the frontier.⁹⁴⁵ In addition, as it appears in a charter issued by King Ladislas IV, the bridge of Abda (*pons Abada*) over the Rábca was the site of a battle between his father, King Stephen V (1270-1272), and the Bohemian king.⁹⁴⁶

Bridges that directed communication to one point were also ideal places for collecting tolls from merchants for whom there may not have been other possibilities to cross the river. Bridge tolls originally belonged to the king, who could exempt the church, towns, and lay lords from paying them, or donate them the privilege of collecting the customs for themselves. In 1208 King Andreas II exempted the Lébény Monastery from the bridge toll and the thirtieth (*tricesima*)⁹⁴⁷ at Kenézhida (C. Győr) over the Rábca (*in ponte Kenez super Rabca*).⁹⁴⁸ In 1283 King Ladislas IV confirmed the privilege of the Vasvár chapter that its

⁹⁴³ Bolla, “A középkori magyarországi hidak történetéhez,” 33.

⁹⁴⁴ Charter No. 32.

⁹⁴⁵ C. 1235: UB I, 167.

⁹⁴⁶ 1280: *apud pontem Abada in exercitu generali, quem dominus rex St[ephanus] pater noster contra regem moverat, in quo bello dictus rex Boemorum fuge remedio se a facie patris nostri occultavit, in ipso bello idem Rubinus ex multiplicibus suis actibus coram oculis patris nostri multipliciter meruit commendari*, UB II, 143.

⁹⁴⁷ In the Árpád Period the thirtieth was a royal duty of 3.3 per cent levied on trade. From the late fourteenth century on it was a customs duty collected at the frontier gates of the realm. Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 72; Kristó, *Tájszemlélet és térszervezés*, 199; DRMH I/3, 134; Weisz, *Vámok és vámszedés*, 8-9. On the thirtieth in detail see, Domanovszky, “A harmincadvám eredete,” 245-298; Zsigmond Pál Pach, “*A harmincadvám eredete*” [“The origins of the thirtieth”] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990); Zsigmond Pál Pach, “A harmincadvám az Anjou korban és a 14-15. század fordulóján” [The thirtieth in the Angevin Period and at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries] *Történelmi Szemle* 41 (1999): 231-276.

⁹⁴⁸ 1208: *concessimus eciam hec ad petitionem... nichil ex hiis supra pontem Raba pro tributo et pro par[te] trice]sima liceat eis dare; hoc idem iubemus fieri in ponte Kenéz super Rabca* (Kenézhida, C. Győr), UB I, 55. It

hospites in Vasvár (C. Vas) and other people belonging to the chapter can use the bridges of the Rába and Mákfa (*fluminum Rabe et Macua*) freely and safely without paying for it (*absque tributo*).⁹⁴⁹ In 1270 King Stephen V donated Conrad of Óvár the right of collecting tolls at the bridge over the Leitha at Óvár (C. Moson) that was regularly used by merchants travelling to and arriving from Austria with their commodities.⁹⁵⁰ As a final example, we can refer to a forged charter dated to 1019, which declares that King Stephen I donated the right of collecting toll at the bridges of Kolon (C. Zala) to the Zalavár Monastery.⁹⁵¹

Charters from the early thirteenth century on testify to a growing number of bridges constructed by lay landowners.⁹⁵² Place names preserve the memory of such private bridges. The name Mórighida (C. Győr), for example, goes back to a bridge constructed by *magister* Mauricius from the Pok kindred in the first half of the thirteenth century.⁹⁵³ Barlabáshida⁹⁵⁴ (C. Zala) was a landed property that belonged to Barlabás. In 1246 Endre son of Barlabás (*Endre filius Barlabe*) sold the estate together with the bridge (*híd*),⁹⁵⁵ apparently constructed by his father.⁹⁵⁶ There are also less evident examples, such as Kehida (C. Zala) that was an estate with a bridge belonging to the “second son” (*ketöd*) of a landowner.⁹⁵⁷

Bridges were constructed by landowners on their estates to be used by themselves and their people. Others were allowed to cross over that bridge in return for customs, which was meant to cover the expenses of the constructions and repairs. Nevertheless, it raised problems

must be noted here that this is the earliest known reference to the thirtieth in Hungary. Weisz, *Vámok és vámszedés*, 8.

⁹⁴⁹ 1283, charter No. 132.

⁹⁵⁰ (1270): *super portu pontis fluvii Saar, quod est subtus castrum eiusdem magistri Corraldi prenotatum, a descendantibus de Austria cum suis mercimoniis per ipsum portum pontis fluvii Saar transeuntibus vel in Austriam asscendentibus tributum*, UB I, 373.

⁹⁵¹ +1019: *Coloniensis aque et pontis civitatis* (Kolon, C. Zala), DHA I, 91; RA I, No. 7.

⁹⁵² Bolla, “A középkori magyarországi hidak történetéhez,” 35.

⁹⁵³ See n. 923. FNEsz II, s.v. “Mórighida,” 159.

⁹⁵⁴ See n. 902.

⁹⁵⁵ 1246: *terram suam in comitatu Zaladiensi existentem, que vulgo Barla(bashy)da nuncupatur, cum duobus molendinis et ponte in fluvio Zale*, Zala vm. I, 17. See also, Holub, “Zala vármegye vámhelyei és úthálózata a középkorban,” 50-54.

⁹⁵⁶ Another settlement in County Zala called Barlahida also preserves the memory of a landowner Barlabás and his bridge. FNEsz I, s.v. “Barlahida,” 169.

⁹⁵⁷ FNEsz I, s.v. “Kehida,” 705. On its bridge toll see, Holub, “Zala vármegye vámhelyei és úthálózata középkorban,” 53.

from various aspects. The construction of a new bridge could collide with the interests of the king and those who were already collecting tolls at their own bridge or ferry port by the same river.⁹⁵⁸ In addition, it could occur that landowners neglected the management of their bridges while still collecting money from those who used them. This latter phenomenon could have been so common that in 1435 King Sigismund (1387-1437) ordered the regular upkeep of bridges and ferry ports and levied penalties and fines on those who were still not willing to do so:

Those...who collect tolls for bridges and ferries must always take diligent care to keep the bridges and ferries in good repair so that the travellers and toll-payers can cross these bridges and ferries freely and unimpeded without any hindrance; those who neglect to do so should be forced by suitable penalties and fines issued by the county's *ispán*...as often as the negligence of the toll-collectors makes it appropriate, to make the necessary repairs and maintenance on their bridges and ferries.

Sigismund, cap. 21⁹⁵⁹

2.9.2 Ferry ports

Ferries (*portus*, *rév*⁹⁶⁰) were common alternatives to bridges in getting from one bank of a river to another, especially when the riverbed was so wide that it could not be bridged over. In Western Transdanubia there are written data on the existence of several Árpád Period ferry ports, such as Bogát⁹⁶¹ by the Göngyös Stream (*Gungus*), Polány⁹⁶² by the Sorok Stream (*aqua Sork*) in County Vas; Szentgyörgy⁹⁶³ (now: Juraj u Trnju, Cr.) by the Drava River (*Draua*), Béla⁹⁶⁴ (now: Belica, Cr.) by the Béla Stream (*aqua Bela*) in County Zala; Vág⁹⁶⁵ by

⁹⁵⁸ Bolla, "A középkori magyarországi hidak történetéhez," 35-36.

⁹⁵⁹ Cap. 21: *Habentes insuper et exigentes tributa ratione pontis vel navium pontes huiusmodi aut naves sub debita reformatione semper studeant conservare taliter, quod viatores et tributa solventes absque impedimento per pontes et naves eorum transitum liberum et non impeditum facere possint; id vero facere negligentes penis et gravaminibus opportunis ad debitam reformationem et conservationem suorum pontium et navium in dictis congregationibus promulgandis per comites eorum parochiales astringantur toties, quoties eorum negligentia exigente fuerit opportunum.* DRMH I/2, 75.

⁹⁶⁰ OklSz, s.v. "rév," 810-811; TESz III, s.v. "rév," 401.

⁹⁶¹ 1249: *ibi iuxta Gungus habent metas apud unam magnum portum* (Bogát, C. Vas), charter No. 6.

⁹⁶² 1267: *portus* (Polány, C. Vas), charter No. 99.

⁹⁶³ 1267: *decimam partem tributii portus nostri de sancto Georgio super Drauam* (Szentgyörgy, C. Zala), Hokl 53.

⁹⁶⁴ 1254: *peruenit ad portum aque Bela et transit ipsam aquam per ipsum portum* (Béla, C. Zala), HO VI, 83.

⁹⁶⁵ 1263: *de portu Raba* (Vág, C. Sopron), UB I, 283.

the Rába River in County Sopron; Mosonvár⁹⁶⁶ (now: Mosonmagyaróvár) by the Leitha River in County Moson; Rábaj⁹⁶⁷ (now: Rábaszenthimály) and Árpás⁹⁶⁸ by the Rába River, as well as Kajár⁹⁶⁹ (now: Kajárpec) by the Füzegy Stream (*Fizeg*) in County Győr.

Ferries not only worked on watercourses, but also on major lakes. At Rákos⁹⁷⁰ (now: Fertőrákos) in County Sopron there was a port by the Lake Fertő that might have been in connection with the port at Illmic⁹⁷¹ (now: Ilmitz, Au.) on the opposite shore of the lake. At Burul⁹⁷² (near Zalavár) there was a ferry port on Lake Balaton, while at Lébény⁹⁷³ (now: Lébénymiklós) the Sóstó (*Zoustou*) had a port.

The construction and repair of ferry ports and conveyances imposed costs on those who operated them, and that was a legal ground (*causa rationabilis*) for tolls to be collected at ports, similarly to bridges.⁹⁷⁴ As opposed to that, by the fourteenth century the maintenance of roads was no longer regarded to be such a well-grounded reason as to collect customs for it. Thus King Louis I (1342-1382) prohibited the collection of the so-called dry tolls:

No unlawful tolls, moreover, must be levied on dry land and on rivers on those ascending and descending; only those who cross by bridge or in ferries must pay, for we have realized that nobles and nonnobles of our kingdom are greatly, indeed, too much oppressed by these tolls.

Louis I, cap. 8⁹⁷⁵

⁹⁶⁶ 1274: *in portu Saar supra Mosonium* (Mosonvár, C. Moson), UB II, 59.

⁹⁶⁷ 1234: *ad dictum fluvium Raba a portu, vulgo Gonoysreuy dicitur* (Rábaj, C. Győr), W. VI, 553, ÁMTF II, s.v. "Rába(j)," 620.

⁹⁶⁸ +1037 [before 1240]: *tributa...de portu Arpas in Raba* (Árpás, C. Győr), charter No. 148; 1322: *tributum portus seu pontis... Arpas vocata super fluvium Raba stantis*, PRT VIII, 305. The ferry port was found where the Árpás Stream met the Rába. See, 1086: *vadit per Arpas ad portum, qui ducit ad orientem, ubi angulatur predictus fluvius Arpas*. PRT VIII, 268. Cf. ÁMTF II, s.v. "Árpás," 578-579.

⁹⁶⁹ 1086: *ad portum Fizeg* (Kajár, C. Győr), PRT VIII, 268.

⁹⁷⁰ 1254: *super portu seu tributo portus, videlicet stagni et lacus Ferthew* (Rákos, C. Sopron), UB I, 233-234.

⁹⁷¹ 1299: *ad portum arundineti per aquas Ferteu* (Illmic, C. Sopron), UB II, 326.

⁹⁷² +1024: *insula aque Balatini una cum silvis adiacentibus villis ipsius ecclesie Zalauar et Burull nuncupatis, cum duodecim piscatoribus in portu eiusdem aque commorantibus*, DHA I, 101-102.

⁹⁷³ 1208: *portus qui dicitur Boldazorma* (Lébény, C. Moson), UB I, 53.

⁹⁷⁴ Holub, "Zala vármegye vámhelyei és úthálózata a középkorban," 46; Weisz, *Vámok és vámszedés*, 10-11.

⁹⁷⁵ Cap. 8: *Tributa etiam iniusta super terris siccis et fluviiis ab infra descendantibus et supra euntibus non exigantur, nisi in pontibus et navigiis ab ultra transeuntibus persolvantur, cum in eisdem nobiles et ignobiles regni nostri multo et nimium percepimus agravari*. DRMH I/2, 10-11.

As the law quoted above demonstrates, from the mid-fourteenth century on customs were allowed to be collected only at bridges and ferry ports, while tolls on roads and waterways were regarded unlawful (*tributa iniusta*).⁹⁷⁶

2.9.3 Fords

The use of bridges and ferries were the only possibilities to pass through a deep watercourse or an extended body of water. Small rivulets and the shallow parts of streams and rivers, however, may as well have been crossed at fords (*vadum*) by wading or in a vehicle. In written sources they are also referred to as crossing places (*transitus*).⁹⁷⁷ Fords were also alternatively called ports (*vadum seu portus*),⁹⁷⁸ which suggests that at times of floods travellers and goods were transported across the river by ferries. At times of low water level, however, these places functioned as mere fords.

Medieval fords can only infrequently be identified with archaeological methods. The few uncovered examples, however, demonstrate that they were artificially managed. Sinking in the slob was prevented by placing stone and timber across the river bed. In addition, the site of the ford was sometimes marked by signs placed on riverbanks, so that it could be found in every circumstance.⁹⁷⁹ In Hungary medieval fords have not been archaeologically investigated. Nevertheless, in medieval documents one finds references to stony (*lapideus*, *saxosus*, *köves*, *kövecses*) fords,⁹⁸⁰ where stone might refer to the natural river drift, but may

⁹⁷⁶ Cf. DRMH I/2, n. 38, 207.

⁹⁷⁷ 1336: *vadum seu transitum cuiusdam riuuli Zumurduk dicti (possessio Ruren, C. Ugocsa)*, F. IX/2, 522; 1389: *in vado seu transitu fluvii Mura (Szemenye, C. Zala)*, Zs. II, No. 944, MOL DL 7469; 1421: *transitus seu vadum cuiusdam alvei (Vásárút and Nyárasd, C. Pozsony)*, Zs. VIII, No. 874; MOL DF 227726.

⁹⁷⁸ 1240: *in aqua nomine Bytua, que est portus sive vadum (Podár, C. Veszprém)*, HO VIII, 422; 1301: *prima meta incipit in quodam vado seu portu super fluuium Sygriche vocatum (Zsigra, C. Szepes)*, HO V, 88; 1407: *vadum, seu portus inpraedicto fluuio Fogsar vocato a parte Comitatus Wesprimiensis existens (villa Intd, C. Somogy)*, F. X/4, 630.

⁹⁷⁹ See, for example, Ericsson, "Straßen des Mittelalters im archäologischen Befund," 158, Abb.3.

⁹⁸⁰ 1263: *tendit sursum ad fluuium Olchua vocatum, quem transeundo per portum siccum et saxosum, vadit per quamdam vallem sursum (Zólyom, C. Zólyom)*, F. IV/3, 143; Cf. Tivadar Ortway, *Magyarország régi vízrajza a XIII-ik század végéig* [The old hydrography of Hungary to the end of the thirteenth century] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1882) vol. II, "siccus, saxosus portus," 215 (hereafter Ortway); 1390: *penes vadum Keueches reu vocatum (Szöllös, Ardó, and Rakaz, C. Ugocsa)*, Zs. I. No. 1554, MOL DL 70678; 1408: *ad*

as well indicate heaps of stone or large pieces of stone placed at the shallows of the river in order to aid communication across.

In the territory of Western Hungary I discovered only two Árpád Period references to fords in written records. First, the perambulation of Flanschendorf (now: part of Bratislava) from 1225 started the description of the boundaries of the estate with a ford of the Danube (*vadum Danubii*) located at the end of Nyárssziget island.⁹⁸¹ Secondly, the 1249 perambulation of Hermán (now: part of Szombathely as Gyöngyöshermán, C. Vas) holds reference to a great ford (*vadum magnum*) in the Gyöngyös (*aqua Gungus*).⁹⁸² The low number of data on fords (particularly in comparison with bridges and ferry ports) might be explained by the fact they were not places of toll-collection, and therefore in written documents they were only of interest as boundary marks.

2.10 CONCLUSIONS

In *Part 2* I examined the meaning and use of Árpád Period terms referring to roads. I set up eight criteria for the investigation, which yielded data on the hierarchical position, legal status, function, relative topography, material, morphology, natural environment, and dating of roads. The list of these criteria might be continued without end; however, these particular categories cover the most frequently occurring terms. Since I collected data mainly from the territory of Western Transdanubia and occasionally from Slavonia, the vocabulary is relevant only for these territories although the general conclusions and observations may also be relevant for the whole territory of the Hungarian Kingdom.

Documents from pragmatic literacy contain numerous examples of roads being identified in different ways. That multiplicity of denominations is represented by (1)

vadum Kewesrew vocatum (Bogács, C. Borsod), Zs. II, No. 6463, MOL DF 210204; 1448: *apud vadum Danubii, quod vulgo lapideum dicitur*, F. XI, 120.

⁹⁸¹ 1225: *prima meta incipit ab oriente ad vadum Danubii finem habet insula nomine Nyassciget iuxta viam que venit de Musunio*, (Flanschendorf, C. Moson), UB I, 106. Cf. ÁMTF IV, s.v. “Flanschendorf,” 147.

⁹⁸² Charter No. 29.

appellative terms with multiple attributes: e.g. *via regni magna lapidosa* (1266);⁹⁸³ (2) appellative terms with alternative attributes: e.g. *magna via sive publica* (1299);⁹⁸⁴ (3) two terms with different meanings (the second of which might also be a hodyonym) either in the same language or in different languages: e.g. *via antiqua, que gregum via dicitur* (1272)⁹⁸⁵; *magna via Vasarusvth dicta* (1344).⁹⁸⁶ (4) two terms with synonymous meanings: e.g. *via herbosa, seu pedestri semita* (1258)⁹⁸⁷; as well as (5) a Latin term and its vernacular equivalent: e.g. *semita vulgo Gyaloguth dicta* (1340),⁹⁸⁸ *crucis via que vulgariter quiristuut dicitur* (1340).⁹⁸⁹

What do the multiple denominations reveal? Firstly, they demonstrate that the same track could be called different things – see especially points (1) and (3). For instance, the term *via regni magna lapidosa* reflects three different features of the same road: its legal status (*regni*), its size or position within the hierarchy of roads (*magna*), and the material it was made from (*lapidosa*). These three attributes comprise a single road. Another example is the *via antiqua* mentioned above, which was, at the same time, a *via gregum*: here one term reflects the age and the other expresses the function of one and the same track. One road could therefore be called in many different ways, each name focusing on different features of the same route. The denomination finally appearing in the text could depend, among other things, on the aim or contents of the text. Secondly, multiple denominations – especially the synonymous or related ones as in points (2), (4) and (5) – are extremely useful from a semasiological point of view as they help us uncover the meaning of terms. In chapter 2.5.1, for example, I point out that although the Hungarian term *keresztút* fundamentally referred to

⁹⁸³ Cf. n. 190.

⁹⁸⁴ Cf. n. 172.

⁹⁸⁵ Cf. n. 577.

⁹⁸⁶ Cf. n. 399.

⁹⁸⁷ Cf. n. 864.

⁹⁸⁸ Cf. n. 660.

⁹⁸⁹ Cf. n. 736.

crossroads (*via in formam crucis facta*),⁹⁹⁰ there is also evidence for its use in the sense of bifurcation (*divisio duarum viarum*),⁹⁹¹ It reminds us that although one can define the meanings of appellative terms, the definitions have to be understood with relative flexibility. The denominations that – from a set of synonymous or related terms – finally appeared in a written document may not only reflect conscious choice but also the scribe’s personal preferences, the vernacular dialect he spoke, or his command of Latin language.

Within the categories I set up for the classification of roads, the hierarchy of roads stands out in many respects. In this case, the denominations themselves do not necessarily reveal what level of hierarchy a given road belonged to. Instead, it is imperative to generalize from individual cases. The set of terms associated with each level of hierarchy represent only tendencies – in this way a *via magna* tended to be a long-distance or a provincial route, while a *semita* was often a local route – but the groups are far from being clean-cut. In addition, because every single road belonged to a particular hierarchical level, this category inevitably overlaps with the other categories established above.

Legal rights and obligations attached to roads reveal a more fragmented picture in Árpád Period Hungary compared to the Roman Period. Ancient Romans recognized that roads suitable for traffic were of fundamental importance for supporting political organization, military expansion and control, as well as the economic growth of the Roman Empire. Consequently, planning and construction took place in accordance with pre-defined standards, and the proprietorship and maintenance of roads were legally regulated. In contrast, Árpád Period roads in Hungary gradually developed out of the political, military, and economic needs of the realm while issues related to roads were not legally regulated. The laws of the Hungarian kings dealt with roads and bridges only from the fifteenth century on in connection with tolls. Authority over the roads was at all times closely connected to ownership of the

⁹⁹⁰ Cf. n. 735.

⁹⁹¹ Cf. n. 740.

land, which suggests that in early Árpád Period Hungary – similarly to contemporary England (see chapter 2.2.1) – all roads belonged to the king. Thus it was only with the rise of private landed properties that private roads came into existence. These private roads were – due to their very nature – primarily local links, or at most regional routes. On the other hand, long-distance roads remained under royal control and in public use (*via/strata publica, via regia*).

The greatest and most varied group of road denominations is related to the functions of roads. These terms illustrate best how indispensable roads were in every aspect of life from military campaigns, through trade and agriculture, to religious practice and burial of the dead. Mobility was a must for medieval people and the network of roads provided the background for that. Terms related to the functions of roads frequently reflect the types of products transported on them (e.g. salt, wine, hay, or stone) or the animals (e.g. cattle, horses) driven along the road. Different functions represented different requirements for the roads. Military routes, for example, needed to have wide tracks and many straight sections that enabled military troops to move rapidly along them. Market roads needed to be of relatively good quality to allow buyers and sellers access to markets with their goods, carried by wagons or pack-animals each week. A solid surface must have been both a requirement and a consequence of transporting heavy loads with salt and stone routes. Drove roads must have appeared as particularly wide natural paths as the herds of animals certainly found their own way when driven to pasture lands and back. As opposed to that, church roads and corpse roads must have been narrow footpaths that provided the most direct and/or easiest way to go on foot between two settlements.

Roads named after the means of transport reflect different degrees of mobility and accessibility. The applied means of travel and transport required a given width and quality of roads. It is not surprising that in western European law (e.g. *Coutumes de Beauvaisis, Leges Henrici primi, Sachsenspiegel*) road types were often defined by wagons: footpaths could not

be accessed by wagons but only on foot, cart roads were wide enough for only one wagon, while on public highways even two wagons could pass side by side. The development of vehicles over time set ever increasing requirements for the roads both in terms of width and quality, something often reflected by what the roads are called. The Magyars learned about the wheel long before their conquest of the Carpathian Basin⁹⁹² suggesting that four-wheel wagons and two-wheel carts were used for transportation in the Hungarian Kingdom from the very beginning of the Árpád Period. Such vehicles required cart roads, the existence of which is attested by terms such as *via currus*, *via curruum*, and *szekérút*. The mid-thirteenth century saw the rise of an especially large four-wheeled wagon type, the *mázsaszekér*. This wagon could carry up to six times as many goods as a common wagon. These vehicles were primarily used in foreign trade. Thus the use of these wagons must be connected with long-distance trade routes, which must have been especially broad roads. The coaches (Hu. *kocsi*) invented in fifteenth-century Hungary demanded roads of better quality and with more even surface than simple carts and wagons. The new types of roads brought about by the technical developments associated with mobility continued through eighteenth-century postal ways⁹⁹³ until the time of today's modern motorways.

Finally, it should be emphasized that – as already pointed out at the beginning of this sub-conclusion – which attributes of roads appeared in written sources was dependent on a great variety of factors. In illustration there is the term *libera via* (discussed in chapter 2.2.2.2), which can generally be found in juridical documents (e.g. *litterae super iuram / iudicii impensione / inquisitoriae / adiudicatoriae*) dealing with cases of violent trespass committed on roads. These sources relate that the crime in question was committed on the open road, thus making the crime seem even worse. In a letter of perambulation, the same

⁹⁹² Cf. n. 680.

⁹⁹³ The development of postal ways in the eighteenth century brought with it a new unit of length, the so-called post station (Ge. *Poststation*, Hu. *postaállomás*) that indicated the distance between two post stations, and was equivalent to 2 Austrian miles or 15.17 kilometres. Bogdán, *Régi magyar mértékek*, 59.

road might appear as a *via magna*, a *strata terrea*, or a *horhosút*, because from the point of view of these latter types of documents the size, material, and morphology of the road was a more important feature than its legal status. Furthermore, it must also be borne in mind that roads were multifunctional spaces that display great differences both topographically and chronologically. A long-distance route running through the whole country may have been used as a market road at the regional level or as a drove road at the local level, depending on how long a section of the same road is under consideration. In addition, the character of roads could also change over time. For example, a provincial or regional market road could grow into a frequented foreign trade route. On the other hand, roads could also lose their importance so that a stone route frequented by wagons carrying cubes of stone by the tons could, for instance, devolve into a mere footpath if the quarry was abandoned for some reason. The above data demonstrate how varied a set of relationships the denominations of Árpád Period roads reflect and how complex (and also rewarding) a task their interpretation is.

3. LANDSCAPE FEATURES OF WESTERN TRANSDANUBIA

The present part of the dissertation deals with those landscape features that existed already before the Hungarians conquered the Carpathian Basin, and therefore fundamentally defined the formation of the medieval roads system from the beginnings. They are the first and foremost the relief and hydrological features; in addition to which – having the territory of Transdanubia once been part of the Roman Empire – the ancient Roman roads must also be considered.

3.1 RELIEF AND THE REGIONAL DIVISION OF THE LANDSCAPE

Western Transdanubia is one of the most versatile parts of Hungary concerning its land surface. The western borders of Counties Moson, Sopron, and Vas (and at the same time that of Hungary) are marked by the chain of mountains stretching at the feet of the Alps. To the east there are moderately hilly and flat territories, split up by the valleys of rivers and streams descending from the Fore-Alps. The relief naturally divided the landscape into territorial units. That division was recognised by man living in the landscape long it before scientific geographical landscape investigations.⁹⁹⁴ In the following chapters I will describe the relief of Western Transdanubia by historical-ethnographical regions.

⁹⁹⁴ On geographical division of the Hungary into macro, meso and micro regions see, Béla Bulla, “Magyarország tájai” [The landscapes of Hungary], *MTAK* (II) 12 (1962): 1-20. For the fundamental differences between geographical and ethnographical territorial division, see Kósa and Filep, *A magyar nép táji-történelmi tagolódása*, 45-46; For historical perception of the landscape in medieval Hungary see, Kristó, *Tájszemlélet és térszervezés*, 14-51.

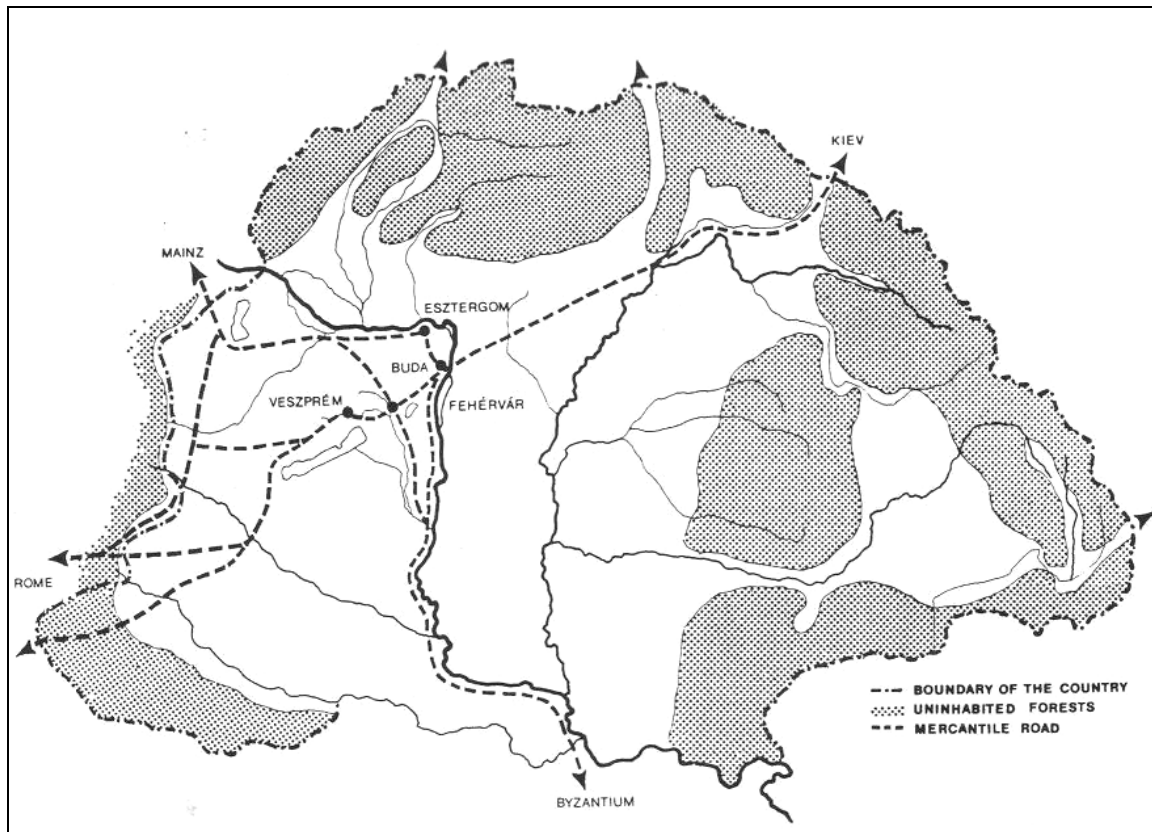


Fig. 29. Natural passes and foreign trade routes of the Hungarian Kingdom in the 10th-13th centuries (After Kralovánszky 1990,⁹⁹⁵ 53).

3.1.1 The Fore-Alps

The Fore-Alps,⁹⁹⁶ involving the Leitha, Rozália, Lánzsér, Sopron, Borostyánkő, and Kőszeg Mountains, represented a natural border of Hungary to the west. Communication across that chain of mountains was limited to the natural passes and river valleys in between that functioned as gates. In the following section I give an overview of these mountains from north to south.

⁹⁹⁵ See n. 1350.

⁹⁹⁶ Béla Bulla, *Magyarország természeti földrajza* [The physical geography of Hungary] (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1962), 105-106; László Ádám and Sándor Marosi, eds., *A Kisalföld és a Nyugat-magyarországi peremvidék* [The Little Hungarian Plain and the western confines of Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975), 354.

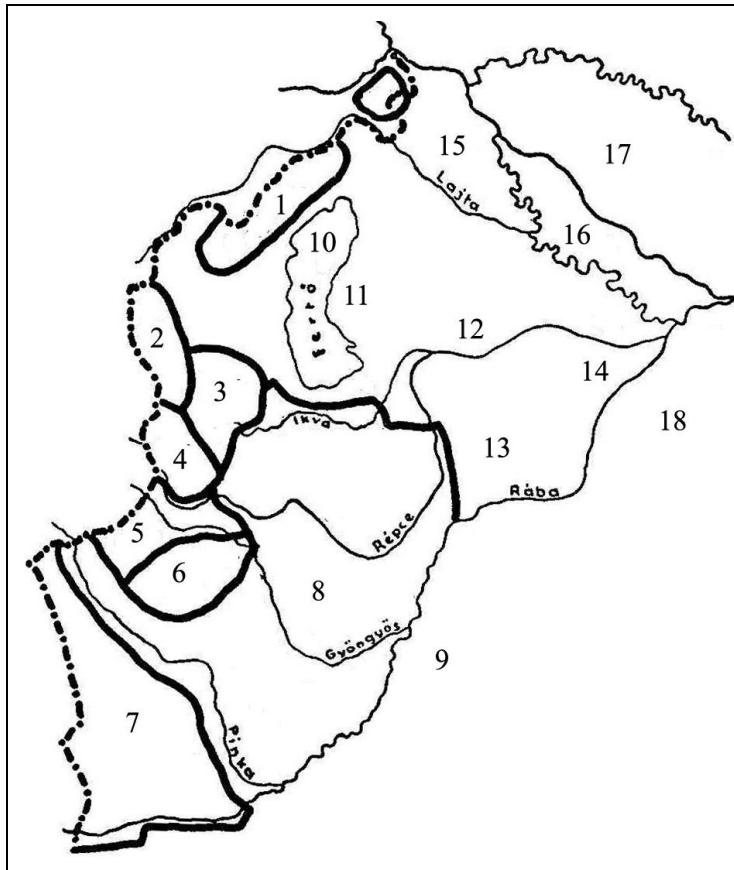


Fig. 30. The regions of Western Hungary (after Kogutowicz 1936,⁹⁹⁷ 224, Fig. 58)

1. Leitha Mountains
2. Rozália Mountains
3. Sopron Mountains
4. Lánzsér Mountains
5. Borostyánkő Mountains
6. Kőszeg Mountains
7. The hills of Vas
8. Völgység
9. Hegyhát
10. Lake Fertő
11. Fertőzug
12. Hanság
13. Rábaköz
14. Tóköz
15. Fenyér
16. Szigetköz
17. Csallóköz
18. Sokoró

The *Leitha Mountains*⁹⁹⁸ (*Litahaberge, Mons Saar*)⁹⁹⁹ (Ge. Leithagebirge, Hu. Lajta hegység) belonged to the territories of Counties Moson and Sopron. It was stretching from Königshof/Besenyő (now: part of Steinbruch, Au.) to Szarvkő (now: Hornstein, Au.) as a thirty-kilometre-long range (Fig. 30, No. 1-6) separating the Vienna Valley and the Little (Hungarian) Plain.¹⁰⁰⁰ At the south-western part of the mountains, east of the upper section of the Leitha River that separated Hungary and the Holy Roman Empire (*a fluvio Sar, qui dividit terram Theuthonicam ab Vngaria*), there were three hills

⁹⁹⁷ See n. 998.

⁹⁹⁸ Mátyás Bél, *Sopron vármegye leírása / Descriptio Comitatus Semproiensis I*, (Sopron: Soproni Levéltár, 2001), 105; Károly Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl és Kisalföld írásban és képekben* [Transdanubia and the Little Hungarian Plain in writing and pictures] (Szeged: A Magyar Királyi Ferenc József Tudományegyetem Földrajzi Intézete, 1936), 243-244.

⁹⁹⁹ 1074: *venationibus et wiltbanno in Litahaberge*, W. I. 29; UB I, 16 (regesta). Cf. ÁMTF IV, 134. 1330: *Mons Saar* (Bruck, C. Moson), UB IV, 76.

¹⁰⁰⁰ The Little Plain or Little Hungarian Plain (Hu. Kisalföld) indicates the plain territory at the north-western part of Transdanubia. It is a modern term that appeared in a written source first in 1893: *Magyar Kis Alföld*, cf. *Kis-Magyar-Sikság* (1882), FNESZ I, "Kisalföld." 736. Its territory involves the historical and ethnographic regions of Fertőzug, Hanság, Rábaköz, Tóköz, Fenyér, Szigetköz, Csallóköz, and Sokoró (Fig. 30, No. 11-17). Viski, *Etnikai csoportok, vidékek*, 5; Kósa and Filep, *A magyar nép táji-történeti tagolódása*, 129-132; Bulla, *Magyarország természeti földrajza*, 102-105.

called *Challars*, *Lerz*, and *Medgyes*.¹⁰⁰¹ The names of those hills, however, cannot be identified with modern hill names.¹⁰⁰² The Leitha Mountains were overgrown with birch trees (*nir*) and poplars (*populeus*).¹⁰⁰³ At its north-eastern part the *Hageneu* forest¹⁰⁰⁴ was situated, which was under the protection of forest guards (*custodes silvae*) settled in Kál.¹⁰⁰⁵

The western border of County Sopron was formed by the Rozália, Lánzsér, and Sopron Mountains. The **Rozália Mountains**¹⁰⁰⁶ (Ge. Rozaliengebirge, Hu. Rozália-hegység) was running on the German border (*marchia Teutonicorum*) in a north-south direction, east of the upper section of the Leitha River (*aqua Sarwiz*).¹⁰⁰⁷ It was covered with pine trees.¹⁰⁰⁸ The Rozália Mountains were separated from the Leitha Mountains by a twelve kilometre wide pass, the so-called “Sopron Gate.”¹⁰⁰⁹ It was through that gate that the Buda—Győr—Kapuvár—Sopron route, one of the most important west-bound trade routes of Hungary, led to Vienna (Fig. 29).¹⁰¹⁰ The route was protected by guards living at the northern part of the Rozália Mountains in Rőjtökör¹⁰¹¹ (now: Neudörfel an der

¹⁰⁰¹ 1208: *mons Challars...; mons Lerz...; mons Medches* (Hof, C. Moson). UB I, 51=W.VI, 324-325; Cf. ÁMTF IV, s.v. “Hof,” 150.

¹⁰⁰² ÁMTF IV, 134.

¹⁰⁰³ UB I, 51.

¹⁰⁰⁴ 1203: *silva cuius nomen Hagenowe* (Königshof, C. Moson), UB I, 40. Transcribed in 1256, UB I, 252. Cf. ÁMTF IV, s.v. “Königshof,” 153.

¹⁰⁰⁵ 1264: *terra custodum silve eiusdem castris Kaal* (Kál, C. Moson), UB I, 300. ÁMTF IV, s.v. “Kál,” 150-151; KMTL s.v. “erdőóvó,” 195.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl és Kisalföld*, 244-245.

¹⁰⁰⁷ 1223: UB I, 92.

¹⁰⁰⁸ 1223: *locus, qui dicitur Feneufeu* (Rőjtökör, C. Sopron), UB I, 91. The place *Fenyőfő* near Rőjtökör indicates that the pine forest began in that region. Cf. FNEsz I, “Fenyőfő,” 467. Cf. Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl és Kisalföld*, 244.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl és Kisalföld*, 244; Ferenc Jankó and József Kücsán, “Physical geography,” in *Sopron. Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns* No.1, ed. Katalin Szende (Sopron: Soproni Levéltár and Soproni Múzeum, 2010), 5-6.

¹⁰¹⁰ Pleidell, *A nyugatra irányuló magyar külkereskedelem*, 1-26; Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 146-147; Katalin Szende, “Towns along the way. Changing patterns of long-distance trade and the urban network of medieval Hungary,” in *Towns and Communication II. Communication between towns. Proceedings of the Meetings of the International Commission for the History of Towns (ICHT), London 2007 – Lecce 2008*, ed. Hubert Houben and Kristijan Toomaspoeg (Galatina: Mario Congedo Editore, 2011), 161-225, esp. 200-205.

¹⁰¹¹ 1223: *terra, que Ruhtukeuri vocatur* (Rőjtökör, C. Sopron), UB I, 91. The name of the settlement is a compound of the Hungarian words *rejte* (hiding-place) and *őr* (guard), reflecting that it was populated by guardsmen. FNEsz II, “Lajtaszentmiklós,” 10; Herényi s.v. “Rőjtökör,” 428

Leitha, Au.) and Besenyő/Pecsenyéd¹⁰¹² (now: Pöttching, Au.). In the south-east the Rozália Mountains are separated from the east-west directed ranges of the **Sopron Mountains**¹⁰¹³ (Ge. Ödenburger Gebirge, Hu. Soproni-hegység) by the Szikra pass¹⁰¹⁴ (Ge. Siegraben, Hu. Szikrai hágó). Sources refer to the Sopron forest (*sylva Supruniensis*)¹⁰¹⁵ that covered the Sopron Mountains. South of the Rozália Mountains there are the north-south directed ranges of the **Lánzsér Mountains**¹⁰¹⁶ (Ge. Landseer Berge, Hu. Lánzséri-hegység) with the Lánzsér Castle¹⁰¹⁷ (now: Landsee, Au.) located on one of its hilltops. The mountains are flanked by the Répce River (*fluvius Rebcha*) and the Csáva Stream (*fluvius Choa*).¹⁰¹⁸

The western border of County Vas is formed by the Borostyánkő and Kőszeg Mountains as well as a lower hilly area located south of that. At the north-western part of the county stretches the **Borostyánkő Mountains**¹⁰¹⁹ (Ge. Bernsteiner Gebirge, Hu. Borostyánkői-hegység) having the Borostyán Castle¹⁰²⁰ on one of its hilltops. The Gyöngyös (*Gungus*)¹⁰²¹ rises in the northern part of the mountains, while in the south the valley of the Pinka¹⁰²² is adjacent to it. The **Kőszeg Mountains**¹⁰²³ (Ge. Günser Gebirge, Hu. Kőszegi-hegység) is found south-east of the Borostyánkő Mountains. Its highest hill (884 m) was called **Fenyőhegy**¹⁰²⁴ (now: Ge. Geschriebenstein, Hu. Írott-kő) after the

¹⁰¹² 1223: *villa Beseneu* (Besenyő/Pecsenyéd, C. Sopron), UB I, 91. The Pechenegs were settled at the borders as guardsmen. See, chapter 2.3.2.

¹⁰¹³ Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl és Kisalföld*, 245; Bulla, *Magyarország természeti földrajza*, 106-107; Ádám and Marosi, *A Kisalföld és a Nyugat-magyarországi peremvidék*, 354-362.

¹⁰¹⁴ For the Szikra Stream see n. 1209.

¹⁰¹⁵ 1263: UB I, 294.

¹⁰¹⁶ Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl és Kisalföld*, 245-246.

¹⁰¹⁷ 1263: *castrum Lanser* (Lánzsér, C. Sopron), UB I, 291. The site of the castle was donated by King Béla IV in 1263. The castle had been certainly built by 1289, and apparently had the function of border protection. Herényi s.v. "Landsee" 331; FNESz II, "Lánzsér," 13; KMTL s.v. "Lánzsér," 394.

¹⁰¹⁸ 1263: UB I, 294.

¹⁰¹⁹ Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl és Kisalföld*, 246.

¹⁰²⁰ First mentioned in 1249: *castrum Peristhan*, W. VII, 283.

¹⁰²¹ Cf. n. 1166.

¹⁰²² Cf. n. 1164.

¹⁰²³ Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl és Kisalföld*, 246-247; Bulla, *Magyarország természeti földrajza*, 107-108; Ádám and Marosi, *A Kisalföld és a Nyugat-magyarországi-peremvidék*, 362-368.

¹⁰²⁴ 1354: *fenyhedgy* (north of Rohonc, C. Vas), UB IV, 361.

pine trees (Hu. *fenyő*) that covered it. In addition, at the northern part of the Kőszeg Mountains the Rót Hill (*mons de Reuch*)¹⁰²⁵ the Geréc Hill (*mons de Greehe*;¹⁰²⁶ *Gerechhedgy*¹⁰²⁷) are mentioned by sources.:

South of the Borostyánkő and Kőszeg Mountains we find the low ranges of hills of County Vas (today called *Vasi dombság* in Hungarian) separated from the Kőszeg Mountains by the Pinka.¹⁰²⁸ The wide valley of the Pinka represented a natural pass across the feet of the Alps to the plains of County Vas (*Völgység*). It was in the Pinka valley that a long-distance trade route led from Friedberg through Pinkafő (now: Pinkafeld, Au.), Felsőőr (now: Oberwart, Au.), Óvár (now: Burg, Au.), and Monyorókerék (now: Eberau, Au.) to Körmend where the stream meets the Rába (chapter 4.1.2.3). That road was protected by guards (Lat. *speculatores*, Hu. *őr*) and archers (Lat. *sagittarii*, Hu. *lövő*) settled in its vicinity (chapter 2.3.2).

¹⁰²⁵ 1279: *mons de Reuch* (Rót/Rattersdorf, C. Vas), UB II, 140.

¹⁰²⁶ 1279: *Ibid.*

¹⁰²⁷ 1354: *Gerechhedgy* (Léka, C. Vas), UB IV, 361.

¹⁰²⁸ Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl és Kisalföld*, 247.

3.1.2 The Mura valley

The southern part of the western border zone involves two regions. The territory between the Rába and the Mura (Hu. Vendvidék, Sl. Prekmurje) belonged to County Vas, while *Drávamuraköz*¹⁰³⁰ (now Hu. Muraköz, Cr. Međimurje) between the Mura and Dráva¹⁰³¹ was part of County Zala.¹⁰³² The appendage of the Styrian Alps projected into the former territory, and a great number of left-hand confluents of the Lendva took their sources in it.



Fig. 31. Ethnographic regions in the valley of the Mura (Kogutowicz 1936, 208,¹⁰²⁹ Fig. 54)

As opposed to that, the *Drávamuraköz* had some gently sloping hills in the west, but otherwise it consisted of relatively flat tide lands. In the Middle Ages the Mura and Dráva had broad inundation plains formed by their strongly meandering courses and their numerous branches. The territory between the two rivers was covered with vast forests. In its highest parts there were pine trees, its lower hills were overgrown with oak trees, while the inundation areas of the rivers had dense groves and gallery forests.¹⁰³³

¹⁰²⁹ See n. 998.

¹⁰³⁰ 1264: *Draua Murakuz*, FNESz II, s.v. "Muraköz," 165; KMTL s.v. "Muraköz," 470.

¹⁰³¹ 1203: *inter Drauam et Muram*, F. II, 414; 1236: *inter Drauam et Muram*, W. VII, 23; 1244: *inter Drawam et Muram*, W. VII, 184; 1254: *intra Drauam et Muram*, HO VI, 81.

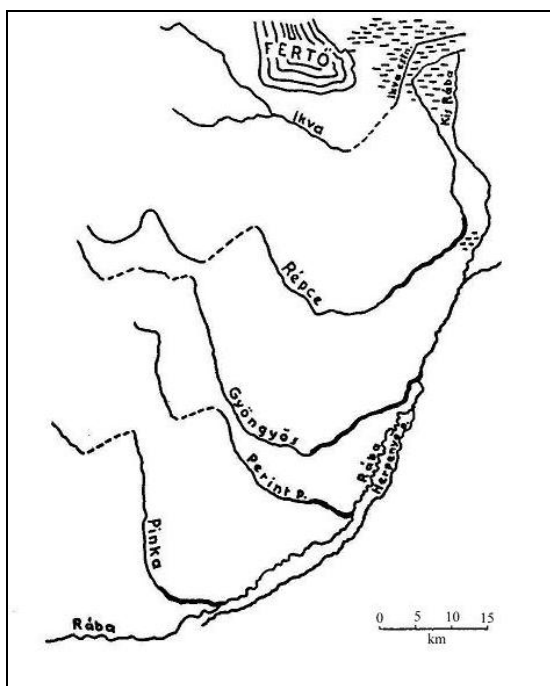
¹⁰³² Kósa and Filep, *A magyar nép táji-történeti tagolódása*, 149-150; Kristó, *Tájszemlélet és térszervezés*, 18.

¹⁰³³ Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl és Kisalföld*, 206-207.

The strip of land flanked by the Mura and Lendva Rivers, called *Belmura*¹⁰³⁴ in the Árpád Period that is a territory found east of the Mura, is a plain that made it a natural pass for travellers arriving from Styria.¹⁰³⁵ That pass was under military control at the so-called *Németkapu* (i.e. German gate) established along the valley of the Mura between Regede (now: Radkersburg, Au.) and Muraszombat (now: Murska Sobota, Sl.).¹⁰³⁶

3.1.3 Völgység

The plains of Counties Vas and Sopron (called *Sopron—Vasi Síkság*¹⁰³⁸ or *Vasi-Völgység*¹⁰³⁹) are adjacent to the Fore-Alps in the west, the valley of the Rába in the south and east, as well as the Fertő region and the Hanság in the north (Fig. 30, No. 8). The territory covered with Pleistocene gravel¹⁰⁴⁰ is divided up by five streams: the Ikva, Répce, Gyöngyös, Sorok-Perint, and Pinka (Fig. 32). These



streams all take their source in the Fore-

Fig. 32. The Vas and Sopron plains with its streams and rivers (After Kogutowicz 1936,¹⁰³⁷ 250, Fig. 65)

Alps, flow across the plains to the south-east, and turn to the north-east before meeting the Rába.

¹⁰³⁴ 1265: *in insula in Bemura et in terris ad eandem insulam pertinentibus*, UB I, 319. For the interpretation of the terms see, Kiss and Z. Czigány, “A Lapincs—Rába vonaltól délre eső terület,” 568. In addition, *Belmura* was also the name of Muraszombat (now: Murska Sobota, Sl.): 1297: *terra seu possessio Belmura*, UB II, 309; 1331: *possessio Belmura; terra Belmura*, UB IV, 91.

¹⁰³⁵ The long-distance road leading through Styria to Italy, in fact, crossed the Mura there. 1331: *magna via, que venit de Theutonia*, UB IV, 91.

¹⁰³⁶ 1331: *ad porticum seu transitum Namathkapw vocatum in fossatum inter civitatem Redege et terram Belmura posita*, UB IV, 91.

¹⁰³⁷ See n. 998.

¹⁰³⁸ Ádám and Marosi, *A Kisalföld és a Nyugat-magyarországi peremvidék*, 284.

¹⁰³⁹ Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl és Kisalföld*, 249.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Bulla, *Magyarország természeti földrajza*, 108-110; Ádám and Marosi, *A Kisalföld és a Nyugat-magyarországi peremvidék*, 284-297.

Medieval settlements tended to keep clear of the forested territories between the vales and developed mainly along the streams.¹⁰⁴¹ Since the population predominantly settled in the river valleys, roads naturally evolved there. Those roads joined the rows of settlements like strings of beads. Along the left bank of the Pinka valley developed the Pinkafő—Óvár—Monyorókerék—Körmend route (chapter 4.1.2.3). On the right bank of the Sorok-Perint evolved the Ják—Kisunyom—Polány—Zalak—Taródháza—Gyanó—Geregye—Szentiván road.¹⁰⁴² Along the Göngyös led the Kirschlag—Léka—Kőszeg—Szombathely—Ikervár road (chapters 4.2.26, 4.2.2.3, 4.2.3.4). The left bank of the Répce was accompanied by the Locsmánd—Bő—Cirák—Kapunvár road that met the Buda—Győr—Sopron—Vienna road at Kapunvár.¹⁰⁴³ Finally, the (Fertő-)Szentmiklós—Sopron section of the latter road ran in the valley of the Ikva.¹⁰⁴⁴

3.1.4 Hegyhát and Kemenesalja

In historical and ethnographical sense the name *Vasi Hegyhát* indicates the curved plateau between the Rába and Zala Rivers, which is adjacent to the *Őrség* in the west and the *Cserhát* (a part of Kemenesalja) in the north (Fig. 30, No. 9 and Fig. 33).¹⁰⁴⁵ Therefore, its territory stretched from the region of Szentmárton (Hegyhátszentmárton, C. Vas) to that of Sárvár.¹⁰⁴⁶

¹⁰⁴¹ Ibid, 250.

¹⁰⁴² Ferenc Derdák and Gábor Kiss, “Néhány római kori ‘via rustica’ és továbbélésük a középkorban Savaria egykori territoriumán” [Some Roman ‘via rustica’ and their survival to the Middle Ages in the former territory of Savaria] in *A népvándorlások kutatóinak kilencedik konferenciája. Eger 1998. szeptember 18-20* [The ninth conference of researchers of the Migration Period. Eger, 18-20 September 1998], ed. Tivadar Petercsák (Eger: Dobó István Vármúzeum, 2000): 85-94, esp. 87-88.

¹⁰⁴³ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 158-159.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 146-147.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Viski, *Etnikai csoportok, vidékek*, 4; Kósa and Filep, *A magyar nép táji-történelmi tagolódása*, 115.

¹⁰⁴⁶ In geographical literature this territory is called Kemeneshát, and the 120 km long section of the Rába between Csákánydoroszló and Marcaltó is considered to be its western border. See, Ádám and Marosi, *A Kisalföld és a Nyugat-magyarországi-peremvidék*, 413. For problems and uncertainties around the meaning and use of the terms Kemeneshát and Kemensalja see, Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl és Kisalföld*, 215, n.1, Z. Czigány, *Oszkó*, 7-11; and Benczik, *Ivánc*, 7-8.

The edge of the Hegyhát facing the Rába has a steep (50-60 metre high) wall, while towards the valley of the Zala it is sloping almost unnoticed.¹⁰⁴⁷ Settlements developed at the northern and southern edges of Hegyhát, whereas its plateau overgrown with a continuous forest (predominantly of oak trees) was left uninhabited in the Middle Ages. The fifteen-kilometre-long section of the forest between Vasvár and Sárvár has been called *Farkas erdeje* (*Farcaserdey*)¹⁰⁴⁸ since medieval times.¹⁰⁴⁹

The gravelled plateau of Hegyhát enabled communication in all weather conditions so that travellers on it were not slowed down by settlements in their movement, which made it an ideal environment for the long-distance trade route and military road towards Italy to run through (chapter 4.1.2.1). As opposed to that, the road running along the right bank of the Rába primarily served communication between the settlements (chapter 4.1.2.4).

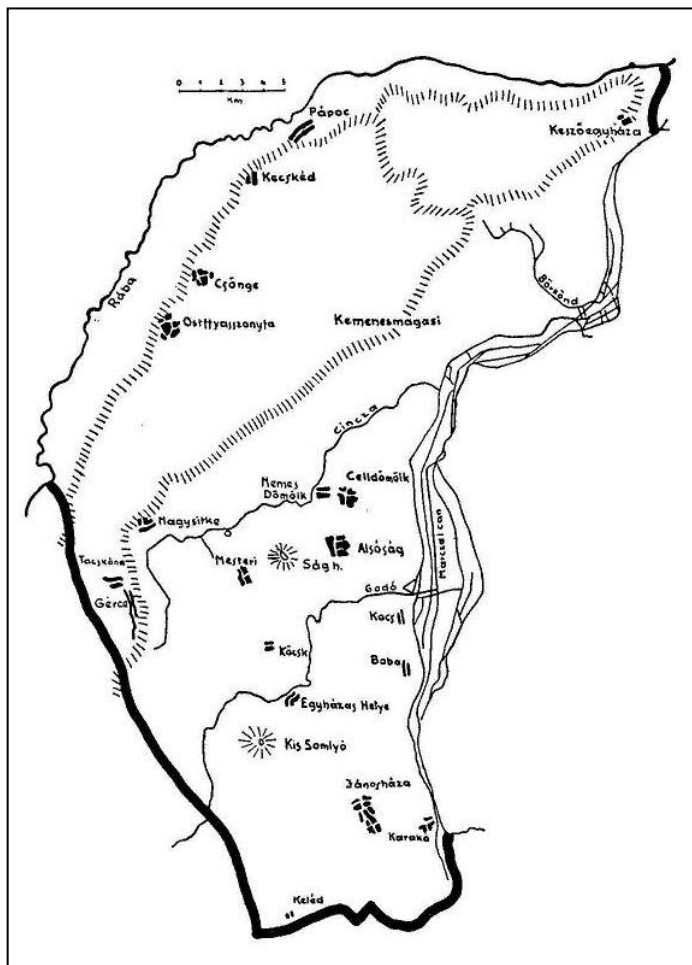


Fig. 33. The map of Kemenesalja (Kogutowicz 1936,¹⁰⁵⁰ 217, Fig. 56)

¹⁰⁴⁷ Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl és Kisalföld*, 211.

¹⁰⁴⁸ It appears first in a written source in 1342: *circa silvam Farcaseredy vocatam* (Gulács, C. Vas), UB IV, 357.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl és Kisalföld*, 212; FNESz I, s.v. "Farkas-erdő," 442; Z. Czigány, *Oszkó*, 14-15.

¹⁰⁵⁰ See n. 998.

Similarly, the road that developed along the southern edge of the Hegyhát, in the valley of the Zala, was used at a shorter distance, its destination being the Mura (chapter 4.1.2.1).

Kemenesalja¹⁰⁵¹ is located at the eastern feet of Hegyhát, between the Rába and its tributary the Marcal (Fig. 33). Geographically it divides into two halves. Its northern part is a 20-40 metre high, gravelled plateau gently sloping towards south-east, in the direction of the Marcal valley. The southern part belongs to the left-hand catchment area of the Marcal. It is an undulating lowland with a few small volcanic hills,¹⁰⁵² such as the **Ság-Somlyó**¹⁰⁵³ (today called *Ság-hegy*) of 291 metres height, and the **(Kis-)Somlyó** (today called *Kissomlyó*)¹⁰⁵⁴ of 220 metres height

The northern part of Kemenesalja is also known from ethnography as *Cser* and *Cserhát*, meaning a ‘plateau overgrown with oak trees’ (Hu. *cser*).¹⁰⁵⁵ On early modern maps it still appears as a large, continuous oak forest. As opposed to that, the inundation area of the Marcal was characterized by marsh with groves.¹⁰⁵⁶ The hillsides were covered with forests (*silva*), which were partly cleared in order to plant vines (*vinea*)¹⁰⁵⁷ there.

¹⁰⁵¹ 1585: *Kemenösalja*, FNESz I, s.v. “Kemenesalja,” 711.

¹⁰⁵² Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl és Kisalföld*, 215; Ádám and Marosi, *A Kisalföld és a Nyugat-magyarországi-peremvidék*, 420-421.

¹⁰⁵³ 1275: *insuper monte Sagsumlowa cum castro Herrando magistro*, UB II, 80; 1296: *datum in castro sub monte Saag-Sumlua*, W. V, 156. The settlement Alsóság was called after the Ság Hill at the feet of which it developed. Cs. II, s.v. “Ság,” 790; Herényi s.v. “Alsóság,” 73; FNESz II, s.v. “Ság,” 434.

¹⁰⁵⁴ 1329: *Nicolaus filius Mikocha de Heghesumlia; villam...Hegchesumlia vocatam* (Hetyesomlyó, C. Vas), HO III, 99. 1407: *Kyssomlyo*, HO III, 265. Hetyesomlyó later also called Kissomlyó, was a village at the feet of the (Kis-)Somlyó Hill after which it was named. Cs. II, s.v. “Somlyó,” 793; Herényi s.v. “Hetyesomlyó,” 254; FNESz I, s.v. “Kissomlyó,” 756.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Kósa and Filep, *A magyar nép táji-történeti tagolódása*, 127-128.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl és Kisalföld*, 216.

¹⁰⁵⁷ See, the 1329 letter of division of Hetyesomlyó, HO III, 99-100.

3.1.5 Lake Fertő and its environs

Lake Fertő (Ge. Neusiedler See)¹⁰⁵⁸ is a lake with shallow water (Fig. 30, No. 10 and Fig. 34). Its size ranged between extremes in different ages. Its greatest tributaries were the *Selyeg* (now: Vulka/Wulka)¹⁰⁵⁹ and **Rákos**¹⁰⁶⁰ Streams. Its water-surface is relatively large to its catchment area. That is the reason why precipitation plays a greater role in its water-supply than streams. Wet and dry periods have always had a great affect on the size of the lake.¹⁰⁶¹ In the Árpád Period the amount of precipitation was generally low.¹⁰⁶² Consequently, the lake was normally very shallow, to the extent that in some years it was possible to wade through the whole lake.¹⁰⁶³

¹⁰⁵⁸ Chron. Hung.: *in stagno Ferteu*, SRH I, 396; 1074: *inter Litaha et Vertowe* (Mosonvár, C. Moson), W. I, 29; 1199: *Fertew* (Rákos, C. Sopron), HO II, 1-2; 1217: *vltra stagnum Fertev* W. VI, 385; 1217: *Balus iuxta Fertew lacum* (Gálos, C. Moson) F. III/1, 207; 1217: *Potesdorf...iuxta lacum Fertheu* (Patfalva, C. Moson), F. III/1, 209; 1240: *praedii Sassun, cum terra, quae est iuxta Ferteutou*, in *Comitatu Musuniensi sita* (Sásony, C. Moson), F. IV/1, 198; 1262: *in capite Ferthew* (Locsmánd, C. Sopron) W. VIII, 43; 1281: *prima meta terre Honky incipit iuxta Ferteu ab aquilone* (Homok, C. Sopron), W. IX, 315-316; 1299: *per aquas Ferteu* (Illmic, C. Sopron) W. V, 222; HO VII, 284; János Jerney, *Magyar nyelvkinccsek Árpádék korszakából / Thesauri linguae Hungaricae ex epocha Arpadianorum* (Pest: Bucsańszky Alajos könyvnyomdája, 1854), 40; Ortvay I, 307-310. ÁMTF IV, 133, n.1, 167, 148, 174.

¹⁰⁵⁹ 1290: *de piscacione in Sceleyn*, UB II, 230, n. 1; 1337: *in possessione Kwhydpordan vocata in comitatu Suprvniensi iuxta rivulum Seleg* (Kőpordány, C. Sopron), UB IV, 227; 1337: *in possessione Kwhydpordan vocate in comitatu Suprvniensi iuxta rivulum Seleg* (Kőpordány, C. Sopron), UB IV, 229; 1346: *Temful iuxta fluvium Selyegh* (Temfel, C. Sopron), UB V, 140. *Vulka B.* and *Vulka Alte B.*, Second Military Survey, coll. XXII, sect. 47-48; Bél, *Sopron vármegye leírása* I, 112, n. 85; Imre Nagy, "A Lajta, mint határfolyam" [The Leitha as a boundary river], *Századok* 5 (1871): 369-387, esp. 372; Elemér Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter im Spiegel der Ortsnamen* (Szeged: Szeged Städtische Druckerei, 1936), 63, 106-107, 262-263; Cf. Karl Gerabek, *Die Gewässer des Burgenlandes* (Eisenstadt: Landesarchiv und Landesmuseum, 1952), 17.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Bél, *Sopron vármegye leírása* I, 107. The settlement Rákos (now: Hu. Fertőrákos, Ge. Kroisbach) in County Sopron was named for the Rákos Stream on the banks of which it lies, FNESz I, s.v. "Fertőrákos, 470; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 267. The forts mention of Fertőrákos dates from 1199: *ad villam Racus*, UB I, 36; HO II, 2.

¹⁰⁶¹ Bél, *Sopron vármegye leírása* I, 107; Gerabek, *Die Gewässer des Burgenlandes*, 10; Ádám and Marosi, *A Kisalföld és a Nyugat-magyarországi peremvidék*, 116-117.

¹⁰⁶² József Fidél Kövér, "A Hanság földrajza" [The Geography of Hanság (Waasen)], *FE* 10 (1930), 3-47, 91-139, esp. 10-11; ÁMTF IV, 134.

¹⁰⁶³ Andrea Kiss, "Changing environmental conditions and the waterlevel of Lake Fertő (Neusiedlersee) before the drainage works (13th-18th centuries)," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* (1997-1998): 241-248; Eadem, "A Fertővel kapcsolatos vitás földrajzi kérdések középkori okleveleinkben" [Geographical problems regarding Lake Fertő in medieval charters], *SSz* 53:1 (1999): 53-62, esp. 60-62.



Fig. 34. Water regulation plan from 1781 indicating Lake Fertő, the Hanság, Tóköz and Rábaköz (MOL S 12 Div. 13 No. 295:3)

The flat territory located east of the Lake Fertő is called *Fertőzug* (Ge. Seewinkel) (Fig. 30, No. 11). In the Árpád Period the territory belonged to County Moson and had inhabited “islands” surrounded by fens (*paludes*).¹⁰⁶⁴ There is written evidence that in its

¹⁰⁶⁴ 1268: *versus meridiem iuxta quasdam paludes* (Szerdahely, C. Moson), Dezső Szabó, “Két Árpád-kori oklevél” [Two Árpád Period charters], *Századok* 40 (1906): 620-634, esp. 633; ÁMTF IV, 180-181.

plain (*planitia*) vines (*vinea*) were grown.¹⁰⁶⁵ Regional roads led from the northern and southern parts of the Lake Fertő to Mosonvár along the eastern edge of *Fertőzug*.¹⁰⁶⁶ These roads passed through Szerdahely (now: Part of Pamhagen, Au.)¹⁰⁶⁷ and Csütörtökhely (now: Várbalog),¹⁰⁶⁸ where markets were held on Wednesdays and on Thursdays, respectively. At Monóudvar (now: Mönchhof, Au.) toll (*útpénz*) was collected on the road.¹⁰⁶⁹

3.1.6 Hanság

The **Hanság** (Ge. Waasen) was a waterlogged area located south-east of *Fertőzug*, and north of the *Rábaköz* and *Tóköz* (Fig. 33, No. 12 and Fig. 34).¹⁰⁷⁰ It belonged to Counties Moson and Sopron in medieval times. Its hydrological conditions have always been determined by the water-level of the Ikva, Rábca and Rába Rivers, which varied greatly in accordance with the current climate. At times of drought the water-level of the smaller or greater lakes was very low there. As opposed to that, in rainy periods the depressions of *Hanság* became filled with water, and the water-surface of lakes was often united with that of Lake Fertő into a large continuous water-covered area.¹⁰⁷¹

In the Árpád Period – when the climate was dry¹⁰⁷² – the swampy, water-covered territory was shrunk to a small territory, and villages developed deep inside its basin. The

¹⁰⁶⁵ +1217 [a. 1241]: *Hinc tendit ad caput vinearum predicti Dosch, inde procedendo in planicie iuxta predictas vineas est meta, a qua non longe publica strat est meta.* (Monóudvar, C. Moson), UB I, 71; ÁMTF IV, s.v. “Monóudvar,” 159.

¹⁰⁶⁶ ÁMTF IV, 142.

¹⁰⁶⁷ ÁMTF IV, s.v. “Szerdahely (Inse),” 180-181.

¹⁰⁶⁸ ÁMTF IV, s.v. “Csütörtökhely,” 146.

¹⁰⁶⁹ c. 1230: *denarios, qui vocantur utpiniz* (Monóudvar, C. Moson), UB I, 128.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl és Kisalföld*, 257-267; Kövér, “A Hanság földrajza,” 3-4; Viski, *Etnikai csoportok, vidékek*, 5; Kósa and Filep, *A magyar nép táj-történeti tagolódása*, 105; FNESz I, s.v. “Hanság,” 566; In geographical aspect: Bulla, *Magyarország természeti földrajza*, 271-272; Ádám and Marosi, *A Kisalföld és a Nyugat-magyarországi peremvidék*, 78-80.

¹⁰⁷¹ Kövér, “A Hanság földrajza,” 8. Water regulation plans made at the end of the eighteenth century demonstrate well the state of Lake Fertő and Hanság before draining the marshland, see Fig. 34. Also see, MOL S 12 Div. 13 No 295:1 (1781); MOL S 12 Div. 11 No. 30:2 (1780).

¹⁰⁷² For medieval climatic conditions see the introductory part of chapter 3.2.

settlements Urkony,¹⁰⁷³ Lobló and Jakabfalva appearing in Árpád Period charters, are not mentioned anywhere from the fifteenth century on. It is most likely that the expansion of the marshland in a subsequent wet period drove settlements out of the inner parts of the region.¹⁰⁷⁴

3.1.7 Rábaköz

In the Árpád Period the **Rábaköz**¹⁰⁷⁵ flanked by the Rába and Rábca Rivers, belonged mainly to County Sopron, and a small part of it to County Vas (Fig. 30, No. 13 and Fig. 34).¹⁰⁷⁶ Its territory was covered by the branches of the Rába, by rivers, streams, and brooks, some of which have gone dry due to river regulation works in the early modern period.¹⁰⁷⁷ The *Bálványos*¹⁰⁷⁸ and *Lusa*¹⁰⁷⁹ Streams forked off from the watercourse called Little Rába today and their names are still preserved south-east of Mihályi (C.

¹⁰⁷³ On Urkony see, Kiss, “A Fertővel kapcsolatos vitás földrajzi kérdések,” 57-60.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Kövér, “A Hanság földrajza,” 10.

¹⁰⁷⁵ 1214: *terram in Rabakuz nomine Thoutheluk*, UB I, 66; 1224: *in Rabacuz* (Szovát, C. Sopron), UB I, 98; 1226: *terram suam in Rabacuz iuxta villam Vgsa* (Ukse, C. Sopron), UB I, 110; 1240: *terram... Mihál inter Rabam existentem* (Mihályi, C. Sopron) UB I, 197; 1247: *in villa Wiccha... in Rabakuz* (Vica, C. Sopron), UB I, 218; 1251: *praedium nomine Boywa, in Rabaköz*, F. IV/2, 87; 1255: *terris... existentibus inter Rabakuz, Miháli videlicet et Kazmer* (Mihályi and Kisfalud, C. Sopron), UB I, 246; 1278: *in possessione Myhal vocata in Rabakuz existente* (Mihályi, C. Sopron), UB II, 122; 1314: *possessionem Sobur vocatam in Rabakuz* (Sobor, C. Sopron), UB III, 74; 1324: *possessionem... Damasy vocatam in Rabakuz in comitatu Suprvniensi existentem* (Tamási, C. Sopron), UB III, 171; 1324: *de Nemethy in Rabakuz* (Németi, C. Sopron), UB III, 173; 1335: *Nemty in Rabakuz* (Németi, C. Sopron), UB IV, 192; 1347: *duas possessiones... Paly vocatas in comitatu Suproniensi in Rabakuz existentes* (Páli, C. Sopron), UB V, 153.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Viski, *Etnikai csoportok, vidékek*, 5; Kósa and Filep, *A magyar nép táj-történeti tagolódása*, 161; FNSz II, s.v. “Rábaköz,” 389; Ádám and Marosi, *A Kisalföld és a Nyugat-magyarországi peremvidék*, 80-82.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Ádám and Marosi, *A Kisalföld és a Nyugat-magyarországi peremvidék*, 81. The Linkó Brook was such an extinct stream. According to the testimony of a map from 1793, the Linkó met the Keszeg Brook in the region of Dőr (C. Sopron), and the subsequent course of the brook was called Malom, MOL S 12 Div. 13 No. 295:2. The name of the Linkó Brook has been preserved in the fields of Mihályi, Vadosfa, Beled, Vásárosfalu, Edve, and Rábakecöl, GYMSMFN, 49, No. 10/79; 54, No. 12/20; 62, No. 15/107; 65, No. 17/13; 69, No. 18/90; 70, No. 19/43. Cf. *Linkó Graben*, Second Military Survey, coll. XXIV, sect. 51 and coll. XXIV, sect. 50.

¹⁰⁷⁸ 1227: *ad stagnum, quod vulgariter dicitur Baluanus* (Vica, C. Sopron), W. VI, 449; 1231: *ad quondam fluvium nomine Balanus* (Mihályi, C. Sopron), UB I, 135; 1279: *prope aquam Balamus*, (Kecöl, C. Sopron), UB II, 136; Jerney, *Magyar nyelvkincsek*, 10; Ortway 103-104.

¹⁰⁷⁹ 1233: *ad quendam fluvium nomine Lusa; [qu]o transit procedit ad quendam aquam, cui nomen Baluanuz* (Petlend, C. Sopron), UB I, 148; 1280: *in Lusa duo molendina proxima villa Wicca vocata*, (Vica, C. Sopron), UB II, 147; Ortway I, 487; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 37.

Sopron).¹⁰⁸⁰ Modern Little Rába is, in fact, an artificial channel originating either from the Roman Period or from the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁸¹ It branches off from the Rába at Nick (C. Vas), flows northwards at the western part of the Rábaköz parallel to the Rábca, and finally joins the Rábca. The *Sárdos* Brook left the Rába River near Vág (C. Sopron), passed between Bánkhegy (C. Sopron) and Szany (C. Sopron), and above Sobor (C. Sopron) it returned to the Rába.¹⁰⁸²

In addition to the rivers dried up by now, the name of one extinct swamp called *Piscarus-tó*¹⁰⁸³ has also been preserved. The swamp was once found near the Rába, in the vicinity of Enyed (C. Sopron).

It was the territory of Rábaköz that the much frequented inter-regional route leading from Szombathely to Győr passed through (chapter 4.2.3.3).

3.1.8 Tóköz

*Tóköz*¹⁰⁸⁴ is located at the confluence of the (Moson) Danube, Rábca and Rába Rivers (Fig. 30, No. 14, and Fig. 34, and Fig. 35).¹⁰⁸⁵ The (Moson) Danube and the Rábca were connected by streamlets in the Árpád Period, and thus islands evolved between the two rivers. Abda (C. Győr), for example, was called after the island of the Danube in some charters dated before 1240.¹⁰⁸⁶ Thirteenth-century perambulations name sixteen lakes in the region. At the site of the lakes only depressions surrounded by higher ground have remained. It can be conjectured from the surface features to be observed in Tóköz today

¹⁰⁸⁰ *Lusa, Bálványos*, GYMSMFN, 49, No. 10/88 and 10/93.

¹⁰⁸¹ The fact that the dam of the Little Rába at Nick was made of brushwood instead of stone seems to contradict Roman origin. Károlyi, "A magyar vízi munkálatok rövid története," 25.

¹⁰⁸² 1251: *aqua Sard* (Kesző, C. Vas), F. IV/2, 87-88; Ortvay II, 188-189; Cf. *Sárdas-ér*, Second Military Survey coll. XXV, sect. 51; *Linko vel Sardos Ér*, MOL S 12 Div. 11 No. 3:1 (ca. 1778).

¹⁰⁸³ 1232: *in paludem, que vulgo dicitur Piscarustou* (Enyed, C. Sopron), UB I, 142; Ortvay II, 103.

¹⁰⁸⁴ 1325: *Kapy in Thokuz* (Kapi, C. Győr), MOL DI. 2273; ÁMTF II, 563, n. 7, 604.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Viski, *Einikái csoportok, vidékek*, 5; Kósa and Filep, *A magyar nép táj-történeti tagolódása*, 189; FNSZ II, s.v. "Tóköz," 660; Ádám and Marosi, *A Kisalföld és a Nyugat-magyarországi peremvidék*, 79.

¹⁰⁸⁶ 1150-1154: *insulam Obda*, W. I, 64; 1221: *in insula Abada*, W. I, 173; 1225: *insulam in Danubio, Obda*, F. III/2, 18; 1227: *insula Obda*, W. I, 244; 1231: *insula Obda de Danubio*, W. I, 288; 1237: *insulam in Danubio, Obda*, W. II, 69; ÁMTF II 563, n. 6.

that there must have been hundreds of fish ponds there in the Árpád Period, which also explains the origins of the name Tóköz.¹⁰⁸⁷

Water-bodies in *Tóköz* known from thirteenth-century documents are as follows: *Tinód*, Lake *Ásvány*, *Völgyes-tó*, *Kerek-tó*, *Rékas*, *Homos* fish pond, *Golog* fish pond,¹⁰⁸⁸ *Fövenyed* swamp, and Lake *Wsca*¹⁰⁸⁹ around Kapi (C. Győr); Lake *Ösvény* near Maglóca (C. Sopron);¹⁰⁹⁰ the *Gát* fish pond, the *Donát-tava*, *Kóny-vize*, *Férges-ér*, *Halas-tó*, *Compó*, *Jákóvejsze*, *Söre-ere*, Lake *Nyúltófő*, and *Vejsze-ér* in the vicinity of Kóny (C. Győr).¹⁰⁹¹ During archaeological investigations conducted in Tóköz, Károly Takács discovered man-made three-channel canals that he identified with *Férges-ér rivulus* and *Compó rivulus* mentioned in the perambulation of Kóny.¹⁰⁹²

3.1.9 Fenyér

Fenyér is an ethnographic and historical region flanked by the Leitha and Danube Rivers (now: Hu. Lajtaköz) in County Moson (Fig. 30, No. 15).¹⁰⁹³ In the Árpád Period it was a waterlogged area (*ultra lutum Musun*) that belonged to the border zone of Hungary, where Pechenegs were settled in order to defend the realm (Fig. 6).¹⁰⁹⁴ Its ethnographic

¹⁰⁸⁷ Károly Takács, “Árpád-kori csatornarendszerek kutatása a Rábaközben és a Kárpát-medence egyéb területein I” [The investigation of the Árpád Period canals in the Rábaköz and other parts of the Carpathian Basin I], *Korall* 1 (2000): 27-61, esp. 37.

¹⁰⁸⁸ 1251: *Tynolth*, ...*Asuan*, ...*Velgestho*, ...*Kerektho*,... *super aquam Rethnos*,... *piscinam, quae dicitur Homos*,... *ad piscinam Gologh* (Kapi, C. Győr), F. IV/2, 88; Ortway I, 97, 272, 379, 426; Ortway II, 152, 315; ÁMTF II, 563, n. 604.

¹⁰⁸⁹ 1255: *ad quoddam stannum, quod vulgo Fuened dicitur*, ... [ad *l*]acum, *que vulgariter Wsca dicitur* (Kapi, C. Győr), UB I, 274; ÁMTF II, 563, n. 8; Takács, “Árpád-kori csatornarendszerek kutatása I,” 37.

¹⁰⁹⁰ 1222: *stagnum Vsven* (Maglóca, C. Sopron), UB I, 87; Ortway II, 297-298; ÁMTF II, 563; Takács, “Árpád-kori csatornarendszerek kutatása I,” 37.

¹⁰⁹¹ 1228: *in...piscine de Gach*,... *Donathawa*,... *ad piscinam de Conu, que Coneweyzy nominatur*,... *ad rivulum, qui Fergesher dicitur*,... *Halasthow*, ... *ad rivulum, qui Compw dicitur*,... *ad piscinam Jakow, que vulgo Jakoweize nuncupatur*,... *ad aquam que dicitur Syvhere*,... *lacus, qui Nultoffij nominator*,... *Weyzer*, (Kóny, C. Győr); W. I, 250-251; Ortway I, 213, 305, 324, 354, 401; Ortway II, 67-68; ÁMTF II, 564, n. 9, 605-606; Takács, “Árpád-kori csatornarendszerek kutatása I,” 33-37. Cf.: MOL S 12 Div. 13 No. 295:2 (1793); MOL S 12 Div. 13 No. 295:4 (a. 1798); MOL S 12 Div. 11 No. 30:1 (1780).

¹⁰⁹² Takács, “Árpád-kori csatornarendszerek kutatása I,” 35-36.

¹⁰⁹³ Viski, *Etnikai csoportok, vidékek*, 5; Kósa and Filep, *A magyar nép táji-történeti tagolódása*, 98-99.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Anon. [ca. 1200 ad saec. 10]: *in confinio ultra lutum Musun collocavit etiam Bissenos non paucos habitare pro defensione regni sui*, SRH I, 113-114; ÁMTF IV, 133, n. 5.

name *Fenyér* also reflects that the territory is a swampy plain, the primary meaning of the term being a kind of “meadow grass that usually grows in aqueous areas.”¹⁰⁹⁵

It was across this territory that the much frequented long-distance road running along the right bank of the Danube led through. The road crossed the Leitha at Óvár (now: Mosonmagyaróvár) and passed through the Moson gate found north of the Leitha Mountains and led to Vienna (Fig. 47). From Oroszvár (now: Rusovce, Sk.) the road had a branch towards the Danubian ferry port of Pressburg.¹⁰⁹⁶

3.1.10 Sokoró

Sokoró is a hilly historical and ethnographical region located between the Rába River and the Bakony Hills (Fig. 30, No. 18), which belonged to County Győr in the Árpád Period.¹⁰⁹⁷ It is made up of three parallel chains of hills directed from the north-west to the south-east. The northern one involves the **Saint Martin Hill** (now: Pannonhalma), where the Benedictine monastery dedicated to Saint Martin of Tours was erected by 1002.¹⁰⁹⁸ Hilltops belonging to the middle range of hills were called *Macskalik* (now: Macsaklik-tető), *Királyhegy*, *Gerenyőtető*, and *Gerhatető*.¹⁰⁹⁹ Finally, the southern range of hills had a hilltop called *Székesmagas* (now: Harangozó).¹¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁹⁵ The secondary meaning of the term is a “grass-covered land.” For similar development of meaning see the English word ‘*heath*’. *Fenyér*, in its latter meaning, appears first in a charter around 1067: *Fenerie predium*, TESz I, s.v. “fenyér,” 888-889; EtSz II, s.v. “fenyér,” 210-211; OklSz s.v. “fenyér,” 238.

¹⁰⁹⁶ ÁMTF IV, 142.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Kósa and Filep, *A magyar nép táji-történeti tagolódása*, 166; ÁMTF II, 564; FNESz II, s.v. “Sokoró,” 480.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Anon. [ca. 1200 ad 900]: *iuxta montem sancti Martini*, SRH I, 100; 1002: *in monte supra Pannoniam*, PRT I, 589; Hartvik: *Legendae Sancti Stephani Regis*, [ca. 1110]: *in loco, qui sacer mons dicitur*, SRH II, 409; ÁMTF II, s.v. “Szentmárton” 626-633; FNESz II, s.v. “Pannonhalma,” 314.

¹⁰⁹⁹ 1323: *cacumen montis...Machkaluk;... supra montem kyalhegh vocatum;... supra montem Gereneuten nuncupatam;... supra montem Gerhatetey vocatum*, (Écs, C. Győr), HO I, 129; ÁMTF s.v. “Écs,” 586.

¹¹⁰⁰ +1171 [ca. 1200]: *ad montem, qui vocatur Scekesmogos* (Kajár, C. Győr), PRT VIII, 276; ÁMTF II, s.v. “Kajár,” 604; 1258: *Scikesmogos* (Pátka, C. Győr), ÁMTF II, s.v. “Pátka,” 615; ÁMTF II, 564.

The hills were overgrown by forests, which were partly cleared in order to plant vineyards on the hillsides.¹¹⁰¹ Sources preserve the memory of the *Megyeri erdő*¹¹⁰² near Nyúl, *Hásság erdő*¹¹⁰³ near Ravazd, and *Fekete erdő*¹¹⁰⁴ near Tarján (now: Tarjánpuszta). In addition, forests are mentioned to have been on a small hill between Tényő and Apáti,¹¹⁰⁵ and at Pátka (now: Sokorópátka).¹¹⁰⁶ Vines are referred to at Baráti¹¹⁰⁷ (now: Győrújbarát) and Écs.¹¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, vine-dressers (*vinitores*) are known to have lived at Écs,¹¹⁰⁹ Szőlősmegyer, Nagymegyer, Baráti, Tarján,¹¹¹⁰ Kajár¹¹¹¹ (now: Kajárpéc), Ravazd,¹¹¹² and Nyúl.¹¹¹³ The wine produced in the region is referred to as Sokoró wine in the 1288 toll tariff of Esztergom.¹¹¹⁴

Having outlined the main features of the terrain belonging to Western Transdanubia, the following chapter will be dedicated to the Árpád Period watercourses of the territory. Since the regions called Szigetköz (Fig. 30, 16) and Csallóköz (Fig. 30, No. 17) were islands formed by the branches of Danube, they will be briefly described in the sub-chapter on the river.

¹¹⁰¹ 1237-1240: *usque ad villam Nul, ultra rivulum vero iam dictum habet terras communes arabiles cum predictis villis, et silvas, colles, valles et nemora, que vulgo dicuntur Sacorov, in quibus habet plures vineas et loca apta ad plantandum vineas* (Szentmárton, C. Győr), PRT I, 771-772; ÁMTF II, s.v. “Nyúl,” 613; s.v. “Sokoró,” 623, and s.v. “Szentmárton (Alsósokoró, Sabaria),” 633,

¹¹⁰² 1348: *cum silva Megere vocata iuxta villam Nyulfyl existenti ad eandem pertinenti in qua tunc vinee plantate fore cognite fuissent* (Megyer and Nyúl, C. Győr), PRT VIII, 368; ÁMTF II, s.v. “Megyer,” 608.

¹¹⁰³ [ca. 1093]: *silva una, que appellatur hashag* (Ravazd, C. Győr), PRT I, 591; ÁMTF II, s.v. “Ravazd,” 621.

¹¹⁰⁴ 1344: *ad metas silvarum, que dicerentur vulgariter Feketeu Erdeu* (Tarján, C. Győr), PRT VIII, 320; ÁMTF II, s.v. “Tarján,” 637. Cf. FNESz, s.v. “Feketeerdő,” 448.

¹¹⁰⁵ 1258: *siluam inter uillam Tunev et Apaty super uno monticulo a parte occidentali existentem* (Tényő and Apáti, C. Győr), W. II, 309; ÁMTF II, s.v. “Tényő,” 638.

¹¹⁰⁶ 1258: *iuxta silvam [D]jemrepas* (Pátka, C. Győr), ÁMTF II, s.v. “Pátka,” 615.

¹¹⁰⁷ 1251: *vineas in Barathy Sokorow existentes* (Baráti, C. Győr), ÁMTF II, s.v. “Barát(i),” 580.

¹¹⁰⁸ 1172: *vineas in Esu* (Écs, C. Győr), PRT I, 605; 1210: *unam vineam in villa Eschu*, PRT I, 618; ÁMTF II, s.v. “Écs,” 584-585.

¹¹⁰⁹ 1237-1240: *in predio Ech hec sunt nomina vinitorum servorum: Chomos, Pouka, Vasard* (Écs, C. Győr), PRT I, 774; ÁMTF II, s.v. “Écs,” 585.

¹¹¹⁰ 1266: *vinitores nostros de Sukuro, iuxta Jaurinum in villis Ech, Zeuleus Megyer, in Barath, in Nywl, in Tharian, in Maiori Megyer, in villa Nagyech constitutos*, F. VII/5, 346.

¹¹¹¹ 1086: *in Kyar...vinitores: Curmes, Sekez, Chomudi, Micula, Deschu, Scomon, Monom, Scumoku, Manhat* (Kajár, C. Győr) PRT VIII, 207; ÁMTF II, s.v. “Kajár,” 603.

¹¹¹² 1237-1240: *hec sunt nomina vinitorum de eodem predio: Estud, Sev, Paulus* (Ravazd, C. Győr), PRT I, 774; ÁMTF II, s.v. “Ravazd,” 621.

¹¹¹³ 1237-1240: *in predio Nul hec sunt nomina vinitorum: Melegd, Arad, Buch* (Nyúl, C. Győr), PRT I, 774. ÁMTF II, s.v. “Nyúl,” 613.

¹¹¹⁴ 1288: *vina venalia... de Sukurou*, EFHU, 87.

3.2 RIVERS AND STREAMS

The hydrological conditions of the Carpathian Basin have always been in close relationship with the current climate. The Árpád Period, and particularly the first two centuries of it, was a dry period.¹¹¹⁵ In the thirteenth century climate turned relatively wetter, which is demonstrated by the growing number of flood events recorded.¹¹¹⁶ Finally, as the climate turned cool and wet in the fourteenth century, inundations became even more numerous.¹¹¹⁷ In the period between the 1330s and 1350s there were an exceptionally high number inundations reported.¹¹¹⁸ Settlements and ploughlands needed to be protected by river regulations already in the Middle Ages (prior to the large-scale regulations of the nineteenth-century).¹¹¹⁹ Roads and ferry ports are also reported to have been destroyed by inundations from time to time,¹¹²⁰ which means that flood control was also necessitated to secure communication.

¹¹¹⁵ Cf. ÁMTF IV, 134. For written sources on flood events dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see Kiss, *Floods and long-term water-level changes*, 213-222.

¹¹¹⁶ Andrea Kiss pointed out that although the number of written sources is growing towards the late Árpád Period, the fact that the number of reports to thirteenth-century floods is higher than in the two preceding centuries altogether, cannot be exclusively explained with the uneven source distribution. See Kiss, *Floods and long-term water-level changes*, 223. For thirteenth-century reports to flood events see, *ibid.* 223-236.

¹¹¹⁷ For fourteenth-century flood reports, see *ibid.*, 237-279.

¹¹¹⁸ Andrea Kiss, "Some weather events from the fourteenth century (1338-1358)," *Acta Climatologica* 30 (1996): 61-69; Eadem, "Some weather events in the fourteenth century II (Angevin Period: 1301-1387)," *Acta Climatologica* 32-33 (1999): 51-64, esp. 52-54; Eadem, "Az 1340-es évek árvizei, vízállás-problémái és környezetük, különös tekintettel az 1342. és 1343. évekre" [Floods, water-level problems and the environment in the 1340s, with special emphasis on the years of 1342, 1343], in *Fons, skepsis, lex*, ed. Tibor Almási, György Szabados, and Éva Révész (Szeged: SZTE Történet Segédtudományok Tanszék–Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2010), 181-193; Eadem, "Árvizek és magas vízszintek a 13-15. századi Magyarországon az egykorú írott források tükrében: Megfoghatók-e és mi alapján foghatók meg rövid, közép és hosszú távú változások?" [Floods and high water levels in thirteenth to fifteenth century Hungary, in the light of contemporary documentary evidence. Is it possible to detect short-, medium- and longterm changes?] in *Környezettörténet 2* (Environmental history 2), ed. Miklós Kázmér (Budapest: Hantken Kiadó, 2011), 43-55.

¹¹¹⁹ The earliest data on medieval river regulations come from the territory of Csallóköz and the Little Hungarian Plain. For example, Mary (1220-1270), queen of King Béla IV (1235-1270), had a new riverbed constructed for the Danube from Pressburg to Gönyü (C. Győr) in order to protect her estates in Mosonvár from floods. Zsigmond Károlyi, *A vízhasznosítás, vízépítés és vízgazdálkodás története Magyarországon* [The history of water utilisation, hydraulic engineering, and water economics in Hungary] (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1960), 64-65; Károlyi, "A magyar vízi munkálatok rövid története," 33-34.

¹¹²⁰ Kiss, *Floods and long-term water-level changes*, 130-132, 276.

Earthen dams (Hu. *eszteru*, Lat. *clausura*)¹¹²¹ made to keep water back were one means for protection against floods. Written sources and toponymic data demonstrate that in the Middle Ages there were such dams in Alsó-szigetköz, Tóköz, Rábaköz, and Kemenesalja.¹¹²² A royal deed from 1226 exempted the abbey of Borsmonostor (now: Kloster Marienberg, Au.) from the construction of dams.¹¹²³ Another charter from 1264 called the dam of the Rába near *Janoa* (C. Győr) the “King’s Dam”.¹¹²⁴ The sources above not only testify to that dams already existed on the Rába as early as the thirteenth century, but also demonstrate that their construction and maintenance was organised as communal work under royal control.¹¹²⁵

¹¹²¹ See n. 359 and 360.

¹¹²² For dams constructed on the Rába and Rábca see chapters 3.2.6 and 3.2.7.

¹¹²³ 1226: *Volumus quoque, vt populus Ecclesiae nec ad incidendas indagines, nec ad clausuram aquae, vltra bibit, quod dicitur vulgo Iztra, a quoquo vllo modo cogantur ire*, F. III/2, 89.

¹¹²⁴ 1264: *iuxta clausuram domini Regis Vstrov nuncupatam (terra Janoa, C. Győr)*, W. VIII, 111.

¹¹²⁵ Otherwise there would have been no need to exempt certain subjects from the labour. Károlyi, “A magyar vízi munkálatok rövid története,” 34.

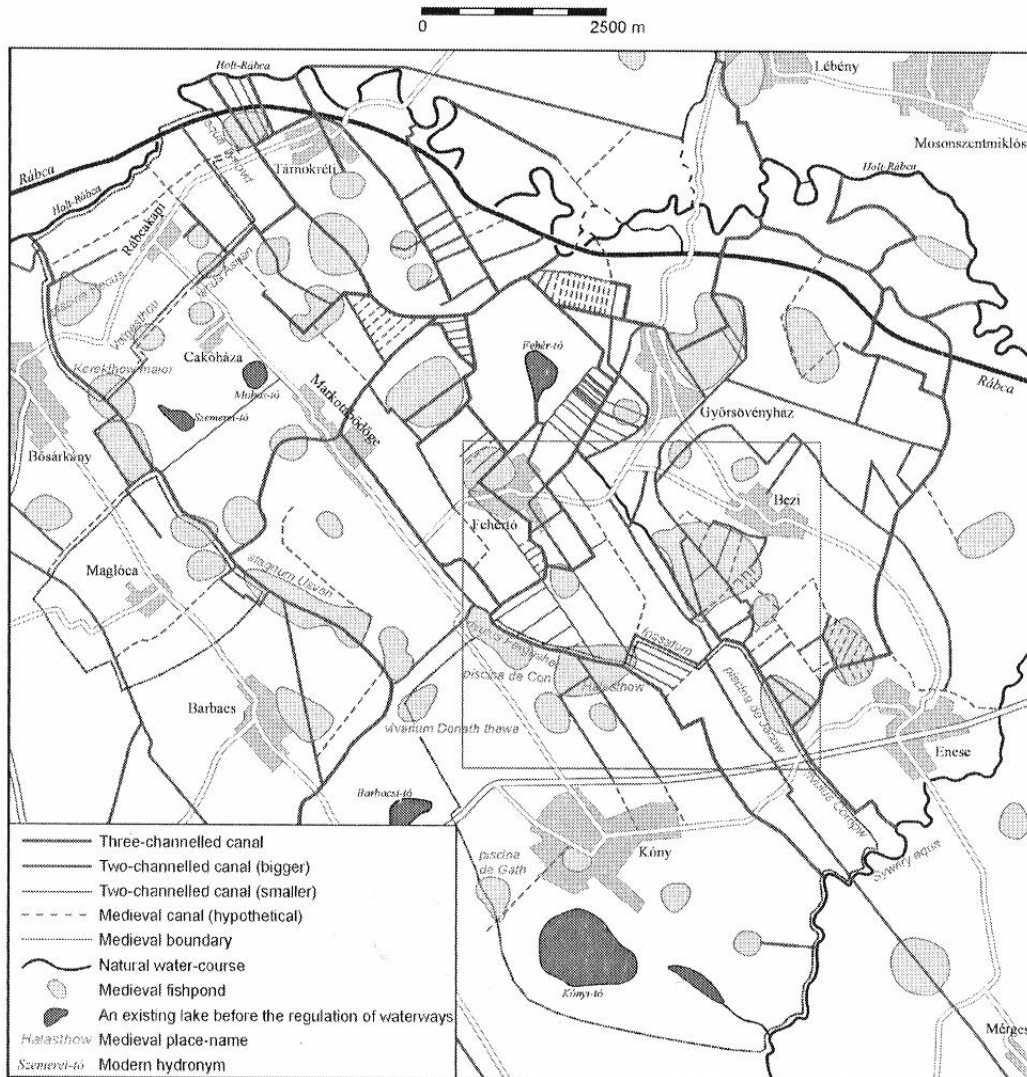


Fig. 35. Reconstruction drawing of the Árpád Period hydrological conditions in Tóköz (Takács, 2003,¹¹²⁶ 303, Fig. 1.)

The second possibility for flood control was the construction of canals. Károly Takács, investigating historical hydraulic systems in Tóköz and Rábaköz, demonstrated the existence of a network of man-made canals in the Árpád Period (Fig. 35). Archaeological excavations conducted by him yielded double and triple ditches, that is canals consisting of two or three channels, measuring 3-4 to 25-30 metres in width and

¹¹²⁶ See, n. 1127.

0.5 to 4 metres in depth.¹¹²⁷ In addition to protection against floods by draining off water into storage lakes when the water level of rivers rose, the canals must have also been used for irrigation (by flooding fields at times of drought) and fish-farming (by supplying fish ponds with fresh water, nutrients and fish alike).¹¹²⁸ Medieval charters usually refer to these double or triple canals as *fossa*¹¹²⁹ and *fossatum*¹¹³⁰ in Latin, or as *árok*¹¹³¹ in Hungarian. In addition to that, the term *rivulus* and its Hungarian equivalents (such as *ér*¹¹³² and *patak*¹¹³³), normally indicating natural watercourses, are occasionally also used for artificial water channels.¹¹³⁴

In the following chapters I will provide a brief description of medieval watercourses and their tributaries, as they appear in contemporary written sources. When collecting data on natural waters preserved by historical sources (mainly perambulations) I faced two major difficulties. First, the names of hydrological features had been preserved by written sources rather occasionally due to the uneven survival of the documents themselves. Second, the names of watercourses had sometimes altered since the Middle Ages, which presented a great challenge for identification. That is why I needed to compare and complete written evidence with cartographic data obtained from

¹¹²⁷ Károly Takács, “Medieval hydraulic systems in Hungary,” in *People and Nature in Historical Perspective*, ed. József Laszlovszky and Péter Szabó (Budapest: CEU Department of Medieval Studies and Archeolingua, 2003), 289-311, esp. 290-291.

¹¹²⁸ Takács, “Árpád-kori csatornarendszerek kutatása I,” 38-43; Károly Takács, “Árpád-kori csatornarendszerek kutatásáról” [On the investigation of Árpád Period canals], in *Táj és történelem. Tanulmányok a történelmi ökológia világából* [Landscape and history. Studies from the field of historical ecology], ed. R. Várkonyi Ágnes (Budapest: Osiris, 2000), 73-106, esp. 84-92; Takács, “Medieval hydraulic systems in Hungary,” 294-301.

¹¹²⁹ MKLSz IV, s.v. “fossa,” 136-137.

¹¹³⁰ MKLSz IV, s.v. “fossatum,” 137.

¹¹³¹ OklSz, s.v. “árok,” 29-30; Kázmér, *Alsó-szigetköz földrajzinevei*, s.v. “árok,” 20-21; EtSz I, s.v. “árok,” 141-142; TESz I, s.v. “árok,” 179.

¹¹³² OklSz, s.v. “ér (1),” 190-192; Ottó Herman, *A magyar halászat könyve* [The book of Hungarian fishing] (Budapest: A Királyi Magyar Természettudományi Társulat, 1887), vol. 2, s.v. “ér,” 782; EtSz I, s.v. “ér,” 1590; TESz I, s.v. “ér (3),” 779.

¹¹³³ OklSz, s.v. “patak,” 753-757; Herman, *A magyar halászat könyve* vol. 2, s.v. “patak,” 819; TESz III, s.v. “patak,” 127-128.

¹¹³⁴ Takács, “Árpád-kori csatornarendszerek kutatásáról,” 82, n. 7, 95-100; Károly Takács, “Árpád-kori csatornarendszerek kutatása a Rábaközben és a Kárpát-medence egyéb területein II” [The investigation of Árpád Period canals in the Rábaköz and other parts of the Carpathian Basin II], *Korall* 3-4 (2001): 297-314; Takács, “Medieval hydraulic systems in Hungary,” 302.

the First and Second Military Surveys, and early modern hydrological maps. Although there is evidence that rivers constantly changed their courses in the Middle Ages,¹¹³⁵ the hydrological conditions of the Carpathian Basin did not fundamentally transform until the early modern water regulations. Therefore, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century conditions reflected by early modern maps can serve as a good starting point for the identification and reconstruction of natural waters of earlier periods.¹¹³⁶

3.2.1 Danube

The Middle Danube Valley¹¹³⁷ is a hydrologically closed system. Firstly, it shows in the centripetal network of its water-courses: the majority of rivers and streams are running from the ring of mountains towards the central, flat areas of the Carpathian Basin. Secondly, that closed character is indicated by the fact that nearly all the watercourses belong to the catchment area of the Danube flowing directly or indirectly into the Danube.¹¹³⁸

The Danube entered the territory of medieval Hungary through the Dévény (now: Devín, Sk.) Gate. It formed islands across Pressburg (Besenyő-, Magyar-, Nyárs-, and Vetten Island).¹¹³⁹ At Pressburg a left branch called the *Csalló*¹¹⁴⁰ (now: Little Danube)

¹¹³⁵ Changes in the flow of watercourses were such common phenomena in the Middle Ages that even legislation had to consider them. See, for example, part I.87 in Werbőczy's *Tripartitum* dating from 1517. Károlyi, *A vízhasznosítás története Magyarországon*, 13; Károlyi, "A magyar vízi munkálatok rövid története," 36-37. The text of the *Tripartitum* has recently been published with English translation: *The customary law of the renowned kingdom of Hungary: A work in three parts rendered by Stephen Werbőczy (The "Tripartitum")* ed. and transl. by János M. Bak, Péter Banyó and Martyn Rady (Idyllwild: Charles Schlacks, 2005).

¹¹³⁶ This method has been applied by several researchers before. For selected scholarly literature on the subject, see Takács, "Medieval hydraulic systems in Hungary," 289-290, 307-308, n.3.

¹¹³⁷ For literature in English see, Sándor Frisnyák, "The Carpathian Basin" in *Europe's centre around 1000 A.D. Contributions to history, art, and archaeology. Study volume accompanying the 27th Council of Europe Art Exhibition*, ed. Alfried Wiczorek and Hans-Martin Hinz (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2001): 52-53, with further references.

¹¹³⁸ Béla Bulla and Tibor Mendöl, *A Kárpát-medence földrajza* [The geography of the Carpathian Basin], (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1947), 42. For the main tributaries of the Danube and their etymologies see, Herényi, *Magyarország nyugati végvidéke*, 13-14.

¹¹³⁹ ÁMTF IV, 133.

¹¹⁴⁰ 1267: *inter Chollo et Wag*, W. VIII, 167; 1290: *in fluuiio Chollow, prope Verekene* (Verkenye, C. Pozsony), F. VI/1, 51; 1291: *portum in Challowkwz ... infra ciuitatem Poseniensem, in capite fluuii*

forked off from the (Great or Old) Danube, into which it returned at Komárom (C. Komárom), forming thus an island called **Csallóköz** (or Great Csallóköz, Lat. *insula Cituorum*, Ge. Große Schüttinsel)¹¹⁴¹ (Fig. 30, No. 17, and Fig. 36). At Rajka (C. Moson) a right branch called **Ágduna** or Danube¹¹⁴² (now: Moson Danube) also forked off from the (Great or Old) Danube, and joined it again between Vének and Gönyű (C. Győr). The territory flanked by the Danube and its right branch is called **Szigetköz** (or Little Csallóköz, Ge. Kleine Schüttinsel)¹¹⁴³ (Fig. 30, No. 16, and Fig. 36).



Fig. 36. The map of the Csallóköz and Szigetköz from 1670 (OSZK TK 3026)

Challowo, existentem (Pressburg, C. Pozsony), F. VI/1, 108, VIII/3, 297, Ortway I, 186; EtSz I, s.v. “Csalló,” 831-833; FNESz I, s.v. “Csallóköz,” 303-304.

¹¹⁴¹ The name of the island is composed of the name of the Csalló River and vernacular *köz* meaning ‘space between’ (Lat. *intervallum*, Ge. *Zwischenraum*), OklSz 548-549. First mentioned in 1250: *uduornici de Chollocuz*, HO 1234-1536, 18. The name Great Csallóköz correlates Little Csallóköz, the alternative name of Szigetköz, Viski, *Etnikai csoportok, vidékek*, 5. Its Latin name is *insula Cituorum*, which must have been first mentioned in the sixteenth century. EtSz I, s.v. “Csalló,” 831-833; Its German name is *Große Schüttinsel*, which means ‘great alluvial island.’ FNESz I, s.v. “Csallóköz,” 303-304; Péter Püspöki Nagy, *A Csallóköz neveiről* [On the names of Csallóköz] (Pressburg: Dh-Press, 1991), 175-182.

¹¹⁴² 1210: *ad Danubium, qui wlgó dicitur Ágduna* (Novák, C. Moson), W. VI, 342; Ortway I, 73; ÁMTF II, 563, n. 2.

¹¹⁴³ Szigetköz is also known as *Little Csallóköz*, which reflects a hydrological attitude that is also present in German *Kleine Schüttinsel*. The German *Grosse Schütt* and *Kleine Schütt* for modern Csallóköz and Szigetköz were first used on a map from 1664, and testify that the island once regarded as an integral whole was started to be interpreted as two islands. Püspöki Nagy, *A Csallóköz neveiről*, 179-182.

At Bán (C. Moson) the now extinct *Pesznye* Brook flowed into the Danube from the right.¹¹⁴⁴ Further to the east, at Mosonvár (C. Moson) the **Leitha** – or *Sár*¹¹⁴⁵ in its old Hungarian name, – at Kimle (C. Moson) the now extinct *Tenk-ere* and *Homorú* Stream,¹¹⁴⁶ and at Győr the **Rábca** and **Rába** Rivers met the right arm of the Danube (now Moson Danube). Finally, at Gönyű (C. Győr), at the eastern border of County Győr, the Danube took up *Füzegy* (now: Cuha-Bakony Brook)¹¹⁴⁷ transporting the water of brooks from the northern part of Bakony. The Füzegy formed the border of County Győr with County Komárom, and at a short section with County Veszprém.

3.2.2 Leitha

The *Leitha*,¹¹⁴⁸ taking its source in the Styrian Mountains, was the frontier between medieval Hungary and the Holy Roman Empire. Under the reign of King Stephen I (1000-1038) the territory between *Szárhegy* and the Leitha formed the western borderland of Hungary. However, in 1043 Samuel Aba (1041-1044) had to give up the area beyond the Leitha and the Morava Rivers when he concluded peace with King Henry III (1039-

¹¹⁴⁴ 1208: *transit ... fluvium Pezne et pervenit ad Danubium* (Bán, C. Moson), UB I, 54; Ortway II, 100; ÁMTF IV, 133, 143.

¹¹⁴⁵ 1274: *in portu Saar supra Mosonium* (Mosonvár, C. Moson), HO III, 21; UB II, 59; Ortway II, 179. German *Leitha* goes back to the Indo-European *loidhos*, meaning ‘mud.’ The old Hungarian name *Sár* reflects similar attitude, FNESz II, s.v. “Lajta,” 9; Cf. Nagy, “A Lajta, mint határfolyam,” 372; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 74, 257; and ÁMTF IV, 133.

¹¹⁴⁶ 1210: *versus orientem iuxta Danubium tenens metas cum Tenkere; inde procedit ad occidentem ... tendit ad palludem, que vulgo vocatur Humorou potoc, que venit de Bordos* (Kimle, C. Moson), UB I, 60; Ortway I, 386-387; ÁMTF IV, 134, 152.

¹¹⁴⁷ 1332: *distincionemque metalis... duorum Comitatum, scilicet Weszprimiensis et Jauriensis ipse fluvius Fyzyg fuisse ab antiquo* (Pervat, C. Veszprém), Károly Ráth, “Pál országbíró 1332-ki ítélő levele” [The 1332 letter of sentence issued by Judge Royal Paulus], *Új Magyar Múzeum* 4:2 (1854): 450-454, esp. 452; ÁMTF II, 565, n. 16; Ádám and Marosi, *A Kisalföld és a Nyugat-magyarországi peremvidék*, 163.

¹¹⁴⁸ 1051: *ex una parte Danubii inter Fiscaha et Litaha*, DHA I, 142; 1074: *terminus est inter Litaha et Vertowe*, W. I, 29; Chron. Hung.: *usque flumen Saar, sive Leytah*, SRH I, 293; 1203: *a fluvio, qui vocatur Sár*, (Köningshof, C. Moson) UB I, 40; 1208: *iuxta fluvium Saar* (Mancsasásonya, C. Moson), UB I, 54; 1208: *a fluvio Sar, qui dividit terram Theuthonicam ab Vngaria* (Hof, C. Moson), UB I, 51; 1223: *ad aquam Sarwiz*, UB I, 92; 1230: *Curia regis iuxta aquam Saar* (Königshof, C. Moson), F. III/2, 215; 1235-1241: *villam Sassun uocatam, qua adiacet secus fluium Saar* (Mancsasásonya, C. Moson), W. VII, 1; 1239: *trans flumen Litahe in ripa Vngarie*, UB I, 189; 1240: *Brvcge trans flumen Litahe* (Bruck, Austria), UB I, 201; 1255: *sub Nova Civitate iuxta fluvium Saar* (Wiener Neustadt, Austria), UB I, 245; 1271: *ultra civitatem Mysenburch et castrum Altenburch et aquam, que Leytha vocatur* (Mosonvár and Óvár, C. Moson), UB II, 4; 1274: *in portu Saar supra Mosonium* (Mosonvár, C. Moson), UB II, 61; 1331: *a civitate Supruniensi usque fluvium Saar et Raba*, UB IV, 88; Sopron vm. I, 121; 1331: *in Prukka, circa fluium Saar* (Bruck, C. Moson), F. VIII/3, 516; Ortway I, 472-473; ÁMTF IV, 133, n. 2.

1056, from 1046 on Holy Roman Emperor). The new frontier along the Leitha was confirmed by the peace treaty between King Andrew I (1046-1060) and Emperor Henry III in 1053.¹¹⁴⁹ In the eleventh and twelfth centuries around both end-abutments of the bridge over the Leitha settlements came into being: Bruck (now: Bruck an der Leitha, Au.) on the German side, and Göncölhida (now: Bruckneudorf, Au.) on the Hungarian side.¹¹⁵⁰ Leaving the frontier, the river turned south-east and entered County Moson. At the confluence of the Leitha and the (Moson) Danube *Ad Flexum* was founded in the Roman Period. At the site of the Roman military camp a castle was built in the early Árpád Period, which – after the establishment of Mosonvár (C. Moson) – was called Óvár (C. Moson).¹¹⁵¹ The Leitha had one tributary in Hungary, the *Megyepatak* Stream (now: Ge. Edelbach) that was located to west of Lake Fertő, and formed the border between Counties Sopron and Moson.¹¹⁵²

3.2.3 Ikva

According to the testimony of perambulations, medieval County Sopron had two streams called Ikva: the *Nyék Ikva* (now: Hu. Arany-patak, Ge. Goldbach) and *Sopron Ikva* (now: Hu. Ikva, Ge. Spittelbach).¹¹⁵³ The Nyék Ikva rose to the north-east of Récény, passed through Nyék (now: Neckenmarkt, Au.), Küllő and Keresztúr (noe: Deutschkreutz, Au.), and finally at Cenk (now: Nagycenk) it joined the *Merenye* Stream arriving from Sopron.¹¹⁵⁴ From there the stream was meandering southwards, then it

¹¹⁴⁹ Nagy, “A Lajta, mint határfolyam,” 370; Herényi, *Magyarország nyugati végvidéke*, 122.

¹¹⁵⁰ ÁMTF IV, 145.

¹¹⁵¹ ÁMTF IV, 173.

¹¹⁵² 1208: *ad rivulum Megapotok* (Hof, C. Moson), UB I, 51; Ortway I, 513-514; ÁMTF IV, 134.

¹¹⁵³ *Goldener Fl.* Second Military Survey, coll. XXII, sect. 50; *Spitel B.*, Second Military Survey, coll. XXII, sect. 49; Ortway I, 392-393; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 30-31, 271.

¹¹⁵⁴ 1245: *terram quandam nomine Bujuslou iuxta aquam Icoa in comitatu Suprvniensi* (Keresztúr, C. Sopron), UB I, 213; 1245: *penes fluvium nomine Yqua* (Küllő, C. Sopron), UB I, 214; Imre Nagy, “Sopron város dél-nyugoti környéke a XIII. században” [The south-eastern environs of Sopron in the thirteenth century], *GyF* 3 (1865): 303-329, esp. 325-326; 1263: *in angulo fluvii Ichoa habens villam Patri vocatam de oriente sibi commetaneam* (Péterfalva, C. Sopron), UB I, 293; 1318: *terram sive villam Peturi vocatam*

turned northwards toward Szentmiklós (C. Sopron; now: Fertőszentmiklós),¹¹⁵⁵ and finally, east of the Lake Fertő it spread out into the fens of Hanság.¹¹⁵⁶ In the Árpád Period the name of the Sopron Ikva was *Merenye*. That stream taking its source at Bánfalva (C. Sopron; now: Sopronbánfalva) reached Cenk through Sopron and Kópháza (C. Sopron), where it met the *Nyék Ikva*.¹¹⁵⁷ From the fifteenth century on, the *Merenye* Stream has been called **Ikva**. Since then, the name Ikva (Ge. Spittelbach), named after the medieval hospital of Sopron built by the brook)¹¹⁵⁸ has been used for the stream that rises to the north of the Sopron Mountains, flows through Cenk, and has its mouth in the Hanság (Ge. Waasen).

3.2.4 Rába

The most important river of the Little Plain was the Rába,¹¹⁵⁹ which – except for the Leitha and Répce – accepted the water of all the rivers arriving from the south-eastern slopes of the Alps and the north-eastern slopes of the Bakony.¹¹⁶⁰ The Rába having its

in comitatu Suprniensi existentem circa fluvium Ikva (Péterfalva, C. Sopron), UB III, 112. Cf. Gerabek, *Die Gewässer des Burgenlandes*, 19.

¹¹⁵⁵ 1274: *iuxta aquam Ikua vocatam* (Szentmiklós, C. Sopron) UB II, 62; 1291: *iuxta fluvium Ykua*, (Cenk, C. Sopron) UB II, 258; *Ikvar Patak*, Second Military Survey, coll. XXII, sect. 50; *Ikva Patak*, Second Military Survey, coll. XXIII, sect. 49-50.

¹¹⁵⁶ Bél, *Sopron vármegye leírása* I, 112; Cf. Second Military Survey, coll. XXIII, sect. 49.

¹¹⁵⁷ 1283: *per nemus et rivum Merene vocatum* (Cenk, C. Sopron), Nagy, “Sopron város dél-nyugoti környéke,” 315, 317-318, 325; Ortway I, 521-522.

¹¹⁵⁸ 1429: *meatum aque Iqua vocate tempore pluviali de Sopronio fluentis* (between Kópháza and Cenk, C. Sopron), Nagy, “Sopron város dél-nyugoti környéke,” 321; Bél, *Sopron vármegye leírása* I, 111-112; Nagy, “A Lajta, mint határfolyam,” 372; Cf. Gerabek, *Die Gewässer des Burgenlandes*, 18; Ádám and Marosi, *A Kisalföld és a Nyugat-magyarországi peremvidék*, 320.

¹¹⁵⁹ Anon. [ca. 1200]: *ad Rabam*, SRH I, 100; 1037: *tributum... de portu Arpas in Raba* (Árpás, C. Győr), UB I, 15; 1205: *cum possessione Zechud alio nomine Lapsa vocatam in comitatu Castri Ferrey iuxta fluvium Raba existentis* (Szecsőd, C. Vas), UB I, 46; 1213: *Meta autem eiusdem terre incipit, ubi rivulus, qui dicitur Dobra, cadit in flumine Raba* (Dobra, C. Vas), UB I, 65; 1221: *ab oriente ab aqua Raba* (Uraiújfalu, C. Vas), UB I, 80; 1221: *a fluvio Raba a parte orientali* (Köröselő, C. Vas), UB I, 84; 1232: *ab oriente super Rabam* (Enyed, C. Sopron), UB I, 142; 1233-1234: *super Rabbam* (Árpás, C. Győr), UB I, 162; 1244: *in Raba incipiendo a villa que dicitur Druska* (Döröske, C. Vas), UB I, 211; 1251: *ab occidente super Rabam* (Mórichida, C. Győr), F IV/2, 85; 1268: *in comitatu Castri Ferrei iuxta Raba* (Nick, C. Vas), UB I, 342; 1274: *Prima... meta progreditur ab oriente a fluvio Raba* (Rum, C. Vas), UB II, 58; 1274: *a parte Raba* (Halogy and Tótfalu, C. Vas), UB II, 73; 1284: *[posses]sionem... Ozun vocatam in comitatu Ferrei Castri ultra Rabam existentem* (Asszonyfalva, C. Vas), UB II, 187; 1291: *Merges... sitam iuxta Rabam* (Mérgecs, C. Győr), W. X, 33.

¹¹⁶⁰ For the main tributaries of the Rába and their etymologies see, Herényi, *Magyarország nyugati végvidéke*, 14-15.

source on the south-eastern slopes of the Fischbacher Alps reached the frontier of Hungary between Hohenbrugg and Velike (C. Vas). From there it continued its way eastwards to the area of Körmend (C. Vas), where it turned with a great curve to north-east. The Rába meandered across the flat surface of Rábaköz with decreasing fall up to the (Moson) Danube.¹¹⁶¹ At the mouth of the Rába *Arrabona* was established in the Roman Period, over the ruins of which the castle of Győr (C. Győr) had been built by the end of the tenth century.¹¹⁶²

The *left-hand catchment area of the Rába* involved some major watercourses: at Szentgottárd (C. Vas) the **Lapincs** (Ge. Lafnitz),¹¹⁶³ before Körmend (C. Vas) the **Pinka**,¹¹⁶⁴ before Rum (C. Vas) the **Sorok**,¹¹⁶⁵ and at Sárvár (C. Vas) the **Gyöngyös** (Ge. Güns)¹¹⁶⁶ met the Rába.¹¹⁶⁷ In addition to the rivers above, the Rába also accepted some larger or smaller streams, such as the *Medves*¹¹⁶⁸ (Ge. Mürbischbach),¹¹⁶⁹ or the by now extinct *Ragálc*¹¹⁷⁰ and *Mirod*,¹¹⁷¹ all of which are mentioned in the vicinity of Csákány (C. Vas; now: Csákánydoroszló).

¹¹⁶¹ Ortway II, 139-141; Bél, *Sopron vármegye leírása* I, 109-110; Gerabek, *Die Gewässer des Burgenlandes*, 23; Ádám and Marosi, *A Kisalföld és a Nyugat-magyarországi peremvidék*, 107, 317.

¹¹⁶² ÁMTF II, 595.

¹¹⁶³ Anon. [ca. 1200]: *fluvium Loponsu*, SRH I, 99; 1257: *iuxta Loponch*; ...*iuxta aquam Loponch (terra Erunsd*, C. Vas), UB I, 262; 1263: *iuxta fluvium Loponch* (Sah, C. Vas), UB I, 296; Ortway I, 478-479; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 65, 98; FNESz II, s.v. "Lapincs," 14; Cf. Gerabek, *Die Gewässer des Burgenlandes*, 23-24.

¹¹⁶⁴ 1221: *Pinkova* (Hétfőhely, C. Vas) and *Pinqua* (Monyorókerék, C. Vas), UB I, 83; 1244: *aqua Pincua* (Óvár, C. Vas), UB I, 210; 1321: *fluvius Pynkva* (Monyorókerék, C. Vas), UB III, 138; 1337: *fluvius Pynkua*, UB IV, 225; 1342: *fluvius Pinkwa* (Bésfá, C. Vas), UB V,1; Ortway II, 102; Bél, "Vas vármegye leírása I", 115; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 42, 99-100; FNESz II, s.v. "Pinka," 349. Cf. Gerabek, *Die Gewässer des Burgenlandes*, 20.

¹¹⁶⁵ 1256: *ab aqua Surk (terra Lapsa*, C. Vas), UB I, 254; 1272: *aquam Surk* (Sorki, C. Vas), UB II, 20; Ortway II, 236; FNESz II, s.v. "Sorok," 491.

¹¹⁶⁶ 1217: *Gungys*, UB I, 73; 1225: *fluvius Gyngus*, UB I, 103; 1237: *aqua Gungus* (Megyehíd, C. Vas), UB I, 177; 1240: *aqua Gungus* (Kenéz, C. Vas), UB I, 199; 1263: *in Gungus*, W. XI, 530; 1266: *aqua Gungus*, UB I, 329; 1276: *in fluuiio Gungus*, W. XII, 168; 1281: *fluuius Gungus* (Herény, C. Vas), *aqua Gungus* (Hermán, C. Vas), UB II, 150; 1284: *possessio ... Keniz uocata, iuxta fluvium Gungus in Comitatu Castriferrei existens* (Kenéz, C. Vas), HO IV, 65; 1297: *aqua Gungus*, F. VII/5, 537; Ortway I, 347; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 131; FNESz I, s.v. "Gyöngyös," 546.

¹¹⁶⁷ Ádám and Marosi, *A Kisalföld és a Nyugat-magyarországi peremvidék*, 313, 319.

¹¹⁶⁸ c. 1230: *fluvius Medus*, UB I, 22; 1271: *ad aquam Medus vocatam* (Csákány, C. Vas), UB II, 7; 1290: *in rivo Meduspataka*, UB II, 231; Ortway I, 513; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 89, 142.

¹¹⁶⁹ The upper course of the stream is now called Dragenbach, the middle course is Reinersdorfer Bach, and the lower course is known as Vörös-patak/Rotbach, Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 84, 89, 142, 156.

¹¹⁷⁰ 1271: *ad fluvium Ragalch vocatam*, UB II, 7; Ortway II, 146; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 46, 307.

The most important tributary of the Rába was the **Lapincs** River that was abounding in water. The Lapincs formed the western boundary of medieval County Vas – and at the same time that of Hungary – from Neustift to Királyfalva (C. Vas; now: Königsdorf, -Au.).¹¹⁷² Its most important left-hand tributary was the *Stegrehpah* (now: Stegersbach).¹¹⁷³ The **Pinka** River – rising east of the Lapincs – had two major tributaries in the Árpád Period: the *Tohony* (now: Tauchenbach),¹¹⁷⁴ and the *Esztürmén* (now: Strém/Strembach).¹¹⁷⁵ The **Gyöngyös** had its source in the Borostyánkő Mountains, and running under Kőszeg (C. Vas) it turned south towards Szombathely (C. Vas). At Gencsapáti (C. Vas) there was a spillover on the Gyöngyös originating from the Roman Period. The spillover divided the stream into a western and an eastern branch. The western branch, which carried the water flowing over the dam, turned southwards towards Szombathely (Roman Savaria), and at Polány (C. Vas; now: Sorokpolány) it joined the Sorok Stream.¹¹⁷⁶ The eastern branch, which carried the water left in the bed also turned southwards, ran across Szombathely, and finally it joined the *Borzó* Stream at Pecöl (C. Vas). This latter watercourse, called Gyöngyös from the sixteenth century on, was an approximately twenty-two kilometres long artificial channel made by the

¹¹⁷¹ 1248: *ab aqua Mirod* (Csákány, C. Vas), UB I, 222; 1265: *usque fluvium Myroud* (Csákány, C. Vas), UB I, 309; Ortway I, 526.

¹¹⁷² Ortway I, 478; Bél, “Vas vármegye leírása I”, 115; Ádám and Marosi, *A Kisalföld és a Nyugat-magyarországi peremvidék*, 313, 317-319.

¹¹⁷³ 1263: *prima meta incipit in monte iuxta fluvium Loponch...deinde vadit versus orientem et transit fluvium, qui vocatur Stegrehpah* (Buchsachen, C. Vas), UB I, 296; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 102, 303.

¹¹⁷⁴ 1244-1245: *ibi est magna via, per quam itur ad castrum Ovwar, et ibi transit aquam Tohon* (Óvár, C. Vas), UB I, 210; Ortway II, 271; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 57, 104, 289; Cf. Gerabek, *Die Gewässer des Burgenlandes*, 21.

¹¹⁷⁵ c. 1157/1230: *fluvius Ezturmen*, UB I, 22; 1257: *ad fluvium Esztermeg (terra Erunsd, C. Vas)*, UB I, 262; 1265: *iuxta fluvium Ztremen*, UB I, 309; 1284: *a fluvio Izturmen (terra Purbuse, C. Vas)*, UB II, 188; 1290: *in aqua Uzturga*, UB II, 231; Ortway I, 300; Ortway II, 455; EtSz II, s.v. “észtürmén,” 91-92; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 28, 66, 104, 289, 298-299; FNESz II, s.v. “Strém,” 499. Cf. Gerabek, *Die Gewässer des Burgenlandes*, 22-23; Ádám and Marosi, *A Kisalföld és a Nyugat-magyarországi peremvidék*, 376.

¹¹⁷⁶ The stream between the Gencsapáti and Polány is today called Perint. The name Perint was first used in a source from 1768. Endre Tóth, “Adatok Savaria—Szombathely és környéke történeti földrajzához” [Data on the historical geography of Savaria—Szombathely and its environs], *VSz* 26 (1972): 239-262, esp. 241.

Romans.¹¹⁷⁷ In the late Árpád Period it was extended from Pecöl to Sárvár where it joined the Rába.¹¹⁷⁸ On its way the Gyöngyös collected the water of many small watercourses, such as *Csirnic* (now: Ge. Schirnitzbach),¹¹⁷⁹ *Velika* (now: Ge. Walkgraben),¹¹⁸⁰ and the now extinct *Lebnik*,¹¹⁸¹ and the *Borzó*.¹¹⁸²

The *right-hand catchment area of the Rába* was less significant compared to the one on the left. Mainly smaller streams belonged to it, such as *Dobra* (now: Ge. Doiberbach) mentioned in the vicinity of Dobra (C. Vas), a brook dried up by now,¹¹⁸³ or the *Sibring*,¹¹⁸⁴ which is also extinct today. To the north-east the *Csörnöc*¹¹⁸⁵ was running parallel with the Rába. In the vicinity of Kám (C. Vas) the stream took the name *Herpenyő*¹¹⁸⁶ and running further to the north-east it finally where it flowed into the Rába at Sárvár (C. Vas).¹¹⁸⁷ The Csörnöc—Herpenyő took up the water of small streams

¹¹⁷⁷ For the Gyöngyös Stream and its Roman channel see, in detail: Tóth, “Adatok Savaria—Szombathely történeti földrajzához,” 239-262. On the question also see: Károlyi, “A magyar vízi munkálatok rövid története,” 25, Fig I.1; Zoltán Károlyi, “Az egyes vízvidékek szabályozási munkáinak története: A Duna-völgy vizeinek szabályozása” [The history of regulation works in hydrologic regions: regulation of the waters of the Duna valley], in *A magyar vízszabályozás története* [The history of Hungarian water management], ed. Dénes Ihrig (Budapest: Országos Vízügyi Hivatal, 1973), 151-280, esp. 199; Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, *Savaria—Szombathely története*, 10-12, Fig. 4; András Bödőcs and Gábor Kovács, “A római kori birtokrendszer kialakítása és tájformáló hatása Pannoniában” (The designation of the Roman cadastral system in Pannonia province, and its effects on the recent landscape), *Geodézia és Kartográfia* 63:3 (2011): 20-25, esp. 24.

¹¹⁷⁸ Károlyi, “A Duna-völgy vizeinek szabályozása,” 199.

¹¹⁷⁹ The German name of the stream evolved between 1100 and 1250 (by the adoption of Slavic *Črňecъ*, or Hungarian *Csirnic/Csürniuc*), Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 112-113, 287.

¹¹⁸⁰ 1279: *aquam Velika* (Léka, C. Sopron) UB II, 140; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 58.

¹¹⁸¹ 1225: *currit in fluvium Gyngus versus molendinum Martini ipsumque fluvium ascendens usque ad locum ubi rivulus Libnik cadit in ipsum; ...ad caput ipsius Lybnik*, UB I, 103-104; 1411: *Lybnek*, Sopron vm. I. 647; Ortway I, 490; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 47.

¹¹⁸² 1299: *iuxta aquam Burzava vocatam* (Csó, C. Vas), UB II, 328. The upper course of the river is called the Kozár Stream, Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 21-22.

¹¹⁸³ 1213: *meta... incipit, ubi rivulus qui dicitur Dobra cadit in flumine Raba, et pergat versus meridiem usque ad rivulum siccum* (Dobra, C. Vas), UB I, 65; Ortway I, 275; Ortway II, 214; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 25.

¹¹⁸⁴ 1213: *cadit in riulum, qui dicitur Sibring; et per Sibring reuertitur in flumen Rabe* (Dobra, C. Vas), W. VI, 359; Ortway II, 214.

¹¹⁸⁵ 1244: *ultra Cernech fluvium* (Döröske, C. Vas), UB I, 211; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 23.

¹¹⁸⁶ 1217: *super aquam Hrepyna nomine* (Gyeli, C. Vas), UB I, 73; Ortway I, 384; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 63-64.

¹¹⁸⁷ The upper course of the river was called Csörnöc, while the name of the lower course (from the region of Kám) was Herpenyő, Ortway I, 183; FNESz I, s.v. “Csörnöc-Herpenyő,” 345; Cf. Second Military Survey, coll. XXII, sect. 55, and coll. XXIII, sect. 54.

from the right, such as **Mákfa**.¹¹⁸⁸ The **Marcal**¹¹⁸⁹ having its source at the south-western end of the Bakony, in County Veszprém was the most important right-hand tributary of the Rába. From the area of Karakó (C. Vas) the Marcal was running northwards on the border of Counties Vas and Veszprém. At Marcaltó (C. Veszprém) the Marcal approached the Rába. Flowing along the right bank of the Rába, the Marcal crossed the territory of Counties Veszprém and Győr to Kisárpás (C. Győr), Roman *Mursella*, where it joined the Rába.¹¹⁹⁰ One of the most important left-hand tributaries of the Marcal River in County Vas was the **Peresztég** (now: Hu. Godó-patak),¹¹⁹¹ which joined it in the vicinity of Izsákfa. The **Gerence**¹¹⁹² running along the southern border of County Győr met the Marcal at Marcaltó (C. Veszprém). Further to the north at Mórighida (C. Győr) the **Disznód** (now: Hu. Csángota-ér)¹¹⁹³ at Koroncó the **Füzege** (now: Hu. Sokoró—Bakony-ér)¹¹⁹⁴ joined the Marcal on the right. From Békaszentmiklós (C. Győr) on, the Rába had a nearly 15 km-long arm, which was called Rába or **Mező-Rába**.¹¹⁹⁵ North of that, across Ikrény (C. Győr) the short **Sárosd** (now: Hu. Sós-ér),¹¹⁹⁶ and finally between

¹¹⁸⁸ 1283: *in aquis piscacionibus fluminum Rabe et Macua*, HO IV, 64; Ortway I, 495.

¹¹⁸⁹ 1086: *per alveum, qui vulgo dicitur Murzol* (Árpás, C. Győr), UB I, 17; 1234-1270: *in fluuio et laqu nomine Morzol* (Nyárád and Pettend, C. Veszprém), W. II, 25; 1251: *venam, quae dicitur Morchol* (Mórighida, C. Győr), F. IV/2, 85; 1271: *iuxta Morzol Zloukfelde uulgariter nominata* (Szalókfölde, C. Veszprém), HO I, 51; 1290: *villam Högyész in comitatu castriferrei, super fluuium Marczal sitam* (Högyész, C. Vas), F. V/3, 492.

¹¹⁹⁰ Ortway I, 533-534; ÁMTF II, 564, 579, 610; FNESz II, s.v. "Marcal," 91; Ádám and Marosi, *A Kisalföld és a Nyugat-magyarországi peremvidék*, 192-193.

¹¹⁹¹ 1272-1290: *ad aquam nomine Perezteg* (Köcsk and Káld, C. Vas), HO IV, 51; 1275: *usque fluuium Perezteg* (Perezteg, C. Vas), HO VII, 155; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 41; Ortway II, 96-97; Ádám and Marosi, *A Kisalföld és a Nyugat-magyarországi peremvidék*, 194, 428.

¹¹⁹² 1086: *ad torrentem Gremce* (Koppány, C. Veszprém), PRT VIII, 267; Ortway I, 346; ÁMTF II, 564, n. 15; FNESz I, s.v. "Gerence," 510.

¹¹⁹³ 1251: *aquam Gecznuud* (Tét, C. Győr), F. IV/2, 87; ÁMTF II, 564, n. 15, 639.

¹¹⁹⁴ 1086: *ad portum Fizeg* (Kajár, C. Győr), W. I, 32; Ortway I, 313; ÁMTF II, 564, n. 15, 603.

¹¹⁹⁵ 1287: *iuxta Mezeuraba* (Béka-Szentmiklós, C. Győr), W. XII, 456; 1234: *fluuium Raba* (Rábaszentmihály, C. Győr) W. VI, 552-553. Ortway I, 524; ÁMTF II, 564, n. 12, 582, 620.

¹¹⁹⁶ ÁMTF II, 564.

Győr and Csanak (C. Győr; now: Ménfőcsanak) the *Pándzsa*¹¹⁹⁷ fell into the Rába from the right.¹¹⁹⁸

Snowmelt in spring or prolonged rainfall in summer often led to the inundation of the Rába, which made defensive measures necessary as early as the Árpád Period. The dam south of Edve (C. Sopron) called by the local population *Eszterú* also preserves the memory of Árpád Period protection against floods.¹¹⁹⁹

3.2.5 Rábca

The **Rábca** or **Répcse** (Ge. Rabnitz)¹²⁰⁰ having its source near the Austrian Ransdorf entered the territory of Hungary at Karló (C. Sopron; now: part of Draßmarkt, Au.). Between Gór (C. Vas) and Dénesfa (C. Sopron) it was the border of Counties Sopron and Vas. From Dénesfa on it continued its way northwards across County Sopron. To the north of Kapuvár (C. Sopron) it turned to the east, and separated County Moson from County Sopron and then from County Győr. Finally, it poured into the Danube at Győr (C. Győr) from the right.¹²⁰¹ The right bank of the Rábca accepted the water of the *Vigna*

¹¹⁹⁷ 1237-1240: *rivulum... vocatur Pannosa* (Szentmárton, C. Győr), PRT. I, 771; 1323: *per fluium Pansa vocatum* (Écs, C. Győr), HO I, 127; 1325: *ultra Pansam* (Écs, C. Győr), HO III, 81; Ortway II, 87, ÁMTF II, 564-565, n.15, 630, 586; FNESz II, s.v. "Pándzsa," 313.

¹¹⁹⁸ ÁMTF II, 564.

¹¹⁹⁹ *Eszterú: Rába-tóttis*, GYMSMFN, 69, No. 18/98; Kázmér, *Alsó-szigetköz földrajzinevei*, 41.

¹²⁰⁰ Anon. [ca. 1200]: *ad... Rabuceam*, SRH I, 100; Chron. Hung.: *versus flumen Rabcha*, SRH I, 378; 1171: *terram Suprvniensem, sitam iuxta Rabcham sursum nomine Sarud* (Sarud/Frankó, C. Sopron), UB I, 25; 1208: *in ponte Kenez super Rabca* (Kenézhida, C. Győr), UB I, 55; 1209: *cum fluvio Rabcha* (Kapi, C. Győr), F. VII/1, 190; 1221: *per medium fluvium Repche tendit ad metam terre ville Tazar* (Taszár, C. Vas), UB I, 84; 1225: *super aquam Rebce iuxta terram Sydan* (Zsidány, C. Sopron), UB I, 103; 1231: *in flumine, quod vulgo Rabucha nuncupatur* (Mihályi, C. Sopron), UB I, 136; 1233: *iuxta aquam Rebcha* (Zsidány, C. Sopron), UB I, 151; 1238: *iuxta predium, quod uocatur Belud, iuxta Rabcha* (Beled, C. Sopron), W. VII, 54; 1248: *iuxta fluvium Rabbacha*, UB I, 220; 1251: *ad Rabezam, ... cum fluvio Rábca* (Kapi, C. Győr), F. IV/2, 88; 1255: *terram nomine Cazmer sitam circa Rapcha* (Kisfalud, C. Sopron), UB I, 248; 1262: *in fluium Rapcha, vltra quem est terra Anoch*, W. VIII, 53; 1265: *iuxta fluvium Repce* (Hobaj, C. Sopron), UB I, 321; 1270: *villa Egurzegh iuxta fluvium Repche existens* (Egerszeg, C. Vas), UB III, 272; 1271: *altera parte fluminis, que fluvios Rabuch et Raban respicit*, UB II, 3; 1276: *inter Rabam et Repchem*, W. XII, 167; (1276): *duas villas suas hereditarias Keeth Chalad vocatas in comitatu Suprvniensi iuxta fluvium Rebche sitas* (Család, C. Sopron), UB II, 89; 1279: *a parte aquae Rapcha* (Gór, C. Vas), UB II, 140; 1279: *in fluvium Rebza*, UB II, 127; 1281: *inter fluvios Raba et Rabcha*, F. V/3, 88-89; 1291: *terram...Ryty uocatam sitam iuxta Rabcha, in Comitatu Jauriensi* (Réti, C. Győr), W. X, 33; 1300: *inter fluvios Raba, Rapcha*, F. VI/2, 254; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 45-46, 111.

¹²⁰¹ Ortway II, 141-142; ÁMTF IV, 133-134; Bél, *Sopron vármegye leírása* I, 110-111.

Stream (now: Bleigrabenbach)¹²⁰² in the vicinity of Zsidány (C. Sopron), the **Ablánc** Stream¹²⁰³ before Górá (C. Vas), and the **Kóris** Stream¹²⁰⁴ in the area of Dénesfa (C. Sopron). The **Csáva** Stream (Ge. Stooberbach),¹²⁰⁵ the left tributary of Rábca, originated from the confluence of the **Kopali** (now: Ge. Schwarzbach),¹²⁰⁶ **Tiskou** (now: Ge. Tessenbach),¹²⁰⁷ **Zarannuk** (now: Ge. Ranbach),¹²⁰⁸ and **Szikra** (Ge. Siegrabenbach)¹²⁰⁹ Streams. The Csáva then took up the water of the **Gabornok** (Ge. Gaberlingbach)¹²¹⁰ and **Rudnik** (now: Hu. Doborján, Ge. Raidingbach)¹²¹¹ Streams, and finally it joined the Rábca at Micske (C. Sopron) on the left. The most important left-hand tributary of the middle-course of the Rábca was the **Metőc** Stream¹²¹² that had its source around Völcselj (C. Sopron), and joined the Rábca by Tompaháza (C. Sopron; now: Tompaládony). The

¹²⁰² 1225: *ad rivulum Wigne Wise* (Borsmonostor, C. Sopron), UB I, 105; Sopron vm. I, 13; 1233: *ad Wygna potoka* (Zsidány, C. Sopron), UB I, 150; Ortway II, 321; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 58.

¹²⁰³ 1233: *in vallem quandam Ablanch nomine* (Zsidány, C. Sopron), UB I, 150; 1255: *iuxta rivulum Oblanch;...ad rivulum Oblanch* (Ablanc, C. Vas), UB I, 238-239; Ortway II, 68-69; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 19; FNESz I, s.v. “Ablánc-patak,” 51; *Ablancz B.*, Second Military Survey, coll. XXIII, sect. 52.

¹²⁰⁴ (1238): *aquam Keures* (Zsédény, C. Vas), UB I, 187; 1254: *iuxta Keurus* (Nick, C. Vas), UB I, 236; (1267): *inter Rebchem et Keurus*, UB I, 333; 1270: *usque alveum fluvii Keros; ...iuxta Keros* (Jákfa, C. Vas), UB I, 366; 1270: *Potyond iuxta Kewrus* (Potyond, C. Sopron);...*ad fluvium Repche et Kewrus*, UB III, 272; (1276): *ultra fluvium Keurus (villa Petuland, C. Vas)*, UB II, 88; Ortway I, 430; *Köris B.* Second Military Survey, coll. XXIII, sect. 52 and coll. XXIV, sect. 51.

¹²⁰⁵ 1225: *ad Lutsmann et Mainhart, vbi antiquum meatum habuit Sara* (Locsmánd and Kedhely, C. Sopron), F. III/2, 63; 1263: *fluuium Choa* (Csáva, C. Sopron), W. VIII, 53; Ortway I, 201; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 22-23, 103; *Stabitz od. Stob B.*, Second Military Survey, coll. XXI, sect. 50; *Csava od. Stober B.*, Second Military Survey, coll. XXII, sect. 51; Gerabek, *Die Gewässer des Burgenlandes*, 19.

¹²⁰⁶ 1263: *usque villam Wepin, ubi transit fluvium Kopalc* (Veperd, C. Sopron), UB I, 294; *Schwarzen B.*, Second Military Survey, coll. XXI, sect. 49 and *Schwarz B.*, Second Military Survey, coll. XXI, sect. 50; Ortway I, 439; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 34.

¹²⁰⁷ 1222: *Tulcou potok; ...super aquam Tulcou;...de capite Tulcou* (Veperd, C. Sopron), UB I, 89; 1263: *ad caput fluminis Tyskou* (Szentmárton, C. Sopron), UB I, 294; *Tessen B.*, Second Military Survey, coll. XXI, sect. 50; Ortway II, 286, 292-293; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 56, 113.

¹²⁰⁸ 1222: *Zarannuk potok* (Veperd, C. Sopron), UB I, 89; Ortway II, 433; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 59.

¹²⁰⁹ 1222: *Sykrin potok* (Veperd, C. Sopron), UB I, 89; *Siegraben B.*, Second Military Survey, coll. XXI, sect. 49; Ortway II, 238; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 52, 113.

¹²¹⁰ 1222: *Gorbounuk potoka* (Gobornok and Lakompak, C. Sopron), UB I, 89; *Gaberling B.*, Second Military Survey, coll. XXI, sect. 50; Ortway I, 341-342; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 28-29, 107-108.

¹²¹¹ 1222: *descendendo inferius per minorem Rednyk cadit in maiorem Rednik et per Rednik procedit inferius; inde relicto Rednik in terram minoris Loukou ascendit in montem, unde incipit tenere metas cum maiori Loukou* (Lakompak, C. Sopron); UB I, 89; 1225: *per ipsum rivulum Rudnyk ascendit ad metas trium villarum Michsa, Nygwan et ecclesiae* (Micske, Ligvánd, and Borsmonostor, C. Sopron), UB I, 104; *Reidinger B.*, Second Military Survey, coll. XXII, sect. 50-51; Ortway II, 150, 175; Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 49.

¹²¹² 1864: *Metőc*, Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 39; FNESz II, “Metőc-patak,” 127.

left-hand tributaries belonging to the lower part of the Rábca's course are known only around Lébény (C. Moson) from the Árpád Period: in addition to the *Lébény* meeting the Rábca at Lébény, the names of the now extinct *Bük örvény*, *Szeplő* (?), *Mile*, *Tapál*, and the *Homoród* are mentioned in a charter.¹²¹³

Similarly to the Rába, the inundation of the Rábca represented a great danger for the neighbouring settlements and arable areas in certain parts of the year. When the water-level of the Danube was rising, water tended to flow back into the Rábca, flooding the settlements in Counties Győr and Moson. These inundations were to be prevented by the construction dams (Hu. *eszteru*).¹²¹⁴ When needed, the water of the Rábca could be held back, among others, with the dam built at Lébény (C. Moson),¹²¹⁵ or (to west of that) with the embankment called *Eszterhó*. The latter construction was, in fact, the embankment of a Roman road that connected the Carnuntum—Arrabona and Arrabona—Savaria roads. The earth embankment of the road was used in flood-prevention in the subsequent centuries.¹²¹⁶ The construction is indicated between Baromház (C. Moson; now: part of Lébény) and Réti (C. Győr; now: Tárnokréti) on the map of the Second Military Survey, too.¹²¹⁷ The canal constructed at Kapi (now: Rábcakapi), south-west of Réti must have also had a role in protection against the floods of the Rábca in the Árpád Period.¹²¹⁸

Having introduced the main natural landscape features of Western Transdanubia (including landforms, vegetation, and waterlogged territories, and watercourses) what

¹²¹³ 1208: *Libyn, ... Bucenrem, ... Zoplon, ... Miley, ... Tapal, ... Chumorond* (Lébény and Szentmiklós, C. Moson), F. III/1, 60-61; Ortway I, 157, 469, 525; Ortway II, 248, 449-450; ÁMTF IV, 134, n. 9, 155-156.

¹²¹⁴ Kövér, "A Hanság földrajza," 10-11; ÁMTF IV, 134.

¹²¹⁵ 1208: *prima meta est in capite aquae Libyn, inde vadit ad fossatum ad clausulam Regis, ita, quod terra cum aqua a capite Libyn, vsque ad clausulam regis est ecclesiae; ... per Rabca reditur ad locum, quem superius nominauimus Regis clausulam* (Lébény, C. Moson), F. III/1, 60-61.

¹²¹⁶ Ortway I, 399-400.

¹²¹⁷ Second Military Survey, coll. XXV, sect. 48.

¹²¹⁸ 1251: *contulimus terram Kapy totaliter; cuius meta ab oriente incipit iuxta fossatam Regis* (Kapi, C. Győr), F. IV/2, 88; Ortway II, 151.

remains now is to describe briefly the layout and structure of Roman roads as their remains also affected the formation of the road system in the Árpád Period.

3.3 ROMAN ROADS

Transdanubia together with the territory between the Drava and the Sava Rivers was conquered and annexed in the Roman Empire as a province called Pannonia¹²¹⁹ by Emperor Tiberius (AD 14-37). It was part of Roman military strategy to construct roads as soon as a region was occupied and pacified. These roads aided movement for the Roman troops and their supplies between the new province and Italy. It was not otherwise in the case of Pannonia, either. The Roman roads of Pannonia were originally built for military use, but later the administrative system and the imperial postal service (*cursus publicus*) also made use of them, and soon afterwards the road system became the basis for the network of towns.¹²²⁰

3.3.1 Road sections

Pannonia had four highways that were constructed to join the province with other parts of the Roman Empire. The earliest two developed at the southern and western edges of the province shortly after the conquest. The former led eastwards between the Drava and Sava Rivers to the Danube, and connected thus Italy with its oriental provinces and Egypt. The latter was a north-bound route that again provided access between Italy and the Danube. Its origins pre-date the Roman occupation as it had been, in fact, a long-distance trade route on which amber was carried from the Baltic Sea to Mediterranean Sea since prehistory (hence its name Amber Route used in scholarship). With the Romans

¹²¹⁹ Some time between 102 and 107 the province of *Pannonia* was divided into an eastern and western half called *Pannonia Inferior* and *Pannonia Superior*. Under Emperor Diocletian (AD 284-305) the territory was further parted into *Pannonia Prima*, *Pannonia Secunda*, *Valeria*, and *Savia*. For the history of Pannonia see, András Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia. A history of the middle Danube provinces of the Roman Empire* (London: Routledge, 1974).

¹²²⁰ Endre Tóth, "The Roman Roads of Pannonia," *The New Hungarian Quarterly* 24 (1984): 174-180, esp. 178-179.

the Amber Route gained military significance, which is clearly demonstrated by the fact that a row of military camps were constructed along its path, namely Poetovio (Ptuj, Sl.), Salla (Zalalövő, C. Zala), Savaria (Szombathely, C. Vas), and Carnuntum (Deutsch-Altenburg, Petronell, Au.). The third highway was constructed on the eastern border of Pannonia (*Ripa Pannonica*), which was at the same time the border of the Roman Empire. By the end of the Flavian period a linear defensive system (*limes*) was constructed along the Danube with camps and watch-towers that necessitated a road between them. In this way the Pannonian *limes* road became part of a great military route that connected the Balkan provinces with Gaul. Finally, there was a diagonal road that ran from the north-east to the south-west across Transdanubia, and served thus as a short cut for the *limes* road. Roads that were constructed in order to connect the military camps were also available for communication between towns that developed at the site of former camps. It also meant that the early military roads determined the later network of settlements in the province.¹²²¹

The road network and settlement system of Roman Pannonia is fundamentally known from three sources: the *Tabula Peutingeriana*,¹²²² a Roman road map surviving in a medieval (11th-12th c.) copy, as well as two itineraries, the *Itinerarium Antonini*¹²²³ and the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*¹²²⁴ compiled in the late third and early fourth centuries, respectively (Fig. 37).¹²²⁵ The routes described by the *Itinerarium Antonini* mark out two main nodes within the road network of Roman Pannonia, Savaria

¹²²¹ For brief a description of these four main roads and a brief historical overviews of the development of the Pannonian road system in English see, Sándor Soproni, "Roads," in *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*, ed. Alfonz Lengyel and G.T.B. Radan (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980), 207-217; Endre Tóth, "The Roman Roads of Pannonia," *The New Hungarian Quarterly* 24 (1984): 174-180.

¹²²² Ekkehard Weber, ed., *Tabula Peutingeriana, codex Vindobonensis 324. Faksimileausgabe mit Kommentar* (Graz: Akademischen Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1976).

¹²²³ Gustav Parthey and Moritz Pinder, eds., *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum* (Berlin: Fredericus Nicolaus, 1848).

¹²²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²²⁵ András Mócsy and Mária Szilágyi, "Úthálózat," [Road network], in *Pannonia Régészeti Kézikönyve* [Archaeological Handbook of Pannonia], ed. András Mócsy and Jenő Fitz (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), 118-124.

(Szombathely, C. Vas) and Sopianae (Pécs, C. Baranya).¹²²⁶ These centres were connected to other towns of the province as follows: Savaria—Arrabona (*Itin.Ant.* 262.9-263.2), Savaria—Aquincum (*Itin.Ant.* 263.3-263.9), Sopianae—Savaria (*Itin.Ant.* 232.4-234.1), Sopianae—Arrabona (*Itin.Ant.* 267.5-267.10), Sopianae—Brigetio (*Itin.Ant.* 264.7-265.3), and Sopianae—Aquincum (*Itin.Ant.* 263.3-263.9).

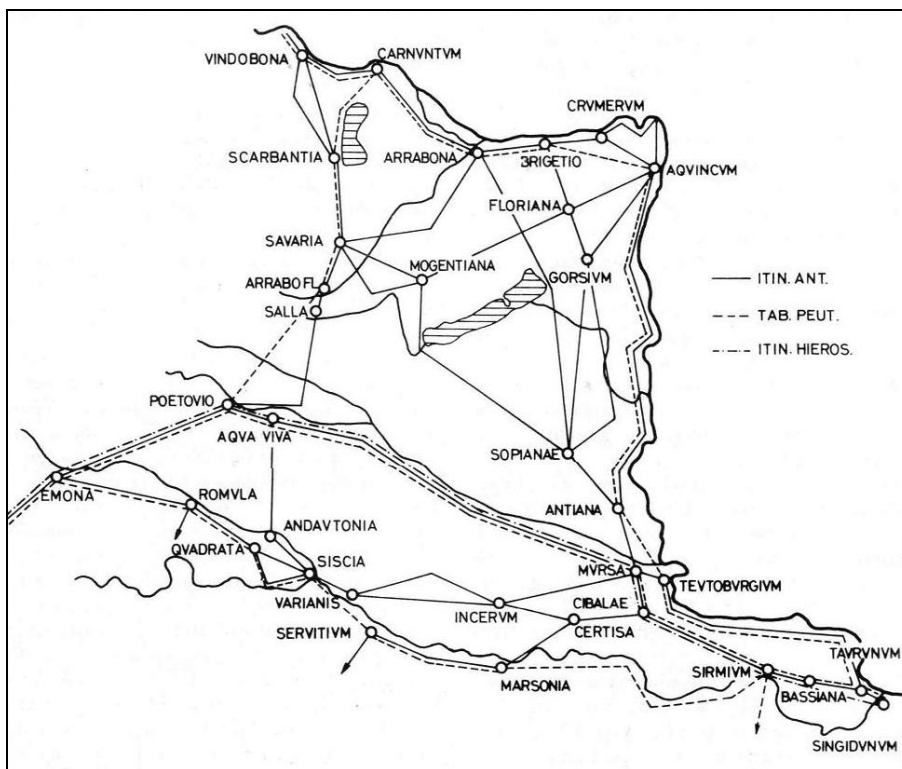


Fig. 37. The main ancient routes in Roman Pannonia reconstructed on the basis of the *Itinerarium Antonini*, the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, and the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* (Mócsy and Szilágyi 1990,¹²²⁷ 124)

The *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the itineraries above enabled the reconstruction of public highways (*via publica*) that connected towns, as well as the military and administrative centres of the province.¹²²⁸ In addition to those main roads, there were also subsidiary roads (*via vicinalis*) that functioned as shortcuts between highways and involved settlements of lesser importance (*vici*) into the communication network. These

¹²²⁶ Mócsy and Szilágyi, “Úthálózat,” 121-122; Tóth, *Itineraria Pannonica*, 23-62.

¹²²⁷ See n. 1225.

¹²²⁸ Cf. n. 151.

latter roads were either in public or in private use. Finally, there were local roads (*itineria* and *actus*) leading to and across villa estates and plots allotted around founded towns (*coloniae*), which were most often in private hands (*viae privatae*).¹²²⁹ With the help of archaeological data and methods¹²³⁰ (milestones, field surveys, excavations, and so on) roads belonging to all levels of hierarchy have been identified. Furthermore, most recently aerial photography¹²³¹ and computer-based tools, such as geographic information system technology¹²³² have also produced valuable data on road investigations.

Similarly to other provinces of the Roman Empire, there were *coloniae* in Pannonia that is towns established for retired legionary soldiers (*veterani*) and their families, who received a piece of land around the town. The land-allotment was carried out according to a rectangular cadastral system, the basis of which was the *centuria*, a land unit measuring 708×708 metres. The *centuriae* were adjusted to two rectangular axes directed approximately north-south (*cardo maximus*) and east-



Fig. 38. The reconstructed borders of *centuriae* around Savaria (Mócsy 1965,¹²³³ Fig. 11)

¹²²⁹ For the classification of Roman roads see, Chevallier, Roman roads, 65-66; Bödőcs, *A római kori úthálózat*, 69-75.

¹²³⁰ The potentials of archaeological investigations in the identification of road sections were outlined for future investigations by Endre Tóth, "Pannónia római útvonalainak kutatásáról," [On investigations into the Roman routes of Pannonia], *SMK 2* (1975): 275-278.

¹²³¹ Visy, *The Ripa Pannonica in Hungary*.

¹²³² For the application of GIS in the research of Roman roads, see the 2008 doctoral dissertation of András Bödőcs, titled *A római kori úthálózat térinformatikai vizsgálata a mai Magyarország területén*.

¹²³³ See n. 1235.

west (*decumanus maximus*). Roads and irrigation ditches were often constructed on the boundaries between plots.¹²³⁴ The exact orientation of the *centuriatio* grid pattern differed from towns to towns. In Pannonia, the layout of the *centuriae* has been best reconstructed on the *territorium* of Savaria (now: Szombathely, C. Vas), a *colonia* established around 46-50 AD (Fig. 38). The reconstruction was enabled by the fact that the rectangular road system adjusted to the boundaries of *centuriae* remained partly in use to the Middle Ages, and thus they affected the boundaries of medieval estates as well.¹²³⁵ The east-west directed road between Savaria and Bassiana (now: Sárvár, C. Vas) running along the borders of Roman *centuriae* must have, for example, functioned as a *decumanus* before it turned into a Roman highway.¹²³⁶ The road was still known in the Middle Ages and used in local communication (chapter 4.2.3.4). In the vicinity of Szombathely it was called *Bálványkő útja* ('the road of a stone idol') after the Roman tombstone erected along it. In addition, several of its road sections were called *öttevény* (No. 28-No. 31) after its gravelled surface.¹²³⁷

¹²³⁴ Most recently on the *centuriatio* see, Bődöcs and Kovács, "A római kori birtokrendszer," 20-23; András Bődöcs, "Aerial archaeological substantiation of a Roman cadastre system's predictive model," *AARGnews* 42 (2011): 20-28, esp. 21-23.

¹²³⁵ On the *centuriatio* of fields around Savaria, András Mócsy, "Savaria utcarendszerének rekonstrukciójához" [Contributions to the reconstruction of the street system of Savaria], *ArchÉrt* 92 (1965): 27-36, esp. 32-35; Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, *Savaria—Szombathely története*, 26-27; Bődöcs and Kovács, "A római kori birtokrendszer," 23; Bődöcs, "A Roman cadastre system's predictive model," 23-24.

¹²³⁶ András Bődöcs, *A római kori úthálózat térinformatikai vizsgálata*, 607-617, esp. 614; Bődöcs, "A Roman cadastre system's predictive model," 27.

¹²³⁷ Endre Tóth, "A Savaria—Bassiana útszakasz" [The Savaria—Bassiana road section], *ArchÉrt* 104 (1977): 65-75.

It was not only the fields around founded towns but also the towns themselves that were divided into rectangular plots adjusted to the axes *cardo* and *decumanus*. In Savaria the plots of dwelling houses (*insulae*) were measured 41×42 metres and 92×41 metres (Fig. 39). The rectangular streets between the *insulae* were generally 5-6 metres wide, whereas the width of the Amber Route passing through the town

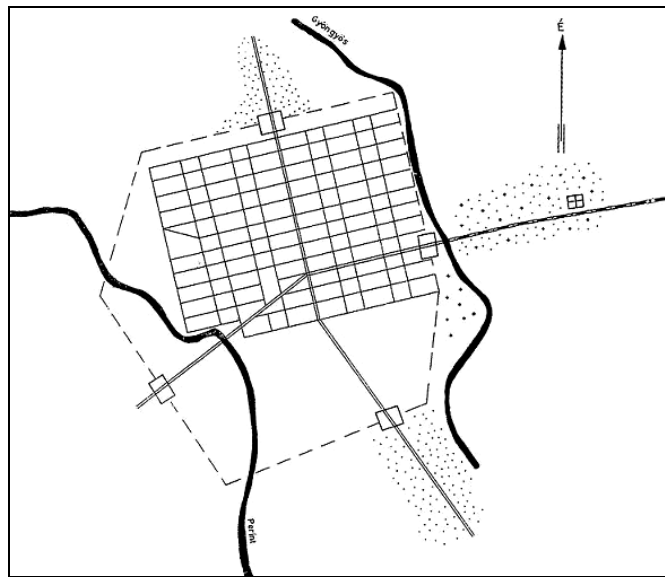


Fig. 39. The reconstruction of the street system of Savaria and surrounding roads (After Tóth 1977,¹²³⁸ 66, Fig. 1)

Amber Route passing through the town ranged between 8 and 12 metres.¹²³⁹ Roads leading to Savaria were directly connected to the street system of the town. The north—south axis of the town fell in line with the Amber Route, which led northwards to Scarbantia (Sopron) and southwards to Salla (Zalalövő, C. Zala).¹²⁴⁰ The road leading from Savaria eastwards to Bassiana was the direct elongation of an east—west directed street of the town.¹²⁴¹ The destination of the road leading from the same street to the west is uncertain, but it may not have been an important highway as it was directed at the hills of the Fore-Alps (Fig. 39).¹²⁴²

¹²³⁸ See n. 1237.

¹²³⁹ The system of *insulae* in Savaria has been reconstructed as a result of the work of Terézia P. Buocz, András Mócsy and Endre Tóth: Terézia P. Buocz, “Adatok Savaria topográfiájához” [Data on the topography of Savaria] *ArchÉrt* 89 (1962): 181-187; Mócsy, “Savaria utcarendszerének rekonstrukciójához,” 27-35; Endre Tóth, “A savariai insularendszer rekonstrukciója” [The reconstruction of the system of *insulae* in Savaria], *ArchÉrt* 98 (1971): 143-169; Endre Tóth, “The review of the history of Savaria,” in *A Borostyánkőút tájai és emlékei* (Landscapes and monuments along the Amber Road), ed. János Gömöri (Sopron: Scarbantia Társaság, 1999), 63-72, esp. 66.

¹²⁴⁰ Mócsy, “Savaria utcarendszerének rekonstrukciójához” 32; Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, *Savaria—Szombathely története*, 39-43; Tóth, “A savariai insularendszer rekonstrukciója” 151; Réka Mladoniczki and Ottó Sosztarics, “A Borostyánkőút városi szakasza és szerepe Savaria településszerkezetében,” [The urban part of the Amber Route and its role in the settlement structure of Savaria], *Ókor* 9 (1910): 54-60.

¹²⁴¹ Tóth, “A Savaria—Bassiana útszakasz,” 74 and 66, Fig 1.

¹²⁴² Tóth, “A savariai insularendszer rekonstrukciója” 151.

3.3.2 Structure and material

On the different phases of Roman road engineering we have a contemporary description by Publius Papinius Statius (AD ca. 45—ca. 96), *poeta laureatus* of Emperor Domitian (AD 81-96). In the third verse, fourth book of *Silvae* Statius writes about the construction of the *via Domitiana*.¹²⁴³ According to his description, the first stage of the work was to dig ditches (*sulcus*) that marked out the road. Then the soil was excavated in between and the empty trench (*fossa*) was filled with other materials to create a foundation (*gremium*) for the pavement (*summum dorsum*). The pavement was made up of rocks woven by slaked lime and grey tufa. The road was bound together from both sides with curb-stones (*umbones*) and with wedges (*gomphi*) at regular intervals. The construction of roads demanded a lot of labour altogether: hillsides were deforested, stone was quarried, and streams were diverted from their course.¹²⁴⁴

Although in his books *On Architecture* Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (80/70—ca. 15 BC) did not specifically deal with the technology of roads, his description on the construction of mosaic floors has been frequently used as an analogy to road engineering since the seventeenth century.¹²⁴⁵ Vitruvius tells his readers that at first the ground had to be rammed down in order to make it solid enough.¹²⁴⁶ Then several rows of flat stones were laid down. Upon that bedding (*statumen*) came a mass of broken stones (*rudus*)

¹²⁴³ Statius, *Silvae* 4.3.40-55: “*Hic primus labor incohare sulcos / et rescindere limites et alto / egestu penitus cavare terras; / mox haustas aliter replere fossas / et summo gremium parare dorso, / ne nutent sola, ne maligna sedes / et pressis dubium cubile saxis; / tunc umbonibus hinc et hinc coactis / et crebris iter alligare gonfis. / O quantae pariter manus laborant! / hi caedunt nemus exuuntque montes, / hi ferro scopulos trabesque levant; / illi saxa ligant opusque texunt / cocto pulvere sordidoque tofo; / hi siccant bibulas manu lacunas / et longe fluvios agunt minores.*” Source:

<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/statius/silvae4.shtml> (Last accessed: 7 September 2012).

¹²⁴⁴ Richard George Goodchild and Robert James Forbes, “Roads and Travel,” in *A History of Technology*. Vol. 2. *The Mediterranean Civilizations and the Middle Ages*, ed. Charles Singer, E. J. Holmyard, A.R. Hall and Trevor I. Williams (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), 493-536, esp. 500-503; Chevallier, *Roman roads*, 82-83; Donald Hill, *A History of Engineering in Classical and Medieval Times* (London: Routledge, 1997), 82-83.

¹²⁴⁵ Cf. Chevallier, *Roman roads*, 86.

¹²⁴⁶ Vitruvius, *De Architectura* 7.1.1: “*Si plano pede erit eruderandum, quaeratur solum si sit perpetuo solidum, et ita exaequetur, et iudicatur cum statumine rudus. Sin autem omnis aut ex parte congesticius locus fuerit, festucationibus cum magna cura solidetur.*” Source: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/vitruvius7.html> (Last accessed: 7 September 2012):

mixed with lime and again well beaten. That was followed by a layer of finer concrete (*nucleus*), a lime and sand cement reinforced with pounded tile.¹²⁴⁷ Finally, the pavement (*pavimentum*) was created (Cf. Fig. 40 and Fig. 41).¹²⁴⁸

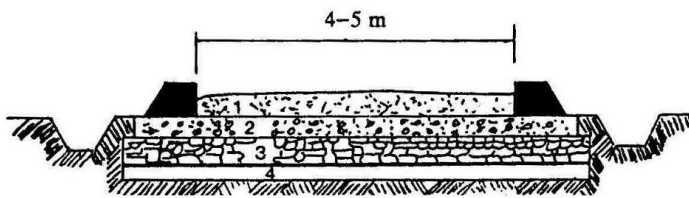


Fig. 40. Diagrammatic cross-section of a characteristic Roman highway

1. Gravel concrete (20-30 cm)
 2. Concrete with crushed stone (30 cm)
 3. Slabs and blocks in cement mortar (30-50 cm)
 4. Mortar layer on top of sand course (20-30 cm)
- (Hill 1997,¹²⁴⁹ 83, Fig. 5.2)

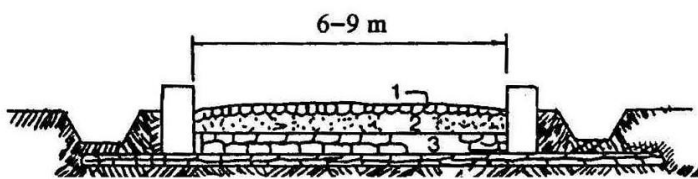


Fig. 41. Diagrammatic cross-section of a principal Roman highway

1. Cobbles and slabs in mortar (20-25 cm)
 2. Concrete with crushed stone (30 cm)
 3. Stone blocks in mortar (30-50 cm)
 4. Flat stones (20-30 cm)
- (Hill 1997,¹²⁵⁰ 83, Fig. 5.2)

Although there are certainly some similarities between the structures of paved floors and highways, Roman roads cannot be regarded as “buried walls.” Excavations in general have shown that the build-up of roads greatly varies by regions. As a rule, the following layers can be differentiated: (1) a foundation course, consisting of a rubble layer that was meant to aid drainage; (2) a layer made up of resilient material (e.g. sand), and finally, (3) a surfacing (not necessarily paved, especially in the open country).¹²⁵¹ In terms of their surface Domitius Ulpianus (AD 170-223) distinguished three types of

¹²⁴⁷ Vitruvius, *De Architectura* 7.1.3: “Tunc insuper statuminetur ne minore saxo quam quod possit manum implere. statuminationibus inductis rudus si novum erit, ad tres partes una calcis misceatur, si redivivum fuerit, quinque ad duo mixtionis habeant responsum. deinde rudus inducatur et vectibus ligneis, decuriis inductis, crebriter pistatione solidetur, et id ne minus pistum absolutum crassitudine sit dodrantis. insuper ex testa nucleus inducatur mixtionem habens ad tres partes unam calcis, ne minore crassitudine pavimenti digitorum senum. supra nucleum ad regulam et libellam exacta pavimenta struantur sive sectilia seu tessaris.” Ibid.

¹²⁴⁸ Vitruvius, *De Architectura* 7.1.6: “Statuminatione facta, rudus inducatur, idque pistum absolutum ne minus pede sit crassum. tunc autem nucleo inducto, uti supra scriptum est, pavimentum e tessera grandi circiter binum digitum caesa struatur fastigium habens in pedes denos digitos binos, quod si bene temperabitur et recte fricatum fuerit, ab omnibus vitiis erit tutum.” Ibid.

¹²⁴⁹ See, n. 1244.

¹²⁵⁰ See, Ibid.

¹²⁵¹ Chevallier, *Roman roads*, 86-87.

roads: paved (*lapide strata*), sanded or gravelled (*glarea starta*), and unmetalled (*terrena strata*) ones.¹²⁵²

The material of the layers and the surfacing depended on various factors such as the character and availability of local materials, the firmness of the subsoil, or the steepness of the terrain. The geographical variability of roads can also be demonstrated in Pannonia.¹²⁵³ In the western part of the province that was particularly rich in gravel a substantial amount of pebbles were used in the construction of roads.¹²⁵⁴ Most frequently, roads were made there exclusively of pebbles, placed directly on the subsoil, such as those uncovered at Körmend¹²⁵⁵ (Fig. 42), Nádasd¹²⁵⁶ (C. Vas), Pankasz (C. Zala),¹²⁵⁷ Kemenesszentpéter¹²⁵⁸ (C. Veszprém) (Fig. 43), and Győr¹²⁵⁹ (C. Győr). Occasionally, roads could also have a layer consisting of mortar, crushed stone and blocks of ragged stone below the layer of pebbles, like the Amber Route near Sopron (Fig. 44).¹²⁶⁰ The surface of the roads was covered with mortar in order to make it firmer.¹²⁶¹ By the Middle Ages the mortar had decayed and could no longer hold together the foundation made up of gravel. The wide strips of gravel that remained of these roads were called by medieval

¹²⁵² *Digesta* 43.11.1.2: *Si quis in specie refectionis deteriorem viam facit, impune vim patietur. propter quod neque latiore neque longiore neque altiore neque humiliore viam sub nomine refectionis is qui intercidit potest facere, vel in viam terrenam glaream inicere aut sternere viam lapide quae terrena sit, vel contra lapide stratam terrenam facere.* Source: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/justinian/digest43.shtml> (Last accessed: 7 September 2012). Cf. Goodchild and Forbes, "Roads and Travel," 503-504.

¹²⁵³ For a comparison of the different types of roads see, Gábor Ilon, "Egy valódi 'via rustica' Savaria területén" [A real 'via rustica' on the territory of Savaria], *Savaria* 25/3 (2000-2001): 69-82, esp. 75-76.

¹²⁵⁴ Tóth, "Eötteven seu via antiqua Romanorum," 201.

¹²⁵⁵ Gábor Vámos, "Növényjelenségek a Borostyánkő út magyarszecsődi szakaszán," (Effects of archaeological phenomena on cultivated plants at the Amber Route near Magyarszecsőd), *Savaria* 25/3 (2000-2001): 201-234, esp. 215, Fig. 8.

¹²⁵⁶ Vajk Cserményi and Endre Tóth. "Eine Römische Strassenstation und Strassenstrecke zwischen Salla und Arrabone," *Savaria* 13-14 (1979-1980): 171-203, esp. 177, Fig. 3a, 183; Vajk Cserményi and Endre Tóth, "Der Abschnitt der Bernsteinstrasse in Ungarn," *Savaria* 16 (1982): 238-290, esp. 288.

¹²⁵⁷ Ferenc Redő, "The Kerka valley in the Roman Age," *Antaeus* 28 (2005): 101-105, esp. 105-16, Fig. 3.

¹²⁵⁸ Palágyi, "Adatok a Savariából Arrabonába vezető római út kemenesszentpéteri szakaszának kutatásához" 28, Fig. 4-7.

¹²⁵⁹ Eszter T. Szőnyi, "Adatok a Brigetio—Savaria út nyomvonalához" [Data on the path of the Brigetio-Savaria road], *Arrabona* 35 (1996): 97-108, esp. 97.

¹²⁶⁰ Gyula Nováki, "A Scarbantia-ból Savariába vezető római kori út" [The Roman road leading from Scarbantia to Savaria], *SSz* 10 (1956): 175-179, esp. 176 and 178.

¹²⁶¹ Tóth, *Itineraria Pannonica*, 21. The pieces of mortar can may even today be seen on the gravel of the road remains, for example at Sárvár, Tóth, "A Savaria—Bassiana útszakasz," 68.

people *öttevény* (see chapter 2.6.1.4).¹²⁶² These strips of gravel were even more scattered by cultivation and are still today visible in the terrain. They also appear as bright traces on aerial photographs (e.g. at Abda, Gönyü, Gyórszentiván, Ács).¹²⁶³

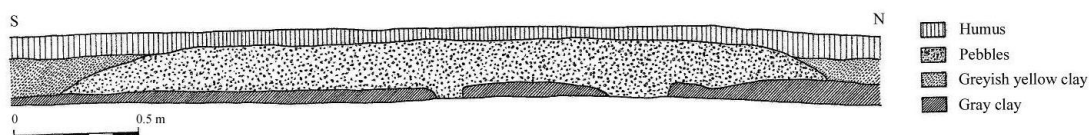


Fig. 42. Cross-section of a Roman road near the Szemcse Stream, Körmend (Vámos 2000,¹²⁶⁴ 215, Fig. 8)

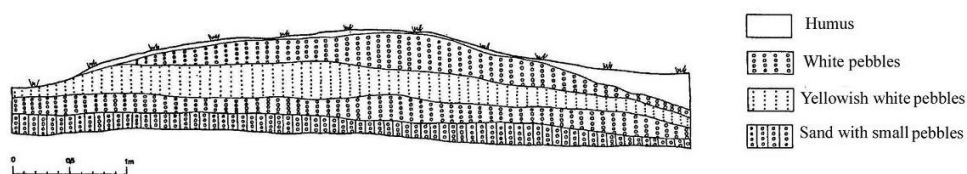


Fig. 43. Cross-section of a Roman road at Kemenesszentpéter (Palágyi 1992,¹²⁶⁵ 33, Fig. 6)

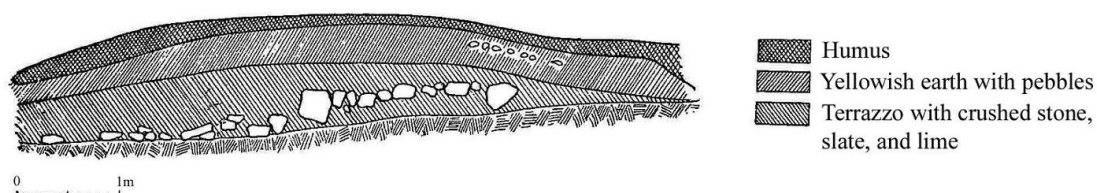


Fig. 44. Cross-section of the Amber Route at Városi erdő, Sopron, in County Sopron (Nováki 1956,¹²⁶⁶ 178)

In Eastern Transdanubia where less gravel was available, the foundations of the roads were generally constructed of crushed stones.¹²⁶⁷ In the Middle Ages the remains of these roads were still in use and were called *via lapidosa* and *kövesút* after their material (see chapter 2.6.1.3). The Testvérhegyi villa archaeological site in Budapest well

¹²⁶² Tóth, “Eötteven seu via antiqua Romanorum,” 199-200.

¹²⁶³ Visy, *The Ripa Pannonica in Hungary*, 20-22, 25, 133.

¹²⁶⁴ See, n. 1255.

¹²⁶⁵ See, n. 491.

¹²⁶⁶ See, n. 1260.

¹²⁶⁷ Tóth, *Itineraria Pannonica*, 21.

demonstrates the continuous use of a Roman “stony road” into the Middle Ages.¹²⁶⁸ Orsolya Láng uncovered there a road with as much as seven phases dated between the second century AD and the sixteenth century. At the earliest level, the second-century road had two layers: (1) a road-bed made up of large (sometimes flat) stones, in the middle of which a ridge was formed by particularly large blocks, and its curb was also carefully made, and (2) a rubble floor on top of that. On the road surface 1.4 metre wide wheel ruts could be observed (Fig. 45).¹²⁶⁹ The youngest, uppermost level of the road was dated with the help of a fifteenth- and a sixteenth-century silver coin collected on its surface. The road structure shows contemporary repair work. Several wheel ruts could be observed on the surface of the medieval road, and also parallel to that, which suggests that a dirt road evolved by that (Fig. 46).¹²⁷⁰



Fig. 45. Segment of a Roman road from the second century AD at 314 Bécsi Road, Budapest (Láng 2003,¹²⁷¹ 105, Fig. 4)

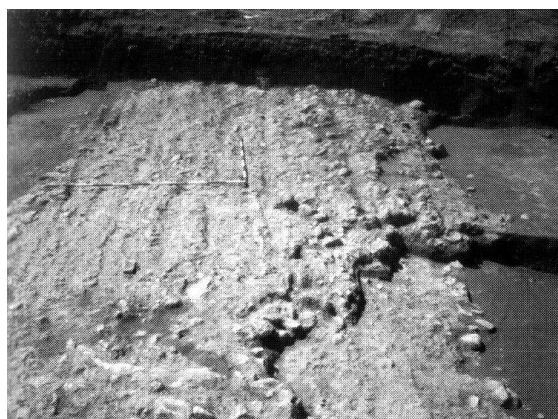


Fig. 46. Segment of a medieval road at 314 Bécsi Road, Budapest (Láng 2003,¹²⁷² 99, Fig. 2)

In the whole territory of Pannonia it was only the streets of towns, and sometimes those parts of roads that led out of the towns that were covered with flagstones (*lapidea*

¹²⁶⁸ Orsolya Láng, “Romai kori útrészletek az aquincumi polgárváros municipiális területén, az úgynevezett Testvérhegyi villa környezete” (Roman Period road segments in the municipal territory of the Aquincum Civil Town, the environs of the so-called Testvérhegy villa), *AqFüz* 9 (2003): 95-110.

¹²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 104-105.

¹²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 99-100.

¹²⁷¹ See, n. 1268

¹²⁷² See, *ibid.*

strata).¹²⁷³ Sections of the Amber Route passing through Salla (Zalalövő),¹²⁷⁴ Savaria (Szombathely),¹²⁷⁵ and Scarbantia (Sopron),¹²⁷⁶ were covered by basalt slabs, while in Aquincum (Budapest)¹²⁷⁷ the streets were covered with limestone slabs.

3.4 CONCLUSIONS

In the chapters above I have provided an overview of three types of landscape features that affected the development of roads in Árpád Period Western Transdanubia, either by representing natural obstacles or by encouraging travellers to go in a certain direction.

First, I dealt with landforms (mountains, valleys, low hills, plateaus, and plains) that divided the landscape into regions. The conditions in the terrain also determined the course of rivers and the type of vegetation. High mountains overgrown with dense forests largely hindered communication. The Fore-Alpine region contained such natural obstacles making them part of Hungary's western border. Travel across mountain chains was restricted to natural passes. If the enemy crossed those natural gateways from the west, they were not hindered in their movement by the low hills and plains stretching along the feet of the Alps. That is the reason why special defensive measures involving

¹²⁷³ Tóth, "The review of the history of Savaria," 64.

¹²⁷⁴ András Mócsy, et al., "Römische Forschungen in Zalalövő (1974)," *ActaArchHung* 28 (1976): 147-196, esp. 157-159; András Mócsy, et al., "Römische Forschungen in Zalalövő (1975)," *ActaArchHung* 29 (1977): 209-279, esp. 217-219; Ferenc Redő, "Zalalövő története az ókorban" [The history of Zalalövő in the Roman Period], in *Zalalövő története az ókortól napjainkig* [The history of Zalalövő from antiquity till today], ed. András Molnár (Zalaötvő: Zalalövő és Környéke Közéletéért, Kultúrájáért és Környezetéért Alapítvány, 1998), 5-50, esp. 18-23; László Vándor, "Municipium Aelium Salla. Ergebnisse der Forschung in der römischen Stadt und Sehenswürdigkeiten in der Umgebung," in *A Borostyánkőút tájai és emlékei* (Landscapes and monuments along the Amber Route), ed. János Gömöri (Sopron: Scarbantia Társaság, 1999), 57-60, esp. 57.

¹²⁷⁵ Terézia P. Buocz, "Savaria úthálózatának kronológiája a Jádányi Paulovics István Romkertben" [The chronology of the street system of Savaria in the István Paulovics Járdányi Garden of Ruins] *Savaria* 5-6 (1971-72): 201-215, esp. 201-204; Tóth, "The review of the history of Savaria," 66; Mladoniczki and Sosztarics, "A Borostyánkőút városi szakasza," 58.

¹²⁷⁶ Klára Póczy, "Die Anfänge der Urbanisation in Scarbantia," *ActaArchHung* 23 (1971): 93-110; János Gömöri, "Scarbantia/Sopron városrégészeti kutatása" [The archaeological investigation of Scarbantia/Sopron], in *A Borostyánkőút tájai és emlékei* (Landscapes and monuments along the Amber Route), ed. Idem (Sopron: Scarbantia Társaság, 1999), 110-116, esp. 112-114.

¹²⁷⁷ Paula Zsidi, *Aquincum polgárvárosa* [The Civil Town of Aquincum] (Budapest: Enciklopédia Kiadó, 2002): 63-64; Klára Póczy, *Aquincum. Budapest római kori történelmi városmagja* [Aquincum. The ancient Roman historic city centre of Budapest] (Budapest: Enciklopédia Kiadó, 2004), 83, 85, Figs. 26-27.

the settlement of communities of guards were initiated at passes where Hungary could be approached (the Dévény Gate, the Sopron Gate, as well as the Pinka and the Zala valleys). Compared to the terrain, political and ecclesiastical territorial division, the borders of estates, and even hydrological features must be regarded as temporary, constantly changing phenomena. Consequently, the terrain was a prime factor in determining and limiting the directions of overland communication.¹²⁷⁸

After landforms, hydrological conditions were the second most important elements in the natural landscape that affected the travel and transport routes. Fresh water was always one of the most important requirements for the development of settlement sites. Settlements (and also roads connecting them) often developed in river valleys, at the edge of inundation plains.¹²⁷⁹ On the other hand, hydrological features also posed restrictions on the available channels of travel.¹²⁸⁰ Crossing over watercourses was limited to a set of sites, namely bridges, ferries, and fords. Thus, those places became smaller or larger nodes of the road network.¹²⁸¹ In addition, marshes and swamps could only be passed along causeways or on plank roads set on wooden posts, the construction and maintenance of which entailed high costs and labour.¹²⁸² That is why, when possible, the main communication routes tended to stay away from marshes and fens. The extension of waterlogged areas and the inundation zones of rivers largely depended on the amount of precipitation. Since Árpád Period climate was relatively dry, settlements and roads developed even in those places that were under water in the subsequent centuries.

¹²⁷⁸ Gyula Prinz, *Magyar föld magyar faj. Magyar földrajz III. Az államföldrajzi kép* [Hungarian land, Hungarian people. The geography of Hungary III. Geography of the State] (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, é.n), 47-60.

¹²⁷⁹ Tibor Mendöl, *Általános településföldrajz* [General settlement geography] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963), 442-444. Villages in medieval Hungary often developed on both banks of a waterway. For examples see, Maksay, *A magyar falu*, 27, n. 7, 33-34.

¹²⁸⁰ Cf. Szende, "Towns along the way," 161-162.

¹²⁸¹ Prinz, *Magyar földrajz III*, 47-53; Csendes, *Die Straßen Niederösterreichs*, 25-26.

¹²⁸² Magdolna Szilágyi, "Medieval roads in Transdanubia – the methods and potentials of their historical and archaeological investigations," *Hungarian Archaeology E-journal*, 2012 Summer, 1-4, esp. 1.

The third type of landscape feature that influenced the development of the Árpád Period road system of Transdanubia comprised ancient Roman road remains. The Roman infrastructure involved public highways passing through towns and military forts, approach roads leading from those highways to villages and villa estates, as well as small local roads running on field boundaries. The province of Pannonia was abandoned by the Romans in the early fifth century AD. The roads constructed by the Romans were no longer maintained and thus, slowly started to degrade. By the Árpád Period the best-preserved of those roads had evidently evolved into public highways with gravel (*glarea strata* or *öttevény*¹²⁸³) or rubble foundations (*lapide strata* or *via lapidosa*¹²⁸⁴), and a surface bonded with concrete (*via antiqua cemetario opera supereffusa*¹²⁸⁵). Minor roads that were unmetalled (*terrena strata*) were obviously less likely to survive.

The fate of ancient Roman roads that lasted until medieval times was various. They were used for communication only if they led to places where medieval people wanted to go. The wheels of carts transporting heavy loads and the hooves of horses accelerated the disintegration of ancient roads that were no longer maintained in the Middle Ages.¹²⁸⁶ The heavily worn roads certainly made the journey rather uncomfortable and may even have caused accidents.¹²⁸⁷ For this reason travellers tended to use earthen roads that developed at the side of ancient road remains in dry weather. At times of heavy rainfall, however, these ancient gravelled or stony roads were obviously preferred to the medieval mud-soaked roads. Those Roman roads that fell beyond medieval transport routes were naturally abandoned. They still remained conspicuous features in the landscape as strips of gravel. In medieval perambulations they are often

¹²⁸³ See chapter 2.6.1.4 for details.

¹²⁸⁴ See chapter 2.6.1.3 for details.

¹²⁸⁵ See n. 892.

¹²⁸⁶ Albert C. Leighton, *Transport and communication in early medieval Europe AD 500-1100* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1972), 53.

¹²⁸⁷ For accidents caused by bad quality roads see, Petneki, "Tanta malitia itineris," 22-24.

referred to as boundaries of estates and in this manner abandoned ancient roads returned to their original function as dividing lines between estates.¹²⁸⁸

¹²⁸⁸ Leighton, *Transport and communication*, 55; Tóth, “The Roman roads of Pannonia,” 179.

4. THE ROAD NETWORK OF COUNTY VAS IN THE ÁRPÁD PERIOD

Having given an account of the most important types of roads in Árpád Period Transdanubia, as well as the major landscape features over which the Árpád Period settlement and road system developed, in the present part of the dissertation I will deal with the road system of County Vas in detail. Through the example of the county I intend to illustrate how varied types of roads a given territory had, and how the natural landscape features as well as the heritage of Roman roads shaped the lines of Árpád Period communication in practice. At first, I will deal with the four long-distance routes (and their branches) that led through County Vas. Secondly, I will discuss the five most important nodes in the county's road network, as well as routes that led to and from these regional centres. In order to make the descriptions easier to follow and compare, I described each route according to the following aspects:¹²⁸⁹

- I. Árpád Period sites along the route
- II. Árpád Period written data (to road sections, bridges, fords, and tolls)
- III. Data yielded by early modern maps and toponyms
- IV. Archaeological sites and architectural monuments (castles, churches, etc.)
- V. Natural environment (relief, watercourses, and vegetation)
- VI. Ancient Roman heritage
- VII. Conclusions, previous scholarly investigations and their critique

At the beginning of each chapter I list those sites (castles, market towns, villages, etc.) that the discussed route passed through or connected to. In cases when the destination of the route was located beyond the borders of County Vas, I enclosed the name of the site in parentheses. Since my aim is to reconstruct the road network of County Vas in the Árpád

¹²⁸⁹ As a comparison, I would like to refer here to the *Die Straßen Niederösterreichs* by Peter Csendes. The author reconstructed the main medieval roads of Lower Austria one by one. At first, he listed data yielded by charters followed by the toponymic evidence, then he provided a detailed description of each route. In my dissertation I employed a different system, because I wanted to introduce roads from more aspects.

Period, I indicate only those settlements in the list the contemporary existence of which can be verified by written sources dated before the mid-fourteenth century and/or by archaeological evidence.

In the second paragraph I discuss written data on road sections, bridges, fords, and tolls, all of which testify to the existence of a route. In the case of road sections, the most informative written sources have proved to be those that not only name the landed property the road passed by but also refer to one or both destinations of the route. Data on the location of bridges and fords must also be considered because they represent the prolongation of roads over water, while the places of toll collection are relevant as they signal the existence of a much frequented trade route nearby. Since the data of fourteenth-century written documents (particularly those dated to the first half of the century) are generally relevant for the Árpád Period, I have consulted every source up to the mid-fourteenth century, and in a few cases even later ones.

In the third paragraph I deal with early modern maps and toponyms that can be applied for the reconstruction of Árpád Period routes retrogressively. The written data mentioned above are important primarily because they date given parts of the route to the Árpád Period. However, these data provide a rather rough and fragmented picture as far as the paths of the routes are concerned. The importance of early modern maps lies in the fact that they enable us to arrange correctly the single pieces of the jigsaw puzzle represented by datable written and archaeological data, and reconstruct the whole route. The results obtained in this way can be further refined or confirmed by toponymic data.

The fourth paragraph is dedicated to archaeological evidence on roads. Here I primarily discuss data on Árpád Period castles, settlements, parish churches, and cemeteries known from archaeological excavations and monument investigations. These data are relevant for the identification of roads simply because these features did not stand in themselves but

were accessed by roads and thus they indirectly testify to the existence of a nearby road. In addition, the construction of a castle or a church, or the foundation of a settlement also serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the route. Those exceptional cases when the road itself could be identified with archaeological methods are also included in this part.

In the fifth paragraph I focus on the natural landscape surrounding the route. Using early modern maps, collections of toponyms, and medieval written sources I collected data on the regions' relief, waters, and vegetation, and investigated which were those landscape features that fundamentally determined the path of each route.

The sixth paragraph deals with roads inherited from ancient Roman infrastructure. Roman roads constructed with high foundations and solid surface have been distinctly visible and passable even after centuries of decay and erosion. Their path was adjusted to the geomorphological and hydrological conditions of the territory, which did not change much during the centuries. That is why these routes could serve as a background to the Árpád Period road system. In the case of each route in County Vas I investigate whether its path follows the track of an ancient Roman road, and if yes, to what extent.

Finally, in the seventh paragraph I summarise the most important findings about the routes on the basis of data discussed in the previous paragraphs. In addition, I compare my results with those of other scholars who had already reconstructed the road before me.

All the written, cartographic and toponymic data used for the reconstruction of the routes are shown in *Appendix 7.1*. In order to make the great amount of information easier to comprehend, I have arranged the data on roads in tables on the basis of the same principles as described above. Since I indicate references to each data in the appendix, I did not find it necessary to make these references again in lengthy footnotes in the descriptive part. In the main text I give references only to those data that were not included in the tables for some reasons.

4.1 LONG-DISTANCE AND PROVINCIAL ROUTES

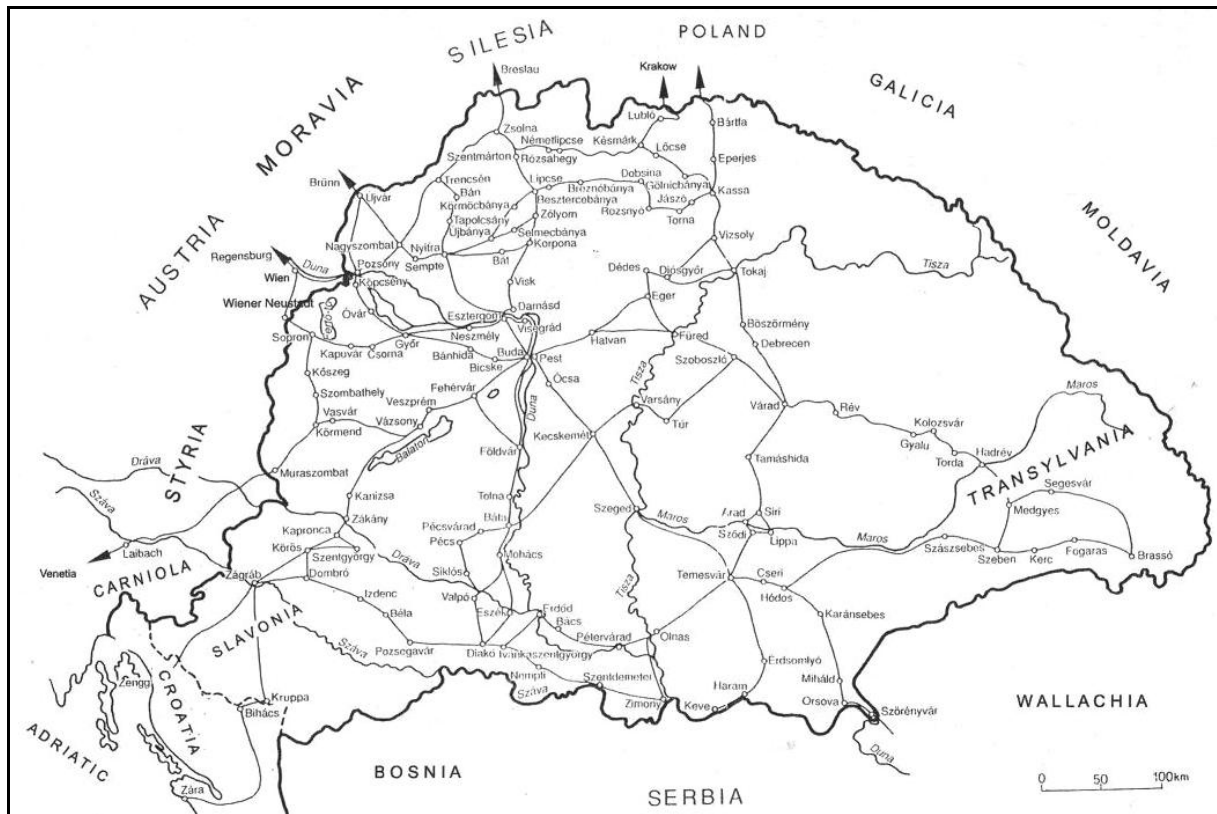


Fig. 47. The most important trade routes and military roads in the Hungarian Kingdom in the 13th-14th century (by Attila Zsoldos, in KMTL, ¹²⁹⁰ 95)

4.1.1 The north—south bound route (The Sopron—Muraszombat Road)

The main north—south directed route of Western Transdanubia led through the following towns and settlements (those found outside the borders of County Vas are indicated in brackets):

I. (Vienna—Wiener Neustadt¹²⁹¹—Nagymarton¹²⁹²—Ágfalva¹²⁹³—Sopron—
Harka¹²⁹⁴—Nyék¹²⁹⁵—Barom¹²⁹⁶—Alsópulya¹²⁹⁷)—Kőszeg¹²⁹⁸—Csömöte¹²⁹⁹—Pöse¹³⁰⁰—

¹²⁹⁰ See n. 180.

¹²⁹¹ Wiener Neustadt was founded by Duke Leopold V of Austria in 1194, which led to a completely new orientation of roads in the southern part of the Vienna Basin. Gertrud Gerhartl, *Wiener Neustadt: Geschichte, Kunst, Kultur, Wirtschaft* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1993), 3; Csendes, *Die Straßen Neiderösterreichs*, 244-245.

¹²⁹² First mentioned in 1202: *villa Martini*, Sopron vm. I, 5; the form Nagymarton appears first in a written source in 1342: *Villa Martini maior*, Sopron vm. I, 77; Cs. III, s.v. “Nagy-Marton,” 594; Herényi s.v. “Mattersburg,” 349.

¹²⁹³ First mentioned in 1194: *Dag*, W. XI, 57; Cs. III s.v. “Dág,” 604; Herényi s.v. “Ágfalva (Dág),” 89.

¹²⁹⁴ First mentioned in 1245: *villa Harka*, 213; Cs. III s.v. “Harka,” 609; Herényi s.v. “Harka,” 242.

Ludad¹³⁰¹—Apáti¹³⁰²—Besenyő¹³⁰³—Gencs¹³⁰⁴—Szombathely¹³⁰⁵—Sorok¹³⁰⁶—

Balogfalva¹³⁰⁷—Unyom¹³⁰⁸—Rádóc¹³⁰⁹—Kölked¹³¹⁰—Körmend¹³¹¹—Nádasd¹³¹²—

Rákos¹³¹³—Muraszombat¹³¹⁴—(Regede) (See Map Sections A and B)

II. One of the most important long-distance trade routes of Transdanubia led through Counties Moson, Sopron and Vas in a north-south direction, and finally left the country across the German Gate for Regede (now: Bad Radkersburg, Au.). In order to provide a clear overview, in the following I will discuss the path of the route by road sections.

From Vienna Sopron could be approached either from the north along the path of the ancient Amber Route west of Lake Fertő (Ge. Neusiedler See), or from the north-east through Wiener Neustadt, Nagymarton (now: Mattersburg, Au.) and Ágfalva. In the 1279 perambulation of Ágfalva the latter road was referred to as *Via Supruniensis*.

From Sopron the road led through Harka, Nyék (now: Neckenmarkt, Au.), Barom (now: Großwarasdorf, Au.), and Alsópulya (now: Unterpullendorf, Au.) to Kőszeg. In the

¹²⁹⁵ First mentioned in 1281: *Neek*, W. IX, 315; Cs. III s.v. “Nyék,” 622; Herényi s.v. “Nyék,” 376.

¹²⁹⁶ First mentioned in 1194: *Baran*, W. XI, 57; Cs. III s.v. “Barom,” 600; Herényi s.v. “Baran,” 101.

¹²⁹⁷ First mentioned in 1225: *terre Pula maior et minor*, UB I, 104. From 1397 on there is written evidence that road toll was collected at the settlement, Cs. III s.v. “Pul(y)a,” 625-626; Herényi s.v. “Alsó- Felső- és Középpulya,” 70.

¹²⁹⁸ See chapter 4.2.2 for details.

¹²⁹⁹ First mentioned in 1283: *possessio Chemetey*, UB II, 166; Cs. II s.v. “Csemete(j),” 741; Herényi s.v. “Csemete (Csömöte),” 158.

¹³⁰⁰ First mentioned in 1221: *villa Pesa*, UB I, 80; Cs. II s.v. “Pese,” 785; Herényi s.v. “Pese (Pöse),” 399.

¹³⁰¹ First mentioned in 1343: *terra Ludad*, charter No. 16. Cs. II s.v. “Ludad,” 772; Herényi s.v. “Ludad,” 343.

¹³⁰² First mentioned in 1313: *villa Apáthi*, UB III, 68; Cs. II s.v. “Apáti,” 733; Herényi s.v. “Apáti,” 82.

¹³⁰³ First mentioned in 1281: *predium Beseneu*, UB II, 150; Cs. II s.v. “Bes(s)enyő,” 737; Herényi s.v. “Besenyő,” 118.

¹³⁰⁴ First mentioned in 1288: *villa Gench*, UB II, 208; Cs. II s.v. “Gencs,” 749.

¹³⁰⁵ See chapter 4.2.3 for details.

¹³⁰⁶ First mentioned in 1249: *Surc*, UB III, 262; Cs. II s.v. “Sork,” 794; Herényi s.v. “Sork,” 449.

¹³⁰⁷ First mentioned in 1340: *Bolkfolua*, A. IV, 41; Its church was built in the thirteenth century. Cs. II s.v. “Balogfalva,” 735; Herényi s.v. “Balogfalva,” 100.

¹³⁰⁸ First mentioned in 1318: *Vnon*, UB III, 108; Cs. II, “Unyan,” 806-807; Herényi s.v. “Hunyan,” 261.

¹³⁰⁹ 1221: *Radócz*, charter No. 54. Cs. II, “Rádóc,” 788; Herényi s.v. “Rádóc,” 422.

¹³¹⁰ First mentioned in 1221: *terra Kewlked*, HO VI, 14; charter No. 54; Cs. II, s.v. “Kölked,” 768; Herényi s.v. “Egyházaskölked,” 190-191.

¹³¹¹ First mentioned in 1238: *villa Curmend*, UB I, 238; Cs. II, s.v. “Körmend,” 714, 723; Herényi s.v. “Körmend,” 317-318. In 1244 the hospites of Körmend received royal privileges from King Béla IV, see UB I, 210-211; EFHU 38-39.

¹³¹² First mentioned in 1246: *Nadasd*, UB I, 216; Cs. II, s.v. “Nádasd, a),” 778.

¹³¹³ First mentioned in 1393. Cs. II, s.v. “Rákos,” 727; Herényi s.v. “Darabos-Rákosa,” 169.

¹³¹⁴ First mentioned as in 1265: *Belmura*, UB I, 318. Cs. II, s.v. “Mura(l)-Szombat,” 717, 726; Herényi s.v. “Belmura,” 113 and “Muraszombat,” 364.

1309 perambulation of a landed property belonging to Harka the road was called a *magna via* that led from Nyék to Sopron (*que de Nek ducit in in Suprvnium*). In the common perambulation of Malomháza, Száka, and Barom from 1225 mention was made both about the road section that led from Sopron (*via, que venit de Supprun*) in the north, and to the one that led to Barom (*per viam euntem in Baran*) in the south. According to the testimony of a perambulation from 1240, the *via magna* leading to Sopron (*in qua ad Sopron itur*) made the western boundary of Száka. The perambulation of County Locsmánd from 1263 referred to a Kőszeg route (*via Chuzegh*) located west of the *strata publica* connecting Sopron and Csepreg. The former route was apparently leading to Kőszeg along the western border of County Locsmánd. Similarly, the road leading to Sopron (1225: *via que vadit in Supprvn*) in the vicinity of Borsmonostor (now: Klostermarienbergr, part of Mannersdorf an der Rabnitz, Au.) was, in fact, the Sopron—Kőszeg road section.

From Kőszeg the trade route continued to Szombathely through or in the close vicinity of Csömöte (now: Lukácsháza), Pöse, Ludad (now: Gyöngyösfalu), Apáti, Besenyő, and Gencs (now: Gencsapáti). The 1343 perambulation of Csó refers to an *öttevény* road (*via uteue*) that leaving the territory of Ludad passed by Csömöte (*in eadem via uteue flectitur ad aquilonem iuxta eandem terram Chemethe, reliquit terram Ludad*). The term *öttevény* road apparently refers to the ancient Roman Amber Route that can be regarded as the predecessor of the discussed medieval south-bound route. In addition, the *via magna* located near the Gyöngyös Stream in the 1333 perambulation of Pöse can also be identified with the Kőszeg—Szombathely route.

From Kőszeg the main road led through or in the close vicinity of Sorok, Balogfalva, Unyom (now: Balogunyom), Rádóc (now: Egyházasarádóc) and Kölked (now: Nagykölked and Rádóckölked) to Körmend. The 1221 perambulation of Kölked relates that from Rádóc

one could get to Kölked on a great road (*per magnam viam usque in Kölked*), which can be identified with the Szombathely—Körmend road section.

From Körmend the south-bound main road ran to Nádasd where it turned to the south-west and passing through Rákos (now: Nagyrákos) and Muraszombat (now: Murska Sobota, Slo.) it left Hungary for Regede. The 1208 perambulation of Lendva (*terra Lyndwa*; now: Grad, Slo.) refers to a *via magna* that was running along the border of Counties Vas and Zala (*conteminatur terre Zalaiensi*), which might be identified with the discussed great road. The 1314 perambulation of Kiskolc – located north, north-east of Muraszombat¹³¹⁵ – holds reference to a *via magna* that connected Belmura and Sabaria (*per quam itur ad Sabariam de Belmura*), which can be interpreted as the Muraszombat—Szombathely route. Finally, the 1331 perambulation of Petenic (now: Petanjci, Slo.) demonstrates that at Muraszombat the great road turned westwards and left Hungary for the Holy Roman Empire (*via magna, que venit de Theutonia ad orientem*) through the *Németkapu* (*Nemethkapw*), which was found in the valley between Regede and Muraszombat (*in fossato inter civitatem Regede et terram Belmura*).

III. Early modern maps generally represent the south-bound route passing through Counties Sopron and Vas as a postal way that was more important than the majority of other routes in Transdanubia. (On the basis of cartographic data, there was, in fact, only one other route of similar significance: the south-west bound route leading through Fehérvár, Veszprém, Vázsony and Vasvár to Körmend, which is to be discussed in detail in the next chapter). From Sopron to Körmend the main south-bound route of Western Transdanubia was represented on later maps more or less in the same way as its medieval precedent that we have reconstructed from written data. However, south of Körmend the early modern postal road had a different path. In the vicinity of Nádasd and Katafa the road forked and one branch led towards Börönd

¹³¹⁵ Cs. II s.v. “Kisko(l)cz,” 766.

and Zalaegerszeg in the south-east, the other towards Zalaölvő, Lendva and Varasd (now: Varaždin, Cr.) in the south-west.¹³¹⁶ Some maps, however, also indicate a less important route, a commercial road that led from Körmend through Csákány, Óriszentpéter, Martyánc, and Muraszombat to Regede.¹³¹⁷ This latter led in the same direction as the Árpád Period Körmend—Muraszombat route, but it was found a few kilometres west of the Árpád Period route, which – on the basis of the 1208 perambulation of Lendva quoted above – ran on the boundary of Counties Vas and Zala.

IV. Written sources testify to the fact that many villages located along or near the medieval Sopron—Muraszombat route had a church already in the Árpád Period. In some cases the churches and their patron saints are named by the sources; for example, in Rádóc (dedicated to Saint George),¹³¹⁸ Unyom (dedicated to Saint Michael),¹³¹⁹ and Muraszombat (dedicated to Saint Nicholas).¹³²⁰ In other cases the existence of a church can be inferred from the denomination of the village, as in Nagymarton (after its patron saint Saint Martin),¹³²¹ Egyházasbarom (*egyház* referring to the ‘parish church’),¹³²² or in Velemér alternatively called Szenttrinitás (meaning Holy Trinity).¹³²³

The Romanesque churches of Unyom, Rákos and Velemér built on or in the vicinity of the Sopron—Muraszombat route are still extant and were archaeologically investigated in the last thirty years. (The monuments of Kőszeg, Szombathely, and Körmend will be discussed in detail in chapters below).

¹³¹⁶ For example, MOL S 12 Div. 10, No. 10:1-2; MOL S 12 Div. 18, No. 14:1-2, 58, and 63; VaML T 19, VaML T 128.

¹³¹⁷ For example, VaML T 129; OSZK TK 25; OSZK TK 1104.

¹³¹⁸ First mentioned in 1221: *ecclesia Sancti Georgii...de Radócz*, charter No. 54.

¹³¹⁹ First mentioned in 1342: *ecclesia...sancti Michaelis de Wnyan*, VSz 22 (1268): 270.

¹³²⁰ First reference from 1297: *terram seu possessionem Belmura vocatam in comitatu Castri Ferey existentem, super qua ecclesia in honore sancti Nicolai constructa esse dicitur*, UB II, 309.

¹³²¹ The place, later market town, was named after Saint Martin, the patron saint of its church. See 1493: *Marteinsdorff*, MOL DL 19979. Cs. III. s.v. “Nagy-Martón,” 594.

¹³²² 1415: *Eghazasbaran*, Sopron vm. II, 22.

¹³²³ 1268: *possessio Zenttrinitas*, UB I, 342; *possessio Sancta Trinitatis*, UB I, 343; *possessio Senthtrinitas*, UB I, 345.

Unyom (now: part of Balogunyom) developed east of the south-bound main road. Its church dedicated to the All Saints was standing in the middle of the settlement, with a churchyard around it. The building encompassing a nave and a semi-circular apse was built of stone in the mid-thirteenth century. In the fourteenth century a sacristy and a funeral chapel was attached to the church in the north.¹³²⁴

The Romanesque church of Rákos was built in the mid-thirteenth century on a hill, in the middle of the village. The remains of the wall that once surrounded its churchyard cannot be seen today. It was a brick church made up of a nave, a semi-circular apse, as well as a tower in front of the western facade (all of which belong to the same building phase).¹³²⁵

The main road led in the vicinity of Velemér. The small Árpád Period parish church of Velemér built before 1268¹³²⁶ is located at some distance from the village, on the edge of a forest. It was built of brick and stone, and had a nave, a polygonal apse, as well as a tower in the west. The church has a rich interior fresco decoration.¹³²⁷

V. The south-bound route bypassed the Alps from the east. Between Sopron and Kőszeg it crossed several rivers and streams originating in the Rozália or Sopron Mountains and flowing to the south-west, such as the Ikva (now: Aranyptak / Goldbach) at Nyék, the Rudnik (now: Doborján / Raiding Bach) at Barom, the Csáva (now: Stoober Bach) at Alsópulya, and the Répce near Kédhely.¹³²⁸ From Kőszeg to Szombathely the road was running along the left bank of the Gyöngyös. At Szombathely the road crossed the Gyöngyös and the Perint and continued running southwards along the latter stream. At Unyom the road

¹³²⁴ Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 43; Ilona Valter and Ilona Schönerné Pusztai, "A balogunyomi r.k. templom kutatása és helyreállítása" [The investigation and restoration of the Roman Catholic church of Balogunyom], in *Koppány Tibor hetvenedeik születésnapjára* [On the seventieth birthday of Tibor Koppány], eds. István Bardoly and Csaba László (Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1998), 187-205, esp. 190 and 194-196; Valter, *Romanische Sakralbauten*, 80-81; Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 136-137.

¹³²⁵ Lilla B. Benkhard, "Nagyrákos, r.k. templom" [The Roman Catholic church of Nagyrákos], *Rég.Füz.* I/43 (1991), 64; Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 278-279; Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 159; Lilla B. Benkhard and Péter Ivicsics, "Nagyrákos. Római katolikus templom" [The Roman Catholic church at Nagyrákos], in *LAHU* 6, 99-108.

¹³²⁶ Cf. n. 1323.

¹³²⁷ Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 168;

¹³²⁸ Cf. *MOL S* 12 Div. 13, No. 578.

left the valley of the Perint and crossing the Sorok it led southwards to Körmend where it crossed the Rába and its tributary the Herpenyő. Passing through the northern and western borders of the Kemeneshát the road arrived at Rákos, where it crossed the Zala. Running along the border of Counties Vas and Zala the road crossed the Kerka, Velemér (1208: *aqua Welmer*), and Kebele Streams (1208: *aqua Kobula*), and several tributaries of the Lendva (1208: *aqua Lyndwa*). Finally, it passed through the Lendva at Muraszombat and crossing a stream on the western frontier (now: Kutschenitza, Slo.) of Hungary.¹³²⁹

VI. The Sopron—Muraszombat road developed more or less along the so-called Amber Route which gained its name from the amber that had been transported from the Baltic Sea to Northern Italy from prehistoric times on.¹³³⁰ According to the data of the *Itinerarium Antonini*¹³³¹ and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* reflecting the third- and fourth-century road network of the Roman Empire,¹³³² the Amber Route led through the province of Pannonia via Poetovio (now: Pettau, Slo.), Salla (now: Zalalövő), Savaria (now: Szombathely), Scarbantia (now: Sopron), and Carnuntum (now: Deutsch-Altenburg—Petronell, Au.) or Vindobona (now: Vienna, Au.) (Fig. 37 and Fig. 48). In addition, sections of the road have been extensively investigated and identified with archaeological methods.¹³³³

¹³²⁹ Cf. Kiss and Z. Czigány, “A Lapincs—Rába vonaltól délre eső terület,” 712.

¹³³⁰ For Roman trade in amber see, Marinella Pasquinucci, “Aquilaia and the amber trade,” *Savaria* 16 (1982): 273-281.

¹³³¹ *Itin. Ant.* 261.4-262.2: Vindobona—Poetovio; *Itin. Ant.* 262.3-262.8: Poetovio—Carnuntum.

¹³³² Mócsy and Szilágyi, “Úthálózat,” 118; Tóth, *Itineraria Pannonica*, 8-10.

¹³³³ Nováki, “A Scarbantiából Savariába vezető római kori út,” 175-179; Cserményi and Tóth, “Eine Römische Strassenstation und Strassenstrecke zwischen Salla und Arrabone,” 171-203; Cserményi and Tóth, “Der Abschnitt der Bernsteinstrasse in Ungarn,” 283-290; Redő, “The Kerka valley in the Roman age,” 101-115. For towns along the route see, János Gömöri, ed., *A Borostyánkőút tájai és emlékei* (Landscapes and monuments along the Amber Route) (Sopron: Scarbantia Társaság, 1999).

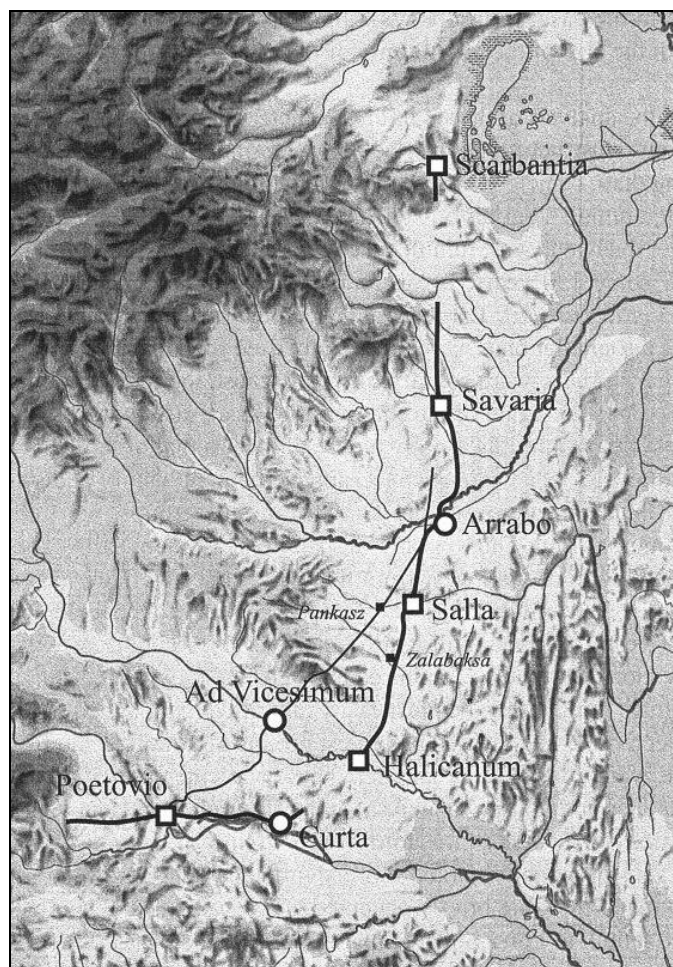


Fig. 48. The Amber Route (Redő 2005,¹³³⁴ 109, Fig. 4)

The use of the Amber Route did not stop with the abandonment of Pannonia by the Romans in 433.¹³³⁵ Byzantine gold and bronze coin finds discovered at Vienna, Deutsch-Altenburg, Wiener Neustadt, and Pettau testify to the fact that there was continuous commercial activity along the Amber Route up to the seventh century.¹³³⁶ The tenth-eleventh-century earthwork fortifications of the outermost *gyepű* line constructed at Darufalva (now: Drassburg, Au.), Sopron, Locsmánd (now: Lutzmannsburg, Au.), Szentvid, and Körmend and demonstrate that the “Amber Route” was of strategic importance in the early

¹³³⁴ Cf. n. 1257.

¹³³⁵ András Mócsy and Jenő Fitz, “Eseménytörténet,” [Event history], in *Pannonia régészeti kézikönyve* [The archaeological handbook of Pannonia], ed. András Mócsy and Jenő Fitz (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), 31-51, esp. 51.

¹³³⁶ Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, *Savaria—Szombathely története*, 73, 81-82.

Árpád Period, as well. Road sections and ploughlands called *öttevény* at Enyed,¹³³⁷ Klostermarienberg,¹³³⁸ Gyöngyöshermán¹³³⁹ (part of Szombathely), Nádasd,¹³⁴⁰ Körmend,¹³⁴¹ Zalalövő,¹³⁴² and Kálócfa¹³⁴³ testify to that the remains of the Roman road were still recognizable and in use in medieval times.

Finally, in connection with the ancient Amber Route it must be emphasized that from Poetovio the crossing place of the Rába at Arrabone (now: Katafa) could not only be approached from the south through Halicanum and Salla but also from the south-west through Advicesimum (now: Dokležovje/Murahely, Slo.) (Fig. 49).¹³⁴⁴ Consequently, it was this latter branch of the Amber Route that served as a predecessor to the medieval Muraszombat—Körmend route (Fig. 50), while the one leading through Zalalövő to Körmend was used as a postal route in the early modern period.

¹³³⁷ See n. 890.

¹³³⁸ See n. 815.

¹³³⁹ Charter No. 30.

¹³⁴⁰ Pesty, *Magyarország helynevei*, 242.

¹³⁴¹ MOL D1 42068.

¹³⁴² HO VI, 131. See also n. 819.

¹³⁴³ See n. 821.

¹³⁴⁴ Kiss and Tóth, “A vasvári ‘Római sánc’ és a ‘Katonák útja,’” 112; Kiss and Tóth, “Adatok a nyugat-dunántúli magyar gyepű topográfiájához,” 714.

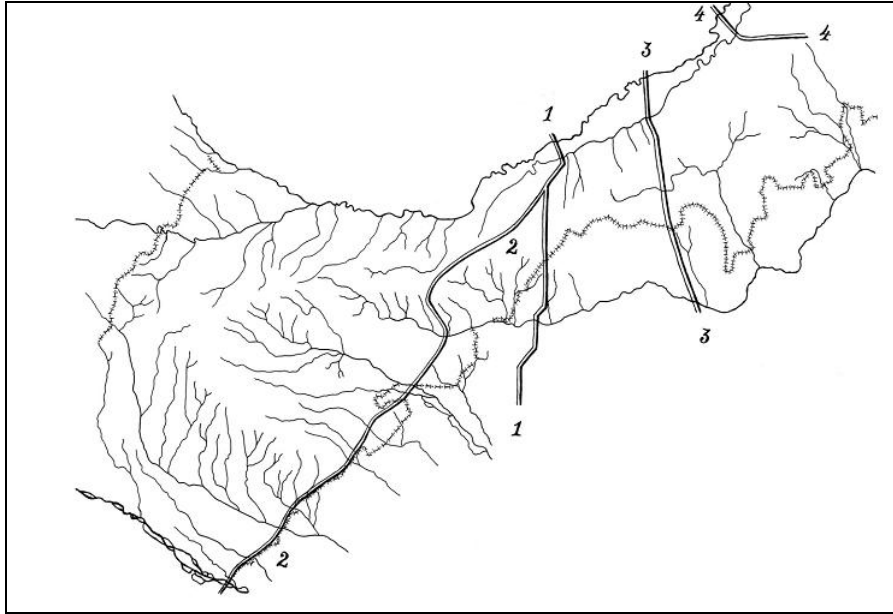


Fig. 49. Roman long-distance routes in the southern part of County Vas (After Kiss and Z. Czigány 2010,¹³⁴⁵ 715)

1. The Savaria—Arrabone—Salla—Halicanum—Poetovio route ('Amber Route')
2. The Savaria—Arrabone—Advicesium—Poetovio route
3. The Savaria—Iovia route
4. The Savaria—Sopianae route

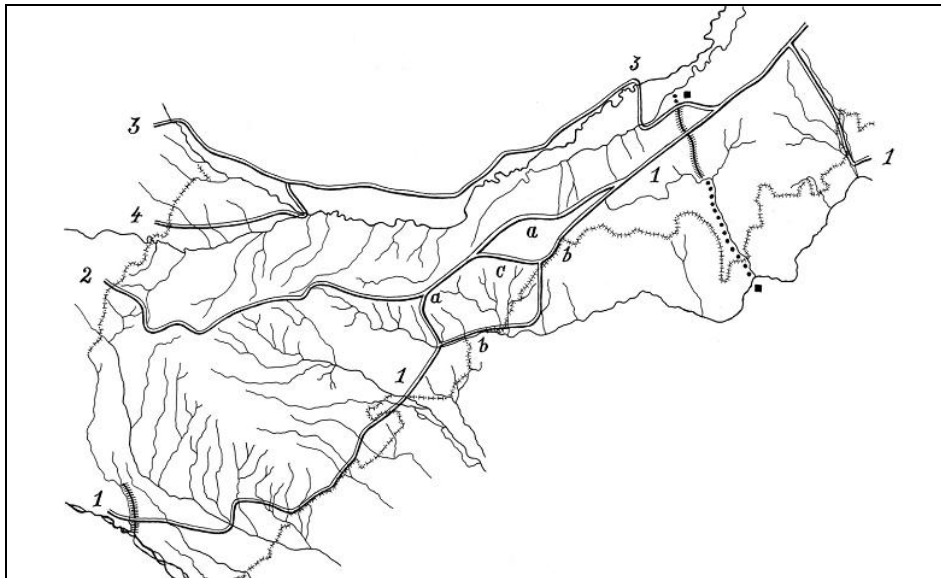


Fig. 50. Medieval long-distance routes in the southern part of County Vas (After Kiss and Z. Czigány 2010,¹³⁴⁶ 715)

1. The Veszprém—Túrje—Vasvár—Rákos—Muraszombat—Pettau route ('Katonák útja');
a) *Via Latinorum*; b) Mura Road; c) the King's route
2. The Vasvár—Dobra—Feldbach route
3. The Vasvár—Körmend—Fürstenfeld route (*Via Teutonica*)
4. The Szentgotthárd—Feldbach—Graz route

¹³⁴⁵ See, n. 28.

¹³⁴⁶ See, n. 28.

VII. Until the late thirteenth century the north-south route in western Transdanubia served transit trade between Vienna and Venice. However, the last third of the thirteenth century saw the opening of a long-distance trade route that provided connection between Venice and Vienna across the Semmering Pass, which thus bypassed Hungary. The road was completed with the foundation of Wiener Neustadt in 1194 and the construction of the last part of the route from there to Vienna. From that time on the route connecting Sopron, Kőszeg, Szombathely, and Kőrmend served only internal trade.¹³⁴⁷

4.1.2 West-bound routes

The long-distance route leading from the *Medium Regni*¹³⁴⁸ to the south-western part of Transdanubia was one of the most frequented commercial and military roads of Árpád Period and late medieval Hungary. The route led from Esztergom (C. Esztergom) and Buda (C. Pilis)¹³⁴⁹ through Fehérvár (C. Fejér), Veszprém¹³⁵⁰ and Vázsony (C. Veszprém), and entered County Vas from the south-east (Fig. 29 and Fig. 47).¹³⁵¹ The Szerjebakonya¹³⁵²—Úrhida¹³⁵³

¹³⁴⁷ Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, *Savaria—Szombathely története*, 101. Kiss and Tóth, “Adatok a nyugat-dunántúli magyar gyepű topográfiájához,” 107-108.

¹³⁴⁸ The term *Medium Regni* might have already been used in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but certainly from the thirteenth century on to indicate the middle of the realm including Fehérvár, Óbuda, Buda, Pest, Rákos, and Esztergom. On the interpretation of the term see See, Bernát L. Kumorovitz, “Buda és Pest ‘fővárossá’ alakulásának kezdetei” [The beginnings of how Buda and Pest became the ‘capital’ of Hungary] *TBM* 18 (1971), 7-57, esp. 44-53. For a recent overview of early towns in the *Medium Regni* see, “Towns along the way. Changing patterns of long-distance trade and the urban network of medieval Hungary,” in *Towns and Communication II. Communication between towns. Proceedings of the Meetings of the International Commission for the History of Towns (ICHT), London 2007 – Lecce 2008*, ed. Hubert Houben and Kristjan Toomaspoeg. Galatina: Mario Congedo Editore, 2011): 161-225, esp. 171-183.

¹³⁴⁹ For an overview of the Árpád Period development of Esztergom and Buda see László Gerevich, “The rise of Hungarian towns along the Danubae,” in *Towns in Medieval Hungary*, ed. Idem (Colorado: Columbia University Press and Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990): 26-50.

¹³⁵⁰ For an overview of the Árpád Period development of Fehérvár and Veszprém with further scholarly literature see, Alán Kralovánszky, “The Settlement History of Veszprém and Székesfehérvár in the Middle Ages,” in *Towns in Medieval Hungary*, ed. László Gerevich (Colorado: Columbia University Press and Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), 51-95.

¹³⁵¹ On the way the south-west bound route and the development of towns along that influenced each other, see Szende, “Towns along the way,” 197-200.

¹³⁵² Szerjebakonya was located at the border of Counties Fejér and Veszprém near modern Nadasdladány and Jenő. Cs. III, s.v. “Szerje-bakanya,” 350.

¹³⁵³ The name of Úrhida suggests that there was a bridge (Hu. *híd*) established by a king or prince called *úr*. FNSZ II, s.v. “Úrhida,” 707. János Károly suggested that Úrhida was founded by King Stephen I, while György Györffy suggested Prince Géza as the founder. János Károly, *Fejér vármegye története* [The history of County Fejér], Vol. 1, (Székesfehérvár: Fejér Vármegye Közönsége, 1896), 167; ÁMTF II, s.v. “Úrhida,” 412

section of the road was named *várút* ('castle road') still in the fifteenth century. It was mentioned, for example, in the 1436 perambulation of Battyán, Polgár and Bökénysomlyó (C. Fejér).¹³⁵⁴ It appeared again in the 1437 perambulation of Battyán, Főd and Keszi (C. Fejér) as a castle road (*via magna, que vocatur warut*).¹³⁵⁵ György Györffy suggested that the road was named *várút* after a castle erected at Úrhida from where a bridge over the Sárvíz could be controlled.¹³⁵⁶ (Medieval pottery collected in the 1960s on a 150 m × 250 m large island of Sárvíz called Malomsziget, belonging now to Sárszentmihály, suggests that the castle of Úrhida (*civitas Úrhida*) was erected there.)¹³⁵⁷

From Veszprém the road led to the south-west along the northern slopes of the Balaton Highlands through Vázsony to Tapolca.¹³⁵⁸ That section of the road was mentioned in the 1233 perambulation of Billege and Vázsony as a great road that led to Veszprém (*magna via que ducit Wesprimium*).¹³⁵⁹ At Tapolca the road turned to the north-west and led through Sümeg and Túrje to Zalavég. Having crossed the border of Counties Veszprém and Vas the road led to Vasvár the seat of County Vas.

In County Vas the road arriving from the *Medium Regni* divided into three branches, which passed through the western border of Hungary for Italy and for the Holy Roman Empire. One road led from Vasvár through Rákos and Muraszombat towards Regede in the south-west (chapter 4.1.2.1), the second led westwards in the Rába valley to Fürstenfeld and Feldbach (chapter 4.1.2.2), and the third led in the valley of the Pinka towards Friedberg in the north-west (chapter 4.1.2.3).¹³⁶⁰

¹³⁵⁴ For the Hungarian translation of the document see, János Károly, *Fejér vármegye története* [The history of County Fejér] vol. 3 (Székesfehérvár: Fejér Vármegye Közönsége, 1899), 497-499, esp. 497.

¹³⁵⁵ MOL DL 103584.

¹³⁵⁶ ÁMTF II, 341.

¹³⁵⁷ Zsuzsanna Bánki, "Régészeti kutatások" [Archaeological investigations], *Alba Regia* 10 (1969): 149-151, esp. 150.

¹³⁵⁸ Kiss and Z. Czigány, "A Lapincs—Rába vonaltól délre eső terület," 712. Cf. Glaser, "Dunántúl középkori úthálózata," 142-143; Kiss and Tóth, "A vasvári 'Római sánc' és a 'Katonák útja,'" 111;

¹³⁵⁹ HO IV, 17.

¹³⁶⁰ Kiss and Z. Czigány, "A Lapincs—Rába vonaltól délre eső terület," 712.

4.1.2.1 To the south-west (*Via Latinorum*, *Muraút*, and *Katonák útja*)

I. (Veszprém—Türje)—Vasvár¹³⁶¹—Mindszent¹³⁶²—Rákos¹³⁶³—Muraszombat¹³⁶⁴—(Regede)

(See Map Sections C and D)

II. A schematic description of the route leading from the middle of Hungary towards Italy is yielded by a late medieval document drawn up in Venice in 1514. The document lists the following toll collecting places along the route: Veszprém (*Wesprigo*), Billege (*Dilliger*), Türje (*Hile*), Vasvár (*Vasvar*), Rákos (*Kaus*), Muraszombat (*Morezambott*), Pettau (*Petovio*), etc.¹³⁶⁵ Between Vasvár and Rákos the road divided into two branches (called *Via Latinorum / Olasz út* and *Murauta*) that bypassed the territory of modern Őrség in the north and south.

Via Latinorum and *Olasz út*: According to the testimony of written sources the northern branch was named *Via Latinorum* in the Middle Ages, and *Olasz út* in the early modern period. The word *Latini* was a general term used in Medieval Hungary to indicate Walloons, Italians and the French, while the Hungarian word *Olasz* means ‘Italian.’ Consequently, both expressions testify to that the road was used by Italian merchants transporting their merchandise from North Italy (especially Venice) to the royal centre of the Hungarian Kingdom.¹³⁶⁶ The road led along the northern edge of Kemeneshát. It is mentioned as a *Via Latinorum* in the 1274 description of boundaries between Halogy and Tótlak. The

¹³⁶¹ See chapter 4.2.1 for details.

¹³⁶² First mentioned in 1253: *villa ecclesie Omnium Sanctorum*, Zala vm. I, 24. Cs. III, s.v. “Mindszent,” 552; Herényi s.v. “Mindszent,” 359. The settlement was named Mindszent after its church.

¹³⁶³ See n. 1313.

¹³⁶⁴ See n. 1314.

¹³⁶⁵ The document was first published and interpreted by Károly Tagányi. See: Károly Tagányi, “Marhakivitelünk Velencébe 1514-ben” [Hungarian cattle export to Venice in 1514], *MGtSz* 6 (1899): 144-149. See also: Kiss and Tóth, “A vasvári ‘Római sánc’ és a ‘Katonák útja,’” 110. On the cattle trade to Venice see lately Péter Sahin-Tóth, “A velencei magyar marhaexport válsága a XVI-XVII. század fordulóján egy francia forrás tükrében” [The crisis of Hungarian cattle export to Venice at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reflected by a French source], *Fons* 9/1-3 (2002), 75-106.

¹³⁶⁶ On medieval Italian-Hungarian trade relations see, Huszti, *Olasz-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok*; and Teke, *Velencei-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok*.

term can also be found in early modern written documents such as the 1802 perambulation of Sál, Hodász and Nádasd (*curulis via Olasz út*).¹³⁶⁷

Mura Road: Late Árpád Period and medieval written sources bear evidence to a road that led to the Mura River along the southern part the Hegyhát. The fact that this route was called after the Mura River suggests that it might have primarily served internal communication. (Whereas, the *Via Latinorum/ Olasz út* called after the more distant destination seems more likely to have been used in long-distance trade and travel.) The easternmost data on the Mura Road appears in the 1326 perambulation of Nagymákfa and Kismákfa as a great road named *Murauta (via magna Mura uta vocata)*. From Mákfa the road ran towards the Sár Stream in the south, as is located north of the Sár by a perambulation dated to 1236 (*via media que ducit ad Muram*), and by another from 1313 (*via, per quam itur ad Muram*). From Sár the road led to the south-west and it appears as a *via Murauta*¹³⁶⁸ in the perambulation of Bük and Hertelen from 1410.

Katonák útja: Alternatively, both branches of the road were called *Katonák útja*, that is ‘Soldiers’ Road’, which suggests that the road was not only a commercial route but also a military road. (For the military significance of the route see the chapter 2.3.2 above). In addition, it also demonstrates that the *Via Latinorum* and the Mura Road were, in fact, two branches of the *Katonák útja*. The earliest reference to it can be found in the eighteenth-century translation of a document from 1515 describing the boundaries of Gerse and Karátfölde (*Katonák utya*). The term still appears in early modern written sources, such as the 1783 perambulation of Szentpéterfa; the common perambulation of Sál, Nádasd, and Katafa from 1802; and the perambulation of Felső-Oszkó and Újlak from 1808.¹³⁶⁹

¹³⁶⁷ Cited in Kiss and Tóth, “A vasvári ‘Római sánc’ és a ‘Katonák útja,’” 108.

¹³⁶⁸ Zs. II, No. 7425.

¹³⁶⁹ For the details and references of the sources see, Kiss and Tóth, “A vasvári ‘Római sánc’ és a ‘Katonák útja,’” 107-108.

III. The term *Katonák útja* (Soldiers' Road) has not only been preserved in written documents but also by toponyms and early modern maps. The place name *Katonák útja* can be found at Kám, Alsóújlak, Csipkerek, Vasvár, Oszkó, Hegyhátszentpéter, Petőmihályfa, and Hegyháthodász. On the map of the Vasvár dominions (*Vasvárer Herrschaft*) from 1840 the *Katonák útja* is shown running parallel with the Vasvár—Kis Mákfa—Nagy Mákfa route (Fig. 52). The *Katonák útja* is indicated in the same way on a handwritten map from 1790, which even labels the *Vas kapu* ('Iron Gate') that is the a gate that allowed the military road pass through the Árpád Period earthen rampart (Fig. 51). In addition, a section of the *Katonák útja* is shown on two handwritten maps of Mizdó and Katafa from 1790 east of Sál where it meets another road that joins Halastó and Sál (*Halastóról Saálba járó út; Saálbul Halastora*) (Fig. 53-Fig. 54).

On the basis of toponymic and cartographic data the topography of the *Katonák útja* can be reconstructed as follows. The route ran south of Kám, Újlak, Vasvár, Kismákfa, Nagymákfa and continued to the south-west along the northern boundary of Gersekarát, Halastó, Ozmánbük and led finally through Hegyháthodász. East of Csipkerek and west of Hegyháthodász there are no data on the *Katonák útja*. Nevertheless, it can be rightfully supposed that – being a military route – in the east the route connected the Árpád Period castles of Vasvár with Karakó and Veszprém directly, providing thus a much shorter alternative to the Italian trade route that reached Vasvár through the Túrje and Zalavég in the south-west. In addition, it is conspicuous that the *Katonák útja* did not enter villages, but passed on their border, which again demonstrates the route could not have served local communication. Instead it enabled the military troops move forward as fast as possible.¹³⁷⁰ It must have been south of Körmend that the *Katonák útja* met the long-distance trade route

¹³⁷⁰ Kiss and Tóth, "A vasvári 'Római sánc' és a 'Katonák útja,'" 106-107; Kiss and Z. Czigány, "A Lapincs—Rába vonaltól délre eső terület," 712-713.

arriving from Sopron and it was on the path detailed in the previous chapter that the route finally led across Muraszombat to Regede.

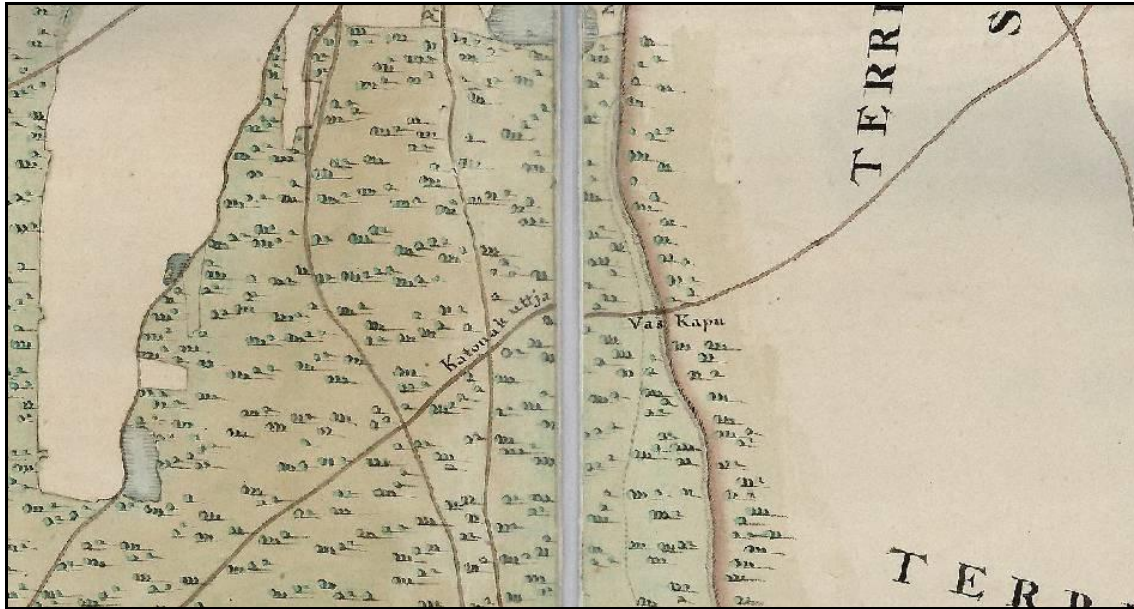


Fig. 51. The *Katonák útja* (Soldiers' Road) and the *Vas kapu* (Iron Gate) south of Vasvár from 1790 (OSZK TK 1642)



Fig. 52. The *Katonák útja* (Soldiers' Road) south of Vasvár, Nagymákfa and Kismákfa from 1840 (OSZK TK 1045)



Fig. 53. The *Katonák útja* (Soldiers' Road) east of Sál from ca. 1790 (OSZK TK 720)

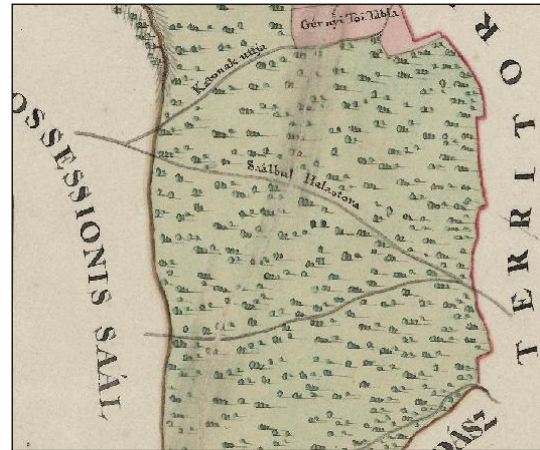


Fig. 54. The *Katonák útja* (Soldiers' Road) east of Sál from 1790 (OSZK TK 755)

IV. The *Katonák útja* and the earthen rampart found south of Vasvár was archaeologically investigated by Gábor Kiss and Endre Tóth 1985. The excavation demonstrated that the road did not have any embankment, and the naturally gravelly soil of the Hegyhát made the route passable. South of Vasvár there was a north-south directed earthen rampart that was 3.5-4 metres high, and was fourteen metres wide at the bottom. The road could cross that rampart on a 3-4 metres wide passage that is called Iron Gate locally, which name refers to its former fortified nature. The road that a straight path, but 150-200 metres before and after the gate it bent, which can be explained with strategic reasons. Those bends made the gate invisible from a great distance, which made it easier to defend.¹³⁷¹

V. The path of the *Katonák útja* followed the north-east—south-west oriented ridge of the Hegyhát. Its northern branch, the *Via Latinorum* was running along the northern border of the future Őrség bypassing the valleys of the Szőce and Monyorós Streams from the north.¹³⁷² The *Muraút* was running along the southern border of the Őrség. The two branches re-united at Rákos and ran to the south-west.¹³⁷³

¹³⁷¹ Kiss and Tóth, "A vasvári 'Római sánc' és a 'Katonák útja,'" 101-106.

¹³⁷² Kiss and Z. Czigány, "A Lapincs—Rába vonaltól délre eső terület," 712.

¹³⁷³ Kiss and Z. Czigány, "A Lapincs—Rába vonaltól délre eső terület," 712.

VI. The *Katonák útja* was indicated as a *via Romanorum* on some early modern maps. Gábor Kiss and Endre Tóth considered some sections of the route leading from Buda, through Fehérvár, and Veszprém to North Italy as of Roman origins, namely the road sections between North Italy and Pettau, as well as between Radkersburg and Körmend. Nevertheless, they questioned the Roman origins of that part of the road, which led eastwards from the region of Körmend. They regarded it to be contemporary with the earthen rampart constructed across the Hegyhát between Vasvár and Győrvár by the second half of the eleventh century (Fig. 7).¹³⁷⁴ András Bödőcs argued for that even this latter part of the route was fundamentally of Roman origins (with the exception of some short sections, such as the one that passed through the Árpád Period gate south of Vasvár). In his opinion, the *Katonák útja* running on the Vas Hegyhát must have been part of an ancient Roman road that connected Salla and Arrabona functioning thus as a short-cut between the Amber Route and the Danubian *limes* road.¹³⁷⁵

4.1.2.2 To the west (*Via Theutonica*)

I. Vasvár—Hídvég¹³⁷⁶—Hollós¹³⁷⁷—Szecsőd¹³⁷⁸—Lapsa¹³⁷⁹—Körmend¹³⁸⁰—Csákány¹³⁸¹—
Kövesszarv¹³⁸²—Szentmihály¹³⁸³—Rönök¹³⁸⁴—Füzes¹³⁸⁵—Dobrafalva¹³⁸⁶—
(Fölöstöm/Fürstenfeld) (See Map Section C)

¹³⁷⁴ Kiss and Tóth, “A vasvári ‘Római sánc’ és a ‘Katonák útja,’” 113 and 126.

¹³⁷⁵ Bödőcs, *A római kori úthálózat térinformatikai vizsgálata*, 643-644.

¹³⁷⁶ First mentioned in 1265: *predium Hydwegh*, charter No. 31; Cs. II, s.v. “Hídvég,” 756; Herényi s.v. “Hídvég,” 254-255.

¹³⁷⁷ First mentioned in 1221: *Hollo*, UB I, 83; Cs. II, s.v. “Hollós,” 757; Herényi s.v. “Egyházashollós,” 190.

¹³⁷⁸ First mentioned in 1205: *possessio Zechud*, UB I, 46; Cs. II, s.v. “Szecső(d),” 795-796; Herényi s.v. “Egyházasszecsőd,” 192.

¹³⁷⁹ First mentioned in 1237: *predium Lapsa*, UB I, 179; Cs. II, s.v. “Lapsa (b),” 771; Herényi s.v. “Lapsa,” 331 and s.v. “Egyházasszecsőd,” 192.

¹³⁸⁰ See chapter 4.2.4 for details.

¹³⁸¹ First mentioned in 1248: *terra Chakan*, charters No. 10-No. 11; Cs. II, s.v. “Csákány,” 740; Herényi s.v. “Csákány,” 144.

¹³⁸² First mentioned in 1269: *terra Kueszorv*, UB I, 358; Cs. II, s.v. “Gosztony,” 751; Herényi s.v. “Gasztony,” 216.

¹³⁸³ First mentioned in 1274: *possessio Scenmihal*, UB II, 70; Cs. II, s.v. “Szent-Mihály, c),” 798; Herényi s.v. “Szentmihály,” 471-472.

¹³⁸⁴ First mentioned in 1318: *Rennek*, UB III, 119. Cs. II, s.v. “Rönök,” 789; Herényi s.v. “Rednek,” 423.

II. The great road leading westwards to the Holy Roman Empire forked off from the Italian Road near Vasvár as it is attested by the 1238 perambulation of Lapsa/Németszecsőd (now: Magyarszecsőd, C. Vas) (*magna via, per quam de Ferreo Castro vadunt ad Theotoniam*). The road crossed the Rába at Hídvég (1280: *pons Raba*; 1286: *pons*) and led westwards in the valley of the Rába. The *via magna* mentioned in the 1248 perambulation of Csákány can be identified with this road, similarly to the *via* leading from Csákány to Kövesszarv (now: Gasztony) (1271: *via quae ducit ad villam Chakan*). The 1271 perambulation of Kövesszarv also refers to the route as a great road leading to *Theutonia* (*via magna, quae ducit ad Teutonium*). Near Rönök the road is mentioned as a great road that connected Körmend and Fölöstöm (now: Fürstenfeld, Au.) (1336: *magna via, qua de Kormend itur in Fulustyn*), which means that from Keresztúr one branch of the road was running along the Lapincs to the frontier.

III. The geographical map of County Vas by József Kenedics from 1785 shows a *Via postalis* leading from Vasvár through Hídvég, Körmend and Csákány to Fürstenfeld. The map of the postal routes of Counties Vas, Veszprém and Zala by József Kenedics from 1800 also indicates the route. The road map of County Vas from 1787 indicates the same route as two postal roads: one leading from Zalabér to Körmend, and another one leading from Körmend to Fürstenfeld (Fig. 58). A detail of the road is indicated on the map of the postal roads of Counties Vas and Zala from 1795 (Fig. 55). The route is represented as one of the most important roads of County Vas on a road map from 1869.

¹³⁸⁵ First mentioned in 1283: *Fyzes*, UB II, 166; RA II, No. 3211; Herényi s.v. “Füzes,” 214.

¹³⁸⁶ It may be identified with *Dobrounuc*, +1157/1230, UB I, 22.

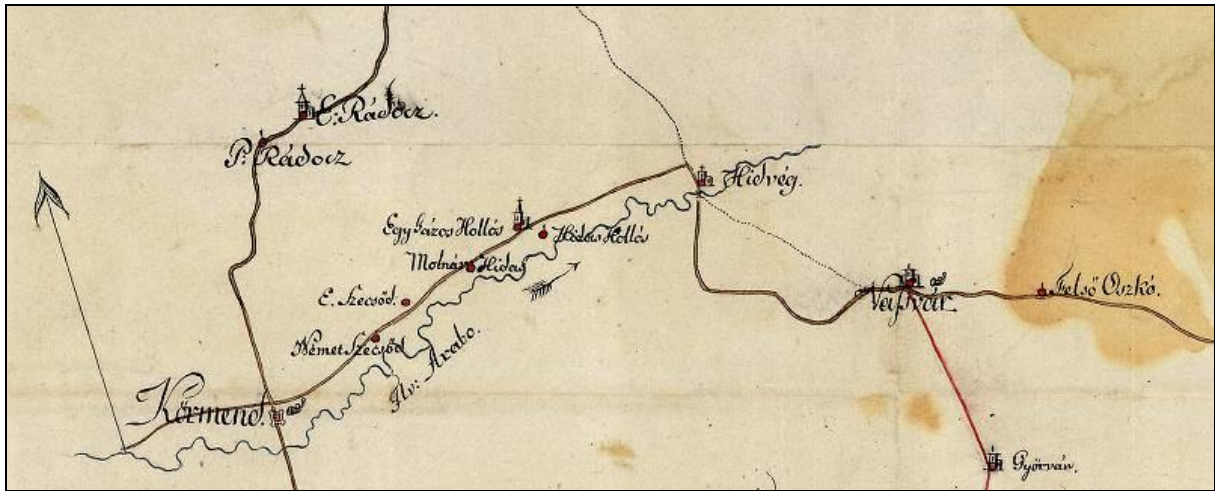


Fig. 55. The road running from Vasvár to Körmen on the left bank of the Rába shown on a map of postal routes from 1795 (MOL S 12 Div. 18, No. 58)

IV. The route passes through the parish churches of Hídveg (now: Rábahídveg),¹³⁸⁷ Hollós (now: Egyházashollós), Szecsöd (now: Magyarszecsöd),¹³⁸⁸ and Szentmihály,¹³⁸⁹ as well as the towns of Vasvár¹³⁹⁰ and Körmen.¹³⁹¹ The Romanesque churches of Hollós and Szecsöd form part of still extant churches.

Hollós was first referred to by a written source in 1221.¹³⁹² In 1389 there is evidence to the existence of two villages called Hollós (*due ville Hwllos*), which were later named Hidashollós (after its bridge on the Rába) and Egyházashollós (after its parish church dedicated to Saint Nicholas) (1498: *Eghazashollos et Hydashollos*).¹³⁹³ Hidashollós developed by the Rába south of the Körmen—Sárvár route, while Egyházashollós was located north of that route. Although the medieval elements of the modern Roman Catholic church of Egyházashollós were made in Gothic style, the proportions of the church as well as a walled-

¹³⁸⁷ The church of Hídveg was first mentioned in 1342: *sancte [Trini]tatis de Hydueg*. It was dedicated to the Holy Trinitas, and not the Felicitas as suggested by Jenő Házi, see: *VSz 22* (1968), 270 and Kóta, *Regeszták*, 41, No. 92.

¹³⁸⁸ The church of Szecsöd was dedicated to the All Saints first referred to in 1342: *Ominum sanctorum de Zecheud*, *VSz 22* (1968), 270; Kóta, *Regeszták*, 41, No. 92.

¹³⁸⁹ The settlement was named after Saint Michael, the patron saint of its church. See n. 1383.

¹³⁹⁰ For the topography and monuments of Vasvár see chapter 4.2.1.

¹³⁹¹ For the topography and monuments of Körmen see chapter 4.2.4.

¹³⁹² Cf. n. 1377.

¹³⁹³ Cs. II, s.v. “Hollós,” 757; FNESz I, s.v. “Egyházashollós,” 411.

up Romanesque window in the northern wall suggest that the church was originally constructed in Romanesque style in the thirteenth century.¹³⁹⁴

In 1205 Stephanus son of Chornuk, the forefather of the Szecsődi family, received the landed property Szecsőd as a royal endowment.¹³⁹⁵ The descendants of Stephanus divided Szecsőd among themselves in 1283¹³⁹⁶ and 1356.¹³⁹⁷ As a result of that, fifteenth-century sources refer to four different settlements called Szecsőd. These are Egyházasszecsőd (1406: *possessio Eghazas Zecheud*), Németszecsőd (1429: *possessio Nemethzechewd alio nomine Lapsa*), Molnosszecsőd (1433: *Molnoszechew*), and Terestyénszecsőd (1467: *Therezten*).¹³⁹⁸ Egyházasszecsőd developed north of the Körmend—Sárvár route and had a church in the centre of the village, after which the village was attributed *egyház*as (‘*egyház*’ meaning ‘parish church’). The church was dedicated to All Saints. It was built of brick around the mid-thirteenth century, and consisted of a nave with a semicircular apse.¹³⁹⁹

V. The path of the road was fundamentally defined by the Rába and its tributaries. After crossing the Csörnök and the Rába between Vasvár and Hídvég the road was running along the northern bank of the Rába to Csákány, from where it led along a tributary of the Rába (called now: Vörös-patak) that was flowing parallel with the Rába. The route crossed several minor streams belonging to the catchment area of the Rába (1271: *fluvium Raba*), such as the now extinct Ragálcs (1271: *fluvium Ragalch*) and Mirod (1248: *aqua Mirod*; 1265:

¹³⁹⁴ Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 104-105; Judit Tamási and Péter Ivicsics, “Egyházashollós, Római katolikus templom” [The Roman Catholic church at Egyházashollós], in LAHU 5, 265-291, esp. 270-271; Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 146-147.

¹³⁹⁵ Cf. n. 1378.

¹³⁹⁶ UB II, 175. Transcribed in 1328, UB IV, 16.

¹³⁹⁷ F. IX/7, 150-151.

¹³⁹⁸ Cs. II, s.v. “Szecső(d),” 795-796; Herényi s.v. “Egyházasszecsőd,” 192.

¹³⁹⁹ Flóris Rómer, “Román- és átmenetkoru építmények hazánk területén” [Romanesque and transition period buildings in the territory of Hungary], *ArchKözl* 10 (1876): 1-61, esp. 48; Dezső Dercsényi, “Árpád-kori műemlékeink Vas megyében” [Árpád Period architectural heritage in County Vas], *VSz* 2 (1959): 57-69, esp. 62; Erzsébet C. Harrach, “A magyarszecsődi templom helyreállítása,” [The restoration of the Magyarszecsőd church], *VSz* 27 (1973): 241-252; András Pálóczi-Horváth, “A magyarszecsődi románkoru templom régészeti kutatása” [Archaeological investigation into the Romanesque church at Magyarszecsőd], *Savaria* 7-8 (1973-74): 133-178, esp. 142 and 154; Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 264; Erzsébet C. Harrach, Péter Ivicsics, Pál Lővei, and Miklós Horler, “Magyarszecsőd, római katolikus templom” [The Roman Catholic church at Magyarszecsőd], in LAHU 6, 13-32; Valter, *Romanische Sakralbauten*, 174-176; Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 157.

fluvium Myroud), or the Medves (1271: *aqua/fluvium Medus*) in the vicinity of Csákány, Kövesszarv and Szentmihály. From the region of Keresztúr (now: Heiligenkreutz im Lafnitztal, Au.) the *via Theutonica* was running along the northern bank of the Lapincs. At Radafalva (now: Rudersdorf, Au.) the road crossed the Lapincs, which was flowing along the western border of Hungary, and passed over to Fölöstöm/Fürstenfeld.

VI. Along the left bank of the Rába the *Via Theutonica* must have had a Roman predecessor.¹⁴⁰⁰ The Second Military Survey represents a *Römer-Strasse* between Egyházashollós and Molnaszecsöd.¹⁴⁰¹ To the west, the remains of another part of the Roman road were identified by Terézia Buocz at Csákánydoroszló in 1961.¹⁴⁰²

VII. The road leading through Vasvár, Hídvég, Körmend and Csákány to Fölöstöm/Fürstenfeld branched off from the road arriving from Buda, Fehérvár and Veszprém (Fig. 47). It left the latter road near Oszkó, crossed the Rába at Hídvég and led westwards along the left bank of the river. In addition to Vasvár, the seat of County Vas, the other Árpád Period town along its path was Körmend, where it was crossed by the Sopron—Muraszombat road. From the eighteenth century on the road was used as one of the most important postal roads of the county, and today the national highway No. 8 follows its path.

Lajos Glaser had already identified the route. When describing the Vasvár—Graz route, he noted that the road branched at Rönök towards Fölöstöm/Fürstenfeld.¹⁴⁰³ Gábor Kiss and Balázs Zágórhidi Czigány also reconstructed the two routes together. They described that the *Via Theutonica* forked at Szentgotthárd. From there the *Via Theutonica* led along the left bank of the Lapincs to Fölsötöm/Fürstenfeld, while the road to Graz continued running in the valley of the Rába (Fig. 50).¹⁴⁰⁴

¹⁴⁰⁰ Bődöcs, *A római kori úthálózat térinformatikai vizsgálata*, 642.

¹⁴⁰¹ Second Military Survey Coll. XXII, Sect. 55; Bődöcs, *A római kori úthálózat térinformatikai vizsgálata*, 518.

¹⁴⁰² SM RA 103; SM RA 1813-05; Bődöcs, *A római kori úthálózat térinformatikai vizsgálata*, 490.

¹⁴⁰³ Glaser, "Dunántúl középkori úthálózata," 165-166.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Kiss and Z. Czigány, "A Lapincs—Rába vonaltól délre," 713.

4.1.2.3 To the north-west (Road in the Pinka valley)

I. Szentkirály¹⁴⁰⁵—Mindszent¹⁴⁰⁶—Szentpéter¹⁴⁰⁷—Monyorókerék¹⁴⁰⁸—Beled¹⁴⁰⁹—
Pornó¹⁴¹⁰—Perwolf¹⁴¹¹—Keresztes¹⁴¹²—Óvár¹⁴¹³—Szentmihály¹⁴¹⁴—Alsóőr¹⁴¹⁵—
Felsőőr¹⁴¹⁶—Radomfalva¹⁴¹⁷—Pinkafő¹⁴¹⁸—[Friedberg] (See Map Sections A and C)

II. The road running along the Pinka River in a north-western direction branched off from the *via Theutonica* west of Körmend. The earliest written document to mention that road is the perambulation of Perwolf (*Perwolff*) (now: Deutsch Schützen / Németlövő, Au.) dated to 1221. The perambulation relates that south of Perwolf there was a road arriving from Pornó (now: Pornóapáti, C. Vas) (*via de Pornó*), which can be identified as one section of the road running in the Pinka valley. The source also mentions that on the same road (*per eandem viam*) one could access Beled (now: Bildein, Au.) located on the other bank of the Pinka (*Belud ultra Pinkova*). The perambulation of Óvár from 1244 refers to another road section, which connected Keresztes and the Óvár Castle (*magna via, per quam itur ad castrum Ovwar*). Further to the north the road appears as a great old road (*via magna antiqua*) in the 1331 perambulation of Lipótfalva (*villa Lipolzfalva*). The road formed the eastern border of

¹⁴⁰⁵ First mentioned in 1238: *villa Stephani*, charter No. 66. The village appears first as Szentkirály in a written source from 1337: *Scenthkyral*, UB IV, 230; Cs. II, s.v. “Szent-Király,” 797-798; Herényi s.v. “Pinkaszentkirály,” 405-406.

¹⁴⁰⁶ First mentioned in 1221: *de ponte, qui est ecclesie omnium Sanctorum*, HO VI, 14; Cs. II, s.v. “Mindszent, a)” 776; Herényi s.v. “Mindszent,” 359.

¹⁴⁰⁷ First mentioned in 1221: *ecclesia Sancti Petri*, charter No. 80; Cs. II, s.v. Szent-Péter(-falva), 799.

¹⁴⁰⁸ First mentioned in 1221: *terra Monyorókerékkü*, charter No. 80; Herényi s.v. “Monyorókerék,” 362; Cs. II, s.v. “Monyorókerék,” 717, 725-726

¹⁴⁰⁹ First mentioned in 1221: *Belud*, No. 95; Cs. II, “Beled,” 736; Herényi s.v. “Alsóbeled,” 55-56.

¹⁴¹⁰ First mentioned in 1221: *insula Pornó*, UB I, 83; Cs. II, s.v. “Pornó,” 786-787.

¹⁴¹¹ First mentioned in 1221: *Perwolff*, No. 95; Cs. II, s.v. “Lövő,” 772; Herényi s.v. “Horvátlövő,” 259.

¹⁴¹² First mentioned in 1221: *villa ecclesiae Sancte Margarethe, que Kereztes nominatur*, No. 95; Cs. II, s.v. “Keresztes,” 764; Herényi s.v. “Keresztes,” 296.

¹⁴¹³ First mentioned in 1244: *castrum Ovwar*, charter No. 86; Cs. II, s.v. “Óvár,” 717-718, 781; Herényi s.v. “Óvár,” 383.

¹⁴¹⁴ First mentioned in 1273: *villa sancti Micaelis in confinio Castri Ferrei*, UB II, 41; Cs. II, “Szent-Mihály, a),” 798; Herényi s.v. “Grosspetersdorf,” 228.

¹⁴¹⁵ Cs. II, s.v. “Őr,” 781-782; Herényi s.v. “Alsóőr,” 66-67.

¹⁴¹⁶ Cs. II, s.v. “Őr,” 781-782; Herényi s.v. “Alsóőr,” 66-67.

¹⁴¹⁷ First mentioned in 1331: *terra Radomfalva*, charter No. 68; Herényi s.v. “Riedlingsdorf,” 426.

¹⁴¹⁸ First mentioned in 1255: *villa Pincua*, UB I, 242; Cs. II, s.v. “Pink(v)afő,” 786; Herényi s.v. “Pinkafeld,” 405.

Lipótfalva running southwards from Pinkafő (*terra Pinguafei*) through Rödöny (*terra Radomfalva*) to (Felső-)Ör (*terra Ör*). It certainly passed through the market (*forum*) of Pinkafő mentioned by a source from 1343 before crossing the border to Friedberg.

III. Early modern maps generally do not show one road in the valley of the Pinka, but two. One is represented as running along the left bank of the river through Pinkaminszent and Pornóapáti to Csatár where it left the river and led northwards through Narda and Csajta to Rohonc (e.g. *Via Commercialis ex Rohoncz versus Csajta, Pinka Mindszent ad Csákány ducens*¹⁴¹⁹). The other road is represented as leading from Szombathely to Nagyszentmihály/Großpetersdorf from where it continued along the left bank of the river through Felsőör and Pinkafő/Pinkafeld to Austria (e.g. *Via Commercialis, Sabaria Német Sz. Mihál ad Pinkafeld ducens*;¹⁴²⁰ *Von Steinamanger über Petersdorff F. Eör, nach Pinkafeld*¹⁴²¹).

IV. Árpád Period monuments found along the Pinka involve the churches of Szentkirály (now: Vasalja) and Mindszent (now: Pinkaminszent), the castle of Monyorókerék (now: Eberau, Au.), the monastery of Pornó (now: Pernau, Au.),¹⁴²² the castle of Óvár (now: Burg, Au.), and the church of Felsőör (now: Oberwart, Au.). Pinkafő (now: Pinkafeld, Au.) also had a fortress church in the thirteenth century, but it was demolished in a campaign in 1289.¹⁴²³

The parish church of Szentkirály (now: Vasalja) was dedicated to King Stephen I,¹⁴²⁴ which is also reflected by the Latin name of the village (*villa Stephani*).¹⁴²⁵ The church was built of brick in the mid-thirteenth century, and had a square shaped nave, a semicircular apse

¹⁴¹⁹ VaML T 19.

¹⁴²⁰ VaML T 19.

¹⁴²¹ OSZK TK 25.

¹⁴²² For the description of the site of the monastery, see chapter 4.2.3.7.

¹⁴²³ Schmeller, *Das Burgenland*, 179; Herényi s.v. "Pinkafeld," 405.

¹⁴²⁴ András Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben (11-15. század)* (Church names in Hungarian geographical names, 11th-15th centuries) (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1996), 127.

¹⁴²⁵ Charter No. 66.

in the east, and a tower in the west. The nave and the tower of the modern church still preserve Árpád Period wall remains.¹⁴²⁶

Mindszent (now: Pinkamindszent) was called after the dedication of its parish church the All Saints.¹⁴²⁷ According to the testimony of a written source from 1221 the church (*Ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum*) already existed at that time. However, its remains are unknown today.¹⁴²⁸

The castle of Monyorókerék (now: Eberau, Au.) was already built before 1221 and in the late fourteenth century a new castle (*Wasserburg*) was erected there that was encircled by a wide double ditch. The castle was demolished around 1300 and its estates were obtained by the king.¹⁴²⁹

The stone castle of Óvár (now: Burg, Au.) was erected in the twelfth century over a tenth-century earth and timber fortification (*Mittelwerk*).¹⁴³⁰ In the vicinity of the castle a golden solidus minted by the Byzantine emperors Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and Romanos II (948-969) was discovered, which might have belonged to a hoard hidden in the neighbourhood.¹⁴³¹

The church of Felsőőr (now: Oberwart, Au.) consisted of a nave ending with a square-shaped apse. On the basis of a Viennese pfennig of King Otakar II (1261-76) discovered in

¹⁴²⁶ Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 473; Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 189-190; Erika P. Hajmási, Péter Ivicsics, Miklós Horler, Pál Lövei, and János Faragó, “Vasalja—Pinkaszentkirály, római katolikus templom” [The Roman Catholic church of Vasalja—Pinkaszentkirály], in LAHU 6, 481-501.

¹⁴²⁷ Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben*, 217.

¹⁴²⁸ Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 309.

¹⁴²⁹ Schmeller, *Das Burgenland*, 99-101; Prickler, *Burgen und Schlösser im Burgenland*, 32; Herényi s.v. “Monyorókerék,” 362; Erik Fügedi, *Vár és társadalom a 13-14. századi Magyarországon* [Castle and society in thirteenth to fourteenth-century Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977), 168; KMTL s.v. “Monyorókerék,” 466.

¹⁴³⁰ Prickler, *Burgen und Schlösser im Burgenland*, 23-26; Schmeller, *Das Burgenland*, 91-92; Kaus, “Darufalva, Loesmánd, Pinkaóvár,” 339; KMTL s.v. “Loesmánd,” 413-414; Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 279.

¹⁴³¹ Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 11-12.

the nave the church can be dated to the second half of the thirteenth century.¹⁴³² The church was dedicated to Saint John the Baptist as it is attested by a source from 1463.¹⁴³³

V. The road led northwards along the left bank of the Pinka through Szentpéter, Monyorókerék (*Pinqua*),¹⁴³⁴ Beled, Perwolf and Keresztes (*Pinkova*).¹⁴³⁵ North of Keresztes the road turned westwards to Óvár (*aqua Pincua*)¹⁴³⁶ bypassing thus the Vas Hill from the east and north. Reaching Szentmihály the road turned north-westwards and led to Pinkafő (*terra Pinguafei*).¹⁴³⁷

VI. The southern part of the Árpád Period road in the valley of the Pinka led partly along the path of a Roman road that connected Savaria (now: Szombathely) with Flavia Solva (now: Leibnitz, Au.) located in the province of Noricum.¹⁴³⁸

VII. The long-distance road along the Pinka led through the outermost zone of the marchland to Körmend, where the great north-south directed route the Sopron—Muraszombat road crossed the Rába. In addition, from Körmend one could proceed across Vasvár and Veszprém to the *Medium Regni*. That is why it was of great importance to have that road under military control. Németlövő (Deutsch Schützen, Au.), Horvátlövő, Alsóór (Untewart, Au.), Felsőór (Oberwart, Au.), Alsólövő (Unterschützen, Au.) and Felsőlovő (Oberschützen, Au.) were the settlements of border-guards protecting the road.¹⁴³⁹ In addition, traffic along the road was controlled by two castles, one at Óvár (Burg, Au.)¹⁴⁴⁰ and the other at Monyorókerék (Eberau, Au.).

¹⁴³² Schmeller, *Das Burgenland*, 174; Schmeller-Kitt, *Burgenland*, 221; ÖKT 40, 308-314; Schmeller-Kitt, *Burgenland*, 221; Valter, *Romanische Sakralbauten*, 201-202.

¹⁴³³ ÖKT 40, 309.

¹⁴³⁴ 1221: *meta terre Monyorókerékkü incipiens de Pinqua*, charter No. 80.

¹⁴³⁵ Charter No. 95.

¹⁴³⁶ Charter No. 86.

¹⁴³⁷ Charter No. 68.

¹⁴³⁸ Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, *Savaria—Szombathely története*, 23; Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 277.

¹⁴³⁹ Kiss and Tóth, “Adatok a nyugat-dunántúli korai magyar gyepű topográfiájához,” 111-112.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Prickler, *Burgen und Schlösser im Burgenland*, 24-25.

Written sources make mention of a number of roads (*viae*) that branched off from the great road running in the valley of the Pinka. Between Monyorókerék and Szentpéter a road branched off and led north-eastwards to Ják (1221: *via, que ducit Iáák*).¹⁴⁴¹ From Perwolf a road led north-westwards to Pöszöny (1221: *via, que ducit in Posztitz*).¹⁴⁴² From Óvár an ancient road led northwards to Incéd (1244: *via antiqua, per quam iur ad Inched*).¹⁴⁴³ At Szentmihály there was a road leading westwards to Óbér (1333: *via, qua itur de Olber in villam Sancti Mychaelis*) and from Óbér another road ran further to Szentelek (1333: *via, que vadit de Olber in Scentylyg*).¹⁴⁴⁴

Lajos Glaser identified a medieval route along the Pinka leading from Szombathely through the toll of Csajta, the town of Veresvár, and the tolls of Felsőőr and Pinkafő to Austria.¹⁴⁴⁵ In addition, that route coincides with the east-west road represented on early modern maps as described above. That route demonstrably existed in the Middle Ages, but there was another branch that continued in the valley of the Pinka through Óvár, Keresztes, Pornó and Monyorókerék to Körmend.¹⁴⁴⁶

4.2 REGIONAL ROUTES

4.2.1 Vasvár and its region

Vasvár was the centre of Western Transdanubian iron (Hu. *vas*, hence the name of Vasvár)¹⁴⁴⁷ distribution and the seat of County Vas.¹⁴⁴⁸ The position of Vasvár in the marches (*gyepű*) and in the regional road system fundamentally defined its development in the Árpád Period.

¹⁴⁴¹ Charter No. 80.

¹⁴⁴² Charter No. 95.

¹⁴⁴³ Charter No. 86.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Charter No. 83.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Glaser, "Dunántúl középkori úthálózata," 164.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Cf. Kiss and Tóth, "Adatok a nyugat-dunántúli korai magyar gyepű topográfiájához," 107.

¹⁴⁴⁷ FNESz II s.v. "Vasvár," 743. Cf. FNESz II, s.v. "Vas megye," 742.

¹⁴⁴⁸ On the medieval history of Vasvár see: Ferenc Sill, "Vasvár történetének vázlata a 18. századig" [An outline of the history of Vasvár to the eighteenth century], *Vas Megye Múltjából Levéltári Évkönyv* 2 (1982): 3-32; Ferenc Sill, "Vasvár története a középkorban (896-1578)" [The history of Vasvár in the Middle Ages (896-1578)], *VSz* 39 (1985): 60-87; Béla Iványi, *A középkori Vasvár* [Medieval Vasvár] (Vasvár: Helytörténeti

Vasvár is located south of the Rába and its right-hand tributary, the Csörnök Stream. The Árpád Period castles of Vasvár, Győrvár, Egervár and Zalaszentiván—Kisfaludi Hill formed a north-west—south-east directed line across the Vas Hegyhát between the Rába and the Zala Rivers.¹⁴⁴⁹ That defensive line was supported by an earthen rampart constructed between Vasvár and Győrvár (Cf. Fig. 6 and Table 2). The great military road called *Katonák útja* (chapter 4.1.2.1) running on the Vas Hegyhát passed through that rampart¹⁴⁵⁰ across a gate (called today *Vaskapu*¹⁴⁵¹ that is “Iron gate”) three kilometres south of Vasvár (See Fig. 8 and Fig. 51).¹⁴⁵² The 1217 perambulation¹⁴⁵³ of the estate belonging to the Saint Michael collegiate chapter (that became later a settlement called Szentmihályfalva after the patron saint of the chapter¹⁴⁵⁴) refers to a *materia magna*, which can be identified with the earthen rampart.¹⁴⁵⁵ The *porta civitatis* mentioned by the same source, on the other hand, can be interpreted as a pass between the rampart as well as the waters (a stream and artificial lakes) north of that. It was that *porta* the road to Szentgotthárd (*via, qua pergitur ad Sanctum Gothhardum*) could pass through (Fig. 56).¹⁴⁵⁶ The Vasvár Castle together with the north-

Múzeum, 1992). On the topography of Vasvár in the Árpád Period: József Dénes, “A vasvári ispáni vár helye” [The site of the *ispán*’s castle in Vasvár], *VSz* 45 (1991): 362-371; Balázs Z. Czigány, “Az Árpád-kori Vasvár topográfiája” [The Árpád Period topography of Vasvár], *VSz* 50 (1996): 389-397; József Dénes, “Hol volt az Árpád-kori vasvári ispáni vár?” [Where was the Árpád Period *ispán*’s castle found in Vasvár?], *VSz* 50 (1996): 607-609; Gábor Kiss and Balázs Z. Czigány, “Sopron, Szabolcs, Vasvár. Topográfiai megfigyelések és történeti adatok az Árpád-kori Vasvárról” [Sopron, Szabolcs, Vasvár. Topographical observations and historical data on Árpád Period Vasvár], *SSz* 55 (2001): 355-360.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Cf. Lajos Srágli and László Vándor, *Egervár* (Budapest: Száz magyar falu könyvesháza, n.d.), 14.

¹⁴⁵⁰ On the *Katonák útja* (Soldiers’ Road) and the Roman Rampart see in detail, Kiss and Tóth, “A vasvári ‘Római sánc’ és a ‘Katonák útja,’” 101-137.

¹⁴⁵¹ VaML 527, No. 214/195.

¹⁴⁵² Z. Czigány, “Az Árpád-kori Vasvár topográfiája,” 389-390; Kiss and Z. Czigány, “Sopron, Szabolcs, Vasvár,” 357; Kiss, “Topográfiai megfigyelések Vas vármegye kora Árpád-kori központjaiban,” 256.

¹⁴⁵³ Charter No. 131.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben*, 165.

¹⁴⁵⁵ In addition to the *materia magna* (1217) the earthen ramapart also appears as *magnum fossatum* (1266, 1334) in written documents. See charters No. 131, No. 24., and No. 65. Cf. Gábor Kiss and Balázs Z. Czigány, “Egy mikrotáj történeti helynévanyaga (Vasvár keleti határa az Árpád-korban)” [Historical toponyms in a micro-region (The territory east of Vasvár in the Árpád Period)], *HT* 2 (2007): 129-157, esp. 141. Although the term *fossatum* is generally used in documents in the sense of a ‘ditch,’ sometimes it also appeared as an equivalent of *agger* and *vallum* meaning ‘rampart,’ KMLSz IV, s.v. “fossatum,” 137.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Z. Czigány, “Az Árpád-kori Vasvár topográfiája,” 391-392; Kiss, “Topográfiai megfigyelések Vas vármegye kora Árpád-kori központjaiban,” 256-258.

south earthen rampart therefore played a great importance in the control and defence of roads leading from the west and south-west to the inner parts of the realm.

The *ispán*'s castle at Vasvár has not been identified by archaeological methods, yet. On the basis of written data¹⁴⁵⁷ and landscape features the site of the fortification is reconstructed in three different ways. Historians suggest that the castle was built at the node of roads,¹⁴⁵⁸ in the *suburbium* where the Dominican monastery¹⁴⁵⁹ was erected later. As opposed to that, archaeologists located it either on the hilltop¹⁴⁶⁰ where the Saint Michael Church¹⁴⁶¹ was built subsequently, or on another hilltop that is occupied today by the church of the Holy Virgin¹⁴⁶² and the cemetery of the town.¹⁴⁶³ The analogies of other castles belonging to the *ispán/comes* and the dedications of churches incorporated in them render the last conception the most plausible one. The 2.3 hectare triangular plateau of that hill could be occupied by a fortification that corresponded to the average size of contemporary *ispán*'s castles. Furthermore, the height and topographical position of the hill enabled the monitoring of the Rába and the roads around Vasvár, which also supports the theory that the castle can be

¹⁴⁵⁷ a. 1254: *aream ecclesie de Castro Ferreo in suburbio eiusdem castri iuxta monasterium fratrum predicatorum existentem*, UB I, 233; RA I, No. 1004.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Ferenc Sill, "Vasvár településtörténetének vázlata a 18. századig," 5-6; and also Z. Czigány, "Az Árpád-kori Vasvár topográfiája," 392.

¹⁴⁵⁹ The Dominican monastery was founded by King Béla IV sometime between 1230 and 1244 and its first building phase date to the 1250s-1260s. Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 490-492; Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 72; Andrea Haris and Péter Ivicsics, "Vasvár, volt domonkos kolostor" [The former Dominican monastery in Vasvár], in LAHU 6, 541-565, esp. 541-545.

¹⁴⁶⁰ József Dénes, "A vasvári ispánivár helye," 366-369; József Dénes, "Hol volt az Árpád-kori vasvári ispáni vár?" 607-609, and after him István Bóna, *Az Árpádok korai várairól*, 44.

¹⁴⁶¹ The church is first documented by a written source in 1211. It must have been founded by King Béla III sometime between 1172 and 1196. The collegiate chapter of Vasvár functioned there until 1578. In the nineteenth century the remains of the building were used as a quarry. Its site was archaeologically investigated by István Járdányi-Paulovics in 1948. See Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 489-490; Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 72; Andrea Haris, "Vasvár, Szent Mihály társaskáptalani templom" [The church of the Saint Michael collegiate chapter in Vasvár], in LAHU 6, 533-540, esp. 533.

¹⁴⁶² The modern chapel dedicated to the Holy Virgin is built on the site of the medieval parish church. Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 492-494.

¹⁴⁶³ Kiss, "Topográfiai megfigyelések Vas vármegye kora Árpád-kori központjaiban," 255-256. Previously, two other conceptions appeared in scholarly literature as to the site of the castle. First, it was located at the node of roads in the *suburbium*. Second, it was conjectured to have been built on the hill where the Saint Michael Church is found today.

expected to have been there.¹⁴⁶⁴ In addition to the church, the castle of Vasvár must have included storehouses of iron¹⁴⁶⁵ and salt¹⁴⁶⁶ that were distributed from Vasvár.

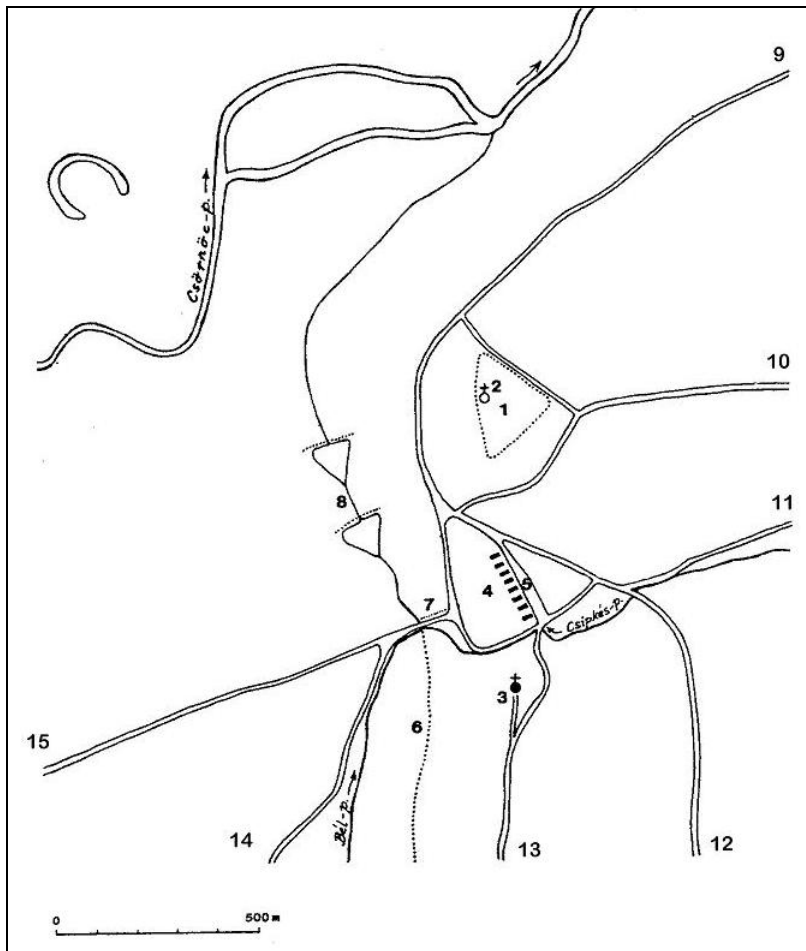


Fig. 56. The topography of Vasvár in the Árpád Period

1. The earth and timber fortification of Vasvár
 2. The Holy Virgin Church
 3. The Saint Michael Parish Church
 4. *Suburbium (civitas)*
 5. Market
 6. Rampart
 7. Town's gate (*porta civitatis*)
 8. Embankments and fishponds
 9. Road to Újlak
 10. Road to Csipkerek
 11. Road to Oszkó
 12. *via Gubesa*
 13. Road to Győrvár
 14. Road to Gerse
 15. Road to Kismákfa
- (After Kiss 2002,¹⁴⁶⁷ 270, Fig. 1)

Vasvár was located at the node of several regional roads.¹⁴⁶⁸ From the direction of Újlak in the north-east the town was accessed by the Sárvár road (Fig. 56/9, discussed in chapter 4.2.1.1). From Oszkó in the east arrived the road connecting the town with the *Katonák útja* (Fig. 56/11, discussed in chapter 4.2.1.2). From the direction of Győrvár in the

¹⁴⁶⁴ Kiss and Z. Czigány, "Sopron, Szabolcs, Vasvár," 356-357; Kiss, "Topográfiai megfigyelések Vas vármegye kora Árpád-kori központjaiban," 255-256.

¹⁴⁶⁵ 1226: *Fabri vero ex eisdem populis tenentur operari apud monasterium in una incude, non tamen ipsi debent portare ferrum, sed unus faber ex ipsis vadat ad ferreum castrum pro eligendo tantum ferro*, PRT I, 679. See also Sill, "Vasvár településtörténetének vázlata a 18. századig," 4-5.

¹⁴⁶⁶ 1233: *si statutis terminis noluerint salinarii persolvere dictos sales, per comitem Castri Ferrei vel eius curialem comitem ad solvendum compellantur*, RA I, No. 505. See also Sill, "Vasvár története a középkorban," 68.

¹⁴⁶⁷ See n. 340.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Kiss, "Topográfiai megfigyelések Vas vármegye kora Árpád-kori központjaiban," 256.

south Vasvár was accessed by the Egerszeg route (Fig. 56/13, discussed in chapter 4.2.1.3). In the direction of Kismákfa and Nagymákfa in the west a road led along the right bank of the Rába to Szentgotthárd, which also branched towards Muraszombat (the Mura Road, 1236, 1313, 1326, 1410) (Fig. 56/15, see chapters 4.1.2.1 and 4.2.1.4). In addition to these regional roads, again mention must be made of the *Katonák útja*. Although this road did not enter Vasvár, it had connections to the town by means of regional routes. That road was alternatively called *Via Latinorum* (1279) and *Olasz út* (1802) demonstrating that this route was frequented by Italian merchants. However, Vasvár's infrastructure and location near the border not only enabled the town to participate in foreign trade but also made it accessible for the enemy. Vasvár indeed suffered great losses in the wars between the Hungarian King Stephen V and his successor Ladislas IV with Frederick II (the Quarrelsome) and Otakar II. In order to prevent the depopulation of Vasvár and to promote its recovery King Ladislas IV donated urban privileges to Vasvár in 1279, which included seven points on economic issues.¹⁴⁶⁹ It helped Vasvár's participation in internal trade by exempting its merchants from the *tricesima* in Hungary (except when transporting goods from abroad) and from all tolls collected in Counties Vas and Zala. In addition, the charter was meant to increase trade at Vasvár's weekly markets by exempting merchants from the local market toll.¹⁴⁷⁰ The royal policy proved to be successful in the short run, but Vasvár could never reach the rank of a free royal town with full autonomy, and in the fourteenth century it started to decline due to changes in foreign trade.¹⁴⁷¹

4.2.1.1 The Vasvár—Sárvár route

I. Vasvár—Újlak¹⁴⁷²—Kám¹⁴⁷³—Jeli¹⁴⁷⁴—Bejc¹⁴⁷⁵—Nyögér¹⁴⁷⁶—Sótony¹⁴⁷⁷—Sárvár

¹⁴⁶⁹ Iványi, *A középkori Vasvár*, 23-26; Sill, "Vasvár története a középkorban," 72-75; Szende, "Towns along the way," 199.

¹⁴⁷⁰ EFHU 71-72; UB I, 131-132; RA II, no. 2973.

¹⁴⁷¹ Szende, "Towns along the way," 199. For these reasons in detail see the conclusions (chapter 4.3.3).

¹⁴⁷² Cs. II, s.v. "Újlak," 806; Herényi s.v. "Újlak," 511.

(See Map Sections B and D)

II. While the road running along the left bank of the Rába between Körmend and Sárvár is mentioned by numerous written sources dated before the mid-fourteenth century, for the Vasvár—Sárvár route along the opposite bank I did not find written evidence.

III. The route running south of the Rába between Vasvár and Sárvár appears only on a few early modern maps. The handwritten map of County Vas from about 1740 represents that route as arriving from the direction of Oszkó and continuing towards Celldömölk (Fig. 57). The relevant map sections of the First and Second Military Surveys, as well as the 1857 cadastral surveys of Újlak, Kám, and Nyögér indicate that the regional route formed at the same time the main street of these settlements.



Fig. 57. The Vasvár—Sárvár Road represented by the map of County Vas from ca. 1740 (OSZK TK 1068)

IV. In the Árpád Period there were three settlements along the Vasvár—Sárvár route that had a parish church of their own: Újlak, Kám, and Jeli. Out of these churches only one

¹⁴⁷³ First mentioned in 1292: *villa Kaan*, UB II, 276; Cs. II, s.v. “Kán,” 761; Herényi s.v. “Kám,” 286.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Cs. II, s.v. “G(y)eli,” 752.

¹⁴⁷⁵ First mentioned in 1342: *Beych*, UB V, 2, Cs. II, s.v. “Belcz,” 736; Herényi s.v. “Bejc,” 109.

¹⁴⁷⁶ First mentioned in 1313: *Nouger*, UB III, 71; Cs. II, s.v. “Nyögér,” 780; Herényi s.v. “Nyeger,” 376.

¹⁴⁷⁷ First mentioned in 1254: *Slocon*, UB I, 235; Cs. II, s.v. “Solton(y),” 793; Herényi s.v. “Soltony,” 448.

has been preserved as an architectural monument up to the present, namely the chapel dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul found in the cemetery of Alsóújlak. The church of Újlak was built in the first half of the thirteenth century on a hill three kilometres from the village. It is made of brick and consists of a rectangular nave and a semicircular apse.¹⁴⁷⁸

The Árpád Period village called Jeli must have been located north-east of Kám, where its memory is preserved by toponyms.¹⁴⁷⁹ The settlement and its church were destroyed by the Mongols (1241-42), after which the surviving inhabitants settled in the neighbourhood and founded Kám. The church of Kám dedicated to Saint Andreas is first mentioned in 1342, but in 1690 its apse was already in ruins. The modern Saint Andreas Church of Kám built in 1780 does not have any details of the earlier building phase.¹⁴⁸⁰

V. The road was running south of the Rába and its tributary the Csörnöc—Herpenyő, on the northern edge of the Vas Hegyhát. It was connected to the road along the opposite bank of the Rába between Kám and Rum, Sótony and Ikervár, and at Sárvár.

VI. The Vasvár—Sárvár route might have had a Roman predecessor. Leaving Sárvár the Roman road continued along the right bank of the Rába through Ostffyasszonyfa, Csöngé, Kemenszentpéter, and Egyházaskesző.¹⁴⁸¹

VII. Among medieval roads of Transdanubia Lajos Glaser did not make mention of the Vasvár—Sárvár road found in the valley of the Rába. The road leading from Vasvár through Újlak to the north-east was referred to by Gábor Kiss and Balázs Z. Czigány in their publications.¹⁴⁸²

¹⁴⁷⁸ Flóris Rómer, “Egy román kori templomka” [A small Romanesque church], *ArchÉrt*, 4 (1870-71), 283-284; Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 41; Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 133.

¹⁴⁷⁹ VaML 509, No. 208/37.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 153-154.

¹⁴⁸¹ Bődöcs, *A római kori úthálózat térinformatikai vizsgálata*, 642.

¹⁴⁸² Z. Czigány, “Az Árpád-kori Vasvár topográfiája,” 390; Kiss and Z. Czigány, “Sopron, Szabolcs, Vasvár,” 357; Kiss, “Topográfiai megfigyelések Vas vármegye kora Árpád-kori központjaiban,” 256.

4.2.1.2 The Vasvár—Oszkó—[Veszprém—Fehérvár] route

The route forms part of the long-distance road leading to Italy, see chapter 4.1.2.1. (See Map Section D)

4.2.1.3 The Vasvár—Egervár—[Egerszeg] route

I. Vasvár—Szentmihályfalva¹⁴⁸³—Győrvár¹⁴⁸⁴—Egervár¹⁴⁸⁵—[Egerszeg¹⁴⁸⁶] (See Map Section D)

II. One section of the road between Vasvár and Egerszeg appears in the common perambulation of Lapsa and Szentmihályfalva from 1334 as a *magna via* that led from Vasvár to Győrvár (*ad magnam viam, que transit de Ferreo Castro ad dictam Gewrguar*). The *via magna* mentioned by the 1266 perambulation of Győrvár between Lapsa (*via Lapsa*) and the earthen rampart (*magnum fossatum*) must be the same road. The so-called *via Gubesa* mentioned by the same document must have run parallel with the *via magna* between Vasvár and Győrvár.¹⁴⁸⁷ The *via magna* in the 1275 perambulation of *terra Pazaka* by the Zala River, north of Egerszeg might be interpreted as a southern section of the Vasvár—Egerszeg road.¹⁴⁸⁸

III. The First Military Survey and a 1785 handwritten map of County Vas represent the route in its full length as leading from Vasvár through Szentmihályfalva, Győrvár, and Egervár to Egerszeg. Both maps show that Szentmihályfalva, Győrvár and Egervár had north-south directed main streets that were identical with the Vasvár—Egerszeg route passing

¹⁴⁸³ First mentioned in 1334: *Zenthmihalfalua*, charter No. 65; Cs. II, s.v. “Szent-Mihályfalva,” 799; Herényi s.v. “Szentmihályfalva,” 472.

¹⁴⁸⁴ First mentioned in 1255: *terra Geruar*, charter No. 125, Cs. II, s.v. “Györgyvár,” 753; Herényi s.v. “Győrvár,” 236. Cf. Kiss and Z. Czigány, “Egy mikrotáj történeti helynévanyaga,” 142; Kiss and Z. Czigány, “ Régészeti és történeti adatok egy mikrotáj topográfiájához,” 601-602.

¹⁴⁸⁵ First mentioned in 1288: *castrum Egurwar*, UB II, 210; Cs. II, s.v. “Egervár(a),” 713-714, 722; Herényi s.v. “Egervár,” 188.

¹⁴⁸⁶ First mentioned in 1247. Cs. III, s.v. “Egerszeg,” 20; Herényi s.v. “Egerszeg,” 188.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Cf. Kiss and Z. Czigány, “ Régészeti és történeti adatok egy mikrotáj topográfiájához,” 609-610, and Kiss—Z. Czigány, “Egy mikrotáj történeti helynévanyaga,” 142. Also *via Gubese* from 1265, charter No. 117.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Cf. Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 164.

through the settlements. The 1795 handwritten map indicating the postal ways of Counties Vas and Zala represent the Vasvár—Egerszeg route as a secondary route to the postal ways and commercial roads. Similarly the map of County Vas from 1869 shows that route as belonging to the third level of road hierarchy.

IV. In the Árpád Period the Vasvár—Egerszeg route was running at the eastern side of the *gyepű* line made up of an earthen rampart, as well as the castles of Vasvár, Győrvár, Egervár and Zalszentiván—Kisfaludi Hill. The rampart and the castle of Vasvár have been discussed in the introductory part of the present chapter.

At the southern part of Győrvár there is a field called Boda-vár¹⁴⁸⁹ (i.e. Boda Castle), which might preserve the memory of an Árpád Period small castle.¹⁴⁹⁰ The site is found at the southern part of the rampart, on a hill above the confluence of two streams.¹⁴⁹¹ It is therefore located at a strategically advantageous site, and from there traffic on the Vasvár—Egerszeg route and the crossing-place over the Sár Stream could be well observed.¹⁴⁹² The site was surveyed in 1994¹⁴⁹³ and placed under monument protection in 2001.¹⁴⁹⁴ However, the existence of an Árpád Period castle has not been archaeologically demonstrated yet.¹⁴⁹⁵

The earliest written document to mention the Egervár Castle dates from 1288.¹⁴⁹⁶ In 1313 the castle still existed as its castellan was mentioned,¹⁴⁹⁷ but it was certainly destroyed by 1325.¹⁴⁹⁸ According to the testimony of a source from 1409 it was the sons of Henrik Kőszegi who demolished it.¹⁴⁹⁹ Archaeological data (e.g. pottery, wooden posts) suggest that

¹⁴⁸⁹ VaML No. 224/55, 547.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Kiss and Z. Czigány, “Egy mikrotáj történeti helynévanyaga,” 133.

¹⁴⁹¹ The streams are called today Boda-berek and Csuszkora, VaML No. 224/55, 547, and No. 224/64, 548.

¹⁴⁹² Kiss and Z. Czigány, “Régészeti és történeti adatok egy mikrotáj topográfiájához,” 609, 613, 615.

¹⁴⁹³ József Dénes, “Vas és Sopron megye középkori várainak kutatástörténete” [History of research on medieval castles in Counties Vas and Sopron], *Savaria* 31 (2007): 8-29, esp. 10.

¹⁴⁹⁴ SM RA 1536-03 (András Figler, 2001); Dénes, “Vas és Sopron megye középkori várainak kutatástörténete,” 11.

¹⁴⁹⁵ SM RA 2230-07 (Gábor Kiss, 2003); Kiss and Z. Czigány, “Egy mikrotáj történeti helynévanyaga,” 133; Kiss and Z. Czigány, “Régészeti és történeti adatok egy mikrotáj topográfiájához,” 610-611.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Cf. n. 1485.

¹⁴⁹⁷ A. I, 302.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Zala vm. I, 185, 189-190.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Zs. II/2, 222, No. 6674.

the thirteenth-century building was located at the same site where the Egervár Castle is found today. The building was apparently surrounded by marshland as its walls were erected over a foundation consisting of wooden posts and arches made of brick.¹⁵⁰⁰

At the north-eastern part of Egervár, east of the road leading from Egervár to Vasvár there is a mound ridge called *Kápolna-domb* emerging from the valley of the Sárvíz. At the northern slopes of the mound Árpád Period pottery and pieces of iron slag were discovered indicating the site of a settlement. The cemetery belonging to that settlement was found to the south, on the top of the mound where some eleventh to twelfth-century tombs were uncovered. Although no debris was discovered in the vicinity, the name of the mound (i.e. Chapel Hill) suggests that a church was also found there.¹⁵⁰¹

On the Kisfaludi Hill at Zalaszentiván (C. Zala) the remains of an earth-and-timber fortification were discovered over a late Bronze-age site. The walls of the fortification comprise a box structure made from timber logs covered with earth. The wall was burnt red (similarly to the walls of the *ispán*'s castle in Sopron). Gyula Nováki dated the construction of the fortification to the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.¹⁵⁰² The fortification must have belonged to the middle *gyepű* line (Fig. 6, Table 2).

V. The *via magna* running from Vasvár to Egerszeg across the Vas Hegyhát connected the valleys of the Rába to the Zala Rivers. The road crossed the valley of the Sár (*aqua Saar*, 1266) south of Győrvár. The watermill (*molendinum*) by Győrvár (*iuxta Gurwar*) mentioned by another source from 1329¹⁵⁰³ was certainly constructed on that stream.¹⁵⁰⁴

VI. I do not have data on the existence of any Roman road running between Vasvár and Zalagerszeg.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Nagy, "Az egervári vár építéstörténete," 196-198; Alajos Degré, András Gergelyffy, Ilona Valter, and László Vándor, *Az egervári vár története* [The history of the Egervár Castle] (Zalaezerszeg: Zala Megye Idegenforgalmi Hivatala, 1979), 5-10; Fügedi, *Vár és társadalom*, 129-130; KMTL s.v. "Egervár," 180.

¹⁵⁰¹ Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 34-36.

¹⁵⁰² Nováki, "'Brandwälle' in Ungarn," 120-131.

¹⁵⁰³ UB IV, 59.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Kiss and Z. Czigány, "Régészeti és történeti adatok egy mikrotáj topográfiájához," 613.

VII. Lajos Glaser had already reconstructed the entire Vasvár—Egerszeg route.¹⁵⁰⁵

More recently, Gábor Kiss and Balázs Z. Czigány has dealt with the Vasvár—Győrvar section of the road when discussing the historical topography of the territory lying south-east of Vasvár.¹⁵⁰⁶

4.2.1.4 The Vasvár—Szentgotthárd route

I. Vasvár—Kismákfa¹⁵⁰⁷—Nagymákfa¹⁵⁰⁸—Ordó¹⁵⁰⁹—Döröske¹⁵¹⁰—Szarvaskend¹⁵¹¹—
Mézadó¹⁵¹²—Katafalva¹⁵¹³—Nádasd¹⁵¹⁴—Halogy¹⁵¹⁵—Lak¹⁵¹⁶—Ivác¹⁵¹⁷—
Lugasvásárhely¹⁵¹⁸—Kethely¹⁵¹⁹—Csörötnek¹⁵²⁰—Szentgotthárd¹⁵²¹—(Feldbach)

(See Map Section C)

II. The road leading from Vasvár to Szentgotthárd is referred to by the 1217 perambulation of Vasvár (*via, qua pergitur ad Sanctum Gotthardum*). Since both Vasvár and Szentgotthárd are located south of the Rába the road joining them was certainly running along

¹⁵⁰⁵ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 164.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Kiss and Z. Czigány, “Régészeti és történeti adatok egy mikrotáj topográfiájához,” 609-610.

¹⁵⁰⁷ First mentioned in 1326: *Kysmakwa*, charter No. 70. Previously Mákfa 1236: *Macue*, charter No. 116, Cs. II s.v. “Mákva,” 773; Herényi s.v. “Kismákua,” 303.

¹⁵⁰⁸ First mentioned in 1326: *Nogmakwa*, charter No. 70. Previously Mákfa 1236: *Macue*, charter No. 116, Cs. II s.v. “Mákva,” 773; Herényi s.v. “Kismákua,” 303.

¹⁵⁰⁹ First mentioned in 1315: *terra Erdö*, UB III, 89; Herényi s.v. “Ordow,” 381.

¹⁵¹⁰ First mentioned in 1244: *villa Druska*, UB I, 211; Cs. II s.v. “Dere(c)ske,” 744; Herényi s.v. “Derecske,” 171. Its parish church dedicated to Saint Jacob (*ecclesia sancti Iacobi apostoli*) was first mentioned in 1276. UB II, 91.

¹⁵¹¹ First mentioned in 1236: *Zorwoskend*, UB I, 170; Cs. II s.v. “Szarvas-kend,” 795; Herényi s.v. “Szarvaskend,” 459.

¹⁵¹² First mentioned in 1277: *Mezadou*, Cs. II, s.v. “Méz(a)dó,” 775; Herényi s.v. “Kismézadó,” 304.

¹⁵¹³ First mentioned in 1230: *villa Kathy*, UB I 125. Cs. II s.v. “Katafalva,” 762; Herényi s.v. “Kata,” 285.

¹⁵¹⁴ First mentioned in 1246: *Nadasd*, UB I, 216; Cs. II s.v. “Nádasd,” 778.

¹⁵¹⁵ First mentioned in 1274: *predium Hulug*, charter No. 26. Cs. II s.v. “Halogy(-harmada),” 753; Cs. II, s.v. “Himfölda,” 756; Herényi s.v. “Halogy,” 240. Its parish church was dedicated to Saint Laurence (*ecclesia beati Laurentii*), charter No. 26.

¹⁵¹⁶ First mentioned in 1334. Kalász, *A szentgotthárdi apátság birtokviszonyai*, 133-134; ; Herényi s.v. “Lak,” 329; Kovacsics, *Szentgotthárd és környéke*, 297.

¹⁵¹⁷ First mentioned in 1236: *Ivanch*, UB I, 171; Cs. II, s.v. “Ivác,” 758; Herényi s.v. “Ivác,” 269. Its church dedicated to Saint Nicholas was first mentioned in 1418, Zs. VI, No. 1408.

¹⁵¹⁸ First mentioned in 1346: *possessio Lugasvasarhely*, UB V, 115; Cs. II s.v. “Lugas,” 772.

¹⁵¹⁹ First mentioned in 1350: *Kedhel*, Kalász, *A szentgotthárdi apátság birtokviszonyai*, 132-133; Cf. Cs. II s.v. “Kethely,” 765, Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter*, 232; Kovacsics, *Szentgotthárd és környéke*, 365.

¹⁵²⁰ First mentioned in 1350: *Chyrenuk*, Kalász, *A szentgotthárdi apátság birtokviszonyai*, 128-129; Herényi s.v. “Csörötnek,” 160; Kovacsics, *Szentgotthárd és környéke*, 209.

¹⁵²¹ First mentioned in 1185: *monasterium S. Gotthardi*, UB I, 26; Cs. II, s.v. “Szent-Gotthárd,” 797; Herényi s.v. “Szentgotthárd,” 465-466; Kovacsics, *Szentgotthárd és környéke*, 155.

the right bank of the river. The same source suggests that the Szentgotthárd road passed through the *porta civitatis* north of the great earthen rampart (*materia magna*). The *publica via* appearing in the 1292 perambulation of Döröske might again be identified with this route. The road leading to Kethely from Lak appears in a 1354 charter in connection with an act of might. The document relates that it was by that road that the men of the abbot of Szentgotthárd charged at the peasants of Johannes Ayakas of Ivánc transporting wine and seized their carriage together with the wagons and oxen.¹⁵²²

The existence of the market-places Lugasvásárhely (now: part of Hegyhátszentmárton, C. Vas)¹⁵²³ and Kethely (now: part of Szentgotthárd as Rábakethely, C. Vas)¹⁵²⁴ – having the words *vásár* (market) and *kedd* (Tuesday, that is the day of the market) in their names – also attest to the existence of a road south of the Rába. Although both settlements appear in written sources only in the mid-fourteenth century, their origins certainly go back to the Árpád Period, as these types of toponyms developed and spread in Hungary in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹⁵²⁵ Geographically Lugosvásárhely and Kethely also fit in the general pattern pointed out by Jenő Major, namely that toponyms referring to market-places occurred primarily in the border regions of the realm where the population was mixed in terms of ethnicity. Different peoples had different products that were exchanged at the market.¹⁵²⁶ Market-places on the other hand attracted merchants, moneychangers, and collectors of toll. That is the reason why one can often find the settlements of oriental people (Muslims, Jews, etc.) in the vicinity. Árpád Period Kethely was, for example, neighboured by Zsida, a presumably Jewish settlement – both of which form part of Szentgotthárd today.¹⁵²⁷

¹⁵²² Kalász, *A szentgotthárdi apátság birtokviszonyai*, 133-134. Cf. A. VI, 229.

¹⁵²³ VaML No. 137/60, 469.

¹⁵²⁴ VaML No. 137/84-97, 371; Kovacsics, *Szentgotthárd és környéke*, 365.

¹⁵²⁵ Major, "A magyar városok és a városhálózat kialakulásának kezdetei," 60; Benczik, *Ivánc*, 22.

¹⁵²⁶ Major, "A magyar városok és a városhálózat kialakulásának kezdetei," 55-59.

¹⁵²⁷ Major, "A magyar városok és a városhálózat kialakulásának kezdetei," 63-64.

III. Early modern maps suggest that out of the roads along the two banks of the Rába, the road on the left bank was the more important one (cf. 4.1.2.2). Maps normally represent the former road as a postal way (*via postalis*),¹⁵²⁸ while the road along the right bank is either represented as branching from that road at Rábasantmihály (Fig. 58) and running along the right bank of the river from Csörötnek or it is not indicated at all.¹⁵²⁹



Fig. 58. Roads along the Rába on a map of postal ways from ca. 1787 (OSZK TK 25)

IV. The Vasvár—Szentgotthárd route is dated to the Árpád Period by three architectural monuments: the parish churches of Döröske and Kethely, as well as the Cistercian monastery of Szentgotthárd.

The parish church of Döröske dedicated to Saint James was first mentioned by a written source in 1276.¹⁵³⁰ The church built in the first half of the thirteenth century is located north of Döröske on a hill, surrounded by a churchyard. It is a small brick church with a nave terminating in a semicircular apse.¹⁵³¹

The parish church of Kethely (Rábakethely, now part of Szentgotthárd) was built of brick in the mid-thirteenth century. Elements of that church can be still observed in the Roman Catholic church of Szentgotthárd—Rábakethely standing on a hill in the cemetery.

¹⁵²⁸ For example, *Via postalis* on MOL S 12 Div. 10, No. 10:1-2.

¹⁵²⁹ For example, MOL S12 Div. 18, No. 58.

¹⁵³⁰ 1276: *Dereske...ecclesia sancti Iacobi apostoli*, UB II, 91.

¹⁵³¹ Erika P. Hajmási, "Döröske – római katolikus templom" [The Roman Catholic church at Döröske], *RégFüz* I/45 (1993): 77; Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 98; Valter, *Romanische Sakralbauten*, 112; Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 173-174.

The church has a Romanesque nave with semicircular windows, as well as a Gothic apse with polygonal termination and large Gothic windows.¹⁵³² The fact that the parish church of Szentgotthárd was built at Kethely when the Cistercian monastery of Szentgotthárd already existed, demonstrates the importance of Kethely as a market-place.¹⁵³³

The Cistercian monastery of Szentgotthárd¹⁵³⁴ was founded by King Béla III in 1183 and was consecrated in 1184.¹⁵³⁵ The building was located on a hilltop, in a bend of the Rába, across the Lapincs.¹⁵³⁶ Szentgotthárd – named after Saint Gerard, the patron saint of its church¹⁵³⁷ – must have already existed as a settlement before the foundation of the monastery, whereas the surrounding villages developed out of the manors of the monastery. The Cistercian monastery was demolished in 1605. Archaeological investigations conducted in 1971 and 1972 at the centre of Szentgotthárd demonstrated that the southern and western walls of the Baroque granary-church rest on the walls of the Árpád Period church of the monastery. The church built in the late twelfth century was 44 metres long, and consisted of a nave, two aisles, a transept, and a semicircular apse.¹⁵³⁸

V. The row of settlements along the right bank of the Rába, at the northern edge of the Vas Hegyhát clearly marks the path of a route between Vasvár and Szentgotthárd. That road was connected to the *via Theutonica* north of the Rába by means of bridges and local paths

¹⁵³² Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 376; Valter, *Romanische Sakralbauten*, 250-251; Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 165-166.

¹⁵³³ As an analogy we may refer here to another Kethely in County Sopron, in the vicinity of which the Cistercian monastery of Borsmonostor was established. Major, “A magyar városok és a városhálózat kialakulásának kezdetei,” 63-64.

¹⁵³⁴ KMTL s.v. “Szentgotthárd,” 631.

¹⁵³⁵ 1184: *fundata est abbatia de Sancto Gothardo secundum tabulas monasteriorum antiquiores a rege Bela III*, Hervay, *Repertorium*, 159. Cf. 1213: *cum ecclesia Sancti Gothardi, que beate memorie Bele patris nostri fundatione*, UB I, 64. See also Romhányi, *Kolototok és társaskáptalanok*, 62.

¹⁵³⁶ Mária Z. Sternegg, “Adatok a szentgotthárdi volt ciszterci apátság építéstörténetéhez” [Data on the architectural history of the former Cistercian Abbey in Szentgotthárd], *Savaria* 3 (1965): 283-313, esp. 285-287, Fig. 2.

¹⁵³⁷ FNESz II, s.v. “Szentgotthárd,” 558; Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben*, 78.

¹⁵³⁸ Sternegg, “Adatok a szentgotthárdi volt ciszterci apátság építéstörténetéhez,” 309-310; Ilona Valter, “Előzetes beszámoló a szentgotthárdi ciszterci monostor ásátásáról” [Preliminary report on the excavation of the Cistercian monastery in Szentgotthárd], *ArchÉrt* 102 (1975): 88-100, esp. 92, Fig. 5 and Fig. 14; Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 365-376; Valter, *Romanische Sakralbauten*, 249-250; Ilona Valter, Pál Lövei, and János Faragó, “Szentgotthárd, középkori ciszterci monostor” [The medieval Cistercian monastery in Szentgotthárd], in LAHU 6, 223-326, esp. 223, 226-230, Fig. 670.

joining Nádasd and Körmend as well as Kismákfa and Hídvég. The road crossed a great number of right-bank tributaries of the Rába, such as the Mákfa (*flumen Makwa*, 1292,¹⁵³⁹ *fluvius Makwa*, 1326),¹⁵⁴⁰ Szárazpatak (*Zarazpatak*, 1326),¹⁵⁴¹ Csoma (*fluvius Chama*, 1326)¹⁵⁴² Ordó,¹⁵⁴³ Nádas,¹⁵⁴⁴ and Lugos.¹⁵⁴⁵ The names of the three former streams are directly known from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century written sources, while in the three latter cases the early use of the stream names can be demonstrated by the fact that nearby Árpád Period settlements were called after them.¹⁵⁴⁶

VI. I do not have data on the existence of any Roman road running between Vasvár and Szentgotthárd close to the right bank of the Rába.

VII. In the Árpád Period the road along the right bank of the Rába primarily served communication between settlements, as opposed to the long-distance road (*Via Theutonica*) along the left bank. By the eighteenth century the latter road was upgraded to a postal way, while the road along the right bank remained secondary to it. Lajos Glaser did not mention any road on the right bank of the Rába, he reconstructed only the left-bank route. Elek Kalász referred to a Vasvár—Graz road that was running in the valley of the Rába and passed through Szentgotthárd. However, he reconstructed it in the same way as early modern maps represented it (branching off from the left bank-road before Szentgotthárd, cf. Fig. 58).¹⁵⁴⁷ It was Gábor Kiss and Endre Tóth¹⁵⁴⁸ who called attention to the fact that there was a medieval

¹⁵³⁹ Charter No. 20.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Charters No. 69 and No. 70.

¹⁵⁴¹ Charter No. 70. The stream is still called *Száraz-patak* today, see VaML No. 220/38, 539.

¹⁵⁴² Charter No. 69; The toponym *Csoma* south of Nagymákfa suggests that the Csoma Stream can be identified by modern Mókus-patak, see VaML No. 220/12, 539 and VaML No. 220/54, 540.

¹⁵⁴³ VaML No. 220/27, 539.

¹⁵⁴⁴ VaML No. 181/3, 461.

¹⁵⁴⁵ VaML No. 185/37, 469.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Cf. Kiss and Z. Czigány, “A Lapincs-Rába vonaltól délre eső terület,” 716-718.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Kalász, *A szentgotthárdi apátság birtokviszonyai*, 112.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Kiss and Tóth, “A vasvári ‘Római sánc’ és a ‘Katonák útja,’” 110.

road that connected the settlements south of the Rába at the northern part of Kemeneshát, and more recently Balázs Z. Czigány¹⁵⁴⁹ and Gyula Benczik¹⁵⁵⁰ dealt with it.

4.2.2 Kőszeg and its region

The town of Kőszeg was founded by the mighty Kőszegi family of the Héder kindred¹⁵⁵¹ in the second half of the thirteenth century.¹⁵⁵² Before the mid-thirteenth century there was already a tower-building on a hill above Kőszeg (today called Óház / Alteshaus¹⁵⁵³ after the ruins of the building). The term ‘Kőszeg Castle’ (*castrum Kwszug*) appearing in a 1248 source¹⁵⁵⁴ – in connection with the 1242 wars against Frederick II (the Quarrelsome), Duke of Austria – refers to that building. It is uncertain who the castle was erected by, but by the mid-thirteenth century it had already been possessed by the Kőszegi family.

In the mid-thirteenth century a new Kőszeg Castle was established by Henry II of Kőszeg. It was a trapezoidal building with four corner towers (Fig. 59).¹⁵⁵⁵ Although after the construction of this “Lower Castle” (Hu. Alsókőszeg), the “Upper Castle” (Hu. Felsőkőszeg) lost its former significance, the latter building served as a refuge castle for at least two more centuries.¹⁵⁵⁶ The two castles in Kőszeg were first mentioned together in 1327 as the two

¹⁵⁴⁹ Z. Czigány, “Az Árpád-kori Vasvár topográfiája,” 389-390.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Benczik, *Ivanc*, 22.

¹⁵⁵¹ On the Kőszegi family see, János Karácsonyi, *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig* [Hungarian kindreds to the middle of the fourteenth century], Vol. 2, (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1901), 145-157; KMTL s.v. “Kőszegi,” 375.

¹⁵⁵² For the history of the town of Kőszeg see, István Bariska, “Kőszeg királyi város középkori történetéhez” [On the history of Kőszeg royal town], *VSz* 33 (1979): 70-82; Kornél Bakay, *A középkori Kőszeg* [Kőszeg in the Middle Ages] (Kőszeg: Jurisics Vár Művelődési Központ 2001).

¹⁵⁵³ VaMFN 58-59, No. 6/389. Cf. 58, No. 6/385.

¹⁵⁵⁴ UB I, 219.

¹⁵⁵⁵ The investigations were conducted by Imre Holl between 1960 and 1962, and Kornél Bakay in 1987-88 and in 1995. Imre Holl, “Kőszeg vára a 13. században” [The castle of Kőszeg in the thirteenth century], *ArchÉrt* 113 (1986): 50-68, esp. 51-55; Imre Holl, *Kőszeg vára a középkorban, Az 1960-1962. évi ásatások eredménye* [The castle of Kőszeg in the Middle Ages, The results of archaeological excavations conducted between 1960 and 1962] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992); Bakay, *A középkori Kőszeg*, 105-132.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Feld, “Kőszeg-Óház,” 149-150. The Upper Castle was archaeologically investigated by Antal Wittinger in 1893-1894 and Kornél Bakay in 1991-1996. The architectural analogies as well as pottery shreds discovered at the site date the building between the twelfth/thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Antal Wittinger, “Wittinger Antal Kőszegi ásatásáról” [On the excavations conducted by Antal Wittinger in Kőszeg], *ArchÉrt* 15 (1895): 76-77; Kornél Bakay, *Castrum Kwszug. A kőszegi felsővár és a milléniumi kilátó* [The Kőszeg Upper Castle and the millennial lookout tower] (Kőszeg: Városi Múzeum, 1996), 31-118.

Kőszegs (*Kethkuseg*).¹⁵⁵⁷ The duplicity¹⁵⁵⁸ is explained by a source from 1392 as follows: *vnum scilicet Kwzeg cum Ciuitate murata eidem connexa similiter kwzeg vocata et reliquam versimiliter kwzeg appellata in Comitatu Castriferrei*.¹⁵⁵⁹ The Lower Castle, therefore, was located in the town of Kőszeg surrounded by walls (Fig. 59).

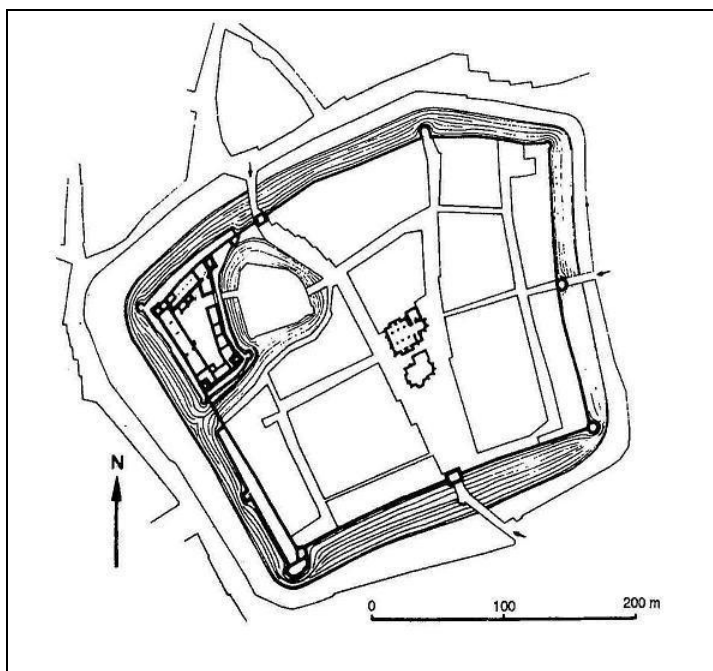


Fig. 59. The topography of late medieval Kőszeg (Holl 1997,¹⁵⁶⁰ 96, Fig.1)

Most parts of the nearly eight hundred metres long town walls of Kőszeg are still extant today.¹⁵⁶¹ Archaeological investigations into these walls (at 12¹⁵⁶² and 14¹⁵⁶³ Chernel

¹⁵⁵⁷ UB III, 248.

¹⁵⁵⁸ For the history of the two castles see, Kálmán Chernel, “A kőszegi felső- és alsóvár története az Árpádház alatt,” [The history of the Upper and Lower Castles of Kőszeg in the Árpád Period], *Századok* 3 (1869): 98-105, and more recently Holl, *Kőszeg vára a középkorban*, 9-12.

¹⁵⁵⁹ HO VII, 428.

¹⁵⁶⁰ See n. 1573.

¹⁵⁶¹ On the town walls see, István Bariska, “Erődítési munkálatok Kőszeg városfalain a 16. században” [Fortification works on the town walls of Kőszeg in the sixteenth century], *VSz* 36 (1982): 245-259, esp. 247-249; Lilla B. Benkhard, “A kőszegi védműrendszer,” [The fortification system of Kőszeg], in *Kőszeg 2000. Egy szabad királyi város jubileumára* [Kőszeg 2000. On the jubilee of a free royal town], ed. István Bariska and Imre Söptei (Kőszeg: Polgármesteri Hivatal, 2000), 35–58; Lilla B. Benkhard, “Kőszeg város déli védművei” [The southern fortifications of the town of Kőszeg], in *Egy emberöltő Kőszeg szabad királyi város levéltárában. Tanulmányok Bariska István 60. születésnapjára* [A lifetime in the archives of the free royal town of Kőszeg. Studies in honour of István Bariska on his sixtieth birthday], ed. László Mayer and György Tilcsik (Szombathely: Vas Megyei Levéltár), 2003, 155-176.

¹⁵⁶² Imre Holl, “Kőszeg – Chernel u. 12. (Ny-i városfal)” [12 Chernel Street, Kőszeg (Western town wall)], *RégFüz* I/18 (1965): 72.

¹⁵⁶³ Lilla B. Benkhard, “Kőszeg – Chernel u. 14” [14 Chernel Street, Kőszeg]. *RégFüz* I/37 (1984): 115.

Street, 6 Jurisics Square,¹⁵⁶⁴ Kelcz-Adelffy Street,¹⁵⁶⁵ 10-11 Rajnis Street¹⁵⁶⁶) demonstrated that their construction had been completed before the end of the sixteenth century. The various foundation techniques employed testify to long, gradual constructions.¹⁵⁶⁷ The earliest – fourteenth to fifteenth-century – sections of the stone walls were discovered around the Lower Town Gate (Ge. *Untertor* or *Unteres Stadttor*).¹⁵⁶⁸ The Upper Town Gate (Ge. *Oberthor* or *Oberes Stadttor*) found 215 metres north of the southern gate tower was also certainly constructed before the sixteenth century (Fig. 59).¹⁵⁶⁹

Written documents also provide valuable data concerning the town walls of Kőszeg. The town received royal privileges in 1328 from King Charles I.¹⁵⁷⁰ In 1336 the king exempted the citizens of Kőszeg (*cives de Kewzegh*) from the royal tax called *collecta* (*census regalis collecte nomine*) for ten years, provided that they construct walls around the town and fortify them (*sed muros dicte civitatis nostre Kewzegh construere et munimentis bonis solidare deberent et tenerentur*).¹⁵⁷¹ In 1392 Kőszeg is already called a walled town (*Ciuitas murata*),¹⁵⁷² which testifies to the fact that the construction of the walls had been at least started.

The geographical environment of Kőszeg reflects conscious site selection by the Kőszegis. In the west it was bordered by the Kőszeg Mountains covered with vast forests. In the north and east it was surrounded by the Gyöngyös Stream that forks into two branches. Furthermore, the town was located along the much frequented Sopron—Muraszombat Route.

¹⁵⁶⁴ Éva M. Kozák, “Kőszeg – Jurisics tér 6” [6 Jurisics Square, Kőszeg], *RégFüz* I/28 (1975): 125.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Éva M. Kozák, “Kőszeg – Kelcz-Adelffy u. és Várkör által határolt telek” [A building plot surrounded by the Kelcz-Adelffy Street and the Castle Circuit in Kőszeg], *RégFüz* I/27 (1974): 96-97.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Kornél Bakay, “Kőszeg – Rajnis u. 10-11. (Felső-kapu)” [10-11 Rajnis Street – Kőszeg (Upper Gate)], *RégFüz* I/36 (1983): 104-105; László Vándor, “Kőszeg – Rajnis u. 11., 12., 13.” [11, 12, and 13 Rajnis Street, Kőszeg], *RégFüz* I/42 (1991): 77.

¹⁵⁶⁷ B. Benkhard, “A kőszegi védműrendszer,” 40; Lilla B. Benkhard and Klára Mentényi, “Kőszeg városfalai és városi vára” [The town walls and urban castle of Kőszeg], *Castrum* 5 (2007/1): 137-147, esp. 138-139.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Bakay, *A középkori Kőszeg*, 55-66; B. Benkhard, “A kőszegi védműrendszer,” 40; B. Benkhard and Mentényi, “Kőszeg városfalai és városi vára,” 141-142.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Bakay, *A középkori Kőszeg*, 67-73; B. Benkhard and Mentényi, “Kőszeg városfalai és városi vára,” 140-141.

¹⁵⁷⁰ See, charter No. 55.

¹⁵⁷¹ UB IV, 220. The document was transcribed by King Louis I (1342-1382) in 1342 and in 1343, UB V, 5; UB V, 21-22.

¹⁵⁷² HO VII, 428.

That long-distance road passed through the town, across the Upper and Lower Town Gates mentioned above. The town, having a nearly rectangular ground-plan,¹⁵⁷³ developed around its main street connecting the two gate towers (Fig. 59). From the two buildings the Lower Town Gate that controlled traffic arriving from the south deserves special attention. The archaeological investigations conducted by Lilla B. Benkhard and Gábor Ilon south of the Lower Town Gate in 2006 brought to light the detail of a sixteen-metre wide water ditch with walls supported with posts. This defensive system was dated to the thirteenth century, which means that it preceded the stone walls erected from the fourteenth century onwards.¹⁵⁷⁴

4.2.2.1 The Kőszeg—Sopron route

The road formed part of the Sopron-Muraszombat route, see chapter 4.1.1. (See Map Section A)

4.2.2.2 The Kőszeg—Sárvár route

I. Kőszeg–Csó¹⁵⁷⁵–Paty¹⁵⁷⁶–Meszlen¹⁵⁷⁷–Acsád¹⁵⁷⁸–Németszeleste¹⁵⁷⁹–Magyarszeleste¹⁵⁸⁰–Ölbő¹⁵⁸¹–Sár–Sárvár (See Map Section B)

II. The main road leading from Kőszeg to Sárvár (*ad ... viam magnam de civitate Kuzeg per quam itur in Saar*) is mentioned with its terminals in the 1348 perambulation of

¹⁵⁷³ On the topography of the medieval Kőszeg see, Imre Holl, “Die mittelalterliche Stadt Kőszeg,” *ActaArchHung* 49 (1997): 95-101; and Lilla B. Benkhard, “Kőszeg város topográfiai kérdései a középkorban és a kora újkorban. A Jurisics tér intézményei, lakóházai és lakói az építéstörténeti kutatások tükrében” (Topographical issues in Kőszeg in the medieval and early modern periods. Jurisics tér: institutions, dwelling houses and inhabitants in the light of building history research), *Urbs* 4 (2009): 149-168.

¹⁵⁷⁴ B. Benkhard and Mentényi, “Kőszeg városfalai és városi vára,” 138; SM RA 2169-07 (Lilla B. Benkhard)

¹⁵⁷⁵ First mentioned in 1238: *Chou*, UB I 187; Cs. II, s.v. “Csó,” 743; Herényi s.v. “Csó,” 164-165.

¹⁵⁷⁶ First mentioned in 1283: *possessio Poth*, UB II, 166; Cs. II, s.v. “Paty, a)” 783; Herényi s.v. “Kispaty,” 305.

¹⁵⁷⁷ First mentioned in 1255: *villa Mezlen*, charter No. 1; Cs. II, s.v. “Meszlen,” 775; Herényi s.v. “Meszlen,” 355.

¹⁵⁷⁸ First mentioned in 1255: *terra Achad*, UB I, 239; Cs. II, s.v. “Acsád,” 732; Herényi s.v. “Acsád,” 37. Its church dedicated to Saint John was mentioned in 1342, UB IV, 351.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Cf. n. 1684.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Cf. n. 1684; In 1318 a church was established at (Magyar)Szeleste, which was dedicated to Saint Stephen, UB III, 118. The establishment was approved in 1319 (UB III, 122), which document was transcribed in 1329 (UB IV, 59-60).

¹⁵⁸¹ First mentioned in 1254: *ad Ilbu*, UB II, 341; Cs. II, s.v. “Ölbő,” 781; Herényi s.v. “Ilbő,” 264.

Csó. Another perambulation of Csó from 1343 relates that south of the settlement, in the vicinity of Kispaty there was a *via magna* that led to Kőszeg (*per quam proceditur in Kuzeg*). The same source later refers to that road again as a *via* that led from Csó to Kőszeg (*ad viam, per quam itur de Chou in Kuzegh*). The 1313 perambulation of Paty refers to a *magna via* that ran to Kőszeg (*per quam itur in Kűszögh*), as well as to a *via* that joined Meszlen and Kőszeg (*per quam itur de villa Meszlen ad Kűszegh*), which evidently indicate the same road section. The same data can be found again in another document of the Vasvár chapter describing the boundaries of Paty in 1343. The *magna via* appearing in 1272 as the boundary of a forest located west of Acsád might be interpreted as part of the Kőszeg—Sárvár route. The 1327 perambulation of Németszeleste refers to a *via magna* that connected the two villages called Szeleste (*inter ipsas duas villas Szeleste*). Finally, mention must be made of the 1328 perambulation of Ölbő that differentiated between a *magna via* that ran from Ölbő directly to Sárvár (*de Ilbe ad villam Saar*) and a simple *via* that led to Sömjén (*de dicta Ilbe ad villam Semyen*).

III. The Kőszeg—Acsád section of the Kőszeg—Sárvár route is represented on most early modern maps in the same way. However, from Acsád these maps indicate the route either leading southwards towards Szilvággy and Vát,¹⁵⁸² or eastwards to Felső-Szeleste¹⁵⁸³ (former Németszeleste) to Sár and Sárvár, and more detailed maps often represent both paths.¹⁵⁸⁴ Which of the two paths can be considered a medieval one then? The Vát—Sárvár route is shown by maps as an artificial straight road leading across a forest. As opposed to that, the road across Felső-Szeleste and Ölbő was aligned with respect to the forested areas and the micro-geomorphological features of the terrain, which make it more likely to have originated from the medieval times. Comparing these cartographic data with early fourteenth-century written data, the Árpád Period Acsád—Sárvár road section can be reconstructed as

¹⁵⁸² For example, VaML T 19; VaML T 129.

¹⁵⁸³ For example, OSZK TK 25; MOL S 12 Div. 11 No. 33.

¹⁵⁸⁴ For example, the MOL S 12 Div. 10 No. 10:1-2; the First and Second Military Surveys.

passing through Felső-Szeleste (former Németszeleste), Alsó-Szeleste (former Magyarszeleste), and Ölbő to Sár and Sárvár.

IV. Along the Kőszeg—Sárvár main road I found one historical monument: the Roman Catholic church of Meszlen. The church surrounded with a churchyard is located in the centre of the village, where the main street widens in an elongated green. In medieval times this building was the parish church of Meszlen dedicated to the Holy Virgin first mentioned by a written source from 1430. Archaeological and historic monument investigations conducted between 1991 and 1993 demonstrated that the earliest building phase of the church dates to the second half of the thirteenth century (ca. 1260). At that time it was a Romanesque brick church consisting of merely a nave and a small semicircular apse.¹⁵⁸⁵

V. The First and Second Military Surveys, as well as toponyms demonstrate that the line of the Kőszeg—Sárvár route was greatly determined by forests and streams. South of Kőszeg it branched off from the Amber Route and led to Csó by the southern part of the Kőszeg Forest¹⁵⁸⁶ (*Günser Wald* on the Second Military Survey) running more or less parallel with the Borzó Stream¹⁵⁸⁷, and at Csó the road crossed the Borzó (*rivulum Borzapataka; rivulum Burzapataka*¹⁵⁸⁸). Between Csó and Paty the road passed through a forest called Cser in the early modern period.¹⁵⁸⁹ Between Paty and Meszlen the road ran south of a forest, which had partly become a clearing by the early modern period.¹⁵⁹⁰ Between Meszlen and Acsád the road passed along the northern border of a forest,¹⁵⁹¹ the boundaries of which are described in a 1272 charter of King Stephen V.¹⁵⁹² Between Acsád and Felső-Szeleste the

¹⁵⁸⁵ Dercsényi, “Árpád-kori műemlékeink,” 62-63; Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 275; Klára F. Mentényi, “A meszleni római katolikus templom műemléki kutatása” [Monument investigation on the Roman Catholic church of Meszlen], *VHHK* 1995/3, 76-84, esp. 77-79; Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 157-158.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Second Military Survey, *Col. XXII, sect. 52: Günser Wald*.

¹⁵⁸⁷ VaMFN 72, No. 11/47.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Charter No. 16.

¹⁵⁸⁹ VaMFN 85, No. 17/46: *Cser-düllő*; No. 17/47: *Cser-erdő*; Second Military Survey *Col. XXII, Sect. 52: Cser*.

¹⁵⁹⁰ VaMFN 85, No. 17/44: *Hosszi-irtás, Rétirtás*; No. 17/45: *Vágás*; No. 17/54: *Közép irtás*.

¹⁵⁹¹ VaMFN 95, No. 23/33: *Cikotai-erdő*; Second Military Survey, *Col. XXII, Sect. 52: Acsadi Erdő*.

¹⁵⁹² Charter No. 2.

road ran across a woodland in a west-east direction, but between Felső-Szeleste the it ran again on the edge of forests.

VI. The Árpád Period Kőszeg—Sárvár route did not follow the track of Roman roads.

VII. Sections of he Kőszeg—Sárvár route are called *via magna* or *magna via* in the thirteenth and fourteenth-century perambulations of Csó, Paty, Acsád, Németszeleste and Ölbő, which demonstrate that it was considered an important regional route by contemporary people. In addition, cartographic and toponymic data testify that the route preserved its importance to the early modern period as a trade route.

On the basis of the 1299 and 1348 perambulations of Csó (and apparently early modern cartographic data) Lajos Glaser reconstructed the Kőszeg—Sárvár road as leading from Kőszeg through Csó, Paty, and Vát to Sárvár.¹⁵⁹³ This reconstruction was also taken over by Géza Érszegi in the monograph of Sárvár.¹⁵⁹⁴ According to my interpretation of the available written and cartographic data, the Kőszeg—Sárvár main road passed indeed through Csó and Paty, but instead of Vát this main road is more likely to have continued through Felső-Szeleste and Ölbő to Sárvár.

4.2.2.3 The Kőszeg—Szombathely route

The route was part of the Sopron—Muraszombat road, see chapter 4.1.1 (See Map Section A and B)

4.2.2.4 The Kőszeg—Rohonc—Szalónak—Borostyán route

I. Kőszeg—Cák¹⁵⁹⁵—Szerdahely¹⁵⁹⁶—Bozsok¹⁵⁹⁷—Rohonc¹⁵⁹⁸—[Hodász¹⁵⁹⁹]¹⁶⁰⁰—

Szalónak¹⁶⁰¹—Borostyán¹⁶⁰² (See Map Section A)

¹⁵⁹³ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 166-167.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Géza Érszegi, “Középkor” [The Middle Ages], in *Sárvár monográfiája* [The monograph of Sárvár], ed. Ferenc Horváth (Szombathely: Sárvár Város Tanácsa, 1978, 78-239), esp. 91 and 93.

¹⁵⁹⁵ First mentioned in 1279: *Chak*, UB II, 140; Cs. II, “Czák,” 743; Herényi s.v. “Cák,” 142-143.

¹⁵⁹⁶ First mentioned in 1279: *Zerudahel*, UB II, 140; Cs. II, “Szerdahely, b),” 800; Herényi s.v. “Kőszegszerdahely,” 321.

II. In Árpád Period written sources I did not find any reference to the route connecting the castles of Kőszeg, Rohonc (now: Rechnitz, Au.), Szalónak (now: Schlaining, Au.), and Borostyán (now: Bernstein, Au.). One section of the route between Rohonc and Hodász (now: Markt Neuhodis, Au.) is mentioned in the 1374 perambulation of Rohonc. The road is labelled both a *via magna* that led to Hodász (*in Hodaz transiret*) and briefly *Hodazuta*.

III. Road maps of County Vas from around 1787 and 1790 represent the road leading from Kőszeg through Rohonc to Szalónak among the most important commercial routes of the county. However, both maps indicate the route as terminating at Szalónak. For the reconstruction of the whole medieval route I fundamentally relied on an early handwritten topographical map of County Vas (made around 1740), which shows the route passing through the following sites: *Kőszeg/Güns, Szerdahel, Bozsok/Posndorf, Rohonc/Rechnic, Neu Hodis, Gr. Veiden, Alt Slaning, Szalonak/Slaning, Neustift, Bergverk,* and *Borostyanko/Bernstein*. The entire route can also be identified on more detailed maps made in subsequent periods, such as the relevant divisions of the First Military Survey (1784), or the 1833 map of County Vas.

The toponyms of modern Kőszeg, Cák, Kőszegszerdahely and Bozsok – similarly to mid-nineteenth-century cadastral maps – attest to road sections called Rohonc road, while at Kőszegdoroszló one part of the road is called a postal way.

IV. Communication on the discussed route was under the control of castles at Kőszeg, Rohonc, Szalónak, and Borostyán. The architectural origins of the Upper Castle of Kőszeg I have discussed above in detail. The medieval core of the Rohonc Castle (1288: *castrum*

¹⁵⁹⁷ First mentioned in 1277: *villa Bosuk*, UB II, 97; Cs. II, “Bozsok,” 739; Herényi s.v. “Bozsok,” 133.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Cf. n. 1835.

¹⁵⁹⁹ First mentioned in 1374: *Hodaz*, charter No. 104; Cs. II, s.v. “Hodász, b)” 756.

¹⁶⁰⁰ The settlement was first mentioned as *Niclastauern* in 1289, ÖKT 40, 461-462. The first written evidence for the form Keddhely comes from 1325: *villa Kedhel*, UB III, 194; Cs. II, s.v. “Kedhely,” 763; Herényi s.v. “Kedhely,” 289.

¹⁶⁰¹ First mentioned in 1271: *castrum Zloyumuk*, Cs. II, s.v. “Szalonak,” 719-720, 279; Herényi s.v. “Schlaining,” 440.

¹⁶⁰² First mentioned in 1249: *castrum Peristhan*, W. VII, 283; UB I, 224; RA I, No. 901. Cs. II, s.v. “Borostyán”, 712-713; Herényi s.v. “Bernstein,” 117.

Rohonch)¹⁶⁰³ consists of keeps, a gatehouse and a place surrounded by an oval castle ditch.¹⁶⁰⁴ Its dating is uncertain. The oldest part of the Szalónak Castle (1271: *Castrum Zloyemuk*)¹⁶⁰⁵ is the dungeon built in the twelfth century or around 1200, to which a palace with living quarters was attached under the Kőszegs.¹⁶⁰⁶ Around 1200 and in the thirteenth century the stone castle of Borostyán (1249: *castrum Peristhan*)¹⁶⁰⁷ with its dungeon was found in a small territory, and was fortified by earthen walls and wooden palisade.¹⁶⁰⁸

At Szerdahely (now: Kőszegszerdahely, C. Vas) the Kőszeg—Rohonc great road crossed a minor road joining Doroszló, Szerdahely and Szentvid, all of which had a church in the Árpád Period. The east-west main street of the Szerdahely formed part of both roads. The church together with the market of the village was found where the main street forked north-westwards to Velem and southwards to Bozsok. The church of Szerdahely does not appear in any Árpád Period written source, and the parish is first mentioned only in 1548. Nevertheless, the church must have been built by the fourteenth century at the latest as it contains Romanesque elements (such as a gate and a window on the southern facade of the nave walled up by now).¹⁶⁰⁹ The Wednesday markets of Szerdahely as well as the trade on the main road arriving from Kőszeg must have been under the control and subject to the toll collection of the *comes* of Szentvid.¹⁶¹⁰

¹⁶⁰³ Cf. n. 1835.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Prickler, *Burgen und Schlösser im Burgenland*, 123; ÖKT 40, 405; Fügedi, *Vár és társadalom*, 182-183; KMTL s.v. “Rohonc,” 577.

¹⁶⁰⁵ Cf. n. 1601.

¹⁶⁰⁶ ÖKT 40, 476-499, esp. 491; Fügedi, *Vár és társadalom*, 194-195; KMTL, s.v. “Szalónak,” 616.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Cf. n. 1602.

¹⁶⁰⁸ ÖKT 40, 100-129, esp. 100; Fügedi, *Vár és társadalom*, 112.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Géza Entz, “Vas megye gótikus műemlékei” [Gothic monuments in County Vas], *VSz* 1960/2, 41-49, esp. 46; Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 261; Erzsébet C. Harrach and Péter Ivicsics, “Kőszegszerdahely, Római katolikus templom” [The Roman Catholic church at Kőszegszerdahely], in *LAHU* 5, 603-607; Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 155.

¹⁶¹⁰ Gábor Kiss, “Topográfiai megfigyelések Vas vármegye Árpád-kori piachelyeihez” [Topographical observations concerning the Árpád Period market-places in County Vas], in *Előadások Vas megye történetéről IV* [Studies on the history of County Vas IV], ed. László Mayer and György Tilcsik (Szombathely: Vas Megyei Levéltár, 2004), 399-408, esp. 403-405, Fig. 3.

On the basis of archaeological investigations¹⁶¹¹ the earth and timber fortification of Szentvid was erected in the tenth or eleventh century on top of a hill (563 m) north-west of Velem. Both the hill and the settlement were called after Saint Vitus, the patron saint of the ninth-century church¹⁶¹² that was apparently demolished during the constructions of the early Árpád Period fortification. Although the church¹⁶¹³ that was built on the hill¹⁶¹⁴ in place of the ninth-century church was mentioned by a written document only in 1576, it must have been more or less contemporary with the earth and timber fortification.¹⁶¹⁵ The stray finds – such as the eleventh-twelfth-century S-terminalled lock-rings, and a twelfth-century cross reliquary – discovered on the hill must have originally belonged to the graves of the churchyard.¹⁶¹⁶ According to the testimony of archaeological finds, a stone castle was built on the hill in the thirteenth century.¹⁶¹⁷ In the *suburbium* thirteenth-century road sections were observed.¹⁶¹⁸ When the castle was first mentioned by a written source in 1271¹⁶¹⁹ it was already owned by the Kőszegi family, and it seems to have been destroyed in the late thirteenth century in accordance with the peace treaty of Hainburg (1291).¹⁶²⁰

Árpád Period Doroszló (now: Kőszegdoroszló, C. Vas) – similarly to Szerdahely and Szentvid – developed in the valley of the Szerdahely Stream. The church of the village was

¹⁶¹¹ Gábor Bándi and Mária Fekete, “Velem-Szentvid,” *RégFüz* I/34 (1981): 23; *RégFüz* I/35 (1982): 27-28; *RégFüz* I/36 (1983): 31; Mária Fekete, “Velem-Szentvid,” *RégFüz* I/37 (1984): 32-33; *RégFüz* I/38 (1985): 29-30; *RégFüz* I/39 (1986): 32; Mária Fekete, “Váratlan épületnyomok egy őskori lelőhelyen” [Unexpected building remains at a prehistoric archaeological site], *Életünk* 1984, 75-78; Mária Fekete, “Kora Árpád-kori égett sánc Velemben” [Early Árpád Period burnt rampart at Velem], *SSz* 42 (1988): 137; Mária Fekete, “Adatok Velem—Szentvid középkori történetéhez” [Contributions to the medieval history of Velem—Szentvid], in *In memoriam Barta Gábor, Tanulmányok Barta Gábor emlékére* [Studies dedicated to the memory of Gábor Barta], ed. István Lengvári (Pécs: Janus Pannonius Tudományegyetem, 1996), 53-69.

¹⁶¹² FNEsz II, s.v. “Szent Vid,” 566; Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben*, 204-206.

¹⁶¹³ On the Árpád Period church see, Fekete, “Váratlan épületnyomok egy őskori lelőhelyen,” 75-78; Fekete, “Adatok Velem—Szentvid középkori történetéhez,” 56-57; Kiss, “A templomépítészet kezdetei Vas megyében,” 71; Kiss, “A történeti Vas vármegye 11-12. századi templomairól,” 364-385; Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 261-263; Kiss, “Topográfiai megfigyelések Vas vármegye Árpád-kori piachelyeihez,” 404.

¹⁶¹⁴ Cf. VaML 73, No. 12/47: “Szent Vid-kápolna.”

¹⁶¹⁵ Kiss, “A templomépítészet kezdetei Vas megyében,” 71.

¹⁶¹⁶ Fekete and Kiss, “Velem-Szentvid,” 261-263.

¹⁶¹⁷ Bándi and Fekete, “Velem-Szentvid,” 27-28; Fekete, “Váratlan épületnyomok egy őskori lelőhelyen,” 76-77.

¹⁶¹⁸ Fekete, “Adatok Velem—Szentvid középkori történetéhez,” 58.

¹⁶¹⁹ UB II, 6.

¹⁶²⁰ F. VI/1, 181-182.

erected where the local road forming the main street of the village forked north-westwards to Cák and south-westwards to Szerdahely. The church is not mentioned by contemporary sources, yet investigations into the Roman Catholic church of Kőszegdoroszló demonstrated that the nave as well as the semicircular apse were erected in Romanesque style in the thirteenth century.¹⁶²¹

V. Maps representing the geomorphological features and/or the vegetation of the Kőszeg region – such as the First and Second Military Surveys, as well as cadastral maps – clearly demonstrate that the direction of the Kőszeg—Rohonc—Szalónak—Borostyán route was fundamentally determined by the Kőszeg Mountains. The road, in fact, bypassed the Kőszeg Mountains from the south. In the east and south the path led directly along the foothills covered with forests. In the west – still running on the edge of the Kőszeg Mountains – the road entered a more hilly and forested region. From Kedhely to Bergwerk the road ran in the valley of the Tohony Stream (now: Tauchenbach), while from Bergwerk to Borostyán it passed on top of a north-south directed mountain ridge.

At Borostyán the main road arriving from Kőszeg, Rohonc, and Szalónak met another main road that joining Kőszeg, Léka, and Borostyán bypassed the Kőszeg Mountains from the north. Finally mention must be made of a minor road running along the valley of the Szerdahely Stream,¹⁶²² which was crossed by the main road at Szerdahely discussed above. That west-east directed road connected the Szentvid Hill with the Gyöngyös valley connecting Szentvid, Szerdahely and Doroszló.

VI. By the second half of the thirteenth century the Kőszeg—Rohonc—Szalónak—Borostyán route had become an important route that connected the castles of the Kőszegi family in the shortest possible way that the terrain morphology rendered possible. Before

¹⁶²¹ Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 258; Entz, “Vas megye gótikus műemlékei,” 46; Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemlomok*, 154-155.

¹⁶²² VaMFN 70, No. 10/113: *Szërdaheli-patak; Szerdahely Bach* (at Kőszegdoroszló); VaMFN 74, No. 13/22: *Szërdaheli-patak* (at Kőszegszerdahely); VaMFN 78-79, No. 14/97: *Szërdaheli patak* (at Lukácsháza).

1271 the castles of (Lower and Upper) Kőszeg, Szentvid, Szalónak and Borostyán had already been built and were in possession of Henry II of Kőszeg. Sometime after 1279 the Kőszegs also obtained the Rohonc Castle from the Ják kindred.¹⁶²³ However, the discussed main road not only played a role as a castle road but as a trade route as well. In the late thirteenth—early fourteenth centuries there were already two market-places located by it, namely Szerdahely¹⁶²⁴ and Keddhely¹⁶²⁵ (now: Neumarkt im Tauchental, Au.) that had weekly markets on Wednesdays and Tuesdays, respectively. In the subsequent centuries this road preserved its role as a trade route. In the late Middle Ages – as Lajos Glaser had already demonstrated– it was an important route that passing through the medieval tolls of Rohonc and Tohony led to Austria.¹⁶²⁶ What is more, cartographic data discussed above demonstrate that the Kőszeg—Szalónak section of the route preserved its importance as a commercial route to the early modern period.

4.2.2.5 The Kőszeg—Léka—Borostyán route

I. Kőszeg–Felsőköszeg–Léka¹⁶²⁷–Langeck¹⁶²⁸–Borostyán¹⁶²⁹ (See Map Section A)

II. In 1354 the Vasvár chapter recorded the boundaries of the territory belonging to Kőszeg. The perambulation refers to roads and many other landscape features located west of Kőszeg. The source is so rich in topographical data that it feels relevant to present here briefly the major points of orientation featuring in the text.¹⁶³⁰ The perambulation starts by a road (*secus quandam viam*) near Kedhely (*Kedhel*; now: Mannersdorf an der Rabnitz / Répcekehely, Au.). Running westwards it crosses the Gyöngyös (*fluuium Gyngyes*) near Röt

¹⁶²³ Karácsonyi, *A magyar nemzetségek*, Vol. 2, 254.

¹⁶²⁴ Cf. n. 1596.

¹⁶²⁵ Cf. n. 1600.

¹⁶²⁶ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 163.

¹⁶²⁷ First mentioned in 1256: *Leuka wara*, UB I, 255. Cf. Cs. II, s.v. “Léka”, 715-716; Herényi s.v. “Léka,” 336-337.

¹⁶²⁸ First mentioned in 1279: *Languvys*, charter No. 63_Cs. II, s.v. “Longek,” 772; Herényi s.v. “Landig,” 330. Cf. 1249: *castrum Landigh*, W. VII. 283; UB I, 224; RA I, No. 901.

¹⁶²⁹ Cf. n. 1602.

¹⁶³⁰ Charter No. 57.

(*villa Rewth*; now: Rattersdorf, Au.). Continuing southwards the boundary-walkers arrive at a so-called castle's well (*puteus Warkhutha*) that must have supplied the Upper Castle of Kőszeg with water. From there the boundary passes on the castle's great road (*viam magnam, Warwtha dictam*) in the direction of Léka (*versus villam Leuka*; now: Lockenhaus, Au.) up to the Kerek-hegy (*Cherech hedgy*). From that hill the perambulation runs to a minor hill (*ad vnum monticulum*) flanked by two rivulets (*vulgo Mezchre Leuelyke*) as well as by the Spring Velike (*fons Welyke*). Since the settlement of Velike was adjacent to the Léka Castle,¹⁶³¹ the spring must have also to be located there. West of that hill there was a so-called Lovaggyaloguta (*viam Louaghgyalogwta dictam*), which was evidently a footpath that belonged to the castle. Finally, the perambulation turns southwards and runs to a high hill (*magnum montem*) called Fenyőhegy (*Fenyhedgy*), where it terminates. That hill that was adjacent with Rohonc to the south, Kőszeg to the east, and Léka to the north, on the basis of which it can be identified with modern Írott-kő (Ge. Geschriebenstein)¹⁶³², the highest summit (884 m) of the Kőszeg Mountains.

From the boundary marks discussed above special mention must be made of the *via magna* called *Warutha* that can be interpreted as a military road connecting the castles of Kőszeg, Felsőköszeg and Léka. From Léka the road must have continued westwards to a fourth castle built at Borostyán (now: Bernstein, Au.). Finally, from Borostyán the road seems to have turned to the north and left Hungary for the Holy Roman Empire. Although from the Árpád Period there are no written data on the existence of Stuben (now: Stuben, Au.)¹⁶³³ – a settlement north of Borostyán – the fact that in the late fourteenth century a road toll was established there suggest that the route the toll was levied on had already been much frequented since earlier times.

¹⁶³¹ 1256: *terre... Velike nomine prope Leuka wara adiacentem*, UB I, 255.

¹⁶³² FNESz II, s.v. "Írott-kő," 634-635.

¹⁶³³ First mentioned in 1388: *Scubun*, MOL DL 7386; Cs. II, s.v. "Stuben, 794. The name of the settlement originates from German *Stube* (meaning 'small dwelling house'), that can refer to the lodgings of German toll collectors. Schwartz, *A Nyugatmagyarországi német helységnevek*, 114-115.

The *via magna* leading southwards from Langeck (now: Langeck in Burgenland / Hosszúszeg, Au.) to Kapornok¹⁶³⁴ (*de Languvys vadit ad Kapurnuk ad partem meridiei*) mentioned by a source from 1279 seems to have forked off from the Kőszeg—Borostyán route providing thus a shortcut between Léka and Szalónak.

III. The road map of County Vas from 1787 represents a commercial road leading from Kőszeg through Léka to Borostyán (*Von Güns über Lukenh., nach Pernstein*). The route is shown in the same way on two county maps from 1833 and 1869. These maps indicate the Kőszeg—Léka—Borostyán road similarly to the way I reconstructed the Árpád Period castle road. There is, however, one significant difference. Instead of the route passing through Felsőköszeg, Léka is approached in the Gyöngyös valley. The reason for that seems evident. It was long before the early modern period that the Kőszeg—Borostyán route had transformed from a military route into a trade route to Austria. The Upper Castle of Kőszeg abandoned by the fifteenth century had lost its former significance and become merely a ruin. There was therefore no point in approaching Léka over a difficult terrain across the hills if one could travel more comfortably in a river valley.

IV. The Kőszeg—Léka—Borostyán route was under the protection of the named castles. The Árpád Period castles of Kőszeg and Borostyán have been discussed above. The thirteenth-century castle of Léka¹⁶³⁵ involved a palace and two towers connected with a gatehouse, surrounded by a massive polygonal castle wall of about thirty metres in diameter.¹⁶³⁶

Kapornok (1279: *Kapurnuk*¹⁶³⁷) to where a main road led from Langeck had a small Romanesque church with a semicircular apse dating from the first half of the thirteenth

¹⁶³⁴ First mentioned in 1279: *Kapurnuk*, charter No. 63. Cs. II, s.v. “Kapornok, b),” 762; Herényi s.v. “Goberling, 225.

¹⁶³⁵ Cf. n. 1627.

¹⁶³⁶ Prickler, *Burgen und Schlösser im Burgenland*, 90-91; Fügedi, *Vár és társadalom*, 161; KMTL s.v. “Léka,” 402.

¹⁶³⁷ UB II, 140.

century. It is a still extant monument found within the cemetery of modern Goberling (Au.).¹⁶³⁸

V. The Kőszeg—Léka—Borostyán route was running north of the Kőszeg Mountains (Ge. Günser Gebirge). Between Kőszeg and Léka the route led among the hills described by the 1354 perambulation. From Léka through Langeck to the territory of late medieval Günseck the road ran in the valley of the Gyöngyös Stream. From Günseck the route led in valleys among the hills to Borostyán. Finally, the road left the territory of Hungary in the valley of the Stubenbach.

VI. I have knowledge of no ancient Roman routes along the Árpád Period castle route.

VII. Lajos Glaser had already identified a route that led from Kőszeg through Léka to Borostyán.¹⁶³⁹

4.2.2.6 The Kőszeg—Léka—Kirchschlag route

I. Kőszeg—Libnik¹⁶⁴⁰—Léka—Pellegrim¹⁶⁴¹—Kirchschlag¹⁶⁴² (See Map Section A)

II. In the 1279 perambulation of Lempach (now: Lembach, Au.) one part of the Kőszeg—Kirchschlag route is referred to as a *strata publica* that led from Léka to Kirchschlag (*per quam de Levka itur in Chirihslag*).¹⁶⁴³ In addition, a source from 1390 refers to the tolls of Léka (*tributo in...villa Lewka*) and Pellegrim (*Pergelim cum tributo*),¹⁶⁴⁴ which testifies to that by the late fourteenth century both settlements had been located by a frequented commercial route.

¹⁶³⁸ Schmeller-Kitt, *Burgenland*, 108; Schmeller, *Das Burgenland*, 110-111; ÖKT 40, 458-460; Valter, *Romanische Sakralbauten*, 122-123.

¹⁶³⁹ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 158.

¹⁶⁴⁰ First mentioned in 1359: *possessionem suam, quae antiquitus Lentér vocitata fuisset, nunc vsitato nomine Lebnuk vocaretur, in dicto Comitatu Sopronien. habitam et existentem*, F. IX/3, 89-90. Cs. II, s.v. “Libnik,” 771; Cs. III, s.v. “Lebnök (Lebnik),” 617; Herényi s.v. “Lennek,” 333-334;

¹⁶⁴¹ First mentioned in 1225: *villa Pylgrim*, UB I, 104; Cs. II, s.v. “Pellegrim,” 783; Herényi s.v. “Pellegrim,” 398.

¹⁶⁴² First mentioned in 1255: *sub castro Kryslag*, UB I, 246; Herényi s.v. “Kirchschlag,” 301.

¹⁶⁴³ First mentioned in 1279: *terra Lempah*, charter No. 152; Herényi s.v. “Lempach,” 334.

¹⁶⁴⁴ Sopron vm. I, 500.

III. On the basis of cartographic evidence the Árpád Period Kőszeg—Kirchschlag route can be reconstructed as leading through Libnik (in medieval C. Sopron; now: Liebing, Au.), Léka (now: Lockenhaus, Au.), and Pellegrim (now: Pilgersdorf / Pörgölény, Au.) to Kirchschlag (now: Kirchschlag in der Buckligen Welt, Au.). Out of early modern maps there are two items that label the route above. First, the *Mappa viarum postalium* made before 1790 describes the road as a commercial route that led from Kőszeg through Léka to Steinbach (now: Steinbach im Burgenland, Au.). The other cartographic source is the 1819 map of Kőszeg which shows the initial part of the route, calling it a trade route to Liebing. However, among toponyms I found no evidence for the route.

IV. The church of Pellegrim was located on a small hill (called Schulhügel) on the eastern bank of the Gyöngyös. The Romanesque church was built (over the remains of a ninth-tenth-century building) around 1200, and it was destroyed in 1289 during the campaign of Duke Albrecht I (1289-1308) against the Kőszegis.¹⁶⁴⁵

V. The path of the Kőszeg—Kirchschlag route developed in the valley of the Göngyös at the northern foothills of the Kőszeg Mountains.

VI. I have data of no Roman road remains along the Árpád Period route in question.

VII. The Kőszeg—Léka—Pergelény route had already been reconstructed by Lajos Glaser on the basis of the medieval toll-stations of Léka and Pellegrim.¹⁶⁴⁶

4.2.3 Szombahely and its region

Medieval Szombathely developed over the remains of Roman *Colonia Claudia Savaria*.¹⁶⁴⁷

The settlement is first called ‘Szombathely’ by a written document in 1288.¹⁶⁴⁸ The name

¹⁶⁴⁵ Karl Kaus, “Romanische Kirchenruine Pilgersdorf,” *BL* 33, 1:2 (1982): 12-13; Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 132-134.

¹⁶⁴⁶ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 158.

¹⁶⁴⁷ Ont he topography of medieval Szombathely see, Antal Tibor Horváth, “A középkori Szombathely topográfiája” [The medieval topography of Szombathely], *VSz* 1 (1958): 25-33; Antal Károlyi and Tihamér Szentlélek, *Szombathely városképei–műemlékei* [The landscapes and monuments of Szombathely] (Budapest: Műszaki Könyvkiadó, 1967), 22-41; Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, *Savaria—Szombathely története*, 115-121, 193-

reflects that that weekly markets were held in the settlement on Saturdays. Nevertheless, the silver denar of King Béla II (1131-1141) discovered at the Main Square supports the fact that weekly markets had already been held in the settlement in the twelfth century.¹⁶⁴⁹ The marketplace developed at the node of several roads. The most important of these was the Sopron—Muraszombat route, the predecessor of which was the ancient Amber Road. The medieval road led from Szombathely to Kőszeg to the north, and to Körmend to the south (for details see chapter 4.1.1). Furthermore, roads led towards Csepreg, Győr, Ikervár, Rum, Pornó, Szentmihály, and Rohonc, which will be discussed in this section in detail (Fig. 60).

201; Kiss, “Topográfiai megfigyelések Vas vármegye Árpád-kori központjaiban,” 259-262; Kiss, Topográfiai megfigyelések Vas vármegye Árpád-kori piachelyeihez,” 400-402.

¹⁶⁴⁸ MOL DL 40189.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Kiss, “Topográfiai megfigyelések Vas vármegye Árpád-kori piachelyeihez,” 402.

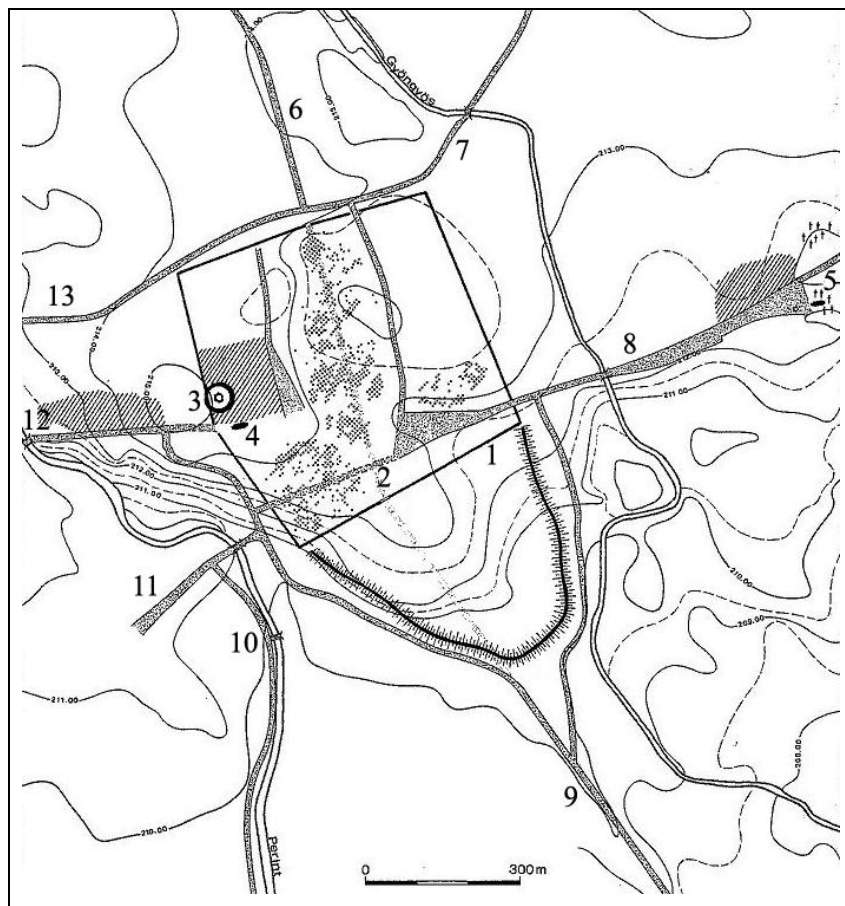


Fig. 60. The topography of Savaria-Szombathely between the ninth and twelfth centuries (After Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány 1998,¹⁶⁵⁰ 116, Fig. 90)

1. Roman town walls
2. Market-place
3. Castle
4. Holy Virgin Church
5. Saint Martin Church and churchyard
6. Road to Kőszeg
7. Road to Csepreg
8. Road to Győr and to Ikervár
9. Road to Rum
10. Road to Körmend
11. Road to Pornó
12. Road to Szentmihály
13. Road to Rohonc

In addition to the market-place, the castle of Szombathely was also located at within the Roman town walls (Fig. 60).¹⁶⁵¹ The castle played an important role in the military defence of the western border and also controlled north—south directed traffic along the Sopron—Muraszombat route. In addition, it certainly had economic functions. It was the centre of a territory inhabited by royal servicing people (at Szöllös) and *udvornici* (at Vép,

¹⁶⁵⁰ See n. 354.

¹⁶⁵¹ It was a round castle erected over a Roman octagonal building. The building was excavated by Gyula Géfin and István Járdányi Paulovics on the winter of 1940 and 1941. See, Gyula Géfin, “Szombathely vára” [The castle of Szombathely], *DuSz* 8 (1941): 177-189, esp. 182-188, Fig. 8-10; István Paulovics, *Savaria—Szombathely topográfiaja. Az 1938-41. évi kutatások eredményei* [The topography of Savaria—Szombathely. The results of investigations conducted in 1938-41] (Szombathely: Martineum, 1943), 52-55. For the separate building phases of the castle see: Károlyi and Szentlélek, *Szombathely városképei—műemlékei*, 27-30, Fig. 33; Endre Tóth, “Sabaria—Szombathely karoling vára” [The Carolingian castle of Sabaria—Szombathely], *VSz* 32 (1978): 396-413, esp. 402-403, 406-408, Fig. 5-6; Endre Tóth, “Die karolingische Burg von Sabaria—Szombathely,” *FolArch* 29 (1978): 151-182, esp. 158-161, 181-182, Abb. 7-14; Gábor Kiss, “Adatok a Nyugat-Dunántúl korai várépítészetéhez” [Data on the early castle architecture of Western Transdanubia] in *A népvándorlaskor fiatal kutatóinak IV. összefüvetele* [The fourth meeting of young researchers of the Migration Period], ed. Endre Jékely (Visegrád: A Visegrádi Mátyás Király Múzeum, 1995), 156-169, esp. 156-160, Fig. 1-5; Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, *Savaria—Szombathely története*, 115-121, Fig. 90.

Szőkefőldé, and Szöllős). The agricultural produce grown by the peasants was certainly collected at the castle and the surplus could be sold at the market.¹⁶⁵²

The third most important element in the topography of Árpád Period Szombathely is its parish church located 800 hundred metres of the market in eastern direction. The church was dedicated to Saint Martin of Tours who was born in Roman Savaria.¹⁶⁵³ The church and the cemetery around it were located at the forking of two roads. One was a medieval road led across Zanat to Győr towards north-east (chapter 4.2.3.3), and the other was an ancient Roman road leading from Szombathely to Sárvár (Roman Bassiana).¹⁶⁵⁴

4.2.3.1 The Szombathely—Kőszeg route

The route forms part of the Sopron—Muraszombat route, see chapter 4.1.1 (See Map Sections A and B)

4.2.3.2 The Szombathely—Csepreg route

I. Szombathely—Söpte¹⁶⁵⁵—Asszony¹⁶⁵⁶—Tömörd¹⁶⁵⁷ / Ablánc¹⁶⁵⁸—Csepreg¹⁶⁵⁹ (See Map Sections A and B)

II. The road (*via*) connecting Szombathely with Csepreg (*qua de Sabaria itur in Cheperereg; qua itur in Cheperereg de Sabaria*) – also referred to in the same source as a road leading from Asszony to Szombathely (*qua de ipsa villa pergunt in Sabariam*) – appears in the 1342 perambulation of Asszony (now: Vasasszonyfa, C. Vas). The perambulations of Paty

¹⁶⁵² Kiss, “Topográfiai megfigyelések Vas vármegye Árpád-kori piachelyeihez,” 402.

¹⁶⁵³ Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben*, 158-159.

¹⁶⁵⁴ Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, *Savaria—Szombathely története*, 188-189; Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 244.

¹⁶⁵⁵ First written data from between 1263-1270: *villa Supte*, charter No. 58. Cs. II, s.v. “Söpte,” 794; Herényi s.v. “Septhe,” 444.

¹⁶⁵⁶ First written data from 1284: *possessio Ozun*, UB II, 187. Cf. Cs. II, s.v. “Asszony(-falva),” 734; Herényi s.v. “Asszony,” 86.

¹⁶⁵⁷ First written data from 1233: *Temerd*, UB I, 150. Cs. II, s.v. “Tömörd,” 805; cf. Herényi s.v. “Szentgyörgy,” 466.

¹⁶⁵⁸ First written data from 1255: *terra Oblanch*, charter No. 1. Cf. Cs. II, s.v. “Ablancz,” 731-732; Herényi s.v. “Ablánc,” 35-36.

¹⁶⁵⁹ First written data from 1255: *terra Cepereg*, UB I, 238; Cs. III, s.v. “Csepreg,” 590-591; Herényi s.v. “Csepreg,” 159-160.

(now: Kőszegpaty, C. Vas) from 1313 and 1343 refer to a *via* that led from Asszony to Ablánc (*per quam itur de villa Aszun in Abláncz; per quam itur de villa Azun in Ablanch*), which must have belonged to the Szombathely–Csepreg route above. The source relates that going southwards this road section passed by the border of Tömörd and met another road that connected Meszlen with Apáti. In all probability, this road can also be identified with the *magna via* that led along the western border of Ablánc (1255), where the settlement was neighboured by Meszlen. Finally, mention must be made of a road section that ran west of Köveskút. The perambulation of Köveskút (1263-1270) records that in the vicinity of a valley that formed the border between Köveskút and Söpte, there was a *via publica*, also called *via magna*. That road must have again been part of the Szombathely—Csepreg route.

III. Early modern maps do not indicate postal way or any other important roads between Szombathely and Csepreg. There are only cartographic data on the existence of a series of local roads between the two sites. In addition, among toponymic data referring to this route, one finds a postal way only in the vicinity of Vasasszonyfa. These data altogether suggest that by the modern period the road between Szombathely and Csepreg lost its former significance.

IV. The Roman Catholic church of Vasasszonyfa (former Nagyasszonyfa) comprises a Romanesque church. The church was built at the southern part of the settlement, where the north-south directed main street (continuing northwards to Paty) met the Söpte—Tömörd main road. There is written evidence that the church of Asszony was erected in around 1320 and was dedicated to the All Saints. It was a 9 m×11.5 m rectangular building. The shape of the apse is unknown. It is relatively late church, built 50-100 years after other Romanesque

churches in its vicinity (Táplánszentkereszt, Dozmat, Narda, Nagygeresd, Kemenesszentmárton, Meszlen, Óriszentpéter, etc.).¹⁶⁶⁰

In addition to the church of Asszonyfa, two Árpád Period archaeological sites are located along the Szombathely—Csepreg road. One is an Árpád Period settlement discovered on the border of Vasasszonyfa (Kisasszonyfa) and Meszlen. The name of this settlement is unknown from written documents.¹⁶⁶¹ The other site is found on the right bank of the Ablánc Stream in the Tömörd Forest belonging to Csepreg. The site yielded eleventh- and twelfth-century pottery shreds, as well as traces of Árpád Period metallurgy (such as a great amount of iron slag and iron smelting furnaces).¹⁶⁶² It is also important to note here that the etymology of the place name Tömörd also testifies to iron smelting.¹⁶⁶³

V. The settlements that the Szombathely—Csepreg route passed through were located by watercourses. Söpte by the Kozár Stream,¹⁶⁶⁴ Asszony by the Surányi or Örvény Stream,¹⁶⁶⁵ Tömörd and Ablánc by the Ablánc Stream (*rivulus Oblanch*¹⁶⁶⁶, *rivulus Ablanch*¹⁶⁶⁷),¹⁶⁶⁸ and Csepreg by the Répce River. The route had necessarily to pass through a series of fords or bridges; however, in written sources I found no evidence for them.

VI. I do not have any data on a Roman Period road that would have preceded the medieval Szombathely—Csepreg route.

¹⁶⁶⁰ Péter Ivicsics, “Vasasszonyfa, Római katolikus templom” [The Roman Catholic church of Vasasszonyfa], in LAHU 6, 503-508.

¹⁶⁶¹ Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 259-260.

¹⁶⁶² János Gömöri, “Csepreg – Tömördi erdő” [Tömörd Forest, Csepreg], *RégFüz* I/32 (1979), 100-101; Gábor Ilon, “Az Árpád-kor településeinek régészeti kutatása Vas megyében” [The archaeological investigation of Árpád Period settlements in County Vas], in *Domine, Salvum fac Regem, Az államalapítás és kora* [The foundation of the Hungarian State and its time], ed. Ibolya Mózer (Szombathely: Berzsényi Dániel Főiskola Történelem Tanszék, 2000), 85-113, esp. 98; János Gömöri, *Az avar kori és Árpád-kori vaskohászat régészeti emlékei Pannoniában* (The archaeometallurgical sites in Pannonia from the Avar and early Árpád Period) (Sopron: Soproni Múzeum Régészeti Gyűjteménye, 2000), 203-205.

¹⁶⁶³ FNESz II, s.v. “Tömörd,” 675; Herényi s.v. “Tömörd,” 466.

¹⁶⁶⁴ VaMFN 99, No. 25/21; VaMFN 90, No. 20/44.

¹⁶⁶⁵ VaMFN 90, No. 20/37.

¹⁶⁶⁶ In the perambulation of Ablánc, charter No. 1.

¹⁶⁶⁷ 1343: *iungitur terre ville Themerd in meatu eiusdem rivuli Ablanch* (Csó and Tömörd, C. Vas), UB V, 41.

¹⁶⁶⁸ VaMFN 65, No. 8/18.

VII. Lajos Glaser did not deal with the road between Szombathely and Csepreg among the roads of medieval Transdanubia. This might be explained by the fact that early modern maps do not show any important commercial road or postal way there. Nevertheless, toponymic and cartographic data compared with thirteenth- and fourteenth-century written sources testify to the existence of a communication route between Szombathely and Csepreg in the Árpád Period. Starting from the north-eastern part of Szombathely the route led through Söpte, Asszony, and Tömörd to Csepreg. Alternatively, Csepreg could be approached from Ablánc, as well. In the latter case, instead of running directly northwards, the road led from Asszony to the north-east, passed by Meszlen and crossed the Ablánc Stream at Ablánc. Medieval Ablánc – that was abandoned by the early modern period – was located on the border of Counties Vas and Sopron, and neighboured Meszlen, Acsád and Csepreg.¹⁶⁶⁹ Its memory is preserved, among other things, by the field-names Nagy-Ablánc and Kis-Ablánc south of Csepreg,¹⁶⁷⁰ and it is also represented as a field called *Abláncz* on the 1857 cadastral map of Csepreg,¹⁶⁷¹ and as *Ablánczi major* on the Second Military Survey.¹⁶⁷²

Although the Szombathely—Csepreg route connected two central places¹⁶⁷³ in the Árpád Period, it is most frequently referred by contemporary sources as a simple *via*.¹⁶⁷⁴ From the local paths found in the vicinity of the Csepreg route mention must be made here of a mill road. The 1342 perambulation of Asszony refers to that mill road (*via Molunuta*). In addition, its memory is also preserved by the place names *Malom-uti-düllő*¹⁶⁷⁵ and *Malomúton*

¹⁶⁶⁹ Cs. II, s.v. “Ablancz,” 731-732; Herényi s.v. “Ablánc,” 55.

¹⁶⁷⁰ VaMFN 51, 52, No. 5/210 and 5/211.

¹⁶⁷¹ SmK 12

¹⁶⁷² Col. XXIII, sect. 52.

¹⁶⁷³ On Csepreg as a central place see, András Kubinyi “Csepreg a Nyugat-Dunántúl középkori városhálózatában” [Csepreg in the urban networks of Western Transdanubia], in *Tanulmányok Csepreg történetéből* [Studies on the history of Csepreg], ed. József Dénes (Csepreg: Csepreg Város Önkormányzata, 1996), 130-148

¹⁶⁷⁴ Cf. Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, *Savaria—Szombathely története*, 107.

¹⁶⁷⁵ VaMFN 90, No. 20/42.

*fölötti*¹⁶⁷⁶ north of Vasasszonyfa (also represented on the 1857 cadastral map of Kisasszonyfa¹⁶⁷⁷), as well as by the *Malom-uti-dűllő*¹⁶⁷⁸ west of Meszlen.¹⁶⁷⁹

4.2.3.3 The Szombathely—Lak—(Győr) route

I. Szombathely—Szentmárton¹⁶⁸⁰—[Zanat¹⁶⁸¹]¹⁶⁸²—Böd¹⁶⁸²—Vát¹⁶⁸³—Németszeleste¹⁶⁸⁴—Pósafalva¹⁶⁸⁵—Hegyfalu¹⁶⁸⁶—Egerszeg¹⁶⁸⁷—Család¹⁶⁸⁸—[Lak¹⁶⁸⁹]¹⁶⁹⁰ (See Map Section B)

II. On the basis of written sources the road leading from Szombathely to the north-eastern part of County Vas – and from there further to Győr – already existed in the middle Árpád Period. Most of the settlements along the route are recorded by written sources before the mid-thirteenth century. The section of the route found east of Németszeleste can be well reconstructed with the help of written documents. The perambulation of Németszeleste from 1327 records that there was a *via magna* between the two villages called Szeleste (*inter ipsas duas villas Zeleste*). From Magyarszeleste the *via magna* led through Hegyfalu, Egerszeg (1328), and Család, to Lak (1358, 1409). The latter part of the route is mentioned in the common perambulation of Lak and Nick from 1409 as a *via publica* that led from Lak to Család (*de...possessione Lak in possessionem Chalad... ducentem*). This road section must

¹⁶⁷⁶ VaMFN 89, No.20/31.

¹⁶⁷⁷ VaML K 114

¹⁶⁷⁸ VaMFN 83, No. 16/56.

¹⁶⁷⁹ See the cadastral map of Meszlen, VaML K 148

¹⁶⁸⁰ First written data from 1240: *apud Sanctum Martinum*, UB I, 199; Herényi s.v. “Szentmárton,” 470-471.

¹⁶⁸¹ First written data from: 1387: *possessio Zanath*, Cs. II, s.v. “Zsanat,” 795.

¹⁶⁸² First written data from 1226: *terra Beud*, UB I, 111; Cs. II, s.v. “Böd,” 739; Herényi s.v. “Böd,” 135.

¹⁶⁸³ First written data from 1226: *villa Wald*, UB I, 111; Cs. II, s.v. “Vált,” II, 807. Its church dedicated to Sts Cosmas and Damian was first mentioned in 1342, UB IV, 351.

¹⁶⁸⁴ Szeleste was first mentioned in a written source between 1141-1166, UB I, 20; Cs. II, s.v. “Szeleste,” 796; Herényi s.v. “Felsőszeleste,” 205-206.

¹⁶⁸⁵ First written data from 1465, Cs. II, s.v. “Pósafalva,” 787.

¹⁶⁸⁶ First written data from 1328: *Hygfalua*, charter No. 21; Cs. II, s.v. “Hegy(falu),” Cs. II, 754.

¹⁶⁸⁷ First written data from 1221: *locus Egurzeg*, UB I, 85; Cs. II, s.v. “Egerszeg,” 745; Herényi s.v. “Egerszeg,” 188.

¹⁶⁸⁸ First written data from 1221: *terra Chalad*, UB I, 84; Cs. II, s.v. “Család,” II, 740; Herényi s.v. “Család,” 152.

¹⁶⁸⁹ First written data from 1390: *Laak*, Sopron vm. I, 500; Cs. II, s.v. “Lak,” 770; Herényi s.v. “Lak,” 329.

¹⁶⁹⁰ First mentioned in 1221: *villa Chanig*, UB I, 80; Cs. II, s.v. “Csánig,” 740; Herényi s.v. “Csánig,” 156.

have been the same as the *via magna* going to Család (*qua itur in Chalad*), which appears in a charter from 1358 describing the boundary between Egyházasnick and Laknick.¹⁶⁹¹ In addition, the *via magna* described being found west of the Kőrös Stream in the 1254 perambulation of a landed property in Nick can in all probability be identified with the two data above.

III. Early modern cartographic data show that the road leading from Szombathely to the north-east was still an important communication route in the eighteenth century. According to the testimony of a schematic road map from about 1785, the route to Győr was in good condition (*via Jauriensis in bono statu est*) in that time. Another map from 1785 labels this route a *Via Publica*. The First and Second Military Surveys represent Zanat, Alsó-Szeleste, Hegyfalú, Nagyegerszeg, Család and Lak as linear settlements the main streets of which formed part of the Árpád Period main road. The handwritten map of the diocese of Győr from about 1788 – made after the map of Sámuel Mikoviny from 1741-1754 – is one of the earliest maps indicating the whole Szombathely—Győr route. It demonstrates that crossing the Répce north of Lak (and leaving thus the territory of County Vas for County Sopron) the route led across Beled, Pályi, and Szil to Árpás (C. Sopron) and Mórchida where it crossed the Rába and continued towards Koroncó and Győr (C. Győr).

In addition to maps, toponyms from the territory of Szombathely, Nemesbőd, Vát and Szeleste demonstrate that the part of the Szombathely—Győr road found in County Vas was used as a postal route in the early modern period. Ultimately this road was constructed into modern main road No. 86.

IV. Árpád Period monuments located along the Szombathely—Győr route involve two churches, one at Szombathely—Szentmárton and the other at Pósfá. The parish church dedicated to Saint Martin was located at a road fork at the eastern part of Szombathely called

¹⁶⁹¹ Laknick forms today the northern part of Nick, and in the Middle Ages it was located between Lak and Egyházasnick. Herényi, “Egyházasnick,” 191.

Szentmárton in the Middle Ages. On the north it was adjacent to the Árpád Period road leading to Győr, while on the south the ancient Savaria—Bassiana road passed by it.¹⁶⁹² Between 1984 and 1992 Gábor Kiss and Endre Tóth uncovered the remains the Árpád Period Romanesque brick church of Szentmárton – in addition to the preceding late Roman (4th-5th c.) chapel (*cella memoriae*), and a later Carolingian church (9th-10th c.).¹⁶⁹³ The dead were continuously buried around the building between the ninth and late twelfth centuries.¹⁶⁹⁴ The Carolingian church is first mentioned by the so-called *Arnulfium* forged to the date 885, but written around 1050.¹⁶⁹⁵ However, the Árpád Period church is also referred to as early as 1102.¹⁶⁹⁶

The Saint Jacob Parish Church of medieval Pósfalva was located along the Szombathely—Győr route, in the main street of the settlement. The Roman Catholic church of modern Pósfalva comprises this Romanesque church erected in the mid-thirteenth century (first mentioned by written records only in 1633). The Romanesque church was built of bricks and had a nave and a semicircular apse in the east.¹⁶⁹⁷

In addition to the two churches above, mention must be made of the Répcelak—Várdomb archaeological site (also known as Csánig—Homokbánya) located in the vicinity of

¹⁶⁹² Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, *Savaria—Szombathely története*, 187-189; Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 244-256, esp. 244.

¹⁶⁹³ Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 425-429; Magdolna Medgyes, and Endre Tóth, “Szombathely—Szent Márton plébániatemplom” [The Saint Martin Parish Church in Szombathely], *RégFüz* I/38 (1985): 50; Gábor Kiss and Endre Tóth, “Szombathely—Szent Márton templom” [Saint Martin Church, Szombathely], *RégFüz* I/44 (1992): 92-93, *RégFüz* I/45 (1993): 99, and *RégFüz* I/46 (1994): 117; Gábor Kiss and Endre Tóth, “A szombathelyi Szent Márton templom régészeti kutatásának eredményei (1984-1991)” [The results of archaeological investigations on the Saint Martin Church in Szombathely (1984-1991)], *VSz* 45 (1991): 385-394, esp. 386-387; Gábor Kiss and Endre Tóth, “A szombathelyi Szent Márton templom régészeti kutatása, 1984-1992” [Archaeological investigation on the Saint Martin Church in Szombathely between 1984 and 1992], *CommArchHung* 1993: 175-199; Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 47-48; Gábor Kiss, Endre Tóth, Péter Ivicsics, Pál Lövei, and Mónika Zsámbéky, “Szombathely, Szent Márton-templom” [Saint Martin Church, Szombathely], in *LAHU* 6, 345-374, esp. 345-346.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 253-254.

¹⁶⁹⁵ +885 (ca.1050): *Sabariam civitatem et aecclesiam*; UB I, 10. Endre Tóth and Balázs Zágórhidi Czigány, *Források Savaria—Szombathely történetéhez, A római kortól 1526-ig* [Sources on the history of Savaria—Szombathely, From the Roman period to 1526] (Szombathely: Panniculus, 1994), 34, No. 28.

¹⁶⁹⁶ 1102: in *episcopatu Jauriensi ecclesiam Sancti Martini in Sabaria*, Tóth and Z. Czigány, *Források*, 34, No. 28-29.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 311, Fig. 569-570; Valter, *Romanische Sakralbauten*, 215; Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 161.

the discussed route. At the sand hill Várdomb¹⁶⁹⁸ (i.e. ‘Castle Hill’) on the right bank of the Répce tenth- to eleventh century graves were uncovered. The remains of the settlement that this cemetery belonged to were discovered 200 metres north of the cemetery. The contemporary name of the settlement is uncertain, but it might be identified with Középfalufölde (*Kuzepfalufelde*¹⁶⁹⁹).¹⁷⁰⁰

V. From Szombathely the road to Győr ran more or less directly to the north-east. At Szeleste it turned sharply northwards along the eastern slope of a north-south directed hill. Leaving Szeleste the road continued running towards north-east, across a meadow found north of the Kőrös Stream (*pratum Keurus*¹⁷⁰¹). At Hegyfalú the road approached the Répce, and led along the southern edge of Répce River’s (*fluvius Repche*¹⁷⁰²) inundation area, still accompanied by the Kőrös (*vena aque Keres*,¹⁷⁰³ *Keurus*¹⁷⁰⁴) from the south. Leaving Lak the road turned northwards and by Csánig (*possessio Chanyg*¹⁷⁰⁵) it crossed the Répce River (*ad partem aquilonarem flectendo et fluvium Rabcha pertranseundo*¹⁷⁰⁶) that was the boundary between Counties Vas and Sopron.

VI. According to the testimony of the *Itinerarium Antonini*, Savaria (Szombathely) and Arrabona (Győr) were already connected by a road (*Itin. Ant.* 262,9-263,2) in the Roman Period.¹⁷⁰⁷ That ancient road led through Bassiana (Sárvár) and Mursella (Mórichida—Kisárpás). It had a different path than the medieval Szombathely—Győr route.

VII. The section of the Szombathely—Győr road found in County Vas is called a *via magna* and *via publica* by Árpád Period sources, and has remained part of an important inter-

¹⁶⁹⁸ VaMFN 199, No. 56/35: *Várdomb*.

¹⁶⁹⁹ 1409: *particule terre Kuzepfalufelde*, Sopron vm. I, 599; Cs. II, s.v. “Középfalu(-földe),” 798; Herényi s.v. “Középfalufölde,” 320.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 135-139.

¹⁷⁰¹ In the perambulation of Németszeleste, charter No. 127.

¹⁷⁰² In the perambulation of Egerszeg, charter No. 21.

¹⁷⁰³ In the perambulation of Lak, charter No. 62.

¹⁷⁰⁴ In the perambulations of Nick, charters No. 81 and No. 82.

¹⁷⁰⁵ In the perambulation of Lak, charter No. 62.

¹⁷⁰⁶ In the perambulation of Lak, charter No. 62.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Mócsy and Szilágyi, “Úthálózat,” 121.

regional route until today. Lajos Glaser had already reconstructed a main road between Szombathely and Győr. In County Vas his reconstruction was the same as the one I presented above. In County Sopron he described the route leading through the medieval toll collecting places of Beled,¹⁷⁰⁸ Szil,¹⁷⁰⁹ and Szovát¹⁷¹⁰ (C. Sopron) to Győr.¹⁷¹¹ In my opinion, leaving Szil the route is more likely to have led to Árpás (C. Győr) in the Árpád Period. A charter dated to 1037 – and forged sometime before 1240 – already mentions tolls collected both at the market of Szil (*tributum de foro Zyl*) and at the ferry port of Árpás on the Rába River (*tributum de portu Arpas in Raba*).¹⁷¹² Another forged document from about 1086 also refers to the ferry of Árpás that led to the east (*per Arpas ad portum, qui ducit ad orientem*).¹⁷¹³ In County Győr, György Györffy reconstructed the route leading from Árpás and Móríchida through Pakos, Koroncó, and Gyimrót to Győr.¹⁷¹⁴ This reconstruction is supported by the 1788 map of the diocese of Győr mentioned above.

4.2.3.4 The Szombathely—Ikervár route

I. Szombathely–Szentmárton–Vép¹⁷¹⁵–Kenéz¹⁷¹⁶–Pecöl¹⁷¹⁷–Ikervár¹⁷¹⁸ (See Map Sections A and B)

II. The 1283 perambulation of a landed property in Vép, near Bozzai¹⁷¹⁹ (*a parte ville Bozoy*) refers to a *magna via* on which one could get to Szombathely (*per quam itur in Sabariam*). The perambulation of Kenéz from 1240 refers to another section of this route as a

¹⁷⁰⁸ Cs. III, s.v. “Beled,” 590.

¹⁷⁰⁹ There are three forged charters referring to the toll and market of Szil: +1037: *tributum de foro Zyl*, UB I, 15; +1086: *tributa de mercatu Zilu*, UB I, 17; Cs. III, “Szil,” 597; Herényi, *Helytörténeti lexikon*, “Szil” 485.

¹⁷¹⁰ Cs. III, “Szovát,” 632.

¹⁷¹¹ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 156-157.

¹⁷¹² Cf. charter No. 148.

¹⁷¹³ Cf. charter No. 149.

¹⁷¹⁴ ÁMTF II, 575, and see also the map “Győr a XIV. század elejéig,” within the same volume.

¹⁷¹⁵ First written evidence from 1217: *villa Weep*, UB I, 73; Cs. II s.v. “Vép,” 731; Herényi s.v. “Vép,” 525.

¹⁷¹⁶ First written evidence from 1217: *predium Kynih*, UB I, 73; Cs. II, s.v. “Kenéz,” 763; Herényi s.v. “Kenéz,” 294.

¹⁷¹⁷ First written evidence from 1329: *pecul*, HO II, 58; Cs. II, s.v. “Peczöl,” 783.

¹⁷¹⁸ First written evidence from 1073: *Geminum Castellum*, SRH I, 379; Cs. II, s.v. “Ikervár,” 723; Herényi s.v. “Ikervár,” 263.

¹⁷¹⁹ First written evidence from 1271: *villa Bozey*, UB II, 11; Cs. II, s.v. “Boza(j),” 738; Herényi s.v. “Bozzai,” 133-134.

magna via that led to Vép (*que ducit ad villam Wep*). However, the same source records that from Kenéz one could approach Szombathely not only through Vép but also on a *strata via* that led directly to Szombathely (*que ducit ad Sabariam*).¹⁷²⁰ The main road leading from Szombathely through Vép and Kenéz, went on to Pecöl, where passing by the church of the village dedicated to the Holy Virgin (*ad meridiem iuxta terram ecclesie Sancte Marie*) on the south the road bifurcated. One branch ran eastwards to Ikervár, another branch led through Megyehíd¹⁷²¹ (*via magna*, 1327) to Péterfalva¹⁷²² (*magnam viam, que venit de Megehyd*, 1328) where it met the great Sárvár–Körmend route.

III. The *Mappa viarum postalium* (ca. 1790) represents the Szombathely—Sárvár road as one of the main commercial roads of County Vas, but it does not show the other branch to Ikervár. The map of County Vas from 1833 also represents the road leading from Szombathely through Vép, Kenéz, Pecöl, Megyehíd and Sár to Sárvár, but it does not represent any connection to Ikervár, either. In addition, east of Szombathely, west and east of Vép, as well as west of Megyehíd there are toponyms that testify to the path of the road. Out of the toponymic data special mention must be made of those indicating a postal way (*Postaut, Szombathelyi postaut*) and a market road (*Vásár ut*) near Vép, which testify to the importance of the road.

IV. Árpád Period monuments along the Szombathely—Ikervár route are the Saint Martin Church of Szentmárton/Szombathely mentioned above, as well as the Roman Catholic churches of Vép and Ikervár.

The existence of a church in Árpád Period Vép is attested by a written document from 1298. The source mentions the priest of the Saint Andreas Parish Church. The Roman

¹⁷²⁰ Cf. Tóth and Z. Czigány, *Források*, 36.

¹⁷²¹ First written evidence from 1217: *predium Megehid*, UB I, 73; Cs. II, s.v. “Megyehíd,” 775. In the name of Megyehíd the element *híd* (bridge) refers to a bridge constructed over the Gyöngyös. FNESz II, “Megyehíd,” 115.

¹⁷²² Also called Kisfalú. First written evidence from 1328: *possessio Kysfolu*, charter No. 97. Cf. Cs. II, s.v. “Péterfalva,” 785; Herényi s.v. “Péterfalva,” 404.

Catholic church of modern Vép comprises Romanesque and Gothic stone carvings in secondary position. These *spolia* come from the demolished medieval church of Vép.¹⁷²³

The Roman Catholic church of Ikervár dedicated to Saint George is located at the centre of the modern town right on the bank of the Rába. The Romanesque church of Árpád Period Ikervár must have been located at the same place. Its stones were used for the foundation of the subsequent Gothic church erected in the fifteenth century. The Roman Catholic church of Ikervár comprises the nave and apse of the Gothic church together with a detail of its fifteenth-century fresco painted on the southern wall of the nave.¹⁷²⁴

V. The road leading from Szombathely to the east, crossed the Kozár Stream¹⁷²⁵ at Vép. South of Vép the Kozár met the Sárd¹⁷²⁶ (*aqua Sard*¹⁷²⁷), and it was that united watercourse¹⁷²⁸ along the left bank of which the road ran eastwards. At Pecöl the road crossed that stream¹⁷²⁹ as well as the Gyöngyös¹⁷³⁰ (*fluvium Gyungyws*¹⁷³¹). Subsequently, one branch of the road led eastwards to Ikervár located on the west bank of the Rába, while the other branch led to the north-east towards Megyehida, which was apparently called after the bridge over the Gyöngyös (*aqua Gungus*¹⁷³²). However, the road running to Sár does not seem to have crossed the Gyöngyös there, but rather north of Péterfalva (*fluvium Gunges; fluvius Gungus*¹⁷³³).

¹⁷²³ Pál Lövei and Péter Ivicsics, “Vép, Római katolikus templom” [The Roman Catholic church in Vép], in LAHU 6, 567-575.

¹⁷²⁴ Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 126-128; Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 174-176.

¹⁷²⁵ VaMFN 125, 36/84; Cf. VaMFN 113, No. 31/24.

¹⁷²⁶ VaMFN, 126 No. 36/226.

¹⁷²⁷ Charter No. 135.

¹⁷²⁸ This stream is called today Kozár-Borzó, VaMFN 126, No. 36/239. However, the perambulation of Vép from 1283 calls the united Sárd and Kozár *aqua Sard*. charter No. 135. Tóth and Z. Czigány, *Források*, 38, No. 39.

¹⁷²⁹ VaMFN 258, No. 90/32.

¹⁷³⁰ VaMFN 258, No. 90/30.

¹⁷³¹ Cf. the perambulation of Pecöl, charter No. 94.

¹⁷³² Cf. the perambulation of Megyehíd, charter No. 72.

¹⁷³³ Cf. the perambulation of Péterfalva, charter No. 97.

In the early Árpád Period the Rába could be crossed at Ikervár, and later (after the construction of the Sárvár Castle) at Sárvár, as well.¹⁷³⁴ These places of river crossing were of great strategic importance in the Árpád Period that had to be controlled by castles. People settled at Ikervár in the tenth century must have played an important role in protecting the bridge or ford on the Rába,¹⁷³⁵ similarly to the later inhabitants of the Ikervár Castle (or Castles?) constructed in the eleventh century.¹⁷³⁶ Gábor Kiss located the medieval bridge of Ikervár at the southern part of the town, at the same place where it is represented by the First Military Survey. In the 1980s Gábor Kiss observed its postholes of the bridge in park of the Batthyány Castle when the water level of the Rába was low.¹⁷³⁷ In addition, the site was subjected to underwater archaeological investigations in 2003.¹⁷³⁸

VI. The ancient Roman road connecting Savaria (Szombathely) and Bassiana (Sárvár) – mentioned in the previous chapter – led directly to the Rába north of the Árpád Period Szombathely—Sárvár/Ikervár road. Sections of the ancient Savaria—Bassiana road can be still observed in the landscape by the remaining straight strips of gravel.¹⁷³⁹ From the mid-fourteenth century the ancient road between Szombathely and Szentmárton was called *Bálványkő útja* ('Road of a stone idol') after a Roman sepulchral monument located by the path.¹⁷⁴⁰ In addition, according to the testimony of medieval written, as well as early modern toponymic and cartographic evidence, at Vép,¹⁷⁴¹ Kápolnafölde,¹⁷⁴² Porpác,¹⁷⁴³ Vát,¹⁷⁴⁴ Bögöt

¹⁷³⁴ Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, *Savaria—Szombathely története*, 107.

¹⁷³⁵ The cemetery of Ikervár dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries belonged to these guards. Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 41-118, Table 7-56.

¹⁷³⁶ Kiss, "Topográfiai megfigyelések," 262.

¹⁷³⁷ Vajk, "Adalékok Ikervár történetéhez," 704, n. 54.

¹⁷³⁸ SM RA 1707-04.

¹⁷³⁹ Investigated in the field by Endre Tóth. See, Tóth, "A Savaria—Bassiana útszakasz," 65-69.

¹⁷⁴⁰ The earliest written evidence for that can be found in the 1360 perambulation of a field called Szőkefölde that belonged to the southern part of Szombathely: "*perveniret ad quendam lapidem magnum vulgo Balwankew appellatum decus viam villam Weep vocate adiacentem et per eandem viam in quoddam virgultum transeundo perveniret ad quendam lapidem magnum vulgaliter Zyrkew nominatum et ibi mete ipsius possessionis Banafewilde nuncupate terminatur.*" Tóth, "A Savaria—Bassiana útszakasz," 69-70, Cf. Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, *Savaria—Szombathely története*, 54, 152-153, 187-189.

¹⁷⁴¹ VaMFN 125, No. 36/120.

¹⁷⁴² 1321: *via Wetewyn que vadit versus Sabariam*, charter No. 49.

¹⁷⁴³ 1329: [*ad*] *magnam viam regni, que Utteuim vocatur*, charter No. 101.

(Cf. Fig. 26), and Csénye¹⁷⁴⁵ (Cf. Fig. 23) sections of the Roman road were called *öttevény*.¹⁷⁴⁶ In addition, a section of the road between Bögöt and Sár is also labelled by early modern maps – such as the geographical map of County Vas from 1785¹⁷⁴⁷ and the Second Military Survey¹⁷⁴⁸ – as an ancient Roman road. Nevertheless, in the Middle Ages sections of the ancient Savaria—Bassiana road seems to have been used only as local paths and boundary marks instead of a route of long-distance communication and transport.¹⁷⁴⁹

VII. Sections of the road leading from Szombathely to Ikervár are generally called *via magna* in written sources, which together with the fact that this road connected Szombathely with a strategically important point by the Rába¹⁷⁵⁰ demonstrates that this route served communication at regional level. The Szombathely—Ikervár route was previously identified by Endre Tóth and Balázs Zágórhidi Czigány.¹⁷⁵¹ In addition, Lajos Glaser raised the question whether there was at all any Szombathely—Sárvár road, but he referred to three roads between Sárvár and Pecöl, between Pecöl and Vép,¹⁷⁵² as well as between Vép and Szombathely,¹⁷⁵³ which altogether make the route I described above.

4.2.3.5 The Szombathely—Rum route

I. Szombathely—Szöllős¹⁷⁵⁴—Hermán¹⁷⁵⁵ (Bogát¹⁷⁵⁶—Péteri¹⁷⁵⁷—Szentlőrinc¹⁷⁵⁸—Haraszti¹⁷⁵⁹—Kajd¹⁷⁶⁰)—Tana¹⁷⁶¹—Lipárt¹⁷⁶²—Császt¹⁷⁶³—Csempesz¹⁷⁶⁴ and Kopács¹⁷⁶⁵—Rum¹⁷⁶⁶ (See Map Section B)

¹⁷⁴⁴ VaMFN 105, No. 27/-.

¹⁷⁴⁵ VaMFN 248, No. 85/23 and 26.

¹⁷⁴⁶ For details related to *öttevény* roads see sub-chapter ‘Gravel and cement’ of chapter 2.6.1.4 above.

¹⁷⁴⁷ *Via Romanorum*, MOL S 12 Div 10, No. 10:1-2.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Second Military Survey, Col. XXIII, Sect. 53: *Alte Römer Strasse*.

¹⁷⁴⁹ Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, *Savaria—Szombathely története*, 107.

¹⁷⁵⁰ Cf. Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, *Savaria—Szombathely története*, 107.

¹⁷⁵¹ Tóth and Z. Czigány, *Források*, 36, 38.

¹⁷⁵² Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 167.

¹⁷⁵³ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 157.

¹⁷⁵⁴ First mentioned in 1240: *villa Zeuleus*, UB I, 195; Cs. II, s.v. “Szöllős,” 801.

¹⁷⁵⁵ First mentioned in 1226: *villa Herman*, UB I, 111; Cs. II, s.v. “Hermán,” 755; Herényi s.v. “Hermani,” 250-252.

¹⁷⁵⁶ First mentioned in 1281: *predium Bogad*, UB II, 150; Cs. II, s.v. “Bogát,” 737; Herényi s.v. “Bogát,” 126.

II. The main road between Szombathely and Rum appears in numerous sources both with its terminals and with its road sections. The 1334 perambulation of Szöllős records that west of the Göngyös (*fluvium Gwngus*) there was a *magna via* that led to Szombathely (*qua itur in Sabariam*). In the opposite direction that main road led southwards to Hermán. The perambulation of Hermán from 1249 also refers to the *magna via* that ran west of the Gyöngyös (*de Gungus*). In addition, it records that there was a great ford (*vadum magnum*) at Hermán on the Gyöngyös (*aqua Gungus*). Crossing the Gyöngyös at Hermán one there was a footpath (*semita publica*) back to Szombathely (*per quam itur ad Sabariam*, 1259), while the *via magna* continued in the opposite direction towards Bogát. The latter road section appears in the perambulations of Bogát from 1249 and 1334. In addition, the charter from 1249 records that at Bogát there was also a great ford (*magnum portum*) by the Gyöngyös (*iuxta Gungus*). An undated charter of King Ladislas IV records that in the vicinity of Horó there was a *publica via* that led from Rum to Szombathely (*qua iretur de Rum ad civitatem Zobothel*). The same source mentions that east of Császt there was a *magna via* that led to Szombathely (*qua iret ad Sabariam*), which can be identified with the Rum—Szombathely route above. A charter from 1323 refers to the *via Sabariensis* next to Rum. The *magna strata* described by two charters from 1274 as located east of the border of Töttös and Rum, and north of the border of Töttös and Zsennye must have again been part of the route that led from Rum to Szombathely. Finally, at Rum this main road crossed the Rába over a bridge (*pontem*

¹⁷⁵⁷ First mentioned between 1314-1320: Pydur, UB III, 129; Herényi s.v. “Péteri,” 404.

¹⁷⁵⁸ First mentioned in 1298: *Salomonem de Sancto Laurencio*, UB II, 319; “Herényi s.v. “Szentlőrinc,” 470.

¹⁷⁵⁹ First mentioned in 1263: *Harazti*, UB I, 290; Cs. II, s.v. “Haraszt(i),” 754; Herényi s.v. “Haraszt(i) (Táplánfalva),” 241.

¹⁷⁶⁰ First mentioned in 1339: *possessio Kayd*, UB IV, 274; Cs. II, s.v. “Kajd,” 760-761; Herényi s.v. “Kajd,” 278.

¹⁷⁶¹ First mentioned in 1217: *villa Thana*, UB I, 73; Cs. II, s.v. “Tana,” 802; Herényi s.v. “Tana,” 494.

¹⁷⁶² First mentioned in 1243: *Lyparth*, UB III, 260; Cs. II, s.v. “Lip(p)árt,” 771; Herényi, s.v. “Lipárt,” 338.

¹⁷⁶³ First mentioned in 1272-1290: *Chaaz; terra Chazth*, charter No. 46; Cs. II, s.v. “Csász(t),” 740.

¹⁷⁶⁴ First data from 1329: *Chempezfalua*, UB IV, 593; Cs. II, s.v. “Csempeszháza,” 741; Herényi s.v. “Csempeszháza,” 158.

¹⁷⁶⁵ First mentioned in 1212: *Kopach*, MOL DL 42711; Cs. II, s.v. “Kopács,” 766; Herényi s.v. “Kopács,” 312.

¹⁷⁶⁶ First mentioned in 1246: *terra Rum*, UB I, 217; Cs. II, s.v. “Rum,” 789; Herényi s.v. “Rum,” 429.

possessionis Rum; ponte super... fluvium Raba...in possessione Rum) mentioned in charters from 1313 and 1350.

III. The map of County Vas from 1785 labels the Szombathely—Rum route a *via publica*. The *Mappa viarum postalium* from around 1790 calls that road a “Commercial route leading from Rum to Szombathely,” and represents it running south of the Gyöngyös Stream. Similarly, the map of County Vas made around 1787 lists this road among the main commercial routes of the county, but describes it as a road section belonging to the Szombathely—Zalabér route. The map of the Varasd—Sopron route from 1827 shows the so-called *Rumi ut* forking off at Szombathely. There are also a number of cadastral maps dating to 1857 that indicate road sections of the route leading from Szombathely (*von Steinamanger*) to Rum (*nach Rum*). Out of these cadastral maps special mention must be made of the map of Bádofa that shows ploughlands called after the Rum postal way (*Rumi postauti*). Among toponyms the Szombathely—Rum route also appears as a postal way (*Rumi postaút, Postaút*) in the vicinity of Szombathely, Tanakajd, and Vasszécseny. In addition, it is often represented as simply Rum road (*Rumi út*).

IV. The Szombathely—Rum road passes by the archaeological remains of an Árpád Period settlement at Szombathely—Gyöngyöshermán.¹⁷⁶⁷ The Romanesque churches of Táplánszentkereszt (medieval Péteri and Szentlőrinc), Csempeszkopács (medieval Kopács), and Rum also date the route to the Árpád Period. Finally, I deal here with the thirteenth-century church dedicated to Saint Cecilia that could be approached from Rum in another road.

Modern Táplánszentkereszt has two churches originating from the Árpád Period, one dedicated to the Holy Cross, the other to Saint Laurence. The former appeared first in a written document from 1334 as the parish church of Péteri dedicated to the Holy Cross (*ecclesie Sancte Crucis de...Pydur*).¹⁷⁶⁸ It was the patrociny of this church after which the

¹⁷⁶⁷ Ilon, “Az Árpád-kor településeinek régészeti kutatása,” 97.

¹⁷⁶⁸ UB IV, 181.

settlement itself was subsequently named Szentkereszt (meaning Holy Cross).¹⁷⁶⁹ On the basis of the archaeological investigations conducted by Erika P. Hajmási the building was erected in the thirteenth century.¹⁷⁷⁰ Saint Laurence¹⁷⁷¹ after whom medieval Szentlőrinc was named, is the patron saint of the other Árpád Period church in Táplánszentkereszt. There is written evidence that the church been built by 1298;¹⁷⁷² however, in 1895 it was re-constructed to its foundations. Fragments belonging to the Saint Laurence Church were discovered by Erika P. Hajmási below the mosaic floor of the Holy Cross Church, which demonstrates that the debris of the building was used – among other things –for filling up this nearby church inside.¹⁷⁷³

This small Romanesque church of Csempezkopács was erected in the first half of the thirteenth century in the centre of former Kopács on a 1.5 metre high artificial mound. The nave and the semicircular apse in the east were built in the first half of the thirteenth century with the use of Roman bricks. The apse was decorated with a fresco representing the twelve apostles. In the late thirteenth century a tower was built at the western end of the nave.¹⁷⁷⁴ A late thirteenth-century source names Saint Michael as the patron saint of the Kopács parish church (*ad ecclesiam sancti Michaelis parochyalem*).¹⁷⁷⁵ In 1943 the cemetery around the

¹⁷⁶⁹ FNESZ II, s.v. “Táplánszentkereszt,” 615; Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben*, 117-118.

¹⁷⁷⁰ Erika P. Hajmási, “Táplánszentkereszt – Szent Kereszt r. k. templom” [The Roman Catholic church of the Holy Cross at Táplánszentkereszt], *RégFüz* I/42 (1991): 94; Erika Hajmási, “A táplánszentkereszt műemlék templom történeti és régészeti kutatása” [Historical and archaeological research into the Táplánszentkereszt church monument] *VHHK* 1997/3, 64-73, esp. 67-70; Erika P. Hajmási and Péter Ivicsics, “Táplánszentkereszt, Szent Kereszt templom” [Holy Cross Church at Táplánszentkereszt], in *LAHU* 6, 455-475, esp. 455-458. See also Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 187-189.

¹⁷⁷¹ Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben*, 145.

¹⁷⁷² Cf. n. 1758.

¹⁷⁷³ Erika P. Hajmási and Péter Ivicsics, “Táplánszentkereszt, Szent Lőrinc templom” [Saint Laurence Church at Táplánszentkereszt], in *LAHU* 6, 477-480.

¹⁷⁷⁴ Géza Hell, “Régi vasi templomok I. A csempezkopácsi róm. kat. templom” [Old churches in County Vas. Vol. I. The Roman Catholic church at Csempezkopács], *VSz* 3 (1936): 99-108; Dercsényi, “Árpád-kori műemlékeink,” 61-62; Entz, “Vas megye gótikus műemlékei,” 48; Zoltán Pungor, “A csempezkopácsi román kori templom” [The Romanesque church at Csempezkopács], *VSz* 22 (1968): 229-243, esp. 229-230; József Hencz, “A csempezkopácsi román kori r.k. templom” [The Romanesque Roman Catholic Church of Csempezkopács] in *A 200 éves szombathelyi egyházmegye emlékkönyve* [Memorial volume on the 200-year-old diocese of Szombathely], ed. Imre Tóth (Szombathely: Szombathelyi Egyházmegyei Hatóság, 1977), 463-472; Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 82-86; Ferenc Mendele, “Csempezkopács középkori temploma” [The medieval church of Csempezkopács], in *Horler Miklós hetvenedik születésnapjára. Tanulmányok* [In honour of Miklós Horler on his seventieth birthday. Studies], ed. Pál Lövei (Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1993), 23-40 esp. 33-34; Valter, *Romanische Sakralbauten*, 99-102; Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 142.

¹⁷⁷⁵ Charter No. 46.

church was excavated by János Nemeskéri who, below six to eight layers of modern and medieval burials, discovered eight Árpád Period tombs.¹⁷⁷⁶

The Roman Catholic church of Rum is located in the centre of the modern town near the Rába River. The building comprises the Romanesque church of Rum built of stone in the second half of the thirteenth century. It had a square shaped nave, a semi-circular apse, and a western tower. In the fifteenth century the walls of the Romanesque church were demolished to a height of two metres and the church was re-built from stone in Gothic style. The church appears first in an 1307 written document that names the Rummy family as its patrons.¹⁷⁷⁷

The Roman Catholic church of Rábatöttös dedicated to Saint Cecilia¹⁷⁷⁸ is located the west of Rum in a cemetery.¹⁷⁷⁹ In the Árpád Period it was located at some distance from inhabited territories, and may have been shared by settlements around it (Rum, Töttös, and Zseny).¹⁷⁸⁰ The first written evidence to the church of Saint Cecilia dates to 1314 (*ecclesia sancte Cecilie*)¹⁷⁸¹ The 1342 perambulation of Rum refers to a road that led to Saint Cecilia (*viam qua itur ad Sanctam Ceciliam*).¹⁷⁸² During the archaeological investigations of the monument by M. Éva Kozák two Romanesque building phases could be differentiated. A small rectangular building with a semicircular apse was erected in the early thirteenth century. However, the building apparently proved to be too small, as in the late thirteenth century the western façade was demolished and the nave was prolonged in western direction.¹⁷⁸³

V. Between Szombathely and Lipart the Szombathely—Rum road ran in the valley of the Gyöngyös along both banks of the stream. The perambulations of Szöllös (1334) and

¹⁷⁷⁶ Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 22-24.

¹⁷⁷⁷ Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 184-185.

¹⁷⁷⁸ Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben*, 66.

¹⁷⁷⁹ “Cicéllei-dűllő” at Zseny, VaMFN 508, No. 207/27.

¹⁷⁸⁰ Kiss, “A történeti Vas vármegye 11-12. századi templomairól,” 384.

¹⁷⁸¹ UB III, 80.

¹⁷⁸² Charter No. 112.

¹⁷⁸³ Éva M. Kozák, “A gutatöttösi rk. templom feltárása” [The excavation of the Roman Catholic church at Gutatöttös], *ArchÉrt* 103 (1976): 102-115; Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 115-117; Valter, *Romanische Sakralbauten*, 129-130; Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 162; Éva M. Kozák and Péter Ivicsics, “Rábatöttös, Római katolikus templom” [Roman Catholic church, Rábatöttös] in LAHU 6, 163-176.

Hermán (1249) describe the great road to have been found on the right bank of the Gyöngyös (*fluvium Gwngus*;¹⁷⁸⁴ *aqua Gungus*¹⁷⁸⁵). In addition, the perambulations of Bogát from 1249 and 1334 demonstrate that on the left bank of the Gyöngyös (*Gungus*;¹⁷⁸⁶ *fluvium Gwngus*¹⁷⁸⁷) there was also a great road leading to Szombathely. Early modern maps, such as the first and Second Military Surveys testify to that to roads and settlements on both banks of the Gyöngyös were connected by several paths – also appearing in the perambulation of Hermán as a *herbida via*¹⁷⁸⁸ – that crossed the stream over fords and bridges. The fords at Hermán (*vadum magnum*¹⁷⁸⁹) and Bogát (*magnum portum*¹⁷⁹⁰) also appear in written sources. Leaving the valley of the Gyöngyös near Lipart and the road passed through an extensive woodland called Császt forest and Haraszt forest on the Second Military Survey. At Rum the road crossed the Rába over a bridge (*pontem possessionis Rum*;¹⁷⁹¹ *ponte super... fluvium Raba*¹⁷⁹²). It passed through a marsh with groves and woods (*Sylva Raba*;¹⁷⁹³ *silva*¹⁷⁹⁴) flanked by the Rába and Herpenyő (*Herpenye*¹⁷⁹⁵). At Kám it crossed over the Herpenyő¹⁷⁹⁶ and led to the *Katonák útja*.

VI. The Árpád Period Szombathely—Rum road ran near the path of the north-west—south-east directed Roman road leading from Savaria (Szombathely) to a Roman fort at Rum,¹⁷⁹⁷ and from there through Valcum (Keszthely-Fenekpuszta) to Sopianae (Pécs).¹⁷⁹⁸ East of Rum, as well as between Rum and Kám the gravelled remains of the road were

¹⁷⁸⁴ Charter No. 129.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Charter No. 29.

¹⁷⁸⁶ Charter No. 6.

¹⁷⁸⁷ Charter No. 7.

¹⁷⁸⁸ Charter No. 30.

¹⁷⁸⁹ Charter No. 29.

¹⁷⁹⁰ Charter No. 6.

¹⁷⁹¹ Charter No. 110.

¹⁷⁹² Charter No. 114.

¹⁷⁹³ Charter No. 110.

¹⁷⁹⁴ Charter No. 114.

¹⁷⁹⁵ Charter No. 114.

¹⁷⁹⁶ Also called Fekete örvény, VaMFN 511, No. 208/48.

¹⁷⁹⁷ Vajk Cserményi and Endre Tóth, “Rum-Kám,” *RégFüz* I/34 (1981): 40; Endre Tóth, “Rum,” *RégFüz* I/37 (1984): 54.

¹⁷⁹⁸ Mócsy and Szilágyi, “Úthálózat,” 121-122.

archaeologically be observed across the fields.¹⁷⁹⁹ The road crossed the Rába over a bridge the posts of which can be still observed east of Rum.¹⁸⁰⁰

VII. Written sources and early modern maps frequently refer to a road running between Szombathely and Rum, which made me consider this as one regional road. Lajos Glaser also referred to a main road that that led from Szombathely to Rum, and continued through Hidegkút to Tapolca.¹⁸⁰¹

In the Gyöngyös valley the road divided into two branches that ran along both banks of the stream. Having investigated the topographical relationship of these two routes to settlements located by the stream, I found that they had fundamentally different functions. According to the testimony of written sources, Bogát, Szentpéter, Szentlőrinc and Kajd had already existed on the left bank of the Gyöngyös before the end of the Árpád Period. The First and Second Military surveys show that the main streets of these settlements were, in fact, parts of the Szombathely—Rum route. Therefore, the road running along the left bank of the Gyöngyös was equally used as a local and a regional route. As opposed to that, Szöllös, Hermán and Tana located by the right bank of the Gyöngyös – although being also linear settlements – were not found on the main route itself. The Szombathely—Rum road ran south of these settlements and could be approached by means of local roads. Therefore, the road on the right bank of the stream was not so much used in local communication as to connect distant places. Considering that it provided a short and direct connection between the Árpád Period castles of Szombathely, Rum, and Kám – or to put it differently, between the Amber Route and the *Katonák útja* – the Szombathely—Rum road can be interpreted as a military road, even though it is not called like that in contemporary written sources.

¹⁷⁹⁹ Cf. SM RA 75 and SM RA 98 (Terézia Buocz); Cserményi and Tóth, “Rum-Kám,” 40; SM RA 1629-03 (Ildikó Pap).

¹⁸⁰⁰ VaMFN 504, No. 204-67.

¹⁸⁰¹ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 164.

4.2.3.6 The Szombathely—Körmend route

The route forms part of the Sopron—Muraszombat route, see chapter 4.1.1 (See Map Sections A and C)

4.2.3.7 The Szombathely—Pornó route

I. Szombathely–Nárai¹⁸⁰²–Pornó¹⁸⁰³ (See Map Section A)

II. There are only two extant written sources from the Árpád Period that can be brought into connection with the route leading from Szombathely through Nárai to Pornó (now: Pornóapáti, C. Vas). First, the perambulation of Dorozmat (now: Dozmat, C. Vas) from 1238 holds reference to a *via* that was found south of Dorozmat, where the settlement was adjacent to Nárai. Second, the perambulation of Jákmonosor (now: Ják, C. Vas) from 1257 records that north of Jákmonosor there was a road called *via Naree* that led to Nárai.

III. The map of County Vas from 1785 represents the Szombathely—Pornó road as a secondary path, which crossed the Pinka at Pornó and ran on to the west. The two road maps of County Vas from the late 1780s show the Szombathely—Pornó road as part of an important commercial route that led from Szombathely across Nárai and Pornó to Pusztaszentmihály. The map of the Amber Route from 1827 indicates the *Pornói út* branching off from the former road north Ó-Perint. The Second Military Survey labels different sections of the road as leading from Pornó (*von Pernau*) to Szombathely (*nach Steinamanager*). Out of the toponyms the only relevant piece of evidence comes from Nárai, where the main street of the settlement – forming part of the Szombathely—Pornó road – is called *Postaút* (postal way).

IV. Early modern maps represent Pornó on the eastern bank of the Pinka where the road arriving from Szombathely met the ancient road running in the valley of the Pinka.

¹⁸⁰² First mentioned in 1238: *terra Narey*, charter No. 19; Cs. II, s.v. “Nára(j), a)” 779; Herényi s.v. “Nárai,” 368.

¹⁸⁰³ Cf. n. 1410.

However, the monastery of the Ják kindred founded in the late twelfth century was not located there, but somewhat to the west on an island (*insula Pornó*¹⁸⁰⁴) of the Pinka.¹⁸⁰⁵ The Pornó Monastery dedicated to Saint Margaret originally belonged to the Benedictine Order. In 1219¹⁸⁰⁶ Stephanus son of Chepan presented a petition for the incorporation of the Pornó Monastery into the Cistercian monastery of Szentgotthárd. The request was granted by King Andrew II in 1221,¹⁸⁰⁷ and it was in 1233¹⁸⁰⁸ that the incorporation eventually took place.¹⁸⁰⁹ The monastery was demolished in 1799.¹⁸¹⁰ In 2001 archaeological excavations were conducted by Erika P. Hajmási at its site in Pornóapáti–Ómajor. During the investigations, the foundations of the walls, the site of removed walls, as well as twenty-six tombs of the medieval churchyard were uncovered.¹⁸¹¹

V. According to the testimony of the First and Second Military Surveys the Szombathely—Pornó road ran through a territory covered with forests at the greatest part. The 1857 cadastral map of Nárai represents the road to Pornó as a forest path (*Waldweg*), and demonstrates that the forest around was called after the path *Pornóuti erdők*.

VI. Although by the early modern period the Szombathely—Pornó road had been part of one of the main commercial routes in County Vas, in the Árpád Period it seems to have only been a secondary route connecting two long-distance routes. Accordingly, it is called simply *via* in contemporary sources. Out of the roads that were in connection this route mention must be made of the *via* that ran from Jákmonostor (now: Ják) to Pornó (*per quam*

¹⁸⁰⁴ UB I, 83.

¹⁸⁰⁵ It can be located to the area of modern Pornóapáti, Régi-major, VaMFN 177, No, 47/31.

¹⁸⁰⁶ UB I, 76-77.

¹⁸⁰⁷ 1221: *Stephanus filius Cepani condam bani... postulavit instantia, ut patronatum ecclesie beate Margarethe de Pornó, quam avus suus bone memorie Mytha fundaverat unde et ipse filiationem ecclesie iure obtinebat ecclesie Sancti Gothardi in qua habitationem susceperat conferremus*, UB I, 82-83.

¹⁸⁰⁸ UB I, 153.

¹⁸⁰⁹ Ernő Horváth, *A pornói apátság története* [The history of the Pernau Abbey] (Pécs: Dunántúl Egyetemi Nyomdája, 1930), 12-15; Kiss, "A történeti Vas vármegye 11-12. századi templomairól," 383; Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 53; György Rácz, "A Ják nemzetség és monostoralapításai I" [The Ják kindred and its monastery foundations I], *VSz* 54 (2000): 7-26, esp. 10; Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 309-311.

¹⁸¹⁰ Römer, "Román és átmenetkoru építmények," 42-44; Valter, *Romanische Sakralbauten*, 214.

¹⁸¹¹ SM RA 1397-02 (Erika P. Hajmási); Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 70-71, 180-182; Mónika Zsámbéky, Erika P. Hajmási, Péter Ivicsics, and Pál Lővei, "Pornóapáti, egykori pornói ciszterci apátság" [The former Cistercian abbey of Pernau], in *LAHU* 6, 145-162.

*itur de Iaak ad Porno*¹⁸¹²), which means that it joined those two sites where the Pornó and Jákmonostor main branch¹⁸¹³ of the Ják kindred established monasteries. In addition, Jákmonostor is of special interest here as it was at the same time the ancient centre of holdings belonging to the Ják kindred.¹⁸¹⁴

4.2.3.8 The Szombathely—Szentmihály route

I. Szombathely—Olad¹⁸¹⁵—Sé¹⁸¹⁶—Ondód¹⁸¹⁷—Dorozmat¹⁸¹⁸—[Csajta¹⁸¹⁹]¹⁸²⁰—Szentmihály¹⁸²¹ (See Map Section A)

II. Árpád Period written sources do not refer to any Árpád Period road between Szombathely and Szentmihály (now: Großpetersdorf, Au.). The only piece of written evidence that can be brought into connection with this route is the medieval toll of Csajta¹⁸²² (now: Schachendorf, Au.) mentioned by a source from 1405.

III. County Vas road maps from around 1787 and 1790 show that there was a main commercial road that led from Szombathely through Csajta and Incéd (now: Dürnbach, Au.) to Szentmihály, where it joined the road in the Pinka valley leading through Felsőőr (now: Oberwart, Au.) to Pinkaóvár (now: Pinkafeld, Au.). The 1827 handwritten-map of the Varasd—Sopron route represents the *Német Sz. Mihályi ut* leading from Szombathely to the

¹⁸¹² Charter No. 48.

¹⁸¹³ Karácsonyi, *A magyar nemzetségek*, Vol. 2, 245, 252-254; Rácz, “A Ják nemzetség és monostoralapításai I,” 7-8.

¹⁸¹⁴ György Rácz, “A Ják nemzetség és monostoralapításai II” [The Ják kindred and its monastery foundations II], *VSz* 54 (2000): 159-181, esp. 168, n. 85.

¹⁸¹⁵ First written data from 1248: *Georgius de Olody*, UB I, 220. Cf. Cs. II, s.v. “Ol(y)ad,” 780; Herényi s.v. “Olad,” 378-379; Cs. II, s.v. “Ol(y)ad,” 780.

¹⁸¹⁶ First written evidence from 1288: *villa Sye*, charter No. 128; Cs. II, s.v. “Si(j)e,” 793; Herényi, s.v. “Sé,” 445.

¹⁸¹⁷ First written evidence from 1288: *villa Vndod*, charter No. 128; Cs. II, s.v. “Ondód,” 781; Herényi, s.v. “Ondód,” 380.

¹⁸¹⁸ First written evidence from 1238: *villa Druzmoth*, charter No. 19. Cf. Cs. II, s.v. “Do(ro)zmát,” 745; Herényi s.v. “Dorozmat,” 181.

¹⁸¹⁹ First written evidence from 1374: *possessio Cacha*, Zala vm. II, 117. Cf. Cs. II, “Csa(j)ta,” 740; Herényi s.v. “Csajta,” 151.

¹⁸²⁰ First written evidence from 1244: *Inched*, Charter No. 86; Cs. II, s.v. “Inczéd,” 757-758; Herényi s.v. “Inczéd,” 266.

¹⁸²¹ First written evidence from 1273: *villam sancti Micaelis in confinio Castris Ferrei*, UB II, 41. Cf. Cs. II, s.v. “Szent-Mihály,” 798; Herényi s.v. “Szentmihály,” 471.

¹⁸²² 1405: MOL DL 9015; Cs. II, “Csa(j)ta,” 740.

north-west. Out of relevant toponyms mention must be made of the road called *Postaut* (postal way) north of Sé, as well as the *Postaut*, *Szentmiháli ut*, and *Felősőőri ut* indicating the Szombathely—Szentmihály route that makes the main street of Torony.

IV. In the vicinity of the Szombathely—Szentmihály route there is an archaeological site and a church dated to the Árpád Period. It must be noted though that both of them are found off the road, on the opposite bank of the Arany Stream. At *Doberdó dűlő* found at the southern part of modern Sé,¹⁸²³ an Árpád Period settlement (e.g. pits with 11th-13th century pottery, spindle-whorls, and pieces of clay testifying to wattle-and-daub timber-framed houses) was discovered in 1998.¹⁸²⁴ The Roman Catholic church of Dozmat is located on a hill at the western part of the village, surrounded by a churchyard. On the basis of monument investigations the earliest phase of the church dates to the thirteenth century. It was built of brick and consisted of a nave as well as a semicircular apse in the east.¹⁸²⁵ The name *Egyházasdozmat* mentioned by a 1416 source also testifies to the existence of a parish church in Árpád Period Dozmat. Another source from 1453 names Saint George as the patron saint of the church.¹⁸²⁶

V. In the beginning the road leading from Szombathely to Szentmihály is running in the valley of the Arany Stream (Ge. Goldbach).¹⁸²⁷ It crosses the stream over the Bucsí bridge¹⁸²⁸ – found at the border of Torony, Bucsú and Sé – and turns towards north-west to Csajta. Leaving Csajta and Incéd the road turns to the south-west and runs through a vast

¹⁸²³ VaMFN 115, No. 32/58.

¹⁸²⁴ Ilon, “Az Árpád-kor településeinek régészeti kutatása,” 97, 99-100.

¹⁸²⁵ Dercsényi, “Árpád-kori műemlékeink Vas megyében,” 63; Valter, *Romanische Sakralbauten*, 145; Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 109-110, 145; György Szekér, “Dozmat, Római katolikus templom” [The Roman Catholic church at Dozmat], in LAHU 5, 243-263, esp. 243-244.

¹⁸²⁶ István Németh, “Középkori eredetű műemlékek Szombathely közelében” [Medieval architectural monuments in the vicinity of Szombathely], *VSz* 35 (1981): 71-94, esp. 72-73; Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 93-95.

¹⁸²⁷ It is also called Olad, Bucsú, and Rohonc Stream after the settlements it flows through. In addition, the two names are also used together, such as Olad-Arany Stream and Rohonc-Arany Stream. VaMFN 132, No. 37/209. Cf. VaMFN 115, No. 32/50; VaMFN 116, No. 33/24; VaMFN 111, No. 30/23.

¹⁸²⁸ VaMFN 118, No. 33/81.

forest before reaching Szentmihály located by the Fehér Stream (Ge. Tauchenbach; medieval Hungarian name: Tohony¹⁸²⁹).

VI. Parallel with the Árpád Period road, along the opposite bank of the Arany Stream there was a *via rustica* in the Roman Period. The remains of this road can be observed at some places in the landscape, but it is best preserved around the path ascending to the vineyard¹⁸³⁰ of Torony.¹⁸³¹ This ancient road was, in fact, the service road of a Roman aqueduct that transported the water of springs from the Kőszeg Mountains to Szombathely, the remains of which waterway system were observed near Bozsok, Bucsu, Torony, Sé, and Olad.¹⁸³² The medieval use of this ancient road is attested by the fact that the main streets of Olad, Ondód, Dozmat, Bucsu and Bozsok preserve its path, and the Árpád Period site of Sé—Doberdó mentioned above were also discovered by this route.¹⁸³³

VII. Lajos Glaser indicated the Szombathely—Szentmihály route on his map of Medieval Transdanubia in the same way as early modern maps did. The row of Árpád Period settlements found in the valley of the Arany Stream clearly demonstrate and the medieval toll collecting place of Csajta makes plausible that this road already existed in the Árpád Period. Nevertheless, because of the fact there from the Árpád Period there is no such piece of evidence that would testify the use of this road in long-distance trade and communication, I cannot consider this a regional road in that early period.

4.2.3.9 The Szombathely—Rohonc route

I. Szombathely—Olad—Bucsu¹⁸³⁴—Rohonc¹⁸³⁵ (See Map Section A)

¹⁸²⁹ 1244-1245: *aqua Tohon* (Óvár, C. Vas), UB I, 210.

¹⁸³⁰ VaMFN 118, 33/128.

¹⁸³¹ Derdák and Kiss, “Néhány római kori ‘via rustica,’” 88.

¹⁸³² Ervin Türr, “Savaria aquaeductusa” [The aqueduct of Savaria], *ArchÉrt* 80 (1953): 129-133, esp. 130-131; Terézia P. Buocz, “Sé,” *RégFüz* I/14 (1960): 35.

¹⁸³³ Derdák and Kiss, “Néhány római kori ‘via rustica,’” 89.

¹⁸³⁴ First written data from 1332: *villa Bulchu*, UB IV, 108; Cs. II, s.v. “Bu(l)csu,” 739; Herényi s.v. “Bucsu,” 138.

¹⁸³⁵ First written data from 1288: *castrum Rohonch*, charter No. 128; Cs. II, s.v. “Rohoncz (Roholcz),” 718, 727; Herényi s.v. “Rechnitz,” 423.

II. The road leading from Szombathely to Rohonc (now: Rechnitz, Au.) appears in two written sources. First, the perambulation of Szenese from 1288 records that west of Szenese there was a *via publica* leading to the Rohonc Castle (*per quam itur ad castrum Rohonch*). Second, the perambulation of Rohonc from 1374 refers to this road as a *via* that leads from there to Szombathely (*que ducit de dicta civitate Rohonch in Sabariam*).

III. County Vas road maps dating from around 1787 and 1790, as well as the cadastral map of Bucsú from 1857 refer to the Szombathely—Rohonc road by its terminals (*von Steinamanger nach Rechnitz; Via Commercialis, Sabaria ad Rohoncz ducens*). In addition, the memory of the road is also preserved by the toponyms *Rohonci út* indicating its road sections found west of Szombathely, north of Sé, as well as south-east and north of Bucsú.

IV. The north-south directed main street of Bucsú forms part of the Szombathely—Rohonc route. The parish church of Bucsú dedicated to Saint Michael is found in the main street of the settlement – forming part of the Rohonc road – where the street broadens to a square (Ge. *Angerdorf*). The earliest written evidence for the parish church of Bucsú comes from 1674; however, the building bears the characteristic features of Romanesque-style rural churches on the basis of which it has been dated to the first half of the thirteenth century.¹⁸³⁶

V–VI. The Rohonc road leads from Szombathely directly to Bucsú in the north-west, from where it continues along the right bank of the Rohonc Stream (Ge: Rechnitzbach)¹⁸³⁷ to Rohonc located at the feet of the Kőszeg Mountains. Alternatively, one could get from Szombathely to Rohonc in a longer way along the right bank of the Rohonc-Arany Stream. This latter route followed the path of the ancient *via rustica* connected to the Roman aqueduct discussed in the previous chapter.

¹⁸³⁶ Rómer, “Román- és átmenetkoru építmények,” 5; Dercsényi, “Árpád-kori műemlékeink Vas megyében,” 63-64; Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 53-54; Németh, “Középkori eredetű műemlékek Szombathely közelében,” 72, 74; Valter, *Romanische Sakralbauten*, 91-92; Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 140.

¹⁸³⁷ Cf. n. 1827.

VII. Lajos Glaser¹⁸³⁸ as well as Gábor Kiss and Endre Tóth¹⁸³⁹ had reconstructed a medieval road that led from Szombathely through Rohonc, to the Upper Órség (Ge. Oberwart). Written, cartographic, and toponymic data equally show that both in the Middle Ages and in the early modern period there was a regional road connecting Szombathely with Rohonc. At Rohonc that route met another main road, which led from Kőszeg across Szalónak to Borostyán (See chapter 4.2.2.4).

4.2.4 Körmend and its region

The earliest document to mention Körmend¹⁸⁴⁰ (*villa Curmend*) was the charter of Comes Paulus of Fehérvár from 1238.¹⁸⁴¹ The second extant written source on Körmend is the town privilege donated by King Béla IV to the settlers of Körmend (*hospitibus... de Kurmund*) in 1244.¹⁸⁴² The town could be accessed on long-distance and regional routes alike, which is attested by written references from 1274 (*magna strata que ducit ad Curmend*),¹⁸⁴³ 1323 (*Kurmendutha*),¹⁸⁴⁴ and 1336 (*magna via, que de Kurmend itur in Fulustyn*).¹⁸⁴⁵ These data indicate roads that connected Körmend with Lövő (cf. chapter 4.2.4.3), Sárvár (cf. chapter 4.2.4.2), and Fölöstöm/Fürstenfeld (cf. chapter 4.1.2.2). Körmend could be approached on any of the long-distance roads of County Vas: (1) the Sopron—Muraszombat road passed through the town in a north—south direction, (2) north of the town the *Via Theutonica* was running from the east to the west, (3) south of Körmend the *Via Latinorum* led to the south-west, (4) whereas west of the town there was a road running in the valley of the Pinka to the north-west. Furthermore, mention must be made of the regional roads that led from Körmend to

¹⁸³⁸ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 163.

¹⁸³⁹ Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, *Savaria—Szombathely története*, 107.

¹⁸⁴⁰ On the medieval history of Körmend see, Zsuzsanna Bándi, *Körmend a középkorban* [Körmend in the Middle Ages] (Körmend: Körmend Város Tanácsa, 1987); József Dénes, “Körmend a középkorban, 1526-ig” [Körmend in the Middle Ages to 1526], in *Körmend története* [The history of Körmend], ed. László Szabó, (Körmend: Körmend Önkormányzata, 1994), 32-97.

¹⁸⁴¹ UB I, 183.

¹⁸⁴² UB I, 211.

¹⁸⁴³ Charter No. 26.

¹⁸⁴⁴ Charter No. 111.

¹⁸⁴⁵ Charter No. 105.

Küszin (now: Güssing, Au.) in the valley of the Esztürmén (now: Strem/Strém), and the one that led to Sárvár in the valley of the Rába.¹⁸⁴⁶

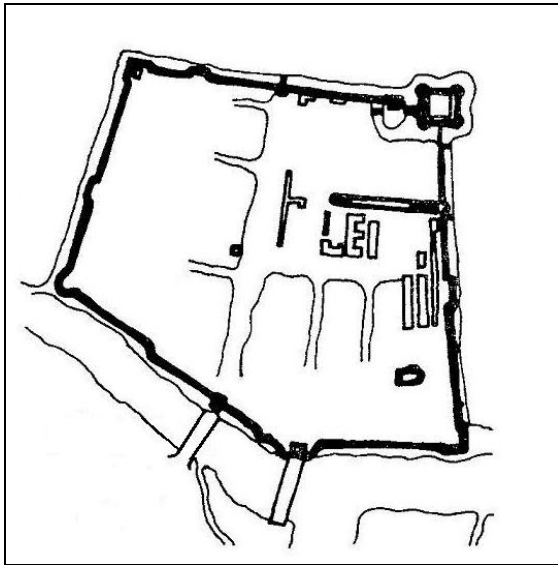


Fig. 61. The map of Körmend from 1667 (After Tóth 1979, 657,¹⁸⁴⁷ Fig. 2)

The topographical features of Körmend represented by the early modern maps suggest that it was a founded town.¹⁸⁴⁸ The map of Körmend from 1667 (Fig. 61)¹⁸⁴⁹ – which is the earliest map of the town – demonstrates that Körmend had a regular plan with straight parallel streets and a large rectangular market as far as one can judge from an image made more than 400 years after the first mentioning of the settlement.¹⁸⁵⁰ These are typical features of founded towns, similarly to the regularly laid out plots that can be well observed on the 1857 cadastral map of Körmend.¹⁸⁵¹ The plots were adjusted to the north—south directed road running through the middle of the town that continued northwards to Szombathely, Kőszeg and

¹⁸⁴⁶ On the inter-connection between long-distance communication routes and the urban development of Körmend see, Szende, “Towns along the way,” 197-198. See also, Dénes, “Körmend a középkorban, 1526-ig,” 34.

¹⁸⁴⁷ See n. 1848.

¹⁸⁴⁸ On the topography of Körmend see, István György Tóth, “Körmend alapítása. A város alaprajza a 17. században” [The foundation of Körmend. The topography of the town in the seventeenth century], *Századok* 113 (1979): 643-658; and Erika P. Hajmási, “Körmend a középkorban – néhány szondázó leletmentés tükrében” [Körmend in the Middle Ages – reflected by some rescue excavations] in *Körmend története* [The history of Körmend], ed. László Szabó (Körmend: Körmend Önkormányzata, 1994), 180-194.

¹⁸⁴⁹ MOL C 30; Tóth, “Körmend alapítása,” 643, 657 Fig. 2.

¹⁸⁵⁰ Tóth, “Körmend alapítása,” 643.

¹⁸⁵¹ VaML K 132; cf. MOL S 78, 261 Körmend 1-30.

Sopron and southwards to Muraszombat (Fig. 62/1-2).¹⁸⁵² The road passed by the market of the town (Fig. 62/6) and the Williamite monastery founded by King Béla IV (Fig. 62/7).¹⁸⁵³ The monastery had a church dedicated to the Holy Virgin. In addition, there were two more churches in Árpád Period Körmend: one dedicated to Saint Martin that must have been located in the north-western part of the town, and another dedicated to Saint Elisabeth located in the south-east (Fig. 62/8).¹⁸⁵⁴ The 1857 cadastral map of Körmend represents an east—west directed road at the northern part of the town (Fig. 62/3-4). West of Körmend that road divided into two roads: one led in the valley of the Pinka, the other in the valley of the Rába. After a distance both roads forked again. At Mindszent the former route divided into a road running to the region of Felsőőr (now: Oberwart, Au.) and another one running to Kúszin/Güssing. The latter road also divided into two roads leading to Fürstenfeld/Fölöstöm and Graz, alternatively. In the east the road led in the valley of the Rába, and at Hídvég one branch of it crossed the river for Vasvár, while the other branch continued in the valley of the Rába towards Sárvár. In connection with the topography of Körmend, mention must also be made of the Árpád Period castle constructed of earth and timber north-east of the town, which was built into stone in the fourteenth century (Fig. 62/5).¹⁸⁵⁵

¹⁸⁵² In the Árpád Period Körmend might have consisted of two parts. A western one that developed around the Saint Martin Church, and an eastern one around the Saint Elisabeth Church. Hajmási. “Körmend a középkorban,” 183.

¹⁸⁵³ Bándi, *Körmend a középkorban*, 20-21; Tóth, “Körmend alapítása,” 646; Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 39; Hajmási. “Körmend a középkorban,” 183.

¹⁸⁵⁴ Bándi, *Körmend a középkorban*, 71-72; Tóth, “Körmend alapítása,” 645; Hajmási. “Körmend a középkorban,” 185-187.

¹⁸⁵⁵ Hajmási, “Körmend a középkorban,” 187-189.

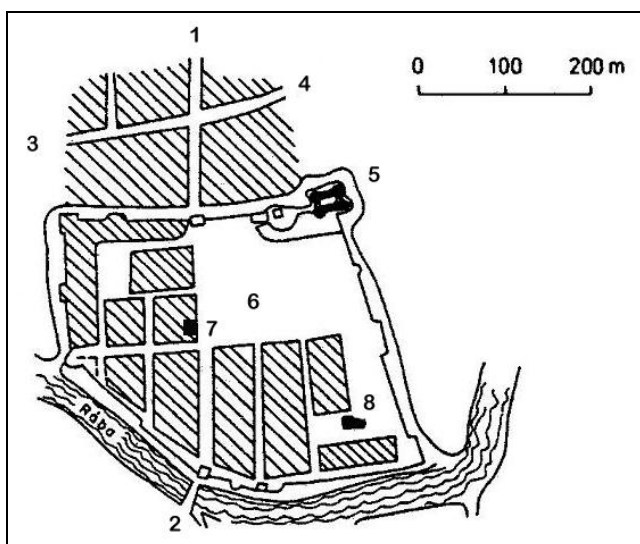


Fig. 62. The reconstructed plan of thirteenth-century Körmen (After Szende 2011,¹⁸⁵⁶ 198, Fig. 5b)

1. Road to Sopron
2. Bridge over the Rába, and road to Muraszombat
3. Road towards Küszin/Güssing and Fürstenfeld
4. Road towards Sárvár and Vasvár
5. Castle
6. Market
7. Williamite monastery
8. Saint Elisabeth Church

In conclusion, it must be emphasised that the Sopron—Muraszombat route as well as the bridge of the Rába had a fundamental importance in the site selection of Körmen in the first half of the thirteenth century. The town was established where that long-distance road crossed the Rába. In the subsequent centuries the territory of the town expanded to the north and by the sixteenth century it reached the *Via Theutonica* that connected Vasvár, the seat of County Vas, with the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁸⁵⁷

4.2.4.1 The Körmen—Szombathely route

The route forms part of the Sopron—Muraszombat road, see chapter 4.1.1 (See Map Sections A and C)

4.2.4.2 The Körmen—Sárvár route

I. Körmen—Lapsa¹⁸⁵⁸—Szecsód¹⁸⁵⁹—Hollós¹⁸⁶⁰—Hídvég¹⁸⁶¹—Molnári¹⁸⁶²—
Püspöki¹⁸⁶³—Bodorföle¹⁸⁶⁴—Rum¹⁸⁶⁵—Balozsaj¹⁸⁶⁶—Medgyes¹⁸⁶⁷—Kovács¹⁸⁶⁸—
Ikervár¹⁸⁶⁹—Péterfalva¹⁸⁷⁰—Sár—Sárvár (See Map Sections B and C)

¹⁸⁵⁶ See n. 1010.

¹⁸⁵⁷ Tóth, “Körmen alapítása,” 645-646; Szende, “Towns along the way,” 197-198.

¹⁸⁵⁸ Cf. n. 1379.

¹⁸⁵⁹ Cf. n. 1378.

¹⁸⁶⁰ Cf. n. 1377.

II. The entire Körmend—Sárvár route running north of the Rába was referred to by the 1342 perambulation of Rum as a *magna via qua itur de [Sar in Ku]rmend*. The *via magna* leading to Körmend (*ad Kurmend*) formed the border between Szecsőd and Vámosmézadó, as it is attested by the 1329 perambulation of the latter settlement. The 1323 perambulation of Rum referred to two sections of the route, leading southwards and northwards from Rum. The former was named Körmenduta (*Kurmendutha*) and was later described as a road that led to Körmend (*via, que vadit ad Kurmend*), while the northern section was referred to as a road that led to Kovács (*via, que venit ad Kowach*). An earlier perambulation of Rum from around 1263 also referred to the road section leading from Rum to the north, and named Ikervár as its terminal (*via, qua vadit ad Ikurwar*). The *via magna* appearing in the 1255 perambulation of Balozsaj must also indicate the same road section. In addition, the 1328 perambulation of Péterfalva/Kisfalva was also referred to as a *via magna* that led to Ikervár (*que venit ad Ikyruar*).

III. The road map of County Vas from 1787 represents the commercial route that led from Sárvár through Rum to Körmend (*von Sárvár über Rum Körmend*). The map shows that between Körmend and Hídvég it had the same path as the Körmend—Zalabér postal way (*von Körmend über Vasvár, Baltavár nach Szalabér*). Other early modern maps¹⁸⁷¹ also differentiate between the Körmend—Sárvár route and the Körmend—Zalabér, which

¹⁸⁶¹ Cf. n. 1376.

¹⁸⁶² First mentioned in 1275: *Molnar*, UB II, 86; Cs. II, s.v. “Molnár(i),” 777; Herényi s.v. “Kismolnári,” 304.

¹⁸⁶³ First mentioned only in 1413 (*villa Pispiky*), but the settlement might have already existed in the eleventh century, Cs. II, s.v. “Püspöki,” 787; Herényi s.v. “Püspöki,” 416

¹⁸⁶⁴ First mentioned in 1342: *Budurfeulde*, UB IV, 348; Cs. II, s.v. “Bodorfölda,” 737; Herényi s.v. “Bodorfölda,” 125.

¹⁸⁶⁵ Cf. n. 1766.

¹⁸⁶⁶ First written evidence from (1238)/1255: *terra Bolosey*, charter No. 4; Cs. II, s.v. “Balazse(j),” 735; Herényi s.v. “Balozsaj,” 98-99.

¹⁸⁶⁷ First mentioned in 1298: *terra Midies*, UB II, 321; Cs. II, s.v. “Me(d)gyes,” 774-775; Herényi s.v. “Medgyes,” 352.

¹⁸⁶⁸ First mentioned in a source originating from sometime between 1272-1290: *terra Kuachy*, charter No. 46. Cs. II, s.v. “Kovács(i),” 767; Herényi s.v. “Kovács,” 314.

¹⁸⁶⁹ Cf. n. 1718.

¹⁸⁷⁰ Cf. n. 1722.

¹⁸⁷¹ For example, MOL S 12 Div. 10 No. 10:1-2; VaML T 129; Second Military Survey; OSzK TK 1104.

belonged to different levels of hierarchy. Furthermore, there are county maps¹⁸⁷² that do not represent the Körmend—Sárvár regional route, but the great Körmend—Zalabér road, which demonstrates that the latter had become a more important route by the early modern period. On cadastral maps from 1857 and 1858 one finds that the road sections of the route were frequently labelled as leading from Körmend to Sárvár (*von Körmend, nach Sárvár*). In addition, cartographic and toponymic data preserve the memory of *Körmendi út, Szecsődi út, Hídvégi út* and *Sárvári út* in the names of ploughlands.

IV. The Körmend—Sárvár route passed through or in the close vicinity of a row of settlements that had a parish church from the Árpád Period on, namely Szecsőd (now: Magyarszecsőd),¹⁸⁷³ Hollós (now: Egyházashollós), Hídvég (now: Rábahídvég),¹⁸⁷⁴ Molnári (now: Püspökmolnári),¹⁸⁷⁵ Rum, Medgyes (now: Meggyeskovácsi),¹⁸⁷⁶ and Ikervár. In addition, Kovácsi had a chapel.¹⁸⁷⁷ Out of these churches mentioned by contemporary written sources, the Romanesque church of Szecsőd, Hollós, Rum, and Ikervár form part of still extant monuments. The Romanesque churches of Szecsőd, Hollós, Rum and Ikervár were discussed in the previous chapters (4.1.2.2, 4.2.3.4, and 4.2.3.5).

V. The Körmend—Sárvár route led at its full length in the valley of the Rába, along the northern edge of the so-called Rába Forest (1286: *Silua Raba*;¹⁸⁷⁸ 1313: *Sylva Raba*¹⁸⁷⁹). In the Árpád Period the Rába could be crossed over fortified bridges protected by guards at Körmend, Hídvég, Rum, Ikervár, and Sárvár.¹⁸⁸⁰ The name of Hídvég suggests that the

¹⁸⁷² For example, VaML T 19, VaML T 128.

¹⁸⁷³ See n. 1388.

¹⁸⁷⁴ See n. 1387.

¹⁸⁷⁵ The church of the Molnári dedicated to Saint Thomas was first mentioned in 1342: *ecclesie sancti Thome de Molnaar*, VSz 22 (1968), 270; Kóta, *Regeszták*, 41, No. 92,

¹⁸⁷⁶ The church of Medgyes was dedicated to the Saints Cosmas and Damian. 1329: *ecclesia beatorum Cosme et Damiani*, VSz 21 (1967): 441; UB IV, 56-57.

¹⁸⁷⁷ The first written evidence to the chapel of Kovácsi comes from 1307. Herényi s.v. “Kovács,” 314.

¹⁸⁷⁸ At Hídvég, see charter No. 35.

¹⁸⁷⁹ At Rum, see charter No. 110.

¹⁸⁸⁰ Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, *Savaria—Szombathely története*, 107.

settlement was located in the vicinity of the bridge of the Rába.¹⁸⁸¹ According to the testimony of a 1280 charter issued by King Ladislas IV, Hídvég was already an uninhabited settlement (*terra vacua... et habitatoribus destituta*) in the late thirteenth century. The document also refers to the guards of the Rába bridge (*custodes pontis Raba*) who lived in an adjacent settlement.¹⁸⁸² In 1286 King Ladislas IV exempted the tenant peasants of Andreas of Hídvég (*Hydwegh*) from tolls in the Rába Forest as a compensation for the loss he suffered because of the bridge of Hídvég (*propter pontem Hydwegh*),¹⁸⁸³ by which apparently the toll of the bridge was meant. At Rum there was again a bridge over the Rába (1313: *pons possessionis Rum*;¹⁸⁸⁴ 1350: *pons super ipsum fluvium Raba in possessione... Rum vocata existens*¹⁸⁸⁵), which was under the control of the Rum Castle. The first evidence to the bridge at Ikervár (*Ikerwar pons*) comes only from 1450, when it had already been left unattended day and night.¹⁸⁸⁶

VII. The Körmend—Sárvár route was a regional trade route running in the Rába valley, which between Körmend and Hídvég had the same path as the great *Via Theutonica* that crossed the Rába at Hídvég and led westwards to the Holy Roman Empire (see chapter 4.1.2.2). The Körmend—Sárvár route had already been identified by Lajos Glaser as a route connecting Körmend, Rum, Ikervár and Sárvár north of the Rába.¹⁸⁸⁷ According to the interpretation of Géza Érszegi, from Körmend the road was running south of the Rába to Vasvár, it crossed the river south of Rum (apparently at Hídvég) and it was only from there that the road led along the northern bank of the Rába to Sárvár.¹⁸⁸⁸ However, as we have seen

¹⁸⁸¹ FNESz II, s.v. “Rábahídvég,” 388.

¹⁸⁸² Charter No. 32.

¹⁸⁸³ Charter No. 35.

¹⁸⁸⁴ Charter No. 110.

¹⁸⁸⁵ Charter No. 114.

¹⁸⁸⁶ 1450: *De vadu autem Ikerwar scire vestra dignetur serenitas, quod in Ikerwar pons per neminem custoditur, sed die omnibus die noctuque via ipsa existit libera*, Házi I/3, 310.

¹⁸⁸⁷ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 167.

¹⁸⁸⁸ Érszegi, “Középkor,” 91, 92.

above there are plenty of written, archaeological and topographic data on prove that the road was running between Körmend and Sárvár north of the Rába all way long.

4.2.4.3 The Körmend—(Lövvő) route

I. Körmend—(Lövvő)¹⁸⁸⁹ (See Map Section C)

II. The 1274 perambulation of Halogy¹⁸⁹⁰ (now: Halogy, C. Vas) refers to the *via Latinorum* as well as a great road that led to Körmend (*ad magnam stratam que ducit ad Curmend*). The latter road can be identified with the south-bound road between Körmend and Lövvő (now: Zalalövvő, C. Zala). From Lövvő the road continued southwards towards Irsa¹⁸⁹¹ (now: Irsapuszta, south of Zalalövvő, C. Zala) and Szentpéter (now: Puszta-Szentpéter, southwest of Zalalövvő, C. Zala)¹⁸⁹² (1334: *ad magnam viam que venit de villa Jarsa in villam Sancti Petri*).¹⁸⁹³

III. The earliest extant map representing the Körmend—Lövvő road section is the 1740 *Mappa Comitatus Castriferrei* labelling it as *Via Postalis Romanorum Strata*. The road map of County Vas from 1787 by József Kenedics represents the road as part of the postal way titled *Von Güns über Steinamanger, Körmend nach Lövvő und Börönd*. Another handwritten map by József Kenedics from 1800 indicating the most important postal routes of Counties Vas, Zala and Veszprém also shows the Körmend—Lövvő road section as part of the great north—south directed road that passed through Kőszeg, Szombathely, Körmend (C. Vas), Lövvő, Baksa, Lendva, and Csáktornya (C. Zala) for Varasd (now: Varaždin, Cr.).¹⁸⁹⁴ The map of County Vas from 1787 indicates the road leading from Körmend to the south as *Via Postaút*, and – similarly to early modern road maps¹⁸⁹⁵ – represents it passing by the western

¹⁸⁸⁹ Cs. III, s.v. “Lövvő, a),” 79-80.

¹⁸⁹⁰ Cs. II, s.v. “Himfölda,” 756; Herényi s.v. “Halogy,” 240.

¹⁸⁹¹ Cs. III, s.v. “Irsa,” 63; ZMFN I, 101, No. 33/34.

¹⁸⁹² Cs. III, s.v. “Szent-Péter, a),” 109; ZMFN I, 102, No. 33/192.

¹⁸⁹³ Zala vm. I, 282.

¹⁸⁹⁴ See also maps of County Zala. For example, OSZK TK 26, OSZK TK 666, OSZK TK 1048.

¹⁸⁹⁵ For example, S 12 Div. 18, No. 58; MOL S 12, Div. 13, No. 577, OSZK TK 1104.

border of Nádasd. The memory of the postal way is also preserved by ploughlands called *Postautra düllő/Posta utra düllő* shown on the cadastral map of Nádasd from 1858.

The road to Zalalövő crossed the Rába at the southern part of Körmend, and the street that led to its bridge has been called *Híd utca* (Bridge Street). At Nádasd the northern part of the road is called *Körmendi ut* after its northern destination, while the southern part is called *Lövei ut* after its southern destination. There are ploughlands along the road called *Postauti düllő* demonstrating that the road was used as a postal way. In addition, at Nádasd there is a road called *Ötevényes út*, which preserves the memory of the ancient Roman Amber Route that preceded the medieval Körmend—Lövő route.

V. The Árpád Period Körmend—Lövőr route crossed the Rába at the southern part of Körmend.

IV. and VI. The medieval Körmend—Lövő road follows the path of the ancient Roman Amber Route.¹⁸⁹⁶ The Amber Route crossed the Rába east of modern Körmend. The site of that ancient bridge (*Vestigia antiqua pontis tempore Romanorum*) is indicated by a late eighteenth-century water regulation plan (Fig. 63).¹⁸⁹⁷ At the same place in the river wall of the Rába, Gábor Ilon observed in 2001 a fifteen metre-wide, heavily gravelled feature with large stones that he identified with the ancient Amber Route. North of that crossing place he also observed a three hundred metre long section of the road running in a north—south direction on the border between Körmend and Magyarszecsőd. It was preserved as an elevated gravelled stripe in a ploughland that was formerly covered by a woodland.¹⁸⁹⁸

¹⁸⁹⁶ Graf, *Übersicht der antiken Geographie von Pannonien*, 68-70.

¹⁸⁹⁷ Cf. Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, *Savaria—Szombathely története*, 22-23, Fig. 10.

¹⁸⁹⁸ Körmend—Lápsa archaeological site, SM RA 1506 03.



Fig. 63. Bridges over the Rába in the vicinity of Körmend (detail of MOL S 12 Div. 11, No. 125:1/3)

The Körmend—Zalalövő section of the Amber Route was archaeologically investigated by Vajk Cserményi and Endre Tóth. Between the Rába and the Csörnöc they observed a one hundred metre-long section of the road that had a seven metre-wide gravelled track over an approximately 70 cm high foundation. South of the Csörnöc they reconstructed the path of the road in the following way. From the crossing place over the Csörnöc the road led southwards in the direction of the Roman signal station of ad Arrabonem located north of Katafa. Leaving the signal station the road turned to the south-west and led by the north-western border of Katafa towards Nádasd. At the north-western part of Nádasd the road turned again to the south and led to the Roman Salla (Zalalövő, C. Zala).¹⁸⁹⁹

The Körmend—Zalalövő section of the ancient Amber Route were certainly even much better observed in the Árpád Period, which is attested by thirteenth and fourteenth-century written sources calling it *öttevény* south of Körmend¹⁹⁰⁰ and south of Zalalövő.¹⁹⁰¹ In addition, it appears as *öttevény* in toponyms at Nádasd¹⁹⁰² and Zalalövő.¹⁹⁰³

¹⁸⁹⁹ Cserményi and Tóth, “Eine Römische Strassenstation und Strassenstrecke zwischen Salla und Arrabona,” 175-182, Figs. 2-7; Cserményi and Tóth, “Der Abschnitt der Bernsteinstrasse in Ungarn,” 286.

¹⁹⁰⁰ 1329: *ad viam magnam Etheuenuh vocatam* (Mézadó, C. Vas), charter No. 74.

VII. The Körmend—Zalalövő route had already been identified by Lajos Glaser as part of the Körmend—Zagreb route, which passed through Csesztreg (C. Zala), Hosszúfalu (now: Dolga Vas, Sl.), Lendva (now: Lendava, Sl.), Szerdahely (now: Mursko Središće, Cr.), Csáktornya (now: Čakovec, Cr.), Nedelic (now: Nedelišće, Cr.) and Varasd (now: Varaždin, Cr.) to Zagreb.¹⁹⁰⁴ Glaser called attention to that the road did not have such a great role in foreign trade as József Holub¹⁹⁰⁵ and András Diószegi¹⁹⁰⁶ had previously supposed. He was arguing very convincingly that early modern maps, representing that road as a postal way leading to Varasd must serve as an explanation to these false inferences. In the Árpád Period from Körmend the foreign trade route to Italy did not continue to Lövő in the south, but rather to Muraszombat in the south-west (cf. chapter 4.1.1).

4.2.4.4 The Körmend—Szentgotthárd route

The road forms part of the *Via Theutonica*, see chapter 4.1.2.2. (See Map Section C)

4.2.4.5 The Körmend—Küszin route

I. Körmend—Szentkirály¹⁹⁰⁷—Mindszent¹⁹⁰⁸—Strém¹⁹⁰⁹—Küszin¹⁹¹⁰ (See Map Section C)

II. The 1238 perambulation of Lapsa neighbored by Körmend yields reference to two great roads: one leading from Vasvár to the Holy Roman Empire (*magna via, per quam de Ferreo Castro vadunt ad Teothoniam*), and the other running to Küszin/Újvár (*magna via, que vadit ad Nouum Castrum per villa Stephani et Gelca*). The former road was one of the main

¹⁹⁰¹ 1265: *ad magnam uiam, que wlgariter Ehtewen dicitur (terra Fényes, C. Zala)*, HO VI, 131.

¹⁹⁰² Pesty, *Magyarország helynevei*, s.v. “Ötevényes-út,” 242; Cf. VaMFN 462, No. 181/53.

¹⁹⁰³ See n. 819.

¹⁹⁰⁴ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 282.

¹⁹⁰⁵ Holub, “Zala vármegye vámhelyei és úthálózata a középkorban,” 60.

¹⁹⁰⁶ Diószegi, *A Magyarországon keresztülvezető kereskedelmi utak*, 15-17.

¹⁹⁰⁷ See n. 1405.

¹⁹⁰⁸ See n. 1406.

¹⁹⁰⁹ Cs. II, s.v. “Strém,” 794; Herényi s.v. “Strém,” 453

¹⁹¹⁰ Beside a forged document dated to 1157 (charter No. 61) the first written reference to Küszin comes from 1212: *monasterium Cucin*, UB I, 91. Küszin was alternatively called Újvár as early as the Árpád Period, see 1263: *castrum Kysun, quod nunc Vyuar nuncupatur*, UB I, 284. Cs. II, s.v. “Újvár,” 721; Herényi s.v. “Güssing,” 230-231.

long-distance routes passing through County Vas, which has been discussed above. The latter road can be identified with the Körmend—Küszin route. According the testimony of the perambulation, that road passed through *villa Stephani* called later Szentkirály,¹⁹¹¹ as well as *villa Gelca* the identification of which is uncertain.¹⁹¹² In addition, a forged document dated to 1157 (and in fact drawn up around 1230) describes the estates of the Küszin Monastery where it refers to a king's road (*via regis*) located near the Strém (Ge. Strem) that might also be identified with the Körmend—Küszin route.

III. A map from 1771 representing Körmend and its region show one part of the road leading from Körmend to Újvár and labels it *Chemin de Guissing*. The road map of County Vas from 1787 represents the Körmend—Újvár road as a commercial route and represents it as continuing to Burgau in Austria (*von Körmend über Német Ujvár nach Burgau*).

IV. Szentkirály and Mindszent located along the Körmend—Küszin road were named after the patron saints of their churches, King Stephen I and the All Saints. The Árpád Period churches of Szentkirály and Mindszent have been described above (see chapter 4.1.2.3). Küszin had a castle and a Benedictine monastery by the mid-twelfth century. The monastery dedicated to the Holy Virgin was founded in 1157 and originally belonged to the Pannonhalma Abbey.¹⁹¹³ The Küszin Castle was occupied by King Béla III (1172-1196), who erected a new castle there. From that time Küszin was also named *Novum Castrum*¹⁹¹⁴ and *Újvár*¹⁹¹⁵ after its new castle.¹⁹¹⁶

V. Between Körmend and Mindszent the Körmend—Küszin route was running in the Pinka valley. At Mindszent the road crossed the Pinka and its path continued along the left

¹⁹¹¹ Although medieval Hungary had two holy kings, King Stephen I (1000-1038) and King Ladislas I (1077-1095), the Szentkirály settlement names referred to the former king throughout the Middle Ages. Gyula Kristó, "Szentkirály," *MNy* 74 (1978): 475-480, esp. 479; Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben*, 129-130.

¹⁹¹² Herényi s.v. "Gelca villa," 218.

¹⁹¹³ Charter No. 61; Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 47.

¹⁹¹⁴ 1263: *Novum Castrum Kyzun vocatum in comitatu Castri Ferrei*, UB I, 288.

¹⁹¹⁵ 1263: *Castrum Koscen, quod nunc Wywar nuncupatur*, UB I, 284; 1263: *castrum Kyzun, quod nunc Wywar nuncupatur*, UB I, 285.

¹⁹¹⁶ Cs. II, s.v. "Újvár," 721; Prickler, *Burgen und Schlösser im Burgenland*, 58-64; Fügedi, *Vár és társadalom*, 170; KMTL s.v. "Németújvár," 487.

bank of the Strém (*fluvius Ezturmen*),¹⁹¹⁷ which had to be crossed for Kúszin located on the right bank of the stream.

The road running in the valley of the Strém, however, did not terminate at Kúszin. Another branch certainly continued along the left bank of the stream to the north-west and passed through the Árpád Period settlements of Szentmihály (now: Sankt Michael im Burgenland, Au.),¹⁹¹⁸ Baksafalva (now: Bocksdorf, Au.),¹⁹¹⁹ Szentelek (now: Stegersbach, Au.),¹⁹²⁰ and Lődös (now: Litzelsdorf, Au.),¹⁹²¹ to Komját (now: Kemeten, Au.).¹⁹²² At Komját it must have abandoned the valley of the Strém and turned eastwards to Felsőőr (now: Oberwart, Au.) and/or Vörösvár (now: Rotenturm an der Pinka, Au.). The road running along the valley of the Strém does not appear in Árpád Period written sources. However, the row of Árpád Period settlements along the left bank of the stream, as well as the representation of a road by the maps County Vas from 1785 and 1833 make its existence highly probable. In this way, the road running in the valley of the Strém provided an alternative route between Mindszent and Felsőőr or Vörösvár to the road in the Pinka valley. While the latter road bypassed the hills and forests of Felsőörség (Oberwart) from the north, the other did the same from the south.

VI. I have no data on a Roman road preceding the Árpád Period Körmen—Kúszin route.

VII. The Kőszeg—Kúszin route was already reconstructed by Lajos Glaser. according to his interpretation, from Kúszin the road continued westwards to Hidegkút and Fölöstöm (now: Fürstenfeld, Au.).¹⁹²³ In addition to the 1238 perambulation of Lapsa cited above, he

¹⁹¹⁷ Charter No. 61.

¹⁹¹⁸ Cs. II, s.v. “Szent-Mihály, b),” 798; Herényi s.v. “Szentmihály,” 471; Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben*, 165.

¹⁹¹⁹ Cs. II, s.v. “Baks(a)falva,” 735; Herényi s.v. “Baksafalva,” 98.

¹⁹²⁰ Cs. II, s.v. “Szent-Elek,” 797; Herényi s.v. “Szentelek,” 465; Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben*, 71-72.

¹⁹²¹ Cs. II, s.v. “Lődös,” 772.

¹⁹²² Cs. II, s.v. “Komját(i),” 766; Herényi s.v. “Komját,” 311.

¹⁹²³ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 281-282.

referred to a document of the Vasvár chapter from 1510 mentioning a great road that led from Csencs (now: Deutsch and Kroatisch Tschantschendorf, Au.) to Tobaj (now: Tobaj, Au.) (*via magna qua ducit ad Chobay*).¹⁹²⁴ However, in my view, the latter data does not serve as an evidence to the west-bound continuation of the Körmend—Küszin road. Instead, it demonstrates the continuation of the road along the Strém to the north-west.

4.2.5 Sárvár and its region

The topography of Sárvár¹⁹²⁵ preceding the high Middle Ages (both in the Roman and Árpád Periods) is little known. Árpád Period Sárvár developed over the remains of Roman Bassiana¹⁹²⁶ where the Gyöngyös meets the Rába.¹⁹²⁷ The stone castle of Sárvár located in the middle of the town¹⁹²⁸ was subjected to archaeological investigations by Melinda Tóth in 1966¹⁹²⁹ and by Erika Hajmási between 1984 and 1986.¹⁹³⁰ The excavations conducted by Melinda Tóth demonstrated that the earliest elements of the castle can be found at its southwestern corner and north-eastern wing. These parts of the building can be dated to the fourteenth century.¹⁹³¹

The name of Sárvár is generally interpreted as an “earthen fortification located at a marshland.”¹⁹³² Whether that fortification was constructed at the same place where the stone castle was erected subsequently or it must be sought somewhere else is a question that has

¹⁹²⁴ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 282, n. 908.

¹⁹²⁵ On medieval Sárvár see, Érszegi, “Középkor,” 77-89; KMTL s.v. “Sárvár,” 595.

¹⁹²⁶ On Roman Bassiana see, Buocz, “Római kor,” 67-72.

¹⁹²⁷ On the geography of Sárvár see, Ernő Horváth, “Természeti viszonyok” [Natural conditions], in *Sárvár monográfiája* [The monograph of Sárvár], ed. Ferenc Horváth (Szombathely: Sárvár Város Tanácsa, 1978), 7-44.

¹⁹²⁸ VaMFN 241, No. 82/130.

¹⁹²⁹ Melinda Tóth, “A sárvári vár építéstörténete” (Die Baugeschichte der Burg von Sárvár), *Savaria* 4 (1966-70): 193-286.

¹⁹³⁰ Erika P. Hajmási, “Sárvár, Nádasdy vár” [Nádasdy Castle in Sárvár], *RégFüz* I/38 (1985), 116; Erika P. Hajmási, “Sárvár—Nádasdy vár” [Nádasdy Castle in Sárvár], *RégFüz* I/39 (1986), 107; Erika P. Hajmási, “Sárvár, Nádasdy vár” [Nádasdy Castle in Sárvár], *RégFüz* I/40 (1987), 115.

¹⁹³¹ Tóth, “A sárvári vár építéstörténete,” 199-200; Tibor Koppány, Péter Ivicsics, and Pál Lövei, “Sárvári vár” [The Sárvár Castle], in LAHU 6, 179-204, esp. 179-180.

¹⁹³² Érszegi, “Középkor,” 83, 86; FNESz II, s.v. “Sárvár,” 456.

still not been answered satisfyingly.¹⁹³³ It has already been suggested that the so-called *Óvár* (i.e. ‘old castle’)¹⁹³⁴ found north-east of the stone castle on the eastern bank of the Gyöngyös is an earth and timber fortification built in the early Árpád Period.¹⁹³⁵ However, available archaeological evidence seems to contradict that hypothesis.¹⁹³⁶

There are only a limited number of written data available for the reconstruction of the history of Sárvár before the mid-fourteenth-century. The earliest written document to hold the name of Sárvár is a charter of Palatine Johannes (Kőszegi) dated to 1288.¹⁹³⁷ The castle was at that time possessed by Johannes Kőszegi. In 1327 the castle of Sárvár – in addition to Kűszin and the two castles of Kőszeg – fell into the king’s hands.¹⁹³⁸ Because of a change in ownership the inhabitants of Sárvár requested their new lord, the king to confirm their already existing privileges. In 1328 King Charles I issued a letter of privilege to the *hospites* of Sárvár (*Insula Saar*) that dealt – among other things – with their exemption from tolls.¹⁹³⁹ The merchants of Sárvár were obliged to pay tolls neither in their own town,¹⁹⁴⁰ nor at Karakó (C. Vas), Tapolca (C. Zala), Kér, and Cenk (C. Sopron).¹⁹⁴¹ Out of these four toll sites the first two were located by a road leading from Sárvár to the Lake Balaton (see chapter 4.2.5.3), while the latter two by a road leading to Sopron (see chapter 4.2.5.6). In 1341 Queen

¹⁹³³ Tóth 1966-70, 195.

¹⁹³⁴ VaMFN 239, No. 82/8.

¹⁹³⁵ József Dénes considers the remains of the so-called *Óvár* as an eleventh-century earth and timber fortification that may have survived to the Angevin Period. Dénes, “Vas és Sopron megye középkori várainak kutatástörténete,” 12. See also, Koppány, Ivicsics, and Lövei, “Sárvári vár,” 188, n.7. Géza Érszegi holds the same view, Érszegi, “Középkor,” 83, 109.

¹⁹³⁶ In a field survey Terézia P. Buocz collected Roman finds (bricks, pottery shreds, and coins of Emperors Traian and Nerva) around Sárvár—Óvár. In 1973 she conducted an excavation at the territory of Óvár and identified the uncovered walls as belonging to a small Roman fort, which was built in order to control the road that arrived from Gorsium, crossed the Gyöngyös over the Móka bridge north of Sárvár—Óvár, and led towards Bögöt. Buocz, “Római kor,” 71. See also, Tóth, “A sárvári vár építéstörténete,” 259, n. 5.

¹⁹³⁷ In the document Sárvár (*Saarvar*) appears as the place of issue, charter No. 128.

¹⁹³⁸ 1327: *quatuor castra municiora... Sarwar et Wywar ac Kethkuseg nuncupata cum suis districtibus prediis at villis*, UB III, 248.

¹⁹³⁹ See charter No. 120. Cf. Érszegi, “Középkor,” 93-100.

¹⁹⁴⁰ 1328: *de suis mercimoniis in civitate seu insula stando et eundo ab omni tributo sint liberi et exempti*, UB IV, 27. In Sárvár, therefore, the merchants of Sárvár were exempt from all kinds of toll, including the *trimestima*. Érszegi, “Középkor,” 99.

¹⁹⁴¹ 1328: *eosdem hospites eximimus a solutione tributorum, que videlicet in Thopolcha, Korokow, in Keer et Zenk exiguntur*, charter No. 120. At these sites the merchants of Sárvár were apparently exempt from the road toll. Érszegi, “Középkor,” 99.

Elisabeth exempted the settlers and tenant peasants of Sárvár (*hospites iobagiones de insula ante castrum Sarwar commorantes*) from the thirtieth,¹⁹⁴² which was confirmed by King Louis I in 1344,¹⁹⁴³ 1347¹⁹⁴⁴ and in 1361.¹⁹⁴⁵ The aim of these royal measures was to promote the rise of population in Sárvár. In spite of that, by the late fourteenth century Sárvár had turned into an *oppidum*,¹⁹⁴⁶ a simple market town.¹⁹⁴⁷ The fact that Sárvár lost its former significance is signalled by such factors as that in 1383 the royal thirtieth-collecting station was moved from Sárvár to Sopron,¹⁹⁴⁸ and in 1390 Sárvár became the property of lay landowners.¹⁹⁴⁹ The fact that Sárvár could never turn into a free royal town, can partly be explained by its location in the road system. Although Sárvár was directly connected to a number of Western Transdanubian central places (Győr, Pápa, Körmend, Kőszeg, Sopron, etc.), the great long-distance routes bypassed it, which means that Sárvár was fundamentally a regional centre with limited involvement in foreign trade.

4.2.5.1 The Sárvár—Lak(—Kapuvár) route

I. Sárvár—Sömjén¹⁹⁵⁰—Paty¹⁹⁵¹—Kövesd¹⁹⁵²—Jákfalva¹⁹⁵³—Terestyénfalva¹⁹⁵⁴—Uraj¹⁹⁵⁵—
Újfalva¹⁹⁵⁶—Nick¹⁹⁵⁷—Lak¹⁹⁵⁸—Csánig¹⁹⁵⁹—(Dénesfalva¹⁹⁶⁰—Círák¹⁹⁶¹—Gyóró¹⁹⁶²—
Kapuvár¹⁹⁶³) (See Map Section B)

¹⁹⁴² UB IV, 318. On the meaning of the thirtieth see n. 947.

¹⁹⁴³ UB V, 67.

¹⁹⁴⁴ UB V, 158.

¹⁹⁴⁵ MOL DL 5276.

¹⁹⁴⁶ Cs. II, "Sárvár (Sár-Szigete)," 728.

¹⁹⁴⁷ Kubinyi, "Mezővárosok egy városmentes tájon," 319-320.

¹⁹⁴⁸ MOL DL 6991.

¹⁹⁴⁹ On 25 July 1390 King Sigismund donated the castles of Sárvár and Léka (C. Vas), as well as Csepreg and Sziget (C. Sopron) to the Kanizsai family, MOL DL 7633. Regesta: Zs. I, No. 1606.

¹⁹⁵⁰ First mentioned in 1273: *Semyan*, UB II, 48. Cs. II, s.v. "Semjén," 792; Herényi s.v. "Rábasömjén," 421.

¹⁹⁵¹ First mentioned in 1272: *Pog*, UB II, 18; Cs. II, s.v. "Paty (b)," 783; Herényi s.v. "Kispaty," 305-306.

¹⁹⁵² First mentioned in 1260: *terra Cuesd*, UB I, 270; Cs. II, s.v. "Kövesd," 768; Herényi s.v. "Kövesd," 319.

¹⁹⁵³ First mentioned in 1221, UB I, 85; Cs. II, s.v. "Ják(-falva)," 759.

¹⁹⁵⁴ Terestyénfalva was founded by Terestyén of the Ják kindred in the mid-thirteenth century, hence the name of the village. 1249: *Tiristianum*, UB I, 225; Cs. II, s.v. "Terestyénfalva," 803; Herényi s.v. "Terestyénfalva," 498-499.

¹⁹⁵⁵ First mentioned in 1221: *terra Urai*, charter No. 130; Cs. II, s.v. "Uraj," 807; Herényi s.v. "Uraj," 513-514.

¹⁹⁵⁶ First mentioned in 1234, Herényi s.v. "Újfalva," 509-510; Cs. II, s.v. "Újfalva (c)," 806.

¹⁹⁵⁷ First mentioned in 1221: *Nikt*, UB I, 80; Cs. II, s.v. "Niczk," 779-780.

II. The 1340 letter of division of a landed property in Paty refers to the great road that led from Sárvár to Kapuvár (*magna via de Sar in Kopw*). A part of that road appears in a three years earlier perambulation of Paty as a *magna via* leading from Sárvár to Jákfalva (*de Sar in Jak*). A somewhat shorter section of the same route is mentioned by a document from 1293 as a *strata* leading from Sömjén to Jákfalva (*de Zymean itur in Iaak a parte Rabe*) through Bogyoszló. A different section of the Sárvár—Kapuvár route is mentioned in the 1409 perambulation of Lak and Nick as a *via publica* running from the former settlement to the latter (*de possessione Lak in possessionem Nychk*).

III. According to the testimony of cartographic data, the great medieval road running from Sárvár to the north along the left bank of the Rába lost its former significance by the early modern period as it did not become a postal road. Nevertheless, the early modern plan of the settlements listed in the first paragraph testify to the existence of a medieval Sárvár—Kapuvár route, as in most of the cases their main streets are identical with the road passing through them. The First and Second Military Surveys, as well as cadastral maps show that Rábasömjén, Alsópaty, Felsőpaty, Rábakövesd, Jákfa, and Urajújfalu had north-south directed main streets. The road must have crossed the Répce at Csánig. In County Sopron the north-south directed main streets of Cirák, Gyóró, and Hövej mark the path of the road towards Kapuvár.

IV. Along the Sárvár—Kapuvár route I found two monuments originating from the Árpád Period, namely the Roman Catholic churches of Rábasömjén (that forms now part of Sárvár) and Jákfa. In addition, an early Árpád Period archaeological site found at Répcelak also falls in the line of the route. In the following I will only deal with the two churches

¹⁹⁵⁸ See n. 1689.

¹⁹⁵⁹ See n. 1690.

¹⁹⁶⁰ Founded by Dénes of Czirák in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Cs. III, s.v. “Dienesfalva,” 605; Herényi s.v. “Dénesfalva,” 174-175.

¹⁹⁶¹ First mentioned in 1265: *terra Zyrak*, UB I, 322; Cs. III, s.v. “Czirák,” 604; Herényi s.v. “Cirák,” 150.

¹⁹⁶² First mentioned in 1241: *villa Gyorou*, UB I, 204; Cs. III, s.v. “Gyóró,” 609; Herényi s.v. “Gyóró,” 235.

¹⁹⁶³ First mentioned in 1096: *castellum Cyperon*, UB I, 19; Cs. III, s.v. “Kapu,” 587; Herényi s.v. “Kapu,” 282.

above, as the Répcelak—Várdomb archaeological site was already introduced in chapter 4.2.3.3.

The church of Rábasömjén surrounded by a churchyard is located in the middle of the village where the main street widens into a village green.¹⁹⁶⁴ The church of medieval Sömjén was built of brick in the mid-thirteenth century. The Romanesque phase is represented by the church tower, a semicircular window on the southern wall, as well as a stone framed gate inserted in secondary position into the southern wall of the sacristy.¹⁹⁶⁵

The Roman Catholic church of modern Jákfa dedicated to Saint Michael is found south of the settlement, on the right side of the north-south directed road leading from Sárvár to Jákfa.¹⁹⁶⁶ The church includes elements from the medieval building phase, such as the lower part of the tower.¹⁹⁶⁷ The earliest written evidence to the church of medieval Jákfalva dates to 1249: *monasterii de Iaak iuxta Rabam*.¹⁹⁶⁸ Although the building is called a *monasterium*, no monastic community seems to have belonged to it. It is more likely to have been a parish church, as the subsequent sources refer to the building as an *ecclesia*:¹⁹⁶⁹ *Iak, in qua stat fundata ecclesia in honorem beati Mychaelis* (1290);¹⁹⁷⁰ *ecclesia est in honore Sancti Michaelis constructa* (1327);¹⁹⁷¹ *ecclesia beati Michaelis archangeli de Jaak prope Rabam* (1332);¹⁹⁷² *ecclesia sancti Michaelis de Bel Jak* (1339).¹⁹⁷³

V. The path of the Sárvár—Kapunvár road followed the line of watercourses. From Sárvár to Csánig it was running parallel with the Rába and its left-hand tributaries the

¹⁹⁶⁴ For the location of the church, see for example, the cadastral map of Rábasömjén, VaML K 212.

¹⁹⁶⁵ Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 348-349; Valter, *Romanische Sakralbauten*, 233; Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 163-164.

¹⁹⁶⁶ For the location of the church see, for example, the cadastral map of Jákfa, VaML K 98.

¹⁹⁶⁷ Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 148; Klára Mentényi, “Jákfa, Római katolikus templom” [The Roman Catholic church at Jákfa], in LAHU 5, 327-384, esp. 334-336.

¹⁹⁶⁸ UB I, 225.

¹⁹⁶⁹ Mentényi, “Jákfa, Római katolikus templom,” 334.

¹⁹⁷⁰ UB III, 287.

¹⁹⁷¹ A. II, 277.

¹⁹⁷² UB IV, 107.

¹⁹⁷³ Sopron vm. I, 143.

Peresztég and Kőrös (1254: *Keurus*;¹⁹⁷⁴ 1358: *fluvius Keurus*;¹⁹⁷⁵ 1409: *vena aque, Keres*¹⁹⁷⁶) streams. It was running at the edge of the flood plain belonging to the Rába (1334: *Raba*;¹⁹⁷⁷ 1358: *fluvius Raba*¹⁹⁷⁸) overgrown by woodland (1409: *silva Rabe*¹⁹⁷⁹). At Csánig the road crossed the Rábca (1409: *fluvius Rabcha/Rapcha*¹⁹⁸⁰) and continued along the left bank of that stream to Kapuvár.

VI. I do not have data on a Roman road running between Sárvár and Kapuvár.

VII. The road leading from Sárvár to Kapuvár had several branches to the west, such as a *via magna* leading from Sár to Ölbő (1328: *de Ilbe ad villam Saar*),¹⁹⁸¹ a *via* leading from Sömjén to Ölbő (1328: *de dicta Ilbe as villam Semyen*),¹⁹⁸² and a *magna via* running from Paty to Bögöt (1337: *que venit de Bogata*).¹⁹⁸³

Lajos Glaser had already identified the medieval Sárvár—Lak route on the basis of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century written documents. He pointed out that this road met the Szombathely—Győr route at Lak.¹⁹⁸⁴ (For the latter route the reader is referred to chapter 4.2.3.3.). Géza Érszegi adopted Glaser's reconstruction for the Sárvár—Lak route.¹⁹⁸⁵

4.2.5.2 The Sárvár—Dömölk(—Pápa) route

I. Sárvár—Sitke¹⁹⁸⁶—Inta¹⁹⁸⁷—Dömölk¹⁹⁸⁸—(Szalók¹⁹⁸⁹—Nyárád¹⁹⁹⁰—Pápa¹⁹⁹¹) (See Map Section B)

¹⁹⁷⁴ At Nick, charter No. 81.

¹⁹⁷⁵ At Nick, charter No. 82.

¹⁹⁷⁶ At Lak, charter No. 62.

¹⁹⁷⁷ At Paty, charter No. 91.

¹⁹⁷⁸ At Nick, charter No. 82.

¹⁹⁷⁹ At Lak, charter No. 62.

¹⁹⁸⁰ At Lak, charter No. 62.

¹⁹⁸¹ Charter No. 87.

¹⁹⁸² Charter No. 87.

¹⁹⁸³ Charter No. 92.

¹⁹⁸⁴ Glaser, "Dunántúl középkori úthálózata," 157.

¹⁹⁸⁵ Érszegi, "Középkor," 91 and 93.

¹⁹⁸⁶ First mentioned in 1229: *Sytka*, MOL DL 40006. Cs. II, s.v. "Sitke," 793; Herényi s.v. "Kissitke," 307.

¹⁹⁸⁷ First mentioned in 1325: HO III, 80; Cs. II, s.v. "Inta," 758; Herényi s.v. "Inta," 266.

¹⁹⁸⁸ First mentioned in 1252: *Demunk*, PRT XII/a, 437, Cs. II, s.v. "Demelk," 743; Herényi s.v. "Celldömölk," 143.

II. For the Sárvár—Pápa route I found three data in written sources dated before the mid-fourteenth century, one from County Vas and two from County Veszprém. A document from 1263 relates that Simonyi (now: Nagysimonyi, C. Vas) was separated from Mesteri (now: Mesteri, C. Vas) by a *magna via* in the east. The 1307 perambulation of Szalók (now: Nemesszalók, C. Veszprém) refers to a *magna via* leading to the village (*que ducit in uillam Zolouk*). Finally, the 1347 perambulation of Dereske (now: Pápadereske, C. Veszprém) holds reference to a *magna via publica* that might again have formed part of the Sárvár—Pápa route.

III. The schematic map of postal roads from around 1787 covering the territory bordered by Sopron (C. Sopron), Körmend (C. Vas), Sümeg (C. Zala), and Pápa (C. Veszprém) represents the route leading from Szombathely through Sárvár and Kiscell to Pápa as a new postal road. The map of County Vas by József Kenedics from around 1787 shows the same road with the label *Von Steinamanger über Sárvár, Merse, nach Papa*. A map from 1800 representing the most important postal routes of Counties Vas, Veszprém and Zala also indicates the Szombathely—Pápa route passing through Sárvár. The map of the diocese of Győr indicates the Sárvár—Pápa route as passing through the villages of Simonyi, Dömölk, Merse, Vát, Szalók, and Nyárád. Finally, the map of County Vas from 1833 shows the route in the same way.

In Nagysimonyi and Mersevát the main streets called *Postaút* still preserve the memory of the postal road that developed out of the medieval Sárvár—Pápa route.

¹⁹⁸⁹ First mentioned in 1271: *terra ... de iuxta Morzol Zloukfelde vulgariter nominata*, HO I, 51; Cs. III, s.v. “Szalók (a),” 251; Herényi s.v. “Szalók,” 458.

¹⁹⁹⁰ First mentioned in 1347: *possessio magistri Chenyg Narag vocata*, A. V, 102; Cs. III, s.v. “Nyárág,” 244; Herényi s.v. “Nyárád,” 376.

¹⁹⁹¹ First mentioned in 1295: *in comitatu Vesprimiensi prope Papa*, HO VII, 242; Cs. III, s.v. “Pápa,” 214; Herényi s.v. “Pápa,” 398.

IV. There are some architectural monuments and archaeological sites along the Sárvár—Pápa route that date the road before the mid-fourteenth century. They are located at Nagysitke, Mesteri-Intapuszta, and Celldömölk.

The church of Sitke dedicated to Saint Laurence was first mentioned in 1349. The church standing in the cemetery was already in ruins in the late seventeenth century. In the second half of the eighteenth century a Baroque church was erected on its site. The carved tympanon of the Romanesque church gate is preserved today in the Baroque Roman Catholic church of Sitke.¹⁹⁹²

At Intapuszta, which forms now part of Mesteri, twelve Árpád Period graves were uncovered in 1934 and in 1941.¹⁹⁹³ The cemetery and the ruins of the church¹⁹⁹⁴ in it were located on a hill by the Cinca Stream. The church of medieval Inta was first mentioned by a written source in 1325,¹⁹⁹⁵ and on the basis of a document from the 1550s it was dedicated Saint John the Baptist. Since the burials are dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the church itself must also have been erected by the twelfth century.¹⁹⁹⁶

The ruins of the Romanesque church of the Dömölk Abbey are found at the western part of modern Celldömölk by the road leading to the town from Tokorcs.¹⁹⁹⁷ The exact date of the foundation of the Benedictine abbey is unknown. It seems to have been established sometime in the first half of the thirteenth century and consecrated in 1252. The rectangular nave of the church terminates in a pentagonal apse in the east and a tower in the west. In the middle of both the northern and southern wall there is a niche with a stone bench in front of it.

¹⁹⁹² Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 353-355; Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 164; Ilona Valter, "Sitke, Római katolikus templom" [The Roman Catholic church at Sitke], in LAHU 6, 213-214.

¹⁹⁹³ Zoltán Holéczy, "Az intapusztai XI. századi Árpád-kori sírmező részleges feltárása" [The partial archaeological excavation of an Árpád Period graveyard at Intapuszta dated to the eleventh century], *VSz* 18 (1964): 421-427.

¹⁹⁹⁴ Zoltán Holéczy interpreted the uncovered walls as the ruins of a Roman building, Holéczy, "Az intapusztai XI. századi Árpád-kori sírmező," 422. However, there is a real chance that the walls, in fact, belonged to an Árpád Period church. Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 129.

¹⁹⁹⁵ 1325: *Inta ecclesia*, HO III, 80.

¹⁹⁹⁶ Kiss, "A templomépítészet kezdetei Vas megyében," 71; Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 124-129.

¹⁹⁹⁷ VaMFN s.v. "Romtemplom," 317, No. 114/35.

During investigations of the building, Romanesque and Gothic architectural phases were identified.¹⁹⁹⁸

Approximately 80 metres from the church of the Dömölk Abbey some eleventh- and twelfth-century graves were uncovered in 1941. The walls discovered during the excavation were interpreted as ruins of farm buildings belonging to the abbey. The graves, however, cannot have belonged to the church of the abbey because of the great distance between them. Gábor Kiss suggested that the uncovered walls, in fact, formed part of the parish church of Dömölk, surrounded by a churchyard.¹⁹⁹⁹

V. The Sárvár—Pápa route crossed the Rába at Sárvár, bypassed the Hercseg Hill at Sitke from the north,²⁰⁰⁰ and ran along the northern bank of the Cinca Stream – called Ér Stream (1268: *fluvius Er*)²⁰⁰¹ – to Dömölk. It crossed the Marcal over a bridge at the two ends of which medieval Merse and Vát developed. Having crossed the Marcal the road continued in County Veszprém to Pápa.

VI. The Roman Savaria—Bassiana road reached the Rába north of Sárvár where the Gyöngyös met the river (for the details of the route see chapters 4.2.3.3 and 4.2.3.4). Having crossed the Rába, the road led through the Sitke forest,²⁰⁰² and continued to the north-east across Kemenesmihályfa²⁰⁰³ and Kemenesszentmárton.²⁰⁰⁴ The Árpád Period Sárvár—Pápa route had a different path. It was running south of the Roman road described above .

VII. On the basis of early modern maps and toponyms there was a postal road leading from Sárvár through Sitke, Nagysimonyi, Tokorcs, Celldömölk, Mersevát, Szalók, and Nyárád to Pápa. It seems that the route more or less originates from medieval times, which is

¹⁹⁹⁸ Dercsényi, “Árpád-kori emlékeink Vas megyében,” 58-60; Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 65-66; Károly Kozák and Pál Lövei, “Celldömölk, Középkori bencés apátsági templom romjai” [Celldömölk, the remains of the medieval Benedictine abbey], in LAHU 5, 177-185.

¹⁹⁹⁹ Kiss, “A templomépítészet kezdetei Vas megyében,” 70, n. 20; Kiss, *Vas megye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 14-18.

²⁰⁰⁰ Cf. Second Military Survey Col. XXIV, Sect. 53

²⁰⁰¹ Charter No. 121.

²⁰⁰² Buocz, “Római kor,” 68; Bödöcs, *A római kori úthálózat térinformatikai vizsgálata*, 532.

²⁰⁰³ Bödöcs, *A római kori úthálózat térinformatikai vizsgálata*, 503.

²⁰⁰⁴ Bödöcs, *A római kori úthálózat térinformatikai vizsgálata*, 506-507.

testified by written data on great roads (*magnae viae*) between Simonyi and Merse, at Szalók and Dereske. From Sitke, however, the Árpád Period road seems more likely to have led directly to the east in the valley of the Cinca, passing thus by the parish churches of Sitke, Inta, and Dömölk.

Lajos Glaser had reconstructed the Sárvár—Pápa route as leading from Sárvár through Sömjén (now: Kemensömjén), Simonyi, and Szentmárton (now: Kemenesszentmárton) to Merse (now: Mersevát),²⁰⁰⁵ where it met the Vasvár—Pápa route that continued through Szalók and Dereske to Pápa.²⁰⁰⁶ For the Szentmárton—Sömjén road section he cited a source from 1438. Géza Érszegi adopted the road reconstruction of Lajos Glaser.²⁰⁰⁷ In my opinion, however, the Sárvár—Pápa road is more likely to have led from Sárvár to the east (instead of making a curve to the north) and passed by the Benedictine Abbey of Dömölk to Merse. In County Veszprém my reconstruction is identical with that of Glaser.

4.2.5.3 The Sárvár—Karakó route

I. Sárvár—Gérce²⁰⁰⁸—Káld²⁰⁰⁹—Somlyó²⁰¹⁰—Jánosháza²⁰¹¹—Karakó²⁰¹² (See Map Section B)

II. The road leading from Sárvár to Karakó is referred to by two sources near Somlyó. The 1349 perambulation of Hetyesomlyó (now: Kissomlyó) begins at a *via publica* in front of the church of the village dedicated to Saint Nicholas (*iuxta publicam viam ante Ecclesiam Sancti Nicolai*). In addition, the same source holds reference two great roads (*via magna*), one leading to the east and the other to the north. A letter of sentence from 1356 related to

²⁰⁰⁵ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 166.

²⁰⁰⁶ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 258.

²⁰⁰⁷ Érszegi, “Középkor,” 91 and 93.

²⁰⁰⁸ First mentioned around 1300: *Gherce*, UB II, 337; Cs. II, s.v. “Gércze,” 749; Herényi s.v. “Gérce,” 222-223.

²⁰⁰⁹ First mentioned in 1255: *Cald*, UB I, 249; Cs. II, s.v. “Káld,” 761.

²⁰¹⁰ First mentioned in 1329: *villa... Hegchesumlia*, HO III, 99, Cs. II, s.v. “Somlyó,” 793; Herényi s.v. “Hetyesomlyá,” 254.

²⁰¹¹ First mentioned in 1237: *villa Ionad*, UB I, 174; Cs. II, s.v. “Jánosháza (a),” 760; Herényi s.v. “Jánosháza,” 273.

²⁰¹² First mentioned in 1137: *Karkou*, W. II, 297; Cs. II, s.v. “K(a)rakó,” 762; Herényi s.v. “Karakó,” 282-283.

Nagysomlyó mentions a *via magna* that ran from Káld to that village (*que venit de Kald et intrat ipsam villam*). The 1257 perambulation of Karakó refers to a *via magna* found on the boundary between Karakó and Varsány.²⁰¹³ In addition, the 1328 privilege of the *hospites* of Sárvár exempted them from tolls in Karakó. The source demonstrates not only that Karakó was a toll site, but indirectly it also testifies to the fact that it was frequented by the inhabitants of Sárvár.

III. The road map of County Vas from 1787 indicates a trade route labelled *von Sárvár nach Jánosháza*. Early modern maps generally represent the road as leading from Sárvár through Gérce, Káld, Kissomlyó, and Jánosháza to Karakó. I did not find either cartographic or toponymic data on the Sárvár—Karakó route having been used as a postal road from the eighteenth century on.

IV. The name of Káld appears in a written source only in 1255.²⁰¹⁴ However, the village and its church had certainly existed in the first half of the thirteenth century as in 1249 a document mentions the construction of a new side-chapel. The Árpád Period church is unknown today.²⁰¹⁵

The Roman Catholic church of Kissomlyó is located in the churchyard of the village. The church dedicated to Saint Nicholas was first mentioned by a written document in 1349.²⁰¹⁶ The walls of the church were investigated by Erzsébet Harrach in 1974. The investigations demonstrated that the western half of the nave is Romanesque (comprising two semicircular windows, and a gate in the south), while the eastern half originates from the Gothic period. The apse of the Romanesque church has not been discovered. The

²⁰¹³ Cs. II, s.v. “Varsány,” 807; Herényi s.v. “Varsány,” 516.

²⁰¹⁴ Cf. n. 2009.

²⁰¹⁵ Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 152-153.

²⁰¹⁶ First mentioned in 1309, AOKI II, 355. See also: 1349: *ecclesia Sancti Nicolai* (Hetyesomlyó, C. Vas), charter No. 122.

Romanesque church of Somlyó was built of brick in the mid-thirteenth century. The Gothic part was constructed of broad-stone.²⁰¹⁷

V. I do not have data on a Roman road preceding the medieval Sárvár—Karakó route.

VI. The road under discussion crossed over the Rába at Sárvár and led across the Vas Hegyhát to Karakó located on the left bank of the Marcal.

VII. Lajos Glaser (and after him Géza Érszegi) considered the Sárvár—Karakó route as a branch of the road that led from Sárvár through Keresztúr and Sümeg to Tapolca.²⁰¹⁸ Karakó and Tapolca were both toll sites where merchants arriving from Sárvár did not have to pay tolls from 1328. Early modern cartographic data also support that from Sárvár roads led to Karakó and Tapolca.

When examined in relation with other roads from the Árpád Period, the Sárvár—Karakó route seems to have connected the roads running along the right and left banks of the Rába and the long-distance route called *Katonák útja*. The latter route met the Sárvár road at Karakó, and led eastwards through Veszprém and Fehérvár to Buda.

4.2.5.4 The Sárvár—Körmend route

See under the Körmend—Sárvár route, chapter 4.2.4.2. (See Map Sections B and C)

4.2.5.5 The Sárvár—Kőszeg route

See under the Kőszeg—Sárvár route, chapter 4.2.2.2. (See Map Section B)

²⁰¹⁷ Harrach and Kiss, *Vasi műemlékek*, 165-166; Valter, *Romanische Sakralbauten*, 155; Valter, *Árpád-kori téglatemplomok*, 154; Erzsébet C. Harrach, Péter Ivicsics, and Pál Lövei, “Kissomlyó, római katolikus templom” [The Roman Catholic church at Kissomlyó], in LAHU 5, 457-461.

²⁰¹⁸ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 258; Érszegi, “Középkor,” 91, 93.

4.2.5.6 The Sárvár—Kál(—Sopron) route

I. Sárvár—Sömjén²⁰¹⁹—Paty²⁰²⁰—Zsédeny²⁰²¹—(Kál²⁰²²—(Ládony²⁰²³—Ság²⁰²⁴—Szopor²⁰²⁵—Kér²⁰²⁶—Lövő²⁰²⁷—Kövesd²⁰²⁸—Cenk²⁰²⁹—Kópháza²⁰³⁰—Sopron) (See Map Section B)

II. The perambulation of Cenk (C. Sopron; now: Nagycenk) from 1291 holds reference to the entire *magna via* leading from Sárvár to Sopron (*qua itur de Sar in Supronium*). Cenk was a toll site where merchants from Sárvár were exempted from tolls in accordance with the 1328 privilege. The 1337 perambulation of Paty (now: Rábapaty, C. Vas) refers to a *magna via* that led from Hegyfalú to Sömjén (now: Rábasömjén, C. Vas) (*que venit de Hegyfalú in Simien; que de Hygyfalú vadit in Simien*). In addition, the *via magna* where the 1238 perambulation of Zsédeny began must have also formed part of the Sárvár—Sopron route.

III. The road leading from Sárvár to Sopron appears on several early modern maps. It was already represented by the map of County Vas from 1740 as leading from Sárvár through Alsópaty, Felsőpaty, and Zsédeny to Pórládony in County Sopron. The road map of County Vas from 1787 labels the route as a trade road *Von Sárvár über Paty nach Kál*. The cadastral maps of Rábabogyoszló, as well as Hegyfalú and Pórládony indicate ploughlands called after the great road (*Nagyút*) or highway (*Országút*) passing by. On the basis of early modern

²⁰¹⁹ Cf. n. 1950.

²⁰²⁰ Cf. n. 1951.

²⁰²¹ First mentioned in 1221: *villa Saden*, UB I, 86; Cs. II, s.v. “Zsédeny,” 810; Herényi s.v. “Kiszsédeny,” 308-309.

²⁰²² First mentioned in 1234: *terra Cal, in qua sita est ecclesia in honore sancti Petri*, UB I, 159; Cs. III, s.v. “Kál,” 591-592.

²⁰²³ First mentioned in 1267: *Lad*, UB I, 333; Cs. III, s.v. “Ládony (e),” 617; Herényi s.v. “Ládony,” 61-62.

²⁰²⁴ First mentioned in 1153: *Sac*, UB I, 20; Cs. III, s.v. “Ság,” 627; Herényi s.v. “Felsőság,” 205.

²⁰²⁵ First mentioned in 1264: *terra Zupur*, UB I, 307; Cs. III, s.v. “Szopor,” 632; Herényi s.v. “Szopor,” 487-488.

²⁰²⁶ First mentioned around 1233, UB I, 157; Cs. III, s.v. “Kér (b),” 614; Herényi s.v. “Kér,” 299.

²⁰²⁷ First mentioned in 1211: *Luev*, UB I, 61; Cs. III, s.v. “Lövő (b),” 618; Herényi s.v. “Lövő,” 342.

²⁰²⁸ First mentioned in 1327: *terra Kwesd*, Sopron vm. I, 110; Cs. III, s.v. “Kövesd (a),” 616; Herényi s.v. “Kövesd,” 318.

²⁰²⁹ First mentioned in 1281: *villa Tothchenk*, UB II, 154; Cs. III, s.v. “Czenk (a),” 604; Herényi s.v. “Cenk,” 143-144.

²⁰³⁰ First mentioned in 1245 as *Víz : villa Wiiz*, UB I, 213; Cs. III, s.v. “Kolbháza,” 615-616; Herényi s.v. “Kohlhof,” 310.

cartographic data, the Sárvár—Sopron route was an important route, yet it did not turn into a much frequented postal route.

IV. The Romanesque church of Sömjén erected in the mid-thirteenth century was previously discussed in chapter 4.2.5.1. Based on the perambulation of Zédeny from 1238, the village had a parish church dedicated to Saint Martin (*ecclesia Sancti Martini*).²⁰³¹ However, the architectural remains of the building are unknown.

V. I have no data on a Roman road running between Scarbantia/Sopron and Bassiana/Sárvár.

VI. From Sárvár to Paty the road was running at the border of the flood-plain of the Rába. In the region of Paty it left the Rába, and turned to the north-west. It crossed over the Kóris Stream (1238: *aqua Keures*)²⁰³² at Zsédeny, and passing through the Rábca it continued in County Sopron.

VII. Lajos Glaser had already identified the Sárvár—Sopron route. He reconstructed it passing through Kál, as well as the medieval toll sites of Kér, Kövesd, and Cenk. Furthermore, he referred to medieval sources mentioning various sections of the route. In addition to the charters I mentioned above, he also referred to written sources dated after the mid-fourteenth century,²⁰³³ namely, the 1357 charter of Nicolaus of Szécs,²⁰³⁴ the 1429 charter of King Sigismund,²⁰³⁵ as well as the 1488 document of the Vasvár chapter.²⁰³⁶ Géza Érszegi identified the Sárvár—Sopron route in the same way as Glaser did, that is leading through Sömjén, Hegyfalu, Kál, Kér, and Cenk to Sopron.²⁰³⁷

²⁰³¹ Charter No. 137.

²⁰³² Charter No. 137.

²⁰³³ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 161.

²⁰³⁴ 1357: *ad viam, qua procederetur de Symonhaza ad Saagh maiorem*, Sopron vm. I, 270.

²⁰³⁵ 1429: *viam publicam de dicta Vamoschynk versus Sopronium et econverso ducentem*, Házi I/2, 401.

²⁰³⁶ 1488: *viam magnam Sopronwtha vocatam ducens...de eadem Sagh ab aquilonem*, Sopron vm. II, 553.

²⁰³⁷ Érszegi, “Középkor,” 91 and 93.

4.3 CONCLUSIONS

4.3.1 Roads in the landscape: topographic questions

In *Part 4* we have seen what nodal points and linkages the infrastructure of County Vas consisted of in the Árpád Period. It now remains to summarize what relationship these long-distance and regional roads had with other features in the landscape (the natural environment, the man-made heritage from former periods, contemporary settlements, agricultural resources, non-agricultural resources, ritual foci, and demography).

Within the natural environment the importance of the relief and natural waters as determinants of routes cannot be emphasised enough. The territory of Western Transdanubia has a geomorphologically structured surface, where the hills and valleys inbetween pre-determine where the routes can pass (see chapter 3.4 for details). (The structured surface explains why the most important natural routes in the territory – as opposed to roads running through the wide plains in the centre of the country²⁰³⁸ – have not changed much over the centuries.) Roads normally ran around hills and mounds, as travellers generally strove to choose routes that inclined gradually, even if that entailed taking a longer way. That phenomenon is well illustrated, for example, by the Kőszeg—Rohonc—Szalónak—Borostyán (4.2.2.4) and the Kőszeg—Léka—Borostyán (4.2.2.5) routes running at the foot of the Kőszeg Mountains. Another example comprises the Sopron—Muraszombat route (4.1.1), which bypassing the Alps from the east was part of a long-distance communication route between Vienna and Venice before the Semmering Pass was opened. The high mountains of the Alps covered with vast forests also represented a great obstacle to merchants and travellers not only in the Middle Ages but also in Roman and prehistoric times. That is why the ancient north-south trade route (called the Amber Route in scholarly literature) connecting regions by the Baltic Sea and the Adriatic Sea also ran in that direction.

²⁰³⁸ Cf. Blazovich, “Az Alföld 14-16. századi úthálózatának vázlatá,” 51-61.

After issues of land relief, waterways were the most dominant natural features that influenced the location of roads. Roads often ran in river valleys where the inundation zone of the river and territories unaffected by flooding met. The territory of County Vas furnishes numerous examples of roads adjusted to rivers and streams along their whole length such as the Sárvár—Körmend route along the Rába River (4.2.5.4), the Szombathely—Kőszeg (4.2.3.1, 4.2.2.3) and Kőszeg—Léka—Kirchschlag (4.2.2.6) routes along the Gyöngyös Stream, the Szombathely—Rohonc route (4.2.3.9) along the Rohonc-Arany Stream, as well as the Szentvid—Szerdahely—Doroszló route (4.2.2.4) along the Szerdahely Stream. This phenomenon was not unique to Transdanubia. It can also be observed in a geographically very different territory such as the Great Hungarian Plain where the main routes followed major rivers (the Danube, Tisza, Maros and Kőrös Rivers²⁰³⁹) thus proving alternative routes of transportation for shipping. (In the territory of County Vas there were no navigable rivers according to my knowledge.)

Árpád Period Transdanubia yields numerous examples of the re-use of the remains of Roman roads at the level of great imperial roads such as the Amber Route, as well as at the level of local roads (*viae rusticae*)²⁰⁴⁰ such as the road running along the right bank of the Sorok Stream mentioned above. These routes were used in the Árpád Period for communication, not simply because they still existed, but because they were situated in the landscape in a way that they also served the needs of medieval people. The natural environment played a greater role in the formation of the Árpád Period road system than presence or absence of Roman road remains, something clearly illustrated by cases where sections of Roman road were neglected in the Middle Ages for hydrological reasons. Crossing places on the Mura River are a good example of such neglect. In the Roman Period there were two different routes between Arrabone (now: Katafa) and Poetovio (now: Ptuj, Sl.): a south-

²⁰³⁹ Cf. Blazovich, “Az Alföld 14-16. századi úthálózatának vázlata,” 52.

²⁰⁴⁰ On the Árpád Period use of three Roman *viae rusticae* see, Derdák and Kiss, “Néhány római kori ‘via rustica,’” 85-94.

bound route through Salla (now: Zalalövő) and Halicanum (now: Sveti Martin na Muri/Muraszentmárton, Cr.) – which formed part of the Amber Route –, and a south-west bound route through Advicesimum (now: Dokležovje/Murahely, Sl.).²⁰⁴¹ Nevertheless in the Árpád Period a third route was developed leading across Muraszombat (now: Murska Sobota, Sl.) and Radkersburg (now: Bad Radkersburg, Au.). The diversion of the route to the west may be explained by the hydrological conditions in the terrain. Namely beside the higher water level of the Mura River and the lower technological level of road construction in the Middle Ages the river could not be crossed at Szentmárton or Deklezsín. Consequently, the location of the river-crossing shifted along with the road to the west where the riverbed was less winding and the river valley was less swampy.²⁰⁴²

In addition to hydrological changes, the abandonment of Roman roads or road sections might be explained by human factors such as differences in the settlement system, or different trade directions. The Roman and medieval links between Savaria/Szombathely and Arrabona/Győr are one such example. The Roman Savaria—Bassiana—Mursella—Arrabona route had long straight sections, which were constructed to pass through the shortest way possible between two settlements and were adapted to the contemporary system of *centurae*. In the Árpád Period, however, this route was no longer in accordance with the contemporary human landscape, explaining why that ancient road was neglected – at least at the levels of provincial and regional communication. To its north, however, a meandering route adjusted to the medieval settlement system and territorial structure developed.

While the natural environment and the remains of the Roman infrastructure strongly impacted the Árpád Period road network, the settlement system existed in a system of mutual feedback with its roads. Roads and settlements mutually reinforced each other. Frequent commercial routes provided nearby settlements with better prospects for taking part in the

²⁰⁴¹ Kiss and Z. Czigány, “A Lapincs—Rába vonaltól délre eső terület,” 714.

²⁰⁴² Kiss and Tóth, “A vasvári ‘Római sánc’ és a ‘Katonák útja,’” 112.

exchange of goods, aided the development of already existing settlements, and encouraged the development of new ones along the route. On the other hand, settlements that were given the right to hold weekly markets attracted buyers and sellers from various parts of their region encouraging the growth of new routes.

The chronological relationship between roads and settlements can, in some cases, be deduced from the morphology of the settlements. Linear villages (Ge. *Reihendorf*) formed along a particular route were characteristically settlements where the inhabitants had been attracted to the location by an already existing road. Zanat, for example, with its regular plan consisting of a single street flanked by a row of houses on both sides developed in the second half of the fourteenth century around the Árpád Period route connecting Szombathely with Győr (4.2.3.3). In certain cases the central part of single-street settlements widened to form an elongated green (Ge. *Angerdorf*) that could provide space for the village parish church. Examples of such villages included Meszlen on the Kőszeg—Sárvár route (4.2.2.2), and Bucusu located on the Szombathely—Rohonc route (4.2.3.9). On the other hand, in the case of dead-end villages (Ge. *Sackgassendorf*), located at the end of a minor road branching off from a main road the settlement generally predated the access road. These settlements could be approached only from one direction because they were enclosed by hills, woodlands, or bodies of water on one side or were located on the borders of the country. The small border protecting communities in the Órség (Ge. *Wart*) developed under such topographical conditions with a commensurately high number of dead-end villages found there.

In addition to mutual reinforcement, roads and settlements could also act in a negative relationship with each other. Military roads, for example, instead of meandering among villages normally led in a direct way across fields, enabling military troops to travel fast and in an unimpeded manner from one location to the other. On the other hand, the frequent movement of military troops was a potential threat to the peace of the villagers, which

repelled instead of attracting them. Settlements therefore developed at a distance from military roads and were normally linked with them by means of local paths (Cf. 4.1.2.1, 4.2.3.5). Similarly, roads could also pass by settlements. Places where tolls were collected, for example, encouraged merchants to find and use illegal alternative routes where they would be exempt from the tax burdens set on their goods.

The agricultural resources of the landscape comprise arable lands where crops were grown, pastures where the domestic animals could be grazed, meadows where hay could be collected for the winter, and woodlands that provided wood and timber. These landscape features were connected to the settlement by means of cart roads and footpaths. Their various types (*csordahajtó út, szénahordó út, erdőlő út*, etc.) were discussed in *Part 2*. Nevertheless, these roads were normally local links that had little relevance to the formation of the long-distance and regional routes in County Vas. For this reason I did not deal with them in *Part 4*.

The most important non-agricultural resource in County Vas was iron ore mined from limonite deposits found near the surface. Mining, smelting, and forging took place in different locations, which had to be connected by roads. First, the extracted iron ores had to be transported to the iron-smelting workshops²⁰⁴³ (Vasvár—Kökényes-dűlő,²⁰⁴⁴ Kőszegfalva—Ablánc forest,²⁰⁴⁵ Csepreg—Tömörd forest,²⁰⁴⁶ etc.), from where the iron blocks were taken to stores. It was from these stores that iron was transported to smithing workshops²⁰⁴⁷ (Kovácsi/Rábakovácsi, Kovács, Csatár/Felsőcsatár in County Zala, etc.).²⁰⁴⁸ The central iron store and the administrative centre of iron production of County Vas – and most probably for

²⁰⁴³ For the process of Árpád Period iron-smelting see Gömöri, *Az avar-kori és Árpád-kori vaskohászat*, 257-269; for metallurgy in Western Transdanubia in the Árpád Period see also Gyula Nováki, “Überreste des Eisenhüttenwesens in Westungarn,” in *Festschrift für Alphons A. Barb* (Eisenstadt: Burgenländischen Landesmuseum, 1966), 163-198; Gustav Heckenast, “Eisenverhüttung im Burgenland und Westungarn im 10. bis 13. Jahrhundert,” *BHBl* 29 (1967): 55-65.

²⁰⁴⁴ Gömöri, *Az avar-kori és Árpád-kori vaskohászat*, 207.

²⁰⁴⁵ Gömöri, *Az avar-kori és Árpád-kori vaskohászat*, 101.

²⁰⁴⁶ Gömöri, *Az avar-kori és Árpád-kori vaskohászat*, 203-205.

²⁰⁴⁷ For smithing workshops in Árpád Period Transdanubia, in general, see, Gömöri, *Az avar-kori és Árpád-kori vaskohászat*, 277-278.

²⁰⁴⁸ Kiss, *Vas vármegye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 283-284.

the whole of Western Transdanubia – was located in Vasvár. This town therefore needed to be connected with settlements involved in iron production with regional routes.

By the end of the twelfth century the parish system of County Vas even developed along the western border of the country.²⁰⁴⁹ Since the parish churches were the religious foci of the neighbouring communities – because of Sunday mass as well as the fact that churchyards were the only place where the dead could be buried – it was inevitable that they were accessible from the villages they belonged to. Accessibility was therefore an important factor when selecting the site of a parish church. That may be the reason why early Árpád Period parish churches were often erected in the vicinity of ancient Roman roads.²⁰⁵⁰ Along the southern bank of the Sorok Stream, for example, in addition to the advantageous geographical conditions the ancient *via rustica* also played an important role in the development in a series of parish churches: the Saint James Church at Ják, the Saint Michael Church at Unyom (now: Kisunyom), the Saint Venceslas Church at Polány (now: Sorokpolány), as well as the church of Szentléránt (now: part of Sorkifalud).²⁰⁵¹ The mutual relationship between religious foci and roads can also be observed with monasteries.²⁰⁵² The Benedictine monasteries of Pornó (12th c.), Kúszin (1157), Dömölk (12th/13th century), Ják (1214), as well as the Cistercian monastery of Szengothárd (1183/84) required a network of regional routes for the management of their estates. In contrast, Mendicant Orders settled in towns using much frequented routes. In Árpád Period Western Transdanubia one finds only two such monasteries, a Williemite (and later Augustinian) monastery in Körmend (1238-1256) as well as a Dominican monastery in Vasvár (1230-1244). They are relatively early foundations each located by a much frequented foreign trade route leading to Italy.

²⁰⁴⁹ Kiss, *Vas vármegye 10-12. századi sír- és kincsleletei*, 282.

²⁰⁵⁰ Kiss, “A történeti Vas vármegye 11-12. századi templomairól,” 385-386.

²⁰⁵¹ Derdák and Kiss, “Néhány római kori ‘via rustica,’” 87-88.

²⁰⁵² For the monasteries below see, Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társakáptalanok*, 21, 32, 39, 47, 53, 62, 72.

Last but not least, the relationship of the road system with the population movements in the region should also be considered. The close relationship between the two is most evident in the western part of County Vas, where with the gradual population of the former marchland one can also reckon with a growing number of roads. In addition, it is also conspicuous that the settlements of the guards (*speculatores*) and archers (*sagittarii*) settled in the region of Felsőőr (*Oberwart*) and in Órvidék (*Wart*) for the protection of the frontier developed along the three main routes that led from Hungary to the Holy Roman Empire, namely the so-called *Katonák útja* (Soldiers' Road) (4.1.2.1), the *Via Theutonica* (4.1.2.2), and the north-west bound road along the Pinka.

4.3.2 Roads on the border: questions of political and military history

Trade and travel along the roads crossing the *gyepű* were under the military control of the royal castles and fortifications. If the enemy penetrated into the county the hostile army could be held up at the fortified gates created across elongated earthen ramparts (at Moson, Kapuvár, Vasvár, Regede, etc.) or by means of artificial floods created with the help of river dams (at Lébény, Kapi, Petlend, Kecöl, etc.).²⁰⁵³ In the first decades of the thirteenth century, however, with the decline of royal power and the change of administrative policy the organization of royal counties and together with that the frontier defensive system started to break up. From the mid-thirteenth century, the process accelerated bringing about fundamental changes in the road system of the territory, as well.

The period between 1270 and 1328 saw the complete dissolution of royal County Vas and the birth of a new noble county. The transformation is marked by factors such as donation of the royal castles' landed properties to noblemen, the ennoblement of castle-warriors (and also some bondmen from the royal castle and guards), the development of lord—noble retainer (*dominus—familiaris/ serviens*) relationships and the donation of royal town's

²⁰⁵³ Kiss and Tóth, "Adatok a nyugat-dunántúli gyepű topográfiájához," 111.

privilege to the county centre.²⁰⁵⁴ The settlers of Vasvár (*hospites nostri de Castro Ferreo*)²⁰⁵⁵ received their privilege from King Ladislas IV in 1279. As a result, County Vas ceased to be under the control of its former administrative and military centre. The territory and the castles of the county gradually fell into the hands of the Kőszegi family and their *familiars*. The private estates that the county was divided into required new links in the form of new roads to their new focal points: the private castles. Furthermore, the emerging private castles affected the road system in another respect as well. With the transformation of the royal county the centrally organized military defensive system of the marchland (Hu. *gyepű*) also dissolved, and the military defence of the frontier was taken over by private castles. The castle system represented a more open defensive system than the strong, in-depth Árpád Period *gyepű*. On the one hand, it meant that the western territory which formerly accommodated only border guards became more densely populated. That process led to the development of new settlements and roads in the western border zone. On the other hand, one could travel more freely across the border zone, enabling the opening of new west-bound roads (especially trade routes).

4.3.3 Roads between central places: questions of economic history

Having now examined the impact of the late Árpád Period political and military changes on the road system, the relationship between the roads and settlements, and changes in them during the late Middle Ages should be examined. As we have seen in *Part 4*, the junctions of the most important long-distance and regional routes of Árpád Period County Vas were tied to five nodal points within the road system: the county's centre Vasvár, as well as Kőszeg, Szombathely, Körmend, and Sárvár. At the same time – evidently due to the mutual interconnectivity between the road network and settlement system – these nodal points

²⁰⁵⁴ Zsoldos, "A vasi várispánság felbomlása," 27-46.

²⁰⁵⁵ UB II, 131-133; EFHU 71-72.

coincide with the most important central places in the county, as well. Before the 1330s, all these places held weekly markets (Cf. Table 3), and with the exception of Szombathely all of them (and only these!) received urban charters from the king: Körmend in 1244,²⁰⁵⁶ Vasvár in 1279,²⁰⁵⁷ Sárvár in 1328,²⁰⁵⁸ and Kőszeg also in 1328.²⁰⁵⁹ It is conspicuous that, except for Sárvár, all of these towns were located along the two most important long-distance Transdanubian routes passing through the county, the Sopron—Muraszombat route, and the Buda—Fehérvár—Veszprém—Vasvár—Körmend route. In addition, it seems to be more than a mere coincidence that Körmend, the first town to receive royal privileges in County Vas, was located at the point these two roads met and where the north-bound route crossed the Rába River.²⁰⁶⁰ Nevertheless, in the fifteenth century, – while Szombathely gained in importance and received privileges from the bishop of Győr similar to that of royal towns (1407)²⁰⁶¹ – the four earliest towns in County Vas lost their former status and shrank back into market towns possessed by lay or ecclesiastical landowners.²⁰⁶²

²⁰⁵⁶ UB I, 210-211; EFHU 38-39.

²⁰⁵⁷ EFHU 71-72.

²⁰⁵⁸ UB IV, 26-28.

²⁰⁵⁹ UB IV, 34-37.

²⁰⁶⁰ Szende, “Towns along the way,” 197-199.

²⁰⁶¹ On the privilege see, Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány, *Savaria—Szombathely története*, 153-162.

²⁰⁶² For the transformation of Árpád Period market-places into villages, market towns and towns by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Major, “A magyar városok és a városhálózat kialakulásának kezdetei,” 76-85.

MAP	MEDIEVAL NAME	MODERN NAME	CENTRALITY ²⁰⁶³	OPPIDUM ²⁰⁶⁴	MARKET
1	Család	Vámoscsalád	4	-	weekly
2	Dobra	Neuhaus, Au.	7	I	-
3	Egervár	Egervár	10	II	annual, weekly
4	Ikervár	Ikervár	4	II	weekly
5	Káld	Káld	9	II	annual, weekly
6	Kovácsi	Rábakovácsi	4	-	weekly
7	KÖRMEND	Körmend	16	I	annual, weekly
8	KŐSZEG	Kőszeg	18	I	annual, weekly
9	Léka	Lockenhaus, Au.	7	II	-
10	Felsőlendva	Gornja Lendava	9	I	-
11	Martonfalva	(abandoned)	5	-	weekly
12	Mihályfalva	Kemenesmihályfa	3	-	weekly
13	Monyorókerék	Eberau, Au.	15	I	annual
14	Muraszombat	Murska Sobota, Sl.	14	I	annual, weekly
15	Pápóc	Pápóc	10	I	annual, weekly
16	Pinkafő	Pinkafeld, Au.	7	I	weekly
17	Rákos	Nagyrákos	8	I	-
18	Rohonc	Rechnitz, Au.	11	I	-
19	Ság	part of Celldömölk	4	-	annual, weekly
20	Sár	part of Sárvár	4	III	weekly
21	Sárvár	Sárvár	14	I	annual
22	Sítke	Sítke	2	-	-
23	Süc	Deutsch-Schützen, Au.	3	III	-
24	Szalónak	Stadtschlaining, Au.	9	I	-
25	Szentelek	Stegersbach, Au.	5	-	weekly
26	Szentgotthárd	Szentgotthárd	6	II	-
27	SZOMBATHELY	Szombathely	22	I	annual, weekly
28	Küszin, Újvár	Güssing, Au.	9	I	weekly
29	VASVÁR	Vasvár	24	I	annual, weekly
30	Vép	Vép	5	I	weekly
31	Veresvár	Rotenturm, Au.	11	I	annual, weekly

Table 4. Central places in County Vas at the end of the Middle Ages (After Kubinyi 1990,²⁰⁶⁵ 328)

²⁰⁶³ The centrality index number of the sites defined by András Kubinyi.

²⁰⁶⁴ The numbers indicate how often the site is called *oppidum* in the written records: often (I), only after 1490 (II), and only once (III).

²⁰⁶⁵ See n. 24.

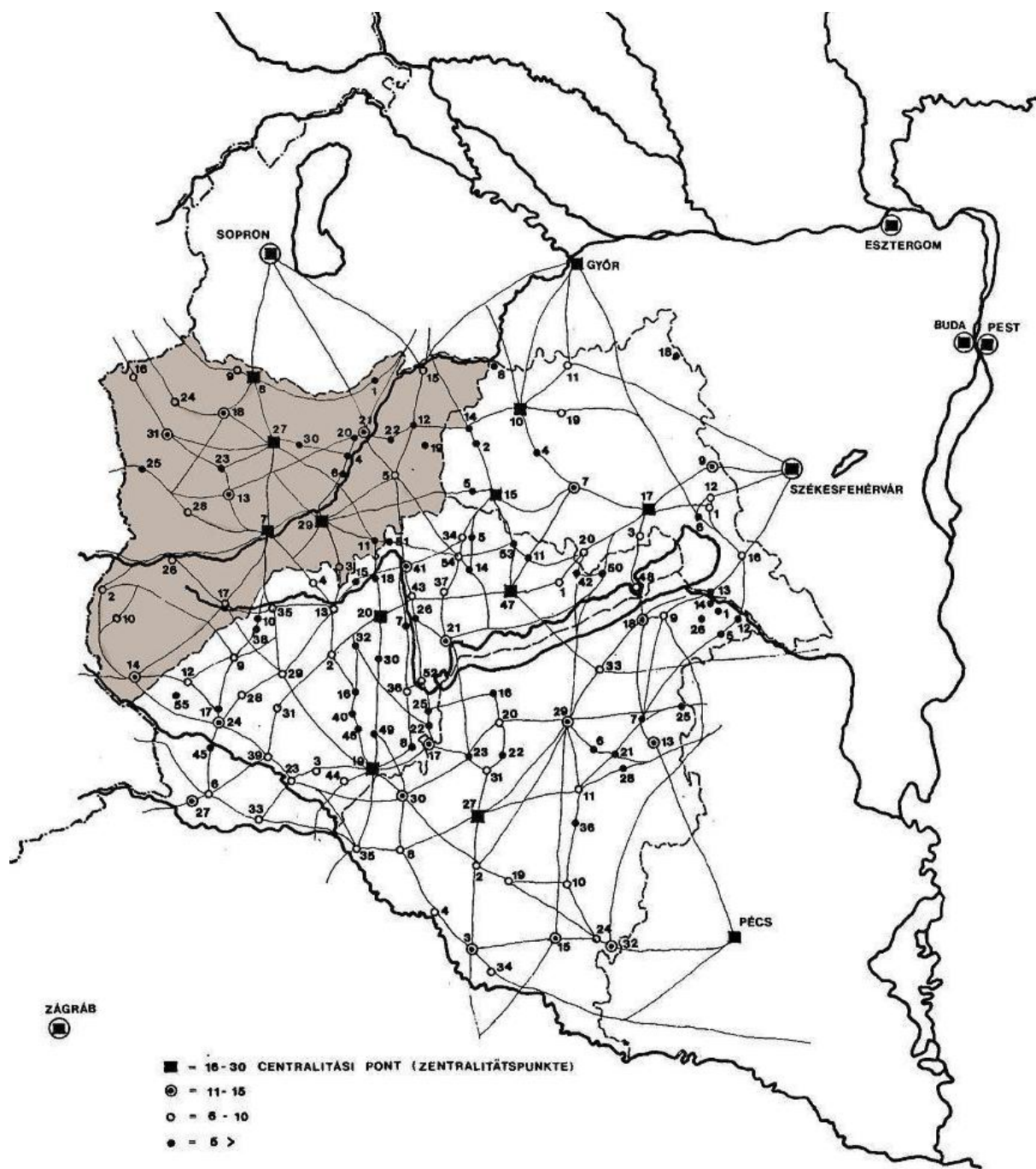
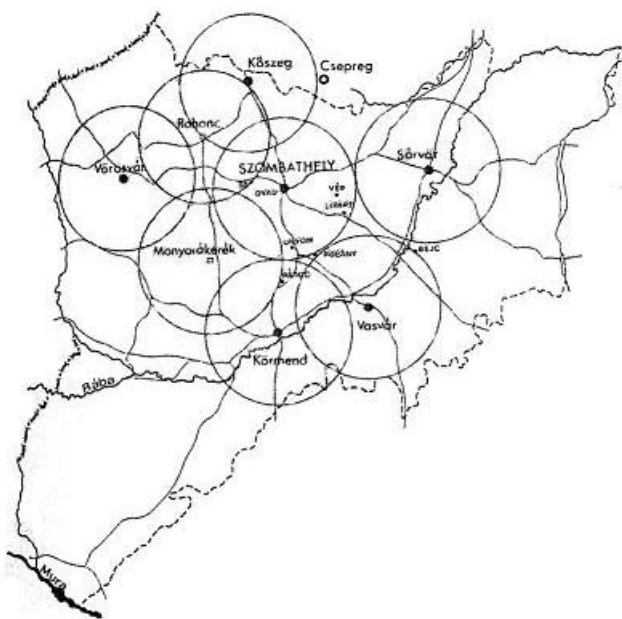


Fig. 64. Central places in fifteenth-century South-Western Transdanubia (After Kubinyi 1990,²⁰⁶⁶ 329) (County Vas is highlighted in grey. For the names of the sites indicated by number see Table 4)

²⁰⁶⁶ See n. 24.

When András Kubinyi categorized the central places of late medieval Hungary from ten points of view – including their administrative, judicial, fiscal, ecclesiastical, and economic functions, legal status, nodal position within the road system, etc. – he could demonstrate that the most important centres of County Vas only attained the level of market towns (*oppida*).²⁰⁶⁷ In his system, where a central place could receive maximum score of 60, the most important market towns of the county proved to be Vasvár, Szombathely, Kőszeg and Körmend with scores between 24 and 16, followed by Monyorókerék, Muraszombat, Sárvár, Rohonc and Vörösvár with scores between 15 and 11 (Table 4). The four most important central places in the county were, therefore, now located exclusively along the two long-distance route mentioned above, and all of them held both annual fairs and weekly markets (Table 4).



	Vasvár	Kőszeg	Szombathely	Körmend	Rohonc	Monyorókerék	Vörösvár	Sárvár	Muraszombat
Vasvár	–	41	25	15	39	26	47	25	65
Kőszeg	41	–	18	41	12	31	27	32	85
Szombathely	25	18	–	25	16	19	29	24	73
Körmend	15	41	25	–	35	15	38	37	51
Rohonc	39	12	16	35	–	22	16	38	75
Monyorókerék	26	31	19	15	22	–	23	40	54
Vörösvár	47	27	29	38	16	23	–	52	66
Sárvár	25	32	24	37	38	40	52	–	88
Muraszombat	65	85	73	51	75	54	66	88	–

Fig. 65. The market towns of late medieval County Vas and their market areas (Kiss, Tóth, and Z. Czigány 1998,²⁰⁶⁸ 163, Fig. 116)

Table 5. The distance between market towns within late medieval County Vas (The data of market towns found within the areas of other market towns are marked in bold)

²⁰⁶⁷ Kubinyi, “Mezővárosok egy városmentes tájon,” 319-320.

²⁰⁶⁸ See n. 354.

Looking at Table 5, it can be seen that the greater market towns of County Vas (i.e. Vasvár, Kőszeg, Szombathely, Körmend) were located approximately 24 air kilometres from each other, while in the case of the minor market towns, the distance was generally 12 to 16 kilometres (Cf. Fig. 65). The latter number corresponded to a *rast* or two Hungarian miles (ca. 16 kilometres) within which Hungarian customary law prohibited the holding of weekly markets on the same day so that the market-places would not hinder each others' development.²⁰⁶⁹ Vasvár and Körmend were, however, located a mere 15 kilometres from each other, which meant that the two towns were mutually competing with each other in economic terms. In addition, the market districts of Kőszeg and Szombathely also overlapped with each other to their mutual detriment (Fig. 65, Table 5).

What conclusions can be drawn concerning the inter-relationship between the road network and the settlement system, and their transformations over time? First and foremost, it must be emphasized again that the most important nodes of the road system coincided with the greatest regional centres. Árpád Period County Vas had five prominent road junctions, four of which developed into towns in the legal sense, and all of which were economic centres hosting weekly markets. West of the Sopron—Muraszombat road no such central places and/or road junctions can be identified until the beginning of the thirteenth century. The formation of focal points in the western zone of Western Transdanubia was hindered by the fact that this territory was sparsely populated for political reasons (it formed part of the marches) and the natural environment (it was a hilly area covered by great forests). With the thirteenth and fourteenth-century transformation of the frontier defensive system that had been laid out in depth one can reckon with a growing number of settlements in a territory formerly inhabited only by border guards. However, the great number of central places that emerged in the second half of the thirteenth century hindered each others development

²⁰⁶⁹ On the term *rast* see, András Kubinyi, "A magyarországi városhálózat XIV-XV. századi fejlődésének néhány kérdése" [Some questions related to the fourteenth to fifteenth-century development of urban networks in Hungary], *TBM* 19 (1972): 39-52, esp. 41-47; Kubinyi, "Mezővárosok egy városmentes tájon," 321-322.

becoming little more than minor market towns. In addition, the Árpád Period towns also lost their significance and shrank back to the level of market towns. Their decline can be attributed to the fact that with the opening of the Semmering Pass at the end of the twelfth century the Sopron—Muraszombat route ceased to be used for transit trade between Vienna and Venice. In the case of Vasvár and Körmend the decline can also be explained by the fact that because of their overlapping market areas they mutually impeded each other's economic growth.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND OUTLOOK

This dissertation deals with the road network of Western Transdanubia (particularly that of County Vas) between the eleventh and mid-fourteenth centuries. Compared to the towns and settlement system, the roads of medieval Hungary represent a rather neglected and understudied field of research in Hungarian historical scholarship. In my dissertation I draw attention to the role that roads played in medieval territorial organization as well as the relevance they had in various fields of life. I have defined the investigated time period in order to gain an overview of the development of the road system from the foundation of the Hungarian state, through the formation of the Árpád Period settlement system and the rise of commercial activities, followed by a period of political, economic, military, and social transformations, up to the mid-fourteenth century.

In the first part of the dissertation I dealt with various types of medieval roads found in Western Transdanubia. As far as possible, I uncovered the meaning of medieval terms used for roads based on contemporary written sources, early modern maps, toponyms, and ethnographic analogies, and investigated the use of these roads in their historical contexts. I concluded the results of my research in chapter 2.10. What should be emphasised here is that the eight main categories of roads and their sub-categories set up for Western Transdanubia in the dissertation, overlap, more or less, with those known from earlier English, German and Austrian research on roads (*Wegforschung*). Similarly, the present characterization of Western Transdanubian roads can be applied as a model for other regions both within and outside Hungary. There may be discrepancies compared to other territories because the landforms, the hydrography, soil types, as well as various human factors fundamentally determined the types of roads that came to evolve in a region. That is the reason why, in western Transdanubia, one

cannot find *Homokhegyuta* (i.e. sand dune road),²⁰⁷⁰ *Vajda uta* (road of the Voivode),²⁰⁷¹ or *Jász út* (Iasian road)²⁰⁷² as in other parts of Hungary. Another explanation for the differences may well be survival of the source-material. For example, in Western Transdanubia, several data exist on the transport of wood from the Árpád Period, which naturally presupposes the existence of timber routes. However, these terms do not occur in contemporary written sources. Similarly, there were evidently numerous corpse roads in use throughout Hungarian Kingdom in the Árpád Period. Still, the earliest extant evidence for such roads appears only from the late fourteenth century.

In the second part of my work I discussed all those landscape features that affected the layout of the road network in Western Transdanubia. I concluded that the formation of the medieval road network was fundamentally defined by the landforms, followed by hydrography, and the ancient Roman infrastructural heritage. The detailed description of my findings may be found in chapter 3.4. Here, I would like to briefly consider the extent to which patterns of medieval re-use and neglect of Roman roads observed in Western Hungary can be extended to other parts of Europe. The Hungarian Kingdom had some long-distance trade routes of ancient Roman origin (the Amber Route and the Danubian *limes* route). Roman roads were also used in provincial and regional transportation (see the medieval salt routes, for example), or served local communication as the boundaries of estates. There were, however, many roads that were completely abandoned. The fate of the ancient Roman road system was, in general, closely connected to that of the towns, settlements, and estates. The territory of Pannonia was abandoned by the Romans in the first decades of the fifth century and the Magyars arriving in the Carpathian Basin in the late ninth century discovered only ruins there left by the Romans. In other words there was no evidence of cultural continuity in the use of these roads. The medieval re-use of Pannonian Roman roads can be best compared

²⁰⁷⁰ 1347: *descenderet ad quandam viam Humukheghutha*, OklSz s.v. “út,” 1035.

²⁰⁷¹ 1366: *ad quandam viam quam uocant Woyadautha*, OklSz s.v. “út,” 1035.

²⁰⁷² 1446: *hinc reuertedo in eandem viam Jazwth*, OklSz s.v. “út,” 1036.

with those parts of Europe where there was discontinuity of habitation between the Roman occupation and the foundation of the medieval state. In contrast, in those parts of Europe that were not abandoned by the Roman/Latin and Romanized population – for example, in Italy and in Gaul – the ancient Roman roads (highways, in particular) remained in active use for centuries after the collapse of the Roman Empire itself. Furthermore, the enduring roads themselves also shaped “the pattern of all subsequent settlement,”²⁰⁷³ and thus had a greater impact on the medieval landscape than in Hungary.

The third part of my dissertation is concerned with the long-distance and regional roads of County Vas dated between the eleventh and mid-fourteenth centuries. I do not intend to repeat my conclusions here; for these, the reader is referred to chapter 4.3. Instead, I would like to address the questions of what is special about the investigated county, and to what extent historical-geographical research on the communication sequences of other regions would require different approaches. The written records I discovered on the Árpád Period roads of County Vas are unevenly distributed both in time and space. The great majority of data come from the second half of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century. Prior to the mid-thirteenth century there are only a few sources that provide evidence of the roads in medieval County Vas which corresponds to the survival trajectories of Hungarian written documents from different periods. The written data are also unevenly distributed in spatial terms. The nodes of the Árpád Period road system are located along the Sopron—Muraszombat route (namely, Kőszeg, Szombathely and Körmend) and east of that (Vasvár and Sárvár). The majority of roads are also documented from the eastern half of the county, which must be explained not so much with the uneven survival of sources but rather with the geographical position of the county. The western part of the county is marked by chains of low mountains belonging to the Fore-Alps and covered with extended, dense forests which

²⁰⁷³ John Bryan Ward-Perkins, “Etruscan towns, Roman roads, and medieval villages,” *GJ* 128 (1962), 389-404, 399.

represented a great hindrance to communication (see chapter 3.4). The other, and more important aspect is that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the territory found west of the line formed by Sopron, Szombathely and Óvár belonged to the marches (Fig. 6 and Table 2) which meant that for strategic reasons only a limited number roads could pass through that region, and even those fell under strict military control. It was only with the gradual dissolution of the marches and the gradual habitation of this sparsely populated territory from the early thirteenth century onwards that a growing number of roads developed there, and new central places emerged at the nodes of these roads (see chapters 4.3.2 and 4.3.3 for details). County Sopron represents a territory that had a road system which possessed the most similarities with that in County Vas since the low mountains, forests and marches together also imposed strong limitations on communication possibilities to the west. In contrast, in counties found in the inner parts, there were no strategic considerations affecting communication routes and the layout of the road network was not distorted by hills and mountains, either. In these latter territories, a more regular layout of the road system should be expected. In addition, other factors must be sought for that fundamentally determined the directions of roads, such as hydrography and economy.²⁰⁷⁴

When collecting data on the road network of County Vas, I came to realize that some of the sources that are generally ready for use in Western Europe were not available to me. For example, medieval itineraries (preserved mainly in connection with the royal household) from which one can reconstruct the routes a traveller could follow in any particular period are available in England²⁰⁷⁵ or Germany,²⁰⁷⁶ but not in Hungary. There are also numerous examples of wooden trackways uncovered in the coastal plains and wetland areas of

²⁰⁷⁴ For the medieval roads of the Great Hungarian Plain see, Blazovich, "Az Alföld 14-16. századi úthálózatának vázlata," 51-61.

²⁰⁷⁵ Frank Merry Stenton, "The road system of medieval England," *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 7 (1936), 1-21; Hindle, *Medieval Roads*, 21-29.

²⁰⁷⁶ Thomas Szabó, "Die Itinerarforschung," in *Die Welt der Europäischen Straßen von der Antike bis in die frühe Neuzeit*, ed. Idem (Cologne: Böhlau, 2009), 85-96.

Europe.²⁰⁷⁷ Such road remains were brought to light at some sites in Hungary (in Counties Veszprém and Zala);²⁰⁷⁸ however, such roads have not been found in County Vas. In general, the lack and availability of sources defined the methodology I could employ for the reconstruction of the road system of County Vas. I fundamentally relied on the data of perambulations as regarded roads, bridges and toll places from the second half of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth centuries. As a follow-up step, I complemented the data from these written sources with early modern maps and data from archaeological sites (Árpád Period churches, castles, and villages). Compared to the study of Lajos Glaser on the “Medieval roads of Transdanubia” the study in this dissertation represents a more in-depth investigation using a greater variety of sources. Using this method I was not only able to identify more roads, but also correct some of the interpretations made by Lajos Glaser for the roads of County Vas.

The modern road network of modern County Vas overlaps to a great extent with the roads that I reconstructed for the Árpád Period because the landforms and watercourses of the county fundamentally defined the most economic routes for travel and transportation. The other reason is that due to their continuous use, the paths of the roads changed only when, and to the extent that the road remained viable. Such transformations took place when, for example, there was a change in the settlement system or in land use. I have been able to identify several Árpád Period routes that were in use throughout the Middle Ages, and continued on into the early modern and modern periods. The most frequented roads turned into postal ways in the eighteenth century, and with the spread of motor vehicles they became surfaced motorways.²⁰⁷⁹ Throughout the centuries, the tracks of roads certainly altered to

²⁰⁷⁷ See n. 103-105.

²⁰⁷⁸ See n. 106.

²⁰⁷⁹ On the development of the roads of County Vas from the eighteenth century till today, see Márton Karoliny, *Vas megye közútjainak története a Borostyánkő úttól az E-65 Európa útig* [The history of public roads in County Vas from the Amber Route to the European Route E65] (Budapest: Építésügyi Tájékoztatási Központ, 1987), 35-107.

varying extents, and during modern road constructions they were modernized (excessively meandering parts were cut through, shortcuts were added, or their path was adjusted along regulated watercourses, etc.), but they were always developed based on what had come before. Less important roads and tracks were sometimes preserved as cart roads. If, however, due to changes in the boundaries of estates the road was ceased to be used, they were ploughed up or were left to be overgrown by vegetation. Yet, even in the latter cases sections of the abandoned roads might be preserved as hollow ways up to the present.

Finally, it must be emphasised that investigation into medieval roads also have real relevance for the future. As Dietrich Denecke formulated it “we have not only to reconstruct and explain landscapes of the past but we have also to make understandable the historical dimension of the contemporary visible past. We have to engage in planning the past for its continuation into the future.”²⁰⁸⁰ The heritage of medieval roads is also about the present as they form one layer of the modern road network. Once the principles that directed the formation of roads throughout the centuries are identified, one can also understand the location and use of modern roads. It is important knowledge that can be later employed in road planning yet to come.

²⁰⁸⁰ Denecke, “Applied historical geography,” 127.

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7. APPENDIX

7.1 DATA ON THE ROUTES OF COUNTY VAS

The tables below hold those written, cartographic and toponymic data that I used for the reconstruction of the Árpád Period routes of County Vas. The order of the routes is identical with that of the description in the main text, and the numbers of the relevant chapters are shown in brackets. Written and toponymic data are arranged topographically, while in the case of early modern maps (geographical arrangement not being possible) the basis for the organization was chronology. In the case of written evidence I refer to the numbers of charters collected in Appendix 7.2.

7.1.1 Long-distance and provincial routes

The north—south bound route (The Sopron—Muraszombat road) (chapter 4.1.1)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
1279	<i>via Suprvniensis</i>	Ágfalva	Sopron	No. 138
1309	<i>magna via</i>	Harka	Nyék; Sopron	No. 142
1225	<i>via</i>	Malomháza; Száka; Barom	Sopron	No. 140
1225	<i>via</i>	Malomháza; Száka; Barom	Barom	No. 140
1240	<i>via magna</i>	Száka	Sopron	No. 144
1263	<i>via Chuzegh</i>	Locsmánd	Kőszeg	No. 143
1225	<i>via</i>	Borsmonostor	Sopron	No. 139
1343	<i>via eteue</i>	Csó	(Csömöte; Ludad)	No. 16
1333	<i>magna via</i>	Pöse	–	No. 102
1221	<i>magna via</i>	Kölked	(Rádóc)	No. 54
1208	<i>magna via</i>	Lendva	–	No. 67
1314	<i>via magna</i>	Kiskolc	Szombathely; Muraszombat	No. 53
1331	<i>magna via</i>	Petanác	<i>Theutonia</i>	No. 96

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA (especially for the section of the road found in County Vas)

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
ca. 1740	<i>“Mappa comitatus Castriferrei...”</i>	<i>Via Postalis Rudera Via Strata Rom. Via Postalis Romanorum Strata</i>	–	OSZK TK 1068
1784	First Military Survey, <i>Col. III, Sect. 6</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 527; HIM B IX a 527
1784	<i>Col. III, Sect. 7</i>	–	–	and B IX a 1116

1784	<i>Col. IV, Sect. 8</i>	–	–	
1785	<i>Col. III, Sect. 8</i>	–	–	
1785	<i>Col. IV, Sect. 9</i>	–	–	
1784	<i>Col. IV, Sect. 10</i>	–	–	
1784	<i>Col. III, Sect. 9</i>	–	–	
1784	<i>Col. III, Sect. 10</i>	–	–	
1784	<i>Col. III, Sect. 11</i>	–	–	
1785	<i>Col. III, Sect. 12</i>	–	–	
1784	<i>Col. II, Sect. 11</i>	–	–	
1784	<i>Col. II, Sect. 12</i>	–	–	
1784	<i>Col. I, Sect. 7</i>	–	–	
1784	<i>Col. I, Sect. 8</i>	–	–	
(1787)	<i>“Plan von denen Existierende Post Stationen...”</i>	–	–	MOL S 12 Div. 18 No. 14:1-2
ca. 1787	<i>“Charte und Tabelle der Strassen...”</i>	a) <i>Von Güns über Steinamanger, Körmend, nach Lövö und Börönd;</i> b) <i>Von Csákány über Sz. Péter, Muraj Zombat, nach Radkersburg</i>	road	OSZK TK 25
a. 1790	<i>“Mappa viarum postalium...”</i>	a) <i>Via Positalis Ginsio Sabariam, Körmendinum, ad Szala Egereszeg et Lövö ducens</i> b) <i>Via Comercialis ex Csákány versus Morócz, Sz. Péter, Muraj-Szombat ad Regede ducens</i>	road	VaML T 19
1785	<i>“Comitatus Castri Ferrei...”</i>	<i>Via Postalis</i>	road	VaML T 132; MOL S 12 Div. 10 No. 10:1-2
1787	<i>“Plan von denen Existierende Post Stationen...”</i>	–	–	MOL S 12 Div. 18 No 14:1
1787	–	–	–	MOL S 12 Div. 18 No 14:2
(1795)	<i>“Mappa Designans cursum Postalem...”</i>	–	–	MOL S 12 Div. 18 No. 58
(1800)	<i>“Cursus Postalis...”</i>	–	–	MOL S 12 Div. 18 No. 63
1827	<i>“Varasdrul Sopronnak...”</i>	–	–	MOL S 12, Div. 13, No. 577
1807	<i>“Dioecesis Sabariensis...”</i>	–	–	VaML T 128
1819	<i>“...auf dem Günser-Hotter befindlichen Post - und Commercial Strassen...”</i>	<i>Oedenburger Post Strasse</i> <i>Steinamangerer Post Strasse</i>	road	MOL S 12 Div. 13 No. 491
1826	<i>“...viae postalis Comercialis Ginsio...Vienam ducentis...”</i>	–	–	MOL S 12 Div. 13 No. 578
1833	<i>“Vas Vármegye”</i>	–	–	VaML T 129
1844	Second Military Survey, <i>Col. XXII, Sect. 52</i>	<i>von Steinamanger</i>	road	HIM B IX a 530
1844	<i>Col. XXII, Sect. 53</i>	<i>von Güns, nach Körmend</i>	road	
1844	<i>Col. XXII, Sect. 54</i>	<i>von Steinamanger, nach Körmend</i>	road	
1853	<i>Col. XXII, Sect. 55</i>	<i>von Steinamanger, von Zala-Lövö</i>	road	
1869	<i>“Vas-vármegye...”</i>	–	–	OSZK TK 1104

The road to the south-west (chapter 4.1.2.1)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
a) Via Latinorum				
1274	<i>Via Latinorum</i>	Halogy	via	No. 26
b) Muraút				
1326	<i>via magna Murauta</i>	Kismákfa and Nagymákfa	Mura	No. 70
1236	<i>via media</i>	Sár	Mura	No. 116
1313	<i>via</i>	Sár	Mura	No. 118

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA (especially for the section of the road found in County Vas)

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
1790	<i>Mappa terrenorum Mizdo et Katafa</i>	<i>Katonák utja</i>	road	OSZK TK 755
1790	<i>Mappa inclyti dominii Vasvár</i>	<i>Katonák utja</i>	road	OSZK TK 1642
ca. 1790	<i>Mappa exhibens situationem terrenorum possessionum Nagymizdo et Katafa</i>	<i>Katonák utja</i>	road	OSZK TK 720
1840	<i>Karte der Vasvárer Herrschaft</i>	<i>Katonák utja</i>	road	OSZK TK 1045

C. TOPONYMIC DATA

Settlement	Field-name	Type	Reference
Kám (S)	<i>Katonák utja</i>	road	VaMFN 511, No. 208/112
Alsóújlak (S)	<i>Katonák utja</i>	road	VaMFN 519, No. 211/153
Csipkerek (N)	<i>Katonák utja</i>	road	VaMFN 519, No. 212/16
Vasvár (S)	<i>Katonák utja</i>	road	VaMFN 528, No. 214/227
Oszkó (NW)	<i>Katonák utja</i>	road	VaMFN 533, No. 216/166
Hegyhátszentpéter (N)	<i>Katonák utja</i>	road	VaMFN 552, No. 226/22
Petőmihályfa (N)	<i>Katonák utja</i>	road	VaMFN 550, No. 225/41
Hegyháthodász (N)	<i>Katonák utja</i>	road	VaMFN 476, No. 188/21

The road to the west (Via Teutonica) (chapter 4.1.2.2)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

1280	<i>pons Raba</i>	Hídvég	–	No. 32
(1286)	<i>pons</i>	Hídvég	–	No. 35
1238	<i>via magna</i>	Lapsa	Vasvár; <i>Teothonia</i>	No. 66
1248	<i>via magna</i>	Csákány	–	No. 10; No. 11
1271	<i>via</i>	Kövesszarv	Csákány	No. 59
1271	<i>via magna</i>	Kövesszarv	<i>Teuthonia</i>	No. 59
1336	<i>magna via</i>	Rönök	Körmend; Fölöstöm	No. 105

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
1785	“Comitatus Castris Ferrei...”	<i>Via Postalis</i>	road	VaML T 132; MOL S 12 Div 10 No. 10:1-2
ca. 1787	“Charte und Tabelle der Strassen...”	- Von Körmend über Vasvár, Baltavár nach Szalabér; - Von Körmend über R. Mihál, Keresztúr nach Fürstenfeld	road	OSZK TK 25
1787	“Plan von denen Existirende Post Stationen...”	–	–	MOL S 12 Div. 18 No 14:1
1787	–	<i>Von Körmönd bis Palota über Sümegh</i>	–	MOL S 12 Div. 18 No 14:2
(ca. 1788)	“Statistische Karte des Raaber-Districts”	–	–	MOL S 12 Div. 11 No 33
1789	Road map of the region of Körmend	- <i>Post Strassen v. Steiirmarck</i> - <i>Post Strassen nach Offen</i>	road	MOL S 12 Div. 13 No. 148
a. 1790	“Mappa viarum postalium...”	- <i>Via Postalis Körmendino versus Raba Keresztur ad Fürstenfeld ducens</i> - <i>Via Postalis versus Vasvár, Baltavár ad Szalabér ducens</i>	road	VaML T 19
(1795)	“Mappa Designans cursum Postalem...”	–	–	MOL S 12 Div. 18 No. 58
(1800)	“Cursus Postalis...”	–	–	MOL S 12 Div. 18 No. 63
1827	“Varasdrul Sopronnak...”	<i>Fölöstömi ut</i> <i>Vasvári ut</i>	road	MOL S 12, Div. 13, No. 577
1807	“Dioecesis Sabariensis...”	–	–	VaML T 128
1833	“Vas Vármegye”	–	–	VaML T 129
1869	“Vas-vármegye...”	–	–	OSZK TK 1104

The road to the north-west (chapter 4.1.2.3)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
1221	<i>via</i>	Perwolf	Pornó	No. 95
1244	<i>magna via</i>	Óvár	Keresztes	No. 86
1331	<i>via magna antiqua</i>	Rödöny	Felsőőr	No. 68
1343	<i>forum</i>	Pinkafő	–	No. 98

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
ca. 1740	“Mappa comitatus Castriferrei...”	–	–	OSZK TK 1068
1784	First Military Survey, Col. III, Sect. 9	–	–	KA B IX a 527; HIM B IX a 527 and B IX a 1116
1785	Col. III, Sect. 8	–	–	
1784	Col. III, Sect. 7	–	–	
1784	Col. II, Sect 7	–	–	

1784	Col. II, Sect 6	–	–	
1784	Col. II, Sect. 5	–	–	
1784	Col. I, Sect.1	–	–	
1785	“Comitatus Castriferrei...”	Via Postalis	road	VaML T 132; MOL S 12 Div 10 No. 10:1-2
ca. 1787	“Charte und Tabelle der Strassen...”	- Von Steinamanger über Petersdorff F.Eör, nach Pinkafeld	road	OSZK TK 25
a. 1790	“Mappa viarum postalium...”	- Via Comercialis Sabaria versus Német Sz. Mihál ad Pinkafeld ducens - Via Comercialis, ex Rohoncz versus Csajta, Pinka Mindszent ad Csákány ducens	road	VaML T 19
1833	“Vas Vármegye”	–	–	VaML T 129
1869	“Vas-vármegye...”	–	–	OSZK TK 1104

7.1.2 Regional routes

7.1.2.1 Vasvár and its region

The Vasvár—Sárvár route (chapter 4.2.1.1)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE: -

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
ca. 1740	“Mappa comitatus Castriferrei...”	–	–	OSZK TK 1068
1833	“Vas Vármegye”	–	–	VaML T 129
1855	Second Military Survey, Col. XXIII, Sect. 55	–	–	KA B IX a 530; HIM B IX a 530
1855	Col. XXIII, Sect. 54	–	–	
1846	Col. XXIII, Sect. 53	–	–	
1857	Újlak, cadastral map	von Vasvár nach Kám	road road	VaML K 11
1857	Nyögér, cadastral map	von Beicz nach Nyögér	road road	VaML K 178
1857	Sótony, cadastral map	von Nyögér nach Sárvár	road road	VaML K 238

The Vasvár—Egervár—[Egerszeg] route (chapter 4.2.1.3)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
1334	magna via	Vasvár	Györvár	No. 65
1266	via magna	Györvár	–	No. 24
1275	via magna	terra Pazaka	–	No. 145

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
1784	First Military Survey, <i>Col. IV, Sect. 10</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 527; HIM B IX a 527 and B IX a 1116
1784	<i>Col. IV, Sect. 11</i>	–	–	
1784	<i>Col. IV, Sect. 12</i>	–	–	
1785	“ <i>Comitatus Castri Ferrei...</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 132; MOL S 12 Div. 10 No. 10:1-2
1795	<i>Mappa designans cursum postalem</i>	–	–	MOL S 12 Div. 18 No. 58
1833	“ <i>Vas Vármegye</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 129
1855	Second Military Survey, <i>Col. XXIII, Sect. 55</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 530; HIM B IX a 530
1855	<i>Col. XXIII, Sect. 56</i>	–	–	
1857	Szentmihályfalva, cadastral map	<i>nach Szálá Egerszeg</i>	road	VaML K 217
1857	Pácsony, cadastral map	<i>von Vasvár</i>	road	VaML K ?
1857	Győrvár, cadastral map	<i>von Vasvár</i>	road	VaML K 73
		<i>nach Egervár</i>	road	
1869	“ <i>Vas-vármegye...</i> ”	–	–	OSZK TK 1104

The Vasvár—Szentgotthárd route (chapter 4.2.1.4)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
1217	<i>via</i>	Vasvár	Szentgotthárd	No. 131
1292	<i>publica via</i>	Döröske	–	No. 20

7.1.2.2 Kőszeg and its region

The Kőszeg—Sopron route (chapter 4.2.2.1)

The road forms part of the Sopron—Muraszombat road, for details see above.

The Kőszeg—Sárvár route (chapter 4.2.2.2)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
1299	<i>magna via</i>	Csó	–	No. 15
1343	<i>via magna</i>	Csó	Kőszeg	No. 16
1343	<i>via</i>	Csó	Kőszeg	No. 16
1348	<i>via magna</i>	Csó	Kőszeg; Sárvár	No. 17
1313	<i>magna via</i>	Paty	Kőszeg	No. 89
1313	<i>via</i>	Paty	Meszlen; Kőszeg	No. 89
1343	<i>magna via</i>	Paty	Kőszeg	No. 90
1343	<i>via</i>	Paty	Meszlen; Kőszeg	No. 90
1272	<i>magna via</i>	Acsád	–	No. 2
1327	<i>via magna</i>	Németszeleste	Magyarszeleste	No. 127
1328	<i>magna via</i>	Ölbő	Sár	No. 87

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
1784	First Military Survey, <i>Col. III, Sect. 6</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 527; HIM B IX a 527 and B IX a 1116
1784	<i>Col. IV, Sect. 7</i>	–	–	
1784	<i>Col. IV, Sect. 8</i>	–	–	
1784	<i>Col. V. Sect. 14</i>	–	–	
ca. 1787	<i>“Charte und Tabelle der Strassen...”</i>	<i>Von Güns über Acsád, nach Sárvár</i>	road	OSZK TK 25
1785	<i>“Comitatus Castri Ferrei...”</i>	–	–	VaML T 132; MOL S 12 Div. 10 No. 10:1-2
1788	<i>Statistische Karte des Raaber-Districts</i>	–	–	MOL S 12 Div. 11 No. 33
1819	<i>“...auf dem Günser-Hotter befindlichen Post - und Commercial Strassen...”</i>	<i>Sárwärer Comercial Strasse</i>	road	MOL S 12 Div. 13 No. 491
1844	Second Military Survey, <i>Col. XXII, Sect. 52</i>	<i>nach Sarvar von Güns; nach Sárvár</i>	road	KA B IX a 530; HIM B IX a 530
1846	<i>Col. XXIII, Sect. 52</i>		road	
1846	<i>Col. XXIII, Sect. 53</i>			
1857	Kőszeg, cadastral map	<i>nach Nemes Cso</i>	road	VaML K 133
		<i>Csoi ut melléke</i>	ploughland	
		<i>Csoi ut allatt</i>	ploughland	
1857	Nemescsó, cadastral map	<i>nach Güns</i>	road	VaML K 168
		<i>von Sárvár</i>	road	
1857	Pusztacsó, cadastral map	<i>von Nemes-Cso</i>	road	VaML K 198
		<i>nach Paty</i>	road	
1857	Nagypaty, cadastral map	<i>von Güns</i>	road	VaML K ?
		<i>nach Sárvár</i>	road	
1857	Kisasszonyfa, cadastral map	<i>von Paty</i>	road	VaML K 114
		<i>nach Meszleny</i>	road	
1857	Meszlen, cadastral map	<i>von Klein Frauendorf</i>	road	VaML K 148
		<i>nach Acsád</i>	road	
1857	Acsád, cadastral map	<i>von Meszleny</i>	road	VaML K ?
		<i>nach Felső Szilvagy</i>	road	

C. TOPONYMIC DATA

Settlement	Field-name	Type	Reference
Kőszeg (SE)	<i>Csoi ut melléke alsó</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 60, No. 6/485
	<i>Csoi ut</i>	road	VaMFN 60, No. 6/544
	<i>Csoi ut alatt</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 60, No. 6/550
Nemescsó (NW)	<i>Postauti-düllő</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 72, No. 11/55.
Acsád (W)	<i>Meszlenyi ut</i>	road	VaMFN 88, No. 19/63
Vasszilvágy (N)	<i>Postaut</i>	road	VaMFN 93, No. 22/1
	<i>Postaut; Országut; Acsádi ut</i>	road	VaMFN 94, No. 22/56
Vasszilveágy (S)	<i>Váti-uti-düllő</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 95, No. 22/96
	<i>Váti ut; Országut</i>	road	VaMFN 95, No. 22/97
Vát (E)	<i>Sárvári postaut</i>	road	VaMFN 104, No. 27/88
Porpác (N)	<i>Váti út</i>	road	VaMFN 247, No. 84/14
Poprác (E)	<i>Csényei uti</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 247, No. 84/17
Csénye (E)	<i>Sárvári ut</i>	road	VaMFN 248, No. 85/46

The Kőszeg—Szombathely route (chapter 4.2.2.3)

The road forms part of the Sopron—Muraszombat road, for details see above.

The Kőszeg—Rohonc—Szalónak—Borostyán route (chapter 4.2.2.4)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
1374	<i>via magna</i>	Rohonc	Hodász	No. 104
1374	<i>Hodazyta</i>	Rohonc	Hodász	No. 104

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
ca. 1740	<i>“Mappa comitatus Castriferrei...”</i>	–	–	OSZK TK 1068
1784	First Military Survey, <i>Col. III, Sect. 6</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 527; HIM B IX a 527 and B IX a 1116
1784	<i>Col. III, Sect. 7</i>	–	–	
1784	<i>Col. II, Sect. 5</i>	–	–	
1784	<i>Col. II, Sect. 6</i>	–	–	
ca. 1787	<i>“Charte und Tabelle der Strassen...”</i>	<i>Von Güns über Rechnitz, nach Schleinig</i>	road	OSZK TK 25
ca. 1788	<i>“Statistische Karte des Raaber-Districts”</i>	–	–	MOL S 12, Div. 11, No. 33
a. 1790	<i>“Mappa viarum postalium...”</i>	<i>Via Commercialis Ginsio versus Rohoncz ad Szalonak ducens</i>	road	VaML T 19
1785	<i>“Comitatus Castri Ferrei...”</i>	–	–	VaML T 132; MOL S 12 Div. 10 No. 10:1-2
1819	<i>“...auf dem Günser-Hotter befindlichen Post - und Commercial Strassen...”</i>	<i>Rechnitzer Comercial Strasse</i>	road	MOL S 12 Div. 13 No. 491
1833	<i>“Vas Vármegye”</i>	–	–	VaML T 129
1844	Second Military Survey, <i>Col. XXII, Sect. 52</i>	<i>von Rechnitz</i>	road	KA B IX a 530; HIM B IX a 530
1844	<i>Col. XXI, Sect. 52</i>	–	–	
1844	<i>Col. XXI, Sect. 51</i>	–	–	
1857	Kőszeg, cadastral map	<i>von Rechnitz</i>	road	VaML K 133
		<i>Rohontzi ut mellett</i>	ploughland	
1857	Doroszló, cadastral map	<i>nach Güns</i>	road	VaML K 134
		<i>von Czák</i>	road	
		<i>Postá uti Erdő</i>	forest	
1857	Cák, cadastral map	<i>nach Güns</i>	road	VaML K ?
		<i>von Rechnitz</i>	road	
		<i>Két út keztü</i>	ploughland	
1857	Szerdahely, cadastral map	<i>nach Güns</i>	road	VaML K 129
		<i>von Poschendorf</i>	road	
1858	Bozsok, cadastral map	<i>nach Szerdahely</i>	road	VaML K ?
		<i>von Rechnitz</i>	road	
1869	<i>“Vas-vármegye...”</i>	–	–	OSZK TK 1104

C. TOPONYMIC DATA

Settlement	Field-name	Type	Reference
Kőszeg (SW)	<i>Rohonci út mellett</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 59, No. 6/464
	<i>Rohonci út mellett</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 60, No. 6/496
Cák (SE)	<i>Rohonci ut</i>	road	VaMFN 67, No. 9/18
Kőszegdoroszló (NW)	<i>Postaut</i>	road	VaMFN 68, No. 10/36
	<i>Postauti-erdő</i>	forest	VaMFN 68, No. 10/29
Kőszegszerdahely (centre)	<i>Rohonci utca (=Kossuth Lajos utca)</i>	street	VaMFN 74, No. 13/26
Bozsok (S)	<i>Rohonci ut</i>	road	VaMFN 85, No. 18/27

The Kőszeg—Léka—Borostyán route (chapter 4.2.2.5)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
1354	<i>via magna; váruta</i>	Kőszeg (Upper Castle)	Léka	No. 57
1279	<i>magna via</i>	Langeck	Kapornok	No. 63 and No. 64

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
1784	First Military Survey, Col. III, Sect. 6	–	–	KA B IX a 527; HIM B IX a 527 and B IX a 1116
1784	Col. II, Sect. 5	–	–	
1784	Col. II, Sect. 4	–	–	
ca. 1787	“ <i>Charte und Tabelle der Strassen...</i> ”	<i>Von Güns über Lukenh., nach Pernstein</i>	road	OSZK TK 25
1833	“ <i>Vas Vármegye</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 129
1844	Second Military Survey, Col. XXII, Sect. 52	–	–	KA B IX a 530; HIM B IX a 530
1845	Col. XXII, Sect. 51	–	–	
1844	Col. XXI, Sect. 52	–	–	
1844	Col. XXI, Sect. 51	–	–	
1844	Col. XX, Sect. 51	–	–	
1869	“ <i>Vas-vármegye...</i> ”	–	–	OSZK TK 1104

C. TOPONYMIC DATA: –

The Kőszeg—Léka—Kirchschlag route (chapter 4.2.2.6)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
1279	<i>strata publica</i>	Léka	Kirchschlag	No. 152

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
1784	First Military Survey, <i>Col. III, Sect. 6</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 527; HIM B IX a 527 and B IX a 1116
1784	<i>Col. II, Sect. 5</i>	–	–	
1784	<i>Col. II, Sect. 4</i>	–	–	
1785	“ <i>Comitatus Castri Ferrei...</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 132; MOL S 12 Div. 10 No. 10:1-2
a. 1790	“ <i>Mappa viarum postalium...</i> ”	<i>Via Commercialis Ginsio versus Leucam ad Steinbach ducens</i>	road	VaML T 19
1819	“ <i>...auf dem Günser-Hotter befindlichen Post - und Commercial Strassen...</i> ”	<i>Libinger Comercial Strasse</i>	road	MOL S 12 Div. 13 No. 491
1833	“ <i>Vas Vármegye</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 129
1844	Second Military Survey, <i>Col. XXII, Sect. 52</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 530; HIM B IX a 530
1845	<i>Col. XXII, Sect. 51</i>	–	–	
1844	<i>Col. XXI, Sect. 51</i>	–	–	
1845	<i>Col. XXI, Sect. 50</i>	–	–	
1857	Kőszeg, cadastral map	–	–	VaML K 133
1869	“ <i>Vas-vármegye...</i> ”	–	–	OSZK TK 1104

C. TOPONYMIC DATA: –

7.1.2.3 Szombathely and its region

The Szombathely—Kőszeg route (chapter 4.2.3.1)

The road forms part of the Sopron—Muraszombat road, for details see above.

The Szombathely—Csepreg route (chapter 4.2.3.2)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
1342	<i>via</i>	Asszony	Szombathely; Csepreg	No. 3
1342	<i>via</i>	Asszony	Szombathely	No. 3
(1263-1270)	<i>via publica;</i> <i>via magna</i>	on the border of Köveskút and Söpte	–	No. 58
1313	<i>via</i>	Paty	Ablánc; Asszony	No. 89
1343	<i>via</i>	Paty	Ablánc; Asszony	No. 90
1255	<i>magna via</i>	on the border of Ablánc and Meszlen	<i>locus Megezorm</i>	No. 1

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
1784	First Military Survey, <i>Col. IV, Sect. 8</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 527; HIM B IX a 527
1784	<i>Col. V, Sect. 7</i>	–	–	and B IX a 1116
1833	“ <i>Vas Vármegye</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 129
1844	Second Military Survey, <i>Col. XXII, Sect. 53</i>	–	–	HIM B IX a 530
1844	<i>Col. XXII, Sect. 52</i>			
1857	Söpte, cadastral map	<i>von Steinamanager, nach Nagy-Asszonyfa</i>	road	VaML K 239
1857	Nagyasszonyfa, cadastral map	<i>von Söpte, nach Kis-Asszonyfa</i>	road	VaML K 151
1857	Kisasszonyfa, cadastral map	<i>von Nagy Asszonyfa, nach Tömerd</i>	road	VaML K 114
1857	Tömörd, cadasal map	<i>von Kis-Asszonyfa, nach Czepregh</i>	road	VaML K 262

C. TOPONYMIC DATA

Settlement	Field-name	Type	Reference
Szombathely (NE)	<i>Külső söptei ut</i>	road	VaMFN 132, No. 37/223
Szombathely (NE)	<i>Söptei ut</i>	road	VaMFN 133, No. 37/241
Szombathely (NE)	<i>Csepregi uti</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 156, No. 37/1270
Vasasszonyfa (S)	<i>Hosszi postaut</i>	road	VaMFN 91, No. 20/89
Vasasszonyfa (N)	<i>Postaut; Országut</i>	road	VaMFN 90, No. 20/50
Tömörd (N)	<i>Csepregi ut</i>	road	VaMFN 65, No. 8/15
Tömörd (S)	<i>Meszleni ut</i>	road	VaMFN 65, No. 8/38

The Szombathely—Lak (—Győr) route (chapter 4.2.3.3)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
1327	<i>via magna</i>	Németszeleste	Magyarszeleste	No. 127
1328	<i>via magna</i>	Egerszeg	Hegyfalu	No. 21
1358	<i>via magna</i>	Egyházasníck/ Laknick	Család	No. 82
1254	<i>magna via</i>	Egyházasníck	–	No. 81
1409	<i>via publica</i>	Lak	Család	No. 62

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
1784	First Military Survey, <i>Col. IV, Sect. 8,</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 527; HIM B IX a 527
1784	<i>Col. V, Sect. 14;</i>	–	–	and B IX a
1784	<i>Col. V, Sect. 13</i>	–	–	1116; VaML T 223
(1785)	Schematic road map of County Vas	<i>Via Jauriensis in bono statu est</i>	road	MOL S 12, Div. 13, No. 68.
1785	“ <i>Comitatus Castri Ferrei...</i> ”	<i>Via Publica</i>	road	VaML T 132; MOL S 12, Div. 10, No. 10:1-2
ca. 1787	“ <i>Charte und Tabelle der Strassen...</i> ”	<i>Von Sz Kuth über Hegyfalu, nach Lak</i>	road	OSZK TK 25

ca. 1788	“ <i>Statistische Karte des Raaber-Districts</i> ”	–	–	MOL S 12, Div. 11, No. 33
a. 1790	“ <i>Mappa viarum postalium...</i> ”	<i>Via Commercialis Sabaria versus Szt Kút ad Ujhíd ducens</i>	road	VaML T 19
1807	“ <i>Dioecesis Sabariensis...</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 128
1833	“ <i>Vas Vármegye</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 129
1844	Second Military Survey, Col. XXII, Sect. 53	–	–	HIM B IX a 530
1846	Col. XXIII, Sect. 53	–	–	
1846	Col. XXIII, Sect. 52	–	–	
1846	Col. XXIV, Sect. 51	–	–	
1857	Zanat, cadastral map	<i>von Steinamanger</i>	road	VaML K 278
		<i>nach Bőd</i>	road	
1857	Bőd, cadastral map	<i>von Steinamanager Ui. Szombat-helyről</i>	road	VaML K ?
		<i>nach Vath</i>	road	
1857	Vát, cadastral map	<i>nach Steinamanger</i>	road	VaML K 273
		<i>nach Also Szeleste</i>	road	
1857	Alsó-Szeleste, cadastral map	<i>von Vath</i>	road	VaML K 7
		<i>nach Folso Szeleste</i>	road	
1857	Felső-Szeleste, cadastral map	<i>von Also Szeleste</i>	road	VaML K 58
		<i>nach Pósfá</i>	road	
1857	Kemény Egerszeg, cadastral map	<i>nach Egerszeg Ivan</i>	road	VaML K 115
1857	Ivánegerszeg, cadastral map	<i>von Egerszeg Kemeny</i>	road	VaML K 92
		<i>nach Vamos Család</i>	road	
		<i>Keresztút düllő</i>	ploughland	
		<i>Keresztut</i>	ploughland	
1857	Vámoscsalád, cadastral map	<i>von Ivan Egerszeg</i>	road	VaML K 271
		<i>nach Repcze Lak</i>	road	
1857	Répcelak, cadastral map	<i>von Vámos Család</i>	road	VaML K 219
1869	“ <i>Vas-vármegye...</i> ”	–	–	OSZK TK 1104

C. TOPONYMIC DATA

Settlement	Field-name	Type	Reference
Szombathely (E)	<i>Zanati-uton-fölüli-düllő (Zanati postauton felüli)</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 137, No. 37/400
	<i>Zanati ut (Szanati posta út)</i>	road	VaMFN 137, No. 37/401
	<i>Zanati-uton-aluli-düllő (Zanati posta uton aluli)</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 138, No. 37/442
	<i>Zanati postauti</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 156, No. 37/1283
	<i>Zanati-uton-aluli-düllő</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 156, No. 37/1291
Zanat (E)	<i>Országuti-düllő (Országuton felül)</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 114, No. 31/35
Nemesbőd (S)	<i>Postaut</i>	road	VaMFN 109, No. 29/30
	<i>Postauti-tábla</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 110, No. 29/126
Vát (W, E)	<i>Országut</i>	road	VaMFN 103, No. 27/58
	<i>Országut (Postaut)</i>	road	VaMFN 103, No. 27/73
Szeleste (E)	<i>Pósfai postaut</i>	road	VaMFN 232, No. 76/113
Hegyfalú (W)	<i>Pósfai ut</i>	road	VaMFN 223, No. 71/98
Vasegerszeg (W)	<i>Országut mente</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 216, No. 66/91
Vámoscsalád (NE)	<i>Laki ut</i>	road	VaMFN 209, No. 62/49

The Szombathely—Ikervár route (chapter 4.2.3.4)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
(1283)	<i>magna via</i>	Vép (near Bozzai)	Szombathely	No. 135.
1240	<i>strata via</i>	Kenéz	Szombathely	No. 52
	<i>magna via</i>		Vép	
1328	<i>magna via</i>	Pecöl (N, near the Gyöngyös)	Sár	No. 94
1237	<i>via magna</i>	Megyhíd	–	No. 72
1328	<i>magna via</i>	Péterfalva (N, NW)	Megyhíd	No. 97

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
1784	First Military Survey, <i>Col. IV, Sect. 8</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 527; HIM B IX a 527 and B IX a 1116; VaML T 223
1785	<i>Col. IV, Sect. 9</i>	–	–	
1784	<i>Col. V, Sect. 14</i>	–	–	
1785	<i>Col. V, Sect. 15</i>	–	–	
a. 1790	“ <i>Mappa viarum postalium...</i> ”	<i>Via Comercialis Sabaria versus Peczöl ad Sárvár ducens</i>	road	VaML T 19
1785	“ <i>Comitatus Castri Ferrei...</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 132; MOL S 12 Div 10 No. 10:1-2
1827	“ <i>Varasdrul Sopronnak...</i> ”	<i>Sárvári ut</i>	road	MOL S 12, Div. 13, No 577
1833	“ <i>Vas Vármegye</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 129
1846; 1844	<i>Second Military Survey, Col. XXIII, sect. 53, Col. XXII, sect. 53</i>	– –	– –	HIM B IX a 530
1857	Vép, cadastral map	<i>von Steinamanger</i>	road	VaML K 276
		<i>Nach Bozaj</i>	road	
		<i>Nach Kenézz</i>	road	
		<i>Vásár uti tábla</i>	ploughland	
		<i>Kenész uti</i>	ploughland	
1857	Bozzai, cadastral map	<i>von Vépp</i>	road	VaML K 23
		<i>Nach Kenész</i>	road	
1857	Kenéz, cadastral map	<i>von Vépp</i>	road	VaML K 117
		<i>von Bozzai</i>	road	
		<i>Kétútköz</i>	ploughland	
		<i>Nach Peczöl</i>	road	
1857	Pecöl, cadastral map	<i>von Kenez</i>	road	VaML K 192
		<i>Nach Sarvar</i>	road	
		<i>Nach Ikervar</i>	road	
		<i>nach Megyehíd</i>	road	
1857	Megyhíd, cadastral map	<i>von Peczöl</i>	road	VaML K 147
		<i>Nach Sárvár</i>	road	
1857	Ikervár, cadastral map	<i>von Megyhíd</i>	road	VaML K 90
		<i>Nach Sárvár</i>	road	
1857	Csénye, cadastral map	<i>von Megyehyda</i>	road	VaML K 34
		<i>Nach Sárvár</i>	road	
1857	Sár, cadastral map	<i>von Steinamanger</i>	road	VaML K 287
		<i>Nach Sárvár</i>	road	

C. TOPONYMIC DATA

Settlement	Field-name	Type	Reference
Szombathely (E)	<i>Vépi ut</i>	road	VaMFN 139, No. 37/512
	<i>Vép-uti-düllő</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 156, No. 37/1298
	<i>Vépi uti</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 156, No. 37/1301
Vép (Centre)	<i>Postaut; Szombathelyi postaut</i>	road	VaMFN 123, No. 36/25
Vép (W)	<i>Vásár ut</i>	road	VaMFN 126, No. 36/178
	<i>Vásár uti</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 126, No. 36/206
Vép (E)	<i>Postaut</i>	road	VaMFN 124, No. 36/59
	<i>Kenéz uti; Kenézi uti</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 126, No. 36/196
	<i>Kenéz uti düllő</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 126, No. 36/210
Megyhíd (W)	<i>Pecöli útra</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 253, No. 87/24

The Szombathely—Rum route (chapter 4.2.3.5)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
1334	<i>magna via</i>	Szöllős	Szombathely	No. 129
1249	<i>magna via</i>	Hermán	–	No. 29
1249	<i>vadum magnum</i>	Hermán	–	No. 29
1259	<i>semita publica</i>	Hermán	Szombathely	No. 30
1249	<i>magna via</i>	Bogát	–	No. 6
1334	<i>via magna</i>	Bogát	Szombathely	No. 7
1249	<i>magnus portus</i>	Bogát (at the Gyöngyös)	–	No. 6
(1279-1290)	<i>publica via</i>	Horó	Rum; Szombathely	No. 46
(1272-1290)	<i>magna via</i>	Császt	Szombathely	No. 46
1274	<i>magna strata</i>	Rum (east of the border with Töttös)	–	No. 108
1274	<i>magna strata</i>	Rum (east of the border with Töttös)	–	No. 109
1274	<i>magna strata</i>	Rum (north of the border with Zsennye)	–	No. 109
1323	<i>via Sabariensis</i>	Rum	Szombathely	No. 111
1313	<i>pons</i>	Rum	–	No. 110
1350	<i>pons</i>	Rum	–	No. 114

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
1785	First Military Survey, <i>Col. IV, Sect. 9</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 527;
1784	<i>Col. V, Sect. 10</i>	–	–	HIM B IX a 527
1784	<i>Col. V, Sect. 16</i>	–	–	and B IX a 1116; VaML T 223
1785	“ <i>Comitatus Castri Ferrei...</i> ”	<i>Via Publica</i>	road	VaML T 132; MOL S 12 Div. 10 No. 10:1-2
ca. 1787	“ <i>Charte und Tabelle der Strassen...</i> ”	<i>Von Steinamanger über Rum, Baltavár, nach Szalabér</i>	road	OSZK TK 25
ca. 1788	“ <i>Statistische Karte des Raaber-Districts</i> ”	–	–	MOL S 12, Div. 11, No. 33
a. 1790	“ <i>Mappa viarum postalium...</i> ”	<i>Via Commercialis ex Rum Sabariam ducens</i>	road	VaML T 19
1807	“ <i>Dioecesis Sabariensis...</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 128

1827	“ <i>Varasdrul Sopronnak...</i> ”	<i>Rumi ut</i>	road	MOL S 12, Div. 13, No. 577
1833	“ <i>Vas Vármegye</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 129
a. 1840	(no title)	<i>Jánosháza—Szombathelyi ut</i>	road	VaML T 5
1844 1846 1855	Second Military Survey, <i>Col. XXII, Sect. 53</i> <i>Col. XXIII, Sect. 53</i> <i>Col. XXIII, Sect. 54</i>	<i>nach Rum; von Steinamanger</i>	road	HIM B IX a 530
1857	Szombathely, cadastral map	<i>nach Rum</i>	road	VaML K 251
1857	Szóllós, cadastral map	<i>von Steinamanger; von Rum</i>	road	VaML K 72
1857	Szent Király, cadastral map	<i>von Steinamanger; nach Hermán</i>	road	VaML K 247
1857	Hermán, cadastral map	<i>von Steinamanger; nach Rum</i>	road	VaML K 70
1857	Bádonfa, cadastral map	<i>von Steinamanger; nach Rum</i>	road	VaML K 280
		<i>Rumi Postauti belső</i>	ploughland	
		<i>Rumi uti I-III</i>		
		<i>Rumipostauti</i>		
		<i>Posta uti felső</i>		
		<i>Posta uti alsó</i>		
1857	Szent Kereszt, cadastral map	<i>von Steinamanger; nach Rum</i>	road	VaML K 71
1857	Táplánfa, cadastral map	<i>von Steinamanger; nach Ruma</i>	road	VaML K 257
		<i>Országuti nyugati</i>	ploughland	
		<i>Országuti keleti</i>		
1857	Nagy and Kajd, cadastral map	<i>von Steinamanger; nach Rum</i>	road	VaML K 101
		<i>Ország uton aluli</i>	ploughland	
1857	Tana, cadastral map	<i>von Steinamanger; nach Rum</i>	road	VaML K 255
1857	Lipárt, cadastral map	<i>von Steinamanger; nach Rum</i>	road	VaML K 137
1857	Szécseny, cadastral map	<i>von Steinamanger; von Kopacs</i>	road	VaML K 266
1857	Kopács, cadastral map	<i>von Steinamanger; nach Rum</i>	road	VaML K 35
1857	Rum, cadastral map	<i>Szombathelyi uti</i>	ploughland	VaML K 222
1857	Kám, cadastral map	<i>von Rum</i>	road	VaML K 104
1869	“ <i>Vas-vármegye...</i> ”	–	–	OSZK TK 1104
1874	<i>Vasmegye úthálózata</i>	–	–	VaML T 214:1 and 4

C. TOPONYMIC DATA

Settlement	Field-name	Type	Reference
Szombathely	<i>Rumi ut/Rumi utca</i>	road	VaMFN 148, No. 37/805
	<i>Rumi ut</i>	road	VaMFN 150, No. 37/895
	<i>Külső-Rumi ut</i>	road	VaMFN 153, No. 37/1112
	<i>Rumi uti első</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 159, No. 37/1499
	<i>Rumi uti második</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 159, No. 37/1503
	<i>Rumi uti harmadik</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 159, No. 37/1508
	<i>Postauti felső</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 159, No. 37/1509
	<i>Rumi postauti</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 159, No. 37/1514
	<i>Postauti alsó</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 159, No. 37/1515
Táplánszentkereszt	<i>Országuti-dűllő; országuti keleti</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 165, No. 40/69
	<i>Országuti nyugati</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 165, No. 40/70
Tanakajd	<i>Ország uton aluli</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 171, No.43/45
	<i>Országuton aluli; Posta uton alól</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 171, No. 43/51
Vasszécseny	<i>Postaut</i>	road	VaMFN 172, No. 44/33
Csempezkopács	<i>Rumi ut</i>	road	VaMFN 179, No. 48/14
Rum	<i>Szombathelyi-uti-dűllő</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 503, No. 204/43
	<i>Római-híd</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 503, No. 204/67

The Szombathely—Körmend route (chapter 4.2.3.6)

The road forms part of the Sopron—Muraszombat road, for details see above.

The Szombathely—Pornó route (chapter 4.2.3.7)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
1238	<i>via</i>	Dozmat (S)	Nárai	No. 19
1257	<i>via</i>	Ják (N)	Nárai	No. 47

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
1784	First Military Survey, <i>Col. III, Sect. 7</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 527;
1785	<i>Col. III, Sect. 8</i>	–	–	HIM B IX a 527 and B IX a 1116
1785	“ <i>Comitatus Castris Ferrei...</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 132; MOL S 12 Div. 10 No. 10:1-2
ca. 1787	“ <i>Charte und Tabelle der Strassen...</i> ”	<i>Von Steinamanger über Pernau, K. Fidisich, nach Burgau</i>	road	OSZK TK 25
a. 1790	“ <i>Mappa viarum postalium...</i> ”	<i>Via Comercialis, Sabaria versus Náraj ad Pusza Sz Mihál</i>	road	VaML T 19
1827	“ <i>Varasdrul Sopronnak...</i> ”	<i>Pornói ut</i>	road	MOL S 12, Div. 13, No. 577
1844	Second Military Survey, <i>Col. XXII, Sect. 53</i>	<i>von Pernau</i>	road	HIM B IX a 530
1844	<i>Col. XXII, Sect. 54</i>	<i>von Pernau nach Steinamanger</i>	road	
1844	<i>Col. XI, Sect. 54</i>	<i>nach Steinamanger</i>	road	
1857	Szombathely, cadastral map	<i>nach Steinamanger, nach Narai</i>	road	VaML K 251
1857	Nárai, cadastral map	<i>von Steinamanger</i>	road	VaML K 167
		<i>Pornóuti erdőök</i>	forest	
1869	“ <i>Vas-vármegye...</i> ”	–	–	OSZK TK 1104

C. TOPONYMIC DATA

Settlement	Field-name	Type	Reference
Nárai (centre)	<i>Postaut</i>	Road	VaMFN 167, No. 42/8.

The Szombathely—Szentmihály route (chapter 4.2.3.8)

A. WRITTEN DATA: –

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
1784	First Military Survey, <i>Col. III, Sect. 7</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 527; HIM B IX a 527
1784	<i>Col. II, Sect. 6</i>	–	–	and B IX a 1116
ca. 1787	“ <i>Charte und Tabelle der Strassen...</i> ”	<i>Von Steinamanger über Petersdorff, F. Eör, nach Pinkafeld</i>	road	OSZK TK 25
a. 1790	“ <i>Mappa viarum postalium...</i> ”	<i>Via Comercialis, Sabaria versus Német Sz.:Mihál ad Pinkafeld ducens</i>	road	VaML T 19
1785	“ <i>Comitatus Castri Ferrei...</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 132; MOL S 12 Div. 10 No. 10:1-2
1827	“ <i>Varasdrul Sopronnak...</i> ”	<i>Német Sz. Mihályi ut</i>	road	MOL S 12, Div. 13, No. 577
1833	“ <i>Vas Vármegye</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 129
1844	Second Military Survey, <i>Col. XXII, Sect. 53</i>	<i>von Gr. Petersdorf nach Steinamanger</i>	road	HIM B IX a 530
1844	<i>Col. XXI, Sect. 53</i>		road	
1857	Olád, cadastral map	<i>von Kis Seé nach Steinamanger</i>	road	VaML K 179
			road	
1857	Kissé, cadastral map	<i>von Nagy Seé nach Steinamanger</i>	road	VaML K 232
			road	
1857	Nagysé, cadastral map	<i>von Ondod nach Steinamanger</i>	road	VaML K 231
			road	
1857	Ondód, cadastral map	<i>Szombathelyi ut</i>	road	VaML K 181
		<i>von Tórony nach Steinamanger</i>	road	
			road	
1857	Torony, cadastral map	<i>von Pinkafeld nach Steinamanger</i>	road	VaML K 261
			road	
1857	Dozmat, cadastral map	<i>von Pinkafeld nach Steinamanger</i>	road	VaML K 39
			road	
1857	Bucusu, cadastral map	<i>von Schachendorf nach Steinamanger</i>	road	VaML K 26
			road	
1869	“ <i>Vas-vármegye...</i> ”	–	–	OSZK TK 1104

C. TOPONYMIC DATA

Settlement	Field-name	Type	Reference
Szombathely (W)	<i>Két-ut-közi-düllő</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 115, No. 37/1219
Sé (N)	<i>Postaut szēr</i>	road	VaMFN 114, No. 32/14
Torony (centre)	<i>Postaut; Felsőőri ut</i>	road	VaMFN 116, No. 33/14
Torony (E)	<i>Szentmihályi ut</i>	road	VaMFN 116, No. 33/18

The Szombathely—Rohonc route (chapter 4.2.3.9)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
1288	<i>via publica</i>	Szenese	Rohonc	No. 128
1374	<i>via</i>	Rohonc	Szombathely	No. 104

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
ca. 1740	<i>“Mappa comitatus Castriferrei...”</i>	–	–	OSZK TK 1068
1784 1784	First Military Survey, <i>Col. III, Sect. 7</i> <i>Col. II, Sect. 6</i>	– –	– –	KA B IX a 527; HIM B IX a 527 and B IX a 1116
ca. 1787	<i>“Charte und Tabelle der Strassen...”</i>	<i>Von Steinamanger, nach Rechnitz</i>	road	OSZK TK 25
a. 1790	<i>“Mappa viarum postalium...”</i>	<i>Via Comercialis, Sabaria ad Rohoncz ducens</i>	road	VaML T 19
1785	<i>“Comitatus Castri Ferrei...”</i>	–	–	VaML T 132; MOL S 12 Div. 10 No. 10:1-2
1807	<i>“Dioecesis Sabariensis...”</i>	–	–	VaML T 128
1833	<i>“Vas Vármegye”</i>	–	–	VaML T 129
1844 1844 1844	Second Military Survey, <i>Col. XXII, Sect. 53</i> <i>Col. XXI, Sect. 53</i> <i>Col. XXI, Sect. 52</i>	<i>von Rechnitz</i>	road	HIM B IX a 530
1857	Szombathely, cadastral map	<i>von Rechnitz</i>	road	VaML K 251
1857	Bucusu, cadastral map	<i>von Roschnitz</i>	road	VaML K 26
		<i>nach Steinamanger</i>	road	
1869	<i>“Vas-vármegye...”</i>	–	–	OSZK TK 1104

C. TOPONYMIC DATA

Settlement	Field-name	Type	Reference
Szombathely (W)	<i>Rohonci postaut</i>	road	VaMFN 131, No. 37/171
	<i>Rohonci-uti-düllő</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 133, No. 37/272
	<i>Rohonci ut</i>	road	VaMFN 136, No. 37/363
	<i>Rohonci-uti-düllő</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 155, No. 37/1218
Sé (N)	<i>Rohonci uti düllő</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 115, No. 32/33
	<i>Rohonci postaút</i>	road	VaMFN 115, No. 32/34
Bucusu (SE, N)	<i>Rohonci-uti-düllő</i>	road	VaMFN 111, No. 30/40
	<i>Rohonci út</i>	road	VaMFN 112, No. 30/43
	<i>Szombatheli ut</i>	road	VaMFN 112, No. 30/105

7.1.2.4 Körmend and its region

The Körmend—Szombathely route (chapter 4.2.4.1)

The road forms part of the Sopron—Muraszombat road, for details see above.

The Körmend—Sárvár route (chapter 4.2.4.2)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
1329	<i>via magna</i>	Mézadó	<i>Villa Salamonis</i> ; Körmend	No. 74
1342	<i>magna via</i>	Rum	Sár; Körmend	No. 113
1323	<i>via</i> ; <i>Kurmendutha</i>	Rum	Körmend	No. 111
1323	<i>via</i>	Rum	Kovács	No. 111
(1263)	<i>via</i>	Rum	Ikervár	No. 106
1255	<i>via magna</i>	Balozsaj	–	No. 4
1328	<i>via magna</i>	Péterfalva	Ikervár	No. 97

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
ca. 1740	<i>“Mappa comitatus Castriferrei...”</i>	–	–	OSZK TK 1068
1784	First Military Survey, <i>Col. III, Sect. 9</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 527; HIM B IX a 527 and B IX a 1116
1784	<i>Col. IV, Sect. 10</i>	–	–	
1785	<i>Col. IV, Sect. 9</i>	–	–	
1785	<i>Col. V, Sect. 15</i>	–	–	
1784	<i>Col. V, Sect. 14</i>	–	–	
ca. 1787	<i>“Charte und Tabelle der Strassen...”</i>	<i>Von Sárvár über Rum Körmend</i>	road	OSZK TK 25
1785	<i>“Comitatus Castri Ferrei...”</i>	–	–	VaML T 132; MOL S 12 Div. 10 No. 10:1-2
1833	<i>“Vas Vármegye”</i>	–	–	VaML T 129
1853	Second Military Survey, <i>Col. XX, Sect. 55</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 530 HIM B IX a 530
1844	<i>Col. XX, Sect. 54</i>	–	–	
1855	<i>Col. XXIII, Sect. 54</i>	<i>v. Körmend</i>	road	
1846	<i>Col. XXIII, Sect. 53</i>	<i>von Körmönd</i>	road	
1857	Körmend, cadastral map	<i>nach Vasvár</i>	road	VaML K 132
		<i>Szecsődi uti felső düllő</i>	ploughland	
		<i>Szecsődi uti also düllő</i>	ploughland	
1857	Németszecsőd, cadastral map	<i>von Körmend</i>	road	VaML K 176
		<i>nach Egyházasszecsőd</i>	road	
1857	Egyházasszecsőd, cadastral map	<i>von Körmend</i>	road	VaML K 408
		<i>nach Molna Szecsőd</i>	road	
1857	Terestyénszecsőd, cadastral map	<i>von Körmend</i>	road	VaML K 48
		<i>nach Molna Szecsőd</i>	road	
1857	Molnaszecsőd, cadastral map	<i>von Körmend</i>	road	VaML K 150
		<i>nach Egyházasszecsőd</i>	road	
1857	Egyházasszecsőd, cadastral map	<i>von Körmend</i>	road	VaML K 45
		<i>nach Vasvár</i>	road	
1857	Hidashollós, cadastral map	<i>von Körmend</i>	road	VaML K 86
		<i>nach Rába Hidvég</i>	road	
		<i>Hidvégi alsó</i>	ploughland	
1857	Rábahidvég, cadastral map	<i>Hidvégi uti</i>	ploughland	VaML K 205
		<i>von Körmend</i>	road	
		<i>nach Molnari</i>	road	
		<i>Körmendi uton aluli</i>	ploughland	
		<i>Körmendi uton felüli</i>	ploughland	

		<i>Körmendi uton felülé</i>	ploughland	
		<i>Molnári uton aluli</i>	ploughland	
		<i>Molnári uton felülé</i>	ploughland	
		<i>Molnári uton fellüli</i>	ploughland	
1857	Molnári, cadastral map	<i>von Raba Hidvég</i>	road	VaML K 210
		<i>nach S. Tomás</i>	road	
1857	Szenttamás, cadastral map	<i>von Molnari</i>	road	VaML K 213
		<i>nach Püspöky</i>	road	
		<i>Molnári ut</i>	ploughland	
		<i>Püspöki uton alul</i>	ploughland	
1857	Püspöki, cadastral map	<i>von Szt Tamás</i>	road	VaML K 211
		<i>nach Rum</i>	road	
1857	Nagyzsennye and Kiszsennye, cadastral map	<i>von Püspöki</i>	road	VaML K 282
		<i>nach Rum</i>	road	
1857	Rum, cadastral map	<i>von Nagy Zsennye</i>	road	VaML K 222
		<i>nach Sárvár</i>	road	
		<i>nach Balosai</i>	road	
		<i>Sárvári uti</i>	ploughland	
1857	Balozsai, cadastral map	<i>von Rum</i>	road	VaML K 15
		<i>nach Megyes</i>	road	
1857	Meggyes, cadastral map	<i>von Rum</i>	road	VaML K 16
		<i>nach Rába Kovácsi</i>	road	
1857	Rábakovácsi, cadastral map	<i>von Megyes</i>	road	VaML K 209
		<i>nach Ikervár</i>	road	
1857	Ikervár, cadastral map	<i>nach R. Kovácsi</i>	road	VaML K 90
		<i>nach Sárvár</i>	road	
		<i>Két út köz</i>	ploughland	
1857	Csénye, cadastral map	<i>von Ikervár</i>	road	VaML K 34
		<i>nach Sárvár</i>	road	
1857	Sár, cadastral map	<i>von Ikervár</i>	road	VaML K 287
		<i>nach Sárvár</i>	road	

C. TOPONYMIC DATA

Settlement	Field-name	Type	Reference
Körmend (E)	<i>Szecsődi úti alsó dűlő</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 443, No. 172/174
	<i>Szecsődi úti felső dűlő</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 443, No. 172/183
	<i>Postaut: szecsődi ut</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 443, No. 172/184
Magyarszecsőd (SW)	<i>Körmedi ut</i>	road	VaMFN 434, No. 167/75
Molnaszecsőd (N)	<i>Fölső-város-ut</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 430, No. 165/41
	<i>Alsó-város-ut</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 430, No. 165/46
Egyházashollós (N) (E)	<i>Két út közö</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 426, No. 163/67
	<i>Hidvégi ut</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 426, No. 163/73
Rábahídvég (W)	<i>Körmendi-mező</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 523, No. 213/92
	<i>Körmendi út</i>	road	VaMFN 523, No. 213/93
	<i>Körmendi-uton-alluli</i>	pasture	VaMFN 523, No. 213/95
Ikervár (N) (S)	<i>Sárvári ut, Postaut</i>	road	VaMFN 253, No. 88/21
	<i>Két-ut-közi</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 255, No. 88/90
Csénye (S)	<i>Ikervári ut</i>	road	VaMFN 250, No. 85/102
Sárvár (W)	<i>Ikervári ut</i>	road	VaMFN 243, No. 82/313

The Körmend(—Lövé) route (chapter 4.2.4.3)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
1274	<i>magna strata</i>	Halogy	Körmend	No. 26

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
ca. 1740	“ <i>Mappa comitatus Castriferrei...</i> ”	<i>Via Postalís Romanorum Strata</i>	–	OSZK TK 1068
p. 1769	Map of County Vas	–	–	OSZK TK 246
1784	First Military Survey, <i>Col. III, Sect. 9</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 527; HIM B IX a 527 and B IX a 1116
1784	<i>Col. III, Sect. 10</i>	–	–	
1784	<i>Col. III, Sect. 11</i>	–	–	
ca. 1787	“ <i>Charte und Tabelle der Strassen...</i> ”	<i>Von Güns über Steinamanger, Körmend nach Lövő, und Börönd</i>	road	OSZK TK 25
ca. 1787	“ <i>Ideal Strassen Charte der löbl[ichen] Szalder Gespanschaft</i> ”	–	–	OSZK TK 26
1785	“ <i>Comitatus Castri Ferrei...</i> ”	<i>Via Postaút</i>	road	VaML T 132; MOL S 12 Div. 10 No. 10:1-2
(1787)	“ <i>Plan von denen Existierende Post Stationen...</i> ”	–	–	MOL S 12 Div 18 No. 14:1-2
1787	“ <i>Kartsa egész csáktornyai dominiumnak</i> ”	–	–	OSZK TK 1048
(ca. 1788)	“ <i>Statistische Karte des Raaber-Districts</i> ”	–	–	MOL S 12 Div. 11 No. 33
(1795)	“ <i>Mappa Designans cursum Postalem...</i> ”	–	–	MOL S 12 Div. 18, No. 58
(1800)	“ <i>Cursus Postalís...</i> ”	–	–	MOL S 12 Div. 18 No. 63
1827	“ <i>Varasdrul Sopronnak...</i> ”	–	–	MOL S 12, Div. 13, No. 577
1807	“ <i>Dioecesis Sabariensis...</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 128
1833	“ <i>Vas Vármegye</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 129
1853	Second Military Survey, <i>Col. XXII, Sect. 55</i>	<i>Von Zala-Lövő n. Körmend</i>	road	KA B IX a 530 HIM B IX a 530
1853	<i>Col. XXII, Sect. 56</i>		road	
1857	Körmend, cadastral map	<i>nach Zalalövő</i>	road	VaML K 132
1858	Nádasd, cadastral map	<i>nach Körmend</i>	road	VaML K 166
		<i>nach Zala Lövő</i>	road	
		<i>Postautra düllő</i>	ploughland	
		<i>Posta utra düllő</i>	ploughland	
1869	“ <i>Vas-vármegye...</i> ”	–	–	OSZK TK 1104
1869	“ <i>Zala vármegye</i> ”	–	–	OSZK TK 666

C. TOPONYMIC DATA

Settlement	Field-name	Type	Reference
Körmend	<i>Híd utca</i>	street	VaMFN 442, No. 172/105
Nádasd	<i>Körmendi ut</i>	road	VaMFN 462, No. 181/37
	<i>Alsó-katafai ut; Ötevényes ut</i>	road	VaMFN 462, No. 181/53
	<i>Postauti-döllő, Posta útra düllő, Postautrai düllő</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 462, No. 181/56
	<i>Lővei ut, Zalalövői út</i>	road	VaMFN 464, No. 181/116
	<i>Postauti-döllő, Posta utra düllő, Postautrai düllő</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 464, No. 181/117
Zalalövő	<i>Postaut-mellék</i>	Ploughland	ZMFN 102, No. 33/144

The Körmend—Küszin route (chapter 4.2.4.5)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
+1157	<i>via regis</i>	Küszin	–	No. 61
1238	<i>via magna</i>	Lapsa	Újvár/Küszin (through Szentkirály)	No. 66

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
1771	“Mappa du territoire de Körmend et des villages...”	<i>Chemin de Guissing</i>	Road	OSZK TK 1659
1784	First Military Survey, <i>Col. III, Sect. 9</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 527; HIM B IX a 527
1784	<i>Col. II, Sect. 8</i>	–	–	and B IX a 1116
ca. 1787	“ <i>Charte und Tabelle der Strassen...</i> ”	<i>Von Körmend über Német Ujvár nach Burgau</i>	road	OSZK TK 25
1785	“ <i>Comitatus Castris Ferrei...</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 132; MOL S 12 Div. 10 No. 10:1-2
1833	“ <i>Vas Vármegye</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 129
1853	Second Military Survey, <i>Col. XXII, Sect. 55</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 530
1853	<i>Col. XXI, Sect. 55</i>	–	–	HIM B IX a 530
1857	Körmend, cadastral map	von Güssing	road	VaML K 132
		Ujvary uti felső, kezep et also düllő	ploughland	
1857	Horvátnádajla, cadastral map	von Körmend	road	VaML K 88
		nach Güssing	road	
1857	Magyarnádajla, cadastral map	nach Körmend	road	VaML K 144
		von Vasallya	road	
1858	Vasalja, cadastral map	nach Körmend	road	VaML K 265
		von Güssing	road	
1858	Pinkamindszent, cadastral map	nach Körmend	road	MOL ?
		von Güssing	road	
1869	“ <i>Vas-vármegye...</i> ”	–	–	OSZK TK 1104

C. TOPONYMIC DATA

Settlement	Field-name	Type	Reference
Körmend (W)	<i>Újvári úti felső közép, Németújvári úti felső közép</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 443, No. 172/211
	<i>Németújvári hosszú felső.</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 443, No. 172/212

7.1.2.5 Sárvár and its region

The Sárvár—Lak(—Kapunvár) route (chapter 4.2.5.1)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
1340	<i>magna via</i>	Paty	Sárvár; Kapunvár	No. 93
1293	<i>strata</i>	Bogyoszló	Sömjén; Jákfalva	No. 8
1337	<i>magna via</i>	Paty	Sárvár; Jákfalva	No. 92
1409	<i>strata publica</i>	Lak	Nick	No. 62

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
1784	First Military Survey, <i>Col. V, Sect. 14</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 527; HIM B IX a 527 and B IX a 1116
1784	<i>Col. V, Sect. 13</i>	–	–	
1784	<i>Col. V, Sect. 12</i>	–	–	
1784	<i>Col. V, Sect. 11</i>	–	–	
1833	“ <i>Vas Vármegye</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 129
1846	Second Military Survey, <i>Col. XXIII, Sect. 53</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 530 HIM B IX a 530
1846	<i>Col. XXIII, Sect. 52</i>	–	–	
1846	<i>Col. XXIV, Sect. 52</i>	–	–	
1846	<i>Col. XXIV, Sect. 51</i>	–	–	
1845	<i>Col. XXIV, Sect. 50</i>	–	–	
1857	Rábasömjén, cadastral map	von Sárvár	road	VaML K 212
1857	Alsópaty, cadastral map	nach Sárvár	road	VaML K 4
1857	Felsőpaty, cadastral map	von Sárvár	road	VaML K 56
		nach Kövesd	road	
1857	Rábakövesd, cadastral map	von Felsőpaty	road	MOL ?
		nach Jákfa	road	
		Jákfai utcza	ploughland	
1857	Jákfa, cadastral map	von Rábakövesd	road	VaML K 98
1857	Terestyénfa, cadastral map	nach Urai-Ujfalu	road	VaML K 96
		Két utközi	ploughland	
1857	Urajújfalu, cadastral map	von Sárvár	road	VaML K 263
		nach Niczk	road	
1857	Nick, cadastral map	von Uraj Ujfalu	road	VaML K 177
		Nach Répcze Lak	road	
1857	Répcelak, cadastral map	von Nick	road	VaML K ?
		nach Csánig	road	

C. TOPONYMIC DATA

Settlement	Field-name	Type	Reference
Rábasömjén	<i>Sárvári utca</i>	street	VaMFN 213, No. 80/17
Rábapaty	<i>Nagy út föle</i>	ploughland	VaMFN 236, No. 79/46
Jákfa	<i>Patyi ut</i>	road	VaMFN 228, No. 73/156
Uraiújfalu	<i>Sárvári utca</i>	street	VaMFN 213, No. 65/13
	<i>Nicki út</i>	street	VaMFN 213, No. 65/26
Nick	<i>Ujfalusi ut</i>	road	VaMFN 205, No. 60/69

The Sárvár—Dömölk(—Pápa) route (chapter 4.2.5.2)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
1268	<i>magna via</i>	Simonyi	–	No. 121
1307	<i>magna via</i>	Szalók	–	No. 147
1347	<i>magna via publica</i>	Dereske	–	No. 146

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
1784	First Military Survey, <i>Col. V, Sect. 14</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 527; HIM B IX a 527 and B IX a 1116
1783	<i>Col. VI, Sect. 16</i>	–	–	
1783	<i>Col. VII, Sect. 15</i>	–	–	
ca. 1787	“ <i>Charte und Tabelle der Strassen...</i> ”	<i>Von Steinamanger über Sárvár, Merse, nach Pápa</i>	road	OSZK TK 25
1785	“ <i>Comitatus Castri Ferrei...</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 132; MOL S 12 Div. 10 No. 10:1-2
1787 ?	“ <i>Plan von denen Existirende Post Stationen...</i> ”	–	–	S 12 Div. 18, No. 14:1-4
ca. 1788	“ <i>Statistische Karte des Raaber-Districts</i> ”	–	–	MOL S 12, Div. 11, No. 33
(1800)	“ <i>Cursus Postalís...</i> ”	–	–	MOL S 12 Div. 18 No. 63
1807	“ <i>Dioecesis Sabariensis...</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 128
1833	“ <i>Vas Vármegye</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 129
1846	Second Military Survey, <i>Col. XXIII, Sect. 53</i>	nach Pápa	road	KA B IX a 530 HIM B IX a 530
1846	<i>Col. XIV, Sect. 53</i>	von Steinamanger; nach Pápa	road	
1846	<i>Col. XXIV, Sect. 52</i>	–	–	
1846	<i>Col. XV, Sect. 52</i>	–	–	
1857	Nagysítke, cadastral map	von Sárvár	road	VaML K 163
		nach Klein Zell	road	
1857	Simonyi, cadastral map	von Sárvár	road	VaML K 162
		nach Zell	road	
1857	Tokorcs, cadastral map	von Sárvár	road	VaML K 259
		nach Klein Zell	road	
1857	Nemesdömölk, cadastral map	von Sárvár	road	VaML K 27
		nach Pápa	road	
1857	Kiscell, cadastral map	non Sárvár	road	VaML K 28
		nach Pápa	road	
1857	Merse, cadastral map	von Klein Zell	road	VaML K 149
		nach Pápa	road	
1869	“ <i>Vas-vármegye...</i> ”	–	–	OSZK TK 1104

C. TOPONYMIC DATA

Settlement	Field-name	Type	Reference
Nagysimonyi	<i>Postaut</i>	street	VaMFN 315, No. 113/1
Mersevát	<i>Posatút</i>	Street	VaMFN 308, No. 110/3

The Sárvár—Karakó route (chapter 4.2.5.3)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
1349	<i>via magna</i>	Somlyó	–	No. 122
1356	<i>magna via</i>	Somlyó	Káld	No. 123
1257	<i>via magna</i>	Karakó	–	No. 50
1328	<i>tributum</i>	Karakó	–	No. 120

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
1784	First Military Survey, <i>Col. V, Sect. 14</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 527; HIM B IX a 527 and B IX a 1116
1784	<i>Col. V, Sect. 15</i>	–	–	
1784	<i>Col. VI, Sect. 17</i>	–	–	
1784	<i>Col. VI, Sect. 18</i>	–	–	
1785	“ <i>Comitatus Castri Ferrei...</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 132; MOL S 12 Div. 10 No. 10:1-2
ca. 1787	“ <i>Charte und Tabelle der Strassen...</i> ”	<i>von Sárvár nach Jánosháza</i>	road	OSZK TK 25
1833	“ <i>Vas Vármegye</i> ”	–	–	VaML T 129
1846	Second Military Survey, <i>Col. XXIII, Sect. 53</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 530 HIM B IX a 530
1846	<i>Col. XXIV, Sect. 53</i>	–	–	
1846	<i>Col. XXIV, Sect. 54</i>	–	–	
1857	Gérce, cadastral map	von Sárvár	road	VaML K 62
		nach Káld	road	
1857	Kis-Somlyó, cadastral map	von Sárvár	road	VaML K 120
		nach Jánosháza	road	
1857	Jánosháza, cadastral map	von Sárvár	road	VaML K 99
		nach Sümeg	road	
1857	Karakó, cadastral map	von Jánosháza	road	VaML K ?
1869	“ <i>Vas-vármegye...</i> ”	–	–	OSZK TK 1104

C. TOPONYMIC DATA: –

The Sárvár—Körmend route (chapter 4.2.5.4)

See under the Körmend—Sárvár route above (chapter 4.2.4.2)

The Sárvár—Kőszeg route (chapter 4.2.5.5)

See under the Kőszeg—Sárvár route above (chapter 4.2.2.2).

The Sárvár—Kál(—Sopron(route (chapter 4.2.5.6)

A. WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Date	Term	Location	Terminal	Source
1291	<i>magna via</i>	Cenk	Sárvár; Sopron	No. 141
1337	<i>magna via</i>	Paty	Hegfalu; Sömjén	No. 92
1238	<i>via magna</i>	Zsédeny	–	No. 137

B. CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Date	Map	Inscription	Type	Provenance
ca. 1740	" <i>Mappa comitatus Castriferrei...</i> "	–	–	OSZK TK 1068
ca. 1769	<i>Comitatus Castriferensis</i>	–	–	OSZK TK 246
1784 1784 1784 1784	First Military Survey, <i>Col. V, Sect. 14</i> <i>Col. V, Sect. 13</i> <i>Col. IV, Sect. 7</i> <i>Col. IV, Sect. 6</i>	–	–	KA B IX a 527; HIM B IX a 527 and B IX a 1116
ca. 1787	" <i>Charte und Tabelle der Strassen...</i> "	<i>Von Sárvár über Paty nach Kál</i>	road	OSZK TK 25
1785	" <i>Comitatus Castri Ferrei...</i> "	–	–	VaML T 132; MOL S 12 Div. 10 No. 10:1-2
1833	" <i>Vas Vármegye</i> "	–	–	VaML T 129
1846 1846 1845 1845 1845 1845	Second Military Survey, <i>Col. XXIII, Sect. 53</i> <i>Col. XXIII, Sect. 52</i> <i>Col. XXIII, Sect. 51</i> <i>Col. XXIII, Sect. 50</i> <i>Col. XXII, Sect. 50</i> <i>Col. XXII, Sect. 49</i>	– von Sárvár; von Ödenburg – – – –	– road – – – –	KA B IX a 530 HIM B IX a 530
1857	Rábasömjén, cadastral map	von Sárvár nach Zsédény	road road	VaML K 212
1857	Rábabogyoszló, cadastral map	von Sárvár/von Rábasömjén nach Sajtoskál Nagyútföli	road road ploughland	MOL ?
1857	Alsópaty, cadastral map	nach Sárvár von Ödenburg	road road	VaML K 4
1857	Felsőpaty, cadastral map	von Sárvár nach Ödenburg	road road	VaML K 56
1857	Zsédény, cadastral map	nach Sárvár von Ödenburg Kövesdi út Rába uti	road road ploughland ploughland	VaML K 281
1857	Hegyfalú, cadastral map	von Ödenburg nach Sárvár Ország uton túli	road road ploughland	VaML K ?
1857	Pórládony, cadastral map	nach Sárvár von Sajtoskál Ország uti	road road ploughland	MOL
1869	" <i>Vas-vármegye...</i> "	–	–	OSZK TK 1104

C. TOPONYMIC DATA

Settlement	Field-name	Type	Reference
Rábasömjén	<i>Sárvári utca</i>	street	VaMFN 237, No. 80/17
Zsédény	<i>Postaút</i>	road	VaMFN 228, No. 74/1

7.2 CHARTERS

The present part of the Appendix holds those products of pragmatic literacy (perambulations, letters of donation, and letters of division, in particular) that yield data on the long-distance and regional routes of County Vas. I made an attempt to collect all the relevant sources dated between 1000 and 1350. The documents are organized topographically (by counties and settlements) and within that in chronological order. Each item begins with the date and short summary of the charter's content, followed by the relevant detail of the document. In this latter main part the topographical names are highlighted in bold letters, while the references to roads, bridges, and tolls are bold and underlined. Each section concludes with the data of the charter: name of the archives where the document is kept, the serial number, survival form, as well as references to its edition(s) and regesta(s). In addition, for the toponyms I provided references to the topographical collections of Dezső Csánki, István Herényi, and György Györffy.

7.2.1 County Vas

Ablánc (now: ploughland, part of Csepreg, C. Vas)
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No. 1

9 February 1255: On the instruction of King Béla, Omodeus bishop of Győr puts Georgius son of Olper in possession of a landed property found at Ablánc in County Vas (*Oblanch...in comitatu Castris Ferrei*) and describes its boundaries.

*“Prima meta incipit ab occidente, ubi sunt tres mete iuxta magnam viam, quarum una separat terram **ville Mezlen**, secunda **terram Iohance filii Salomonis**, in tertia vero inchoatur eadem **terra Oblanch**; deinde per eandem viam vadit versus septemtrionem ad quendam locum qui **Megezorm** nominatur et ibi sunt due mete antique iuxta **rivulum Oblanch** et per eundem rivulum vadit versus orientem et pervenit ad quendam vallem que **Ozy Oblanch** nominatur et ibi sunt due mete et per eandem vallem vadit versus septemtrionem et ibi sunt tres mete, quarum una separat **terram Chepereg**, altera terram **castris Luchman**...”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 40036

Survival form: original

Edition: UB I, 238; HO I, 30-31; W. VII. 400.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Ablancz,” 731-732; Cs. II, s.v. “Meszlen,” 775.

No. 2

3 August 1272: King Stephen V. confirms Comes Ioanka son of Salomon from Köveskút (*de Kueskuth*) in possession of a forest near Acsád (*villa Achad*) that the castle-warriors of Vasvár (*Castri Ferrei*) wanted to deprive him of. The boundaries of the forest are as follows:

“Prima incipit in valle et tenet metas in ascendendo remanente silva eidem I(oanche), donec veniat per metas interpositas ad terminum terre Crispini cum villa Achad versus orientem; deinde tendit ad meridiem ad terminum terre Sancti Nicolai de villa Siluag; abhinc versus meridiem vadit ad terminum terre ville Suran, unde vero tendit ad occidentem ad inferioerum partem vallis prenotate ad locum putei et deinde per longitudinem duorum iugerum terre ascendit ad occidentem; inde flectitur parum versus meridiem; deinde reflectitur ad occidentem et pervenitur ad viam iuxta montem, qui est dicti Ioanche; inde parum flectitur per [ipsam] viam ad meridiem; deinde versus occidentem ad aquam Kueskuth ad inferiorem partem piscine, que est Ioanche; inde directe ascendit ad magnam viam, deinde per eandem viam flectitur ad [orientem] per iacturam unius sagitte; abhinc vadit ad vallem directe, cuius dimidia pars cedit in partem Ioanche et dimidia ville Supta; deinde per eandem vallem vadit ad aquilonem ad term[inum t]erre generacionis eiusdem Ioanche et sic terminatur.”

Archives, serial number: VaML 205 = MOL DF 261724

Survival form: original

Edition: UB III, 279.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Acsád,” 732; Cs. II, s.v. “Söpte,” 794.

No. 3

20 August 1342: In the presence of the Vasvár chapter the grandchildren of Duruzlaus of Rum divide among themselves their properties in Rum, Bodorfölde, Balozsaj, Töttös, Asszony, Csákány (C. Vas), Igrici (C. Zala), and *Bakua* beyond the Drava.

When dividing their properties in Asszony mention is made, among other things, about the estate found between the lands belonging to the noblemen of Köveskút and the road leading from Szombathely to Csepreg (*terram... inter terras nobilium de Kveskut et viam qua de Sabaria itur in Chepereg*); <403> an estate located between the road leading to Csepreg from Szombathely and the Mill road (*terra... inter ipsam viam qua itur in Chepereg de Sabaria et viam Molunuta vocatam*); an estate found south of the Mill road (*terra Ryuiddulew vocata infra viam molendinariam a meridie adiacente*), as well as an estate that was found between the road leading from Asszony to Szombathely and the borders of Köveskút (*terra... que est inter viam qua de ipsa villa pergunt in Sabariam et metas terre Kueskut*).

Archives, serial number: -

Survival form: lost

Edition: Zala vm. I, 402-403.

Regesta: UB IV, 348.

Toponyms: Cs. III, s.v. “Asszony(-falva),” 734; Cs. II, s.v. “Csepreg (Csepereg),” 590; Cs. II, s.v. “Köveskut,” 768.

Balozsaj (now: Balozsa, part of Meggyeskovács, C. Vas)

No. 4

1255 (before 13 May): The Vasvár chapter reports to Rolandus, palatine (*palatinus*) and *comes* of Pressburg, on the dimensions and boundaries of an estate called Balozsaj (*terra Bolosey*).

*“Cuius terre latitudo est ex parte **Rabe** mensurata tali fune, qui continet triginta tres amplexus, decem et octo funes et viginti amplexus, postea autem mensurata in via magna tenet octo ligaturas et octo amplexus, longitudo vero eius quinquaginta tres funes continet.”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 49586
Survival form: transcription, 13 May 1255
Edition: UB I, 243; HO VIII, 60.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Balazse(j),” 735.

Bér (now: Bérbaltavár, C. Vas)

No. 5

11 April 1416: In front of the Vasvár chapter Melchior, son of Emericus, of Bér (*de Byr*) as well as Petrus and Laurencius, sons of Georgius, divide among themselves their landed properties at Töttösbér (*poss. Thewthewsbyr*), Hegyesbér (*poss. Heegyesbyr*) and Átalbér (*poss. Althalbyr*), as well as their estate called Dorog (*poss. Dorog*).

When describing the division of Dorog the document refers to a landed property located by the road leading from Bér to Olaszka: *tredecim jugerum terrarum... penes quandam viam, per quam itur de dicta possessione Byr in Olozka.*

Archives, serial number: VaML 1019 = MOL DF 262477
Survival form: transcription, 3 July 1466
Edition: VSz 25 (1971): 299.
Regesta: Zs.V, No. 1769.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Bir,” 737.

Bogát (now: Bogát, part of Szombathely, C. Vas)

No. 6

1249: The Vasvár chapter testifies to that the landed property belonging to the sons of Hertinig (of the Hermán kindred) has been perambulated and separated from Bogát – the estate belonging to the wife of Bartolomeus – by the following boundaries:

*“Prima meta circuit **insulam unam**, que est filiorum Hertinig... tendit ad occidentem... veniet ad magnam viam; deinde vadit ad finem virgulti uxoris Bertolo[mei] et revertitur iterum ad finem virgulti Benc; de fine virgulti illius tendens in una herbida via tenet metas cum ecclesia [Sancti Regis] prenotata usque ad Polan et ad terram Polan perveniens tendit iterum ad orientem... veniet ad Gungus et ibi iuxta Gungus habent metas apud unam magnum portum et ibi in medio terre illius habent unam domum molendini, in qua sunt due rote et ibi mete finiuntur.”*

Archives, serial number: VaML 115 = MOL DF 261636

Survival from: original

Edition: UB III, 262.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Bogát," 737; Cs. II, s.v. "Polyán (Polán, Polány)," 786.

No. 7

18 October 1334: The Vasvár chapter reports to King Charles I that in accordance with his order the boundaries of Bogát (*possessio Bagath*) located by the Gyöngyös Stream were perambulated, and the listed landowners were put in possession of the estate.

"Prima meta incipit in fluvio Gwngus et exit ad aquilonem... tendit versus aquilonem, non longe eundo salit unam viam, modicum circumflectitur ad orientem... salit semitam unam et currit usque ad viam magnam, qua itur in Sabariam, iuxta quam a meridie sunt due mete terree; transeundo viam modicum girat ad orientem, pervenit ad unam metam terream, de qua itur adhuc versus aquilonem iuxta unam viam, qua itur in Wep... ingreditur... versus meridiem, cadit in fluvium Gwngus... in quo fluvio Gyngws versus meatum eiusdem longe currit, pervenit ad locum principalem ibique terminatur."

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 101845

Survival form: transcription, 24 April 1336

Edition: UB IV, 181.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Bogát," 737; Cs. II, s.v. "Vép," 731.

Bogyoszló (now: Rábabogyoszló, part of Rábapaty, C. Vas)

No. 8

15 March 1293: The Vasvár chapter records that Nicolaus son of Egidius of Bogyoszló (*de Buguzlou*) appeared before the chapter and related that on his death-bed the late husband of his sister called Muthmerius sold Petrus son of Symon of Paty (*de Pogh*) an estate located on both sides of the road that connects Jákfalva (*Iaak*) and Sömjén (*Zymean*).

"...duodecim iugera terre sue hereditarie, sex videlicet iuxta stratam, qua de Zymean itur in Iaak a parte Rabe...reliqua vero sex supra eandem stratam ab occidente existencia..."

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 3926

Survival form: original

Edition: UB II, 278; HO VIII, 321-322.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Bogyoszló," 737-738; Cs. II, s.v. "Ják(-falva)," 759.; Cs. II, s.v. "Semjén (a)," 792.

Bolda(földe) (now: unknown)

No. 9

5 June 1330: The Vasvár chapter reports to King Charles I that by his order the boundaries of Boldafölde (*possessio Boldafelde*) has been perambulated, and the sons of Dinonyisius of Köcsk (*Kuchk*) as well as the sons of Alexander of Hethye have been put in possession of the landed property.

"Prima meta incipit in quadam via iuxta vicinitatem Martini filii Danielis de Kuchk, ubi sunt due mete terree, una nova alia antiqua... pervenit ad unam viam, iuxta quam sunt due nova et antiqua [in qua quidem via iuxta terram Kapulnafelde, que est ab occidente, currit ad aquilonem et iuxta ipsam capellam transeundo secus unum monticulum ad partem

*orientalem... transeundo aliquas metas versus meridiem pervenit ad unam viam graminosam [ad duas] metas antiquas; de quibus duabus metis versus meridiem pervenit ad unam magnam viam, qua itur de Bukud in Kuchk, ubi sunt due mete; et per eandem viam magnam longe eundo versus **Kuchk** sallit versus occidentem ad unam metam lapideam **inter Kuchk et Boldafeulde** [positam et] ad eandem partem currit ad duas metas novas et antiquas, **terram Boldafelde** ad aquilonem, **terram** vero **Kuchk** ad meridiem separantes; de quibus cadit in unam viam, que versus occidentem in medio metarum, scilicet ubi ipsa via circulatur [cum metis circumdatur currit ad metam] principalem ibique terminatur.”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 101662

Survival from: transcription, 11 June 1330

Edition: UB IV, 79; F. VIII/3, 501-502.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Bolda-(földe) (a),” 738; Cs. II, s.v. “Bokod,” 738; Cs. II, s.v. “Kápolna,” 761; Cs. II, s.v. “Köcsk,” 767-768.

Csákány (Csákánydoroszló, C. Vas)

No. 10

1248: The Vasvár chapter testifies to the fact that Iacobus son of Iohannes transferred his landed property to Laurencius son of Tywan.

*“Egreditur itaque, sicut predictis uiris referentibus didicimus, terra supradicta **ab aqua Mirod** versus meridiem sub molendino Farcasij, habens ibi metam sub piro; inde tendit ad septemtrionem, et ad longitudinem unius iugeris habet duas metas, in quarum medio transit uia magna; item vadens ad septemtrionem unius iugeris ad longitudinem uenit ad magnum collem, quem relinquens ad septemtrionem flectitur versus orientem in uia ad angulum luci in fine uille in capite fontis.”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 49596

Survival from: transcription, 1248-1300

Edition: W. VII, 276; UB I, 222.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Csákány,” 740.

No. 11

(1248-1300): Nicolaus, comes of County Vas, transcribes the letter of the Vasvár chapter on the transfer of a landed property at Csákány (*terra Chacan*) to Laurencius, son of Tywan.

*“Egreditur itaque sicut predictis uiris referentibus didicimus. terram supradictam **ab aqua Mirod** versus meridiem sub molendino Farcasij habens ibi metam sub piro. inde tendit ad septemtrionem et ad longitudinem unius iugeris habet duas metas. in quarum medio transit uia magna. item vadens ad septemtrionem unius iugeris ad longitudinem. uenit ad magnum collem, quem relinquens ad septemtrionem flectitur versus orientem in uia ad angulum luci in fine uille in capite fontis.”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 49596

Survival from: original

Edition: HO III, 11; UB I, 223-224.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Csákány,” 740.

Csánig (Csánig, C. Vas)

No. 12

16 October 1284: *Banus* Stephanus, the lay patron of the Csatár Monastery (*ecclesie beati Petri apostoli de Chatar*) settles the dispute between the inhabitants of Csánig (*Chanyg*) belonging to the monastery and *Comes* Dionysius of Círák (*Zyraak*). He describes the boundaries between the estates of Csánig and *Comes* Dionysius:

“Primum in parte occidentis progreditur in fluvio Rebucha in quadam valle aquosa et itur ad partem orientis ad unam metam terream secus viam iuxta quoddam nemus aquosum Sakadach vocatum in parte meridionali existentem...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 1176

Survival from: original

Edition: UB II, 186; F. V/3, 261-262.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Csánig (Csánik),” 740; Cs. II, s.v. “Csatár,” 741.

Cséke (now: Deutsch-Schützen, At.)

No. 13

1274 (before 3 September): King Ladislas IV donates Cséke belonging to the Vasvár Castle (*terram castris de Castro Ferrei Chejyhke vocatam*) to Posa and Ladislas, sons of *Comes* Posa. The boundaries of the estate are as follows:

*“...pertigissent ad quendam locum prope quandam viam... deinde ad partem orientalem girando petigissent ad quandam viam... deinde versus eandem partem per bonum tempus eundo in monte et in area vinearum... versus eandem partem orientis longe eundo pervenissent ad duas metas antiquas iuxta quandam viam... ibique terminarentur, que ad occidentem et meridiem **Cheke**, ad aquilonem annotate **possessionis Owar** distinguerent et separarent.”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 100252

Survival form: transcription, 16 December 1392

Edition: UB II, 67.

Regesta: RA II, 108.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Cséke (Csejke, Csejka),” 741; Cs. II, s.v. “Óvár,” 717-718.

Csép (now: unknown)

No. 14

1275: King Ladislas IV transcribes and confirms the letter of privilege issued by Stephen V on 27 February 1272. The document testifies to the donation of the uninhabited pieces of land called Ól and Csép (*vacuas terras Castris Ferrei Ool et Chep vocatam*) to Iacobus and Osl, sons of *banus* Osl, and describes the boundaries on the basis of the report of the Vasvár chapter.

“...a parte orientali ex parte terre Onth essent due mete et inde procedendo essent alie due mete iuxta viam publicam cumulate, de quibus transiret ad fenetum et ibi essent due mete; abide giraret iterum ad duas metas iuxta viam erectas... scanderet per magnam viam per

duas metas et regiraret ad commetaneitatem ipsorum filiorum Osl bani versus septemtrionem...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 86345
Survival form: transcription, 4 January 1437
Edition: UB II, 85.
Regesta: RA II, 152.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Csép,” 742; Cs. II, s.v. “Ól,” 780.

Csó (Pusztacsó and Nemescsó, C. Vas)

No. 15

1299: The Vasvár chapter testifies to the fact that *Comes* Mocha, son of Olbir, and his relatives donated one part of their estate at Csó (*Chou*) to the Borsmonostor Abbey.

“...divertit directe ad orientem et currit per binas et binas [meta]s usque magnam viam, ubi coniungitur *terris* eiusdem comitis Mochia *Poth* noncupatis; de qua transit ad meridiem et currendo per magnam viam crebris metis... ad metas angulares, ubi copulatur *terris* Mochia et fratrum suorum *Chou* noncupatis...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 1556
Survival form: original
Edition: UB II, 328; W. XII, 646.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Csó,” 743; Cs. II, s.v. “Paty (a),” 783.

No. 16

26 October 1343: The Vasvár chapter reports to King Louis I that by his order the perambulation of Csó (*Chou*) and Paty (*Poth*) was conducted on 11 September and the sons of Gothardus of Csó were put in possession of the estates.

The boundaries of Csó are described in the following way:

“*Prima meta... possessionis Chou incipit a parte orientis circa viam, per qua itur de Poth in villam Sydan super tres metas antiquas a parte orientis vie positas et per eandem viam egreditur versus meridiem usque villam Kyspoth et iungitur vie magne, per quam proceditur in civitatem Kuzeg, ubi circa eandem in fine unius fossati est una meta de novo erecta; et per illud fossatum flectitur versus occidentem per longitudinem unius iugeris erga eandem terram Kyspoth pervenit ad unam metam terream; et abhinc ad aliam, de qua inclinatur ad meridiem ... et abhinc flectitur ad occidentem per quandam viam et cadit in rivulum Borzapataka nuncupatum, iuxta quem a parte occidentis est una meta, ubi relinquit terram Kyspoth et iungitur terre Petri et Dyonisii de Chou; de qua iuxta eundem rivulum ab occidente progrediendo ad aquilonem pervenit ad unum pürgum Kerekharazth dictum ... apud eundem pürgum a meridie per longitudinem unius iugeris ad occidentem eundo iuxta quandam viam sunt due mete ... deinde ad occidentem... ad metas terre Ludad, ubi iuxta unam viam sunt tres mete ... de quibus in eadem via iuxta eandem terram Ludad incruciatur ad aquilonem longe procedendo in eadem per contiguas metas pervenit ad viam, qua transit de Chou in Pese; saliendo ipsam prope in rubeto pervenit ad duas metas, de quibus flectitur ad septemtrionem pervenit ad monticulum <39> vulgariter Holm dictum; ... revertitur ad occidentem et cadit in viam uteue, ubi sunt tres mete... de quibus in eadem via uteue flectitur ad aquilonem iuxta eandem terram Chemethe, relinquit terram Ludad; per longum procedendo in eadem via et binas metas contiguas pervenit ad tres metas... relinquit terram*”

*Chemete et inclinatur ad orientem iuxta terram eorundem nobilium de Chou; in virgulto longe procedende per binas metas contiguas exit de ipso virgulto ad viam, per quam itur de Chou in Kuzegh; ... cadit in prefatum rivulum **Burzapataka** vocatum et in eodem revertitur ad aquilonem; longe eundo exit de ipso rivulo versus orientem ad duas metas; de quibus in longitudine duorum iugerum descendit in meatum alterius rivuli cum duabus metis et inclinatur versus meatum eiusdem rivuli ad aquilonem; modicum transsiendo exit de ipso ad orientem ad unam metam, de qua in spinis et fossato procedendo cadit in viam graminosam, in qua ad orientem eundo iungitur sese vie, ubi sunt tres mete; de quibus in ipsa via flectitur ad aquilonem et pervenit ad duas metas; de quibus similiter ad duas alias iuxta eandem viam positas; de quibus vertitur ad septentrionem longe procedendo pervenit ad tres metas circa quandam viam positas; de quibus directe ad occidentem descendit in vallem Kysberukweulge dictam; transiando ipsam **nemus Kysberuk** ab aquilone pervenit ad viam Monostoruta dictam, ubi sunt tres mete ab utraque parte ipsius vie posite; et in eadem via flectitur ad aquilonem per binas metas contiguas ab utraque parte eiusdem vie positas pervenit ad caput unius **vallis Hoklusaya** nominate, ubi sunt quinque mete angulares; ubi reliquit terram nobilium de **Felchou** et iungitur **terre monasterii de Kedhel** de quibus in medio eiusdem **vallis Hoklusaya** descendit in vallem Ablanch appellatam ... cadit in rivulum Ablanch ... flectitur ad meridiem et in medio... **vallis Fornusaya** ascendit ad unam metam apud predictam viam, per quam itur de Poth in Sydan; et in eadem via iuxta eandem terram **Poth** ad meridiem procedendo per contiguas metas ex utraque parte eiusdem vie positas pervenit ad priores tres metas ibique terminatur.”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 40986

Survival form: transcription, 24 August 1344

Edition: UB V, 37-38.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Csó,” 743; Cs. II, s.v. “Csemete(j),” 741; Cs. III, s.v. “Kedhely,” 613; Cs. II, s.v. “Kőszeg,” 714-715, 724-725; Cs. II, s.v. “Ludad,” 772; Cs. II, s.v. “Paty (a),” 783; Cs. II, s.v. “Pese,” 785; Cs. III, s.v. “Zsidány,” 637.

No. 17

8 December 1348: The Vasvár chapter records the agreement between Nicolaus, son of Cermok of Csó, and the sons of Gothardus of Csó (*Chou*), who formerly had a dispute over the boundaries between their landed properties. The lost document testifying to the boundaries of their estates was invalidated and the estates were perambulated anew.

“*Prima meta inciperet iuxta metas terre Kyspoth et progredetur versus aquilonem iuxta quoddam pratum in diverticulis terre arabilis... perveniret ad unum fossatum, ubi per ipsum fossatum pratum salieret ad occidentem ad unam viam, ad meridiem filiis Gothardy et ad aquilonem ipsi Nicolao dicto Cermok ... curreret versus aquilonem et perveniret iterato ad quoddam fossatum; ibique salieret ipsum fossatum ad orientem prope locum unius turris ab aquilone ... inde transiret ad orientem ... perveniret ad unum locum vulgariter **Sreztuin** vocatum ... de qua inclinaretur quasi ad meridiem ubi ipse latus ad aquilonem filiis Gothardy, ad meridiem predicto Nicolao ... unde transiret ad meridiem ad quandam viam graminosam directe ad orientem procedentem ... unde veniret ad quandam viam magnam de civitate Kuzeg per quam itur in Saar salieretque ipsam viam directe ad orientem et iuxta terram arabilem curreret ad spacium unius iugeris, ubi in fine unius rubeti essent due mete terre ... de quibus directe ad orientem perveniret ad unam viam, in cuius latere ... du mete ... de quibus directe ad orientem currendi perveniret ad diverticulam unius iugeris... indeque iret ad unam viam magnam per quam itur de Kyspoth ad villam Sydan, ubi de quodam rubeto esset una meta terrea ibique terminatur.”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 41097

Survival form: original

Edition: UB V, 214-215; A. V. 254-255.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Kőszeg," 714-715, 724-725; Cs. II, s.v. "Paty (a)," 783; Cs. II, s.v. "Sárvár," 728; Cs. III, s.v. "Zsidány," 637.

Dergenye (now: unknown)

No. 18

13 March 1315: The Vasvár chapter testifies to that Dergenye (*Dragua terra*) located by the Rába was perambulated in the presence of the neighbours, and in accordance with a former judicial decision Nicolaus and Andreas, sons of Endere, were put in possession of the estate.

*"Prima meta incipit iuxta terram Herdeno a parte Rabe et currit ad aquam Makava saliendo ipsam aquam ibi sunt due metee. Deinde currit ad partem meridionalem ad quendam montem peruenit ad arborem ylicis ubi sunt due metee terree et directe currendo peruenit ad unam viam ubi sunt due metee ubi in eadem via duplicatur et abhinc similiter versus meridiem currendo peruenit arborem ylicis ubi sunt due mete terree et posthec similiter ad duas metas terreas peruenit dehinc tendendo peruenit ad uallem Fysvelgh vocatam vbi vicinatur *terre dragua* et ibidem in tribus metis incipiunt metee *terre dragua*..."*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 67920

Survival form: original

Edition: UB III, 86 (detail); HO III, 64

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Dergenye," 744.

Dorozmat (now: Dozmat, C. Vas)

No. 19

1238: Casmirius provost of Veszprém, Haholdus *comes* of Vasvár, and Paulus *comes* of Székesfehérvár – who were made judges by the king – confirm Andreas and Casmerius, sons of Mihedus, in the possession of a one and a half hectare large land in the estate of castle belonging to the village of Dorozmat (*in terra castrensium de dicta villa Druzmoth*).

*"Prima meta eiusdem terre incipit a parte orientali iuxta viam sub illice et ... venit versus meridiem et ... incidit in fluvium Druzmoth et per eundem itur ad Zormu, de quo flectit quasi versus meridiem ... ab hinc per vallem ... vadit ad terminum *terre Narey* ad viam ... et inde pergit ad viam Iach, versus occidentem ad Christut, ... inde vero per vallem iuxta finem vinee tenendo metas cum castrensibus de *Druzmoth* procedit versus occidentem inter rakattyas et fluvium Druzmoth, ... deinde per medium eiusdem pervenit ad eundem Zormu et inde versus aquilonem exit de eodem fluvio et iuxta eundem in insula mete sunt, inde itur ad viam, ubi sunt mete, deinde per frutices venit ad priorem metam."*

Survival form: transcription, 12 May 1260

Edition: UB I, 187; F. IV/1, 140-141.

Regesta: RA I, 379.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Do(ro)zmát," 745; Cs. II, s.v. "Ják(monostora)," 759; Cs. II, s.v. "Nára(j)," 779.

No. 20

7 September 1292: The Vasvár chapter testifies to the fact that Nicolaus son of Iacobus of Döröske (*de Duruske*) and his brothers as well as Andreas son of Endre of Hídvég (*de Hydweg*) and his son settled their dispute over Döröske (*terra Duruska*). The document describes the new boundaries.

“Primo omnium iuxta flumen Makwa vocatum duas metas metas terreas erexissent, de quibus protenditur ad partes meridionales et eundo paulisper pervenit ad unam metam terream; abhinc autem adhuc ad meridiem venit ad unam metam cerasi, de qua quidem ceraso ascendendo quendam montem in angulo cuiusdam virgulti sunt due mete terree, per quas iuxta terras arabiles in quadam valle currendo in terra arabili est una meta terrea, de qua per breve spacium vergendo iuxta publicam viam in fine predicti virgulti sunt due mete terree, de quibus metis adhuc versus meridiem protenditur metas ad priores et ab antiquo per eosdem pacifice censervatas.”

Furthermore, the parties agreed that Nicolaus is liable to provide right of way for the tenant peasants of Comes Andreas to the well found on his estate:

“...prescriptus Nicolaus tenetur iobagionibus comitis Andree dare viam et concedere per terram suam ad puteum procedendi...”

Archives, serial number: SNA (Esterházy family, Csesznek line, 16.16); MOL DF 282058

Survival form: transcription, 3 April 1328

Edition: UB II, 271.

Toponyms: Cs. II. s.v. “Dere(c)ske (Derecska),” 744; Cs. II. s.v. “Hídvég,” 756.

No. 21

13 March 1328: The Vasvár chapter testifies to the fact that the members of the Ják kindred divided among themselves their landed properties called Bankfalva (*villa Banchkfalva*), Sebefalva (*possessio Sebefolua*), Egerszeg (*Egurzygh, Egwrzegh*), Taszár (*possessio Thazar*), Kovácsi (*possessio Kowachy*), and Kövesd (*possessio Keuesd*).

A detail of the perambulation of Egerszeg:

“Prima meta incipit super fluvio Repche, de qua currit versus meridiem, pervenit ad pratum, ubi est meta terrea super dumum Gemulchentyvis vocatum; abhinc versus eandem partem currit ad metam terream in medio ville Egwrzegh positam; deinde usque partem prenotatam per metas currendo vadit ad viam magnam, qua itur in Hygfalua et in dumo Kertus est meta...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 43216

Survival form: transcription, 4 August 1413

Edition: UB IV, 11; F. VIII/3, 319.

Toponyms: Cs. II. s.v. “Egerszeg (a),” 745; Cs. II, s.v. “Hegy(-falua),” 754.

Gencs (now: Magyargencs, C. Veszprém)

No. 22

1268: The Győr chapter testifies to the fact that the noblemen of Gencs and the castle-warriors of Vasvár divided their common property called Gencs (*villa Guench*), and describes the new boundaries.

“...*per terram arabilem eundo versus aquilonem iuxta **vallem Kutfö** dictam sunt due mete, ... de valle exeundo in capite **terre arabilis Thelukzer** dicte sunt due mete; dehinc adhuc directe **iuxta stratam** sunt due mete ab utraque parte **strate** conculcate; inde in quadam **terra Kurthwelesteluk** sunt due ...; hinc autem per silvam transiens **in via herbosa** sunt due ab utraque parte eiusdem posite, qua parumper eundo saliens **de via** ad sinistram partem due mete existunt; **per viam** itaque quandam eundo due mete continentur; abinde **in via cruce signata** sunt due mete, inde **eadem via** a dextra parte duabus metis consignatur...”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 61455
Survival form: transcription, 12 March 1431
Edition: UB I, 349; HO I, 39.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Gencs,” 749.

Gór (now: Górá, C. Vas)

No. 23

1304: The Vasvár chapter testifies to the division of a landed property located between the noblemen of Szeleste (*de Scelesthye*) and Comes Nicolaus. According to the agreement the western part of the estate neighbored by Górá (*terre Guor*) belongs to the noblemen of Szeleste, whereas the eastern part belongs to Comes Nicolaus. The chapter describes the new boundaries:

“*Prima meta a parte ab aquilone circa vineam Nicolai comitis deinde veniendo ad villam ubi circa signum cruce signatum sunt due metee; abinde venit ad meridiem ubi in terra arabili sunt due mete terree; deinde venit **ad viam que ducit in Sedum** et **circa viam** sunt due mete; deinde tendit ad pratum adhuc ad meridiem circa nemus Keures vocatum ubi sunt due mete ibique terminatur.*”

Archives, serial number: VaML 3 = MOL DF 261524
Survival form: copy, 18th c.
Edition: UB III, 24.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Guor,” 752; Cs. II, s.v. “Szeleste,” 796; Cs. II, s.v. “Zsédény (Zsédöny),” 810.

Győrvár (now: Győrvár, C. Vas)

No. 24

1266: King Béla IV and Queen Mary donate the queen’s estate called Győrvár to the Szentgotthárd Monastery in return for its landed property called Dobra.

“*Prima meta incipit a parte septentrionali in quatuor metis terreis, quarum due sunt **monasterii sancti michaelis de Castro Ferreo** et due **terre Geurgvar**, et ibi a parte occidentali remaneret terra ecclesie a parte vero orientali **terra Geurgvar**, inde digreditur versus meridiem **per unam viam** ad duas metas, et abhinc ad tres metas, deinde item ad tres metas et directe **per eandem viam** ad quatuor metas, abhinc ad quatuor metas, que sunt in*

virgulto **prope villam Lapsa**, deinde ad tres metas **iuxta viam** positas, progreditur **in eadem via** et pervenit ad unam metam angularem, digreditur abhinc versus occidentem transeundo quandam vallem, venit ad unam metam, que est **iuxta viam magnam**, inde per virgultum venit ad unam metam, et abhinc ad aliam metam, inde iterum vadit ad unam metam, que est sub salice **iuxta viam**, et **in ipsa via** pervenit **ad unum magnum fossatum** et per illud declinat versus meridiem **in aquam Saar**, et per eandem aquam digreditur versus orientem, inde versus meridiem prosiliens, postmodum de ipsa aqua venit in fontem, qui est **prope villam Nempti**, inde procedens directe versus orientem venit ad tres metas, et ibi a parte meridionali remanet **terra Nemti**, inde descendit ad vallem ad unam metam, et abhinc **in una via** digreditur versus orientem et in eadem venit ad silvam ... et abhinc progrediens semper per arbores ilicis venit ad metas angulares et ibi **a terra Nemti** separatur et iungitur **terre castri Zarakad** vocate, inde procedit versus septemtrionem ad metam magnam angularem, inde progreditur versus occidentem ad duas metas, et ibi a terra castri separatur et iungitur **terre Lyuk Zarakad**, inde transsiliendo **duas vias iuxta tertiam viam** sunt tres mete, inde iuxta terram Stephani filii Ochuz declinat versus aquilonem ad tres metas sub monte positas, inde venit ad quatuor metas angulares, et ibi a terra Stephani separatur et iungitur **terre Lyuk Zarakad**, inde directe ad aquilonem per quatuor metas venit ad alias quatuor metas, quarum una sub ilice posita est, inde venit ad quatuor metas angulares, et ibi cadit **in aquam Virviz**, et in eadem aqua tendit versus aquilonem, inde prosiliens de ipsa aqua venit ad quatuor metas, inde pervenit versus orientem ad duas metas angulares, et ibi **a terra Lyuk Zarakad** separatur, et iungitur **terre castri Zarakad**, inde pervenit ad duas metas **iuxta viam**, et **in eadem via** venit ad metam sub salice positam, digreditur inde versus orientem in montem **ad unam viam** iuxta virgultum positam, ... <635> abhinc venit ad duas metas angulares, et ibi **a terra Zarakad** separatur et iungitur **terre Bir**, inde vadit ad duas metas angulares, quarum altera sub ilice ramis... et ibi **a terra Bir** separatur et iungitur **terre Oluzka**, inde digreditur **in via** per unam metam, venit ad duas metas, quarum altera est sub ilice, deinde pervenit ad duas metas **supra villa Oluzka** positas, procedens **in ipsa via iuxta villam Oluzka**, descendit prope fontem in vallem, et in eadem valle digreditur versus meridiem ad metam sub salice positam, inde venit ad metas angulares, et ibi **a terra Zarakad** separatur, ... item venit ad metas angulares, et ibi **a terra Oluzka** separatur, et iungitur **terre ecclesie Castri Ferrei**, inde transeundo **aquam Virviz** venit ad metas, quarum una est sub salice, progrediens inde versus aquilonem **in via**, venit ad metam sub salice positam, abhinc ad metas **iuxta villam Pachon** positas, inde per duas metas **in via** venit ad metas, ubi a terre ecclesie separatur, et iungitur **terre Ozkou**, ... inde per virgultum et per metas terreas venit ad metas angulares, et ibi **a terra Ozkou** separator et iungitur **terre ecclesie Castri Ferrei**, progrediens abhinc **in via Gubesa** versus meridiem venit ad tres metas, inde revertitur ad quatuor metas priores, ibique terminatur.”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 42500

Survival form: transcription 1270 and 5 March 1326

Edition: 1226: Kiss and Z. Czigány, “Régészeti és történeti adatok egy mikortáj topográfiához,” 634-635.

Regesta: RA I, No. 1509 and UB I, 328 (1266); RA II, No. 2018 and UB III, 275-276 (1270); UB III, 212 (5 March 1326).

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Györgyvár,” 753; Cs. II, s.v. “Bir,” 737; Cs. II, s.v. “Lapsa (a),” 771; Cs. II, s.v. “Oloszka,” 780-781; Cs. II, s.v. “Oszkó,” 781; Cs. II, s.v. “Pácson(y),” 782; Cs. II, s.v. “Szar(a)kad,” 795; Cs. II, s.v. “Vasvár,” 729-731.

Halastó (now: Halastó, C. Vas)

No. 25

29 June 1269: Before King Béla IV, Markys son of Zoym, renounces the landed property called Halastó (*terram Holostou*) in favour of the sons of Ehelleus. Detail of the perambulation of Halastó:

“...transit virgultum et est meta *iuxta viam*, et inde versus occidentem vadit et sunt mete iuxta *Holostou pathaka sub piro*; ... deinde versus aquilonem et sunt mete inter frutices *kekenus iuxta viam*; iterum sunt mete inter frutices versus orientem sub *nyrfa*; inde vero ad orientem per metas vadit ad caput vallis *Kekenus* et ibi *iuxta viam Ogyogus* sunt mete, et ascendit inde ad montem...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 91117

Survival form: original

Edition: UB I, 351; HO VI, 156-157.

Regesta: RA I, 491.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Halastó,” 753.

Halogy (now: Halogy, C. Vas)

No. 26

1274: In front of the Vasvár chapter Gwrk son of *Comes* Myke, Emericus son of *Itemerius*, and Heym son of Heym divide among themselves their landed properties called Halogy and Tótlak (*prediis suis Hulug et Thouthlok*). The borders are the following:

“*Primo pergendo a parte Raba in duabus metis... vergens versus meridiem per binas et binas metas pervenit ad quandam viam, que venit de ecclesia beati Laurencii*, penes quam sunt due mete terree; tendens ad meridiem cum metis dupplicatis pervenit *ad magnam stratam que ducit ad Curmend*, penes quam sunt due mete... rursus ad meridiem pervenit *ad quandam viam, que via Latinorum nuncupatur*, penes quam sunt due mete... versus meridiem pervenit *ad quandam viam Kyralt vocatam*, [penes quam] sunt due mete ... ibique terminatur.”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 885

Survival form: transcription, 27 March 1498

Edition: UB II, 73; W. IX, 97

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Halogy(-harmada),” 753; Cs. II, s.v. “Himfölda (Himfalva),” 756; Cs. II, s.v. “Körmend,” 723-724.

Hétföhely (now: part of Deutsch-Schützen, Au.)

No. 27

1221: King Andreas II allows Stephanus son of Chepanus, former *banus*, to endow the Cistercian monastery of Szentgotthárd with the Pornó Island (*insulam...Pornó*) and the villages (*Monyorókerék, Hétföhely, Perwolf, Kölked*) pertaining to that before his retiring into the monastery. In addition, the patronage of the Saint Margaret Church of Pornó (*patronatum ecclesie beate Margarethe de Pornó*) also passes to the monastery. The document describes the boundaries of the donated estates.

Detail of the perambulation of Hétföhely:

*“In prima meta **Hétföhely** incipiens **de Pinkova** provenit iuxta **villam** comitis Martini nomine **Belud** per metas versus orientem, deinde reflectit cum una meta versus aquilonem super viam, que ducit in Iáák, et in eadem via procedit versus occidentem cum duabus metis, deinde versus aquilonem transiens **Mancha** per metas reflectit versus occidentem iuxta **Appa**, ubi est meta, ascendens monticulum redit per metas iuxta predium comitis Iacobi usque in **Pinkova**; et iteum ultra idem predium de **Pinkova** ascendit versus orientem per duas metas intra **Edelin** et reflectit versus aquilonem cum una meta et inde redit per metas versus orientem usque in **Pinkova**.”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 72224

Survival form: transcription, 7 February 1240

Edition: UB I, 83; HO VI, 13-14.

Regesta: RA I, 120; F. III/1, 329.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Ják(-monostora),” 759; Cs. II, s.v. “Pinkvafő,” 786.

Herény (now: Herény, part of Szombathely, C. Vas)

No. 28

1263: Before the Vasvár chapter, the landowners of the village Herény (*villa Herin*) settle their dispute over a piece of land.

Detail of the perambulation of the estate:

“Cuius terre prima meta incipit iuxta stratam que est terrea, ubi Guge et Dugus sint commetanei; de via autem progrediens venit ad platanos quod vulgo dicitur egur...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 40057

Survival form: original

Edition: UB I, 297; HO VI, 120.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Herén(y),” 755.

Hermán (now: Gyöngyöshermán, part Szombathely, C. Vas)

No. 29

1249: The Vasvár chapter testifies to the fact that the estate belonging to the sons of Hertenig (dg. Hermán) has been perambulated, and records the boundaries that separate it from the lands of their relatives.

*“Prima meta incipit **de Gungus a terra udvornicorum de Scevevs** et vadit ad occidentem metis duplicatis et inde tendit ad finem virgulti unius; inde de virgulto procedit per unam herbidam viam ad orientem et ibi pervenit ad magnam viam ... egreditur ad orientem et vadit iterum ad predictam aquam Gungus... transiens aquam Gungus vadit ad saliceam unam... et ad locum sessionis filii Ratolt... in vado magno dictus Ratoltus dedit Dees comiti ante curiam suam viginti extensiones brachiorum usque ad primum virgultum; quod virgultum transiens meta supradictam procedit ad viam Iwan; inde veniet ad Ittewin; deinde progerditur ad occidentem et ibi in Ittewin una reversione aratri parum vadit longius et inde veniet ad tawarnicos **de Surc**... inde revertitur iterum ad orientem... tendit iterum ad orientem... veniet ad finem virgulti Benc iuxta Ittewin et ibi in fine virgulti illius habent metas... deinde revertitur ad occidentem et pervenit iterum ad Gungus et ibi habent metas prope **ecclesiam Sancti Regis** et in medio terre eorum ipsi filii Hertenig super aquam*

Gungus habent molendinum... et ibi in Gungus transiens veniet... ad partes ecclesie supradicte et ibi veniet ad medium ville; deinde incipiunt tenere metas cum terra ecclesie usque ad primum virgultum et inde in eadem magna via veniet ad orientem et inde procedit iterum ad partes Gungus...et ibi terminatur."

Archives, serial number: VaML 115 = MOL DF 261636

Survival form: original

Edition: UB III, 262.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Bogát," 737; Cs. II, s.v. "Polyán (Polán, Polány)," 786; Cs. II, s.v. "Sork," 794; Cs. II, s.v. "Szöllös," 801.

No. 30

1259: The Vasvár chapter testifies to the fact that Comes Dees and Stephanus son of Paulus (*de genere Herman*) divided their landed property in Hermán (*Herman*) into two equal parts, and describes the new boundaries. In addition, the chapter records that the parties agreed to allow each other free way across their own estates (*dare in porcionibus suis viam alterutrum*).

"Distinccio earundem dimidietatum incipit a fluvio Gungus et vergens ad aquilonem pervenit cum binis metis erectis certis locis ad quoddam virgultum, quod est virgultum Dees comitis et ibi cadit in semitam publicam per quam itur ad Sabariam; et in eadem parumper progrediendo exit ipsam stratam et venit ab occidente secus terram dicti Stephani empticiam ab Alberto iterum ad fluvium Gungus super molendinum eiusdem Stephani in ipsum condescendens et transacto fluvio Gungus habentur due sessiones, quarum una videlicet sessio Georgii usque viam mediam, que vulgariter Altolut dicitur, tenetur Dees comiti et altera sessio Tiburcii a parte ville Sceleus usque viam Ettevin attinet Stephano memorato; et de illa media via procedens ubique per binas metas usque ad terram filiorum Hermannis... de via autem Etteuin vadit similiter per binas metas versus occidentem usque ad Tarnuc Surk et a meridie spectat Dees comiti, a parte ville Sceleus Stephano recta dimensione; ad hec dicti nobiles tenentur dare in porcionibus suis viam alterutrum; item molendinum, quod est situm in Bogat, spectat Dees comiti integraliter et molendinum, quod est in Herman in medio ville attinet Stephano similiter pleno iure."

Archives, serial number: VaML 176 = MOL DF 261695

Survival form: original

Edition: UB III, 266; VSz 18 (1964): 93-98.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Hermán," 755; Cs. II, s.v. "Sork," 794; Cs. II, s.v. "Szombathely," 729; Cs. II, s.v. "Szöllös," 801.

Hídvég (now: Rábahídvég, C. Vas)

No. 31

1265: Before the Vasvár chapter the sons of Ehellus and Georgius divide their estates called Sár (*terra/predium Saar*), **Hídvég** (*predium Hydwegh*), and Polány (*predium Pulan*) among themselves.

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 91516

Survival form: transcription, 6 July 1358

Edition: UB I, 320-321; HO V, 37.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Hídvég," 756; Cs. II, s.v. "Sár," 791; Cs. II, s.v. "Polyán," 786.

No. 32

26 August 1280: King Ladislas IV endows *Comes* Andreas son of Endre of the Hermán kindred with the uninhabited land called **Hídvég** (*terram Hyduig*), which formerly belonged to the guards of the bridge over the Rába in County Vas.

*“Comes Andreas filius Endre de genere Herman quandam **terram [Hydulig]** vocatam viciniam et conmetaneam terre sue custodum [**pontis Raba de comitatu Castri Ferrei]** a nostra magnificencia sibi dari postulasset...”*

*“Prenominatam **terram Hyduig vocatam** cum omnibus suis utilitatibus et pertinenciis universis, a serviciis et honeribus c[astro nostro] debitis et consuetis exemptam penitus et exceptam, dedimus, donavimus et contulimus eidem comiti Andree et per eum suis heredibus perpetuo ac irrevocabiliter possidendam...”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 67922
Survival form: transcription, 2-5 January 1326
Edition: UB II, 145; HO II, 14-15.
Regesta: RA II, 266.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Hídvég,” 756.

No. 33

1283: Before the Vasvár chapter Gregorius of Chemete and his wife Elena daughter of Andreas of **Hídvég** (*domina Elena filia Andree de Hydweg*), who is the widow of Michael of Sár (*Sar*), recognize that Elena received her dower and paraphernalia.

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 91235
Survival form: transcription, 29 May 1328
Edition: UB II, 176; HO V, 69.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Hídvég,” 756.

No. 34

1283: Before the Vasvár chapter, *Comes* Andreas son of Chopow sells *Comes* Andreas son of Endre of **Hídvég** (*comiti Andree filio Endere de Hydweg*) a part of his estate called Diagna allotted for the work of two ploughs.

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 92140
Survival form: transcription, 28 March 1400
Edition: UB II, 176; HO VI, 300.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Hídvég,” 756.

No. 35

26 June (1286): King Ladislas IV allows *Comes* Andreas of **Hídvég** (*Hydwegh*) that as a remuneration for his losses suffered at the **bridge of Hídvég** – most probably due to paying tolls at the bridge – he and his tenant peasants do not need to pay tolls in the Rába Forest for feeding pigs and grazing cattle. In addition, they can freely cut down grass and fell trees there.

*“Nos Ladizlaus dei gracia rex Hungarie ... consideratis gravaminibus comitis Andree de **Hydwegh**, que eidem propter **pontem Hydwegh** inferuntur, hanc ipsi comiti Andree gratiam prerogativam et specialem duximus faciendam, quod nec idem comes Andreas de porcis suis nec eciam iobagiones sui **tributum** aliquod in **Silua Raba** sustentandis dare teneantur, pecudes ipsius comitis Andree et iobagionum suorum in ipsa **Silua Raba** sustententur, fenum*

in eciam ipsa silva pro libito sue voluntatis possent falcare et ligna ad usum ipsorum liberam succidendi habeant facultatem...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 91792
Survival form: transcription, 29 March 1372
Edition: UB II, 200; HO VI, 351.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Hidvég,” 756.

No. 36

1286: Before the Vasvár chapter *Comes* Nicolaus son of Buda of Nymthy sells *Comes* Andreas son of Endre of **Hidvég** (*comiti Andree filio Endury de Hyduig*) his estate called *Turuoy* for ever.

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 91129
Survival form: original
Edition: UB II, 202.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Hidvég,” 756.

No. 37

After 1 August 1326: The Vasvár chapter testifies to the fact that Nicolaus son of Elleus – with the consent of his brother and relatives – redeems their inherited estate called **Hidvég** (*possessionem ... Hydweg*) pledged to Andreas son of Endre.

*“Possessionem ipsorum hereditariam **in Hydweg** olym per Elleum, Martinum et Marcellum Andree de eadem **Hydweg** obligatam pro duodecim marcis denariorum, ab eodem Andrea filio Endre coram capitulo Castri Ferrei redimere debuissent, ipso termino adveniente dictus magister Nicolaus filius Elley ex permissione et licencia fratrum suorum prescriptorum cum propria sua pecunia videlicet in duodecim marcis... dictam **possessionem** eorum **Hydweg** **vocatam** redemisset coram capitulo prenotato...”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 91427
Survival form: transcription, 16 May 1351
Edition: UB III, 220.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Hidvég,” 756.

No. 38

7 September 1292: Before the Vasvár chapter Nicolaus son of Iacobus of Döröske (*de Duruske*) and his brother as well as Andreas son of Endere of **Hidvég** (*de Hydweg*) settle their dispute over the landed property called Döröske (*terra Duruska*) and define the new borders. In addition, they agree that Nicolaus is liable **to provide pathway** (*dare viam*) to the tenant peasants of *Comes* Andreas to the well found on his estate.

*“prescriptus Nicolaus tenetur iobagionibus comitis Andree **dare viam** et concedere per terram suam ad puteum procedendi”*

Archives, serial number: SNA (Esterházy family, Csesznek line, 16.16); MOL DF 282058
Survival form: transcription, 3 April 1328
Edition: UB II, 271.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Hidvég,” 756; Cs. II, s.v. “Dere(c)ske,” 744.

No. 39

3 April 1328: On the request of *Comes* Andreas son of Endere of Hídvég (*de Hydveg*) the Vasvár chapter transcribes a 1292 document on the agreement between Andreas of Hídvég and Nicolaus of Döröske.

Archives, serial number: SNA (Esterházy family, Csesznek line, 16.16) = MOL DF 282058

Survival form: original

Edition: UB IV, 13.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Hídvég," 756; Cs. II, s.v. "Dere(c)ske," 744.

No. 40

10 April 1328: On the request of *Comes* Andreas son of Endere of Hídvég the Vasvár chapter transcribes a 1283 document testifying to the buying of Diagna.

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 92140

Survival form: transcription, 28 March 1400

Regesta: UB IV, 16.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Hídvég," 756.

No. 41

2 February 1333: Before the judge royal, *magister* Paulus called Magyar renounces every claim for the piece of land called Dergenye in County Vas (*particulam terre... in possessione Daragna vocata in comitatu Castri Ferrei*), which he received from King Charles I after Ladislas son of Andreas deceased without a male heir. He offers not to take legal proceedings for the landed property after Andreas son of Endre of Hídvég (*de Hydwegh*) and Iohannes son of Nicolaus of Hídvég (*de Hydwegh*) presented before the judge royal the document testifying to their rightful claim for the estate.

Archives, serial number: MTAK Okl. 89 = MOL DF 243735

Survival form: original

Edition: UB IV, 148.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Hídvég," 756.

No. 42

6 June 1333: The Vasvár chapter records that on 3 June a member of the chapter together with *vicecomes* Andreas son of Andreas of Hídvég (*cum magistro Andrea filio Andree de Hidwig ... vicecomite*) perambulated Derekte (*Derekte*) and the chapter put Nicolaus son of Thomas of Pwla in possession of the estate.

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 87035

Survival form: transcription, 31 October 1564

Edition: UB IV, 154-155.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Hídvég," 756.

No. 43

11 November 1335: The Vasvár chapter records that Dominicus son of Cristhophorus of Hídvég (*de Hydweg*) relinquishd half of the landed property called Bekény (*possessio Beken*) in County Vas to the sons of Herrand.

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 48805

Survival form: original

Edition: UB IV, 203-204.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Hídvég," 756; Cs. II, s.v. "Bekény," 736.

No. 44

6 October 1341: The Vasvár chapter testifies to the fact that Nicolaus son of Herricus of Kukmér (*de Kukmer*) pledged all his landed properties at Szecsőd (*possessionem suam totam in Zecheud existentem*) to Andreas son of Endere of Hídvég (*de Hydveg*) for four years.

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 40866

Survival form: original

Edition: UB IV, 325.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Hídvég," 756; Cs. II, s.v. "Kuk(e)mér," 769; Cs. II, s.v. "Szecső(d)," 795-796.

No. 45

1 October 1342: Koloman bishop of Győr restores chapels and ecclesiastical rights (*iura magistralia*) to the Vasvár chapter.

Among the returned chapels mention is made about the Hídvég chapel dedicated to Saint Felicitas (*sancte Felicitatis de Hydueg*).

Archives, serial number: VSzSzL 4 = MOL DF 279334

Survival form: original

Regesta: UB IV. 351.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Hídvég," 756.

Horó (now: unknown)

No. 46

(1272-1290): King Ladislas IV donates the estate called Horó (*Horrow*) in County Vas to Pousa and Ladislas of Kopács (*Kopach*), and describes the boundaries.

"Prima meta inciperetur iuxta publicam viam, qua iretur de Rum ad civitatem Zobothel a parte occidentali ibique essent due mete terre... de quibus versus occidentem in longitudine duorum iugerum... perveniret ad viam, qua iretur de Kopach ad Chaaz, in qua namque via parumper inclinaretur ad meridiem fere in latitudine duorum iugerum... ad occidentem inclinando perveniret ad unam viam, qua iretur ad <224> ecclesiam sancti Michaelis parochyalem, ubi essent due mete terre; de quibus directe ad occidentem per singulas binas metas transiret usque ad terram Zechun, ubi iuxta publicam stratam, que iret versus Zechun iuxta quam stratam essent due mete terre angulares, in qua quidem strata currendo ad aquilonem essent etiam due mete terre angulares, que separarent a villa Zychyn ibique commetando terre Chazth progredere versus orientem... perveniret ad magnam viam, que iret ad Sabariam, penes quam viam essent due mete terre, in qua adhuc via pergendo ad orientem esset meta terrea iuxta eandem; de qua adhuc tendendo ad orientem essent due mete terre inter duas magnas vias... declinando ad meridiem attingeret quandam viam, penes quam essent due mete terre in valle, que vulgo diceretur Gyulakutha ibique meta predictae terre Horrow terminaretur; item abinde progredere meta predictae particule iuxta predicta particulam terre Horrow declinando ad orientem perveniret ad duas metas...abhinc ad orientem currendo perveniret ad tres metas...que quidem separarent a terra Kuachy particulam prenotatam ibique terminatur."

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 91370

Survival form: transcription, 12 May 1346

Edition: UB II, 223-224; A. IV, 600-601.

Regesta: RA II, 43.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Ho(r)ró," 757; Cs. II, s.v. "Csász(t)," 740; Cs. II, s.v. "Kopács," 766; Cs. II, s.v. "Rum," 789; Cs. II, s.v. "Szécsén(y)," 795; Cs. II, s.v. "Szombathely," 729.

Jákmonostor (now: Ják, C. Vas)

No. 47

1257: The Vasvár chapter records that the members of the Ják kindred divided their inherited property at Ják (*ville Iak*) among themselves, and describes the boundaries of the estate.

"Incipit autem meta porcionis Iak et Dominici prima a medio ville Iak, ubi sunt due mete... inde vergens sursum versus aquilonem in pruma sunt due mete; exinde procedens adhuc directe ad aquilonem per planiciem quandam declinat in vallem unam, ubi sunt due mete... progrediens in dicta valle intrat virgultum et in eodem virgulto sunt due mete... exit virgultum ad locum qui Nogscler dicitur, ubi sunt due mete... post hec intrat viam Naree, secus quam sunt due mete; vadit in eadem via metis distinctis certis locis usque metas ville Naree et ibi a terra Stephani filii Stephani separatur..."

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 40044

Survival form: original

Edition: UB I, 263; HO I, 35; W. VII, 473-474.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Ják(monostora)," 759; Cs. II, s.v. "Nára(j)," 779.

No. 48

26 March 1346: The Vasvár chapter reports to King Louis I that in compliance with his order of 24 January 1364 the estate at Ják (*possessionis Iaak*) that Voivode Thomas gave over to Nicolaus son of Iwan was perambulated on 15 March.

"Prima meta incipit in latere piscinae ab oriente et transit ad meridiem in longitudinem usque rivulum Soroky, in latitudinem vero ad occidentem usque ad unam arborem pomus; de qua namque arbore pomus ad aquilonem usque viam magnam sunt due metae terrae... ad meridiem autem iterum ad fluvium Sorky, ubi iterum est alia meta terrea; in aliquo siquidem loco viginti iugera terrarum similiter sub una continuatione scilicet iuxta viam, per quam itur de Iaak ad Porno ab aquilone existentia, in longitudine ad orientem et occidentem adiacentis, in quorum fine ab occidente circa eandem viam est una meta terrea, de qua iterum ad aquilonem ad unam metam terream..."

Archives, serial number: VaML 21 = MOL DF 261542

Survival form: transcription, 3 March 1370

Edition: UB V, 117.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Ják(monostora)," 759; Cs. II, s.v. "Porno," 786-787.

Kápolnafölde (now: unknown)

No. 49

1321: The Vasvár chapter records that Iakobus abbot of Ják as well as Varda and Chepanus, sons of Kazmerius of Bögöt (*de Bugud*), exchanged their landed properties. The convent gave up Kápolnafölde (*Capulnafeldy*) together with the chapel dedicated Saint Egidius in return for the estate called Monyorókerék and other goods.

Detail of the perambulation of Kápolnafölde:

*“...**possessionem** predicti monasterii [...]gy **Capulnafeldy** vocatam, in qua stat **capella** edificata in honorem **sancti Egidii** existentem a parte orientali inter terras eorundem magistrorum Varda et Chepanum [...]d vocata, a parte vero aquilonis **via Wetewyn que vadit versus Sabariam**, terre eorundem a parte vero occidentali, **fluvio Fuenies** [...] de **Purpach**”*

Archives, serial number: SL Nicky 4628 = MOL DF 209129

Survival form: transcription, 10 April 1328

Edition: UB III, 138; HO IV, 130.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Kápolnafölde,” 761; Cs. II, s.v. “Szombathely,” 729.

Kapornok (now: Goberling, Au.)

See under Langeck.

Karakó (now: Karakó, C. Vas)

No. 50

28 July 1257: *Magister* Paulus provost of Pressburg records that the landed property which is alleged by the castle warriors of Karakó (*iobagiones castri de Karkou*) as the land of the castle, and which is at the same time claimed by Detricus and Nycholaus sons of Comes Detricus as their inherited landed property, belongs to the latter on the basis of the statement of witnesses and the perambulation of its borders.

*“...**metas idem nobiles...** incipientes a tribus metis circa **Bazna** terram **Ecclesie Beati Adriani de Zala** non renouate; a **fluvio Mirag** transit ipsam in parte orientis ad duas metas in latere ipsius fluiij positas; postea vadit ad vnam metam in alto quodam **iuxta viam** confinando cum **terra Farcasij**; ... postea ad orientem eundo vadit ad tres metas, que separant **Vosyan** a terra **Farkasij** et **Vrbani**; posthec vadit ad **Posa Tetey** ad duas metas a meridie eiusdem **Teteu**; postea eundo peruenit <297> **circa viam magnam** a parte meridiey ad duas metas separantes **Vosyan** a **Karkou**; ... venit ad duas metas in **locum Lacy** et **viam** existenses, et adiungitur **terre Ecclesie Sancti Gothardi**; postea in parte occidentes procedendo peruenit ad vnam metam **circa viam**; postea transit iterato **fuuium Myrag**...postea venit ad possessiones **Detrici** et **Nycholay filiorum Comitis Detrici magni**, sicut eciam domino nostro **Regi rescipsimus**, metas **terrarum Vosyan** et **Karkou** separantes.”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DF 40041

Survival form: original

Edition: W. II, 296-297.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “K(a)rakó,” 762; Cs. II, s.v. “Varsány,” 807.

No. 51

1217: King Andreas II names Poth (*Poch*) comes of Moson as the protector of the Vasvár chapter (*ecclesie sancti Michaelis de Castro Ferreo*) and confirms the chapter in its possessions.

Detail of the perambulation of Kenéz:

“...***predium Kynih nomine cum domo molendinaria super aquam Saard et silva, cuius mete procedunt super viam tenendo metas cum comite Baas procedendo usque ad Gungys...***”

Archives, serial number: VSzSzL 4.15.B = MOL DF 279145

Survival form: transcription, 17 October 1412

Edition: UB I, 73; HO IV, 9; W. VI, 384.

Regesta: RA I, 105-106.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Kenéz,” 763.

No. 52

20 December 1240: Andreas comes of Pressburg and judge royal delivers his judgement on the dispute between the Vasvár chapter as well as the sons of *magister* Pósa (*Pous*) and Comes Bas over a piece of land called Kenéz (*particula terre cuiusdam nomine Kynyz*). The document describes the borders of the estate as follows:

“*Prima meta eiusdem terre incipit iuxta aquam Gungus et vadit versus aquilonem ad aquam Sar et est meta in Sormv; deinde per viam herbosam itur ad stratam viam, que ducit ad Sabariam, et ibi sunt due mete; abhinc per eandem viam herbosam procedit ad silvam et directe per eandem viam herbosam transit ad magnam viam, que ducit ad villam Wep, et ibi sunt tres mete ... deinde tenendo metas cum villa Wep veniet versus orientem per eandem viam sunt mete due in bivio; inde vero per viam herbosam flectitur ad meridiem per metas et incidit in Garmaspotoka, per quam veniet ad aquam Gungus ibique terminatur.*”

Archives, serial number: VSzSzL 1.2; MOL DF 279067

Survival form: original

Edition: UB I, 199; HO IV, 26-27; W. VII, 109.

Regesta: Kóta, *Regeszták*, 14, No. 8.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Kenéz,” 763; Cs. II, s.v. “Vép,” 731.

No. 53

1314: Before the Vasvár chapter the sons of Petrus of Mákfa give over their estate called Kiskolc (*Kyskoch*) – found near Muraszombat – to their sister Isolde in exchange for the estate called Dergenye (*Druguna*) that they received earlier.

In the perambulation of Kiskolc mention is made about the Muraszombat—Szombathely road passing by the landed properties of the Lendva Castle:

“***iuxta viam magnam, per quam itur ad Sabariam de Belmura et separant a terris castris Lyndue.***”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 1856

Survival form: transcription, 1 July 1378

Edition: A. I, 369-370; UB III, 86-87 (detail).

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Dergenyé," 744; Cs. II, s.v. "Kisko(l)cz," 766; Cs. II, s.v. "Lindva," 716-717, 725; Cs. II, s.v. "Mura(i)-Szombat," 717.

Kölked (now: Nagykölked, C. Vas)

No. 54

1221: King Andreas II allows Stephanus son of Chepanus, former *banus*, to endow the Cistercian monastery of Szentgotthárd with the Pornó Island (*insulam...Pornó*) and the villages (*Monyorókerék, Hétfőhely, Perwolf, Kölked*) pertaining to that before his retiring into the monastery. In addition, the patronage of the Saint Margaret Church of Pornó (*patronatum ecclesie beate Margarethe de Pornó*) also passes to the monastery. The document describes the boundaries of the donated estates.

Detail of the perambulation of Kölked:

"Prima meta terre Kölked incipiens ultra villam Hudós tendit versus orientem prope Iáák et inde vadit per metas in Radócz, rursumque de Hudus per metas descendit in vallem, que Csencse nominatur, et inde pergitur per magnam viam usque in Kölked et de eadem villa per aliam viam revertit versus orientem usque ad metas ville de Macsad et inde vadit usque Hollos et reflectitur prope predium ecclesie Sancti Georgii condam de Radócz nominatum."

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 72224

Survival form: transcription, 7 February 1240

Edition: UB I, 83; HO VI, 14.

Regesta: RA I, 120; F. III/1, 329.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Kölked," 768; Cs. II, s.v. "Csencs," 741-742; Cs. II, s.v. "Hollós," 757; Cs. II, s.v. "Ják(monostora)," 759; Cs. II, s.v. "Macsad," 772; Cs. II, s.v. "Rádócz," 788.

Kőszeg (now: Kőszeg, C. Vas)

No. 55

3 July 1328: At request of the settlers and burghers of Kőszeg (*hospites seu cives...de Kwzeg*), King Charles I confirms Kőszeg in all the privileges the town received from *banus* Hericus and his son Palatine Iohannes at the time of its foundation. In terms of the letter of privilege, for example, Kőszeg remains a free royal town for all times and no one is allowed to collect tolls after the merchandise transported to the town.

"Item prohibemus, ne ab omnibus rebus quecumque ad ipsam civitatem tam in die fori quam aliis diebus vendicioni exponende deferuntur vel inibi conparantur, prout ab antiquo consuetum est, tributum aliquod exigatur."

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 3654

Survival form: original

Edition: UB IV, 35-36; F. VIII/3, 282.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Kőszeg," 714-715; 724-725.

No. 56

10 November 1341: King Charles I prohibits the judges, jurymen, and burghers of Sopron and Pressburg from hindering the burghers of Kőszeg in transporting their wine and other goods, as the latter complained about not being allowed to pass through the suburbs called Hofstatt.

“Karolus dei gracia Hungarie rex fidelibus suis iudicibus iuratis civibus et universis hospitibus de **civitatibus Supprvnyensi et Posonyensi** salutem et gratiam. Conqueruntur nobis cives et hospites nostri **de Kewzgw**, quod vos eos vina et alias res suas ducentes per civitatem transire non permetteretis, ymo nec **per suburbium vulgariter Houstat dictum, viam daretis** eisdem. ...damus in mandatis, quatenus dictos fideles **cives et hospites nostros de Kewzeg** cum vinis et aliis rebus eorum per civitatem seu civitates et **viam eorum libere ire** et procedere permittatis et molestare ac perturbare non audeatis, aliud sicut nostram regalem gratiam offendere pertimescitis ...”

Archives, serial number: VaML 669 = MOL DF 262188

Survival form: original

Edition: UB IV, 328; F. VIII/4, 481-482.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Köszege,” 714-715, 724-725; Cs. III, s.v. “Sopron,” 589, 595-597.

No. 57

1354: The Vasvár chapter records the boundaries of the lands belonging to the burghers of Köszege (*ciuibus de Kewzeg*).

“Prima meta incipit **in monte** iuxta terram Abbatis de Kedhel **secus quamdam viam**, et locum aquosum ab occidente; ab hinc **de ipso monte** versus occidentem descendit inter vineas ac terras arabiles Egidy, sub ipso monte in fine cuiusdam vinee, scilicet Simonis rotulatoris de **Rewth**, deinde directe transit **ad fluium Gyngyes**, et ibi iuxta ipsum **fluium Gyngyes**, ab oriente vnam metam erexissent; ab hinc ipsum saliendo **fluium**, flectitur **versus villam Rewth**, ad longitudinem vnius iugeris ascendendo **ad montem**, vbi in latere ipsius **montis**, vnam metam **secus quamdam viam** ab oriente erexissent, ab hinc in eodem **monte** ascendit **in vna via** versus occidentem non longe... **secus ipsam viam** a parte meridionali meta terrea circumfusam pro meta erexissent, deinde vnam vallem versus occidentem <333> saliendo ascendit **ad vnum montem** iuxta quamdam arborem tremuli, et **in vertice ipsius montis** inter lapides vnam metam erexissent; ab hinc descendit de latere eiusdem **montis**, et similiter vnam vallem transiliendo peruenit et ascendit versus meridiem ad vnum monticulum, ibique vnam metam erexissent; deinde ad occidentem currit per arbores cruce signatas descendens **ad riuulum putei Warkhutha** dictum, de transitu metarum **per ipsum riuulum** in longitudinem duorum iugerum, a meridie situati, **ipsum fluium** saliendo ascendit **per montem** versus occidentem, et peruenit **ad vnam viam magnam, Warwtha dictam**, secus quam ab aquilone vnam metam erexissent; deinde **in eadem via eundo versus villam Leuka** peruenit **ad locum Cherech hedgy** dictum, ibique **inter duas vias** subtus quamdam arborem ilicis, secus foueam cementi ab aquilone habitam, vnam metam erexissent ab occidente. Deinde in eadem vna **via Arkutha** dicta, descendendo longe per arbores cruce signatas, et peruenit ad vnum monticulum **inter duos riuulos** vulgo **Mezchre Leuelyke** (?) et **fons Welyke** existentem, in inferiori acie ipsius montis vnam metam erexissent, ab hinc progrediendo per vallem versus occidentem, ascendit **ad montem**, et in latere **ipsius montis** secus quamdam **viam Louaghgyalogwta dictam**, ab occidente vnam metam erexissent. Deinde **per villam Suz** dictam ad occidentem vergendo, tendit versus partem meridionalem, per locum feneti et arbores cruce signatas, **ad montem** ascendendo, vsque **ad magnum montem**, in cuius **vertice** sub arbore Iuniperi **Fenyhedgy** dictum, et **secus quamdam viam subtus ipsum** <334> **montem** ab aquilone vnam metam erexissent, ibique terminarentur, quae ad meridiem distinguret **possessionem Rohuncz** et ad orientem relinquit possessionem seu terram **ciuitatis Kewzeg**, et ad aquilonem ville **Leuka** separat.”

Survival form: transcription, 1557.

Edition: F. IX/2, 332-334.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “: Kőszeg,” 714-715, 724-725; Cs. II, s.v. “: Léka,” 715-716, 725.

Köveskút (now: Salköveskút, C. Vas)

No. 58

20 December (1263-1270): The Vasvár chapter records the agreement between *Comes* Georgius and Tyba of Köveskút (*Cuescut*) as well as Iwanka son of Salomon. *Comes* Georgius and his brother Tyba gave up their claim of the estate that they formerly demanded from Iwanka. In return for that, Iwanka allowed them to have a landed property in the vicinity of their estate called Köveskút (*Cuescut*), within the boundaries described by the document:

“Prime mete incipiunt ab occidente in valle ipsis nobilibus et ville Supte mediata, ubi sunt due mete terree; abhinc progrediens versus orientem in longitudinem duorum iugerum sunt due mete; abhinc veniens ad viam publicam quam transiens iuxta eandem sunt due mete; unde currens dictam viam tendit versus septemtrionem in eadem via, de qua exiundo sunt due mete; abhinc revertens ad orientem descendit iuxta fluvium iuxta quem sunt due mete... transsiliens autem fluvium venit per medium platee ipsorum ad cimiterium ecclesie sancti Wenceslai... abhinc tendens ad stratam, iuxta quam sunt due mete; dehinc declinat versus meridiem, ubi sunt due mete; deinde declinat versus orientem ad vallem, ubi sunt due mete, per quam tendens versus meridiem cadit iterum in magnam viam ubi sunt due mete; deinde tendit ad orientem in longitudine duorum iugerum sunt due mete...”

Archives, serial number: VaML 768 = MOL DF 262280

Survival form: original

Edition: UB III, 275.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Köveskut,” 768; Herényi, s.v. “Köveskút,” 319-320; Cs. II, s.v. “Söpte,” 794; Herényi, s.v. “Septhe,” 444.

Kövesszarv (now: Gasztony, C. Vas)

No. 59

7 July 1271: King Stephen (V) confirms his letter of privilege issued for Nicolaus and Mikch sons of Mikov in 1269. On the basis of the document of the Vasvár chapter, the king describes the boundaries of the estate *Küeszorv* donated to them:

“Metae autem predictae terre Küeszorv, sicut in literis capituli Castri Ferrei nobis innotuit, taliter distinguuntur: prima meta incipit per fluvium Raba... de quibus venit ad fluvium Ragalch vocatam ... in sylva Ragalch venit ad aquam Medus vocatam, quam transit similiter, ubi sunt iterum duae metae ... de quibus currit ad viam, quae ducit ad villam Chakan, iuxta quam est meta ilici sociata altera est terrea, de quibus veniendo ad septemtrionem intrat viam publicam, ubi sunt duae metae... autem adhuc ad meridiem venit ad duas parvas ilices loco metarum positas, de quibus intrat viam magnam, quae ducit ad Teutonium, ubi sunt duae metae... de quibus binis et binis metis veniendo directe ad meridiem venit ad viam, per quam itur ad villam Chakan scriptam, ubi sunt duae metae terreae et ibi transeundo fluvium Medus sunt duae metee...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 684 and 685

Survival form: copy, 8 September 1759

Edition: UB II, 7; W. VIII, 348-349.

Regesta: RA II, 109.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Köves-szaru (Köves-szarv)," 768, Cs. II, s.v. "Gosztony," 751; Cs. II, s.v. "Csákány," 740.

Kukmér (now: Kukmirn, Au.)

No. 60

25 July 1288: Before the Vasvár chapter Tristianus son of Szelk of Szecsőd (*Szecsseud*) and his relatives from Szecsőd, as well as Henricus son of Paulus of Kukmér divide their landed property called Kukmér (*possessionem suam Kukmér*) among themselves.

*"Prima meta incipit a parte orienti iuxta fluvium Sekh et inde versus tangit ad unam magnam viam et inde tangit ad aliam viam, que vadit supra montem a parte meridionali **Kis Kukmerd** vocatum, donec eedem mete cadunt in rivum **Schloßbach** nuncupatum, et inde versus tangit ad fluvium Zélk... et inde vadit supra ad fluvium Sekk, et ibi prope fluvium in una valle, que nuncupatur **Rámbolch-völgye**... et inde vadit ad unam viam in montem et de monte vadit ad Riedgrab, et inde supra fluvium **Sekh** et ibi finitur."*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 103250

Survival form: copy, 18th c.

Edition: UB II, 209.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Kuk(e)mér (b)," 769; Cs. II, s.v. "Szecső(d)," 795-796.

Küszin, Újvár, Németújvár (now: Güssing, Au.)

No. 61

+1157 (ca. 1230): With the consent of King Géza II and bishop Gervasius, *Comes* Walferus establishes a monastery at the territory of Küszin (*Quizun*) in honour of Saint Margaret. He donates lands and other goods to the Küszin Monastery, which is subordinated to the Pannonhalma Abbey.
Detail of the perambulation of the lands belonging to the Küszin Monastery:

*"...versus **Ferreum-Castrum** terminus est **fluvius Ezturmen**; versus **Theotonicos fluvius Medus** usque ad fontes ubi oritur; versus **Dobrounuc fluvius Zec**; versus **Witin torrens Zurnu** et **Berz** usque ad fontes, ubi oriuntur, et sic circa usque dum venit iterum ad **Ezturmen**, citra **Ezturmen** ex hac parte usque ad viam regis."*

Archives, serial number: PBFL Capsa 18.R = MOL DF 206820

Survival form: transcription, 1230-1250

Edition: PRT I, 604; F. VII/5, 117.

Regesta: UB I, 22; RA I, 30-31.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Újvár," 721 and 729.

No. 62

6 July 1409: By the order of King Sigismund of 22 May, the Vasvár chapter perambulates for Dominicus and Jacobus of Mihály (*de Mihaly*) the estates Lak (*Lak*) and Csánig (*Chanyg*) found in County Vas and Szentandrás (*Zent Andras*) found in County Sopron.

The common perambulation of Lak, Nick and Középfalufölde is the following:

*“Primo inceperunt a parte orientali possessionis Nychk vocate in medio fluvii Raba nuncupati, ... inde ad quandam viam graminosam veniendo et plagam... de hinc plagam ad eandem per idem pratium eundo iuxta quandam venam aque, Keres vocatam, ... post hec similiter in eandem plagam in diverticulis terrarum arabilium eundo quandam pirum iuxta viam publicam de possessione Lak in possessionem Nychk ducentem metam terream fodi fecissent, ... ab hinc per terras arabiles et virgultum ad eandem plagam eundo quandam arborem populeam iuxta viam graminosam de dicta possessione Nychk in possessionem Chalad ducentem meta terrea circumdedissent, de hinc plagam in eandem per eandem viam eundo iuxta eandem metam terream angularem cumulassent, que quidem dictis possessionibus *Chanyg* et *Lak* separans memoratam, possessionem <600> *Nychk* ad meridiem relinqueret et separaret; inde ad partem aquilonarem flectendo et in virgultis per ictus duarum sagittarum eundo iuxta quandam viam publicam de dicta possessione Lak in possessionem Chalad predictam ducentem metam terream fodi fecissent; ... pervenissent ad fluvium Rabcha inter annotatas possessiones *Lak* et *Chanyg* ab una, parte vero ab alia inter possessionem Zemere separantem, ... ad partem aquilonarem flectendo et fluvium Rabcha pertranseundo.. meta terrea circumfusam reperissent, quam renovassent... pervenissent ad quandam viam publicam de possessione Zyrak in dictam possessionem Zemere ducentem, iuxta quam meta terream angularem fodi fecissent, dicte possessionis *Zemere* et terre *Zekas* separantem; inde per eandem viam ad partem orientalem flectendo... penes eandem viam plagam metam terream fecissent; ab hinc per eandem viam plagam in eandem per ictus trium sagittarum pergendo et ad partem orientalem iemalem declinando quandam metam terream renovassent; ... pervenissent ad quoddam fossatum, inter possessiones *Zyrak* et <601> *Zekas* distinguens... iuxta idem fossatum a parte orientali usque silvam Rapcha eundo iuxta silvam eandem metam terream fodi fecissent, inde fossato in eodem venissent usque fluvium Rapcha, per eundemque fluvium ad partem septentrionalem transeundo pervenissent ad quandam viam de possessione Zyrak in possessionem Belyd euntem, iuxta quam metam terream erexissent, qui quidem fluvius *Rapcha* usque eandem metam ad possessiones predictas *Lak* et *Chanyg* vocatas pertineret; ab hinc iuxta eundem fluvium usque pratium vulgo Füestelek vocatum eundo prato in eodem metam terream erexissent; inde versus orientem per silvam Rabe usque ad fluvium Assuan tendendo, qui quidem fluvius inter prenotatas possessiones *Chanyg* et *Lak* ac *Belyd* separaret et penes eundem fluvium Assuan usque fluvium Raba ad partem meridionalem processissent; ab hinc penes eundem fluvium versus eandem plagam eundo et medietatem eiusdem fluvii Raba usui earundem possessionum relinquendo pervenissent ad priorem metam, ibique terminum earundem possessionum *Chanyg* et *Laka* ac terre Kuzepfalufelde vocate terminaretur.”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 43003

Survival form: original

Edition: Sopron vm. I, 599-601.

Regesta: Zs. II/2, 253, No. 6868.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Lak (d),” 770; Cs. II, s.v. “Niczk,” 779-780; Cs. II, s.v. “Középfalu(-földe),” 768; Cs. III, s.v. “Czirák,” 604; Cs. II, s.v. “Család,” 740; Cs. II, s.v. “Csánig,” 740; Cs. III, s.v. “Székás,” 630; Cs. III, s.v. “Szemere,” 631.

No. 63

1279: The Vasvár chapter testifies to the fact that Iohannes and Nicolaus sons of *banus* Henricus divided their properties (castles, settlements, and forests) between each other.

“Portio vero praescripti Nicolai bani in sylva incepit super magnam viam quae de Languvys vadit in Kapurnuk ad partem meridiei...”

Archives, serial number: VaML 727 = MOL DF 262247

Survival form: transcription, 1 May 1328

Edition: UB II, 140; F. V/2, 595.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Longek,” 772; Cs. II, s.v. “Kapornok (b),” 762.

No. 64

1 May 1328: At the request of *magister* Nicolaus son of Nicolaus, the Vasvár chapter transcribes the 1279 letter of division of the property between Nicolaus and Iohannes sons of *banus* Herricus from the Héder kindred.

“porcio vero prescripti N[icolai] bani in silva incipit super magnam viam, que de Langumyg vadit in Kapurnuk ad partem meridiei.”

Archives, serial number: VaML 727 = MOL DF 262247

Survival form: original

Edition: UB IV, 25; F. VIII/3, 323.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Longek,” 772; Cs. II, s.v. “Kapornok (b),” 762.

1. Lapsa (now: part of Vasvár, C. Vas)

No. 65

7 June 1334: The Zala convent reports to King Charles I that on 29 May in the presence of a royal bailiff and the neighbours a member of the convent perambulated Lapsa and Szentmihályfalva (*Lapsa et Zenthmihalfalua*), and the Vasvár chapter was introduced in possession of the estates. Detail of the perambulation:

“Meta predictae possessionis Lapsa incipit penes conmetaneitatem Pachun et Gewrguar in monte super unam indaginem ... <175> pervenit ad pratum in valle Lapsa existens; et de ipsa valle ad eandem plagam ascendit montem, pervenit ad magnam viam, que transit de Ferreo Castro ad dictam Gewrguar et salit ipsam ad eandem partem et in virgultis vadit per magnum spacium et iungitur terre predictae possessionis Zenthmihalfalua; inde tendit ad ipsam plagam occidentis venit ad viam, que ducit de Janusfalua ad Wasuar; salit ipsam viam et venit ad magnum fossatum... pervenit ad finem magni fossati et ibi cadit ad fluvios Beelpathaka et Chipkespathaka, per quos transit via publica; et in eodem fluvio ad aquilonem vadit usque ortum monachorum claustrum Sancte Crucis... cadit in aliam viam magnam, que de Zenthmihalfalua et Wasuar Regali vadit ad Chipkerek et in eadem via ad dictam plagam orientis transit per magnum spacium, venit ad dumum vulgariter Kentesbokor dictum, secus eandem viam a meridie existentem; inde in eadem via ad eandem plagam eundo venit ad vallem Boorkuth dictam; adhuc in ipsa via ad ipsam plagam orientis pergendo vadit ad caput vallis vulgariter Kekenesuelge dictam et inde reflectitur ad meridiem

et transit per virgulta saliendo vias; venit ad locum Warthetew dictum, ubi scilicet via ducens de Ferreo Castro ad Altalozko facit descensum et ibi iungitur metis terre Pachun et Ozko et sic terminatur...

Archives, serial number: VSzSzL 2.6 = MOL DF 279083

Survival form: original (Its eighteenth-century copies: MOL DL 91262 ; MOL DL 91.263.)

Edition: UB. IV, 174-175 (perambulation); VSz 21 (1967): 444.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Lapsa (a)," 771; Cs. II, s.v. "Csipkerek," 742; Cs. II, s.v. "Györgyvár," 753; Cs. II, s.v. "Jánosfalva," 760; Cs. II, s.v. "Oszkó," 781; Cs. II, s.v. "Pácson(y)," 782; Cs. II, s.v. "Szent-Mihályfalva," 799.

2. Lapsa (now: Magyarszecsőd, C. Vas)

No. 66

1238: Paulus comes of Székesfehérvár acts as a judge made by the king in the dispute over the boundaries between Buza and his brothers as well as the inhabitants of Körmend (*populi de villa Curmend*). After the interrogation of witnesses Comes Paulus adjudicates for Buza and his brothers an estate allotted for the work of two ploughs at Lapsa (*villa Lapsa*). The boundary marks of the landed property are the following:

"Prima huius terre meta incipit de angulo Gudarehte et tendens superius vadit ad magnam viam, per quam de Ferreo Castro vadunt ad Teothoniam; deinde tendens vadit ad finem rakatya, deinde ad arborem piri prope ipsam arborem, arbore tamen populis de Curmend remanente; deinde per Hurozt vadit ad magnam viam, que vadit ad Nouum Castrum per villam Stephani et Gelca; deinde ad planam terram, que Purlog dicitur, et in medio Purlog sunt mete; deinde ad magnam arborem ilicis, que vulgo tulg vocatur, et iuxta illam arborem commetatur terra nobilium de Raduzt et sic terminatur."

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 99841

Survival form: original

Edition: UB I, 184; W. VII, 63.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Lapsa (b)," 771; Cs. II, s.v. "Szecső(d)," 795-796; Cs. s.v. "Szent-király," 797-798.

Lendva (now: Grad, Sl.)

No. 67

1208: Endre II donates Nicolaus comes of Vasvár the estate called Lendva (*terram nomine Lyndwa*), which belongs to the Vasvár Castle (*Ferrei Castri*). The perambulation of Lendva is as follows:

"Prima meta procedit a Sancto Vencezlao in via ad orientem et conterminatur terre ville speculatorum Kurcite et inde per eandem viam vadit et conterminatur ville Wolfer et inde procedens conterminatur terre Iohan ... et inde vadit ad magnam viam et conterminatur terre Zalaiensi ...; et inde per eandem viam vadit versus occidentem et conterminatur terre Chef ... et inde per viam predictam vadit et venit ad terram Iohan et Wolfer... et inde per eandem magnam viam vadit et conterminatur terre Zalaiensi ...et inde vadit ad villam Bogma ... et inde vadit ad aquam Lyprich ... et inde vadit ad aquam Lyndwa metis de terra interpositis, et inde per eandem aquam vadit ... ad caput aque Lyndwa ... et inde vadit ad caput aque Dobra ... et inde vadens conterminatur terre ville Thohna ... inde vadit et conterminatur terre hospitum Ferrei Castri, cuius ville nomen Rodina... et inde vadit ad Kueshug et conterminatur terre Norsa ... et inde per magnam viam venit ad aquam Hydusd et transiens aquam vadit in Bercy...inde vadens transit aquam Kobula in valle ... et inde vadit ad aquam

Welmer, et inde per eandem aquam vadit superius ad caput eiusdem aque... et inde vadens conterminatur terre Iswna ... inde per viam descendens conterminatur terre Muncu ... et inde venit ad terram speculatorum et inde redit ad priorem metam.”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 100138

Survival form: transcription, 14 October 1373

Edition: UB. I, 56.

Regesta: RA I, 75-76.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Lindva,” 716-717, 725; Cs. II, s.v. “Kurcsite,” 769.

Lipotfalva (now: Loipersdorf, Au.)

No. 68

1 September 1331: The Vasvár chapter testifies to the fact that by the order of Stephanus son of Dyonisius, comes of Vasvár and Sopron, the perambulation of *possessiones* Sáh and Alhó (*Sáh et Alho*) as well as Lipotfalva, Kethely, and Erösd (*Libolßfalva, Kethely et Erusd*) pertaining to them was conducted on 21 August, and Paulus son of Pausa of Köveskut (*de Köveskut*) was put in possession of the estates.

Detail of the common perambulation:

*“Quarumquidem metarum cursus hoc ordine distinctos retulerunt: quod prima meta supra villam **Lipolzfalva** vocatam ab aquilone inter ipsam vilam et aliam viam Graphsahia iuxta fluvium Lapincs incipit in duabus arboribus cerasi de una radice exortis que metis terreis est circumfusa, ad meridiem terre **Lipolzfalva**, ad aquilonem terre **Graphsahia** separat et distinguit; unde tendit versus orientem iuxta rivulum **Stregnpah** vocatum... versus orientem ascendit ad montem ad duas arbores ilicum metis terreis circumdatas, per quas a terra **Graphsahia** separatur; de quibus descendit in vallem ad orientem separat terre **Pinquafei**; de quaquidem meta cerasea regreditur ad plagam meridionalem ascendendo monticulum, cadit ad viam magnam antiquam, ad orientem separat terre **Radomfalva**; et in eadem via magna longe currendo pervenit ad vallem Kövessfö ad duas metas terreas, in quibus stant due abores ilicum, ubi ad orientem terre **Ör**, ad occidentem terre **Saah** separantur; unde ad meridiem currit...”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 99934

Survival form: copy, 17th c.

Edition: UB IV, 96.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Alhó (Alhau),” 732; Cs. II, s.v. “Erösd,” 746; Cs. II, s.v. “Groffensach(en),” 751; Cs. III, s.v. “Kethely,” 763; Cs. II, s.v. “Lipo(l)tfalva,” 771; Cs. II, s.v. “Ör,” 781-782; Cs. II, s.v. “Pink(v)afö,” 786; Cs. II, s.v. “Sáh (Sahen, Schachen),” 790.

Mákva, Kismákva, Nagymákva (now: Kismákfa and Nagymákfa, parts of Vasvár, C. Vas)

No. 69

14 August 1326: The Vasvár chapter records that Petrus son of Peteu of Mákva (*Makwa*) as well as Iolynth daughter of Martinus son of Chama and her son Dominicus settled their dispute over the one-third of the Mákfa estate that belonged to Martinus son of Chama. The estate went to Petrus son of Peteu, who paid a compensation. Detail of the perambulation of the estate:

*“...a plaga occidentali prout fluvius **Chama** a meridie versus **Rabam** seu aquilonem currens et in diverticulo aliquorum iugerum prope nemus relinquens meatum rivuli ad dexteram directe tendens **ad Beruchzyg** et ab hinc ad unam arborem ilicis magnam in nemore, de qua*

ad fluvium Makwa ad dictam plagam separat et distingit occidentalem, ab altera vero parte de terra Makwa per unam viam ad arborem ilicis currentem et ad fluvium Makwa de ipsa arbore directe tendentem circumdatur ac terciam partem silve ipsos contingentis...

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 91232
Survival form: transcription 10 April 1328
Edition: UB III, 220 (perambulation); A. II, 253.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Mákva," 773.

No. 70

8 November 1326: The Vasvár chapter records that by the order of King Charles I the boundaries separating Kismákva (*Kysmagwa*) from Nagymákva (*Nogmagwa*) were perambulated and Paulus was put in possession of the estate.

"Kysmakwa et Nogmakwa vocata ab invicem separatas... quod prima meta incipit iuxta viam magnam Murauta vocatam, sunt quatuor mete, quarum due sunt nove et due antique in arboribus ilicis... unde prope Zarazpatak sunt due mete nove et abhinc in ipso Zarazpatak versus aquilonem directe descendendo iuxta magnam viam sunt due mete; de quibus saliendo ipsam viam magnam in loco fenili versus Rabam sunt due mete usque fluvium Makwa et hiis metis possessiones Nogmakwa ad occidentem, Kysmakwa ad orientem invicem separantur."

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 91231
Survival form: transcription 10 April 1328
Edition: UB III, 227 (perambulation); HO III, 86-87.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Mákva," 773.

Megyehíd (now: Megyehíd, C. Vas)

No. 71

1217: King Andreas II names Poth (*Poch*) comes of Moson as the protector of the Vasvár chapter (*ecclesie sancti Michaelis de Castro Ferreo*) and confirms the chapter in its possessions.
Detail of the perambulation of Megyehíd:

"Pedium Megehíd nomine cum duobus locis molendinorum, cuius predii prima meta incipit a Gungys et vadit ad arborem zcyl et inde ad villam cuiusdam Famia nomine iuxta aquam Sard nomine et inde ad eandem aquam, unde incepit predium Zyluag nomine, cuius terra distincta et separata est certis metis de terra populorum Szciluag, et ipsa predia iacent ultra silvam Raba nomine."

Archives, serial number: VSzSzL 4.15.B = MOL DF 279145
Survival form: transcription, 17 October 1412
Edition: UB. I, 73; HO IV, 9; W. VI, 384.
Regesta: RA I, 105-106.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Megyehíd," 775; Cs. II, s.v. "Famia," 747.

No. 72

1237: Gregorius bishop of Győr, Csák *comes* of Sopron, and Hahold *comes* of Vasvár made judges by King Béla IV confirm the a Vasvár chapter in the possession of Megyehíd (predium Megyehyd) and Kenéz (*villa Kyniz*).

Detail of the perambulation of Megyehíd:

*“Ad latus orientale incipiunt **ab aqua Gungus** et tendentes versus septemtrionem intrant viam magnam continentem duas metas et abhinc acervo metarum interiacente eadem via protenduntur ad spinosam distinccionem, que vulgo dicitur **mege** dupplici meta consignatam, et in eadem distinccione progredientes veniunt ad littosum **rivum**, cuius deinde cursui obviantes veniunt **ad villam Femie**, ibique sub piro contingunt viam quandam metis publicis cognoscendam, in qua rursus via procedunt **ad trium viarum** coniuncionem habencium unam metam **Wep**, alteram de **Femie**, terciam ecclesie pertinentem, deinde retorquentens ad meridiem et **iuxta terminos Vepiensium** procedunt usque **ad aquam Gungus**, quam transeuntes, <178> girum faciunt in alvei margine, in quo prius **aqua Gungus** decurrebat in modum insule, et sic demum ad metam priorem revertuntur.”*

Archives, serial number: VSzSzL 7.26 B = MOL DF 279246

Survival form: transcription, 23 February 1484

Edition: UB I, 177-178; HO IV, 21.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Megyehíd,” 775; Cs. II, s.v. “Vép,” 731; Cs. II, s.v. “Famia,” 747; Cs. II, s.v. “Kenéz,” 763.

No. 73

8 May 1341: Paulus judge royal puts off the lawsuit over the landed poperty called Megyehíd (possessionis Megehyd) between Martinus son of Crisius of Megyehida (*de Megehyd*) and Stephanus son of Box, as well as Stephanus son of Anthaleus of Vát (*de Walth*) from 8 May to 8 August.

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 40855

Survival form: original

Edition: UB IV, 321.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Megyehíd,” 775.

Mézadó (now: Nagymizdó, C. Vas)

No. 74

27 March 1329: The Vasvár chapter reports to Laurencius *vicecomes* of Thomas *comes* of Vasvár that on 23 March the boundaries of Vámosmézadó located by the Rába River (*terram Vamusmezado vocatam iuxta Rabam existentem*) were perambulated from the direction of Szecsőd (*Zecheud*), and Iohannes son of Paulus was put in possession of the landed property:

“Prima meta incipit in duabus metis terreys ab aquilone circa viam magnam, qua itur de villa Salamonis filii Rempe ad Kurmend; deinde super eandem viam tendit versus meridiem... pervenit ad unam metam terream circa unam viam... pervenit ad viam magnam Etheuenuth vocatam, ubi est meta terrea; adhuc ad eandem plagam orientalem directe currendo pervenit ad unam vallem aquosam et vimosam circa viam Kezeputh vocatam est ibi meta terrea; deinde versus eandem plagam orientalem directe currendo pervenit ad fluvium Rabe...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 42068

Survival form: transcription, 13 January 1378

Edition: UB IV, 48.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Méz(a)dó," 775-776; Cs. II s.v. "Körmend," 723-724; Cs. II s.v. "Szecső(d)," 795-796.

Mihályfalva (now: part of Petőmihályfa, C. Vas)

No. 75

22 August 1314: The Vasvár chapter records the exchange of landed properties between Alexander *comes* of Köcsk (*de Kuchk*) and the noblemen of Sár. The *comes* gives the noblemen of Sár his estate in Sár (*Saar*) in return for a landed property that is adjacent to his estate in Mihályfalva (*iuxta conmetaneitatem terre eiusdem comitis Alexandri Mihalfelude vocate*). The borders of the landed property in Mihályfalva are the following:

*"Prima meta incipit ab oriente in arbore salicis iuxta terram prefati comitis Alexandri in fluvio; deinde tendit ad unam viam versus occidentem ad duas metas terreas; deinde vergit versus meridiem per predictam viam ad unum nemus... deinde adhuc ad acquilonem progrediendo pervenit ad rivum Zukpataka vocatum; deinde pervenit ad unam magnam viam, qua itur ad Kurmend iuxta arborem silicis, ubi due metee sunt erecte et per eandem magnam viam versus occidentem pervenit ad conmetaneitatem *terree Tyrebuch*, ubi sunt due metee... deinde adhuc ad acquilonem tendendo pervenit ad duas metas, quarum una iuxta viam est in arbore ylicis ibique iungendo terram predicti comitis Alexandri et metas memorate *terree Tyrebuch* terminatur."*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 91181

Survival form: original

Edition: UB III, 81.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Sár," 791; Cs. II, s.v. "Körmend," 714, 723-724; Cs. II, s.v. "Mihályfalva (a)," 776; Cs. II, s.v. "Trebecz," 805.

No. 76

1 July 1327: In front of the Vasvár chapter Mychael and Nicolaus, sons of Elleus, divide their estates at Lak (*in possessione Laak*), Petőmihályfalva (*in possessione... Myhalfalua*), and Árokköz (*in possessione Arukkuz*) among themselves:

*"...in possessione ipsorum aquisita **Myhalfalua** vocata a parte meridionali iuxta fluvium Saar due sessiones Mychaeli, iuxta quas due sessiones cessissent Mychaeli, iuxta quas consimili modo due sessiones magistro Nicolao, a quibus ad partem aquillonis tendendo una sessio Mychaeli, tres vero sessiones Nicolao fuissent devolute et iuxta viam, qua itur in Telekus, una magistro Mychaeli, due vero magistro Nicolao remansissent..."*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 91850

Survival form: transcription, 26 January 1379

Edition: UB III, 246.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Mihályfalva (a)," 776; Cs. II, s.v. "Telekes," 803.

No. 77

22 April 1340: The Vasvár chapter testifies to the fact that on 11 April the boundaries of Petőmihályfa and Ivanóc (*Myhalfelde et Iwanolch*) were perambulated in the presence of the neighbours, and Peteu son of Petrus as well as Stephanus son of Beke, noblemen of the Nádasd kindred, were put in possession of the estate.

“Prima meta incipit in una vale, que ad occidentem separat **terre Kyskolch**, ad orientem **terre Myhalfelde**; supra quam valem versus orientem est una meta terrea de novo erecta et iungitur **terre Nyhynolch**, que est a parte meridionali... relinquit **terram Nychnynolch**, iungitur **terre Tysinolch**, iuxta quam progreditur versus orientem ad unam metam terream iuxta rivulum positam prope viam et pontem, que meta terrea ad aquilonem **terre Myhalfelde**, ad meridiem **terre Tysinolch** separat et distingit; deinde ibidem salit viam, directe tendit ascendendo de vale versus orientem ad montem... ascendit montem ad orientem, pervenit ad unam viam magnam Varasuth dictam, iuxta quam est una meta terrea; ibi relinquit **terram Abramchukolch** et iungitur **terre Abronuk**, in qua via longe currit versus orientem; exit de ipsa via versus aquilonem, cadit ad unam viam antiquam, in qua antiqua via, que ad orientem separat **terram Abronuk** longe currit versus aquilonem... descendit ad unam valem ad unam metam terream positam iuxta unam semitam vulgo Gy[alog]luth dictam, in qua semita versus aquilonem currit et pervenit ad unam metam terream... tendit versus aquilonem, intrat unam viam, qua itur in Lak et in ipsa via longe it ad aquilonem; de qua exit versus occidentem ad duas metas antiquas et terciam de novo erectam, que ad aquilonem separant **terre Lak**, ad meridiem **terre Myhalfelde**... <302> ascendit montem, pervenit ad unam metam terream iuxta viam magnam erectam Varasuth dictam, qua itur in Zombathel et in ipsa via magna tendit versus occidentem in qua it longe, pervenit ad quatuor metas antiquas et quintam novam, ubi ad aquilonem separat **terre Superius Lak**, ad meridiem **terre Myhalfelde**, ad occidentem **terre Iwahnolch**; inde flectitur ad aquilonem, ipsam viam relinquendo vadit ad unam valem... cadit in unam viam, qua via vadit ad Sanctum Benedictum et in ipsa via currendo vadit ad duas metas antiquas, una terrea et altera illicea cum meta terrea circumfusam et sicut ipsa via ad Sanctum Benedictum vadit a parte orientis, separat **possessionem Felseulak** et a parte occidentis separat **possessioni Iwahnolch** ibique terminantur.”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 7124

Survival form: transcription, 8 April 1385

Edition: UB IV, 301-302; A. IV, 17-19.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Abrancsukolcz,” 732; Cs. II, s.v. “Ivano(l)cz,” 758; Cs. II, s.v. “Kisko(l)cz,” 766; Cs. II, s.v. “Mihályfalva (a),” 776; Cs. II, s.v. “Lak,” 770; Cs. II, s.v. “Mura(l)-Szombat,” 717, 726.

1. Mindszent (now: Csehimindszent, C. Vas)

No. 78

1314: The Vasvár chapter separates the estate of *magistri* Johannes and Andreas sons of Andreas of Paty or Mindszent from the landed properties belonging to the noblemen of Paty (*Pogh*) and the noblemen of Csipkerek (*Chypkerek*) that surround it.

“Prima meta incipit... a parte meridionali iuxta **terram uille Zyplak**, ... deinde uergit uersus aquilonem per unam nemus,... ad orientem peruenit prope aquam ad unam terream metam, deinde iuxta eandem aquam peruenit ad unam arborem saliceam cruce signatam, in qua est meta, iuxta semitam qua itur ad ecclesiam omnium sanctorum, deinde descendendo ad fluuium, remanete terra ab occidente, magistris Jhoni et Andree prenotatis, ab oriente uero thyme et fabiano Comitibus, et eundo per eundem fluuium, peruenit in Commetaneitatem Jacobi filij Endri, et per ipsam aquam procedendo, adhuc ad aquilonem declinat paulisper ad occidentem peruenit ad arborem silicis cruce signatam in qua est meta deinde a terra predicti Jacobi separata adhuc iuxta aquam peruenit in finem terre arabilis ad tres metas terreas, que separant ab oriente a commetaneitate filiorum kadar, deinde ... ad occidentem peruenit in fine

eiusdem terre ad magnam viam graminosam... et uersus aquilonem tendendo per uiam eandem intrat siluam, vbi est meta terrea iuxta viam eandem, de hinc saliendo viam eandem ascendit montem directe uersus aquilonem,... peruenit ad aliam arborem ylicis circa uiam magnam, per quam itur in Endrid, et adhuc ipsam uiam saliendo... de ipso monte descendit... tendit directe ad magnam viam per quam itur in perezteg de Castroferreo,... deinde flectit uersus <p. 373> orientem per uiam eandem circa quam sunt tres mete terree angulares, que separant ab oriente de terris filiorum kadar a meridie uero de terris filiorum Stephani et suis fratribus de **Chypkerek**, deinde flectit uersus aquilonem directe, ubi sunt due mete terree in loco qui uocatur Hataruth,... ad aquilonem peruenit ad tres arbores ylicis, ubi sunt tres mete terree angulares, que separant a terris nobilium de **Gely** ab aquilone post hec reflectitur ad meridiem et parum ad occidentem procedendo sunt due mete angulares in ylice circa uiam per quam itur in preztegfeu, que similiter ab aquilone separant a terris nobilium de **Gely** ab occidente uero a terris filiorum Stephani et suis proximis prenotatis,... ad meridiem tendendo peruenit ad arborem ylicis cruce signatam, de hinc eundo peruenit ad arborem ylicis positam in meta circa locum Segutbik uocatum... descendit montem iterato ubi est meta in ylice... deinde adhuc ad meridiem tendendo saliendo viam magnam per quam itur in Endrid, peruenit ad metam... deinde uersus meridiem adhuc veniendo peruenit ad tres metas... diuertit ad occidentem, ad duas metas in ylice positas circa uiam magnam per quam itur in Saar de Chech per uillam Comitum Jule et suorum propinquorum **Chypkerek uocatam**, ... atque tenet de meta arborem curtagini in se continuentem quod wlgo Nyr dicitur, ad occidentem tendendo de arbor stat circa uiam per quam itur in perezteg <p. 374> de Castroferreo,... tendit uersus occidentem ad unam metam... de hinc uero tendit uersus aquilonem per unam viam, ubi sunt due mete angulares que distingunt et separant dictos filios Stephani et suos proximos ab aquilone de terra **Gunuk** vnde reflectendo se in eadem uia uersus meridiem tendendo metas terre **Gunuk** peruenit ad commetaneitatem terre **Chech**, deinde peruenit iterato, ad duas metas iuxta ynam uiam... deinde peruenit ad commetaneitatem terre **Zyplak** et... uersus orientem peruenit ad duas metas iuxta arborem et iungitur ad pratum ad arborem pomorum ad primum numerum ibique terminatur.”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 91182

Survival form: original

Edition: A. I, 372-374.

Regesta: UB III, 83-84; Kóta, *Regeszták*, 26-27, No. 52.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Mindszent (b),” 776; Cs. II, s.v. “Csipkerek,” 742; Cs. II, s.v. “Endre,” 746; Cs. II, s.v. “Gyönyök,” 751; Cs. II, s.v. “Sárvár,” 728; Cs. II, s.v. “Széplak,” 799-800; Cs. II, s.v. “Vasvár,” 729-731.

2. Mindszent (now: Pinkamindszent, C. Vas)

No. 79

1221: King Andreas II allows Stephanus son of Chepanus, former *banus*, to endow the Cistercian monastery of Szentgotthárd with the Pornó Island (*insulam...Pornó*) and the villages (*Monyorókerék, Hétfőhely, Perwolf, Kölked*) pertaining to that before his retiring into the monastery. In addition, the patronage of the Saint Margaret Church of Pornó (*patronatum ecclesie beate Margarethe de Pornó*) also passes to the monastery. The document describes the boundaries of the donated estates.

Detail of the perambulation of a forest near Mindszent:

“*Sylva vero, que est super Pinkova, incipiens de ponte, qui est sub ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum, tendit per metas versus villam Korácsony et inde ascendendo versus villam, que Kertes vocatur, super domum Henrici....*”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 72224
Survival form: transcription, 7 February 1240
Edition: UB I, 83; HO VI, 13.

Regesta: RA I, 120; F. III/1, 329,

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Mindszent (a)," 776; Cs. II, s.v. "Karácsonfalva," 762; Cs. II, s.v. "Kertes," 764; Cs. II, s.v. "Monyorókerék," 725-726; Cs. II, s.v. "Ják(monostora)," 759; Cs. II, s.v. "Szent-Péter(-falva) (a)," 799.

Monyorókerék (now: Eberau, Au.)

No. 80

1221: King Andreas II allows Stephanus son of Chepanus, former *banus*, to endow the Cistercian monastery of Szentgotthárd with the Pornó Island (*insulam...Pornó*) and the villages (*Monyorókerék, Hétfőhely, Perwolf, Kölked*) pertaining to that before his retiring into the monastery. In addition, the patronage of the Saint Margaret Church of Pornó (*patronatum ecclesie beate Margarethe de Pornó*) also passes to the monastery. The document describes the boundaries of the donated estates.

Detail of the perambulation of Monyorókerék:

"Prima igitur meta terre Monyorókerékkü incipiens de Pinqua ascendit iuxta villam Buda versus orientem prope ecclesiam Sancti Petri usque ad viam, que ducit Iáák, et per eandem viam procedit donec reflectit versus aquilonem..."

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 72224
Survival form: transcription, 7 February 1240
Edition: UB I, 83; HO VI, 13.

Regesta: RA I, 120; F. III/1, 329.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Monyorókerék," 725-726; Cs. II, s.v. "Ják(monostora)," 759; Cs. II, s.v. "Szent-Péter(-falva) (a)," 799.

Nick, Egyházasnók, Loknók (now: Nick, C. Vas)

No. 81

30 September 1254: Lorandus, palatine (*palatinus*) and *comes* of Pressburg, records that the people of Uraj belonging to the Vasvár Castle (*populi de Vrey castrensis Castri Ferrey*) accused *Comes* Ponith of attaching a part of the estates belonging Uraj to his own landed property in Niczk (*Nichk*). Finally, the castle warriors abandoned their claim, and let *Comes* Ponith have the estate within the following boundaries:

"Prima meta incipit iuxta Keurus et vadit ad occidentem ad populeam arborem et inde tendit ad rotundam pirum, que est iuxta magnam viam; hinc itur inter dua iugera, que vulgo dulew vocatur; hinc per pirum itur et tenet metas cum terra Chalad; hinc coniungitur metis veteribus et antiquatis terre Nichk memorate.,,

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 39251
Survival form: original
Edition: UB I, 236; F. IV/2, 258.

Regesta: F. VII/1, 303.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Niczk," 779-70; Cs. II, s.v. "Család," 740; Cs. II, s.v. "Ujfalú," 806.

No. 82

3 September 1358: Palatine Nicolaus Konth returns to Nicolaus of the Ják kindred (*de genere Thyak*) and Stephanus the landed property in Egyházasnyc (Eghazasnyck) that had been taken from them by the inhabitants of Laknick (*Loknyck*). The boundaries of the estate are the following:

“Prima meta inciperetur a parte Orientali iuxta fluuium Raba... inde tenderet versus occidentem, ... ad eandem plagam procedendo iuxta pratum Asuan in prato Egres ad quinque arbores Zyl uocatas... ad eandem plagam vergendo iuxta fluuium Keurus ad duas arbores Nyarfa uocatas, saliendo autem ipsum Keurus ad partem occidentalem, ... peruenit ad vnum fontem, transeundo ab inde versus occidentem peruenit ad viam magnam, qua itur ad ecclesiam sancti Nicolai, saliendo ipsam viam versus eandem plagam tendit per semitam simplicem ad vnum fossatum, et per ipsum meatum ad vnam viam magnam qua itur versus Chalad, transeundo paulisper in ipsa via ad occidentem, salit ab ipsa via ad vnum rubetum, ... deinde progrediendo peruenit ad terras arabiles ecclesie sancti Nicolai Borch nominatas, et per semitas eiusdem a parte aquilonis aduersus occidentem... reflectitur versus meridiem transeundo peruenit ad viam magnam qua itur in Chalad, et sic pergendo in ipsa via uersus Chalad <144> peruenit ad tres metas terreas antiquas et angulares ibique terminantur.”

Archives, serial number: MOL DF 209172

Survival form: original

Edition: HO IV, 143-144.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Niczk,” 779-70; Cs. II, s.v. “Család,” 740.

Óbér (now: Olbendorf, Au.)

No. 83

23 November 1333: The Vasvár chapter reports to Lorand son of Lorand, *comes* Vasvár and Sopron, that in accordance with his order, the boundaries of Óbér (*possessionis Olber*) were perambulated, and Nicolaus son of Corraldus and Nicolaus son of Wernhard were put in possession of the estate. The boundaries are as follows:

“Prima meta incipit a parte orientis super uno monte Rostholhun vocato, ubi sunt due mete antique et tertia nova... de quibus progrediendo directe ad meridiem super una via Haustraz vocato longe eundo peruenit ad byuium, ubi est meta noviter erecta, in qua stat arbor ilicys et ibi separatur a terra Nadaasd et iungitur terre nobilium de Kyrustus... adhuc ad meridiem peruenit ad viam per modum crucis untatam... abhinc per viam progreditur ad meridiem parumper flecitur ad septemtrionem... unde flecitur versus aquilonem in silva eundo peruenit ad unam viam, que vadit de Olber in Scentylyg, iuxta quam est meta terrea... saliendo ipsam viam modicum eundo peruenit ad unam metam terream antiquam et aliam novam... adhuc supra ad montem in capite vallis Megepatak est meta nova, de qua versus aquilonem peruenit ad unam metam <p. 163> antiquam terream et duas novas scilicet angulares circa unam viam positas, qua itur de Olber in Ludus, quarum una ad occidentem ville Arranth, alia ad aquilonem ville Ludus, tertia ad meridiem ville Olber et ibi iungitur terre Ludus... saliendo ipsum rivum Monorosdpatak asscendit in montem versus orientem peruenit ad viam Strozwt dictam... adhuc eundo ad meridiem super eadem via peruenit ad tres metas angulares, quarum una ab occidente terre Gursyn, alia ad orientem nobilibus de Iobagy, tertia ad meridiem ville Olber; inde divertit iterum ad orientem super una via, qua itur de Olber in villam Sancti Mychaelis, que est magistri Iohannis filii Iohannis quondam palatini et asscendit in montem prope eandem viam ad metas priores ibique terminantur.”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 99949

Survival form: original

Edition: UB IV, 162-163.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Alber (Albin, Albersdorf)," 732; Cs. II, s.v. "Jobbágyi (b)," 760; Cs. II, s.v. "Keresztes," 764; Cs. II, s.v. "Lódös(-falva)," 772; Cs. II, s.v. "Monyorósvölgy (Monyoróspatak)," 777; Cs. II, s.v. "Nádasd (a)," 778; Cs. II, s.v. "Szent-Elek," 797; Cs. II, s.v. "Szent-Mihály (a)," 798; Cs. II, s.v. "Veresvár," 721-722, 731.

Oszkó (now: Oszkó, C. Vas)

No. 84

1291: The Vasvár chapter records the agreement between *Comes* Petrus son of Vitemer and the sons of Razlay. The *comes* abandoned his claim for Halogy and Tótlak (*terre Hulug et Touthlak*). In return, the sons of Razlay gave him a part of their inherited landed property in Oszkó (*de possessione eorum hereditaria Ozkou vocata*). Detail of the perambulation:

"... *divertit ad occidentem et sunt due mete terree iuxta unam viam cumulate, quam saliendo currit ad duas metas, a quibus descendit ad metas angulares, quarum una separat ipsam terram **de terris Chama**, ibique terminatur.*"

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 2473

Survival form: transcription, 1 July 1378

Edition: UB II, 266; HO VIII, 311.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Oszkó," 781; Cs. II, s.v. "Csamafalva," 740; Cs. II, s.v. "Halogy(-harmada)," 753; Cs. II, s.v. "Himfölde (Himfalva)," 756.

No. 85

1292: The Vasvár chapter records the agreement between *Comes* Petrus son of Itemer and *Comes* Markys of Oszkó (*de Vzkou*). *Comes* Markys handed over the disputed estate (in Oszkó) to *Comes* Petrus within the following boundaries:

"*Prima meta incipit ab aquilone, ubi sunt due vie venientes a villa Perezteg et a villa Kaan coniunguntur, de qua per undecim metas directe ad meridiem descendit ad partum **Seedfeu** nuncupatum, ubi ipse mete iunguntur aliis metis comitis Petri supradicti et heedem per comitem Petrum elevate sunt et erecte, que ab occidente separant **terram Vzkou** comiti Petro, ab oriente vero Markýs comiti supradicto.*"

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 91139

Survival form: original

Edition: UB. II, 276; W. V, 74-75.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Oszkó," 781; Cs. II, s.v. "Kán (Kám)," 761; Cs. II, s.v. "Pereszleg (Pereszteg)," 784.

No. 86

(After 15 October) 1244: King Béla IV donates the land of Óvár (*Ovwar*) where a castle was standing formerly to his servitors from the Csém (*Chem*) kindred who are obliged to erect a border castle there. The document describes the boundaries of the estate as follows:

“Primam metam tenet cum villa Chem in loco, qui dicitur Sartiw, ubi sunt due mete; inde ad orientem iuxta silvam Chem sunt due mete et ibi incipit tenere metam cum villa Chatar ad montem Toboy, ubi sunt due mete; deinde ad meridiem transit aquam Pincua et iuxta magnum lapidem vadit ad locum, qui dicitur Toloywar, ubi sunt due mete; deinde vadit ad villam Cheyka et est fons in silva, ubi sunt due mete; inde vadit ad Segfeu et ibi sunt due mete inde ad Ngenszorm et ibi transit aquam Pincua et ibi tenet metam cum villa Poschen, inde ad villam Corraldi et ibi incipit tenere metam cum villa Cruciferorum et ibi est magna via, per quam itur ad castrum Ovwar, et ibi transit aquam Tohon et ibi tenet metam cum servis regis et ibi est via antiqua, per quam itur ad Inched, ubi est pirus, et ibi sunt due mete et incipit tenere metas cum filiis Condra et ita reditur ad primam metam nomine Sartiw...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 99842

Survival form: original

Edition: UB. I, 210; W. VII, 162.

Regesta: RA I, 235.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Óvár,” 717-718, 781; Cs. II, s.v. “Csatár,” 741; Cs. II, s.v. “Cséke,” 741; Cs. II, s.v. “Csém,” 741; Cs. II, s.v. “Inczéd,” 757-758; Cs. II, s.v. “Keresztes,” 764; Cs. II, s.v. “Kor(l)átfölde,” 767; Cs. II, s.v. “Tolvaj-várhegye,” 804.

No. 87

6 October 1328: The Vasvár chapter reports to King Charles I that, by his order, Ölbő was perambulated (*possessio Ilbe*) in the presence of its neighbours, and the sons of Zoch were put in possession of the estate. A detail of the perambulation:

“Cursus autem metarum hoc ordine distinguntur: quod primo incepissent super exitum fluvii Kewrus et pervenissent ad antiquum fossatum; abinde venissent ad orientem ad magnam viam, per quam itur de Ilbe ad villam Saar... per viam graminosam venissent ad kysmeggyed et dehinc incidissent in viam, qua ducit de dicta Ilbe ad villam Semyen, iuxta quam duas metas astruxissent, quarum una ab aquillone possessioni Ilbe castrum Sarwar, alia autem a meridie possessioni ipsorum filiorum Zoch separarent; ulterius per eandem viam ad orientem tendendo venissent ad unam cavernam Charnakutha nuncupatam...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 50485

Survival form: transcription, 11 November 1444

Edition: UB IV, 41.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Ölbö,” 781; Cs. II, s.v. “Semjén (a),” 792; Cs. II, s.v. “Sár,” 728.

No. 88

1224: King Andreas II donates a part of the estate Pácsony (*terra Pachun*) to the Saint Michael Church of Vasvár (*Ecclesie Beati Michaelis Archangeli de Ferreo Castro*).

*“Prima meta incipit sub quodam monticulo qui wlgo muginoulochou dicitur... transit **uiam publicam**, et progreditur super iegfa; et de ligno prefato uadit super metam, in qua stat pirus; et inde protelando ascendit per **uiam herbosam** uersus occidentem; et ibi per quandam metam spinosam descendit <425> **super uillam**, que dicitur **Lapsa**; et per eandem uillam iuxta sepem descendit per arbores pomiferas super predium, quod Dionisius Comes contulit Ecclesie, que eodem nomine nuncupatur, uidelicet **Pachun**, et ex superiori parte uille predictae est riuus et meta terrea; et sic reuertitur ad metam priorem, unde prius inceperat.”*

Archives, serial number: VSzSzL 1.1 = MOL DF 279066

Survival form: original

Edition: W. VI, 424-425; HO IV, 11-12.

Regesta: RA I, No. 410.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Pácson(y),” 782; Cs. II, s.v. “Lapsa (a),” 771.

No. 89

21 October 1313: The Vasvár chapter records the perambulation of Paty (*Path*) and Csó (*Chou*) for the sons and grandsons of Gothardus of Csó (*de Chou*). The boundaries of Paty are described as follows:

*“Prima meta **possessionis ipsius Path** incipit a meridie super unam lapideam, quae ab oriente **terram filiorum Duruszlai Aszun** vocatam, a meridie **terram castrensiū** similiter **Aszon** nominatam, ab aquilone uero **terram Poth** filiorum Gothardi praedictam separat et distinguit; de qua egreditur uersus occidentem peruenit ad unam metam in longitudine unius iugeris, unde inclinatur in latitudine duorum iugerum ad aquilonem, ubi est una meta; de qua uertitur ad occidentem declinando per longitudinem unius iugeris peruenit **ad magnam uiam**, **per quam itur in Kűszűgh** et **iuxta quam uiam** ab oriente sunt duae metae de nouo erectae; saliendo **ipsam uiam** ad occidentem peruenit ad duas metas prope rubetum accumulatas, in quarum una stant duae uirgultae iliceae; intrans ipsum rubetum cadit **in unam uiam graminosam** et in eadem longe procedendo peruenit ad duas metas; adhuc in eadem directe ad occidentem declinando exit de ipso rubeto ad tres metas, quarum una a meridie **terram castrensiū Aszun** appellatam, altera ab occidente **terram Kazár**, ab aquilone **terram Pouth** praedictorum filiorum Gothardi separant et distinguunt; de quibus flectitur ad aquilonem iuxta eandem **terram Kazár** et peruenit ad duas metas, adhuc ad aquilonem ad tres **citra uiam** accumulatas, **per quam procedit de uilla Meszlen in uillam Apáthi** et **in eadem uia** inclinatur ad occidentem; satis longe declinando peruenit in uallem Telűk vűlgy dictam ad tres metas in medio eisudem uallis erectas et uersus metatum ipsius uallis flectitur ad aquilonem; in longum eundo peruenit ad tres metas antiquas, ubi relinguit **terram Kazár** et iungitur terrae nobilium de **Kiss Path**; de quibus iuxta eandem **possessionem Kiss Poth** ad aquilonem procedit usque sessiones eorundem nobilium de **Kis Poth**, ubi est una meta antiqua et alia de nouo erecta; de quibus uertitur apud easdem sessiones ad orientem usque ad finem **uillae** <69> praefatorum filiorum Gothardi **Poth** nuncupatae peruenit ad unam metam de noui **iuxta eandem uillam Poth** erectam; de qua flectitur ad aquilonem et peruenit ad unam metam subtus arborem pyrus accumulata; unde inclinatur ad orientem et in longitudine unius iugeris in arboribus*

pyrus pervenit ad unam metam in valle iuxta viam graminosam positam; unde vertitur ad aquilonem in eadem valle et pervenit ad unam metam, de qua flectitur ad orientem in via per quam itur de villa Meszlen ad Kúszegh; in longitudine unius iugeris in ipsa via procedendo pervenit ad duas metas, unam antiquam et aliam de novo erectam; de quibus flectitur ad aquilonem et transit iuxta unum iugerum vulgariter Hofuharaß dictum a parte orientis et pervenit ad tres metas, duas antiquas et tertiam novam in rubeto Germerharaß dicto accumulatas; de quibus declinatur ad occidentem et pervenit ad tres metas antiquas angulares ubi separatur a terra **Kis Poth** et iungitur terrae **Chou** et penes eandem terram **Chou** in via, per quam proceditur de villa Poth in villam Sydan, flectitur ad aquilonem, in qua eundo ad aquilonem per plurimas metas contiguas pervenit ad metam antiquam in capite vallis **Fonnsaya** positam et in medio eiusdem vallis procedendo cadit in **vallem Abláncz** ad tres metas iuxta rivulum positas, ubi separatur a terra **Chou** et iungitur terrae **Tömörd** et in meatu eiusdem **rivuli Abláncz** versus orientem currendo exit de ipso ad meridiem ad duas metas; de quibus adhuc ad meridiem in latere unius vallis **Ördögh Szánássa** vocate a parte orientis ascendit in montem, in cuius vertice sunt duae metae; de quibus pervenit ad duos monticulos vulgo **Holm** dictos, in quorum uno sunt duae metae erectae; de quibus pure videlicet sol in tempore hyemali oritur, per binas metas longe procedendo pervenit ad duas metas in terra arabili accumulatas; de quibus mere flectitur ad orientem et in longitudine unius iugeris pervenit ad alias duas iuxta viam positas, per quam itur de villa Aszun in Abláncz; de quibus in eadem via vertitur ad meridiem et per contiguas metas in utraque parte eiusdem viae positas pervenit ad tres metas, quarum duae sunt antiquae, tertia vero de novo erecta, ubi separatur a terra **Themerd** et iungitur possessioni filiorum **Durußlai**, **Aszun** appellatae et penes eandem terram **Aszun** in eadem via procedendo per binas metas contiguas exit de virgulto ad terras arabiles et pervenit ad praedictam viam, per quam proceditur de villa Meßlen in villam Apáthi et in unione earundem duarum viarum est una meta; in ipsa vero via per quam itur de Meßlen in Apáthi flectitur ad occidentem et in longitudine unius brevis iugeris pervenit ad duas metas antiquas; de quibus in diverticulo eiusdem flectitur ad meridiem et pervenit ad duo periuncta rubeta iuxta quae ab occidente sunt metae antiquae; dehinc ad meridiem pervenit ad unam metam antiquam et de ipsa vertitur ad occidentem et pervenit ad metam lapideam ipsorum ibique terminatur.”

Archives, serial number: VaML 756 = MOL DF 262272

Survival form: transcription 1365

Edition: UB III, 68-69 (perambulation).

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Csó,” 743; Cs. II, s.v. “Ablancz,” 731-732; Cs. II, s.v. “Apáti,” 733; Cs. II, s.v. “Asszony(falva),” 734; Cs. II, s.v. “Kazár,” 762-763; Cs. II, s.v. “Köszeg,” 714-715; Cs. II, s.v. “Meszlen,” 775; Cs. II, s.v. “Paty (a),” 783; Cs. II, s.v. “Tömörd,” 805; Cs. III, s.v. “Zsidány,” 637.

No. 90

26 October 1343: The Vasvár chapter reports to King Louis I that by his order the perambulation of Csó (*Chou*) and Paty (*Poth*) took place on 11 September and the properties were transferred to the sons of Gothardus of Csó. The boundaries of Paty are as follows:

“Prima meta ipsius **possessiones Poth** incipit a meridie super unam metam lapideam, quae ab oriente <40> **terram** filiorum **Duruzlai Azun** vocatam, a meridie **terram castrensiu similiter Azun** vocata, ab aquilone vero terram **Poth** filiorum Gothardi predictam separant et distinguunt; de qua egreditur versus occidentem, pervenit ad unam metam in longitudine unius iugeris; unde inclinatur in latitudine duorum iugerum ad aquilonem, ubi est una meta; de qua vertitur ad occidentem declinando per longitudinem unius iugeris pervenit ad magnam viam, per quam itur in Kuzeg, iuxta quam ab oriente sunt due mete de novo erecte; saliendo ipsam viam ad occidentem pervenit ad duas metas prope rubetum accumulatas, in quarum una stant

due virgule ilice; trans ipsum rubetum cadit in unam viam graminosam et in eadem longe procedendo pervenit ad duas metas; adhuc in eadem directe ad occidentem declinando exit de ipso rubeto ad tres metas angulares, quarum una a meridie **terre castrensi** **Azun** appellatam, alia ab occidente **terram Kazar**, ab aquilone **terram Poth** predictorum filiorum Gothardy separant et distinguunt; de quibus flectitur ad aquilonem iuxta eandem **terram Kazar** et pervenit ad duas metas; adhuc ad aquilonem ad tres metas circa viam accumulatas, per quam proceditur de villa Mezlen in villam Apati; et in eadem via inclinatur ad occidentem; satis longe declinando pervenit ad **vallem Thelekueulg** dictam ad tres metas in medio eiusdem vallis erectas; et versus meatum ipsius vallis flectitur ad aquilonem, in longum eundo pervenit ad tres metas antiquas; ubi reliquit **terram Kazar** et iungitur terre nobilium de **Ksypoth**; de quibus iuxta eandem possessionem Ksypoth ad aquilonem procedit usque sessiones eorundem nobilium de **Ksypoth**, ubi est una meta antiqua et alia de novo erecta; de quibus vertitur apud easdem sessiones ad orientem usque ad finem **ville** prefatorum filiorum Gothardi, **Poth** nuncupate, pervenit ad unam metam de novo circa eandem **villam Poth** erecta; de quibus flectitur ad aquilonem et pervenit ad unam metam subtus arborem piri accumulata; unde inclinatur ad orientem et in longitudine unius iugeris in arboribus piri pervenit ad unam metam in valle circa viam graminosam positam; unde vertitur ad aquilonem in eadem valle et pervenit ad unam metam; de qua flectitur ad orientem in via, per quam itur de villa Mezlen ad Kuzegh; in longitudine unius iugeris in ipsa via procedendo pervenit ad duas metas, unam antiquam et alia de novo erectam; de quibus flectitur ad aquilonem et transit iuxta unum prigum vulagrater **Huzenharach** dictum a parte orientis et pervenit ad tres metas, duas antiquas et terciam novam in rubeto vulgo **Germerharach** dicto accumulatas; de quibus declinatur ad occidentem et pervenit ad tres metas antiquas angulares, ubi separatur **terra Ksypoth** et iungitur **terre Chou**; et penes eandem **terram Chou** in via, per quam proceditur de villa Poth in villam Sydan, flectitur ad aquilonem; in qua eundo ad aquilonem per plurimas metas contiguas <41> pervenit ad metam antiquam in capite vallis **Fornasaya** positam et in medio eiusdem vallis procedendo cadit in vallem Ablanch ad tres metas iuxta rivulum positas; ibi separatur a **terra Chou** et iungitur terre **ville Themerd** et in meatu eiusdem **rivuli Ablanch** versus orientem currendo exit de ipso ad meridiem ad duas metas; de quibus adhuc ad meridiem in latere unius vallis **Vrudukzantasa** vocate a parte orientis ascendit in montem, in cuius vertice sunt due mete; de quibus adhuc ad meridiem pervenit ad alias duas; unde flectitur quasi ad orientem et pervenit ad duas metas in terra arabili accumulatas; de quibus mere flectitur ad orientem et in longitudine unius iugeris pervenit ad alias duas iuxta viam positas, per quam itur de villa Azun in Ablanch; de quibus in eadem via vertitur ad meridiem et per contiguas metas in utraque parte eiusdem vie positis pervenit ad tres metas, quarum due sunt antique, tertia vero de novo erecta; ubi separatur a **terra Themerd** et iungitur possessioni filiorum **Duruzlai Azun** appellate; et penes eandem terram Azun in eadem via procedendo per binas metas contiguas exit de virgulto ad terras arabiles et pervenit ad predictam viam, per quam proceditur de villa Mezlen in villam Apati et in unione earundem duarum viarum est una meta; in ipsa vero via, per quam itur de Mezlen in Apati, flectitur ad occidentem et in longitudine unius brevis iugeris pervenit ad duas antiquas metas; de quibus in diverticulo eiusdem flectitur ad meridiem et pervenit ad duo particula rubeto, iuxta que ab occidente sunt mete antique; dehinc ad meridiem pervenit ad unam metam antiquam et de ipsa vertitur ad occidentem et pervenit ad metam lapideam priorem ibique terminatur.”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 40986
Survival form: transcription, 24 August 1344
Edition: UB V, 39-41.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Csó," 743; Cs. II, s.v. "Ablancz," 731-732; Cs. II, s.v. "Apáti," 733; Cs. II, s.v. "Asszony(fálva)," 734; Cs. II, s.v. "Kazár," 762-763; Cs. II, s.v. "Köszeg," 714-715; Cs. II, s.v. "Meszlen," 775; Cs. II, s.v. "Paty (a)," 783; Cs. II, s.v. "Tömörd," 805; Cs. III, s.v. "Zsidány," 637.

2. Paty (now: Rábapaty, C. Vas)

No. 91

3 April 1334: In front of the Vasvár chapter the noblemen of Paty divide their landed property found in Paty by the Rába River. Detail of the perambulation:

*"Unam particulam terre ipsorum, prout incipit a **Raba** et vadit versus occidentem usque **ad altalut, que venit de Pomlen** divississent... unam particulam terre iuxta vicinitatem Pauli filii de Ledegery in latitudine duorum iugerum **a via altalut** per longitudinem **ad Rabam** adiacentem... <171> ... unam particulam terre, prout incipit **a via magna** cum longitudine currit **ad Nyarvelg** similiter cum sessionaria porcione in duas partes divisam... particulam terre arabilis, prout incipit **a magna via** et currit usque **Hayd** scilicet usque **terram Ilbu**..."*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 40665
Survival form: original
Edition: UB. IV, 170-171 (perambulation); F. VIII/7, 264-265.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Paty (b)," 783.

No. 92

7 September 1337: The Vasvár chapter reports to King Charles I that on 5 September the estates of Paulus son of Elevanth, Benedictus son of Jacobus, and Martinus son of Tynarch were perambulated. The three noblemen above were put in possession of the estates found in Paty.

*"Prima meta incipit ab aquilone **iuxta magnam viam que venit de Bogata**, ubi est una meta magna terrea, que meta ad occidentem separat **terram Ilbo**, ad aquilonem terram **ecclesie Sancte Marie de eadem Pogh** et ad meridiem terram nobilium prescriptorum; de quaquidem terra ecclesie prescripte progreditur directe versus orientem et **iuxta magnam viam, que venit de Hegfalu in Simien** est una meta terrea innovata; ibi relinquit terram ecclesie, et iungitur terre, que olim dicitur fuisse **terra castrensi eodem nomine Pogh** vocate, que similiter ab aquilone est situata; iuxta quam, similiter versus orientem progreditur **ad unam viam Kisaltalut vocatam, qua itur de Pogh in Sedun, iuxta quam viam** est una meta terrea innovata; et abhinc ad eandem partem orientem it ad unam metam terream innovatam, que est posita **iuxta viam magnam euntem de Sar in Iak**; salit **ipsam viam** similiter ad orientem vadit **ad unam parvam viam sive semitam**, qua itur **ad ecclesiam de Pogh**; de qua similiter ad orientem currit ad unam metam terream innovatam **in loco Nog Welgh** vocato positam, vadit **ad magnam viam que itur de Sar in Iak**, iuxta quam est meta terrea innovata; et abhinc similiter versus occidentem it **ad magnam viam, que de Hygfalu vadit in Simien**, iuxta quam est meta terrea innovata; et hinc similiter ad occidentem it **ad magnam viam, que venit de Bogata**, iuxta quam est meta terrea innovata, ubi relinquit terram **Beke** et iungitur **terre Ilbo**, iuxta quam **in eadem magna via** tendit versus aquilonem ad locum principalem ibique terminatur."*

Archives, serial number: -
Survival form: lost
Edition: UB. IV, 230-231 (perambulation); HO III, 132-133.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Paty (b)," 783; Cs. II, s.v. "Bögöt (Bögöd, Böget)," 739; Cs. II, s.v. "Hegy(-falu) (b)," 754; Cs. II, s.v. "Ják(-falva)," 805; Cs. II, s.v. "Ölbö," 781; Cs. II, s.v. "Sár," 728; Cs. II, s.v. "Semjén (a)," 792; Cs. II, s.v. "Zsédény (Zsédöny)," 810.

No. 93

15 May 1340: The Vasvár chapter testifies to the fact that Endus son of Onth and Petrus son of Salomon divided their inherited estate called Paty (*possessionem... Pogh vocatam*), which stretches from the great road (*magna via*) connecting Sárvár and Kapuvár to the Rába. They agreed that they are going to share the cart road that runs on the border of their estates to the east to a footpath. They also divided their inherited estate found on the western side of the *magna via*.

"Nos capitulum ecclesie sancti Mychaelis archangeli de Castro Ferreo damus pro memoria, quod Endus filius Onth de Pogh ab una parte, Petrus filius Salomon de eadem ab altera coram nobis personaliter constituti possessionem eorum hereditario iure eis pertinentem in Pogh habitam similiter Pogh vocatam, cum utilitatibus omnibus, sessionibus, terris arabilibus, campestribus pratis et aliis pertinentiis suis a magna via de Sar in Kopw euntem usque Rabam adiacentem fore in duas partes divisam inter se retulerunt pari voto concorditer... et ab eadem magna via inter sessiones et porciones eorum viam tenent in communi, in qua currus transire potest, versus orientem usque semitam, que vulgo golugwt nuncupatur; terram autem eorum similiter hereditariam, que supra predictam viam habent ab occidente taliter divisam affirmarunt..."

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 40831

Survival form: original

Edition: UB. IV, 303.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Paty (b)," 783; Cs. II, s.v. "Sár," 728; Cs. II, s.v. "Sárvár," 728; Cs. III, s.v. "Kapu," 587.

Pecöl (now: Pecöl, C. Vas)

No. 94

29 June 1328: The Vasvár chapter records that on 26 June, Pecöl (*Peczal*) was perambulated for the monastery and abbot of Kapornak, who were put in possession of the landed property.

*"Prima meta incipit prope fluvium Gyungyws et tendit versus meridiem iuxta curiam sacerdotis ecclesie Sancte Marie de eadem Peczal; ...ad huc ad meridiem iuxta terram ecclesie sancte Marie currit ad magnam viam, qua itur ad Saar et super ipsam viam modicum versus occidentem currit super unam metam terream iuxta vicinitatem terre **Iwanka**, Demetrii et filiorum Mathe et Nicolai filii Petri de Peczal; tendit ad meridiem in longitudine unius iugeris est meta terrea; abhinc versus meridiem eandem plagam iuxta terram predictorum filiorum Mathe simili in longitudine unius iugeris iuxta viam est meta terrea; super eandem viam currendo ad occidentem vicinatur terre ecclesie de Pornó et iuxta eandem terram tendit versus partem aquilonis, pervenit ad magnam viam, qua itur ad Saar; modicum supra ipsam viam magnam ad dexteram declinans iuxta lacum Holthov vocatum currit ad fluvium Gyungyus ad partem aquilonis et in ipso fluvio Gyungyus tendit ad orientem... pervenit ad metam capitaneam et locum principalem ibique terminatur."*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 9484

Survival form: transcription, 8 March 1363

Edition: UB IV, 246.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Peczöl," 783; Cs. II, s.v. "Pornó," 786-787; Cs. II, s.v. "Sárvár," 728.

No. 95

1221: King Andreas II allows Stephanus son of Chepanus, former *banus*, to endow the Cistercian monastery of Szentgotthárd with the Pornó Island (*insulam...Pornó*) and the villages (*Monyorókerék, Hétfőhely, Perwolf, Kölked*) pertaining to that before his retiring into the monastery. In addition, the patronage of the Saint Margaret Church of Pornó (*patronatum ecclesie beate Margarethe de Pornó*) also passes to the monastery. The document describes the boundaries of the donated estates. The perambulation of Perwolf is as follows:

“Prima meta Perwolff incipiens de Pinkova ascendit per metas iuxta villam ecclesie Sancte Margarethe, que Keresztes nominatur, versus occidentem prope villam Nerde ad supercillium montis usque ad viam, que ducit in Posztitz, ubi posita est meta, et inde reflectitur versus meridiem super montem prope Füzés et per metas et per eundem montem paulatim descendens usque in vallem, ubi est meta, transiens rivulum ascendit montem iuxta metas Heborgini et venit usque ad viam de Pornó et per eandem viam tendit usque ad metas comitis Martini iuxta Belud ultra Pinkova.”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 72224

Survival form: transcription, 7 February 1240

Edition: UB I, 83.

Regesta: RA I, 120; F. III/1, 329.

Toponyms: Herényi s.v. “Lövä,” 341; Cs. II s.v. “Beled,” 736; Cs. II s.v. “Füzés, a)” 748; Cs. II s.v. “Keresztes,” 764; Cs. II s.v. “Nar(a)da,” 779; Cs. II s.v. “Pornó,” 786-787; Cs. II s.v. “Pöszöny,” 787.

No. 96

26 May 1331: The Vasvár chapter testifies to the fact that by the order of King Charles I the boundaries of Petenic (*possessio Peteunich*) were perambulated on 14 May, and Iohannes and Georgius, sons of Wenzelaus of Nádasd (*de Naadasd*) as well as Laurencius son of Stephanus were put in possession of the landed property. Detail of the perambulation:

“...vadit ad porticum seu transitum Nemethkapw vocatum in fossato inter civitatem Regede et terram Belmura posita pro metis, super quo fossato venit ad ipsum Kapw et in magna via, que venit de Theutonia ad orientem declinando et parum pereundo subtus arborem Orni Zyl vocate est meta terrea; deinde per eandem magnam viam versus orientem veniendo subtus arborem pomus est meta terrea et abhinc per eandem magnam viam ad orientem currit ad fluvium Otholchicha...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 69210

Survival form: original

Edition: UB IV, 91.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Peteni(n)cz” 785; Cs. II, s.v. “Mura(l)-Szombat,” 717, 726; Cs. II, s.v. “Nádasd (a),” 778.

No. 97

28 February 1328: The Vasvár chapter reports to the king that, by his order, the borders of Kisfalu (*possessio Kysfolu*) had been perambulated in the presence of the neighbours, and Stephanus son of Boxa from the Ják kindred was put in possession of the estate.

*“Prima meta incipit a parte possessionis **Ruchka** vocate in duabus metis terreis antiquis prope fluvium **Gunges** positis et super ipso fluvio **Gungus** versus partem orientalem currendo pervenit ad fluvium **Raba** ad locum Gungustu dictum ita, ut ipse fluvius **Gungus** ad aquilonem populis **de Saar**, ad meridiem possessioni **Kysfolu** separat et distinguit; de ipso autem loco Gungusteu vocato super fluvio **Raba** versus meridiem tenendo currit usque terram **Rubenteluke** nominatam; exeundo ipsum fluvium **Raba** tendit versus occidentem, pervenit ad duas metas terreas, quarum una subtus arborem tylie Stephano separat, alia subtus arborem iliceam **Rubenteluke** separat; deinde in metis terreis de novo positis ad eandem partem pervenit **ad Fuenesuth** vocatam; saliendo **ipsam viam** versus eandem partem currit ad duas metas terreas novas, de quibus iuxta eandem terram **Rubenteluke** vadit versus meridiem et pervenit ad duas metas terreas novas; et abhinc versus occidentem pervenit **ad viam magnam, que venit ad Ikyruar**... et **super eandem viam magnam** modicum ad meridiem tendens pervenit ad duas metas terreas sub spinis positas; de quibus versus occidentem currit ad virgultum et iungitur duabus metis terreis in vicinitate dicte terre **Ruchka**; et deinde versus aquilonem transeundo duas metas currit **iuxta ipsam terram Ruchka** ad tres metas, de quibus versus eandem partem saliendo **magnam viam, que venit de Megehyd**, pervenit ad metam capitaneam sive principalem ibique terminatur.”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 2487

Survival form: transcription, 9 April 1328

Edition: UB IV, 8; A. II, 351.

Toponyms: Cs. II, 766: Kisfalu; Cs. II, 785: Péterfalva; Cs. II, 723: Ikervár (Ikörvár); Cs. II, Megyehid; Cs. II, 789: Rubenteleke; Cs. II, 789: Rucska.

No. 98

16 January 1343: King Louis I defines the levies and robot services of the settlers living at the feet of the Borostyán Castle (*hospites... de sub castro...Pernstain*) and provides them free pass to the market of Pinkafő.

*“Ad **forum** etiam **in Pinckaveld** celebrandum libere transeundi ibique iusto tributo persoluto redeundi de eodem liberam habeant facultatem nullusque ex ipsis possit prohiberi seu arestarti **foro** in eodem.”*

Survival form: transcription, 13 December 1358

Edition: UB V, 11.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Pink(v)afő,” 786.

No. 99

12 July 1267: The Vasvár chapter testifies to that *Comes* Bese of Polány and Iurk of Polány settled their dispute over a landed property. Iurk renounced one part of the debated estate in favour of *Comes* Bese. A detail of the perambulation:

“Prime mete incipiunt a lapide Iegkuy vocato, ubi sunt due mete ab utraque parte vie elevate; de quibus metis per eandem viam, que ducit in Sabariam, itur ad occidentem et de occidente divertendo ad meridiem iuxta eandem viam sunt due mete... deinde pervenit ad aquam Sork vocatam, in cuius portu sunt due mete et sic per medium meatus ipsius aque currendo venit ad pontem Bese, ubi sunt due mete a parte meridionali elevate...”

Archives, serial number: VaML 138 = MOL DF 261659

Survival form: transcription, 8 February 1423

Edition: UB III, 269.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Szombathely,” 729; Cs. II, s.v. “Polyán,” 786.

No. 100

4 October 1301: Before the Vasvár chapter, *Comes* Paulus son of Bese and Iván son of Ivánka, noblemen of Polány (*nobiles de Palan*), made an agreement concerning their landed properties at Polány. *Comes* Paulus transferred a ploughland as well as a hayfield found west of the road that led from the Saint Ladislav chapel to Szombathely to Iván son of Ivánka.

“Comes Paulus, condonavit, quatragesima iugera terrarum arabilium, ...et quoddam fenetum sufficiens vno die vni falcatori; existens ab occidente iuxta viam de Capella beati Ladislav versus Sabariam que tendit dicto Ivan et suis heredibus perpetuo possidere...”(HO. III, 49)

The document describes the boundaries that separate the landed properties of the two noblemen. Detail of the perambulation:

“Divisio autem ... incipiens a fluvio Surk ante ipsam capellam distincio vadit per medium ville, et extra villam versus aquilonem usque dum via per modum crucis in quatuor partes dividitur, et sic pars ville ab oriente cedit ipsi comiti Paulo, alia vero ab occidente, Ioan antedicto; ibique in angulo viarum per modum crucis divisarum ab aquilone et oriente ... tria iugera terre attinent eidem comiti Paulo, cetera vero sita ad aquilonem et versus orientem usque dum de ipsa magna via flectitur via herbosa versus aquilonem a meridie, eciam iuxta eandem viam, a sessione ipsius ville comitis Pauli tendendo ad orientem, in medietate duodecim iugera terre pertinent Ioan memorato; ... per ipsam autem viam quam diximus herbosam, que versus aquilonem tendit de illa via magna vadit in longitudine unius iugeris, et ibi flectitur parumper ad orientem ad quendam lucum, in qua tamen triginta et tres arbores sunt virentes et astantes.... incipiendo autem iterato ab illa arbore cruce signata per viam herbosam iamdictam terra <4> versus aquilonem in longitudine duorum iugerum tendendo usque viam, que vadit ad sessionem Lengel et superius ipsam viam, similiter ab aquilone quatuordecim iugera terre, que cum longitudine versus orientem rediguntur ad dictam sessionem Lengel, pertinent eciam Ivan memorato...” (UB III, 3-4)

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 67923

Survival form: transcription, 10 April 1328

Edition: HO III, 49-50; UB III, 3-4 (detail).

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Polyán,” 786.

Porpác (now: Porpác, C. Vas)

No. 101

(After 2) February 1329: The Vasvár chapter reports to King Charles I that on 2 February Zarka Nicolaus was put in possession of the estates called Vát (*Walth*) and Sarmasd (*Sarmasd*). At the same time, Porpác (*Purpach*) was perambulated and transferred to Nicolaus.

Detail of the perambulation of Porpác:

“...intra iterum *fluvium Nadaspatak* et per eun[dem fluvium ascendit ad] magnam viam regni, que Utteuim vocatur ad tres metas, quarum una est filiorum Raduzlo, alia Pur[bach, tercia po]pulorum castrum de *Walth*; inde per eandem viam procedendo pervenit circa *Fueniespatak* ad tres metas, quarum una est [ecclesie] beati Egydy de *Walth*, alia ecclesie de *Thyak*, tercia *Purpach*; inde viam eundo cum terra ecclesie beati Egydy versus meridiem circa ip[sam a]rborem piri pervenit ad duas metas, quarum una est ecclesie beati Egydy, alia *Purpach*; inde per quandam viam, qua itur de Sar [pervenit ad quasdam ru]betas *Sydhara* dictas versus orientem...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 41185

Survival form: transcription, 17 June 1352

Edition: UB IV, 45-46 (perambulation); A. V, 592; HO II, 60; F. VIII/4, 634.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Porpác,” 787; Cs. II, s.v. “Ják(-monostora),” 759; Cs. II, s.v. “Sár,” 728, 791; Cs. II, s.v. “Sarma(s)d,” 792; Cs. II, s.v. “Vált,” 807.

Pöse (now: Pöse, part of Gyöngyösfalu, C. Vas)

No. 102

(2-14 June) 1333: The Vasvár chapter reports to Paulus judge royal that on 1 June the landed property belonging to Nicolaus of Pöse (*de Peese*) called Nyakas was perambulated along the old boundaries, and after the perambulation the sons of Thomas of Pöse were put in possession of the estate. Detail of the perambulation:

“...incipit ab oriente super *fluvio Gungus*... unde ad magnam viam, super qua modicum eundo ad meridiem, flectit se iterum ad occidentem inter terras arabiles, per signum currit ad viam graminosam et inde per aliam viam graminosam transit nemus ad occidentem...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 40644

Survival form: transcription, 14 June 1333

Edition: UB IV, 156; HO III, 116.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Pese,” 785.

Rit (now: unknown)

No. 103

1254: Before the Vasvár chapter Iana, Opur, Vrbanus and their relatives, as well as Belid, Andreas, Symon and their relatives divided their estates called *Rit* and *Higinteluqui* among themselves. Detail of the perambulation of the estates:

“...hinc ad Sidfy et ibi sunt mete, inde in magna via sunt mete antique, abinde ad Ruuozieltui et ibi sunt mete; inde pergit ad Sceuleuscer, ubi sunt mete et sic per veteres

metas tenit ad meridiem ad sepulcrum Vtod et per easdem veteres metas vergi usque ad Ilbu et ibi terminatur... ”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 390

Survival form: original

Edition: UB II, 341; W. XII, 127.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Ölbó,” 781.

Rohonc (now: Rechnitz, Au.)

No. 104

31 December 1374: The Vasvár chapter attests that the descendants of ban Herricus son of Nicolaus divided the castles of Rohonc and Kemend as well as the settlements belonging to them. The perambulation of Rohonc refers to the roads leading from Rohonc to Hodász (*via magna de eadem [civitatem Rohonch] in Hodaz transiret; Hodazyta*), to Óvár (*viam que ducit in Owar*) and to Szombathely (*vie que ducit de dicta civitate Rohonch in Sabariam*), as well as a place called market road (*plateam Vasarusvta*),

Edition: Zala vm. II, 116-117.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Rohoncz,” 718, 727; Cs. II, s.v. “Hodász,” 756; Cs. II, s.v. “Óvár,” 717, 781; Cs. II, s.v. “Szombathely,” 729.

Rönök (now: Rönök, C. Vas)

No. 105

(**After 14 May**) **1336:** The Vasvár chapter testifies to the fact that, by the order of King Charles I, the estate Rönök called today Alsórönök (*possessio Ryunuk, que nunc Olsowryunuk nominaretur*), was perambulated and Tatamerius provost of Fehérvár and his brothers were put in possession of the landed property. A detail of the perambulation:

“Incipit prima meta iuxta fluvium Raba in eo loco, ubi rivulus Ryunukpataka nominatus cadit in ipsum fluvium Raba... vadit ad magnam viam, qua de Kurmend itur in Fulusthyn; iuxta viam a parte aquilonis sunt due mete terree... intrat vallem, in qua ad eandem partem aquilonis longe itur et ascendit montem, in cuius vertice iuxta unam parvam semitam sunt due mete terree... <214> intrat vallem...Wolfarthwelge vocatam, in qua ascendit ad orientem in vertice montis sunt due mete terree iuxta unam viam posite; et in cacumine eiusdem montis de ipsis duabus metis flectitur ad partem meridionalem; in predicta via pervenit ad magnam arborem iliceam... de qua arbore in predicta via ad longitudinem unius iugeris directe vadit ad meridiem ad duas metas terreas magnas et antiquas... relinquit terram Olsoumedus et in una via iuxta ipsas arbores in vicinitate terre Iankafeulde vocate tendit ad plagam meridionalem in vertice montis supradicti... iuxta...terram Scentmyhal exeundo viam predictam directe vadit ad meridiem in capite vallis Faramtisthawevlg vocate descendit ad eandem vallem et in medio eiusdem vallis currit ad magnam viam, que de Kurmend vadit ad Fulusthun; iuxta quam viam a meridie sunt due mete terree...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 94069

Survival form: transcription, 16 November 1336

Edition: UB IV, 213-214 (perambulation); A. III, 293-295.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Rönök,” 789; Cs. II, s.v. “Körmend,” 723-724; Cs. II, s.v. “Medves,” 775; Cs. II, s.v. “Szentmihály (c),” 798-799.

No. 106

25 May (1263): Benedictus judge of the queen's household and comes of Vasvár describe for King Béla IV the boundaries of Rum (*terre Rum*) and Boyad (*terre Boyad*). Detail of the common perambulation of the estates:

“Prima meta incipit ab oriente supra locum molendini, de flumine Rabe tenet metam cum Kunch et Kadar et vadit directe ad occidentem et iuxta viam sunt tres mete; inde progrediens transit viam civilem ... inde vadit ad occidentem et tenet metam cum villa Segne et ... vadit parumper directe ad aquilonem, ubi est una via, secus quam a parte meridionali sunt due mete, ab alia autem parte eiusdem vie est una meta, et transiens viam vadit ad aquilonem ... et tenet metam cum villa Apathunukaya et ibi sunt due mete; item vergens ad aquilonem in quadam via, ibi sunt due <288> mete, currit in eadem via, sunt due mete versus occidentem; item in eadem via decurrens ad aquilonem, ubi sunt due mete ab oriente et tenet metam cum Gothardo et vadit ad orientem... venit iuxta viam civilem sunt due mete, de hinc iuxta viam, que vadit ad Ikurwar, sunt due mete et prope Rabam ad orientem sunt due mete; post hec in ripa fluminis Rabe ad orientem sunt due mete et ibi terminatur.”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 47722

Survival form: original

Edition: UB I, 287-288; W. VIII, 85-86.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Rum,” 789; Cs. II, s.v. “Gothárdfölda,” 751; Cs. II, s.v. “Ikervár,” 723; Cs. II, s.v. “Kádár,” 760; Cs. II, s.v. “Se(n)nye,” 792; Cs. II, s.v. “Töttös,” 805.

No. 107

(After 25 May) 1263: King Béla IV places Mauricius master of the treasury, Comes Iohannes, and Deta in the Kúszin (*Kyzun*) Castle in County Vas. He donates to them two estates called Rum and Buad (*duas terras Castri Ferrei Ruum et Buad*) in perpetuity for the provision of the castle. Detail of the common perambulation of the two estates:

“Prima meta incipit ab oriente supra locum molendini de flumine Rabe tenes metam cum Kunch et Cadar et vadit directe ad occidentem et iuxta viam sunt tres mete; inde progrediens transit viam magnam ... inde vadit ad occidentem et tenet metam cum villa Segne et ... pervenit ad viam iuxta quam a parte meridionali sunt due mete ... et transiens viam vadit ad aquilonem ... tenet metam cum villa Apathunukaya et ibi sunt due mete; inde vergens ad aquilonem in quadam via, ibi sunt due mete, currit in eadem via et ibi sunt due mete versus occidentem; item in eadem via currens ad aquilonem, ubi sunt due mete ab oriente et tenet metam cum Gothardo ... venit iuxta viam civilem et ibi sunt due mete; de hinc iuxta viam, que vadit ad Ikurwar, sunt due mete et prope Rabam ad orientem sunt due mete; post hec in ripa fluminis Rabe ad orientem sunt due mete et ibi terminantur.”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 49547

Survival form: original

Edition: UB I, 289; HO VII, 86.

Regesta: RA I, 418-419.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Rum,” 789; Cs. II, s.v. “Újvár,” 721-722; Cs. II, s.v. “Gothárdfölda,” 751; Cs. II, s.v. “Ikervár,” 723; Cs. II, s.v. “Se(n)nye,” 792; Cs. II, s.v. “Töttös,” 805.

No. 108

3 June 1274: The Vasvár chapter testifies to the fact that *magister* Duruzlou son of Duruzlou transferred to noblemen in Töttös (*nobiles de Apathunkaya*) a part of his estate in Rum allotted for the use of two ploughs (*ad usus duorum aratorum sufficientem*).

“Magister Duruzlou terram ad usus duorum aratorum sufficientem iuxta mensuram regni approbatam in terra sua Rum vocata collata sibi a domino nostro illustri rege Ladizlao... dedit eisdem nobilibus a parte terre eorundem ab occidente progrediendo penes terram Gothardi filii Pauli, complendo per longitudinem usque magnam stratam versus orientem iure perpetuo possidendam...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 49549
Survival form: transcription, 10 April 1328
Edition: UB II, 55; W. IX, 96.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Rum,” 789; Cs. II, s.v. “Gothárdfölda,” 751.

No. 109

18 July 1274: King Ladislas IV donates the uninhabited estate called Rum belonging to the Vasvár Castle (*terram Castri Ferrei Rum nuncupatam vacuum*) to *magister* Duruzlou son of Duruzlou for his services rendered in the campaign against the king of Bohemia. The boundaries of the property are as follows:

“Prima siquidem meta progreditur ab oriente a fluvio Raba penes terram Kench, Cadar et Iohannis filiorum Chepani ubi sunt tres mete... vergens versus occidentem penes terram eorundem filiorum Chepani circa longitudinem unius iugeris sunt quatuor mete; currens adhuc directe pervenit ad terram [nobi]lium de Sygna sunt octo mete angulares, que separant terram predictorum filiorum Chepani et nobilium de Sygna ac predictam terram Rum; abhinc penes terram eorundem nobilium de Sygna tendens versus septemtrionem pervenit ad magnam stratam, penes quam sunt octo mete;... reclinans versus occidentem sunt quatuor mete angulares... reflectitur ad septemtrionem et pervenit ad octo metas; hinc currens adhuc ad septemtrionem pervenit ad terram Gothardi filii Pauli, ubi sunt quatuor mete angulares... que separant a terra ditorum nobilium Apatunkaya; deinde reflectens ad orientem currendo penes terram eiusdem Godhardi pervenit ad magnam stratam, penes quam sunt quatuor mete; exinde adhuc currens directe ad orientem pervenit iterato ad fluvium Rabe, ubi sunt quatuor mete... ibique terminatur.”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 49548
Survival form: original
Edition: UB II, 58; W. IX, 61-62.
Regesta: RA II, 92-93.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Rum,” 789; Cs. II, s.v. “Gothárdfölda,” 751; Cs. II, s.v. “Se(n)nye,” 792.

No. 110

1313: The noblemen’s judge of County Vas records the complaint of the members of the Rummy family that when hunting in the Rába Forest they were rushed on and beaten by some people from Sárvár.

“Relata inquisicio per iudicem nobilium comitatus Castri Ferrei, quod dum venacionem in Sylva Raba prope pontem possessionis Rum exercuissent, Paulus et Andreas filii Gregorii ac Gregorius Michael Benedictus Nicolaus et Dorozlo filii Emerici de Rum cum suis familiaribus

et iobbaggyionibus, nonnulli ex Sárvár exeundo aliquos crudeliter verberarunt ex Rumianis hominibus.”

Archives, serial number: SNA facs. 27, n. 33

Survival form: original

Edition: UB III, 73.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Rum,” 789; Cs. II, s.v. “Sárvár,” 728.

No. 111

19 August 1323: The Vasvár chapter reports to King Charles I that, in compliance with his order, they perambulated the estate of Gothardus who died without heirs, which was surrounded by the landed properties of the sons of Dorozlaus in Rum (**Rwm**), Töttös (**Thewtus**), and Balozsai (**Bolosey**). The sons of Dorozlaus were put in possession of the estate:

*“Prima meta incipit a parte **Rwm** iuxta terram filiorum Dorozlai **prope fluvium Rabam**..., deinde parvum declinans ad partem dexteram super spinas tendens versus partem septemtrionalem pervenit **ad viam, que venit a Kowach**, saliendo eandem directe currendo versus eandem partem pervenit **ad viam, que dicitur Kurmendutha** et abhinc vadit **ad viam, que dicitur via Sabariensis**... deinde tendens versus septemtrionalem... vicinando terris nobilium de **Tewtus** currit ad tres metas... et exinde declinans versus aquilonem **circa terram filiorum Dorozlay** <93> **Thewtus** vocatam... declinans ad partem orientalem **versus Rabam iuxta unam viam**... venit **ad predictam viam, que vadit ad Kurmend**, super qua quidem **viam** currendo ad aquilonem pervenit ad unam metam, de qua flectitur ad orientem; vadit **ad viam, que venit de Kowach**... et **super eandem viam** currendo ad aquilonem **iuxta terram filiorum Dorozlai, Balosey** vocatam, ubique veniendo ad partem orientalem directe currit **usque fluvium Raba**, ibique terminatur...”*

Archives, serial number: ELTE EK Dipl. Aut. D.9.A = MOL DF 283398

Survival form: transcription, 28 October 1323

Edition: A. II, 92-93; UB III, 160.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Rum,” 789; Cs. II, s.v. “Gothárdföldre,” 751; Cs. II, s.v. “Balazse(j),” 735; Cs. II, s.v. “Kovács(i),” 767; Cs. II, s.v. “Körmend,” 723-724; Cs. II, s.v. “Töttös,” 805.

No. 112

20 August 1342: In the presence of the Vasvár chapter the grandchildren of Duruzlaus of Rum divide among themselves their properties in Rum, Bodorföldre, Balozsaj, Töttös, Asszony, Csákány (C. Vas), Igrici (C. Zala), and *Bakua* beyond the Drave.

When describing their properties in Rum mention is made of the great road that led to a water mill (**viam magnam que iuxta curiam filiorum Duruzlai vadit ad molendinum et aquam**), <402> as well as of a land that was found by the road that led to the church of Saint Cecilia (*terram... **prope viam qua itur ad Sanctam Ceciliam***).

Archives, serial number: -

Survival form: lost

Edition: Zala vm. I, 401-402.

Regesta: UB IV, 348.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Rum,” 789; Cs. II, s.v. “Szent-Czeczilla,” 796.

No. 113

3 September 1342: The Vasvár chapter testifies to the fact that by the request of the sons of Duruzlaus of Rum (*Rwm*) and the noblemen of Töttös (*Apathvnukatheteus*) the a piece of land allotted for the work of two ploughs (*duo aratra*) between their estates was perambulated on 27 August. The document describes the borders starting at the Sárvár—Körmend route.

*“Prima meta incipit iuxta magnam viam qua itur de Sfar in Ku|rmend ..., deinde super eandem viam tendit versus meridiem, longe eundo pervenit ad duas metas terreas novas que sunt iuxta eandem viam a parte occidentis, abinde procedendo versus occidentem in longitudine unius iugeris pervenit ad aliam viam, et saliendo ipsam viam pervenit ad duas metas terreas de novo erectas, quarum una ad meridiem separat filiis Duruzlai et filiis Gregorii, ad aquilonem nobilibus de *Apathvnukatheneus* ...”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 49560

Survival form: original

Edition: A. IV, 259.

Regesta: UB IV, 349.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Sárvár,” 728; Cs. II, s.v. “Körmend,” 723-724; Cs. II, s.v. “Töttös,” 805.

No. 114

1 November 1350: King Louis I endows Iohannes (one of the forefathers of the Rummy family) and his relatives with the Rába River together with its brige at Rum as well as with woodlands found along the Rába in Bodorfölde (*Budurfeulde*), Rum (*Rum*), Gothárdfölde (*Gothartfeulde*), Balozsaj (*Balasey*) and Csákány (*Chakan*) – having exempted them from the authority of the *comes* of County Vas and the *comes* of the Rába.

*“... fluvium nostrum Raba vocatum in comitatu Castriferrei existentem, cum ponte super ipsum fluvium Raba in possessione sua Rum vocata existente, silvis, terris, arabilibus, fenilibus piscinis insulis, et specialiter piscina vulgo *Herpenye* dicta, ac venacionibus silvarum predictarum, necnon aliis omnibus utilitatibus eiusdem, sub omnibus his limitibus et terminis sub quibus idem magister Johannes predictum fluvium a comite Castriferrei et a comite eiusdem fluvii Raba vulgo warnogy dicto, ad possessiones suas *Budurfeulde, Rum, Gothartfeulde, Balasey et Chakan* vocatas inter ceteros suos vicinos utendo conductive hactenus conservassent, a iurisdictione eorundem comitis de Raba et comitis Castriferrei nunc constitutorum et in futurum constituendorum penitus exemptam, eidem magistro Johanni ac per eum Gregorio carnali, Johanni Duruzlo et Emirico filiis Duruzlou patruelibus fratribus suis... successorum et posteritatibus dedimus donavimus et contulimus perpetuo et irrevocabiliter possidendum...”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 42777

Survival form: transcription, 1402

Edition: A. V, 415.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Rum,” 789; Cs. II, s.v. “Balazse(j),” 735; Cs. II, s.v. “Bodorfölde,” 787; Cs. II, s.v. “Csákány,” 740; Cs. II, “Gothárdfölde,” 751.

Sáh (now: Buchschachen, Au.)

No. 115

1263: King Béla IV endows Tyba with the uninhabited estate called Sáh (*terram Sah vocatam vacuum*) located by the landed property of his brother Georgius. The perambulation of the estate is as follows:

*“Prima meta incipit in monte iuxta **fluviu[m] Lophonch** super una quercu; deinde vadit versus orientem et transit **fluviu[m]**, qui vocatur **Stegrehpah ...**; deinde per unam antiquam viam vadit versus meridiem super metas Georgii comitis supradicti et ibi terminatur.”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 99852

Survival form: original

Edition: UB. I, 296; W. VIII, 60.

Regesta: RA I, 419.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Sáh,” 790.

Sár, Árokköz (now: territory belonging to Vasvár and Hegyhátszentpéter, C. Vas)

No. 116

1236: Before the Győr chapter Buza son of Buza and Vtemer son of Vtemer sell their estate called Sár (*predium...Sar*) to Michael son of Moym in perpetuity within the boundaries defined by *pristaldus* Acus. The boundaries are described as follows:

*“In via media, que ducit ad Muram erexit duas primas metas; inde progrediens in herbida via in loco, ubi in modum crucis concursus est viarum, posuit duas metas, orientalem ut cedat Michaeli, occidentalem **Morcolfo**; abinde in viam, que ducit ad Saar procedens, ubi transilit eandem viam, posuit duas metas, orientalem Michaeli, occidentalem **Morcolfo**... venit ad aquam Sar et ibi in una arbore, que vulgo egur dicitur, est meta et deinceps a **terra Marcolfi** penitus separatur; rursus a **villa Marcelli** incipiens est quedam vallis, in qua dicta terra venient ad magnam viam et ibi est una arbor, que dicitur lignum quietis ibique est prima meta de parte **Marcelli**; deinde progreditur ad mediam viam Mure et ibi iuxta viam est meta in magna arbore tulg; abinde in eadem via veniunt mete usque ad crucem viarum Macue et ibi terminantur.”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 91105

Survival form: original

Edition: UB III, 257.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Sár,” 791; Cs. II, s.v. “Mákva,” 773; Cs. II, s.v. “Marczefalva,” 774.

No. 117

1265: Before the Vasvár chapter the sons of Ehellus and Georgius divide their landed properties called Sár (*terra/predium Saar*), Hídvég (*predium Hydwegh*), and Polány (*predium Pulan*) among themselves. Detail of the perambulation of Sár:

“...cadit ad viam, cui ab utraque parte adiacent due mete; ex hinc regirat ad aquillonem ad met[am ...] in eadem via transiit ad duas metas, quarum una piro cumulata, alia terrea ... <321> intrat magnam silvam, qua sunt due m[ete ...] ilice, alia terrea; in eadem silva descendit ad viam Gubese, ubi sunt due mete et sic terminatur.”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 91516
Survival form: transcription, 6 July 1358
Edition: UB I, 320-321; HO V, 37-38.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Sár," 791.

No. 118

5 May 1313: The Vasvár chapter testifies to the fact that the sons of *Comes* Nicolaus renounced one third of the landed property called Sár (*possessio Saar*) in favour of *Comes* Alexander as a conclusion of their dispute.

"...terciam partem **possessionis ipsorum Saar** ... *dederunt ipsi comiti Alexandro ... a parte occidentali prima meta incipit iuxta fluvium Saar prope truncum salicis in prato ab oriente, ubi sunt due mete posite, abinde binis et binis metis in quatuor locis positis currit directe ad aquilonem usque viam, per quam itur ad Muram, quarum metarum singula una, que est ab oriente posita, terram filiorum Marcelli separant et distingunt a porcione comitis Alexandri...*"

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 91172
Survival form: transcription, 21 May 1313
Edition: UB III, 63 (perambulation); A. I, 295.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Sár," 791.

No. 119

1329: In front of the Vasvár chapter the sons of *Comes* Adumpreth of Sármelek (*filius comitis Adumpreth de iuxta Saar*) returned a landed property to Nicolaus son of Elleus located by a great road (*unam particulam terre in Saar, prout iacet super magnam viam usque terras filiorum Adumpreth terre in Saar*) after Nicolaus redeemed it from pawn.

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 91427
Survival form: transcription, 16 May 1351
Edition: UB IV, 64.
Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Sár," 791.

Sárvár , Sársziget (now: Sárvár, C. Vas)

No. 120

10 May 1328: King Charles I confirms the guests of Sárvár (*hospites... de Insula Saar*) in those rights and privileges that they had since their settlement. Among other things, the letter of privilege exempted the *hospites* of Sárvár from tolls in Sárvár and at the territories of Tapolca, Karakó, Kér, and Cenk:

"*Preterea de suis mercimoniis in civitate seu insula stando et eundo ab omni tributi sint liberi et exempti et quod tributarius nichil cum eisdem disponendi. ... <28> Ceterum eosdem hospites eximimus a solutione tributorum, que videlicet in Thopolcha, Korokow, in Keer et Zenk exiguntur, precipientes, ut nullus in locis predictorum tributorum ab ispis hospitibus de Insula Saar vel eorum quolibet seu rebus eorum mercimonialibus aliquod tributum exigere aut exigi facere presumpmant.*"

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 6656
Survival form: transcription, 13 May 1405
Edition: UB IV, 27-28; F. VIII/4, 653-654.
Regesta: Zs. II/1, 468, No. 3880.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Sárvár," 728; Cs. III, s.v. "Czenk (a)," 604; Cs. II, s.v. "K(a)rakó (a)," 762; Cs. III, s.v. "Kér," 614; Cs. III, s.v. "Tapolcza," 25-26.

Simonyi (now: Nagysimonyi, C. Vas)

No. 121

1268: In front of the Vasvár chapter the noblemen of Simonyi (*terra Symon*) agree with the landowners of Battyán (*villa Batyan*) over a debated ploughland allotted for the work of three ploughs. The document describes the boundaries that separate the estates.

"Prima meta incipit a terris Stephani de mester ab oriente vbi sunt quatuor mete terre abhinc vadit ad occidentem et venit ad magnam viam vbi sunt due mete terre ab utraque parte vie cumulate abhinc currendo per eandem viam ad septemtrionem venit ad quatuor aggeres et in fine vnius aggeris siti ab occidente sunt due mete ab inde venit ad sex metas terreas que sunt site retro fundum eiusdem Abbatis ab occidente, abinde cadit in fluuium Er vocatum... salit ipsum fluuium Er abinde currit ad occidentem iuxta ipsum fluuium et ibi idem fluuius cedit in Jus ville Batyan donec veniatur ad angulum ipsius donec veniatur) ad angulum ipsius Er vbi sunt quatuor mete de quibus quidem quatuor metis currendo ad septemtrionem per viam magnam venit ad conpitem quod vlgo Kristuth dicitur abinde directe ad occidentem venit..."

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 43531

Survival form: transcription, 1422

Edition: HO VII, 113.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Simony(i)," 793; Cs. II, s.v. "Battyán," 736; Cs. II, s.v. "Mester(i)," 775.

Somlyó (Kissomlyó, C. Vas)

No. 122

15 July 1349: The Vasvár chapter reports to King Louis I about the perambulation of an estate in Hetyesomlyó (*possessio Hegesomlyo*).

"Prima namque meta inciperet iuxta publicam viam ante Ecclesiam Sancti Nicolai... procederet ad meridiem ad spatium alterius dimidy iugeris terre, et perueniret ad duas metas terreas, ...de quibus adhuc ad meridiem eundo perueniret ad vnam metam terream, de qua inclinaretur ad orientem, saliretque quamdam viam magnam ad orientem et iret ad tres metas antiquas, <45> ...de quibus iret ad aquilonem ad vnam viam magnam, in quam cadens curreret in eadem ad aquilonem perueniretque ad vltimum, siue finem vnius fossati, ibique terminaretur"

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 41111

Survival form: original

Edition: F. IX/6, 44-45.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Somlyó," 793.

No. 123

23 May 1356: A letter of sentence issued by Nicolaus of Szécs (*Zeech*) judge royal holding the transcription of several documents (dated to 1309, 1327, 1337, 1349, 1350, 1351, 1356) related to the legal proceedings initiated by the wife of Demetrius, son of Nicolaus of Somlyó (*Somlyou*) for an estate in Nagysomlyó in County Vas. The judge finally gave the case for the plaintiff.

“Prefatus Demetrius tres sessiones in eadem possessione Nogsomlyou supra quam magnam viam, que venit de Kald et intrat ipsam villam ab aquilone existentes demonstrasset...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 41285

Survival form: original

Edition: A. VI, 478.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Somlyó,” 793; Cs. II, s.v. “Káld,” 761.

Sork (now: Sorkipuszta, part of Szombathely, C. Vas)

No. 124

7 March 1323: The Vasvár chapter testifies to the fact that Iacobus son of Ladislas of Herény (*de Heren*) and Elizabeth, widow of Ladislaus, bought a mill at Herény over the Gyöngyös River (*in eadem Heren super fluvio Gywnges*), as well as hayfield locted along the market road near Sork (*quattuor iugera terrarum fimatarum iuxta viam forensium cum longitudine adiacencia prope possessionem Syrk*).

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 2151

Survival form: transcription, 11 June 1424

Edition: UB III, 150.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Sork, 794; Cs. II, s.v. “Herén(y),” 755.

Szarakad (now: Kalocsamajor, part of Győrvar, C. Vas)

No. 125

1255: King Béla IV donates the estate Zarakad (*terra Zarakad*) to Bocholerius of Oloszka, son of Vida, in return for his services rendered in the Bohemian campaign. The perambulation of the estate belonging to the Vasvár Castle is as follows:

“Prima meta incipit ab occidente a fluvio Vervize et procedit in vicinatione terre capituli Ferrei castri ad orientem perveniens ad metam terream, ubi contingatur terre Olozka vocate. Deinde per metas tendens venit ad duas metas terreas, que sunt sub arbore piri prope viam magnam, que ducit ad villam Ferrei castri et ibi terre Corkoy vocate vicinatur. Exinde per silvam means per assiduas metas venit ad duas metas terreas, ubi attingit terram nobilium de Tyloy. Abinde reflectitur ad meridiem iuxta terram prefatorum nobilium de Tyloy per arbores et metas terreas, venit ad terram populorum abbatis, qui sunt apud ecclesiam sancte Marie; abhinc ad terram Nempti vocatam, deinde reflectitur ad occidentem in vicinatione terre Zarakad vocate, venit ad viam Charadaoth vocatam, per quam tendens inferius venit ad aliam viam, que ducit in Olozca, ubi sunt due mete terree, per quam in modico spatio tendens reflectitur ad occidentem, perveniens ad metas terreas, ubi sunt arbores zilfa. Inde per quoddam nemus tendens venit ad fluvium Vervize vocatum in

vicinatione terre Geruar vocate. Inde superius per ipsum fluvium in magno spatio venit ad metam primitus nominatam et ibi terminatur.”

Archives, serial number: MOL DF 230145

Survival form: original

Edition: RA I, No. 1058.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Szar(a)kad,” 795; Cs. II, s.v. “Györgyvár,” 753; Cs. II, s.v. “Oloszka,” 780-781; Cs. II, s.v. “Tilaj,” 803.

No. 126

3 April 1334: The Vasvár chapter reports to the king that, by his order ,the boundaries of Zarakad were perambulated on 21 March, and the sons of Cosmas of Oszkó (*de Ozko*) called Dionisius and Iohannes were put in possession of the landed property.

“Prima meta inciperet super magnam viam Zarkadnogwtha dictam et iuxta puteum antiquum fuisset meta terrea... vaderet in viam antiquam, in qua versus occidentem perveniret ad metam terream... subtus monticulum Nyuluar vocatum caderet in viam magnam, que veniret de villa Gheus ad Olozka, in qua curreret versus aquilonem; perveniret ad fontem Kalachakutha dictum... descenderet ad predictam viam magnam Zarkadnoguta dictam, in qua versus meridiem curreret ad locum principalem ibique terminaretur.”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 42500

Survival form: transcription, 6 September 1391

Edition: UB IV, 170.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Szar(a)kad,” 795; Cs. II, s.v. “Gós(e)falva,” 751; Cs. II, s.v. “Oloszka,” 780-781.

Németszeleste (now: Szeleste, C. Vas)
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No. 127

13 February 1327: The Vasvár chapter reports to King Charles I that, by his order, the boundaries of Német-Szeleste (*possessionem...Nemeth Zeleste vocatam*) were walked around in the presence of its neighbours, and Iacobus and Paulus, sons of Ivan, were put in possession of the estate. A detail of the perambulation:

*“Prima meta incipit a parte occidentali in virgulto rubeo in tribus metis terreis angularibus, quarum una Stephano filio Antalius et Stephano filio Box, altera nobilibus de **Magiar Zeleste**, tertia vero filiis Iwan separant et distinguunt; modicum declinans a parte meridionali sunt due mete terree et ab hiisdem directe versus orientem binis metis interpositis currendo pervenit ad viam magnam inter ipsas duas villas Zeleste; saliendo ipsam viam directe currit ad pratum Keurus vocatum ... pervenit ad tres metas iuxta Keurus prope Agwyg vocato, et abhinc ad plagam occidentalem tendens parumper ad sinistrum declinans pervenit ad viam magnam; saliendo ipsam viam directe tendit ad fossatum vinearum in vertice montis; in vineis sunt due mete, in quibus sunt arbores, quarum una ab aquilone filiis Iwan, altera a meridie populis de **Ilbu** separant et distinguunt...”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 40818

Survival form: transcription, 21 December 1339

Edition: UB III, 239; HO II, 73.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Szeleste,” 796; Cs. II, s.v. “Ölbö,” 781.

Szenese (now: Szünöse, part of Szombathely, C. Vas)

No. 128

1 July 1288: Palatine Iohannes assigns Szenese (*terram seu possessionem...Zynsa*) to *magister* Emiricus, son of Paris. A detail of the perambulation:

*“Prima meta incipit iuxta **Heren** hereditariam possessionem eiusdem magistri Emirici, ubi sunt due mete terree; a quibus ibit directe ad occidentem super unum monticulum, ubi sunt tres mete, separantes ipsam terram a conmetaneitate terre **villarum Sye et Vndod** vocatarum, de quo descendit in vallem, in qua sunt tres mete; de quibus ibit ad verticem cuiusdam montis et sunt tres mete... que separant ipsam terram a... **ville Dorozmoth** nuncupate; de quibus tendit ad aquilonem et currendo per magnum spacium pervenit ad tres metas terreas... a quibus eundo adhuc ad occidentem intrat virgultum, in cuius introitu sunt tres mete terree; de quibus currendo per veterem viam pervenit ad viam publicam, per quam itur ad castrum Rohonch, iuxta quam sunt tres mete ilicibus cumulate, per quam viam girat ad orientem et eundo longo tramite pervenit ad fossatum, ubi sunt due mete terree; de quo fossato eundo pervenit ad conmetaneitatem **ville Gench**, ubi sunt due mete... de quibus venit ad conmetaneitatem **terre Enderech**, ubi sunt due mete distingentes ipsam terram a **terris Enderech** et sic currendo pervenit ad priores meta ibique terminatur.”*

Archives, serial number: SL Káldy 5026 = MOL DF 281366

Survival form: transcription, 1288

Edition: UB II, 208; HO VII, 207.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Szenese,” 796; Cs. II, s.v. “Rohoncz,” 718, 727.

Szólós (now: Gyöngyösszöllős, part of Szombathely, C. Vas)

No. 129

1334. szeptember 29: The Vasvár chapter reports to King Charles I that by his order the property of Michael son of Andreas called Szólós found by the Göngyös in County Vas (*possessionariam porcionem Andree filii Michaelis filii Petri, Zeulevs nuncupatam in comitatu Castri Ferrei iuxta Gungus existentem*) has been perambulated, and records the boundaries of the estate.

*“Prima meta incipit super fluvio **Gungus** et exit versus orientem... ad orientem directe tendit ad rubetum, ubi sunt due mete... de quibus metis declinat ad meridiem, cadit in viam graminosam, ab utraque parte eiusdem vie sunt mete posite... super qua via et metis longe currendo ad meridiem pervenit ad fossatum... in eadem fossata cadit in **fluvium Gwngus**, in quo fluvio versus meatum longe vadit in loco angulario; ubi ipse fluvius flectit se ad orientem, exit **eundem fluvium** versus occidentem in fossatum... in quo fossato ad occidentem vadit ad magnam viam, qua itur in Sabariam; in qua via tendit ad meridiem iuxta possessionem filiorum Hermani, **Kyszeuleus** vocatam et in ipsa via longe currendo cadit in viam, que de possessione Herman vocata vadit ad viam Surkuta dictam; tendendo ad occidentem et perveniendo ad Surkuta, in eadem via Surkuta declinat versus aquilonem; longe currendo pervenit ad metam terream, in qua meta terrea flectit se ad orientem directe currit ad predictam viam, qua itur in Sabariam, et salit ipsam viam... directe vadit ad orientem cadit in fluvium Gungus... pervenit ad locum principalem ibique terminatur.”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 40700

Survival form: transcription, 13 July 1335

Edition: UB IV, 179.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Szöllős," 801; Cs. II, s.v. "Hermán," 755; Cs. II, s.v. "Sork," 794.

Uraj (now: Uraiújfalú, C. Vas)

No. 130

1221: King Andreas II endows *servientes* from the Ják (*Gaku*) kindred with an estate called Uraj (*terram Urai*) allotted for the work of eight ploughs, and describes its boundaries. A detail of the perambulation:

*"...Greogorium et Pousam nobis **ob viam in Tornoy** transmiserunt, in eorundem servitorum monumentum et fidelitatis indecidue recompensationem **terram Urai** ad octo aratra a **castro nostro Vasvar** exceptam..."*

Archives, serial number: SL Niczky 4670 = MOL DF 209171

Survival form: transcription, 27 October 1324

Edition: UB I, 80; F. III/1, 330.

Regesta: RA I, 123.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Uraj," 807.

Vasvár (now: Vasvár, C. Vas)

No. 131

1217: King Andrew II names Poth (*Poch*) comes of Moson as the protector of the Vasvár chapter (*ecclesie sancti Michaelis de Castro Ferreo*) and confirms the chapter in its properties.

Detail of the perambulation of the landed property belonging to the chapter:

*"...terra circa monasterium beati Michaelis ... cuius terre incipit una meta de arbore zcyl super materiam magnam et vadit **per viam publicam** et continuatur metis terre Vzkov, quam terram consideratam paupertatem eiusdem monasterii antecessor noster pie recordacionis Bela rex contulerat ecclesie; habet insuper duo loca molendinorum super aquam Raba et piscinam unam cum duabus vineis **in exitu porte civitatis iuxta viam, qua pergitur ad Sanctum Gothhardum...**"*

Archives, serial number: VSzSzL 4.15.B = MOL DF 279145

Survival form: transcription, 17 October 1412

Edition: UB I, 73; HO IV, 9-10; W. VI, 384.

Regesta: RA I, 105-106.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Vasvár," 729-731; Cs. II, s.v. "Oszkó," 781; Cs. II, s.v. "Szent-Gottárd," 797.

No. 132

15 September 1283: King Ladislas IV confirms, among other things, the right of guests of Vasvár and other people belonging to the Vasvár chapter that they can cross the bridges of the Rába and Mákfa with their commodities freely and without paying tolls for it.

*"Hospites in eadem villa Castri Ferrei ad prepositum et capitulum predictae ecclesie beati Michaelis pertinentes ac alii iobagiones, equites, populi, liberi et conditionarii ubique locorum constituti ad eandem spectantes ecclesiam, in aquis piscationibus **fluminum Rabe et Makua**, fenetis, cesu lignorum ac aliis utilitatibus quibuscunque **in Silua Rabe liberum et***

*securum habeant usumfructum et in pontibus eorundem fluminum transitum liberum et securum absque **tribute** cum mercibus suis habeant possideant et teneant in perpetuum...*

Archives, serial number: VSzSzL 7.26.B = MOL DF 279246

Survival form: transcription, 22 February 1484

Edition: UB II, 1175; HO IV, 64.

Regesta: RA I, No. 3264.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Vasvár," 729-731.

No. 133

25 September 1291: King Andrew III confirms the privileges donated by King Ladislas IV, which prescribe among other things that the tenant peasants of the Vasvár chapter and the guests of the lower town of Vasvár (*de suburbio Castri Ferrei*) are exempted from tolls over the Rába (whether they cross the river over a bridge or without a bridge) and at the market-place (either on market days or on weekdays).

"Prefati hospites seu iobagiones ecclesie in ipso fluvio Raba in transitu eorundem in ponte vel sine ponte nec eciam in foro eiusdem ville aliquod tributum tam in die fori quam eciam cottidie solvere teneantur..."

Archives, serial number: VSzSzL 7.26.B = MOL DF 279246

Survival form: transcription, 23 February 1484

Edition: UB II, 255; HO IV, 80.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Vasvár," 729-731.

Velemér (now: Velemér, C. Vas)

No. 134

1273: King Ladislas IV had the boundaries of Velemér (*possessio Welemyr*) described for the noblemen of Velemér:

*"A parte occidentali a fluvio Welemyr... ivissent ad aquam Lapustow... et abhinc transsivissent ipsam aquam iuxta viam eundo ad locum duarum metarum... deinde autem ivissent ad partes meridionales ad unam viam et per eandem viam et silvam unam venissent ad Nyrherdew et ad aquam Reznuk ... et transeundo ipsum fluvium Welemyr venissent ad unam viam, que duceret ad terram castrensiu Zaladiensium Kubule vocatam habitatoribus nunc destitutam, et iuxta viam illam essent monticuli et due mete terre... inde ivissent ad terram Almas et per illam terram ad terram Scudkzele, ubi continuaretur metis castrensiu predictorum...ad aquam Welemyr ad pontem Torsey et ibi meta dicte **possessionis Welemyr** dictorum nobilium terminaretur."*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 3968

Survival form: transcription, 22 October 1349

Edition: UB II, 48.

Regesta: RA II, 65.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. "Velemér," 808; Cs. III, s.v. "Almásháza (Almás)," 27; Cs. III, s.v. "Kebele(-mellék; Kebelye)," 68.

Vép (now: Vép, C. Vas)

No. 135.

19 February (1283): The Vasvár chapter reports to King Ladislas IV that in the presence of *magister* Fuldricus, a member of the chapter, a part of the ploughlands belonging to Vép (*villa Weph*) was perambulated. The chapter put the sons of Ruthuk in possession of the estate allotted for the work of one plough. A detail of the perambulation:

“...incipit *ab aqua Sard* et tendit in magnam viam, per quam itur in Sabariam, de qua via currit ad aquilonem, que separat ipsam terram ab aliis terris wdvornicorum de **Weph**, assignavit et dedit filiis Ruthuk prescriptis possidendam **a parte ville Bozoy nuncupate**...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 1142

Survival form: transcription, 10 March 1283

Edition: UB II, 164; HO VI, 290.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Vép,” 731; Cs. II, s.v. “Boza(j),” 738-739.

Zalak (now: Sorkikápolna, C. Vas)

No. 136

1278: In front of the Vasvár chapter the sons of Bartholomeus of Hermán (*de Herman*) called Balduinus and Martinus sell the site of a castle at **Zalak** together with its ditches and fortification to Rubinus, the son of *Comes* Herman:

“Balduinus et Martinus filii Bartholomey de Herman coram nobis constituti **locum castris situm in terra Zalak cum fossatibus et indagibus antiquis, prout iacet usque magnam portam sitam iuxta magnam viam** vendiderunt pro decem marcis...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 58007

Survival form: original

Edition: UB II, 124; W. IX, 216-217.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Zalak,” 809-810.

Zsédeny (now: Zsédeny, C. Vas)

No. 137

(1238): Casmirius provost of Veszprém, Haholdus *comes* of Vasvár, and Paulus *comes* of Székesfehérvár – made judges by the king – confirm the sons of Obulgan in the possession of an estate called Zsédeny (*in predio filiorum Obulgan, quod Sedyn dicitur*). Detail of the perambulation:

“...incipientes in parte meridiei iuxta viam magnam in magnis metis et processerunt ad silvam, abinde **ad ecclesiam Sancti Martini**, deinde ad ortum bestiarum et transierunt **aquam Keures ad septemtrionalem**...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 47713

Survival form: original

Edition: UB I, 187; HO VIII, 33.

Toponyms: Cs. II, s.v. “Zsédeny,” 810.

7.2.2 County Sopron

Ágfalva (now: Ágfalva, C. Győr-Moson-Sopron)

No. 138

(After 3 September) 1279: King Ladislas endows *magister* Dionisisus son of Petrus from the Osl kindred with Ágfalva found in County Sopron (*possessionem... Daag vocatam... in comitatu Suprvniensi existentem*) together with its belongings, and describes the boundaries of the estate:

“Prima meta incipit cum tribus metis <135> iuxta viam crucis a parte septemtrionali, que distingunt terram Cruciferorum de Suprvnio et terram ipsius Petri empticiam et acquisitam Daag vocatam... deinde procedit per eandem viam ad meridiem... et posthec per metas descendit iuxta viam magnam ad partem orientalem usque viam Suprvniensem, ubi sunt due mete, que distingunt terram ipsorum Cruciferorum a terris Daag... deinde ascendit directe ad occidentem per metas usque viam Suprvniensem, ibi sunt due mete, que separant terras civium et sagitariorum predictorum a terris Daag... posthec vadit ad meridiem usque ecclesiam Sancti Georgii et ibi ultra viam sunt due mete angulares, que distingunt ipsas tres terras...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 1040

Survival form: original

Edition: UB II, 134-135; W. IX, 224-225.

Rgesta: RA II, No. 3005.

Toponyms: Cs. III, s.v. “Dág,” 604.

Borsmonostor (now: Klostermarienberg, Au.)

No. 139

1225: King Andreas II confirms the Cistercian monastery of Borsmonostor dedicated to the Holy Virgin (*monasterium ordinis Cystercyensis in honorem beate virginis Marie*) in its holdings, and grants further privileges to it.

Among other things, the document describes the boundaries of Borsmonostor (*Altus mons, in quo situm est ipsum monasterium*), Kedhely (*Meynhart*), and Lasztaj (*Laztay*):

“Prima igitur ipsorum meta incipit ab ortu solis super aquam Rebce iuxta terram Sydan, inde vadit in montem ad metam, que iacet in Hurduc, deinde montem ipsum ascendit ad metam, que est iuxta viam tendentem in Sydan, abhinc pergit ad metam, que iacet iuxta viam pergentem in Gathal, postea tendit per eandem viam ad duas metas, ubi conveniunt termini de Sydan et Gathal, et abhinc predictam viam currens per plures metas festinat ad tres metas, a tribus autem metis vertit se ad meridiem et vadit per antiquam viam inter duos malos ad locum, qui vocatur Rakathia, postea descendit ad salices in valle pluviali, deinde recto tramite currit in fluvium Gyngus versus <p. 104> molendinum Martini ipsumque fluvium ascendens usque ad locum, ubi rivulus Libnik cadit in ipsum, deinde ipsum rivulum semper ascendendo longa via tendit ad caput ipsius Lybnik et inde paululum versus orientem ascendit in viam magnam, que venit de villa Pylgrim, deinde per eandem viam plures metas habens festinat ad caput unius vallis, que dicitur Satelbah ipsumque non deserens descendit in Rebce, inde descendens ipsam aquam vadit ad molendinum Merkel, ab ipso autem molendino ex altera parte Rebce ascendens retro ecclesiam sancte Agathe pergit ad viam, que vadit in Suprvn; post hec per plures metas currit ad terminos trium terrarum Conradi

*fratrumque suorum Pule maioris et minoris, abhinc per plures metas sub ortu solis vadit ad viam, que dividit duas metas terras Myxa minoris et maioris, deinde per plures metas recto cursu versus meridiem pergit ad rubum salicis, inde ad tres metas tendit iuxta viam, que vadit in villam Engud, inde per eandem viam versus orientem festinat ad metam, que iacet in prato sub via, de qua denuo revertens contra meridiem properat per pratum in **Rebce** iuxta **stagnum**, quod vulgo dicitur **Nadalthou**, inde paululum ipsam aquam ascendens revertitur ad locum suum, unde processit.”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 86815

Survival form: original

Edition: UB I, 103-104.

Regesta: RA I, No. 420.

Toponyms: Cs. III, s.v. “Borsmonostori cziszterczita apátság,” 639-640; Cs. III, s.v. “Kedhely,” 613; Cs. III, s.v. “Gatál(y),” 608; Cs. III, s.v. “Lasztaj,” 617; Cs. III, s.v. “Mi(c)ske,” 620; Cs. III, s.v. “Zsidány,” 637.

No. 140

1225: King Andreas II confirms the Cistercian monastery of Borsmonostor dedicated to the Holy Virgin (*monasterium ordinis Cystercyensis in honorem beate virginis Marie*) in its holdings, and grants further privileges to it.

Among other things, the document describes the boundaries of Malomháza (*Vkas*), Száka (*Zaka*), and Barom (*Boron*):

*“Prima igitur ipsorum meta incipit versus aquilonem a scilfa iuxta rivulum supra viam, que venit de Supprvn, inde paululum vadit per ipsam viam versus meridiem ad viam tendentem in Vnd, deinde viam ipsam non deserens versus orientem per plures metas pergit ad terminos **Vnd**, inde vadit ad magnam metam sub meridie, ubi termini sunt **Syra et Ambus**, postea tendit ad tres metas, ubi incipit **terra Zakan** iuxta quandam viam, per quam properat ad tres metas, et ab his per aliam viam versus occidentem pergit ad metam iuxta **terram Gerolt**, inde versus aquilonem per plures metas vadit ad monticulum, deinde descendit versus occidentem ad metam, que iacet iuxta viam tendentem in **Gerolt**, inde per plures metas revertitur versus aquilonem per eandem viam ad duas metas et ab istis versus occidentem descendit ad viam iuxta terminos terre Nigwan; inde denuo per ipsam viam versus aquilonem festinat ad angulum quendam, ubi est meta, quam relinquens tendit per viam euntem in Baran ad magnam metam, ab isto vero semper rotundo cursu sub occidente descendit per plures metas ad rivulum, ubi sunt termini **Marquardi et Zobotbaran**, post hec ipsam rivulum transiens ascendit ad metas iuxta viam, ubi termini sunt ex altera parte Zobodbaran et Conradi; inde predictam viam currens properat ad metas sub vinea Solomonis sitas...”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 86815

Survival form: original

Edition: UB I, 105.

Regesta: RA I, No. 420.

Toponyms: Cs. III, s.v. “Borsmonostori cziszterczita apátság,” 639-640; Cs. III, s.v. “Kedhely,” 613; Cs. III, s.v. “Ambos,” 598; Cs. III, s.v. “Barom,” 600; Cs. III, s.v. “Girolt,” 609; Cs. III, s.v. “Ligván,” 617-618; Cs. III, s.v. “Malomháza,” 619; Cs. III, s.v. “Szakony,” 630; Cs. III, s.v. “Und,” 633-634; Cs. III, s.v. “Zsira,” 637.

Cenk (now: Nagycenk, C. Győr-Moson-Sopron)

No. 141

28 October 1291: In front of the Győr chapter Gregorius son of Petrus of the Osl kindred sells a part of his estate at Cenk (*in Scenk*) to Nicolaus son of Andreas of Monorosd. The perambulation of the landed property is as follows:

“Prima meta incipit ab oriente iuxta fluvium Ykua super una meta, in qua stat arbor illicea; inde progreditur et tendit versus meridiem parum eundo pervenit ad viam, qua itur de Perezteg in Supronium, saliendo eandem viam circa terram populorum de eadem Perezteg longe currendo ad eandem plagam meridionalem pervenit ad silvam... in eadem silva ad meridiem eundo iungit unam viam, qua itur de Supronio in Sar... saliendo eandem viam flectitur ad occidentem; adhuc in eadem silva iungit unam viam, que Wlcheut vocatur... relinquendo terram populorum de Perezteg in eadem via Wlcheut vocata circa terram filiorum Zenk girat ad aquilonem et cadit in unam magnam viam, qua itur de Sar in Supronium et per eandem viam longe eundo pervenit ad terram arabilem... in eadem via currendo pervenit ad fluvium Ykua, in qua quidem fluvio girat et circuit ad orientem et pervenit ad locum principalem ibique terminantur.”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 61157

Survival from: original

Edition: UB II, 258; HO I, 86.

Toponyms: Cs. III, s.v. “Czenk (a),” 604; Cs. III, s.v. “Peresztteg (Pereszleg),” 623-624; Cs. III, s.v. “Sopron,” 595-597; Cs. II, s.v. “Sár,” 791.

Harka (now: Harka, C. Győr-Moson-Sopron)

No. 142

4 May 1309: A letter of exchange of landed properties between *magister* Stephanus of Harka and the noblemen of Harka.

The property received by *magister* Stephanus in Harka had the following boundaries:

“E converso nobiles de Harka de terre sua ibidem magistro Stephano dederunt unam partem, scilicet in fine supradicte terre arabilis de villa procedendo usque ad antiquam viam et viam ecclesie eorum erit prima meta. Secunda meta erit in rotunda piro, que stat sola. Abinde usque ad magnam viam que de Nek ducit in Suprvnium tertia erit meta....”

Archives, serial number: SL SVL 44 = MOL DF 201678

Survival form: original

Edition: UB III, 39; Házi I/1, 21.

Toponyms: Cs. III, s.v. “Harka,” 609-610; Cs. III, s.v. “Nyék,” 622.

Locsmánd (now: Lutzmannsburg, Au.)

No. 143

17 December 1263: King Béla IV donates County Locsmánd (*comitas de Luchman*) to Laurentius *comes* of Sopron. Detail of the perambulation of the territory:

“... exit terra **ville Patri** et incipit esse commetanea eidem terre Rubyn et Ian, que sunt de meridie commetanei; deinde intrat **in viam**, prope quam sunt due mete, quarum una dividit inter terram Ian et Rubyn ac terram dicti comitatus; deinde pergit **in bivium**, ubi sunt mete tres angulares facientes divisionem inter Pousam de Boram, Ian, Rubyn predictos ac terram comitatus; abinde **iuxta viam**, que vadit per forestas, sunt due mete ...; deinde **eadem via** cadit **in stratam publicam Supruniensem et Chepregh**, ubi quoque sunt mete tres facientes divisiones inter terram dicti comitatus ac Pousam de Boran; deinde descendit versus occidentem et cadit **in viam Chuzegh**, ubi sunt mete quatuor...”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 86833

Survival from: transcription, 11 June 1367

Edition: UB I, 293-294; W. VIII, 52-54.

Regesta: RA I, No. 1372.

Toponyms: Cs. III, s.v. “Locsmán,” 593; Cs. III, s.v. “Csáva,” 603; Cs. III, s.v. “Péter-Németi,” 624; Cs. III, s.v. “Csepreg,” 590-591; Cs. II, s.v. “Kőszeg,” 724-725.

Száka (now: unknown)

No. 144

1240: Andreas son of Seraphin, judge royal describes the boundaries of Száka (*terra Zaka*) that belonged to the Borsmonostor Abbey:

“*Prima meta incipit de valle **in via magna, in qua ad Sopron itur**, tendit versus aquilonem et pervenit ad **predium** abbatis, quod **Boron** vocatur, et ibi sunt tres mete, scilicet una earum constat de **terra Gyrolth** in occidentali parte, alia de predio abbatis in parte aquilonis, tertia vero in meridionali parte de **terra Zaka**; deinde tendit contra orientem conterminata est Boron et pervenit ad **Wkec predium** dicti abbatis; abhinc autem facit girum contra meridiem et per virgultum vadit iuxta terminos **Wkec**, pervenit ad **predium** sepedicti abbatis, quod **Zaka** dicitur; inde vero reflectitur versus occidentem, tendit **in via herbosa** et subintrat terram Laurencii, que sibi dotata est cum uxore sua; deinde protelatur et prevenit ad locum priorem, a quo inceperat.*”

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 22501

Survival from: transcription, 1503

Edition: UB I, 200 (perambulation); W. VII, 110.

Toponyms: Cs. III, s.v. “Száka,” 629; Cs. III, s.v. “Barom,” 600; Cs. III, s.v. “Girolt,” 609.

7.2.3 County Zala

terra Pazaka (now: unknown)

No. 145

27 July 1275: King Ladislas IV donates *Comes* Mark, son of *Comes* Mark of Peech the estate called Pazaka (*terra Pazaka*) in County Zala together with a forest and twelve vineyards in return for the village Jurk (*villa Jurk*).

“*Prima meta incipit ab oriente iuxta aquam Zala, sub arbore populea, iuxta terram Dionysii filii Beche a parte meridionali... <77> tendit ad terram Symonreuidifev vocatam, ubi sunt due arbores... que sunt secus viam magnam, per quam viam tendit parumper ad occidentem et reflectitur ad meridiem; et tendit ad terram Chopomonorovfev vocatam, ... vadit ad orientem secus viam ad terram Kerekud, iuxta quam tendit ad meridiem et attingit viam, super quam tendit ad orientem, ubi sunt due mete terre; et inde tendit iterum ad meridiem per metas, et transit viam magnam ad terram arabilem, ubi sunt mete terre; hinc ad occidentem ad superiorem partem domus Lodomerii, et ibi continuatur terre **ecclesie Zaladiensis**, ubi sunt tres mete separantes terras **Dionysii** et **ecclesie Zaladiensis**; deinde ad aquilonem **Chopomunurofev** vocatam, et ibi vicinatur iterum terre **Dionysii**; et inde tendit ad occidentem ad fluvium **Zacadat** vocatum, et per eundem fluvium tendit ad aquilonem ad terram **Petketeluke** vocatam; et ibi transit ipsum fluvium ad occidentem ad terram **Matheusbarazta** vocatam, ubi sunt mete; inde tendit ad aquilonem ad quandam viam, iuxta quam tendit ad occidentem, ubi sunt due mete; abhinc ad aquilonem, ubi est arbor nucis pro meta iuxta viam, iuxta quam tendit ad occidentem et vicinatur terre **Dominici filii Endrech**, ubi sunt tres mete; et inde tendit iuxta terram **Dominici** ad aquilonem et continuatur terre **monasterii de Copurnuk**, ubi sunt due mete;... tendit ad aquilonem ad terram arabilem, super qua itur ad orientem ad terram **Beredtouua** vocatam, et ibi sunt due mete terre; inde ad viam **Burhuswt** vocatam, et in eadem via tendit ad orientem ad terram **Noypasth** vocatam, ubi est meta et arbor piri; inde ad viam **Hurhuswt** vocatam, et secus ipsam viam sunt due arbores...; abhinc ad orientem ad magnam viam, iuxta quam <78> tendit ad aliquilonem, ubi sunt mete; et transit ipsam viam et tendit ad orientem, ... tendit ad orientem ad aquam antedictam, ubi est arbor sambucea, ibique terminatur.”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 908

Survival form: original

Edition: Zala vm. I, 76-78.

Regesta: RA II, No. 2624.

Toponyms: Cs. III, s.v. “Kapornak,” 20.

7.2.4 County Veszprém

Dereske (now: Pápadereske, C. Veszprém)

No. 146

28 June 1347: The Veszprém chapter reports to palatine Nicolaus that an estate called Dereske found in County Veszprém was perambulated (*possessio...Dereske vocata in comitatu Wesprimiensi existens*). A detail of the perambulation:

*“...quam primo a quadam valle fluvii Bytua vocata reambulare incepissent, qui fluvius ad partem orientalem <102> separat predictam **possessionem Dereske**, et ad occidentalem **possessionem** magistri Ckenyg Narag vocatam, et ad meridionalem filii Ectoris distingueret..., pervenit ad locum **Peketeuteluk** vocatum, ubi invenissent duas metas modo supradicto separantes et terciam novam erexissent; inde pervenit ad quandam viam que de Narag venit in Kup, quam transeundo invenissent circa eandem duas metas inter ipsos nobiles de Dereske et filios Ectoris modo supradicto separantes, iuxta quas terciam novam erexissent ; ...inde pervenit ad magnam viam publicam iuxta quam invenissent duas metas et circa unam earum **in terra Dereske** aliam novam erexissent...”*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 41043
Survival form: transcription, 5 July 1347
Edition: A. V, 101-102.
Toponyms: Cs. III, s.v. “Dere(c)ske,” 228.

Szalók (now: Nemesszalók, C. Veszprém)

No. 147

1307: In front of the Veszprém chapter Comes Demetrius of Bala and his brother Nicolaus were endowed with an estate at Szalók (*Zolouk*). The perambulation of the estate begins in the north at a great road leading to Szalók:

“Prima meta ut incipitur in Monticulo Bánd ad magnam viam a parte Septemtrionali, que ducit in uillam Zolouk. Item iuxta aquam Halagus a parte occidentali due mete....”

Archives, serial number: VeML 8 = MOL DF 282695
Survival form: original
Edition: HO I, 103.
Toponyms: Cs. III, s.v. “Szalók (a),” 251.

7.2.5 County Győr

Árpás (now: Árpás, C. Győr-Moson-Sopron)

No. 148

+1037: (before 1240): King Stephen I names his grants to the monastery of Saint Mauricius (*monasterium sancti Mauricii*) founded at Bél (*Beel*) in the the Bakony Forest (*Bocon*). Among other things, he refers to the market toll at Szil (*tributum de foro Zyl*), the toll collected at the ferry port of Árpás over the Rába River (*tributum de portu Arpas in Raba*), as well as villages and estates together with servicing people.

Archives, serial number: PBFL Capsa 14.A = MOL DF 207137

Survival form: transcription, 11 March 1330

Edition: PRT VIII, 225.

Regesta: UB I, 15; RA I, No. 9.

Toponyms: Cs. III, s.v. "Árpás," 544; ÁMTF II, s.v. "Árpás," 578-579.

No. 149

+1086: King Ladislas I describes the holdings of the Bakonybél Monastery. When describing the boundaries of Árpás the document mentions the Árpás Stream, a ferry port (evidently over the Rába), as well as the Marcal River:

"...terminatur ab occidentali parte ad exitum rivuli, quod dicitur Veieztue; et inde vadit per Arpas ad portum, qui ducit ad orientem, ubi angulatur predictus fluvius Arpas; hinc dirigitur per viam, que ducit ad montem mercati; a quo cadit et vadit per alveum, qui vulgo dicitur Murzol, ad angulum ripe eiusdem aque; de qua itur ad cumulum, qui dicitur hatar..."

Archives, serial number: PBFL Capsa 15.Oo = MOL DF 208421

Survival form: original

Edition: PRT VIII, 268; W. I, 32.

Regesta: UB I, 17; RA I, 9.

Toponyms: Cs. III, s.v. "Árpás," 544; ÁMTF II, s.v. "Árpás," 578-579.

No. 150

7 January 1322: The convent of Pannonhalma records the complaint of the abbot of Bakonybél that the bridge toll of Árpás over the Rába River (*tributum portus seu pontis in possessione dicti monasterii sui Arpas vocata super fluvium Raba stans*) as well as the market toll of Szil (*tributum fori de Zyl*) which belonged to the monastery were illegally collected by *magister* Mauricius.

Archives, serial number: PBFL Capsa 50.X = MOL DF 207131

Survival form: original

Edition: PRT VIII, 305.

Regesta: UB III, 140.

Toponyms: Cs. III, s.v. "Árpás," 544; ÁMTF II, s.v. "Árpás," 578-579.

No. 151

24 August 1335: The convent of Pannonhalma records the complaint of the abbot of Bakonybél that Mauricius son of Nicolaus occupied Árpás located by the Rába (*Arpas iuxta fluvium Raba*), settled his people there, and collected the bridge toll that belonged to the monastery (*tributum pontis ibidem super dictam Raba*).

Archives, serial number: PBFL Capsa 50.Y = MOL DF 207152

Survival form: original

Edition: PRT VIII, 309.

Regesta: UB IV, 200.

Toponyms: Cs. III, s.v. "Árpás," 544; ÁMTF II, s.v. "Árpás," 578-579.

7.2.6 Austria

Lempach (now: Lembach, Au.)

No. 152

1 March 1279: For the salvation of his father, *Comes* Laurencius son of Laurencius endowed the Borsmonostor Abbey (*abbati et fratri de Monte Sancte Marie*) with Lempach located on the German border (*terram nomine Lypnack in confinio Teutonie*). The boundaries of the estate are as follows:

*"...transit fluvium dictum Lempach, ibique coniungitur fluvio Rebze et sic parum eundo versus meridiem intrat bivium, ubi in medio viarum duarum habentur due mete, quarum una est **terre Lengenpach**, altera **Pevlndorfarii**, qui eciam est conmetaneus ipsi terre; deinde transit fluvium Lypnack..., declinando versus meridiem coniungitur strate publice, per quam de Levka itur in Chirihslag; exinde iuxta eandem stratam vadit in aquilonem ibique ipsa via transmeata parum vadit et ibi angulatur, in quo loco sunt tres mete lapidee dividentes inter banum N[icolaum], **cives de Chirihslag et terram Lempach**; post hec cadit in eandem stratam... eundo versus aquilonem iuxta viam sepedictam ibique angulatur, declinans versus orientem in vallem rupelosam et ita valliando cadit **in fluvium Lypnack Teutonicorum**..."*

Archives, serial number: MOL DL 1032

Survival form: original

Edition: UB II, 127; F. V/2, 596-597.

Toponyms: Herényi, s.v. "Lempach," 334.

7.3 MAPS

The present part of the Appendix comprises four map sections (from 'A' to 'D') reconstructing the topography of County Vas in the Árpád Period. I created these maps on the basis of the relevant map sections of the First Military Survey, which provides the earliest elaborated and accurate representation of the whole Hungarian Kingdom. Furthermore, what makes the First Military Survey a most useful cartographic source for the reconstruction of medieval topography is that it was made before the nineteenth-century regulation of rivers and railway constructions, and thus shows the landscape in its relatively archaic state.

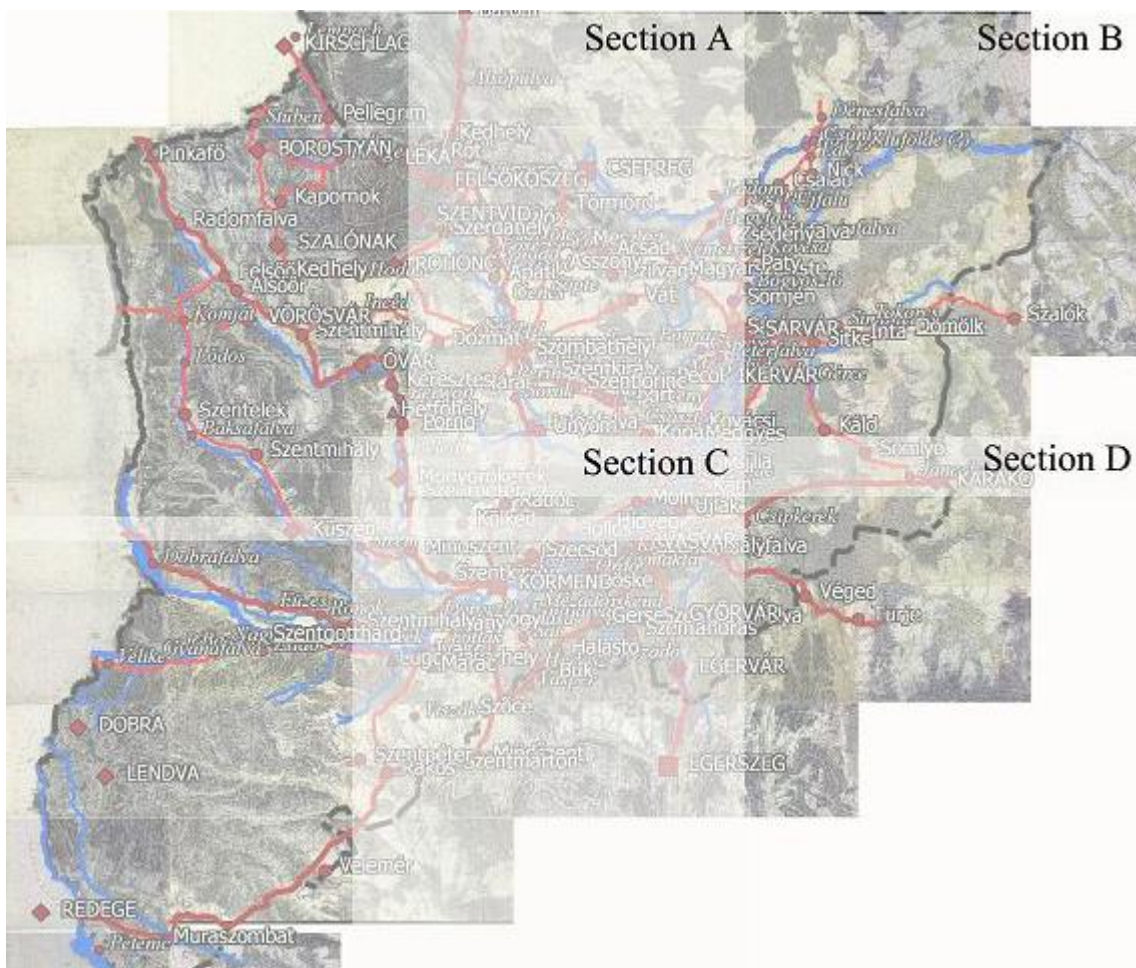



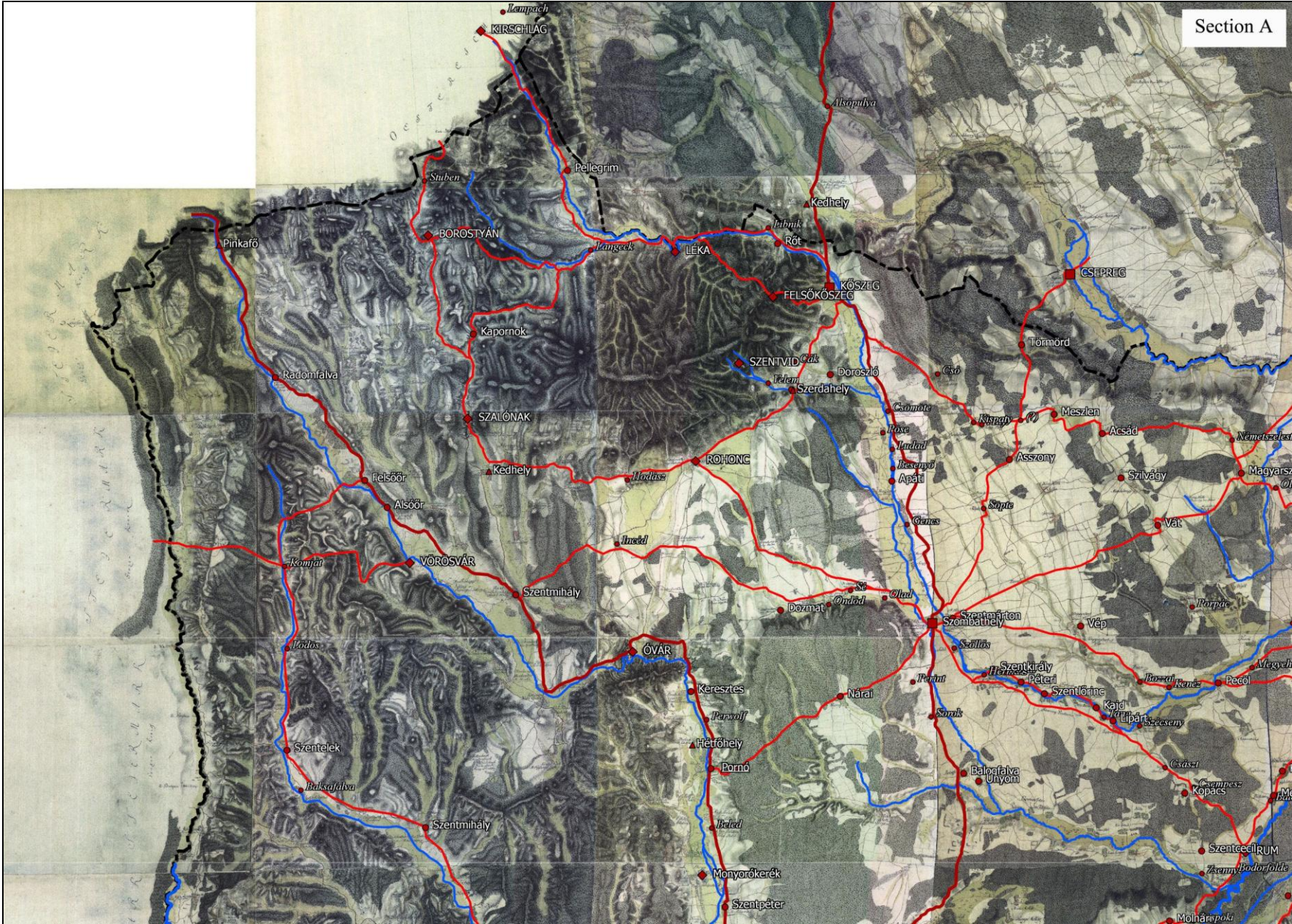


Fig. 66. An overview map of County Vas with sites and routes from the eleventh to the mid-fourteenth century

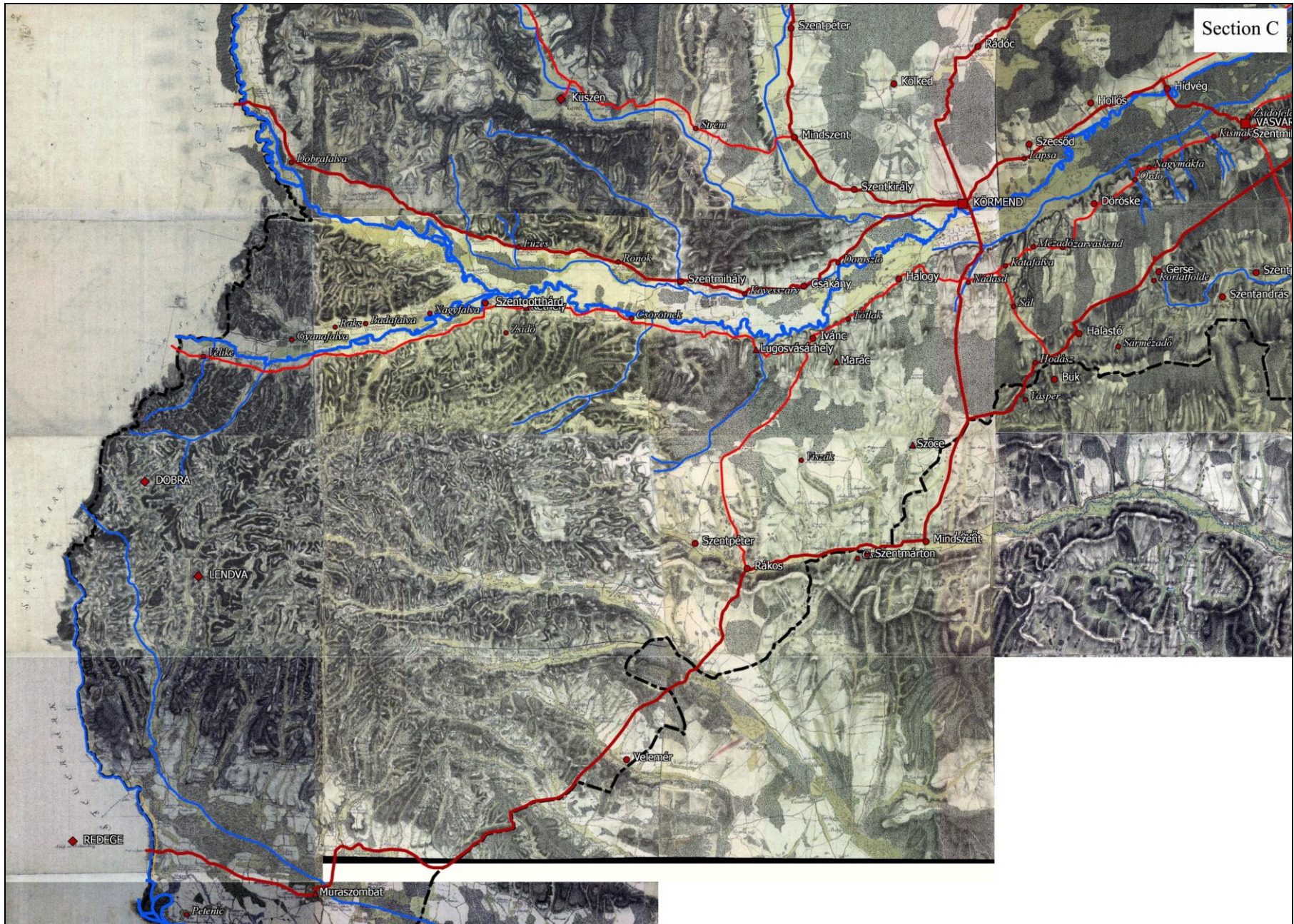
Map sections 'A' to 'D' show the following landscape features: long-distance routes (in wine-red colour), regional routes (in red colour), rivers, streams, towns, castles, market-places, monasteries, villages with churches, and minor settlements that had existed between the eleventh and mid-fourteenth centuries. Since these maps are primarily meant to make routes described in chapter 4.2 easier to follow, they represent only those routes that appear in the dissertation. Those contemporary sites that were not located along these routes are indicated only in a few, reasonable cases.

Legends for map sections 'A'-'D':

	Long-distance routes
	Regional routes
	Rivers and streams
■ KÖRMEND	Town
◆ ROHONC	Castle
▲ Kethely	Market-place
● <u>Szentgotthárd</u>	Monastery
● Pellegrim	Settlement with a church
● Cák	Settlement







Section D

