Doctoral Dissertation

Management of Monastic Landscapes. A Spatial Analysis of the Economy of Cistercian Monasteries in Medieval Hungary.

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CHAPTER 1: APPROACHING CISTERCIAN ECONOMY IN MEDIEVAL HUNGARY – HISTORIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND, METHODS, AND KEY THEMES

1.1 HISTORIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

Systematic research into the history of the Cistercians in Hungary¹ began around the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, on the initiative of local antiquaries, prominent churchmen as well as Cistercian scholars. Remig Békefi and his disciples authored several books and essays on the history of Cistercian houses, inspiring later works as well.² Although these studies were of very different quality in terms of the depth of scholarship, their approach, structure and narrative were similar as their primary concern was to provide a concise overview of archival sources in the manner of positivist history writing. These works typically began with a lengthy discussion on the history of the Cistercians, narrating the foundation of Citeaux, the era of Saint Bernard, then they addressed the local context, the Cistercians' role in Hungary, chronologically studying the documents concerning the history of the abbeys, compiling lists of the abbots and emphasizing the highlights of their activities (e.g. papal commissions). Imre Szentpétery's book on the Árpád period history of Borsmonostor³ (Klostermarienberg, Austria) stands out as an example of a systematic and critical diplomatic survey of twelfth – thirteenth

¹ I will use this term out of convenience in reference to historical Hungary, i.e. the medieval "Kingdom of Hungary".

² Chronologically the earliest were published in 1891, commemorating the 800-year anniversary of Saint Bernard's birth: Menyhért Érdújhelyi, "A péterváradi apátság," (The Abbey of Pétervárad), A Bács-Bodrogh vármegyei Történelmi Társulat Évkönyve 7 (1891): 99-106, 147-159. As for contributions by Békefi and his disciples, see: Remig Békefi, A pilisi apátság története. (The History of Pilis Abbey), 3 vols. Pécs: Taizs József, 1891-92; Idem, A pásztói apátság története (The History of Pásztó Abbey), 3 vols. Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor: 1898; Idem, A cikádori apátság története. (The History of Cikádor Abbey). Pécs: n/a, 1894; Dömötör Fránek, A borsmonostori apátság az Árpádok korában. (Borsmonostor Abbey in the Árpád period) Eger: Érseki Líceumi Nyomda, 1910; Egyed Bósz, Az egresi ciszterci apátság története. (The History of the Cistercian Abbey of Egres), Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda, 1911; Dénes Lakatos, A topuskoi ciszterci apátság története az Árpádok korában. (The History of Topusko Abbey in the time of the Árpáds) Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda, 1917; Ernő Horváth, A pornói apátság története. (The history of Porno Abbey) Pécs: Dunántúli Egyetem Nyomdája, 1930; Alán Baumgartner, A kerci apátság a középkorban. (The Abbey of Kerc in the Middle Ages) Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda, 1915; Konstantin Horváth, Zirc története. (The History of Zirc) Veszprém: Egyházmegyei Könyvnyomda, 1930). Menyhért Érdújhelyi was a local parish priest, Békefi was an abbot, Horváth was a prior of Zirc. Others, like Alán Baumgartner, were also churchmen, trained by - and later also affiliated to - the Cistercians, and their schools.

³ Where available, I will use the Hungarian versions of place names and provide the official, national spelling, and historical versions in parentheses.

century documents (charters).⁴ However, the late medieval (fourteenth – sixteenth century) history of Borsmonostor was again presented in much the same manner as in the abovementioned works.⁵

These publications are certainly of value, as most of the relevant archival sources (collected from source editions) concerning the various properties, lands of the abbeys, were discussed, according to a topographical and/or alphabetic scheme. However, it is only in the works of Békefi where one finds more elaborate discussions concerning e.g. the topographical situation of individual lands, or localization problems of medieval toponyms. Békefi used not only source editions but also did archival research. Collections of archival materials, including transcripts (or excerpts) of the originals were published in each volume.

As noted elsewhere,⁶ this kind of antiquarian approach often lacks the critical perspective. As historians of their church, Békefi and others cultivated a tradition of idealistic views, based on narrative and normative sources, praising the Cistercians as "reformers" of monasticism and paying little attention to the social and economic background that influenced the economic history of the abbeys. This ignorance, or lack of interest, coupled with the fragmentary nature of archival records imposed serious constraints for interpretive frameworks, i.e. for working out more elaborate research questions on socioeconomic perspectives.

Elek Kalász's monograph on the estate of Szentgotthárd⁷ represented a much different and very unique approach in context of the Hungarian historiography. Although he was also of a clerical background (an ordained Cistercian priest), he worked at Szentgotthárd as a forest ranger and was particularly interested in problems of economic management and land-use. Besides exploiting his technical knowledge of agrarian management,⁸ he made extensive use of archival records, including estate records (account books and maps) from the post-medieval period. On

⁴ Imre Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori apátság árpádkori oklevelei*. (The charters of Borsmonostor Abbey from the Árpád-period) Budapest: MTA, 1916.

⁵ By Ignácz Kovács who was a canon priest based in Sopron: Ignácz Kovács, *A borsmonostori apátság története*. (The History of Borsmonostor Abbey) Sopron: n/a, 1910.

⁶ A similar issue has been noted, for example, by Martin Heale, *Dependent Priories of Medieval English Monasteries*. (Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, 22) Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004, 2.

⁷ Elek Kalász, *A szentgotthárdi apátság birtokviszonyai és a ciszterci gazdálkodás a középkorban*. (The estate of the Szentgotthárd Abbey and Cistercian economy in the Middle Ages) (Tanulmányok a magyar mezőgazdaság történetéhez, 5) Budapest: n/a, 1932.

⁸ E.g. Jenő Vadas, *Erdőműveléstan*. (Forest Management) Budapest: Pátria, 1898; Béla Tormay, *A szarvasmarha és annak tenyésztése*. (Cattle and cattle husbandry), 3 vols. Budapest: Földmívelési- Ipar- és Kereskedelmi Magyar Királyi Ministerium, 1877–1901. Oszkár Wellmann, *Általános állattenyésztéstan*. (General Animal Husbandry) Budapest: Pátria, 1921 (1928).

the other hand, his line of thought remained still inclined to the aforementioned tradition, and he actually misinterpreted local practices as exempla of Cistercian ideals.

Many of his assertions reflect this, particularly in connection to the process of settlement. He argued, for example, that the granges of the abbey were created immediately after the foundation and in the close vicinity of the abbey (along the river valley). He believed that the monks colonized previously uninhabited lands, but he did not present convincing evidence on this. Emphasizing the importance of woodland clearance, he overlooked the potentially significant scale of the changes in land-use and vegetation, taking for granted the prevailing conditions of the landscape. His footnotes on Hans Muggenthaler's and Franz Winter's works⁹ also show that he was influenced by popular research views of his time which credited the Cistercians with excellence in all sorts of economic activities, including animal husbandry, woodland clearance, technological innovation, etc.

To give full credit to Kalász's book, however, it should be underlined that economic history as a field of historical research was in a nascent stage at that time. An interest towards the economic exploitation of church estates (monastic and other) had just started to develop, stimulated by a positivist-empirical historiographical trend, as major collections of archival sources were being published. Tapping partly into these sources, the *Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle* (Hungarian Journal of Economic History), was launched, specializing in the theme of economic history. Gusztáv Wenzel discussed the agrarian history of Hungary in a monographic work, ¹⁰ and essays have been published by László Erdélyi, ¹¹

⁹ Hans Muggenthaler, Kolonisatorische und wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit eines deutschen Zisterzienserklosters in 12. und 13. Jahrhundert. München: Hugo Schmidt, 1924; Franz Winter, Die Cistercienser des nordostlichen Deutschlands. Vom Auftreten Der Bettelorden bis Zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts, 3 vols. Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1868-1871.

¹⁰ Gusztáv Wenzel, *Magyarország mezőgazdaságának története*. (The History of Hungarian Agriculture) Budapest: Akadémia, 1887.

¹¹ Erdélyi was one of the authors of the *Pannonhalmi Rendtörténet*, a major series focusing on the history of the Benedictine order in Hungary: Erdélyi, László, Pongrácz Sörös, ed., *A Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története* (a Magyar kereszténység, királyság és Benczés-Rend fönnállásának kilenczszázados emlékére) [The History of the Benedictine Congregation of Pannonhalma (commemorating the 900 years anniversary of its existence as well as of Cristianity and of the Hungarian Kingdom)], vol 1-12b. Budapest: Stephaneum, 1902–1916.

Menyhért Érdújhelyi¹² and Tihamér Turchányi,¹³ addressing the economic management of monastic estates. Nonetheless, all these works, including Kalász's book, share a common flaw: despite the extensive use of archival documents, they adopt general models unreflectively, while their interpretive framework remained very narrow due to the lack of contextual and comparative data concerning the local-regional economic context.

Although interest towards economic and social history continued to grow,¹⁴ church history became marginalized after WWII (mostly for political reasons). Research on monasticism was typically confined to art historical and archaeological investigations. Excavations were carried out prior to conservation works at many monastic sites – including for example the Cistercian

¹² László Erdélyi, *Egyházi földesúr és szolgái a középkorban* [Ecclesiastical landlords and their servants in the medieval period]. Budapest: Szent-István-Társulat Tudományos és Irodalmi Osztálya, 1907; Idem, *Az egyházi vagyon eredete és jellege Magyarországon*. (The origins and character of church estates in Hungary) Budapest: Apostol-Nyomda Részvénytársaság 1913; Menyhért Érdújhelyi, *A kolostorok és káptalanok befolyása Magyarország mezőgazdasági fejlődésére a mohácsi vész előtt*. (The influence of monasteries and collegiate chapters on the development of Hungarian agriculture before the Mongol invasion), Budapest: Szent István Társulat Tudományos és Irodalmi Osztálya, 1903; Idem, *Szerzeteseink mezőgazdasági tevékenysége 1526 előtt*. (Agricultural activities of monastic communities before 1526) Budapest: Szent István Társulat Tudományos és Irodalmi Osztálya, 1906.

¹³ Tihamér Turchányi, *Magyarországi monostorok gazdasági viszonyai a tatárjáras előtt.* (Economic conditions of Hungarian monasteries before the Mongol invasion) Budapest: Lampel Róbert, 1909.

¹⁴ For a historiographical overview on these trends cf. József Laszlovszky, "Késő középkori gazdaság és gazdálkodás Magyarországon: források és módszertani kérdések." (Late medieval economy and economic administration in Hungary. Sources and methods) In *Gazdaság és gazdálkodás a középkori Magyarországon*. *Gazdaságtörténet, anyagi kultúra, régészet.*, ed. András Kubinyi, József Laszlovszky and Péter Szabó. Budapest: Martin Opitz, 2008, 13–19; József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Péter Szabó and András Vadas, "Hungarian Medieval Economic History: Sources, Research and Methodology," In *The Economy of Medieval Hungary*, ed. József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Péter Szabó and András Vadas. Leiden: Brill, 2018, 1–36.

abbeys of Bélapátfalva, ¹⁵ Pásztó, ¹⁶ Pilis, ¹⁷ Szentgotthárd, ¹⁸ Vértesszentkereszt, ¹⁹ Zirc, ²⁰ and later also Cikádor. ²¹ Archaeological research contributed significantly to the study of Cistercian communities and their economic activities. On the one hand, the problem of uniformity and diversity was exposed by archaeological and art historical analysis (concerning building conservation projects), ²² while on the other hand, the small finds illuminated various aspects of monastic life, generating further debates about the character of Cistercian self-sufficiency.

¹⁵ Ilona Valter, "A bélapátfalvi monostor feltárási munkálatai 1964-ben" *Hermann Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 6 (1966): 199-223.; Eadem, "Die archäologische Erschliessung des Zisterzienserklosters von Belapátfalva" *Acta Archeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 33 (1982): 179–200 [Also published in: *Analecta Cisterciensia* 38 (1982): 153–165.] The decoration of the façade has been investigated recently by Lajos Bozóki, "A bélapátfalvi apátsági templom homlokzati díszítése kapcsán," [Notes on the decoration of the façade of the abbey church of Bélapátfalva] *Altum Castrum – Online*. Visegrád: Mátyás Király Múzeum, 2014. Open access: http://archeologia.hu/content/archeologia/272/belapatfalva-bozoki.pdf

¹⁶ Ilona Valter, "A pásztói monostor feltárása," *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* 2 (1982): 167–206; Eadem, "Das Zisterzienserkloster Pásztó. Geschichte und neue archäologische Forschungsergebnisse," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 38 (1982): 129–138; Eadem, "Adatok a pásztói monostor gazdasági életéhez" (Data on the economic history of Pásztó Abbey). In *Historia est. Írások Kovács Béla köszöntésére*, ed. Gergely Csiffárfy, Eger: Heves Megyei Levéltár, 2002, 425–437.

¹⁷ László Gerevich, "Pilis Abbey, a Cultural Center," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 29 (1977): 155–198; Idem, "Les fouilles de l'abbaye hongroise de Pilis", in *Mélanges à la mémoire de père Anselme Dimier (Architecture cistercienne)*, ed., Benoît Chauvin. Arbois: Editeur, 1982, 371–393; Idem, "Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in der Zisterzienserabtei Pilis," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 37 (1985): 111–152; Idem, "A pilisi ciszterci apátság," *in Studia Comitatensia* 17 (1985): 541–549; Idem, *A pilisi ciszterci apátság*. Szentendre: Pest Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1987.

¹⁸ Ilona Valter, "Die archäologische Erschliessung des ungarischen Zisterzienserklosters Szentgotthárd," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 38 (1982): 139–153.

¹⁹ Éva Mezősiné Kozák, *A vértesszentkereszti apátság.* (The Abbey of Vértesszentkereszt) (Művészettörténet – műemlékvédelem, 5) Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1993.

²⁰ Tibor Hümpfner, "A zirci apátsági templom ásatása (1912–13)," (Excavation of the abbey church at Zirc, 1912–13) *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 2 (1964): 119–137. Bernát Bérczi, OCist, "A középkori zirci apátság romjai és rekonstrukciójam." (Reconstruction of the ruins of the medieval abbey of Zirc) In *A ciszterci rend Magyarországon és Közép Európában*, ed. Barnabás Guitman (Piliscsaba, Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2009, 172–190; Gergely Buzás, "Jelentés a zirci középkori ciszterci apátságban folytatott 2011. évi feltárásról," (Report on the exacavations at Zirc Abbey in 2011), *Archaeologia - Altum Castrum* Online: http://archeologia.hu/content/archeologia/43/buzas-a-zirci-apatsag.pdf; László Ferenczi, *A zirci ciszterci kolostor ásatása 2007-ben* (Preliminary report on the excavation of the monastery of Zirc in 2007) Available at http://www.ocist.hu/ user/browser/File/kozepkori apatsag/Ferenczi-text-Hu.pdf

²¹ Ilona Valter, "A cikádori ciszterci apátság kutatása." (Investigation of the Cistercian Abbey of Cikádor) In Hermann Egyed emlékkönyv, ed., József Sümegi József, István Zombori. Budapest: METEM, 1998, 155–166. Eadem, A cikádori, más néven Báta(széki) apátság története. (The History of the Cistercian Abbey of Cikádor, also known as Báta(szék)) Budapest: METEM, 2015.

²² See especially: Matthias Untermann, *Forma Ordinis: Die mittelalterliche Baukunst der Zisterzienser* (Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien, 89). München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2001; A summative essay concerning the results of archaeological excavations in Hungary has been done by Ilona Valter, "Ciszterci monostorok kutatása," (Excavations of Cistercian monasteries) *Studia Comitatensia* 17 (1985): 563–593. Béla Zsolt Szakács wrote a critical overview of how archaeological evidence may reflect impacts both internationally and locally (addressing problems of dating through archaeological finds and art historical parallels): "Megjegyzések korai ciszterci templomaink szentélyformáihoz." (Comments on the forms of early Cistercian sanctuaries) In *A ciszterci rend Magyarországon és Közép Európában*, ed. Barnabás Guitman (Piliscsaba, Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2009), 146–161.

Investigations carried out within the precincts of the abbeys and in the immediate vicinity of the abbeys were of particular importance. At Pásztó, an iron forge and a glass workshop were found. ²³At Pilis, a fishpond, a water mill, and an iron forge were identified within the precinct, and there were also other industrial features (kilns) recovered outside of the walls. ²⁴

Apart from the publication of archaeological reports, however, the theme of monasticism (and monastic economy in particular) remained undeservedly marginalized. There was no attempt to re-visit earlier scholarship, produce comparative studies based on the case studies, or collect new evidence concerning the economic and social history of the abbeys. As an economic historian, Ferenc Maksay was the first to comparatively analyze different monastic estates and manorial sites,²⁵ albeit only briefly, focusing on Tihany and Pannonhalma. Based on the foundation charter of Tihany (1055) as well as later sources from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, he illustrated broader economic and social trends, changes within a two-tier system, i.e. demesne vs tenancy-based economies. From the late thirteenth century, there was a shift in economic exploitation, departing from traditional forms of subsistence economy (based on labor services performed by serfs specializing in certain activities), to a more monetized (rentbased) economy. Maksay noted that changes to how monasteries exploited their estates and manorial farms went parallel to social transformations, i.e. the formation of a uniform peasant class. Based on Kalász's work, Maksay noted that the example of Szentgotthárd is illustrative of this trend. Regardless of Kalász's view being erroneous about the details of the management model of Szentgotthárd, Maksay was right to acknowledge that - in regard to its general characteristics – the trend was essentially similar to what can be evidenced in case of monastic estates and economic exploitation in general in Western Europe. That is, the role of manorial exploitation was diminishing, and the collection of feudal tithes paid by tenants became more important.

²³ Ilona Valter, "Árpád-kori (11–13. századi) üveghuta és kovácsműhely a pásztói monostorban," (Árpád-period (11th-13th century) forge and glass workshop at the monastery of Pásztó) *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 140 (2015): 195–227; Eadem, "Quelques établissements proto-industriels en Hongrie." In *L'espace cistercien. Colloque "l'Espace cistercien"*, abbaye de Fontfroide, 24-27 mars 1993 [henceforth: *L'espace cistercien*], ed. Léon Presseuyre. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifique [henceforth CTHS], Paris, 1994, 391–400.

²⁴ See the detailed evaluation of the finds from Gerevich's excavation concerning the economic activities of monastic workshops by Imre Holl, *Funde aus dem Zisterzienserkloster von Pilis*. Budapest: Paulus-Publ. Verlag, 2000

²⁵ Ferenc Maksay, "Benedekrendi gazdálkodás Tihanyban a XIII-XIV. századi struktúraváltozás idején," (Benedictine administration in the Era of the Structural Changes of the 13th -14th centuries), *Somogy megye múltjából* 3 (1972): 3–11.

This study remained, however, a solitary example of its kind. Instead of exploring further the management of monastic estates, economic historians, including Maksay, were more interested in lay estates and later periods. The reason for this was the abundance of source materials from the early sixteenth century onwards that allowed comparative and quantitative analysis of large-socio-economic trends during the growth period of Hungarian economy, and of the revival of manorialism – the so called "second-serfdom". This narrow focus of interest partly explains why mostly antiquarian works have been used in discussions concerning the economic management of ecclesiastical estates, and why an overview of the state of the art has relatively little new to share on the subject. And the subject of the subject.

The publication of the *Repertorium historicum ordinis Cisterciensis in Hungaria* (by Ferenc L. Hervay) was, at last, a major step forward, ²⁹ – along with the translation of Louis L. Lékai's book on the Cistercians (al. Lajos Gyula Lékai, a Hungarian Cistercian scholar) into Hungarian a couple of years later³⁰ – which opened up the field for future studies and synthesis. Hervay synthesized knowledge from the available literature and also compiled detailed lists of primary and secondary sources – hence the name of the book, *Repertorium*. Separate chapters were dedicated to each abbey, of which the first parts are the "res memorabiles", i.e. selections of *regestae* of the most important documents. These are followed by – presumably complete – lists of archival sources ("archivum), properties ("possessiones"), and abbots ("personalia"). Hervay did meticulous work to compile these lists, searching for documents from various archival fonds, not only in the records of the monasteries but also elsewhere. He relied partly on the already available source collections published by Békefi and source editions, while partly

²⁶ On this theme, see especially Maksay's contributions: Ferenc Maksay, *Urbáriumok. XVI–XVII. Század.* (Land registers, 16-17th centuries) (Forráskiadványok 7.) Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1959; Idem: *Parasztság és majorgazdálkodás a XVI.századi Magyarországon.* (Peasantry and manorial farming in 16th century Hungary) Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958. As for the broader region cf. Jerzy Topolski, ed., *The Manorial Economy in Early-Modern East-Central Europe.* (*Origins, development and consequences*) Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994.

²⁷ See e.g. Éva Fülöp, "Az egyházi birtok Magyarországon a hűbéri korszakban." (Church estates in the feudal period) In *Magyarország agrártörténete. Agrártörténeti Tanulmányok*, ed. István Orosz, Lajos Für and Pál Romány. Budapest: Mezőgazda Kiadó, 1996, 23–29. Fülöp was referring here e.g. to Érdújhelyi's aforementioned studies.

²⁸ Beatrix F.Romhányi, "Kolostori gazdálkodás a középkori Magyarországon." In *Gazdaság és gazdálkodás a középkori Magyarországon: gazdaságtörténet, anyagi kultúra, régészet*, ed. András Kubinyi, József Laszlovszky, Péter Szabó. Budapest: Martin Opitz, 2008, 401–412. A revised English-language version was recently published: Eadem, "The ecclesiastical economy in medieval Hungary." In *The Economy of Medieval Hungary*, ed. József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Péter Szabó and András Vadas. Leiden: Brill, 2018, 309–334.

²⁹ Ferenc L. Hervay, *Repertorium historicum ordinis Cisterciensis in Hungaria*. Roma: Editiones Cistercienses, 1984.

³⁰ Louis J. Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideal and Reality*. Ohio: Kent State University, 1977. Idem, *A Ciszterciek: eszmény és valóság*. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1991.

doing archival research himself, checking the collection of the Hungarian National Archive, and tracing relevant documents which survived outside of Cistercian archives.

In his review on the Repertorium, however, László Solymosi criticized how sources were compiled and presented by Hervay. ³¹ Solymosi noted, for example, that a number of published documents have been overlooked as the available source editions have not been looked through systematically. On the other hand, Solymosi also warned that some archival collections should have deserved more attention, particularly of those "places of authentication," i.e. the local centers of legal administration, which were in the neighborhood of Cistercian abbeys. In addition, he also underlined technical issues concerning the presentation of data. For example, Hervay did not systematically match the modern archival inventory numbers of the documents with references in source editions or in historical topographical works such as those by György Györffy and Dezső Csánki. 32 Szentpétery's work on Borsmonostor, for example, was already very consistent in this respect. Another problem was that Hervay did not provide crossreferences or concordances for the different lists in the above-mentioned sections of the chapters, and for this reason it becomes annoyingly difficult to check which document refers to which person/property/land transaction, and from which year. These issues of lack of precision were a challenge for the thesis, as data from the *Repertorium* had to be improved, matched with references in source editions, as well as with archival inventory numbers – already searchable in digital databases. Another technical problem of the Repertorium was the very poor representation of topographical data; the maps showing the lands of the abbeys were hand drawn with simple dots indicating the lands/settlements. Apart from not being so informative, ³³ with respect to the size of monastic lands, the maps conceal the differences in the geographical character of landscapes.

The *Repertorium* has been – and still is – the primary reference work for studies on the Cistercians (for this thesis too, despite all its flaws). Since its publication, however, there has been relatively little advancement in the field. Studies on the Cistercians were mostly focusing

³¹ László Solymosi, "Észrevételek a Ciszterci Rend magyarországi történetének repertóriumáról" [Remarks on the Repertorium on the history of Cistercian monasteries in Hungary]. *Levéltári Közlemények* 55 (1984): 246–247.

³² György Györffy, ed., *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* (A historical geography of Hungary in the Árpád period) 4 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1963–1998). Dezső Csánki, ed., *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* (A historical geography of Hungary in the age of the Hunyadis) 5 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1980-1913).

³³ Stephen Moorhouse, "Monastic estates – their composition and development." In *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries* (BAR British Series 203), ed. Roberta Gylchrist and Harold Mytum. Oxford: Oxford, 1989, 32–33.

on political and social historical themes. Apart from an earlier essay by Louis L. Lékai,³⁴ such themes appear central in case studies on Egres,³⁵ Pétervárad,³⁶ Szepes,³⁷ and Topuszkó.³⁸ Other essays discuss the cultural-political-dynastical ties between the Hungarian and French courts, particularly in the time of Bela III (1172-1196), Andrew II (1205-11235) and Bela IV (1235-1270)).³⁹ The problem of legal-ecclesiastical administration also has been a popular theme, focusing on the visitations, the administrative relations of the Hungarian abbeys to the general chapter and to the papal court.⁴⁰

³⁴ Louis J. Lekai, "Medieval Cistercians and their social environment. The case of Hungary," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 32 (1976): 251–280.

³⁵ Dániel Bácsatyai, "Az egresi ciszterci monostor korai történetének kérdései," (Questions on the early history of the Cistercian monastery of Egres) *Századok* 149 (2015): 264–267.

³⁶ Margit Beke, "Pétervárad története a kezdetektől a XVIII. század végéig," *Magyar Sion* 49 (2013/1): 49–87. See also Miklós Takács, *A bélakúti/péterváradi ciszterci monostor*. (The Cistercian Monastery of Bélakút/Pétervárad) Újvidék: Forum, 1989.

³⁷ Kristóf Keglevich, "A szepesi apátság története az Árpád- és Anjou-korban (1223–1387)," (History of the Abbey of Spiš in the Árpád- and Angevin period) *Fons* 14 (2007): 5–11.

³⁸ Hrvoje Kekez, "Cistercians and Nobility in Medieval Croatia: The Babonići Family and the Monasteries of Topusko (Toplica) and Kostanjevica (Landstrass) in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries", *Citeaux: Commentarii cistercienses* 61 (2010): 257–78; Ana Novak, "Croatia and the Borders of Christianity: The Fortified Cistercian Abbey of Castrum Thopozka." In *Monasteries on the borders of Medieval Europe: Conflict and Cultural Interaction*, ed. Emilia Jamroziak and Karen Stöber. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013, 49–81.

³⁹ The "French connections" have long been in the focus of interest for Hungarian research; aspects of it have been discussed in a conference volume: Attila Györkös and Gergely Kiss, ed., *Francia-magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban* (French – Hungarian connections in the Middle Ages) Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Történeti Intézete, 2013. See especially the following studies: Gergely Kiss, "11-13. századi magyar föpapok francia kapcsolatai," (French connections of 11th-13th century Hungarian prelates), ibidem, 341–350; Attila Bárány, "Courtenay Róbert latin császár Magyarországon," (Emperor Robert de Courtenay in Hungary), ibidem, 153–180; Mária Prokopp, "Francia-magyar müvészeti kapcsolatok III. Béla udvarában, Esztergomban," (French- Hungarian artistic connections at the court of King Bela III in Esztergom), ibidem 291–314. On the Cistercians' role with regard to royal burials, see: József Laszlovszky, "Local Tradition or European Patterns? The Grave of Queen Gertrude in the Pilis Cistercian Abbey," in *Medieval East Central Europe in a Comparative Perspective: From Frontier Zones to Lands in Focus*, ed., Gerhard Jaritz and Katalin Szende. New York: Routledge, 2016, 81–98.

The relevant general chapter statutes have been already collected in the *Repertorium*, on which Hervay published also an essay: Ferenc L. Hervay, "Die Visitationen der Zisterzisenserklöster Ungarns im Mittelalter." In *Tal und Einsamkeit 725 Jahre Kloster Fürstenfeld. Die Zisterzienser im Alten Bayern*. Vol 3 B, ed. Klaus Wollenberg, Angelika Ehrmann and Peter Pfister. Fürstenfeldbruck: Stadt Fürstenfeldbruck, 1990, 225–230; Marie Madelain de Cevins, "Les implantations cisterciennes en Hongrie médiévale: un réseau?" In *Unanimité et diversité cisterciennes*, ed. Nicole Bouter. Saint-Étienne: Université Saint Etienne - CERCOR, 2000, 453–484; Kristóf Keglevich, "A ciszterci nagykáptalan és a magyar apátságok a középkorban," (The Cistercian General Chapter and its statutes concerning the Hungarian abbeys) *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok* 20 (2008/1-2): 9–41. The visitation of Jacobus Pecorari (as papal legate) in Hungary was studied by Tibor Almási, "Pecorari Jakab diplomáciai pályája." (The diplomatic mission of Jacob Pecoraria) In Tanulmányok Karácsonyi Béla hetvenedik születésnapjára, ed. Péter Kulcsár, Béla Mader, István Monok. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem Központi Könyvtára és Bölcsészettudományi Karának Magyar Történeti Tanszéke, 1989, 59–69; Idem, "Egy ciszterci bíboros a pápai világhatalom szolgálatában. Pecorari Jakab bíboros magyarországi legációja," (A Cistercian cardinal in the service of papal power. Jacob Pecoraria as a legate in Hungary) *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok* 5 (1993/1-2): 129–141.

Concerning Cistercian economy in Hungary, there have been two short essays published by László Koszta, ⁴¹ and by Beatrix F. Romhányi. ⁴² Both focus on the "foundation period," i.e. before 1270, and discuss different aspects of Cistercian economy, if only briefly, including the problem of settlement and site-selection strategy, colonizing activities, granges, privileges (on salt), wine production, the role of laybrothers etc. For both Koszta and Romhányi, Kalász's work has been an important point of reference, as they emphasized that it is only the monastery of Szentgotthárd, on the example of which we "know" Cistercian economic practices in Hungary. ⁴³ However, based on the *Repertorium*, as well as on foreign literature, both argued strongly against traditional and idealistic interpretations. Koszta emphasized that the role of grange economy and self-sufficiency was not significant, as Cistercian practices were already "feudalized" in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries when the first monasteries were founded in Hungary. This has been evidenced elsewhere in the region, east of the Elbe, or in the Czech lands, ⁴⁴ and Koszta basically saw the same shift to *Rentengrundherrschaft* (to the collection of tithes) in the case of the Cistercians, as highlighted earlier by Maksay in connection to the Benedictines estates. As F.Romhányi has summarized:

"Cistercians in Hungary were primarily active in the secondary economy, and less active in the organization of their own agricultural production. In the majority of cases, their life was based, from the moment of their foundation, on toll incomes and trade, since the size and structure of their estates did not allow for the intensive agricultural production that was traditionally Cistercian (Pilis, Pásztó, Borsmonostor, Bélakút, Egres or even Cikádor just to mention a few). In other cases, they had a sort of mixed economy (Szentgotthárd and Savnik). In these cases, although there was a large coherent estate, it was already at least partly settled, and there was the possibility of mining and trading the resources of the region (mainly iron and salt)."⁴⁵

As implied also by the title of F.Romhányi's essay, internal colonization, the process of "implantation", and site-selection strategies were of particular interest. These are generally the most discussed issues in connection to the Cistercian economic model, as the traditional

⁴¹ 1270 was the year of the last Cistercian foundation in Hungary (the Abbey of Ábrahám). László Koszta, "A Ciszterci Rend története Magyarországon a kolostoraik alapítása idején," (The History of the Cistercian Order in Hungary in the Time of Foundations) *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok* 5 (1993): 115–128; A German language version is also available: Idem, "Die Gründung von Zisterzienserklöstern in Ungarn 1142-1270," *Ungarn Jahrbuch* 27 (1997): 65–80.

⁴² Cf. Beatrix F. Romhányi, "The role of the Cistercians in medieval Hungary: political activity or internal colonization?," *Annual of medieval studies at the CEU* (1993/94): 180–204.

⁴³ Koszta, "A Ciszterci", 122; Idem, "Die Gründung", 73; F. Romhányi, "The Role of the Cistercians", 186.

⁴⁴ Koszta, "A Ciszterci", 122, 124. Idem, "Die Gründung", 74–76.

⁴⁵ F. Romhányi, "The Role of the Cistercians", 197.

narrative emphasized that Cistercians were seeking solitude and colonized previously uninhabited lands. At this point, the relevance of archaeological research should be noted again, as it is usually problematic to find historical evidence dating from before the foundation of the abbeys to explore this theme. Despite monasteries being keen on producing and requesting documents to secure their lands and properties, the situation often did not improve much later on – meaning the early and late thirteenth century – in the Hungarian context.

Settlement archaeological and landscape archaeological studies have been instrumental in this respect, i.e. in studying the problem of "colonization." Archaeological topographical reconstructions of settlement conditions prior to the Cistercians' arrival, and subsequent changes (colonization, depopulation and landscape transformations) have challenged traditional interpretations. It has been pointed out that Cistercians often received already cultivated/populated lands and, in fact, they rather preferred to settle in such areas – the so called *Altsiedelland* in the German language literature. This direction of research was particularly relevant for the region east of the Elbe (in Poland and the Baltic region), where Cistercian expansion ran parallel to the settlement of German population into Slavic lands, the *Drang nach Osten* – a large-scale colonizing process, in which the Cistercians and other orders took part. Archaeological studies explored the presence of foreign ethnic populations through the typological analysis of ceramic finds, settlement forms, or land-use systems, and helped to see more clearly concerning the impact of the Cistercians in colonizing new lands.

⁴⁶ As argued e.g. by Sigfried Epperlein, "Zur Wirtschaftspolitik von Zisterzienserklöstern östlich und westlich der Elbe im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert." In *Historia i kultura cystersów w dawnej Polsce i ich europejskie związki*, (History and culture of the Cistercians in former Poland and the European context), ed. Jerzy Strzelczyk. Poznań: UAM, 1987, 25–31.

⁴⁷ For an exemplary study on settlement forms and land-use systems see Sebastian Brather, "Brandenburgische Zisterzienserklöster und hochmittelalterlicher Landesausbau." In Zisterzienser. Norm Kultur Reform 900 Jahre Zisterzienser, ed. Ulrich Knefelkamp. Berlin-New York: Springer, 2001, 153-178; A less detailed analysis concerning the settlement conditions of the abbeys in Greater Poland is provided by Andrzej Marek Wyrwa, "Vorausetzungen und Motive der Ansiedlung von Zisterziensern in Grosspolen." In Ibid., 91–125. Multidisciplinary approaches were applied, for example, in case studies on Chorin (Brandenburg), Dargun (Mecklenburg-Vorpommern) and Kolbacz (Pommern). See Kerstin Kirsch, "Siedlungsarchäologisch-historische Voraussetzungen für die Gründung des Klosters Mariensee/Chorin in einer spätslawischen Siedlungskammer des 12./13. Jahrhunderts." In Zisterziensische Wirtschaft und Kulturlandschaft (Studien zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Zisterzienser, 3), ed. Winfried Schich. Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 1998, 33–47; Heike Reimann, "Zur Rolle des Klosters Dargun im Landesausbau in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts." In Struktur und Wandel im Frühund Hochmittelalter, ed. Christian Lübke (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995), 273-278.; Eugeniusz Cnotliwy, "Osadnictwo w pólnocnej czesci ziemi pyrzyckiej przed i na poczatku dzialalnosci cystersów kolbackich w swietle nowszych badan archeologicznych." (The colonization in the northern part of the Pyrzyce land before and at the beginning of the Kolbacz Cistercians' activity in view of the latest archaeological research) In Cystersi w spoleczenstwie Europy Srodkowej. Materialy z konferencji naukowej odbytej w klasztorze oo. Cystersów w Krakowie Mogile z

In any case, Cistercians in Hungary were certainly not involved in colonizing activities on a similarly large-scale. Both F. Romhányi and Koszta emphasized, that only Kerc (Cârţa, Co. Fogaras, Romania), Szentgotthárd, and Szepes (Štiavnik, Co. Szepes/Spis, Slovakia) were situated in marginal regions, where large areas of unsettled lands were available, however, this was not at all the main concern in their site selection strategy, ⁴⁸ and the evidence do not support that these monasteries started colonizing lands on a considerable scale. Similarly, in the cases of Pilis and Zirc which were situated in centrally lying woodland regions (under royal control), Péter Szabó demonstrated – relying on the available archaeological and topographical surveys – that settlements predate the arrival of the Cistercians. ⁴⁹

In addition to such surveys, systematic archaeological research focusing on historic landscape character and landscape changes would be more relevant for the present investigation – i.e. mapping of (visible) landscape remains, including not only traces of settlements, but also other historic features. Apparently, this research could potentially contribute to the study of archival data concerning the economic activities of the monks. The landscape record also has the particular advantage of providing a comparative perspective on the diversity of economic practices on different estates in different landscapes. Landscape archaeology has grown out from British historical archaeology, and most of the relevant literature emerged from it.⁵⁰

okazji 900 rocznicy powstania Zakonu Ojców Cystersów, ed. Andrzej Marek Wyrwa and Józef Dobosz. Poznán: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2000, 419–435.

⁴⁸ Concerning Kerc, F. Romhányi noted the nearby trade route and markets, as important factors in site selection. Cf. F. Romhányi "The role of the Cistercians," 186; Dan Nicolae Busuioc von Hasselbach argued that the region around this abbey had been settled before the Cistercians, however, his account is biased, fuelled by nationalistic debates concerning the ethnicity of the population (Hungarian, German versus Vlach). See: *Tara Făgăraşului în secolul al XIII-lea Mănăstirea cisterciană Cârţa I-II*. Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2000. According to Ünige Bencze the motives remain unclear: "The Monastery of Cârţa: Between the Cistercian Ideal and Local Realities," *Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai, Historia* 58 (2013): 17–30; Concerning Szentgotthárd, there is archaeological proof that settlements existed there before the Cistercians arrived. Cf. Koszta, "Die Gründung", 74. See also Valter, "Die archäologische Erschliessung", 139–153; Concerning Szepes, the colonization activity could be only small scale. The abbey received also villages. Cf. Hervay, *Repertorium*, 172–173. Cf. also Adrienne Körmendy, *Melioratio terrae. Vergleichende untersuchungen über die Siedlungsbewegung im östlichen Mitteleuropa im 13-14. Jahrhundert*. Poznan: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego towarzystwa przyjaciół nauk, 1995. ⁴⁹ Péter Szabó, *Woodland and Forests in Medieval Hungary*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005.

⁵⁰ Important contributions are the following works: Colin Platt, *The Monastic Grange in Medieval England. A Reassessment*. London: Macmillan, 1969; David H Williams, *Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1990; Robin A. Donkin, *The Cistercians: Studies in the Geography of Medieval England and Wales*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1978; C. James Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*. Stroud: Tempus, 2004; Michael A. Aston, *Monasteries. (Know the Landscape)* London: Batsford, 1993; Tim Pestell, *Landscapes of monastic foundations. The Establishment of Religious Houses in East Anglia.* (Anglo-Saxon Studies 5) Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004.

Although interest towards historic landscape analysis developed outside the UK,⁵¹ in connection to planning frameworks,⁵² methodological issues remain often in the focus,⁵³ (e.g. the conceptualisation or definition of landscapes, and the method of inventorying), whereas little practical research is done – e.g. on how Cistercians actually contributed to the formation of historic landscapes.⁵⁴

In Hungary, archaeological topographical surveys have been carried out systematically, covering a considerable part of the country (e.g. parts around the estates of Pilis and Zirc, as has been mentioned above). Although the bulk of the data concerns archaeological sites (identified as settlements) when available, these surveys could be certainly used as starting points for the analysis of historic landscapes.⁵⁵ On the other hand, studies or surveys, specifically focusing on the landscape and systematically mapping of historic features, integrating different types of data, are of limited geographical scope. Monastic landscapes have been definitely a focus of this interest,⁵⁶ and comparative surveys have been carried out already e.g. in case of Pauline monasteries.⁵⁷ As for the Cistercians, however, only targeted surveys

⁵¹ See especially François Blary, *Le domaine de Chaalis, XIIe-XIVe siecles: Approches archeologiques des etablissements agricoles et industriels d'une abbaye cistercienne.* (Memoires de la Section d'Archeologie et d'Histoire de l'Art, vol. 3) Paris: Ministère de l'Enseignment supérieur et de la Recherche. Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1989; Léon Pressouyre, ed., *L'espace cistercien*.

⁵² Peter Rückert, "Zisterzienser und Landesausbau: Ordensideal und Realität im deutschen Südwesten." In *Norm und Realität. Kontinuität und Wandel der Zisterzienser im Mittelalter* (Vita regularis 42), ed., Franz J. Felten. Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2009, 97–116.

⁵³ See e.g. Winfried Schenk, "Landschaft als materialisiertes Gedächtniss – historisch-geographische Erfassung und Bewertung des raumlichen Erbes der Zisterzienser im Rahmen der Kulturlandschaftspflege." In *Klosterlandschaften. Methodisch-exemplarische Annäherungen*, ed., Roman Czaja, Heinz Dieter Heimann, and Matthias Wemhoff. München: Wilhelm Fink, 2008, 53–62; Idem., "Die Pflege des landschaftlichen Erbes des Zisterzienserordens als Auftrag der Bürgergesellschaft." In *Klöster und Landschaft. Das kulturräumliche Erbe der Orden*, ed. Johannes Meier. Münster: Aschendorff, 2010, 125–143.

⁵⁴ See e.g. Dagmar Söder, "Klosterlandschaft Eberbach. Das Kloster Eberbach als Wirtschaftsbetrieb und seine Spuren in der Rheingauer Landschaft." In *Klöster und Landschaft. Das kulturräumliche Erbe der Orden*, ed., Johannes Meier Münster: Aschendorff, 2010, 39–60.

⁵⁵ For an overview, see e.g. Csilla Zatykó, "People beyond landscapes: past, present and future of Hungarian landscape archaeology," *Antaeus* 33 (2015): 377. Methodological implications of earlier archaeological topographical works have been discussed by József Laszlovszky, "Space and Place, Object and Text: Human-Nature Interaction and Topographical studies." In *People and Nature in Historical Perspective*, ed., József Laszlovszky and Péter Szabó. Budapest: CEU Press, 2003, 81–105.

⁵⁶ József Laszlovszky, "Középkori kolostorok a tájban, középkori kolostortájak." (Medieval Monasteries in the Landscape, Medieval Monastic Landscapes) In "Quasi liber et pictura" Tanulmányok Kubinyi András hetvenedik születésnapjára, ed., Gyöngyi Kovács. Budapest: ELTE Régészettudományi Intézet, 2004, 337–349.

⁵⁷ Károly Belényesy, *Pálos kolostorok az Abaúji-Hegyalján*. (Pauline Monasteries in the Abaúj-Hegyalja Region) (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén megye régészeti emlékei 3.) Miskolc: Herman Ottó Múzeum, 2004; Zsuzsanna Eszter Pető, "Medieval Pauline Monastic Space in a Royal Forest: Spatial Analysis in the Pilis" *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 21 (2015): 1–22; Andrea Kékedi, "Középkori pálos kolostorok környezetalakítása a nagyvázsonyi

have been done, e.g. in the surroundings of Kerc and Pilis.⁵⁸ As Cistercian estates were much larger than the estates of the Paulines, considerable efforts and ideally the work of dedicated research teams would be required to conduct comprehensive landscape research, and thus, this has to await further exploration at another time.

1.2 METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS

Concluding this literature review, I will highlight three important methodological points. ⁵⁹ The first concern is how historical and archaeological data can be integrated in regard to the study of economic activities. As C. James Bond's study on *Monastic Landscapes* has demonstrated perfectly, different economic activities can be documented in the written and archaeological records to a different and largely varying degree. ⁶⁰ This implies that certain aspects of Cistercian economic activities may remain unnoticed, if there is a lack of comprehensive landscape archaeological data. For instance, it is due exactly to this condition that the theme of water management, fishponds, and fish-keeping cannot be discussed as a separate theme here, as it is mostly from landscape surveys as well as from archaeozoological data that we learn about monastic water management and the economic importance of fish. Archival research provides otherwise only very sporadic references. ⁶¹

The second concern is that the now common emphasis on "diversity" – in contrast to the traditional "uniformity" – suggests that one should be careful when drawing on examples from distant regions and interpreting local data in a comparative context. Chronologically, Cistercian

történeti táj példáján," (Landscape transformation of Pauline monasteries through the case of Nagyvá zsony) MA Thesis. Budapesti Corvinus Egyetem Tájépítész mérnöki Kar, 2008; Ünige Bencze, "A medieval Pauline monastic landscape in the Szekler Land," *Transsylvania Nostra* 2 (2015): 10–17.

⁵⁸ Ünige Bencze, "Reconstructing a monastic landscape. The example of the Cistercian monastery of Cârţa (Kerz, Kerc)," paper presented at the conference on 'Monastic Life, Art and Technology' University "1 Decembrie 1918", Alba Iulia. October 2014 (forthcoming); László Ferenczi, Márton Deák, Balázs Kohán, and Tamás Látos, "Történeti útvonalak kutatása a Pilisben: tájrégészeti-tájtörténeti vizsgálatok térinformatikai háttérrel." In *Az elmélet és a gyakorlat találkozása a térinformatikában*, ed. József Lóki. Debrecen: Debrecen Egyetemi Kiadó, 2014, 121–128. Open access: http://geogis.detek.unideb.hu/TKonferencia/2014/Konferenciakotet 2014.pdf

László Ferenczi and József Laszlovszky, "Középkori utak és határhasználat a pilisi apátság területén," (Medieval roads and land use in the territory of the Pilis Abbey) *Studia Comitatensia* 1 (2014): 103–124.

⁵⁹ The second and the third were noted also by F. Romhányi, "Kolostori gazdálkodás," 407.

⁶⁰ For a comparative evaluation of archaeological and historical evidence concerning different economic activities, cf. Bond, *Monastic Landcapes*, 22–24.

⁶¹ Cf. László Ferenczi, "Vízgazdálkodás a középkori Magyarországon." In *Gazdaság és gazdálkodás a középkori Magyarországon: gazdaságtörténet, anyagi kultúra, régészet*, ed. András Kubinyi, József Laszlovszky, Péter Szabó. Budapest: Martin Opitz, 2008, 341–362; László Ferenczi, "Water Management in Medieval Hungary." In *The Economy of Medieval Hungary*, ed. József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Péter Szabó and András Vadas. Leiden: Brill, 2018, 238–252.

expansion into this part of Europe took place several decades later than in the West, and the geographical, political, economic, and social conditions were much different. These conditions – as illustrated by Maksay's abovementioned essay on the "feudalization" of monastic economy – would be more relevant for Cistercian practices than reference examples from elsewhere. As noted by F.Romhányi, one needs to explore first common trends emerging in a local context (based on a comparative assessment of case studies), and then explore further the evidence from other regions/countries. ⁶²

Finally, the third point is raised by the nature and availability of archival data for historical studies. In context of the Hungarian houses, the fragmentarily preserved archival collections should be considered as a precondition. A case study – as a traditional research framework – is appropriate, where there is an abundance of data, and also various types of documents (narrative sources, ⁶³ or account books ⁶⁴). However, as will be explained in detail in the next chapter, only a modest amount of charters preserved in Cistercian archival collections in Hungary, and this is why a comparative and topographical approach is proposed.

1.2.1 Comparative approach

Although there is overall a huge body of research into the history and archaeology of the Cistercians in Hungary (and in Central Eastern Europe),⁶⁵ the results seldom come into the

⁶² F. Romhányi, "Kolostori gazdálkodás," 407.

⁶³ Illustrative examples are especially the following works: Piotr S. Górecki, A *Local Society in Transition: The Henryków Book and Related Documents* (Studies and Texts 155) (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2007); Emilia Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context, 1132-1300. Memory, Locality, and Networks* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).

⁶⁴ See e.g. Charles Higounet, La grange de Vaulerent. Structure et exploitation d'un terroir cistercien de la plaine de France. XIIe-XVe siècle (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1965).

⁶⁵ As for the latter, a comprehensive bibliography concerning different monastic orders was compiled by Marek Derwich, Lesław Spychała, Marek L. Wójcik, Agata Tarnas-Tomczyk, Adam Żurek, "State of Research on a Daily Life of Monks and Canons Regular in East-Central Europe during Middle and Modern Ages," in *Actes du Premier Colloque International du L.A.R.H.C.O.R.*, Wrocław-Książ, 30 novembre-4 décembre 1994 (Travaux du L.A.R.H.C.O.R., Colloquia, 1 = Opera ad Historiam Monasticam Spectantia, Series I, Colloquia 1), ed. Marek Derwich (Wrocław: Travaux du L.A.R.H.C.O.R., 1995), 51–98. Open access:

http://hist.uni.wroc.pl/pdf/derwich/monks.pdf;

On Czech, Polish and Hungarian Cistercian houses a bibliography was compiled by Jerzy Kłoczowski, "Les Cisterciens en Europe du Centre-Est au Moyen-Âge," in *Unanimité et diversité cisterciennes: filiations, réseaux, relectures du XIIe au XVIIe siécle: actes du quatrieme Colloque international du CERCOR, Dijon, 23-25 septembre 1998*, ed. Nicole Bouter (Saint Etienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Etienne, 2000), 422–439. Another overview on Polish Cistercians can be found in Andrej M. Wyrwa, "Powstanie zakonu cystersów i jego rozwój na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu" [Cistercian Economy in the Polish Lands. An outline], in *Monasticon Cisterciense Poloniae I. Dzieje i kultura męskich klasztorów cysterskich na ziemiach polskich i dawnej Rzeczypospolitej od średniowiecza do czasów współczesnych*, ed. Andrzej M. Wyrwa, Jerzy Strzelczyk and Krzysztof Kaczmarek (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1999), 189–212.

focus of the international discourse.⁶⁶ There is no state of the art synthesis accessible to the international audience concerning Cistercian economy in Hungary, which would be looking, from a comparative viewpoint, at the Cistercian context or the examples of other monastic orders. The general aim of the thesis is to break ground in this respect and to contribute to a critical debate concerning Cistercian economic practices in Hungary. A comparative and topographical approach will be applied, taking into account the above points, to integrate the mosaic of data concerning the individual abbeys.

Comparative approaches were justified in the past by the assumption that the Cistercian model was uniform – as implied by the unreflective use of geographically distant examples. This we see exemplified by Kalász's study on Szentgotthárd, which led to flawed interpretations. Traditional views have been, however, revisited and abandoned as archive-based research produced a growing number of case studies and regional studies, which confronted the "norms" with the "realities." Moreover, the notion of "unity" was confronted with that of "diversity," demonstrating that the economic practices of the monasteries were divergent, generally adopting to local conditions. This is often emphasized in recent scholarship. Thus, contrary to the once popular "universalizing" idea, comparative examples can rather work now as heuristic "tools" – in an epistemological sense – to outline common or divergent practices. Looking beyond the national context will allow, in our case, a scaling-up of the results concerning the Hungarian abbeys.

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⁶⁶ See e.g. the selected studies in a conference volume on: *Norm und Realität. Kontinuität und Wandel der Zisterzienser im Mittelalter* (Vita regularis 42), ed. Franz J Felten, Werner Rösener (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2009.)

⁶⁷ Publications by Richard Roehl and Louis L Lekai undoubtedly set the tone for this paradigm, as reflected in the titles of their works. Cf. Richard Roehl, "Plan and Reality in Medieval Monastic Economy: the Cistercians," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 9 (1972): 81-113. Louis J. Lekai, The *Cistercians: Ideals and Reality*. Ohio: Kent State UP, 1977; See also Kaspar Elm, Peter Joerissen and Herman Josef Roth, ed., *Die Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit. Ausstellungskatalog*. Bonn: Rheinisches Museumamt, 1980; Kaspar Elm, "Mythos oder Realität? Fragestellungen und Ergebnisse der neueren Zisterzienserforschung." In *Zisterzienser – Norm, Kultur, Reform*, ed. Ulrich Knefelkampf. Berlin: Springer, 1998, 4.

⁶⁸ See e.g. Janet Burton and Julie Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011. 161; Emilia Jamroziak, "Centres and peripheries." In *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order*, ed. Mette Birkedal Bruun. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, 75: What is "remarkable about the spread of Cistercian foundations is the adaptability of the communities to local conditions". See also her recent book: *The Cistercian Order in Medieval Europe 1090-1500*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. Especially Chapter 6.

⁶⁹ On the definition, modes, and goals of comparison see: Jürgen Kocka – Heinz-Gerhard Haupt: Comparative and Transnational History. Central European Approaches and New Perspectives. New York – Oxford: Berghahn, 2009, 1–30.

The purpose of comparison can be, however, also to build up contrast with strategies of other orders, and to sustain an image of "distinctiveness" about Cistercian economy. To this purpose, Cistercians and other religious congregations - coexisting in the same area/microregion – should be studied parallel. Regarding rural monasteries, this research framework is, however, generally uncommon. One example in Friesland has so far demonstrated that the strategies of the Cistercians were indeed exposed to and influenced by other religious communities.⁷¹ It is important to note, however, that the focus of "vergleichende" Ordensgeschichte" has been mostly on the social context, 72 e.g. on patronage and devotional patterns of families, of elite groups, and rulers. 73 Towns (as well-defined social entities), where different orders settled also generated much interest,74 as the social-devotional backgrounds of different religious groups could be contrasted based on rich materials from local archives. Due to this emphasis, the patterns of economic transactions (between the communities and their benefactors) are seen rather as outcomes generated in the social sphere (i.e. defined by patterns of devotion). In case of rural monasteries, however, it would be similarly important to consider the available sources, focusing less on patronage and more on practical economic decision making and how it was influenced by the physical environment (landscapes) in which different religious communities were competing for economic resources. In practice, of course, both interpretive frameworks can be arbitrary, as the sources do not allow us to clearly distinguish between social and economic motives.

Among the rural monasteries, the Benedictines, Premonsratensians, and Paulines could be all "competitors" to the Cistercians. Differences in their strategies have been viewed rather in a

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⁷⁰ As inferred e.g. by Martha G. Newman in her review on Janet Burton and Julie Kerr. *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011. Open access: https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/tmr/article/view/17688/23806

⁷¹ This point was made by Johannes A. MNL OL, "Besitzerwerbungen der friesischen Zisterzienserklöster Klaarkamp, Bloemkamp und Gerkesklooster" In *Erwerbspolitik und Wirtschaftsweise mittelalterlicher Orden und Klöster* (Berliner Historische Studien Bd. 17; Ordensstudien VII), ed. Kaspar Elm. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1992, 67–96.

⁷² This can be inferred, for example, from the propositions of Franz J. Felten, "Wozu treiben wir vergleichende Ordensgeschichte?" In *Mittelalterliche Orden im Vergleich. Methodische Ansätze und Perspektiven.* (Vita regularis 34), ed. Gert Melville and Anne Müller. Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2007, 1–51.

⁷³ With regard to such themes, see e.g. specific abbeys, regions or social groups discussed in the following volumes: Janet Burton and Emilia Jamroziak, ed., *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000-1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006. Also in this context: Emilia Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context, 1132–1300: Memory, Locality, and Networks*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004.

⁷⁴ With regard to urban testaments and different religious institutions, see for example: Judit Majorossy, "Archives of the Dead: Administration of Last Wills in Medieval Hungarian Towns," *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 48 (2003), 13–28; Eadem, *Church in town: urban religious life in late medieval Pozsony (Pressburg) in the mirror of last wills*. PhD thesis. Budapest: CEU, 2007.

social context. Concerning the Premonstratensians, for example, Hervay already noted that they were more successful in getting the attention of potential benefactors most probably because they allowed all their patrons and members of their families (not only the founders) to be buried at their monasteries – unlike the Cistercians. The social context definitely deserves more attention from a comparative viewpoint. However, there has been relatively little research done so far, and there is only a limited amount of comparative data available. On the other hand, the amount of evidence concerning the Cistercian houses is also not extensive.

Thus, I included data on other orders primarily to outline the "distinctiveness" of Cistercian economic practices. This was not possible systematically, but only where relevant data were discussed in the literature. In addition to Maksay's essays, recent research into the economy of Benedictine and Pauline houses produced useful results. The estates of major Benedictine abbeys, e.g. Pannonhalma, Garamszentbenedek (today Hronský Beňadik, Slovakia), Kolozsmonostor (today Cluj-Mănăştur, Romania) have been investigated. With regard to Pauline houses, Beatrix F. Romhányi comprehensively studied archival sources focusing on their economic activities. The Romhányi's interest also extends to the history of mendicant houses and other ecclesiastical institutions, but her works on the Paulines will remain more important here from a comparative viewpoint.

⁷⁵ Gyöngyvér Noémi Szabó, "Monasztikus férfikolostorok társadalmi kapcsolatai a 15-16. században a végrendeletek tükrében," [Social relations of male monastic communities in the 15-16th centuries as reflected by testaments], *Századok* 143 (2009/2): 451–466.

⁷⁶ Gyöngyvér Noémi Szabó, *A kolozsmonostori bencés apátság gazdálkodása a középkorban* [The Economy of the Benedictine Abbey of Kolozsmonostor in the Late Middle Ages]. PhD thesis. Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem, 2012. Open access: https://dea.lib.unideb.hu/dea/handle/2437/161252; Kristóf Keglevich, *A garamszentbenedeki apátság története az Árpád- és az Anjou-korban* (The history of the Garamszentbenedek Abbey in the Árpád and Anjou periods) (PhD diss., Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 2010). This thesis is published: Idem, *A garamszentbenedeki apátság története az Árpád- és az Anjou-korban (1075-1403)*, (Capitulum VIII), (Budapest: Toefl Bt, 2012). See also: László Solymosi, "Albeus mester összeírása és a pannonhalmi apátság tatárjárás elötti birtokállománya," (The Albeus conscription and the lands of Pannonhalma before the Mongol Invasion), in *Mons Sacer 996-1996 (Pannonhalma 1000 éve)*, vol 1., ed. Imre Takács (Pannonhalma: Várszegi Asztrik, 1996), 515–526.

⁷⁷ Beatrix F. Romhányi, "Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit der ungarischen Pauliner im Spätmittelalter (15.–16. Jahrhundert)," in *Die Pauliner. Geschichte – Geist – Kultur*, ed. Gábor Sarbak (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2010), 129-199. Eadem, *A lelkiek a földiek nélkül nem tarthatók fenn: Pálos gazdálkodás a középkori Magyarországon* (The *spiritualia* cannot be maintained without the *temporalia*) (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2010).

⁷⁸ In addition to her abovementioned papers, see: Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Monasteriologia Hungarica Nova: Monasteries, Friaries, Provostries and Collegiate Churches in Medieval Hungary*, (Doctoral. dissertation, Budapest - ELTE, 1996). The catalogue part of the work has been published: Eadem, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* (Monasteries and Chapter Houses in Medieval Hungary), (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000). The abovementioned paper "The Role of the Cistercians" was part of this dissertation; Specifically on the theme of monastic economy see: Eadem, "Les moines et l'économie en Hongrie à la fin du Moyen Âge," in *L'Europe*

1.2.2 Topographic approach

Considering the fragmentary nature of archival data, it is often problematic to gain a coherent and detailed picture of how a particular estate changed – how its administration developed – over time with regard to management and finances. Thus, instead of attempting at discussing economic practices in a diachronic-chronological line, I opted for a topical discussion to make the most out of the available data. By studying different themes primarily from a topographical viewpoint, it is possible to tap into a broad range of literature. This approach has been inspired particularly by the landscape archaeological and historical topographical works of C. James Bond, David H. Williams, Robert Donkin, Winfried Schich, Werner Rösener and others, who also studied Cistercian economic activities (e.g. crop production, husbandry, trade, industrial production) focusing on topographical data. Overall, this does not mean that the historical dimension will be ignored completely, but it will be less transparent, with only some aspects (changes in husbandry patterns, urban connections) discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 6.

I have demonstrated the potential of the topographical approach in my master's thesis concerning the estate of Topuszkó, 79 where I discussed the topography of granges and urban properties, and later, in another essay on Borsmonostor. 80 This thesis extends the scope of the investigation by covering other themes too, and by discussing comprehensively those Cistercian estates, where archival collections allow a more detailed assessment of spatial organization. Thus, in addition to Topuszkó (Topusko, Co. Zagreb, Croatia) I focus on Borsmonostor (Klostermarienberg, Burgenland, Austria), Pilis (Co. Pest, Hungary), Szentgotthárd (Co. Vas, Hungary), and Zirc (Co. Veszprém, Hungary). 81 Although these estates were all situated in different parts of Transdanubia (Roman-era Pannonia) – except for Topuszkó –, they are not particularly close, and so cannot be considered as a regional survey. On the one hand, there

centrale au seuil de la modérnité: Mutations sociales, religieuses et culturelles. Autriche, Bohême, Hongrie et Pologne, fin du XVe-milieu du XVIe siècle, ed. Marie-Madeleine de Cevins (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 141-150; Eadem, "Kolostori gazdálkodás a középkori Magyarországon," Eadem, "The ecclesiastical economy in medieval Hungary."; Her most most recent synthesis in her academic doctoral thesis concerns mendicant economies: Kolduló barátok, gazdálkodó szerzetesek. Koldulórendi gazdálkodás a késő középkori Magyarországon (Mendicant friars – m, anager monks. The economy of the mendicant orders in late medieval Hungary), (Budapest: Károli Református Egyetem, 2014).

 $^{^{79}}$ László Ferenczi, "Estate structure and development of the Topusko (Toplica) abbey – case study of a medieval Cistercian monastery," Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU 12 (2006): 83-100.

⁸⁰ László Ferenczi, "A ciszterci birtokszervezés és tájátalakítás elemei a borsmonostori apátság példáján," (Estate organization and landscape transformation on the example of Borsmonostor Abbey) Soproni Szemle 64 (2010):

⁸¹ I will refer to the abbeys/estates by using their Hungarian names, as it is the case also in the Repertorium.

were other Cistercian estates in Transdanubia (Ábrahám, Cikádor, Pornó, Vértesszentkereszt), which will be left out, on the other hand, Transdanubia – as a geographical landscape-unit – is divided into very diverse areas defined by different geographical-hydrographical conditions. The necessary groundwork required by a regional study would have involved the systematic mapping of these conditions, and also of the social landscape, which will not be achieved in the current framework of the thesis, despite some aspects being addressed briefly at relevant points of the discussion (see especially Chapter 4), based on the literature.

1.3 THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

In Chapter 2, I will survey the archival records, explaining the types of sources and their levels of availability, as well as what types of data I will focus on. For readers generally unfamiliar with conditions influencing the survival of archival collections, I provide a general overview, partly to justify my choice of a topographical approach. In connection to this, I will also briefly introduce cartographical materials and archaeological data.

Chapter 3 will focus on the problem of grange economy (as the most emblematic feature of Cistercian economic practices). The topography of granges and other manorial farms (i.e. location, size, layout, and possible land-use) will be discussed in separate sub-chapters focusing on Borsmonostor, Szentgotthárd Pilis and Zirc. As for Topuszkó, I will be referring to the results of my master's thesis where appropriate. I will study specifically those farms/settlements which were mentioned in the documents as grangia, praedium, curia, allodium. I will synthesize data from charters and historical maps, and where possible use archaeological surveys (in case of Pomáz–Nagykovácsi-puszta, the grange of Pilis Abbey). By studying the topographical character of the farms, I will also reflect on their economic functions, highlighting differences between granges and other manorial units, how they operated, and also evaluating differences and similarities between the farms of the Cistercians in Hungary and elsewhere – e.g. drawing on case studies from Plasy (Bohemia), Lubiaż (Silesia), Mogiła and Henryków (Little Poland) – as well as Benedictine granges (e.g. Pannonhalma (Hungary). An even broader outlook will be provided through the works discussed above. The results of this comparative analysis will not only confront traditional narratives on "distinctiveness," but also raise an argument against suggestions that the Cistercian model was innovative or superior.

Chapter 4 will revisit the theme of manorial economy from the perspective of animal husbandry. Unlike the case of other economic activities, comparative data on animal husbandry are relatively abundant – in the form of animal inventories (lists) available in foundation charters, and in later registers and inventories. I will survey these sources, concerning not only Cistercian, but also Benedictine, houses and the estates of the nobility. Again, this contrast will explore if there is anything characteristic about Cistercian practices. Since the inventories represent different periods (the Árpád era (11th-13th centuries) and the late medieval period (fourteenth to early sixteenth centuries), they reveal historical changes as well. To contextualize these changes, as well as regional differences, I will be looking at archaeozoological surveys on the one hand, and the differences in the landscape character of the estates on the other hand, using data from landscape historical, historical ecological, and ethnographical research to explain how different landscapes could have "determined" historical practices of animal husbandry.

In Chapter 5, I will discuss industrial activities, focusing on the monastery of Pilis. This narrow view is due to the condition that the theme of industrial activity can be approached predominantly on the basis of archaeological records, and it is Pilis where excavations carried out thus far – at the site of the abbey in the 1970s by László Gerevich, and the nearby grange farm at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi-puszta excavated recently (since 2011 by József Laszlovszky) – have yielded abundant data concerning iron and bronze working, as well as glass manufacture and tile production. There have been landscape archaeological surveys covering this central part of the estate which also contribute valuable data. The introduction part of the chapter provides an overview of archaeological research on Cistercian precincts and grange farms, illustrating what activities could be typically documented through archaeological excavations - as a background against which the results concerning Pilis can be viewed. Although the recent excavations at the grange have not been completed yet, and the results are only preliminary, the amount and quality of the finds are already shedding light on problems related to technological innovation (technology transfer) and methods of production. As will be noted, further investigations will be required to define better the chronological and geographical scope of these activities, i.e. what markets these activities were targeting.

Finally, Chapter 6 will explore the role of trade and urban connections. This theme is essentially related to the discussion on granges, manorial economy, and aspects of economic production as discussed in the previous chapters. This is evident also in studies which consider parallel the

topography of granges and urban properties. This theme apparently adds another dimension to that of production and how manorial farms were exploited. As references on urban properties are very rare, it has been decided to complete the survey with data on those abbeys which were not discussed earlier in Chapter 3 (e.g. Kerc, Pétervárad and Heiligenkreuz – as the latter also had urban properties in Hungary.)

Contrary to traditional interpretations of Cistercian economy, the importance of trade has been highlighted now by many authors. Concerning the southern French countryside, for example, Constance H. Berman argued that connections to markets were key to success and expansion in the thirteenth century. As for Hungary, the Cistercians' interest in trade was briefly discussed by Beatrix F. Romhányi, the Cistercians' interest in trade was briefly discussed by Beatrix F. Romhányi, the Cistercians' interest in trade was briefly discussed by Beatrix F. Romhányi, the connection of custom tolls and connections to major trade routes. This chapter will provide more details on the subject: the topographical connections will be analysed, focusing on urban and peri-urban properties (particularly houses and mills). Unfortunately, there is very little knowledge about their economic function and management (direct exploitation or leasing). Most of the time, there is only information on leases/rents. The topographical analysis may prove here again instructive – similar to Chapter 3 – regarding how these properties could function as trading posts, distributing the produce of nearby farms. The overall distribution of data illuminates the different degree of "connectedness" of the estates influenced by regional development of towns and markets. Aspects of how Cistercians estates contributed to this development will be also addressed.

In summary, the thesis investigates the themes of granges/manorial farms, animal husbandry, industrial production, urban properties, and trade, focusing on topographical patterns and from a comparative viewpoint. As has been underlined in a methodological essay, ⁸⁴ comparative studies on monastic economy usually focus on the following issues: (1) patterns of land transactions and estate management, (2) the contribution of monastic institutions to modernization, (3) the side effects ('Nebenfolgen') of this process, as well as (4) the resources central to the success of monastic communities. Interpreting "modernization," "side effects,"

⁸² Constance H. Berman, *Medieval Agriculture, the Southern French Countryside, and the Early Cistercians: A Study of Forty-three Monasteries*- Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1986.

⁸³ F. Romhányi, "The role of the Cistercians."

⁸⁴ Anett Kehnel, "Heilige Ökonomie. Ansätze zu einer systematisch vergleichenden Erforschung der Wirtschaftsorganisation mittelalterlicher Klöster und Orden." In *Mittelalterliche Orden und Klöster im Vergleich. Methodische Ansätze und Perspektiven (Vita regularis 34)*, ed. Gert Melville and Anne Müller. Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2007, 269–320.

and "success" should be relative to what other social and economic entities achieved. Therefore, these issues cannot be studied without compiling and analysing data beyond the monastic context. In the framework of this thesis – focusing on the baseline to provide a comparative overview on the economy of Cistercian houses in Hungary – it would not be possible to pursue any of these goals systematically.

However, the thematic chapters offer more than simply a descriptive survey of evidence concerning Cistercian economy, as evidence will be contrasted to data on other monastic orders, and this comparative view will highlight how Cistercians performed in different aspects of the economic history of Hungary. Despite the thematical structure, "modernization" will be, in my understanding, an underlying theme in Chapter 3, for example, which will review the idea of an "innovative" economic model, and in Chapter 5 where the problem of technology transfer and innovation will be addressed, offering a commentary on the role of the order as 'Kulturträger' in the peripheral regions of Europe, and finally also in Chapter 6, where the Cistercians' impact on urban development – on the formation of new urban centres, and promotion of markets – will be looked at. Although such themes were discussed by economic historians, the contribution of monastic communities has not yet been explored thoroughly.

CHAPTER 2: SOURCES

2.1. WRITTEN SOURCES

The archival collections of Cistercian monasteries in Hungary – similarly to those of the Bohemian and Polish houses – sustained great damage and most of the records perished. The period of Ottoman occupation in Hungary was just as destructive and disastrous as the Hussite Wars were for monasteries in Bohemia and in parts of Poland. 85 Only the archive of Borsmonostor is said to have been preserved almost totally: most of it is currently registered in the Acta Ecclesiastica fond in the collection of the Hungarian National Archive (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára). 86 As for the other abbeys (Pilis, Szentgotthárd, Topouszkó and Zirc) selected for the present investigation, their archives were fragmented. Some documents from the archive of Szentgotthárd were transferred to Heiligenkreuz, but other documents were preserved at Körmend (in the archive of the Batthyány family), Keszthely (in the archive of the Festetics family) and in the archive of the Hungarian National Musem. ⁸⁷ Most of Topuszkó's documents, including a cartulary, were inserted in the diocesan archive of Zagreb, while others were found among the materials of the royal chancery. 88 The documents collected for Pilis and Zirc (by Remig Békefi and Konstantin Horváth) were found in many different repositories. These two abbeys were situated in the central part of Hungary, and their estates suffered the most from the Ottoman occupation. Materials from their archives were deposited at a safe distance from the new political borders, e.g. in the diocesan archive of

⁸⁵ For a concise overview concerning the history of Cistercian houses and their estates in Hungary in the post medieval period (particularly on dissolution and revival), see: Louis J. Lekai (Lajos Gy. Lékai), *A ciszterciek. Eszmény és valóság*. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1991, 470–492; Concerning Bohemia see: Kateřina Charvátová, "Early Cistercian Economy in Bohemia (c. 1150-1300): The mysterious affair of the granges," *Questiones medii aevi novae* (2004): 283–296, esp. 284. From among the ten Cistercian foundations, only the archives of the following three monasteries remained extant and were published: Vyšší Brod/Hohenfurt (1259), Zlata Koruna/Goldenkron (1263), and Zbraslav/Königsaal (1292); Cistercian archives in Silesia and their losses have been discussed by Rościsław Żerelik, "Średniowieczne archiwa cysterskie na Śląsku," (The medieval Cistercian archives in Silesia) in *Cystersi w społeczeństwie Europy Środkowej: materiały z konferencji naukowej odbytej w klasztorze oo. Cystersów w Krakowie Mogile z okazji 900 rocznicy powstania Zakonu Ojców Cystersów: Poznań-Kraków-Mogiła 5-10 października 1998*, ed. Andrzej Marek Wyrwa and Józef Dobosz. Poznań: Wydawn. Poznańskie, 2000, 353–362.

⁸⁶ Henceforth MNL OL, DL/DF (Antemohacsiana, i.e. before 1526) Another possibly complete collection is that of the nunnery of Veszprémvölgy. The estate was taken over by the Jesuits.which was inserted in the *Acta Jesuitica* collection of the MNL OL, . Cf. Hervay, *Repertorium*, 72 and 196.

⁸⁷ Hervay, Repertorium, 165–166.

⁸⁸ Hervay, Repertorium, 187.

Veszprém, or the archive of the Benedictine Archabbey of Pannonhalma, and were later inserted in the collection of Zirc after Cistercians resettled the abbey in the eighteenth century.⁸⁹

The partial or complete destruction of Cistercian archives is unfortunate. However, socioeconomic circumstances, the development of literary culture, determined originally the accumulation of their records, and when looking from a comparative perspective, differences are striking between East and West. Western abbeys had often very large collections (with thousands of documents.)⁹⁰ Literary culture and legal institutions were well established there, unlike in Central Eastern Europe, where it was exactly with the spread of monasticism that legal literacy and administration developed on a local level, with certain monastic convents, and chapter houses (canonries) acting as "places of authentication" (*loca credibilia*).⁹¹ Cistercian abbeys in the west were established 50-100 years earlier, and their rapid economic expansion and prosperity during this period produced a lot more records than the less voluminous collections in the east.

However, the volume of archival collections varied also on a local scale. The five abbeys investigate in hereby – Borsmonostor (1197), Pilis (1184), Szentgotthárd (1184), Topuszkó (1208), Zirc (1182)⁹² – represent the first wave of Cistercian expansion into Hungary [see Appendix], and except for Borsmonostor they were all royal foundations. However, Borsmonostor was also well-endowed – by a magnate family which had close ties to the royal family –, and received donations from the kings too. Its patronage right was soon escheated to

⁸⁹ Hervay, Repertorium, 147 and 212.

⁹⁰ See for example the records of Cistercian monasteries in the Mosel region: Wofgang Bender, Zisterzienser und Städte. Studien zu den Beziehungen zwischen den Zisterzienserklöstern und den grossen urbanen Zentren des mittleren Moselraumes (12-14Jh). Trier: Kliomedia, 1992. Another survey for Burgundy involved, for example, about 5000 records (only land transactions) from twenty different Cistercian abbeys, and only from a centurylong period, between 1098 and 1198. Cf. Constance Brittain Bouchard, Holy Entrepreneurs: Cistercians, Knights, and Economic Exchange in Twelfth-Century Burgundy. Ithaca – New York: Cornell University Press, 1991, 8–30. ⁹¹ Already in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, some monastic chapters were functioning as places of authentication; so potentially were able to produce documents from the very start of Cistercian settlement. See e.g. László Mezey, "A hiteleshely a közhitelűség fejlődésében és III. Béla szerepe," (The role of public notarials in the development of public authenticity and the role of King Bela III) In Középkori kútfőink kritikus kérdései, ed. János Horváth and György Székely. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974, 315-332. With further literature on the subject see also Zsolt Hunyadi, "Administering the Law. Hungary's Loca Credibilia." In Custom and Law in Central Europe, ed. Martin Rady. Cambridge: Centre for European Legal Studies, 2003, 25-35. Ferenc Eckhart (Franz Eckhart), "Die glaubwürdigen Orte Ungarns im Mittelalter," Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 9 (1914): 395–558. A detailed account on the loca credibilia can be found in the PhD thesis of Gábor Dreska, A Pannonhalmi konvent hiteleshelyi tevékenysége 1321-1500 (The Activity of Pannonhalma Abbbey as locus credibilis 1321-1500). PhD thesis, Eötvös Loránd University, ELTE, 2008.

⁹² The above dates are the dates shown in the register of the Cistercian general chapter. Cf. Hervay, *Repertorium*, passim.

the crown. 93 The foundation charters of Ábrahám, Borsmonostor, Pétervárad and Topuszkó survived, 94 which illustrate that royal houses (Pétervárad and Topuszkó) were more generously donated to, while private foundations had smaller estates typically with scattered lands. As royal houses had more economic resources, they stood on more solid financial ground. They were involved in more diverse activities (transactions, lawsuits), which positively influenced both the creation and preservation of archival records. This explains why their archives were larger.

With regard to the actual numbers of documents, Borsmonostor's presumably complete collection stands out with about 300 charters (1191-1526). The cartulary of Topuszkó preserved the texts of seventy-four charters dating between 1211 and 1365, and from the period between late fourteenth and early sixteenth century (-1526) approximately another eighty documents could have been counted (including charters of abbots, land transactions etc.). R. Békefi published the texts of about 160 charters (most of them with full transcripts in his book). For Szentgotthárd, E. Kalász collected about 120 documents. Lastly, there have been ca. 160 charters collected on Zirc by K. Horváth. As for Borsmonostor, Pilis and Topuszkó, most of the documents were edited (full text transcriptions are available). In the case of Szentgotthárd and Zirc, only regesta collections were published – and unfortunately most of the originals K. Horváth collected have been lost since then. However, these numbers compare fairly well to other Cistercian archives in the region, for example, Vyšší Brod (Hohenfurt), Zlata Koruna (Goldenkron), Zbraslav (Königsaal) in Bohemia, or Mogiła in Lesser Poland.

⁹³ Hervay, *Repertorium*, 66-67.

⁹⁴ Hervay, Repertorium, 34–36 (Ábrahám), 48 (Borsmonostor), 134–135 (Pétervárad), 181–183 (Topuszkó).

⁹⁵ Hervay, Repertorium, 72.

⁹⁶ MNL OL, DF 283328 (ca 1365-00-00); pub.: Tkalčić, vol 1–2, passim. (only the charters before 1300) and Smičiklas, vol 3–13, passim.

⁹⁷ Notably, from the period covered by the chartulary, there are only a few sources found in these editions, which, however, had not been included in the chartulary.

⁹⁸ These are mostly unpublished, but accessible through the digital database of Hungarian National Archive. Available at: http://archives.hungaricana.hu/hu/charters/search/

⁹⁹ About 300 charters dating between 1259 and 1526. Cf. Mathias Pangerl, ed., *Urkundenbuch des Cistercienserstiftes Hohenfurt in Böhmen*. (Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, 23) Wien: Historische Comission der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1865.

¹⁰⁰ Altogether 262 documents dating between 1263 and 1559. See: Mathias Pangerl, ed., *Urkundenbuch des ehemaligen Cistercienserstiftes Goldenkron in Böhmen*. (Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, 37) Wien: Historische Comission der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1872.

¹⁰¹ Ca 360 charters between 1292 and 1526. See: Ferdinand Tadra, ed., *Listy Klastera zbraslavského* (Prague: České akademie cisaře Frantiska Josefa, 1903), 277.

¹⁰² Ca 160 charters dating between 1220 and 1525 were published by Eugeniusz Janota, ed., *Diplomata monasterii Clarae Tumbae prope Cracoviam*. Krakow: C. K. Towarzystwa Naukowego Krakowskiego, 1865. More on the archival records of Cistercian monasteries in Lesser Poland cf. Maciej Zdanek, "Uwagi o losach archiwaliów

more substantial. ¹⁰³ All in all, the amount of materials is relatively poor, considering that the aforementioned five abbeys have the most significant collections in Hungary – records of other abbeys almost completely perished. ¹⁰⁴ Similar differences apply to Benedictine houses too – the records of most private foundations perished, ¹⁰⁵ whereas the most prestigious houses have substantial collections. ¹⁰⁶ In comparison, the archives of most monastic communities are far outnumbered by the collections of the wealthiest and influential Premonstratensian priories – e.g. Csorna or Lelesz ¹⁰⁷ – and of the diocesan chapters, ¹⁰⁸ which also functioned as places of authentication. ¹⁰⁹

Upon closer inspection, the chronological distribution of archival documents is uneven. With regard to the Árpád period, i.e. until the end of the thirteenth century, the estates of Borsmonostor and Topuszkó are much better documented. In the case of Pilis, Szentgotthárd and Zirc, the bulk of the surviving documents are irrelevant for the present investigation (e.g. papal letters concerning canon law, ecclesiastical jurisdiction). As noted above, the foundation charters of Borsmonostor and Topuszkó survived. However, confirmation charters dating from and before the mid-thirteenth century are available also for Szentgotthárd [1198], Borsmonostor [1225], and Pilis [1254], Ill thanks to which we have a fair understanding of where the abbeys

małopolskiej grupy opactw cysterskich po kasacie w 1819 roku," (Notes on the history of Cistercian archives in Lesser Poland after the dissolution in 1819), in Kasaty klasztorów na obszarze dawnej Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów i na Śląsku na tle procesów sekularyzacyjnych w Europie (Dissolutiones monasteriorum in Re Publica Utriusque Nationis et Silesia sitorum ad processus Europaeae saecularisationis relata.), ed. Marek Derwich. Wrocław: Wrocławskie Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii, 2014, 113–126.

¹⁰³ Lubiąż (1170); Trzebnica (534) Jemielnica (367) Henryków (232) Krzeszów (1467) Rudy (179) Kamieniec (466) See Roman Stelmach, "Sredniowieczne dokumenty opatów slaskich klasztorów cysterskich," in *Cystersi w społeczeństwie Europy Środkowej: materiały z konferencji naukowej odbytej w klasztorze oo. Cystersów w Krakowie Mogile z okazji 900 rocznicy powstania Zakonu Ojców Cystersów: Poznań-Kraków-Mogiła 5-10 października 1998*, ed. Andrzej Marek Wyrwa and Józef Dobosz (Poznań: Wydawn. Poznańskie., 2000), 363–377. ¹⁰⁴ See Hervay, *Repertorium*, passim.

¹⁰⁵ Péter Levente Szőcs, "Private monasteries of medieval Hungary (eleventh to fourteenth centuries): a case study of the Ákos kindred and its monasteries" (PhD diss. Central European University, Budapest: 2014), 28–30. ¹⁰⁶ Keglevich, "A garamszentbenedeki apátság". Szabó, "A kolozsmonostori bencés".

¹⁰⁷ The estate records (i.e. the 'private archive' ~ 'magánlevéltár') of the Premonstratensian convent of Csorna (MNL OL, U 617, 'A csornai konvent magánlevéltára') consists of 761 separate entries (including copybooks, so the actual number of documents could be even higher). The same repository of the convent of Lelesz (MNL, U 435 – 'A leleszi prépostság magánlevéltára, Acta saeculi) has 1405 entries.

¹⁰⁸ E.g. the estate records of the chapter of Veszprém consists of about 1100 records. Cf. Balázs Karlinszky, "A veszprémi káptalan a középkorban. A veszprémi székeskáptalan középkori birtokai," (The medieval estate of the Veszprém chapter). PhD thesis. Pázmány Péter Catholic University, 2013.

¹⁰⁹ Those records formed separate collections.

¹¹⁰ Most of the charters in the chartulary of Topuszkó (54 out of 74 documents) date from before 1300. As for Borsmonostor, Imre Szentpétery listed 83 charters Cf. Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 109–134.

¹¹¹ As for Borsmonostor, see: MNL DL 119 (1225-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 115; pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 9; For Pilis see: MNL DL 107235 (1254-06-28); reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 142-144.; pub.: Békefi, *A pilisi*, vol

had lands – except for Zirc. Concerning the later period (from the fourteenth to early sixteenth centuries), sources are more abundant, but also more diverse. In *Monastic Landscapes*, C. James Bond notes three major groups: 112 (1) documents generated internally within the monastery to serve its own needs; (2) property transactions between lay individuals and monasteries; and (3) the records of monastic property compiled by external agencies for taxation or valuation purposes. Below, I introduce these groups in more detail.

2.1.1 Documents generated internally within the monastery to serve its own needs

2.1.1.1 Narrative sources

Cistercian libraries in Hungary completely perished, but some data are available in booklists (inventories). 113 The complete lack of the narrative genre (biographies, chronicles etc.) is an unwelcome disadvantage, as chronicles could have provided complementary data to study the acquisitions and transactions of different properties, and the juxtaposition of administrative records and narrative accounts could have provided a fascinating research framework. 114

^{1, 316-319.} For Szentgotthárd: MNL DL 104875 (1198-00-00); reg: Hervay, Repertorium, 159-160; pub.: W, vol 6, 193–194. Transcribed in parts also by Kalász, A szentgotthárdi, 136–137.

¹¹² Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, 13.

¹¹³ Hervay, Repertorium, 58: There is a 1509 inventory (Registrum seu inventarium omnium rerum existentium in dominio episcopatus Agriensis) drawn up on the request of the bishop of Eger, who was the commendator of Bélapátfalva Abbey. This inventory mentions '85 libri communis'. Ibid., 70: A 1567 inventory of Borsmonostor mentions 'duo missalia et unum graduale, duo libri antiqui contra heresim Waldensium'. Ibid., 94-95: There is a Pontigny manuscript that hints on several books in Hungary (apparently in Egres). Books from the Bohemian abbeys of Goldenkron and Hohenfurt appear in the inventory of Krumau castle, which lists codices, charters, treasures, furnitures in 1418. Cf. Pangerl, Urkundenbuch des ehemaligen Cistercienserstiftes Goldenkron in Böhmen, 380-404.

¹¹⁴ This direction of research focuses on collective memory, strategies of remembering and forgetting, and on political and social power relations between monastic communities and their social environments. See e.g. the fourteenth century narrative sources concerning the foundation of Lubiąż (Silesia), which deliberately reframed the story of Cistercian colonization in an idealized context, as explained by Richard Hoffmann, An Environmental History of Medieval Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2014, 104; Piótr Góreczki discusses the Book of Heinrichau (1268-1310) from the aspect of collective memory. Piótr Górecki, A Local Society in Transition: The Henryków Book and Related Documents. Toronto: The Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2007, 8-9; A similar viewpoint is applied by Brian Patrick McGuire, Conflict and Continuity at Øm abbey. (Opuscula Graecolatina 8) Copenhague: Institut for klassisk filologi, 1976; As Janet E. Burton summarized: "The dynamic behind these histories may have been, as stated, the need to record the 'truth' for posterity, but the recollection and representation of the 'golden years' of Cistercian monasticism may have been stimulated by growing opposition to and criticism of the Cistercians, both from bishops and the laity". Janet E. Burton, The Foundation History of the Abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx. York: University of York - Borthwick Institute for Archives, 2006, xxxi.

2.1.1.2 Administrative and financial sources

As noted already in the introduction, the lack of administrative and financial accounts (registers, inventories, balances of incomes/expenditures, manorial scrolls, surveys, terriers etc.) is an insurmountable obstacle for studying the economic history of the estates. In a regional outlook, the situation is similarly poor, as such records survived rarely. Taking, for example, mortuary rolls (obituaries), which reveal a great deal about the socio-economic background of the convents, there is only a handful of them from Bohemia and Poland, and none surviving from Hungary. Also there are very few financial accounts. In Hungary it seems that the practice of systematic account keeping was not adopted broadly by monastic communities – examples are known from towns and from other ecclesiastical estates.

¹¹⁵ There is a *Liber mortuorum* among the records of Hohenfurt Abbey (Bohemia), dating from 1479. See Pangerl, *Urkundenbuch des Cistercienserstiftes Hohenfurt in Böhmen*, 381–391. The Liber *mortuorum* of Goldenkron is also mentioned by Pangerl, *Urkundenbuch des ehemaligen Cistercienserstiftes Goldenkron in Böhmen*, 602. Obituaries preserved in some Polish houses as well, see e.g. Heinrich Grüger, "Der Nekrolog des Kloster Heinrichau (ca. 1280-1550)," *Archiv für Schlesische Kirchengeschichte* 31 (1973): 36–69; 32 (1974): 45–80; 33 (1975): 9–27. On the obituary of Pelplin see: Piotr Oliński, *Cysterskie nekrologi na Pomorzu Gdańskim od XIII do XVII wieku*. Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe (Toruń), 1997; The 'Liber mortuorum' of Lubiąż is pubished by Wilhelm Wattenbach, ed. *Monumenta Lubensia*. Breslau: Der k. Universität zu Breslau, 1861.

¹¹⁶ There are no Cistercian examples available from Hungary. As for Benedictine houses, the 1438 account of the Abbey of Pécsvárad is a single example. See in the Appendix. For mendicants, cf. Beatrix F Romhányi, "Késő középkori számadáskönyvek, a koldulórendi kolostorok gazdálkodásának tükrei." (Late medieval account books as mirrors of the economy of mendicant monasteries) *Arcana Tabularii. Tanulmányok Solymosi László tiszteletére*, ed. Attila Bárány, Gábor Dreska and Kornél Szovák. Debrecen: Papp Klára, 2014, 837–854. In a regional perspective, the detailed account book of the Cistercian nunnery of Trzebnica (Trebnitz), a filia of Lubiąż in Silesia, is one good example, but it is also very late (1523-1524). See Heinrich Grüger, ed., *Das Trebnitzer Rechnungsbuch von 1523 - 1524: und andere Quellen zur mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Besitzgeschichte eines schlesischen Zisterzienserinnenklosters*. Marburg/Lahn: Johann-Gottfried Herder Institut, 1986.

¹¹⁷ Account keeping as a practice became, however, customary in royal towns, where systematic and extensive account books are available from consecutive years, covering longer periods, already from the fourteenth century. Cf. László Fejérpataky, Magyarországi városok régi számadáskönyvei (Selmeczbánya, Pozsony, Beszterczebánya, Nagyszombat, Sopron, Bártfa és Körmöczbánya városok levéltáraiból) (Old account books of Hungarian towns from the archives of Selmeczbánya (Banská Štiavnica, Schemntitz) Pozsony (Bratislava, Pressburg) Beszterczebánya (Banská Bystrica, Neusohl), Nagyszombat (Trnava, Tyrnau), Sopron (Ödenburg), Bártfa (Bardejov, Bartfeld) and Körmöcbánya (Kreminca, Kremnitz)) Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1885. One of the earliest example of similar account books in context of ecclesiastical estates is the accounts of Hyppolit of Este, the archbishop of Esztergom (until 1497), and bishop of Eger (from 1497) from the late 1480s on. Cf.: Albert Nyáry, "Az esztergomi érsekség és egri püspökség számadási könyvei a XV—XVI. századból," [The account books of the bishopric Eger and the archbishopric of Esztergom from the 15th and 16th centuries] Századok 1 (1867): 378-384.; Erik Fügedi, "Az esztergomi érsekség gazdálkodása a 15. század végén," [Finances of the archbishopric of Esztergom at the close of the 15th c], in Századok 94 (1960/1): 82-124 and (1960/4) 505-555. Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadáskönyvei 1500-1508, [The Account Books of Hyppolit of Este], ed. Péter E. Kovács (Eger: Heves Megyei Levéltár, 1992). The original records have been recently surveyed in preparation of a more comprehensive new edition by Hajnalka Kuffart, "Bevezetés Estei Hyppolit számadáskönyveihez," [An introduction to the account books of Hyppolit of Este] in Vestigia. Mohács előtti magyar források olasz könyvtárakban. ed. György Domokos – Norbert Mátyus – Nuzzo Armando (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2015), 47-82.

documentation applies not only for Hungarian, Bohemian and Polish Cistercian abbeys, but also for Austrian ones, which have otherwise rich and diverse collections. 118 Household accounts (manorial accounts) similar to the ones of Vaulerent¹¹⁹ and Beaulieu¹²⁰ were particularly rare, ¹²¹ It has been suggested that such records could be made on wax tablets instead of parchment or paper, as data were needed only temporarily. 122 On the other hand, the absence of such documents could be read, itself, as a statement on the low quality of estate management. and there is no example of them in the region. There are a few, very sketchy manorial inventories though. 123

The most common type of source specifically related to economic administration was the so called Grundbuch (ger.), urbarium, conscriptio terrarum/bonorum (lat.) or landbook, terrier, conscription of lands, which provides information about tenants (their lands, as well as their services and rents paid annually). A *Grundbuch* was generally an extended version of the simple tithe register (ger. Zinsbuch/Gültbuch). These did not follow a uniform structure – some were quite elaborate, others were simple. Thus, data from different registers are sometimes difficult to compare. Examples of Cistercian land registers date from as early as the thirteenth century. 124

¹¹⁸ The account books of Rein have been studied by Gerhard Jaritz. He mentions similar accounts, available from Stift Klosterneuburg, and St Peter's abbey in Salzburg. Cf. Gerhard Jaritz, "Die Reiner Rechnungsbücher als Quelle zur klösterlichen Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters." In Die Funktion der schriftlichen Quelle in der Sachkulturforschung. Wien: Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs, 1976), 145-249, 259-271,

¹¹⁹ Charles Higounet, La grange de Vaulerent. Structure et exploitation d'un terroir cistercien de la plaine de France XIIe-XVe siècle. Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1965.

¹²⁰ Stanley Frederick Hockey, *The Account Book of Beaulieu*. London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, University College London, 1975.

¹²¹ Cf. Bruce M.S. Campbell's comprehensive survey of the English manorial accounts. Campbell also provides an insight into the depth of information these sources contain. See Bruce M.S. Campbell, English Seigniorial Agriculture, 1250-1450 (Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography). Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2000, especially 26-31. Notably, both Campbell (Campbell, English Seigneurial Agriculture, 154), and Bond (Bond, Monastic Landscapes, 21) refer to the account of Beaulieu Abbey as a rare example.

¹²² Reinhard Schneider hypothesized that book keeping was not necessarily done on parchments. Since data were needed only temporarily, wax tablets could be used. See Reinhard Schneider, Vom Klosterhaushalt zum Stadtund Staatshaushalt. Der zisterziensische Beitrag (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 38) (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1994), 98, and 116. See also Guido Gassmann, Konversen in Mittelalter. Eine Untersuchung anhand der neun Schweizer Zisterzienserklöster (Vita regularis 56) (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2012), 87. Apart from this problem, keeping detailed household accounts does not seem to have been a common practice and it cannot be taken for granted that great estates produced such records.

¹²³ Kateřina Charvátová, "Inventáře klášterních dvorů" [Die inventare der Klosterhöfe]. Archaeologica historica 15 (1990) 125-134. As for the Hungarian Cistercians, the only available document of this type is a one-page account from the monastery of Bátaszék. MNL OL, DL 45673 (1476-00-00). There are also a few similar documents from Benedictine abbeys in Hungary. See more in Chapter 4.

¹²⁴ I know of a few Cistercian monasteries in Bohemia where tithe registers were made. Concerning three villages of the Vyšší Brod estate (1500) see Pangerl, Urkundenbuch des Cistercienserstiftes Hohenfurt in Böhmen, 374-376. Another one (1513) for the lands of Zlatá Koruna, more specifically the tithe collection district in Český

It seems, however, that they became more widespread only in the fifteenth century, both in the case of lay and ecclesiastical estates. Such registers were typically compiled when changes of ownership occurred. In case of Cistercian estates, this happened apparently in connection to the "secularization" of their estates, i.e. when the administration of their lands and their incomes were assigned to certain *gubernatores* or *commendatores*¹²⁵ The earliest example is the late fifteenth-century land register of Szentgotthárd (ca 1480-1500)¹²⁶ – it was drafted most probably when the abbey was received back into royal patronage. As this document has not been published yet, it deserves a more systematic assessment [see Chapter 3, Chapter 4 and the Appendix].

2.1.1.3 Letters issued by the abbots/convents

Besides the abovementioned narrative sources and administrative records, letters of abbots also number among this group. Hervay emphasized that Cistercian abbots/convents rarely issued deeds and documents, as they were not taking part in legal administration, i.e. were not acting as places of authentication, ¹²⁸ contrarily to some Benedictines and Premonstratensian houses

Krumlov (Krummau): Pangerl, Urkundenbuch des ehemaligen Cistercienserstiftes Goldenkron in Böhmen, 579-585. There is an earlier one from Zbraslav as well, the Registrum monasterii Aulae Regiae de omnibus proventibus anno 1342 scriptum, which gives only the incomes (taxes) collected. See: Josef Emler, ed., Decem regestra censuum Bohemica compilata aetate bellum husiticum praecedente. Prague: České Společnosti Nauk. 1881, 309-312. As for land registers, from the period before 1300, there are only two land registers in Bohemia: that of the dioecese of Prague and the other of the Cistercian monastery of Vyšší Brod. From the late medieval period there are almost twenty of them according to Jaroslav Čechura, Die Struktur der Grundherrschaften im mittelalterlichen Böhmen. Stuttgart: Gustav Fischer Verlag, 1994, 6. Fifteenth century land registers (dating from 1407, 1462, 1483) survived for the estate of the monastery of Saar (Žďár nad Sázavou). Details show the names of each tenant, and their submissions per capita. See: Jaroslav Ludvíkovský and Rudolf Mertlík, ed., Cronica Domus Sarensis Maior et Minor (Ždár nad Sázavou: historické a vysvetlivky, M. Zemek, 2003) There are also more examples from Austrian monasteries: Hermann Watzl, ed., Das Urbar der "Waldmark" der Cisterce Heiligenkreuz 1431. Heiligenkreuz-Wien: Heiligenkreuzer Verlag, 1966. Baumgartenberg has a land register from 1335. Cf. Georg Grüll, Stiftsarchiv Baumgartenberg (unpublished inventory of the OberÖsterreichisches Landesarchiv, 1958: OÖLA, Linz, Pa V/64 – ca 1335. See more details at : http://monasterium.net/mom/BaumOCist/collection ¹²⁵ Concerning some lands of Pilis Abbey in Co. Hont, see Maksay, *Urbáriumok*, 655–659: Bona abbatiae Pilisiensis (Marót (Maroth), Zantho (Szántó – co. Hont), Chakan) The document is part of a group of documents (639–662): A váci püspökség, a pilisi és a ludányi apátság birtokainak urbáriuma: Examen nuntiorum ex infrascriptis possessionibus episcopatus Vaciensis et abbatiarum Pilisiensis ac Ludaniensis missorum ad articulos interrogatorios factum Posony octava die Maii, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo octavo, id est 1578. (1578-05-08). As for Borsmonostor, the earliest available land register was drawn up in 1608 for the new owners, the Nádasdy family. See: Judith Schöbel, "Klostermarienberg in der Neuzeit," in 800 Jahre Zisterzienser im Pannonischen Raum. Katalog der Burgenländischen Landes-Sonderausstellung. Burgenländische Forschungen. Sonderband 18, ed., Jakob Perschy. Eisenstadt: Amt der Burgenländischen Landesregierung, 1996, 119.

¹²⁶ MNL OL, DL 104622 (ca 1480-1500)

¹²⁷ See King Matthias' instruction to Nicolaus Szécsi in 1480, whose family formerly held the abbey *in commendam*: MNL OL, DL 25258 (1480-09-02); reg.: Hervay, *Repetrorium*, 162.

¹²⁸ Hervay, Repertorium, 26.

which did. ¹²⁹ Others, however, noted that some Cistercian abbeys functioned as places of authentication on an irregular basis. ¹³⁰ A closer inspection of these letters reveal that Cistercian convents were, indeed, involved in lawsuits as third parties, mediators, but it seems they were only called for to assist in court trials, when the local place of authentication was involved either as plaintiff or defendant (and this conflict of interests would have breached the principle of neutrality to administer the law.) Another group of letters issued by abbots concern ecclesiastical administration (e.g. in response to delegations by popes, as third-party judiciaries, arbitrators in canonical jurisdiction). ¹³¹ Yet another group of letters concern administering law to tenants – as convents could exercise the right to summon their tenants to their courts. ¹³²

Apparently, these groups of letters are not of interest in this thesis. There is, however, the last one, which potentially is. It consists of those contracts, transactions, agreements, and quittances on payments, which were issued by the abbots. A handful of such letters survived from Borsmonostor, Pilis, and from Topuszkó (see e.g. on properties of Pilis in the town of Pozsony discussed in Chapter 6), which are instrumental to reconstruct changes with respect to abbatial properties. They demonstrate an increasing concern to lease lands starting from the late thirteenth century. As public transactions, these letters needed further authentication or corroboration by external institutions, whose authority was publicly recognized. Thus, such letters are available also in copies/transcriptions made by places of authentication, on the request of either the abbot, or the other party. It was through the meticulous work of Békefi and others that such letters were made available for research, as their proveniance can be various. In the *Repertorium*, they are listed under the names of the abbots – including those in the other

¹²⁹ László Solymosi, "A bencés konventek hiteleshelyi oklevéladásának kezdetei," (The beginnings of the charterissuing function of Benedictine Abbeys) in *Mons Sacer 996–1996. Pannonhalma 1000 éve*, vol. 1., ed. Imre Takács. Pannonhalma: n. p., 1996, 481–498.

¹³⁰ Kristóf Keglevich, "A szepesi apátság története az Árpád- és az Anjou-korban (1223-1387)" (History of the Chapter of Szepes (Spiš), *Fons* 14 (2007/1): 3–58.

¹³¹ Remarkably, Borsmonostor started to be involved in such commissions only after its patronage was taken over by the king. Cf. St 1277:81, 1288:10. See also Hervay, *Repertorium*, 23: "Commissiones cum dignitate abbatiarum et cum situ eorundem stricte cohaeserunt, et plerumque abbatibus monasteriorum a regibus in medio regni fundatorum datae sunt. Inter eos praesertim abbates de Zirc excellebant (1198--1295: 33x), deinde abbates de Pilis (1203–1299: 26 times), de Egres (1213–1247: 10 times), de S. Gothardo (1218–1260: 10 times), de Cikador (1205–1236: 7 times)."

¹³² This is mentioned, for example, by one of the letters of the Topuszkó abbots: MNL OL, DF 262107 (1436-10-16): "ludicia vero ad nos pertinentia scilicet incendium furtum et sanguinis effusione in predio ecclesie nostram seu nostram monasterium dum fuerit requisitus per nos seu officiales nostros defendere tenebitur". Notably, not only royal foundations received this privilege (from the kings), but there seems to have been a tendency in the fourteenth century that private foundations also received the same right, except with grave criminal assaults.

groups. Queries in the digital database of the MNL¹³³ showed that Hervay did not manage to have his lists complete; on the other hand, his lists also include references on letters, the originals of which were lost, and they have not been registered in the digital database.

In some archives, these letters were originally kept in separate collections – in "letter books." ¹³⁴ Such books, however, did not come down to us from the Cistercians. In fact, the letters – either originals or transcriptions – preserved mostly externally, in the archives of convents functioning as places of authentication (chapter houses), or in family archives, which indicates that it was not a standard procedure of the abbeys to keep their own copies, ¹³⁵ most probably because they had only temporary relevance. Notably, such letters do not appear among the valuable documents (particularly grants and privileges) inserted in cartularies (copybooks), such as the *Liber Ruber* of Pannonhalma, the 'Cimeliotheca' of the Chapterhouse of Győr, ¹³⁶ the early sixteenth-century Pauline *Inventarium privilegiorum*, ¹³⁷ or the cartulary of Topuszkó. Apparently, the purpose of such copybooks was to substantiate property claims, demonstrating (for eternity) the rights and privileges obtained by the abbeys. ¹³⁸ The structure of the Topuszkó cartulary, for example, clearly shows this concept of selective and systematic ordering: privileges (royal grants) were copied first, then the documents substantiating claims to certain pieces of lands were arranged for each place/settlement separately and in a chronological order. This kind of grouping was typical for cartularies, ¹³⁹ and it was most probably a conventional

¹³³ Available at: http://archives.hungaricana.hu/hu/charters/search/

¹³⁴ William Abel Pantin, "English Monastic Letter Books." In *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait*, ed. Sir John Goronwy Edwards, Vivian Hunter Galbraith and Ernest Fraser Jacob. Manchester: n/a (printed for subscribers), 1933. 201–222.

¹³⁵ In the case of Borsmonostor, for example, most of the abbots' letters dating before the period of King Sigismund preserved externally, i.e. not in the (presumably complete) collection of the abbey, but elsewhere. This issue needs further investigation.

¹³⁶ Győri Székeskáptalan Magánlevéltára (The Private Archive of the Chapter of Győr) Cimeliotheca et Theca U 861. This repository contained the most important privileges.

¹³⁷ Inventarium privilegiorum omnium et singularum domorum Ordinis Heremitarum Sancti Pauli primi here mite et primo de Nozthre (Nosztra), dated to ca 1530s. See: (no author): "Magyarországi pálosok régi inventáriuma" Magyar könyvszemle 8 (1883/1-4): 221–224.

¹³⁸ The organization of monastic archives is an uncharted territory of monastic studies, which "has not attracted the critical attention applied to libraries." Cf. James G Clarke, "An Abbot and His Books." In *The Prelate in England and Europe 1300-1560*, ed. Martin Heale. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014, 101–126. For a brief introduction to the theme with further literatures, see Constance H. Berman, "The 'labours of Hercules', the cartulary, church and abbey for nuns of la Cour-Notre-Dame-de-Michery," *Journal of Medieval History* 26 (2000/1): 33–70.

¹³⁹ See e.g. William Owen Duba, *The cartulary of Vauluisant. A critical edition*. PhD thesis. University of Iowa, Graduate College, 1994, 6. Open access: http://documents.cbma-project.eu/texte/DubaVauluisant.pdf
See also Berman, "The Labours," 35–36.

method of archiving documents related to the administration of the estates, as attested e.g. by the grouping system of archival registers of other institutions, which prevailed until today. 140

2.1.2 Other documents concerning land transactions and lawsuits

In connection to property claims (land transactions and lawsuits), many documents were issued by external institutions involved in the administration of law, including places of authentication and officials of the crown (court dignitaries), e.g. the *iudex curiae* and the *palatinus*. The documents refer to various matters. Some are only tangentially related to the history of the abbeys – e.g. they mention the abbots or other members of convents as third party (witnesses) in lawsuits between their neighbors. Lawsuits and land-transactions concerning the lands of the abbeys form another group. Some of these charters are very important for topographical research, as they include perambulations describing the boundaries of lands or the types of land use. In the case of Borsmonostor and Topuszkó, there is a good number of such documents, making it possible to reflect on the character of the historic environment [see Chapter 4 and the Appendix]. As for Pilis, Szentgotthárd and Zirc, there is a smaller number of such records, as they concern only administrative procedures in connection to litigation between the abbey and their neighbors. These sources are less relevant for topographical reconstructions, but instrumental for mapping the "social landscape" of the abbeys (families with which they had conflicts) particularly with respect to the late medieval period, which is less in the focus of interest. ¹⁴¹Similarly to the letters of the abbots/convents, the provenience of these documents is diverse. Sometimes the abbeys made their own copies of these documents, but this was not a systematical practice, and this is why Laszlo Solymosi underlines the need for more systematic research into the archival collections of places of authentication, as this has the potential to discover new data. 142

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¹⁴⁰ Cf. Karlinszky, "A veszprémi káptalan", 4: e.g. the late eighteenth century "elenchi" of the archive of the Veszprém chapter house.

¹⁴¹ As noted also by Karen Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons. C.1300-1540.* (Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, 29) Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007, 1.

¹⁴² László Solymosi, "Észrevételek a Ciszterci Rend magyarországi történetének repertóriumáról," (Remarks on the Repertorium on the history of Cistercian monasteries in Hungary) *Levéltári Közlemények* 55 (1984): 237–251. For example, a comprehensive survey established that from the period between 1354 and 1526 about 12% of the documents issued by the diocesan chapter of Pécs were related to local monasteries Cf.: Tamás Fedeles, "Középkori kolostorokra és birtokaikra vonatkozó adatok a pécsi székeskáptalan hiteleshelyi kiadványaiban," (Data concerning medieval monasteries and their estates in the charters of the bishopric chapter of Pécs), *A Wosinszky Mór Múzeum Évkönyve* 27 (2005): 109–130.

With regard to the five Cistercian abbeys, the following places of authentication (situated in their vicinity) should be primarily considered: in the case of Borsmonostor the Premonstratensian convent of Csorna, and the chapter houses of Győr (Co. Győr) and Vasvár (Co. Vas); in the case of Pilis the priory of Székesfehérvár (Co. Fehér) and the chapter house of Buda (Co. Pilis); in the case of Szentgotthárd the chapter houses of Győr (Co. Győr), Vasvár (Co. Vas), Veszprém (Co. Veszprém), and the Benedictine convents of Zalavár and Kapornak (Co. Zala); in the case of Topuszkó the chapter houses of Zágráb (Zagreb, Co. Zagreb) and Csázma (Čazma, Co. Körös); and in the case of Zirc the chapter houses of Veszprém (Co. Veszprém) and Győr (Co. Győr). This list is based on data available in the Repertorium, but it is not exhaustive. Due to their administrative roles, chapter houses had very large public archives – often with thousands of letters. Understandably, it would not have been possible to carry out a comprehensive survey for potential materials stored in the abovementioned collections. However, I checked more recent source editions (following the Repertorium) including e.g. the regesta collection from the chapter houses of Vasvár and Zalavár, 143 as well as from the Angevin and Sigismund period chartulariues (Anjou-kori Oklevéltár and the Zsigmond-kori Oklevéltár). 144 I also used the digital inventory of the Hungarian National Archive to find previously unpublished documents, of which perhaps the most important text was the land register of Szentgotthárd from 1480-1500 [see Chapter 4 and Appendix]. Concerning the lands of Borsmonostor and Szentgotthárd, the aforementioned regesta collections did not return new data. As for Topuszkó, I systematically surveyed the published documents from the archive of the chapter house of Zagreb (approx. 1500 of 3000 documents in total), ¹⁴⁵ and found sources, which have not been inventoried and referred to by Hervay.

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¹⁴³ Cf. Kóta, *Regeszták a vasvári káptalan levéltárának okleveleiről (1130) 1212-1526* (Regestae from the archive of the chapter of Vasvár 1212-1526). (Középkori oklevelek Vas megyei levéltárakban 1, Vas megyei levéltári füzetek 8) Szombathely: Vas Megyei levéltár, 1997; Irén Bilkei, *Zala megye levéltára középkori okleveleinek regesztái (1019) 1240–1526* (Regestae of the medieval charters from the Archive of County Zala) (Zalai Gyűjtemény, 75) Zalaegerszeg: MNL Zala Megyei Levéltára, 2014.

¹⁴⁴ Gyula Kristó et al., ed., *Anjou-kori oklevéltár (Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia)*, 30 vols. Budapest-Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1990–2014; Elemér Mályusz, Iván Borsa, Norbert C. Tóth, Tibor Neumann, ed., *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* (Urkundenbuch zum Zeitalter König Sigismunds), 13 vols. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1951 – 2017. Both the *Anjou-kori oklevéltár* and the *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* are accessible digitally: http://mnl.ol., arcanum.hu/medieval/opt/a101101.htm?v=pdf&a=start f

¹⁴⁵ Primarily in the following works: Ivan Tkalčić, ed., *Monumenta Historiae Episcopatus Zagrabiensis, 2 vols.* Zagreb: C.Albrecht, 1873-1874; Lajos Thallóczy and Samu Barabás, ed., A Blagay-család oklevéltára – Codex diplomaticus comitum de Blagay. (The archive of the Blagay family) Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1897; Lajos Thallóczy and Samu Barabás, ed., *A Frangepán család oklevéltára – Codex Diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus (1193-1453)*, vol 1. (The archive of the Frangepán family) Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1910; Tadeus Smičiklas and Marko Kostrenci, ed., *Codex Diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae ac*

2.1.3 Records compiled by external agencies for taxation or valuation purposes

External surveys provide a snapshot view of the economic conditions and finances of the abbeys. Such data are ideal for comparative analysis, but due to different methods of taxation, they are not consistent. Papal tithe registers dating from the early decades of the fourteenth century (1332-1336) should be mentioned in the first place. A little later, from the midfourteenth century, there are two documents: from 1354-1355 the so-called *Secundum Registrum*, a register compiled by the Cistercian general chapter, providing the amounts of tax, to be paid by each abbey to the central administration on a yearly basis, and from 1357 the *Relatio Seifridi abbatis Runensis*, a report written by the abbot of Rein about the Hungarian abbeys and their social and economic conditions (including incomes). From the fifteenth century, the registers of the papal treasury provide fragmentary data (only some Cistercian houses are mentioned) recording the collection of the so called *annata* ("first fruits"), which were payments to the pope from the first year's income, following the appointment of a new abbot. 150

Hervay assumed that such registers do not seem to be reliable as they are inconsistent. However, the lists of abbeys, arranged in decreasing order of income, based on the *Relatio* and on the *Secundum Registrum* are almost similar [see Appendix]. This match may suggest that both assessments were accurately done and the actual economic situation must have been taken into account for taxation. However, a difficulty is that neither survey tells about sources of incomes,

Slavoniae. Diplomaticki zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije, vol 18. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti I Umjetnosti, 1904-1990; Jakov Stipisic and Milien Samsalovic, ed., "Isprave u archivu Jugoslavenske Akademije (Inventar)," Zbornik Historijskog Instituta Jugosla-venske Akademije 2 (1959): 289–379 (from 1018 to 1437), 3 (1960): 563-643 (from 1438 to 1490); 4 (1961): 465-554 (from 1490 to 1516); 5 (1963): 533–578 (from 1516 to 1526).

¹⁴⁶ Hervay, Repertorium, 26–27.

¹⁴⁷ Tivadar Ortvay, Magyarország egyházi földleirása a XIV. század elején, a pápai tizedjegyzék alapján feltüntetve. (Geographia ecclesiastica Hungariae ineunte saeculo XIVo : E tabulis rationes collectorum pontificiorum a. 1281-1375 referentibus eruta digesta illustrata), vol 1-2. Budapest: (s. n.), 1891, 1892. The original document is MNL OL, DF 292450 (1317-1320); pub.: Mon. Vat, vol I/1, no. 1–29.

^{Arne Odd Johnsen and Peter King, ed.,} *The Tax Book of the Cistercian Order* (Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi,
Hist.-Filos. Klase, Ny serie, 16.) Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1979.

¹⁴⁹ Békefi, *A pilisi*, vol 1, 254–257.

¹⁵⁰ As for the Hungarian houses: József Körmendy, ed., *Annatae e regno Hungariae provenientes in Archivio Secreto Vaticano, 1421–1536.* (A Magyar Országos Levéltár Kiadványai, vol II/21.) Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990; A more recent and more systematic edition of the documents of the papal treasury is also available: József Lukcsics, Péter Tusor, Tamás Fedeles, Gábor Nemes, ed., *Cameralia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1297–1536). I: Obligationes, Solutiones.* (Collectanea Vaticanae Hungariae) Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2014. For the Polish houses, including e.g. Mogiła, see: Marek.D. Kowalski, ed., *Annatae Regno Poloniae (1421-1503)* (Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana, vol 10, Acta Camerae Apostolicae, vol 4.) Krakow: Pol. Akad. Umiejętności, 2002.

so there is no link between finances and economic management, the share of manorial revenues is not mentioned. In the case of Pilis the *Relatio* gives, however, the yearly income (700 florins in total) broken down into different sources of revenues: the abbey drew 400 florins from custom tolls, 260 florins from tithes, and 40 florins from wine tax/tithes and from suit of mill. ¹⁵¹ It is interesting to compare the calculations done by Grzegorz Żabiński on Mogiła, on the basis of proxy data (the number of tenants). The total yearly income (in the period of the late thirteenth century) was calculated at about 500 silver marks, which broke down to ca. 355 marks from tithes, 65 marks from rentals, while manorial incomes would have been 80 marks or less (less than 16% of the total). ¹⁵²

I refer to these examples to demonstrate the difficulty of calculating the output of manorial economy. Seeing these numbers, and on the basis of what has been said about the regional emphasis on *Rentengrundherrschaft*, one would be tempted to conclude that the role of manorial economy was insignificant, contributing only 10-15% to the total income. However, it is interesting to consider the point made by Kathleen Biddick on the economy of Peterborough Abbey, concerning the "act of consumption" as an aim in itself – a symbolic act –, and that "modern conceptions, which valorize production and oppose it to consumption, do not apply to multi-stranded medieval economies with their Braudelian links to material life, the market economy, and capitalism." ¹⁵³ Feudal incomes could be "consumed," that is, spent e.g. on household and maintenance costs, and most typically on the provisions/salaries of tenants, bailiffs (*officiales*), or trusted people (*familiares*). This kind of thinking is, indeed, implied and reflected by data provided in household accounts, which include separate lists of incomes and expenditures. ¹⁵⁴ The net profit from manorial activities, seigneurial rights (e.g. fisheries, mills, tolls etc.) could go often unnoticed, ¹⁵⁵ and this should make us more cautious of what exactly

¹⁵¹ Békefi, A pilisi apátság, 254

¹⁵² Grzegorz Żabiński, "Mogiła and Henryków: Patterns of Economic Development in Two Eastern European Cistercian Monasteries" *Cîteaux: Commentarii cistercienses* 61 (2010/2-4): 228. Cf. Bálint Hóman, *Magyar pénztörténet* 1000–1325 [History of the Hungarian Currency, 1000–1325]. Budapest: MTA, 1916; reprint edition: Budapest: Maecenas Akadémia, 1991]: according to Rufinus de Cibinio, one silver mark was equal to four florins. Hóman pointed out that the Polish (or Zipser) silver mark was of equal weight to the "marcha banalium", and so he calculated 176 denars per mark. Tthis was worth three florins. Thus, Mogiła's income would have been about 1500 florins, which equals to the incomes of Pétervárad, and doubles that of Pilis!

¹⁵³ Kathleen Biddick, *The Other Economy: Pastoral Husbandry on a Medieval Estate*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989, 5.

¹⁵⁴ The household accounts of the Benedictine convent of Pécsvárad is also a good example of this. See Appendix. ¹⁵⁵ I have illustrated the abovementioned problems on the example of the estate of Ónod (Co. Borsod): Ferenczi,

[&]quot;Vízgazdálkodás.", Idem, "Water management."

income figures represent (gross or net). Data from external surveys might not be ideal to approximate what the actual output of manorial economy was.

In sum, there is a considerable shortage of data concerning financial issues and management, which renders calculations concerning productivity and profitability of the estates practically impossible. It would be important to know more about how manors were managed on a day-to-day basis, about farming techniques (efficiency) and about financial aspects, i.e. to what Cistercians were attempting to bring to the market (crops, livestock etc.). The above described groups of sources allow, however, a different approach – it is through the topographical study of the Cistercian "model" that the above issues can be also approached.

2.2 CARTOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

A few remarks shall be made concerning the historical maps, which I will use extensively (mostly in Chapter 3). Estate maps from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the maps of the First (1763-1787) and Second Military Surveys (1806-1869) – similarly systematic as the Ordnance Survey maps in the UK – provide the earliest accurate cartographical representations of past landscapes in Hungary. They are instrumental for studying past landuse and are widely used by historical ecological and environmental geographical studies. Apparently, the pre-modern condition of the landscape – as documented on these maps –, is potentially different from the medieval one. There is, however, often a match between data from medieval perambulations and later cartographical representations. Ideally, there are also other sources to rely on when studying changes of land-use retrogressively in the interim period (i.e. from the early sixteenth to the late eighteenth century). The estate records of Borsmonostor and Szentgotthárd, The example, would perfectly suit such an approach. Long term changes (in the historic environment/estate management/settlement history) are,

 $^{^{156}}$ Most of the materials in the Hungarian National Archive were digitized and made accessible at: $\underline{\text{http://mapire.eu/hu/}} \text{ and } \underline{\text{http://maps.hungaricana.hu/}}$

¹⁵⁷ See Schöbel "Klostermarienberg in der Neuzeit", passim. Most of the settlements which once belonged to this estate became the property of the Nádasdy family in the sixteenth century. They were later acquired by the Eszterházy family, who kept detailed estate records, including household accounts/manorial accounts. As for Szentgotthárd, the Austrian Abbey of Heiligenkreuz took over the management of the estate in the early eighteenth century and there are similarly detailed accounts from about the next hundred years (1734-1878), which have not yet been studied in depth, but have been surveyed by Elek Kalász. Cf. Kalász, *A szentgotthárdi*, passim

¹⁵⁸ See Kalász, *A szentgotthárdi*, passim.

however, best assessed using GIS databases,¹⁵⁹ on which this thesis will not embark. Historic maps and estate records will be used only for a targeted survey to study the topography of manorial holdings and to highlight the continuities/discontinuities of land-use between the medieval and later periods.

2.3 ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

As noted in Chapter 1, archaeological data are particularly relevant for studying themes of e.g. internal colonization, site selection strategy, and industrial activities. As also noted there, the coverage of archaeological data in Hungary would not be suitable for comparative analysis, as there are only targeted archaeological surveys 160 and more systematic archaeological topographical works cover only certain parts of the country. These include parts of the estates of Pilis and Zirc. 161 Thus, these works have little to offer for Chapter 3, where the topographical character of granges and manorial farms is discussed (e.g. the relative chronology of farms and settlements). Nonetheless, for Pilis and Zirc, whose lands were the most exposed to the devastating effects of the Ottoman conquest (as noted above), the results of these archaeological surveys could be already used by Hervay to identify locations of deserted settlements (of early or late medieval origin), such as e.g. Boron and Kovácsi – together with the site of the Pomáz-Nagykovácsi grange (today in Pomáz) [see Appendix], which belonged to Pilis Abbey, or Olaszfalu, Berénd, which belonged to Zirc [see Appendix]. Apart from these examples, however, the topographical analysis is based on historical, cartographical and place name evidence only. Historical-topographical surveys of Dezső Csánki and György Györffy have been used as secondary sources, 162 together with other literature, i.e. the works of Békefi and others, consulted also by Hervay. The topography of Co. Zágráb (including the Topuszkó

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¹⁵⁹ I do not know of any illustrative example from Hungary. Most studies focus only on the last 200 years and military survey maps. For a systematic GIS based analysis of different data types representing the last 500-800 years, see the work of an Austrian research team on the subalpine village of Theyern see Klaus Ecker, Christian Sonnlechner, Verena Winiwarter et al., "Landscape and History. A Multidisciplinary Approach," *Collegium Antropologicum* 23 (1999/2): 379–396.

¹⁶⁰ See Chapter 1, footnote 58.

¹⁶¹ Including Komárom, Pest, and Veszprém Counties, where parts of the estates of Pilis and Zirc were situated. The results of these surveys are published in the series *Magyarország régészeti topográfiája* (Archaeological topography of Hungary) commonly referred in the literature by the acronym "MRT" (henceforth MRT). As for Pilis, see: MRT, vol 5. (Co. Komárom. The Districts of Esztergom and Dorog), ed., István Torma. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979; and MRT, vol 7. (Co. Pest. The Districts of Buda and Szentendre), ed. István Torma. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986; Concerning the estate of Zirc see MRT, vol 2. (The District of Veszprém), ed., István Éri. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969; and MRT, vol 4. (The Districts of Pápa and Zirc), ed. István Torma. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972.

¹⁶² Györffy, ed., Az Árpád-kori Magyarország. Csánki, ed., Magyarország történelmi földrajza.

estate) has not been covered by Csánki or Györffy, thus, the map presented in the Appendix is based on more recent topographical research by Pál Engel, who prepared a digital map of late medieval Hungary. To my knowledge, there has not been any systematic archaeological topographical work carried out there which could contribute to the topographical study. 164

Apart from the limited use of archaeological topographical data, I will rely on the results of archaeozoological surveys in Chapter 4 to briefly outline regional patterns and chronological changes in animal husbandry. In Chapter 5, excavation reports will be used to introduce Pilis Abbey's involvement in industrial activities, together with more recent findings of the ongoing excavations at the abbey's grange in Pomáz-Nagykovácsi-puszta, to which I have contributed as site supervisor.

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¹⁶³ Cf. Pál Engel, *Magyarország a középkor végén: digitális térkép és adatbázis*. (Hungary in the Late Middle Ages: digital map and database) CD-ROM. Budapest: Térinfo Bt – MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 2001. Engel used the maps of the Military Survey matched with place names from tax records from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and from the medieval era.

Historical place names suggest, however, that there is a strong continuity of the settlement network from the medieval era into the modern period. The localization of medieval place names seems often less problematic – based on modern maps – than in other parts of the country, devastated in the Ottoman period – e.g. areas in central Hungary and around Pilis and Zirc.

CHAPTER 3: GRANGES AND OTHER MANORIAL FARMS – A TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The direct management of domanial properties (*Eigenwirtschaft*) – as an emblematic feature or "corner stone" of Cistercian economy – has been since long noted by Church historians. Traditional views, however, focusing on narrative and normative sources, were challenged by case studies and regional overviews focusing rather on the systematic study of administrative records from local Cistercian archives and the study of Cistercian landscapes. New approaches – comparative topographical research and landscape archaeology – were central for this development, for particularly in the UK, where landscape archaeology has developed as a new way of investigation., for complemented by the works of the historical geographer Robert A. Donkin, who discussed different aspects of Cistercian economy, for including the theme of Cistercian farms/granges.

In other countries, research was focused solely on historical data. A common characteristic of archive based research is that studies usually contrast the two basic forms of estate management, – i.e. demesne vs tenancy based –, but these are not discussed at equal depth, as the latter can be studied more thoroughly, based on the available records. Because of this bias, studies on the agrarian economy of the estates typically focus on the legal-economic relations between landlords and tenants, how these evolved, i.e. how the conditions of tenancy developed over

¹⁶⁵ Platt, *The Monastic Grange*. Another illustrative example from France: François Blary, *Le domaine de Châalis, XIIe-XIVe siécles: Approches archéologiques des établissements agricoles et industriels d'une abbaye cistercienne* (Memoires de la Section d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art, 3.). Paris: Comite des Travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1989.

¹⁶⁶ Pioneering studies (in a sense that they were specifically focusing on the theme of grange economy) are, for example: Terence Alain Martyn Bishop, "Monastic Granges in Yorkshire," *The English Historical Review* 51 (1936): 193–214. Hans Wiswe, "Grangien niedersächsischer Zisterzienserklöster. Entstehung und Bewirtschaftung spätmittelalterlich-frühneuzeitlicher landwirtschaftlicher Grossbetriebe," *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch* 34 (1953) 5–134. Charles Higounet, *La grange de Vaulerent. Structure et exploitation d'un terroir cistercien de la plaine de France. XIIe-XVe siècle* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1965).

¹⁶⁸ See his essays in the bibliography, as well as his summative work: *The Cistercians: Studies in the Geography of Medieval England and Wales*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1978.

¹⁶⁹ Robert A. Donkin, "The Cistercian Grange in England in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries, with Special Reference to Yorkshire," *Studia Monastica* 6 (1964): 95--144.

time.¹⁷⁰ In addition to the heterogenity of research themes involved thereby, another problem is the lack of systematism concerning spatial reconstruction and environmental aspects, and that the results of such case studies are often incomparable due to their diverse focus.¹⁷¹

As for the region east of the Elbe, the focus tends to shift more towards the problems of Landesausbau (internal colonization), thus, structural changes in the settlement network and the role of granges. A research group at the Friedrich Meinecke Institute (Berlin) – inspired by Walter Christaller's central place theory –, ¹⁷³moved beyond conventional directions of research, and started to focus on monastic history from the broader socio-economic viewpoint of the *Stadt-Land Forschung*. Connections between towns and monasteries (as rural agents in the process of urbanization and modernization) were exposed in a series of articles published in the *Zisterzienser-Studien* during the 1970s. Ever since, this theme remained in the focus of interest of Cistercian studies. ¹⁷⁴ Parallel to this orientation, the economic practices of the

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^{&#}x27;Altsiedelland', historical studies do not tend to focus on the problem of *Gutsherrschaft* or *Eigenwirtschaft*, but rather on *Rentengrundherrschaft*. See e.g. works on Ebrach, Eberbach, Salem or Zinna: Hildegard Weiss, *Zisterzienserabtei Ebrach. Eine Intersuchung zur Grundherrschaft*, *Gerichtsherrschaft und Dorfgemeinde im fränkischen Raum*. Stuttgart: Gustav Fischer Verlag, 1962; Werner Rösener, *Reichsabtei Salem. Verfassung und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Zisterzienserklosters von der Gründung bis zur Mitte des 14ten Jahrhunderts*. (Konstanzer Arbeitskreis, Vorträge und Foschungen, vol 13). Sigmaringen: Jan Thorebeke Verlag, 1974; Wolfgang Ribbe, "Sozialstruktur und Wirtschaftsverhältnisse in den Zinnaer Klosterdörfern auf dem Barnim", *Zisterzienser-Studien III*, ed. Wolfgang Ribbe, Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1976, 107–139. Christian Mossig, *Grundbesitz und Güterbewirtschaftung des Klosters Eberbach im Rheingau: 1136 – 1250. Untersuchungen zur frühen Wirtschaftsverfassung der Zisterzienser* (Quellen und Forschungen zur hessischen Geschichte, vol 36). Darmstadt-Marburg: Hessische Historische Kommission, 1978; Wolfgang Ribbe, "Sozialstruktur und Wirtschaftsverhältnisse in den Zinnaer Klosterdörfern auf dem Barnim", *Zisterzienser-Studien III*, ed. Wolfgang Ribbe. Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1976, 107–139.

¹⁷¹ Christian Stadelmeier has raised this complaint in connection to the often undifferentiated treatment and too simplistic interpretation of Cistercian practices. Christian Stadelmeier, "Agrarfortschritt im Hochmittelalter. Zisterzienserklöster als Träger von Agrarinnovationen im hochmittelalterlichen Deutschland. Arbeitskreis für Agrargeschichte Newsletter 22 (2007): 5. Open access: https://www.uni-bielefeld.de/geschichte/ak agrargeschichte/letter/letter.html

¹⁷² See Eckhart G. Franz, "Grangien und Landsiedel. Zur Grundherrschaft des Zisterzienserklosters Haina in Hessen," in *Wege und Forschungen der Agrargeschichte. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Günther Franz,* (Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie Sonderband 3), ed. Heinz Haushofer, Willi Alfred Bölcke. Frankfurt am Main: DLG Verlag, 1967, 28–51; Hans Wiswe, "Die Bedeutung des Klosters Walkenried für die Kolonisierung der Goldenen Aue," *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch* 31 (1950): 59–70.

¹⁷³ Walter Christaller, *Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland*. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1933. English language edition – translated (in parts) by Charlisle W. Baskin, *Central Places in Southern Germany*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall 1966.

¹⁷⁴ See e.g. Wolfgang Bender, *Zisterzienser und Städte. Studien zu den Beziehungen zwischen den Zisterzienserklöstern und den grosen urbanen Zentren des mittleren Moselraumes (12-14Jh)* (Trierer historischen Forschungen, vol. 20). Trier: Verlag Trierer historischen Forschungen, 1992; Werner Rösener, "Die Stadthöfe der Zisterzienser im Spannungsfeld der Stadt-Land-Beziehungen des Hochmittelalters." In *Kloster und Wirtschaftswelt im Mittelalter*, (Mittelalter Studien 15), ed. Claudia Dobrinski, Brunhilde Gedderth and Katrin Wipfler. München: Fink, 2007, 85–99; Winfried Schich's ouvre also exemplifies this approach – see footnote 177.

Cistercians have been re-evaluated also from the point of view of agrarian economy – in essays by Wolfgang Ribbe, ¹⁷⁵ Werner Rösener and Winfried Schich. ¹⁷⁷

These works have changed the views on grange economy fundamentally. As Isabelle Alfonso has summarized, there has been a tendency from the 1980s to dispute the so called "frontier thesis," i.e. "to play down the exceptional role attributed to the monks" as "puritan" and "innovative" managers and as "pioneers" and "reclaimers of waste." Werner Rösener has also noted that the critical stance towards traditional interpretations was already there in the works of a "younger" generation of scholars, e.g. Hans Wiswe, Edgar Krausen, or Sigfried Epperlein, who asserted that the role of grange economy was much less important for Cistercians east of the Elbe. 179 Although the exaggerated views on the Cistercians as a *Rodungsorden* became more balanced, 180 Alfonso concluded her article that the newer scholarship is still very much influenced by the idea that the Cistercian economic model was superior. As demonstrated through a critical review of a series of influential studies (e.g. by Constance H. Berman, Robert A. Donkin, Charles Higounet, Richard Roehl and Colin Platt), Cistercians are still praised for their "scientific agriculture" and "economic rationality", and grange economy is still interpreted as "an island of advanced organisation in a sea of peasant

175 Wolfgang Ribbe, "Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit der Zisterzienser im Mittelalter: Agrarwirtschaft." In Die Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit. Katalog zur Ausstellung des Landschaftsverbandes

Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit. Katalog zur Ausstellung des Landschaftsverbandes Rheinland, (Schriften des Rheinischen Museumsamtes, vol. 10), ed. Kaspar Elm, Peter Joerissen, Hermann Joseph Roth. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1981, 203–216.

¹⁷⁶ Werner Rösener, "Grangienwirtschaft und Grundbesitzorganisation südwestdeutscher Zisterzienserklöster vom 12. bis 14. Jahrhundert." In *Die Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit. Ergänzungsband*, (Schriften des Rheinischen Museumsamtes, vol. 18), ed. Kaspar Elm, Peter Joerissen. Köln: Rheinland-Verlag, 1982), 137–164. Idem, "Zur Wirtschaftstätigkeit der Zisterzienser im Hochmittelalter," *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie* 30 (1982): 117–148. Idem, "Religion und Ökonomie. Zur Wirtschaftstätigkeit der Zisterzienser." In *Von Citeaux nach Bebenhausen. Welt und Wriken der Zisterzienser*, ed. Barbara Scholkmann and Sönke Lorenz. Tübingen: Attempto, 2000, 109–126. Idem, "Die Agrarwirtschaft der Zisterzienser: Innovation und Anpassung." In *Norm und Realität Kontinuität und Wandel der Zisterzienser im Mittelalter* (Vita regularis, vol. 42), ed. Franz J. Felten and Werner Rösener. Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2009, 67–96.

¹⁷⁷ Winfried Schich, Wirtschaft und Kulturlandschaft Gesammelte Beiträge 1977 bis 1999 zur Geschichte der Zisterzienser und der "Germania Slavica" (Bibliothek der Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte, vol. 12). Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2007. Idem, Zisterziensische Wirtschaft und Kulturlandschaft (Studien zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Zisterzienser, vol. 3). Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 1998.

¹⁷⁸ Isabel Alfonso, "Cistercians and Feudalism," *Past & Present* 133 (1991): 7. With plenty of references on the works of French and Italian historians.

¹⁷⁹ Rösener, "Die Agrarwirtschaft", 73.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. also Jürgen Sydow, Edmund Mikkers, and Anne-Barb Hertkorn, Die Zisterzienser (Stuttgart-Zürich: Belser Verlag, 1989), 63.

tenements and feudal demesnes", ¹⁸¹ which was fundamental for the expansion of order into more distant regions.

The point to take away from here, is that there is a "central controversy" whether grange economy had an innovative character. Rösener maintained a positive view on this, based on recent research into the economic history of Cistercian estates in Central Europe. He argued that Cistercians were systematically accumulating manorial properties and organized them into larger blocks, which could be easily managed, thus, the efficiency of agrarian production could have increased. He sees this as a key aspect of success and expansion, and as a truly "innovative" element, which went opposite to contemporary socio-economic trends: the reorganization/fragmentation of the demesne into tenanted farms and the general decline of *Eigenwirtschaft* during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. 184

Rösener noted that there is a consensus about this being a generally characteristic feature of Cistercian economy (and of other reformed orders), on the other hand, he acknowledged, that

¹⁸¹ According to Alfonso, the earliest ('primitive') phase of Cistercian development was interpreted as such. Cf. Alfonso, "Cistercians and Feudalism", 12. A collection of similar 'topoi' from the German historiography has been presented by Werner Rösener, "Religion und Ökonomie", 109–112 and Rösener, "Zur Wirtschaftstätigkeit", 117–119. Concerning the region east of the Elbe cf. Ulrich Schünemann, "Veränderung von Naturqualität durch Klosterwirtschaft?" *Werkstattberichte des Instituts für Landschaftsökonomie der Technischen Universität Berlin* 38 (1992).

¹⁸² Mentioned as "eine Zentrale Kontroverse" by Uta Puls and Klaus Puls, "Agrarwirtschaft der einstigen Zisterzienserklöster in Brandenburg." In *Zisterzienser in Brandenburg* (Studien zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Zisterzienser, vol 1), ed. Oliver H. Schmidt and Dirk Schumann. Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 1996, 42–43.

¹⁸³ Rösener, "Die Agrarwirtschaft," 73–74; Case studies referred by Rösener include publications in the series of *Studien zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Zisterzienser*, on Lehnin and Neuzelle (Brandenburg), Doberan, Neuenkamp and Hiddense (Mecklenburg-Vorpommern), as well as Salem, Maulbronn and Tennenbach (Baden-Württemberg). Cf. Oliver H. Schmidt and Dirk Schumann, ed., *Zisterzienser in Brandenburg* (Studien zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Zisterzienser, vol. 1). Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 1996; Stephan Warnatsch, *Geschichte des Klosters Lehnin 1180-1542* (Studien zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Zisterzienser, vol. 12). Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2000; Winfried Töpler, *Das Kloster Neuzelle und die weltliche und geistliche Mächte 1268-1817* (Studien zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Zisterzienser, vol. 14). Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2003; Sven Wichert, *Das Zisterzienserkloster Doberan im Mittelalter* (Studien zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Zisterzienser, vol. 9). Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2000; Andreas Niemeck, *Die Zisterzienserklöster Neuenkamp und Hiddensee im Mittealalter*. Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2002. Concerning Salem, Maulbronn and Tennenbach, Rösener summarizes his own previous research.

¹⁸⁴ See on this Francois Louis Ganshof and Adriaan Verhulst, "Medieval Agrarian Society in its Prime. Chapter 1. France, The Low Countries, and Western Germany." In *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, vol. 1 (The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages), ed. Michael.M. Postan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, 290–339, passim; Adriaan Verhulst, "The State of Research. Medieval socio-economic historiography in Western Europe: towards an integrated approach," *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997/1): 89–101. Werner Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel. Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung geistlicher Grundherrschaften im süddeutschen Raum vom 9. bis 14. Jahrhundert.* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 102) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, 46–54, and 467–530. (Chapter A.1: "Der Strukturwandel der Grundherrschaft im Hochmittelalter", and Chapter C.3 "Hauptaspekte des Wandels: Herrenhof und Bauerngut")

economic practices were diverse, particularly in peripheral regions. Drawing on Winfried Schich's research, he emphazised that while in the western parts of Europe grange economy was in decline already in the thirteenth century (as grange farms were leased or sold), this process followed considerably later east of the Elbe, where Cistercians were still creating and managing their own farms, situated typically in the vicinity of the abbeys, while other demesne lands, situated more distantly, were more likely managed in the traditional ways, as tenanted farms. ¹⁸⁵ He underlined that the role of grange economy was overall less significant in the region. ¹⁸⁶

This we find also by Czech and Polish historians, who similarly note the shifting focus to rent based economy: Cistercian abbeys received villages already in the foundation grants, and also in subsequent donations. Some abbeys colonized wastelands, but instead of granges, new villages were created. Settlers coming from the west were apparently important in this process. Although the amount of researh on Polish and Bohemian houses is substantial, studies produced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reflect outdated views,

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, 77.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, 76.

¹⁸⁷ Data concerning the Polish abbeys have been surveyed by Christian Gahlbeck, "Die Ausbreitung der Zisterzienser in den Herzogtümern Polens bis zur Wende vom 12. zum 13. Jahrhundert." In *Norm und Realität Kontinuität und Wandel der Zisterzienser im Mittelalter*, ed. Franz J Felten and Werner Rösener. Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2009, 524. E.g. <u>Lad</u> received 5 villages in 1186, and by the beginning of the fourteenth century already had 57 of them. As for the Bohemian abbeys, similar trends were observed by Kateřina Charvátová, "Manorial Farms of Cistercian Abbeys of Medieval Bohemia." In *Historia i kultura cystersów w dawnej Polsce i ich europejskie związki* [History and culture of the Cistercians in former Poland and the European context], ed. Jerzy Strzelczyk. Poznań: UAM, 1987, 116 and 119. <u>Ossegg</u> had 50 villages and 10 manorial farms by 1350; <u>Plasy</u> had 47 villages and 11 manorial farms by the mid thirteenth century. Kloczowski, 2000, 426: has also called attention to this process: the estate of <u>Kolbacz</u> grew from 6 to 70 settlements until the fourteenth century.

¹⁸⁸ Siegfried Epperlein, "Zur Wirtschaftspolitik von Zisterzienserklöstern östlich und westlich der Elbe im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert." In *Historia i kultura cystersów w dawnej Polsce i ich europejskie związki* (History and culture of the Cistercians in former Poland and the European context), ed. Jerzy Strzelczyk, Poznań: UAM, 1987, 25–31. Epperlein notes that not only Cistercian, but also Benedictine and Premonstratensian houses profited from the migration movement, as groups of Flemish and German settlers came to settle on their estates.

¹⁸⁹ For a historiographical outline and bibliography concerning Cistercian houses in Central Eastern European countries see: Jerzy Kłoczowski, "Les cisterciens en Europe du Centre-Est au moyen âge," in *Unanimité et diversité cisterciennes*. *Filiations – Réseaux - Relectures du XIIe au XVIIe siècle. actes du quatrieme Colloque international du CERCOR, Dijon, 23-25 septembre 1998*, ed. Nicole Bouter. Saint Etienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2000, 421–439. See also a comprehensive bibliographical collection including Cistercians and other orders: Marek Derwich, Lesław Spychała, Marek L. Wójcik, Agata Tarnas-Tomczyk, and Adam Żurek, "State of Research on a Daily Life of Monks and Canons Regular in East-Central Europe during Middle and Modern Ages." In *La vie quotidienne des moines et chanoines réguliers au Moyen Âge et Temps modernes (Actes du Premier Colloque International du L.A.R.H.C.O.R., Wrocław-Książ, 30 novembre-4 décembre 1994), a cura di M. Derwich, Wrocław 1995* (Travaux du L.A.R.H.C.O.R., Colloquia, 1 = Opera ad Historiam Monasticam Spectantia, Series I, Colloquia 1) 51–98. For a concise review on the Hungarian research on monastic economy cf. Beatrix F. Romhányi, "The ecclesiastical economy in medieval Hungary." In *The Economy of Medieval Hungary*, ed. József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Péter Szabó and András Vadas. Leiden: Brill, 2018, 309–334.

reciting normative sources. Except for Kateřina Charvátová's essays, focusing on Plasy, the role of demesne economy has not been discussed thoroughly – probably because the amount of evidence is limited (similarly to the situation in Hungary). ¹⁹⁰ Charvátová, however, surveyed the available sources comprehensively, and complemented it with archaeological-topographical research.

As for the Hungarian abbeys, László Koszta wrote very briefly about the role of grange economy. His conclusions resonate with Rösener's and Charvátová's observations, ¹⁹¹ but he was merely using Hervay's data, and did not engage in a detailed topographical analysis. Thus, the task of this chapter emerges clearly: to further explore this theme, a detailed topographic analysis should be carried out, to find what characterized the granges as opposed to other farms, and grange economy in Hungary as opposed to the regional bakeground or beyond, to find out more about diversity and uniformity (common patterns).

As a starting point for my research, I would underline two points in Alfonso's and Rösener's discussions, which I think are particularly important. In addition to the criticism of the "frontier thesis", Alfonso also emphasized the seigneurial character of Cistercian economy, which has been overlooked. She argued that associating seigneurial exploitation with "rent collection, of whatever type, from a tenant peasantry" is oversimplifying, and obscures the underlying "social relationships and their characteristics on Cistercian estates." Along the same lines Rösener noted the following:

"In direct contrast with the classic manor with its distinctive demesne economy was the *Rentengrundherrschaft* (the manor as an institution providing rent) in which manorial centres functioned solely as collection points for peasant dues, but not as manors in the true sense. Between these two poles of manorial organization there was a whole range of hybrid and transitional forms, such as, for example, the type of manorial estate on which the demesne lands were cultivated by tied farmhands or day labourers. The character of the manorial estates owned by the king, the nobility and the Church was determined to varying degrees by different patterns of manorial organization." ¹⁹³

This diversity was clearly reflected in the topographical character of the manors:

¹⁹⁰ Charvátová, "Manorial Farms."

¹⁹¹ László Koszta, "Die Gründung von Zisterzienserklöster in Ungarn," Ungarn Jahrbuch 23 (1997), 73.

¹⁹² Alfonso, "Cistercians and Feudalism," 14.

¹⁹³ Werner Rösener, "The Decline of the Classic Manor in Germany during the High Middle Ages." In *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp and Hanna Vollrath. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, 318.

"Some manors were confined to one village unit, but some families in the village had their own farms or belonged to another estate. Still other manors had farms that surrounded two, three or more villages in close proximity and coexisted with farms that were not part of the manor. Some manors were dispersed over large areas, many not contiguous."194

As is clear from the above overview of literatures, there is some knowledge on the regional diversity of how Cistercian estates/granges were managed, as this has been in the foreground of comparative research, yet, there is relatively little information about differences and similarities between granges and other farms (of the traditional kind). As Alfonso also concluded:

"Cistercian granges have to be understood in the context of the social and economic system of which they formed a part" since "monks had much in common with other landlords." 195

Ultimately, this issue boils down to the question whether Cistercians actually transformed prevailing practices of manorial organization to better suit their "specific economic agenda", and whether they abandoned the "defining features" of the order's economic model and "assimilated the local socio-economic structure." ¹⁹⁶

As mentioned in Chapter 1, this theme will be approached from a comparative and topographical viewpoint illustratrated by the works of Kateřina Charvátová, Wolfgang Ribbe, Werner Rösener, Winfried Schich, Hans Wiswe and others, who compiled and compared data concerning the number, spatial distribution, and size of granges and manors, their topographical situation and land-use. This approach has the advantage to provide a suitable basis for a comparative overview, as spatial-topographical data are more broadly available. 197 As for the history of individual farms, the amount of available documents varies, but there are usually not more than a few relevant documents for each site, which apparently poses an obstacle for reconstructing the changes in the grange economy. The focus on topographical aspects bypasses this problem. In context of historical essays on the economic organization of grand domains in Hungary, and on Cistercian estates in particular, this study represents a genuinely new approach.

¹⁹⁴ John M Riddle, *History of the Middle Ages 300-1500*. Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008, 183.

¹⁹⁵ Alfonso, "Cistercians and Feudalism," 19.

¹⁹⁶ Janet Burton and Julie Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2011, 160–

¹⁹⁷ Winfried Schenk, "Zisterzienser im Fokus historisch geographischer Forschungen. Ein Literaturbericht," Cistercienser Chronik 111 (2004): 80.

The discussion will focus primarily on those locations/settlements, where granges (or manors) are mentioned explicitly, 198 including examples from the estates of Borsmonostor (Borsmonostor), Pétervárad, Pilis, Szentgotthárd, Topuszkó, and Zirc. Two examples of Benedictine granges will be also discussed (in Chapter 3.5, the Remeteszentjakab grange of Pannonhalma and another site that belonged to the monastery of Garáb), to blur the lines between "Benedictine" and "Cistercian" management, contrasted in traditional historical interpretations. Besides, these will be particularly well documented cases and the context will reveal a lot about the topographical character of grange farms. To situate the data in an even broader comparative context, I will draw on the seminal works of two economic historians: István Szabó, who studied the history of medieval settlements, ¹⁹⁹ and wrote a comprehensive essay on manorial farms called *praedium*, ²⁰⁰ and Ferenc Maksay, who studied the problem of manorial economy from a topographical viewpoint.²⁰¹ These works will open up the discussion towards interpretive problems concerning different terms/categories used in the sources (grangia, curia, praedium etc.). As Szabó could collect a significant number of references on "traditional" manorial sites mentioned as curia or praedium mostly in context of both monastic/ecclesiastical and private/noble estates, his survey – together with the aforementioned literatures on Cistercian farms in the region and beyond (Bohemia, Poland, UK, France, the German lands) – provide a suitable background to which our data can be constrasted.

In summary, the discussion part is essentially a "thick description" of historical-topographical and landscape data on different manorial farms, the results of which will be evaluated in the conclusion with respect to questions *how* granges and farms were different (or similar) and *why* differences (or similarities) emerge from the data. In regard to the latter, Rösener lists basically three possibilities: 1) their relation to the settlement infrastructure (topographical context), 2) environmental conditions, and 3) socio-economic factors.²⁰² The complex interplay of these

¹⁹⁸ This method of selection might as well be considered as a reversed "site catchment analysis" – borrowing a term from archaeological methodology –, as only those sites/places will be concerned, which can be identified as granges and manors in contemporary records.

¹⁹⁹ István Szabó, *A középkori magyar falu* [The medieval village in Hungary]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969.

²⁰⁰ István Szabó, "A prédium. Vizsgálódások a korai megyar gazdaság és telpüléstörténelem körében," Agrártörténeti Szemle 5 (1963): Anabridged English version was published too: "The praedium: studies on the economic history and the history of settlement in early Hungary," *Agrártörténeti Szemle* 5 (1963/Supplementum): 1–24.

²⁰¹ Ferenc Maksay, *A magyar falu középkori településrendje*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971.

²⁰² Werner Rösener, "Tradition und Innovation im hochmittelalterlichen Mönchtum. Kontroversen zwischen Cluniazensern und Zisterziensern im 12. Jahrhundert." In Tradition, Innovation, Invention. Fortschrittsverweigerung und Fortschrittsbewußtsein im Mittelalter / Tradition, innovation, invention.

factors will not be studied systematically, as this would go beyond the methodological and thematical frameworks of the thesis. As I will be focusing essentially on archival and cartographical data – heterogeneous and fragmentary as they are – the topographical relations will be contextualized. However, the lack of archaeological-topographical surveys must be emphasized here too, as indispensable for reconstructing settlement conditions prior to the arrival of the Cistercians. Concerning environmental conditions, there are plenty of relevant observations in the secondary literatures, which will be referred with respect to specific sites, or micro-regions, but a more systematic analysis of cartographical evidence (to reconstruct historic land-use) and historical ecologial surveys (to study the changes of the historic environment) would be desirable, compiled ideally in a GIS database to support comparative analysis. This, however, remains a task for the future. As for the socio-economic context, I will present the relevant archival sources concerning the role of the *conversi* (Chapter 3.6.7).

Conscience et refus du progrès au Moyen Âge. Freiburger Kolloquium 15.-17. März 2001, ed. Hans-Joachim Schmidt. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005, 410.

3.2 GRANGES AND MANORS ON THE ESTATE OF BORSMONOSTOR (KLOSTERMARIENBERG)

3.2.1 Granges mentioned in the papal privilege in 1204: Répcekethely, Peresznye, and Ukas (Malomháza)

The earliest reference on Borsmonostor' granges dates from 1204, when Pope Innocent III took the monastery under the protection of the Holy See, and granted tithe free status to the granges of the abbey in Répcekethely (Ger. Mannersdorf an der Rabnitz, Austria), Peresznye (Ger. Prosscingen, Hungary) and *Ukas* (now Füles and Malomháza, Ger. Kroatisch Minihof, Austria). As noted by Cristoph Sonnlechner on the example of Zwettl, the use of the term *grangia* instead of the more common *curia* or *allodium* could be simply a matter of formality in papal letters, to emphasize Cistercian ownership. Whether or not the papal chancery was correct in this particular case, may be doubtful, as other charters – including the foundation charter (ca 1190), and its royal confirmation – refer to these places either as *villae* or *predia*, on the problem that terminological definitions should not be necessarily taken at face value.

<u>Répce(kethely)</u> – hereafter Kethely – was the direct neighbour of the monastery, within a 3 kilometres distance to the west, upstream along the River Répce. Because of its close proximity,

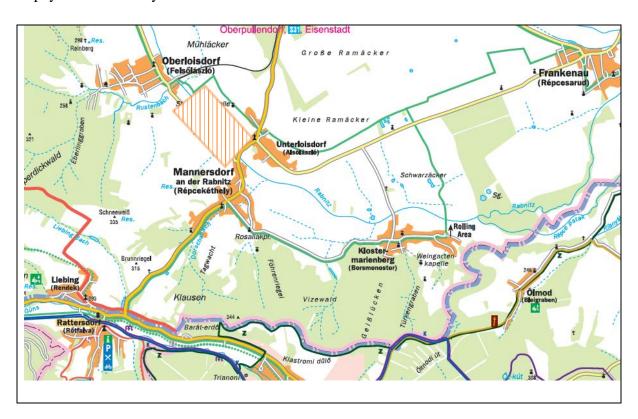
²⁰³ MNL OL, DL 41 (1204-04-19); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 110 (no.04); pub.: CD, vol VII/5, 158–162 erroneously dated to 1209): "grangiam que vocatur Ukacs, grangiam quam habetis in Menyharth, et grangiam quam habetis in Proscingen cum omnibus pertinentiis...nullus a vobis decimas exigere vel extorquere presumat." As for the institutional context of papal protection regarding Cistercians cf. Friedrich Pfurtscheller, *Die Privilegierung des Zisterzienserordens im Rahmen der allgemeinen Schutz- und Exemtionsgeschichte vom Anfang bis zur Bulle "Parvus Fons" (1265)* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1972, 24–33. The author underlined that while such privileges (exemptions from payments of tithes) were sanctioned in 1215, as they narrowed down specifically to sites cultivated by the monks, the order's interest was turning towards traditional types of economic management, and Cistercians became more and more interested in collecting such incomes from the early thirteenth century on.

²⁰⁴ Christoph Sonnlechner, "Mensch und Landschaft im Mittelalter" internet publication: http://www.univie.ac.at/igl.geschichte/umweltgeschichte/ws2003/sonnlechner material.htm (accessed: June 22, 2016)

²⁰⁵ MNL OL, DL 36 (falsum) (1195-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 110 (no.02); pub.: CD, vol II, 300–301.; MNL DL 111 (1224-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 114 (no.16); pub.: W vol 11, 176.

²⁰⁶ MNL OL, DL 34 (ca 1190-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 109 (no.01); pub.: WENZEL, vol 11, 57–58; Kovács, *A borsmonostori*, 217.; and DL 777 (1220-1225); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 112 (no.10); pub.: CD, vol III/1, 367–368; and the confirmation charter of King Andrew II: DL 119 and 86815 (1225-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 115 (no.19); pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 9; Kovács, *A borsmonostori*, 224; Wenzel, vol 6, 428 (fragment).

the abbey also uppears under the same name [FIG. 1].²⁰⁷ The foundation charter, however, mentions Kethely and the site of the monastery (Babaduri/Altus Mons) separately. Kethely was a well-developed village with a certain degree of centrality. A weakly market was held there and the right to collect the tolls was soon donated to the newly founded monastery.²⁰⁸ In 1222, manorial services performed by the tenants in Kethely and Peresznye (reditus de predio) were described in an agreement between *comes* Bors, the son of Dominicus, the patron of the abbey, and Conrad, the abbot of Borsmonostor. There was no mention of manual labour here, but only of payments in money and in kinds.²⁰⁹



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²⁰⁷ MNL OL, DL 1324 (1291-08-17); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 132 (no.76); pub.: CD, vol VI/1, 141: "...monasterio Beate Virginis de Borskedy" and DL 1556 (1299-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 134 (no.83); pub.: WENZEL, vol 12, 645–646: "Ecclesie Beate Virginis de Borsked"

²⁰⁸ MNL OL, DL 38 (1198-1202); reg. Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 110; pub.: CD, vol III/1, 456.

²⁰⁹ MNL OL, DL 777 (1220-1225); Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 112; pub.: CD III/1, 367-368: "reditus de predio in Meynhart et Prozzung videlicet ut de singulis mansionibus solverentur 30 frisatici sive denarii australes, ex quibus commutantur duo denarii pro uno frisatico, et 20 metretae avenae, et due metretae tritici puri, et urna vini, et duo pulli, et 12 ova, et bovem, et porcum maturum."

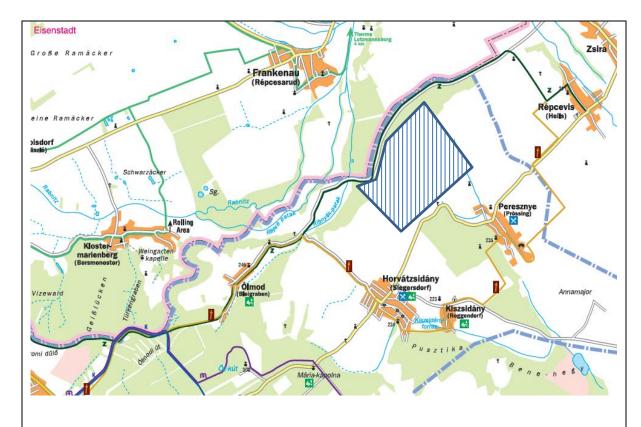


FIG. 1. The situation of Borsmonostor and its lands to west and east (Répcekethely and Alsó-László, Peresznye). The situation of possible farms are indicated.



FIG. 2. The First Military Mapping Survey (Josephinische Aufnahme) showing the situation of the farm between Répcekethely and Alsó-László



FIG. 3. An estate map from 1844 showing manorial lands ('Urasági földek') along the Répce, between Kethely and Alsó-László, along the Répce, with a mill and farm buildings.

The situation of manorial lands ('urasági földek'), which could have presumably belonged to the *grangia* or *predium* in Kethely is shown on the First Military Survey [*FIG. 2*], it is depicted more accurately on an estate map from 1844 [*FIG. 3*], ²¹⁰ and on another map from 1822 [*FIG. 4*]. This area, called *Tabor*, ²¹¹ was surrounded by two river branches, one apparently serving as a mill channel. The centre of the manor was a moated site situated on the west side of the S-N road connecting Kethely and Alsó-Lászó, with a bridge over the river. The building complex included an allodial mill, a granary and other buildings, surrounded by big blocks of arables, pastures, as well as a sizeable piece of woodland further upstream.

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²¹⁰ MNL OL, S 16 0071 'Tettes Nemes Soprony Megyében kebelezett Kethely M. Város Határ Rajza' (1844) prepared by Sándor Nagy; The 1st and 2nd Military Mapping Surveys also show the locations of the mill and the buildings.

²¹¹ Allegedly the name "Tabor" (i.e. "camp") refers to the event, that in 1277, King Ladislaus IV was camped there, while he met the abbot. Cf. Payr Sándor: A Dunántúli Evangélikus Egyházkerület története. I. kötet. Sopron: Székely és tsa., 1924, 156. Cf. MNL OL, DL 86847 (1277-11-27); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 129 (no.64); pub.: Wenzel, vol 4, 77.

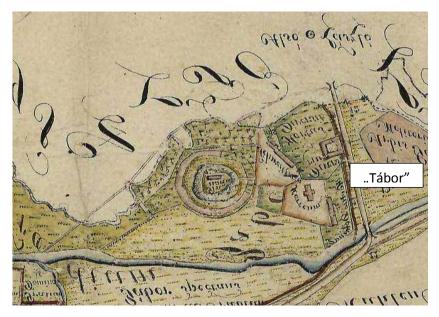


FIG. 4. Map of the possible grange, including a series of different gardens, and a granary surrounded by a circular moat. [MNL OL, S 16 No 0486: Mappa exhibens Terrenum Oppidi Kethel [1822 - Samuel Andritska]

It is not possible to tell how far the medieval situation was identical to what we see on these maps because retrospectively there is little information available on the site. There was perhaps a significant increase in the size of manorial lands medieval since the period. It is certain that the mill was already there

on the Répce, as in 1225 and 1410,²¹² a mill on the Répce situated between the two villages, was described described in perambulations. It seems reasonable to assume that other buildings date back to medieval times too. There is no archaeological or landscape archaeological data available unfortunately. The aforementioned pastures along the river, and the woodland were likely abbey property once.

The significance of viticulture should be also noted. According to the 1225 perambulation, Kethely's boundary extended to the south towards the tributary of the Gyöngyös River, the Rendek (Liebing) Creek. As shown on the map of the First Military Survey [*FIG. 1*], there was a hilly area to the north of this creek, covered by woodland and vineyards (SW from Kethely). In 1359, the monks also received the village of Rendek (Liebing) as *possessio*, ²¹³ so the new boundary became the river itself. In 1411, the tenants of the Kanizsai family in Rőthfalva (Rattersdorf), situated on the southern side of the Gyöngyös River, reportedly occupied a winehill (*Lachmoth*) – perhaps the winehill situated west from Liebing or in Kethely – as well

²¹² There are two general perambulations of the Borsmonostor estate. The first one is recorded in the 1225 confirmation charter of King Andrew II (see DL 119 and 86815 (1225-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, A borsmonostori, 115 (no.19); pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 9; Kovács, A borsmonostori, 224; Wenzel, vol 6, 428 (fragment)). The mill is described here as follows: "caput unius vallis, que dicitur Satelbach, ipsumque non deserens, descendit in Rebce, inde descendens ipsam aquam, vadit ad molendinum Merkel". A second comprehensive perambulation was made in 1410, where the same text appears with minor alterations (aprantly copied from 1225): MNL OL, DL 9660 (1410-05-30); reg.: Zs, vol 2, (no.7638); pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 622–626.

²¹³ MNL OL, DL 4873 (1359-08-28); pub.: CD IX/3 89-90.

as arable lands and orchards within the boundary of Kethely.²¹⁴ There is a *Grundbuch* (land register of the estate) from 1670, which refers to labour services to be performed in manorial vineyards.²¹⁵ Among the services of the tenants of Kethely, the 1222 letter does not yet mention manual labour, but only *munera* (bushels of oat, eggs and animals). Thus, it seems likely that this was a later addition to the required services. In medieval times, the abbey most probably relied on the works of laybrothers to cultivate these vineyards.

Peresznye (Prosscingen) was the eastern neighbour of the abbey [FIG. 1]. Situated within 6-7 km, it was still conveniently located for a grange. It was referred together with Répcekethely as predium (in ca. 1190, 1222, and 1225). 216 Its boundaries were described a number of times – together with other lands of the abbey in the aforementioned perambulations (1225, 1410), but also in other charters, which describe separate certain segments of the boundary separately. 217 Based on these, it seems that the boundary lines were roughly consistent with modern ones – except for the deserted medieval village of Enyed, the area of which was merged into that of Zsidány (see more on this below). Thus, we know a lot of details about the topography of the area, however, none of the documents mention the manor of the abbey explicitly.

However, the map of the First Military Survey shows an enclosure (of a possible farm) north from the village, but separated from that by a stream. The name of a nearby well *Fratrovac* (i.e. monks' grove),²¹⁸ next to the Répce, in the area of *Erdőhegyalja* (in the northwest bounds of the village) is an indication that it was this area along the Répce and the boundary between

²¹⁴ MNL OL, DL 9836 (1411-11-13); reg.: Zs, vol 3, (no.1207); pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 645: "quendam montem pertinentem ad dictam possessionem Kedhel [i.e. Kethely], Lachmoth vocatum cum vineis terris arabilibus et pomeriis a dicto monte Lachmonth (így) incipiendo usque fluvium Kevzeg [i.e. Kőszeg]"

²¹⁵ MNL OL, E 156 - a. - Fasc. 004. - No. 017 / a. (1670). Other materials about Kethely and Alsó-László: MNL OL, E (Esterházy Arch.) Repository 17. Bundle 121, Fasc.G., no.206-234 (1559-1931) on Kethely and Rep. 17, Bundle 124, Fasc J, no. 279-317 (1598-1824) on Alsó-Felső László. Cf. István Kállay, *Az Eszterházy család hercegi ágának levéltára. Repertórium* (Levéltári leltárak vol. 66) (The Archive of the Eszterházy family (princely branch)) Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, 1978.

²¹⁶ See footnote 206.

²¹⁷ Its neighbours were the local gentry (in Enyed), the *iobagiones castri* of the castle of Sopron (in Zsidány), and the cathedral chapter of Győr (in Vis). The boundaries between Peresznye and Zsidány are described in 1233: MNL OL, DL 1241 (1233-00-00>1277-11-27>1291-08-01); pub.: Wenzel, vol 1, 308–309. The boundaries between Peresznye and Vis: DL 5830 (1370-03-23); pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 387–389 and DL 5839 (1370-04-00); pub.: CD, vol IX/2, 428–431. The boundaries of Enyed, situated to the west from Peresznye are described in 1357: DL 4681 and 5176 (1357-07-19>1357-09-06>1364-08-24); pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 276–278.

²¹⁸ Kovács, A borsmonostori, 962.

Peresznye and Micske where manorial lands could have been situated, including pastures, woodland, as well as a domanial mill as shown also on maps from 1820-1821 [FIG. 5; FIG. 6].

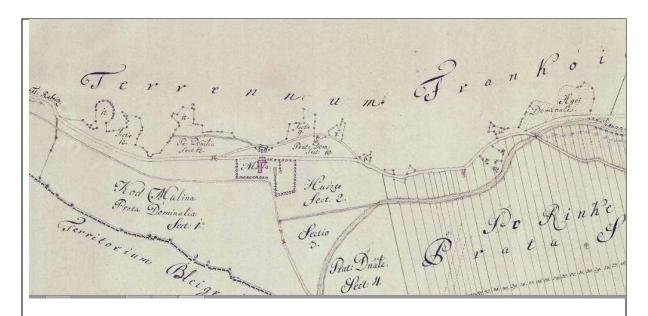


FIG. 5. The area of Fratrovac and the situation of domanial meadows along the Répce, between Peresznye and Frankenau [MNL, Györ-Moson-Sopron Megye Soproni Llt., Sm T 50: Mappa prata tam dominalia quam et sessionalia colonorum Peresznyeiensium... [1821 – Mihály Wagner]]

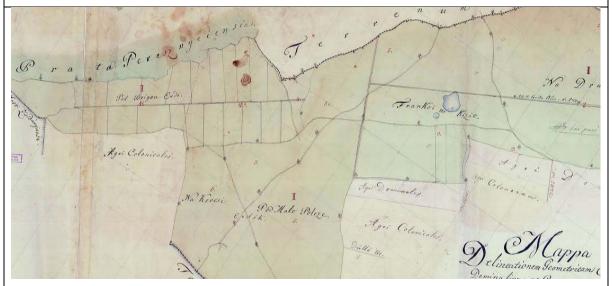


FIG. 6. The same area, showing the situation of the sping 'Fratrovac' [MNL, Györ-Moson-Sopron Megye Soproni Llt. Sm T 49: Mappa delineationem geometricam sylvarum dominalium et comunitatis Peresznye [1820 – Mihály Wagner]]

Apart from this area, the farm possibly had appurtenances elsewhere, for example, a double fishpond situated southeast from the village, which belonged allegedly to the lord's tenure until modern times. [FIG. 7]²¹⁹



FIG. 7. Peresznye on the map of the First Military Survey. Note the multiple fishponds south from the village and the site of an enclosure (possibly the former grange) north from it.

The aforementioned agreement from 1222 according to which the tenants of Kethely and Peresznye were to submit grain (wheat and oat) as *reditus* from the manors is interesting, as the ratio (1:10) suggests that oat was also used as fodder. This may reflect the role of livestock keeping in the surroundings of the abbey. Another proof of this is that maps show domanial The significance of livestock keeping is confirmed not only by the aforementioned domanial pastures, but also by the 1670 *Grundbuch* that refers to a local slaughterhouse, which, however, was not functional anymore by that time. ²²⁰ Also important in this respect is a 1397 lawsuit, where the abbey's ploughlands and haymeadows (extending to 40 iugera and 8 falcastra respectively) were mentioned. ²²¹ Thus, the data show altogether that land-use in Peresznye was

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²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ MNL OL, E 156 - a. - Fasc. 004. - No. 017 / a.

 $^{^{221}}$ MNL OL, DL 8255 (1397-09-24 > 1397-10-02); pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 526-527; reg.: Zs, vol 1, (no.4985). It is probably the same 40 iugera ploughland that appears as Hofhacker in 1670. (See footnote 215)

complex, similarly to that in Kethely, including woodland, pastures/meadows, ploughlands, fishponds, vineyards and a mill.

Concerning <u>Ukas</u>, the third *grangia/predium*, there have been actually different medieval toponyms – versions of the names *Ukas*, *Füles*, and *Malomháza* –,²²² used in the documents available from the archive of the abbey, which basically refer to the same area. The name *Ukas* appears early, as it is listed together with Kethely and Peresznye in 1190 as a *villa*, in 1204 in reference to the grange, and in 1225 as *predium*.²²³ The names *Füles* and *Malomháza* appear the first time in the fourteenth century,²²⁴ and *Ukas* is used as an alternate of both. Thus, previous interpretations have consistently ruled out the possibility to identify *Ukas* exclusively with either Füles or Malomháza.²²⁵ (In fact, the historical and present day situation of the two settlements clearly did not change: already in 1360 they were described on the oppiste sides of the Füles-stream. [*FIG. 8*]



FIG. 8. Malomháza (Münichhofen) and Füles (Nikitsch) on the map of the First Military Survey

In regard to the location of the farm, the name *Malomháza* is relevant, as the Hungarian vernacular ("Mill-house") is, in fact, a distorted version of the German *Mönchhof* ("Monk's court").²²⁶ Based on the three toponyms and their chronology, it has been argued that the boundary of *Ukas* once extended to both sides of the stream, and

the two parts (Füles and Malomháza) became separated, as Malomháza was established, when

²²² 'Poss. Vkech vulgo Monahhaza': MNL OL, DL 9835 (1411-11-13); pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 646–648.; 'Files al. nom Vekschcz': MNL OL, DL 14946 (1455-05-03); pub.: Sopron, vol 2, 387.; 'Poss. MNL OL, omhaza vocata alio nomine Kysfyles': MNL OL, DL 20264 (1495-02-09 > 1495-09-14)

²²³ As above (footnote 206); for all other references on 'Füles', 'Malomháza', and 'Ukas' cf. Dezső Csánki– Antal Nagy Fekete, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* [The Historical Geography of Hungary in the Age of the Hunyadis], vol 1-5, (Budapest: MTA, 1890–1941), vol 3, 619 passim. (Henceforth: Csánki)

²²⁴ In Borsmonostor's records 'Malomháza' appears, indeed, relatively late, for the first time in 1360 as 'Munichoff': MNL OL, DL 5003 (1360-11-01); pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 332–333.; Füles appears for the first time as 'Fyles' in 1339: DL 3224 (1339-04-25); reg.: AOklt., vol 23, 107; pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 144–145.

²²⁵ Dömötör Fránek, *A borsmonostori* apátság az Árpádok korában [The Abbey of Borsmonostor in the Árpád period] (Művelődéstörténeti értekezések, vol 37) (Eger: Érseki Lyceumi Ny., 1910), 49.

²²⁶ Munich- > Mona- > Mono- > MNL OL, om- and -hof > -háza. Cf. Csánki, vol 3., 619.

the monks were "pushed out" from the confines of *Ukas* at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century. This scenario is, however, unrealistic. *Malomháza*, as the manor/grange/*Hof* could have been established much earlier, and – similarly to the above examples – its topographical location was marginal to the settlement (of the tenants). The reason why later references more accurately reflect this was perhaps that in the early fifteenth century Malomháza itself also developed into a village. In this period, *Ukas* does not turn up anymore, except in 1411 as '*Ukech vulgo Monahhaza*', ²²⁸ which might be on purpose, to resolve the problem of disparity between the texts of earlier and later charters.

A nineteenth century estate map,²²⁹ as well as the First and Second Military Mapping Surveys, show Malomháza as a small street village on the southern side of the Füles-stream.²³⁰ The location of the medieval farm was most likely where the *Marienhof* or *Kertsi-major* is situated on these maps, south-southeast from the centre of the settlement, along a NW-SE road leading to Und. The First Military Survey also shows a fishpond here, which could have been part of the grange. Conspicuously, there is a *piscina parva* mentioned in the 1499 perambulation with regard to this part of the boundary,²³¹ which was likely constructed by the monks. The reference is in fact a deliberate interpolation into the texts of earlier perambulations (1225 and 1421).²³²

Unlike Kethely and Peresznye, Malomháza was not the immediate neighbour of the monastery, but it was still situated in a convenient distance (about 15 kilometres from the abbey). A *magister curiae de possessio Files* is mentioned in 1326 – most likely in connection to the farm in Malomháza, which was perhaps still operated by lay brotehrs in the fourteenth century. ²³³ In 1479, Malomháza is still referred as an *allodium*. ²³⁴ In permabulations, it is listed consistently

²²⁷ Kovács, A borsmonostori, 863-865.

²²⁸ MNL OL, DL 9836 (1411-11-13); reg.: Zs, vol 3, 316 (no.1207); pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 645-648.

²²⁹ OSZK TK (National Széchényi Library, Cartographical Collection), TK 1773

²³⁰ Notably, the maps also show Gálosháza, described as intra metas ...possessionarie ecclesie"; It was owned by the local nobles, the 'Gálosházi' family, and it was also situated on the northern side of the creek, thus separate from what can be possibly identified as the abbey's demesne. See MNL OL, DL 14221 (1449-02-09).

²³¹ MNL OL, DL 20834 (1499-04-13); pub.: Sopron, vol 2, 586–590: "primo incepissent versus aquilonem, a quadam arbore zylfa vocata, ubi alias rivulum esse asseruissent, iuxta viam, que veniret de Sopronio, nunc autem quedam parva piscina super eundem rivulum adiaceret, ubi signum metale fecissent"

 $^{^{232}}$ MNL OL, DL 86815 (1225-00-00); pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 9–17; DL 11014 (1421-07-21: 1225-00-00 > 1291-08-17 > 1317-00-00 > 1327-01-23 > 1358-05-22) Concerning Ukas, there is yet another perambulation available, but that describes only its boundary with Pálháza. This is partly identical with Völcsej (Wöltschen): MNL OL, DL 263503 (1415-05-13); pub.: Sopron, vol 2, 21–24.

²³³ MNL OL, DL 2315 (1325-08-01 > 1326-09-14); reg.: Kovács, *A borsmonostori*, 74; pub.: CD, vol VIII/3, 128–129.

 $^{^{234}}$ MNL OL, DL 18289 (1479-11-22); pub.: Sopron, vol 2, 526–528: "allodium dicti monasterii in dicta Monohhaza situm"

together with *predia* in the nearby *Zaka* and *Baran* (see below) and the village of Dág. Perhaps it functioned as a tithe collection centre as well, overseeing this block of lands. The collection of revenues from the abbey's tenants in Füles is mentioned for example in 1311 (*capecias terre Ukas et decimas*). Besides arable farming, which was perhaps the most important economic regime here – considering the large arables also on the surrounding farms –, it is reported in 1479 that the monks had vegetable gardens and fishponds here – these were probably situated not immediately at the centre of the farm, but between Füles and Gálosháza. ²³⁶ In 1411 the plantation of vineyards is mentioned in connection to Malomháza. ²³⁷

3.2.2 The grange in Szomód

Similarly to Kethely, Peresznye and Malomháza, Szomód was mentioned only once as a grange – although not in the papal letter, but in the 1225 royal confirmation, which lists the abbey's lands (including perambulations) and describes the rights and privileges granted by the king and by members of the patron family (Dominicus and his son, Bors). The document mentions a three yokes large arable land, donated by Bors in Szomód, where the Cistercians constructed a grange (apparently before 1225). The surroundings are described: it was situated next to a meadow, an orchard and a mill. The mill, in turn, was situated next to the grange(!) of the Benedictine abbey of Tata. The Cistercians also had another site (*locus*), perhaps a mill, in Szomód, as well as a piece of woodland named *Rugus*, and a vineyard in the nearby village of *Stanch*.²³⁸

Shortly thereafter, in 1233, Szomód was mentioned again (as a village, for the first time),²³⁹ which implies that the land the Cistercians received could have been a *predium*, worked by tenants, living in the nearby village, similarly to the aforementioned examples. Although it is explicitly stated that the monks constructed the grange, there is no precise information what this involved: there could have been already some domestic buildings there, the mill for example, but since it was situated at an extreme distance from the abbey (more than hundred

²³⁵ MNL OL, DL 1770 (1311-04-16); pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 72

²³⁶ MNL OL, DL 18289 (1479-11-22); pub.: Sopron, vol 2, 526–528: "claustrum habebat circa piscinas unum ortum caulium".

²³⁷ MNL OL, DL 9836 (1411-11-13); reg.: Zs, vol 3, (no.1207); pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 645.

²³⁸ MNL OL, DL 86815 (1225-00-00); pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 9–17: "Contulit etiam in Zumuld terram arabilem ad tria aratra; et pratum, quod situm est iuxta Grangiam, quam praedicti fratres construxerunt, inter pomerium et molendinum, quod positum est iuxta grangiam abbatis de Tata, et alium locum ibidem et syluam, quae vocatur Rugus, et vineam in Stanch". *Stanch* is mentioned as a village in 1233. See Györffy, vol 3., 456-457.

kilometres away, in Co. Komárom), it is likely that new residential buildings were required, where monks and laybrothers could stay permanently.

The description of landscape features – an arable land, pasture, mill, (millpond/fishpond), orchard, vineyard, woodland – is uniquely detailed, and illustrative of the complex economic exploitation that often characterized granges. The "construction" most likely involved also water regulation and extensive drainage of the surrounding landscape. This required careful planning, a considerable amount of time and resources, and was most probably exemplary of Cistercian planning, in the sense that it could have taken place before 1225, i.e. just shortly after the monks settled in Borsmonostor. From a financial point of view, it is important to underline that Borsmonostor – although a private foundation – was lavishly donated with lands, livestock, and also received a significant amount of silver. The monastery had, thus, the financial resources and manpower to invest.

Sometime between 1225 and 1233, however, Bors changed his mind and conveyed (sold) his land in Szomód to a certain Pous. ²⁴² Pous was a member of the Csák kindred, who founded a Premonstratensian priory in Majk before 1235. ²⁴³ According to a perambulation from 1269, Szomód was owned by Ugrin, son of Pous, and by the Premonstratensian priory of Majk. ²⁴⁴ Considering the devotional attitude of Bors (who eventually died in 1237) and the controversy between him and the abbey (mentioned in 1233), it is likely that this deal was his initiative, in

²⁴⁰ There was an extensive marshland in the area of Tata already in Roman times. See István Viczián and Friderika Horváth, "A tatai mocsarak a római korban és Mikovinyi Sámuel lecsapoló munkája," [The marshlands of Tata in the Roman times and the drainage project of Samuel Mikovinyi] *Földrajzi Értesítő* 55 (2006 / 3-4): 257–272.

²⁴¹ MNL OL, DL 34 (1195-00-00); reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 63; pub.: Wenzel, vol 11, 57–58. "Promisi me etiam daturum in opus monasterii CCC-tas marcas argenti, boves C, vaccas L, oves mille, X mansiones servorum"

²⁴² Cf. Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 60–67. The charters are as follows: MNL OL, DL 208363 (1233-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 119 (no. 28); pub.: CD, vol III/2, 355-356; DL 185 (1233-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 119 (no.29); pub.: CD, vol III/2, 363, DL 106 (1235-00-00); reg.: Szenpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 121 (no.36); pub.: CD, vol III/2, 361-363, vol VII/5, 247, or Wenzel, vol 1, 195–196.;

The foundation date of Majk is based on the so called "Catalogus Ninivensis", a catalogue of Premonstratensian houses in Transylvania and Hungary. See Norbert Backmund, *Monasticon Praemonstratense*, vol. 1-3 (Straubing: Walter de Gruyter, 1949–1956). The early thirteenth century date of the foundation was also confirmed by the results of archaeological investigations. Cf. Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 42. As for the kindred, see Attila Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000-1301* [Secular Archontology of Hungary 1000-1301] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 2011). Ugrun and Pous were members of the Csák family. Ugrin is mentioned as 'de genere Chaak magister agasonum domini regis' See: MNL OL, DL 878 (1274-00-00); pub.: Wenzel, vol 9, 107.

²⁴⁴ MNL OL, DF 274098 (1269-00-00); reg.: Györffy, vol 3, 456; pub.: CD, vol VII/1, 356–357: "...terrae Saar, cui commetanei sunt Ugrun filius Pous, et praepositus de Moyk". From the topographical context of the perambulation of the *terra* of Saar in 1269, it is clear that the above excerpt refers to the owners of Szomód. The Priory of Majk is mentioned also later as landlord in Szomód: MNL OL, DL 4056 (1349-06-29); pub.: AOkmt., vol 5, 290–291. "inter villas Zomold, d [Szomód] prepositi de Mayachk, et Abustian [Ágastyán] Pauli dicti Thuluk".

support of the Premonstratensians, whose monastery was located only twenty km to the south from Szomód. The agreement between Bors and Pous was likely connected to the foundation of Majk. Although all the available copies of this transaction were identified by Imre Szentpétery as forgeries (made by the Cistercians), Szomód does not appear in the records of the abbey later on, and there is unfortunately no more data available on the grange. The forgeries imply that in spite of the distant location, the Cistercians did not easily conceid to let go of their farm, in the construction of which they invested much, and were eager to compensate the loss with acquisitions of lands closer to the monastery (*in commutationem illarum*).

Although the site of the grange is described in 1225 in great details, it cannot be identified easily due to substantial changes in the settlement pattern and the landscape. The modern day boundaries of Tata incorporate (in addition to the medieval Tata itself) at least two other medieval settlements (Alsó-falu and Felső-falu, both of which were held once by the Benedictines). Due to large scale hydrological alterations, draining projects in the early eighteenth century, the heavy industrialization in the first half of the twentieth century, aw well as recent suburban developments, the location of these settlements remain unclear and the location of the adjacent Benedictine farm cannot be established precisely either. It seems safe to assume that part of the area between Tata and Szomód was in the hands of the Benedictines, and that the granges of the Cistercians and the Benedictines lay somewhere near the present day boundary of the two settlements.

There are a few medieval landmarks that survived until present to support this assumption. In the early eighteenth century, Mátyás Bél (Matthias Belius), the famous historical-geographer described Szomód and some remarkable landscape features:

"...on the way down from the village, there is a nice fishpond, which was possibly built in the time of Matthias Corvinus – as indicated by underground ducts and other ruins. To the northwest [from the

²⁴⁵ Cf. Miklós Rohrbacher, *Tata története I (Az alapítástól fénykoráig 1412-ig)* [The history of Tata (From the beginnings to its golden age, until 1412] (Tata, n/a: 1888) and Sarolta B. Szatmári, "Tata története a honfoglalástól 1526-ig" in Tata története, vol 1, ed. Endre Bíró (Tata: Tata Város Önk, 1979), 137–184.

²⁴⁶ Concerning the early medieval topography of Tata cf. Györffy, vol. 3., 458–459

²⁴⁷ Cf. Zoltán Károlyi, "A Duna-völgy vizeinek szabályozása," in *A magyar vízszabályozás története*, ed. Dénes Ihrig (Budapest: Országos Vízügyi Hivatal, 1973), 151–279. Water regulations were began according to the plans by Sámuel Mikovinyi, whereas groundwater level changes must have been also greatly affected by the opening of coal mines in the first half of the 20th century. Cf. László Alföldi and László Kapolyi, *Bányászati karsztvízszintsüllyesztés a Dunántúli-középhegységben* (Budapest: MTA, 2007).

²⁴⁸ See Éva Kiss, "Hungarian industry in a context of settlement pattern and network," *Hungarian Geographical Bulletin* 60/1 (2011) 3–23.

village], above the fishpond, on the left side of the road to Szőny, there are certain fields where ruins can be seen, the castle of Salomon, King of Hungary – as reported by the locals who call these fields, accordingly, 'Salomon's fields'."²⁴⁹

A century later, the fishpond and the mill were mentioned again in another historical-geographical survey, which also notes the wine-hill and the fertile ploughlands.²⁵⁰ The earliest available map of the area is a plan of the drainage works of the marshlands around Tata from 1746, which shows the location of the fishpond and mill next to the main road running in SE-NW direction from Tata to Füzitő and Szőny, passing Szomód to the W-SW [*FIG. 9*].

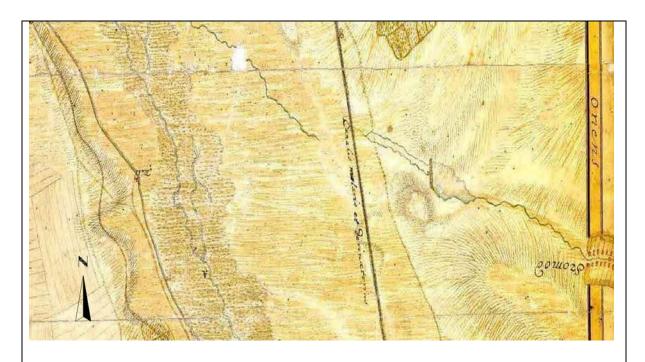


FIG. 9. Fragment of the 1746 map showing the canals and the huge fishpond in the surroundings of Tata and Szomód. (Source: MNL OL, S 11 n. 290: Plan der zwischen Tata, Almas und Szőny, ligenden Morasten den Ursprung derselben so wohl, als auch mögliche Ausdruckerung vorstellend [1746 – Sámuel Mikovinyi])

²⁴⁹ László Vilimszky, ed. & transl., *Matthias Bél: Notitia Hungariae novae historico-geographica (Az újkori Magyarország földrajzi-történelmi ismertetése: Komárom vármegye*. Tatabánya: JAMK, 1989. English translation by the author.

²⁵⁰ Elek Fényes, *Magyarország geographiai szótára (mellyben minden város és puszta betűrendben körülményesen leíratik*). (The Geographical dictionary of Hungary (in which all towns and wastes are described in alphabetical order) Budapest: n/a, 1851, 151.



FIG. 10. The 1851 map, showing the village of Szomód (east) and the huge manorial fishpond, most of it already drained ('Uraság lecsapolt tava') (west), and a mill and mill races downstream (north). (Source: OSZK TK (1209 (1851) – Hungarian National Library, Cartographical Collection)



FIG. 11. A close-up on the area of the pond to the west of the village – with the location of possible ruins (highlighted) on the Second Military Survey

Another map from 1851 refers to this pond as one that belonged to the lord's demesne. It was a sizeable valley-dam fishpond, of which a considerable part was already drained by that time [*FIG. 10*]. Remarkably, the map of the Second Military Survey also indicates certain ruins situated on top of the small hill along the southern side of the pond, which probably identify as the remains of the grange complex [*FIG. 11*].

Based on the description of Mátyás Bél (Matthias Belius), however, an alternative location cannot be ruled out, perhaps on the other side of the main road and of the Kühtreiber Creek. In all probability, however, the manorial fishpond and the mill, shown on the maps lying adjacently to the Szomód-Tata boundary, were part of the Cistercian grange farm. The meadow and the orchard mentioned in 1225 were likely in this valley, in the vicinity of the farm complex and grange buildings. Unfortunately, none of the woodland names shown on historic maps match the medieval one, ²⁵¹ *Rugus*. The vineyard in *Stanch* must have been situated to the north of Szomód, and perhaps this is also where the abbey's woodland was situated: to the north and/or to the west of the village.

3.2.3 Other manorial farms of Borsmonostor

The earliest is a donation by the king's knight, Iwan, dating from about 1205-1217, which mentions three *allodia* together with a vineyard in Locsmánd. ²⁵² Similarly to Répcekethely and Peresznye, Locsmánd was also situated in the close neighbourhood of the monastery and it also had a market. It functioned as the seat of a county by the same name, ²⁵³ however, it lost this function during the course of the thirteenth, and its territory was merged into that of Co. Sopron. ²⁵⁴ With regard to the above reference on the three *allodia*, two interpretations are possible: they were either situated in Locsmánd (literally), or within the area of the *comitatus*. The *Lutschburger Hof* shown on historic maps ²⁵⁵ [*FIG. 12*], could be identical to one of these

²⁵¹ MNL, Komárom Esztergom Megye Levéltára, Szomód dűlőtérképe 1839. (The field map of Szomód). Other maps concerning the situation of woodlands: MNL OL, S 69 no. 118, 125, 166, and 170.

²⁵² MNL OL, DL 782 (1205-1217); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 112; pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 6-7; Wenzel, vol 11,. no.198; CD III/2, 463, és CD VII/5, 277 (with false dates). The donation is made by by Iwan, the king's knight (miles regis). "

²⁵³ See e.g. József Stessel, "Locsmánd vár és tartománya," [Locsmánd castle and its territory] *Századok* 34 (1900): 675–701. Idem, "Megjegyzések a locsmándi várispánság határairól," [Remarks ont he boundaries of the comitatus of Locsmánd] *Századok* 33 (1899): 743-753

²⁵⁴ Gyula Kristó, "A locsmándi várispánság és felbomlása" *Soproni Szemle* 23/2 (1969): 131–144.

²⁵⁵ Karl Ulbrich, "Die Wehranlage von Lutzmannsburg," Burgenländische Heimatblätter 26 (1964): 161–171.

farms (or all three) as has been suggested.²⁵⁶ The *Hof* was situated opposite to the settlement (marketplace), at the feet of the wine-hill on the southern side of the Répce.²⁵⁷ Part of Locsmánd was called *Hofstadt* already in 1262 (*loca curiarum, quae Hovstat dicuntur*), which belonged to the royal servants (*terra udvarnicorum*). The same letter explains that the area was assigned to build a castle there for the *comes*.²⁵⁸

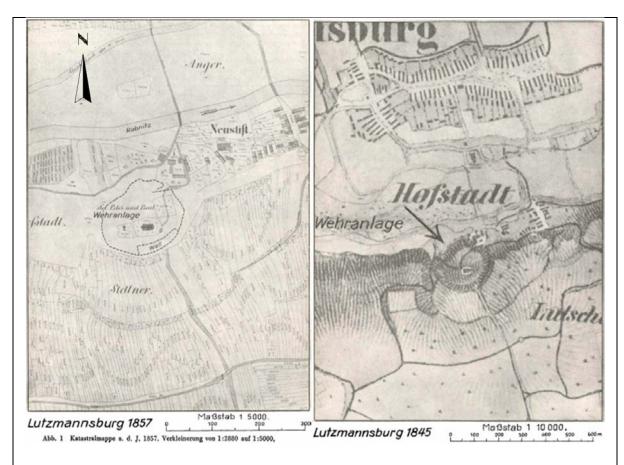


FIG. 12. The 'Hofstadt' part of Locsmánd as shown on the cadastral map and the Second Military Survey (Source: Ulbrich, "Die Wehranlage")

Instead of three *allodia*, however, the royal confirmation in 1225 refers to *duas mansiones* donated by Iwan, *cum omnibus serviciis suis in Gerolt* – Gyirót (Geresdorf). If this and he previously mentioned donation refer to the same peroperties, they could hardly be identical with the *Hofstadt*. The village of Gyirót was situated on the northern perimeters of Locsmánd, in the direction of Füles and Malomháza [see the Appendix], and it was part of the domain of the

²⁵⁶ According to both Ignácz Kovács and József Stessel.

²⁵⁷ Hungaran National Library, Cartographical Collection, TK 1988

²⁵⁸ MNL OL, DL 532 (1262-00-00 >1358-01-07>1392-01-21); pub.: Wenzel, vol 8, 43–44. Referred by Stessel, "Locsmánd vár és tartománya", 683 and 685.

Locsmánd nobility. ²⁵⁹ Although the *Hofstadt* was also an area, where allodial lands of the local nobility were situated (as described in 1262), it is more probable that the 1207-1217 letter does not refer to Locsmánd as a place, but as a territory. Iwan's lands must have been situated in Gyirót. In modern times, the historical area of Gyirót merged into that of Füles. This was maybe not coincidental, as both were owned formerly by Bormonostor. Gyirót, situated in the vicinity of Malomháza, i.e. the grange, was in fact a piece of a larger block of lands including Füles, Malomháza, Zaka and Baran. These were all listed as one group already in the 1225 charter.

There were also further acquisitions of different pieces of domanial lands, situated between the boundaries of today's Malomháza and Locsmánd. In 1275 a mansio, 260 and in 1330 a fundus curiae and tria lanei land (approximately 180 iugera) were donated to the monastery²⁶¹ by nobles in Locsmánd. In 1329-30, the whole village of Ambos/Ombos (Spanfurt), a village situated between Locsmánd and Malomháza)²⁶² was acquired. ²⁶³ These donations may not only demonstate that the abbey had a strong reputation locally, but also suggest that the Cistercians were interested in acquisitions in the vicinity of Locsmand, most probably because of there were valuable agricultural lands along the Répce, and because of Locsmánd's gravity, as a central place. As described in the donation concerning Spanfurt, the village was already deserted (vacua et habitatoribus destituta). The monastery might well sought after it to expand manorial resources and simply use the land (ploughland, woodland, pastures etc.) Inviting tenants was also an option, and this motivation of the abbey was made clear in 1330, when even King Charles expressed his wish to support this entreprise. 264 Whether this was temporarily successful, we do not know. What we do know, however, is that Ombos was reportedly still uninhabited in 1373, ²⁶⁵ and it appears as a *predium* in 1392, being invested together with the ownership of Locsmánd as part of the domain of Kőszeg to the baron Nicholaus of Gara, who

²

²⁵⁹ Stessel, "Locsmánd vár és tartománya", 683. Mentioned as such in the same 1262 document, owned by the a noble family, the Gősfalvis, who were presiding also over Locsmánd.

²⁶⁰ MNL OL, DL 914 (1275-12-28); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 127; pub.: Wenzel, vol 9, 94.

²⁶¹ MNL OL, DL 2634 (1330-08-22); pub.: CD, vol VIII/3, 503.

²⁶² József Stessel, "Sopron és Mosony történeti földrajzához," [Data to the historical geography of Co. Sopron and Co. Moson] *Századok* 34 (1900): 13. Thirteenth-fifteenth century surface finds indicate its location right at the edge of the woodland NE from Locsmánd, in the direction of Malomháza: N 47.4900; E 16.64.40 Cf. Kurt Bors, "Ortswüstungen im Burgenland," Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich 7 (1991): 62.

²⁶³ MNL OL DL 2523 (1329-02-05); reg.: AOklt., vol 13, 45–46; pub.: CD, vol VIII/3, 392–393.

²⁶⁴ MNL OL, DL 2589 (1330-03-08); reg.: AOklt, vol 14, 83-84

²⁶⁵ MNL OL, DL 6094 (1373-02-07); pub.: CD, vol VII/9, 366-367

promised the settle the debates between the towns of Kőszeg and Locsmánd and the abbey over the ownership of different lands (including Ombos).²⁶⁶

In the vicinity of Locsmánd, towards the grange in Malomháza, there was also Zaka, listed in 1225 as a *predium*, where the abbey had a relatively large block (140 *iugera*) of ploughland. ²⁶⁷ About 200 years later, there is word again about this land: in 1435 arable lands, vineyards, meadows and gardens were mentioned as parts of the *predium*, which was alienated. ²⁶⁸ In 1499. a perambulation was made, ²⁶⁹ wherein the local gardens and fishponds were mentioned again. We also learn that Zaka was divided into two separate parts, one of which was named as Zantho-Zaka (Zantho~'szántó'~ploughland), and the other as Barath-Zaka (Barath~'barát'~monk), or Boros-Zaka (Boros~'boros'~wine-), which, however, was owned by nobles. This division likely dates back to the early decades of the fifteenth century, when part of Zaka was alienated.²⁷⁰ Originally the abbey could have owned both parts, but only the ploughland remained, which was about 4 aratra (ca 600 iugera) large as described in 1499. The winehill was an important economic asset, but the abbey had there only a few vineyards, which belonged to Gyirót (Geresdorf). The approximate site of the settlement is confirmed by the name of the small creek (Zagabach) situated between Gyirót and Malomháza, and the site of the farm could be identified through surface collection: thirteenth – sixteenth century sherds were found on the northern side of the road between the two settlements, in the vicinity of the winehill that now belongs to Gyirót.²⁷¹

Another *predium* Borsmonostor received (1224) was Kozár, with lands extending to 300 *iugera* ad dua aratra, and with two servants and 8 oxen.²⁷² Unfortunately, other documents from the archive do not mention this land. The topographical context is clear though, as the name

²⁶⁶ MNL OL, DL 7768 (1392-10-20); pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 508–510; cf. József Stessel, "Locsmánd vár és tartománya", 684: "Luchman modo praehabito cum praedio Ambus". Prior to this, the donation of the domain of Kőszeg (including Locsmánd and other places) to Nicholaus of Gara is mentioned in context of his incentive to establish piece between the conflicting parties: MNL OL, DL 10522 (1392-03-26 > 1417-06-06); reg.: Zs, vol 1, no. 2447; pub.: CD, vol X/8, 348; CD, vol X/5, 780. According to the complaint of the abbot of Morimond in 1393, the monastery still did not get back these properties though. MNL OL, DL 7913 (1393-09-17); reg.: Zs vol 1 (no.3093). ²⁶⁷ As referred above.

²⁶⁸ MNL OL, DL 12757 (1435-09-28); pub.: Sopron, vol 2, 238-239.

²⁶⁹ MNL OL, DL 20834 (1499-04-13); pub.: Sopron, vol 2, 586–590.

 $^{^{270}}$ MNL OL, DL 9329 (1407-07-01); reg.: Zs, vol 2, (no.5651); MNL OL, DL 9893 (1412-03-11 > 1416-02-03); reg.: Zs, vol 3, (no.1844); Zs, vol 5, 457 (no.1499); pub.: CD, vol X/5, 365, and 707; Sopron, vol 1, 583.

²⁷¹ Kurt Bors, "Ortswüstungen im Burgenland," Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich 7 (1991): 61.

²⁷² MNL OL, DF 208361 (1224-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*. 113-114; pub.: CD III/1, 464-465. Donated by a member of the Pessa kindred.

survived as a field name (*Kozár-puszta*) within the village of Söpte (Co. Vas). In the late thirteenth century, however, Söpte and Kozár were documented as separate villages.²⁷³ In 1299

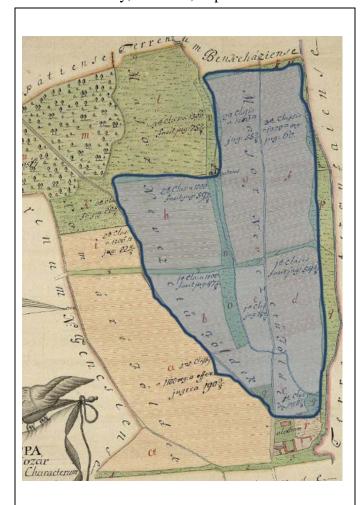


FIG. 13. The map of the predium of Kozár in 1787 – the ca 300 iugera large arable highleted with blue (Source: MNL OL, S 16 No 0402: Mappa predii Kozár. Emericus Bencze)

another *predium*, with an orchard (*pomerium*) and an allotment (*sessio* and a *curia*) were donated in Pusztacsó, just north from Söpte, ²⁷⁴ and in 1360 another piece of land was acquired in Söpte. ²⁷⁵ The fact that the abbey acquired these properties in the neighbourhood of Kozár, may imply a strategic interest to expand the lands which belonged to this manorial farm.

From the late eighteenth century, there is fortunately an accurate and very detailed cartographical representation of this *predium* [*FIG. 13*]. It shows the precise location of the allodial building complex and its arable lands, including approximately ca 300 *iugera* and another ca 200 *iugera*, plus a meadow about 75 *iugera* large, and a piece of woodland about the same size.²⁷⁶ Thus,

the size almost doubled – likely in medieval times, but perhaps also later.

²⁷³ MNL OL, DL 49609 and 49610 (1284-00-00); pub.: HO, vol 7, 189-190: "villa Kazar spectans et pertinens castro memorato"; pub.: HO, vol 7, 190–191.; MNL OL, DL 49613 (1284-00-00): with perambulation. As for Söpte: MNL OL, DL 49627 (1284-00-00); reg.: Imre Szentpétery – Iván Borsa, ed., *Az Árpádházi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke (1290–1301)*, vol 2/4 (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, 1987), 53.; pub.: HO, vol 7, 190. ²⁷⁴ MNL OL, DL 1556 (1299-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 134; pub.: Wenzel, vol 12, 645–646; Kovács, *A borsmonostori*, 66.

²⁷⁵ MNL OL, DL 5013 (1360-12-14); pub.: CD, vol VIII/4 476–477. Inaccurately dated by Fejér to 1340, and also by Kovács (to 1349–1355). Cf. Kovács, A borsmonostori 81. The donation is confirmed by the chapter of Vasvár: MNL OL, DL 5031 (1361-01-13); pub.: CD, vol IX/3, 276. In 1361, it is also confirmed by the Co. of Sopron: MNL OL, DL 5075 (1361-08-23); pub.: CD, vol IX/3, 284.

²⁷⁶ Calculations are made possible by the notes on the map concerning the size of individual fields.

Other than the *predia* discussed thus far, Borsmonostor received big blocks of lands (*terra aratra*) in other places. In Dág (Agendorf, near Sopron (Ödenburg)), for example, where just like in case of Zaka, 140 *iugera* was conscribed in 1225. In Baran, the abbey purchased back a three and a half *aratra* (ca. 300-500 *iugera*) large land, which had been formerly sold or leased to a local noble. ²⁷⁷ In Bala (Wallern im Burgenland), a 150 *iugera* large land was donated in 1269 by Lampert, a *iobagio castri* of Sopron. ²⁷⁸ In 1411, the same piece of land is mentioned as *Lampertfölde* (i.e. the land of Lampert), but its size seem to have doubled (300 *iugera*). ²⁷⁹ Finally, in 1388, a member of the Ják kindred donated a 300 *iugera* large *terra* together with pertinences (a 70 *iugera* large hayfield, plus woodland, and a double-wheeled mill) in Szentiván (Co. Vas). ²⁸⁰

Piece by piece – in subsequent donations dating from the thirteenth century –, the abbey also acquired the lands of the village of Zsidány – in the vicinity of its grange in Peresznye. Zsidány was royal land, which belonged originally to the *iobagio castri* of Sopron.²⁸¹

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²⁷⁷ MNL OL, DL 599 (1265-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 122 (no.40); pub.: CD, vol IV/3, 304.

²⁷⁸ MNL OL, DL 688 (1269-00-00 > 1297-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 124 (no. 45); pub.: CD, vol IV/3, 541.

²⁷⁹ MNL OL, DL (9836); 1411-11-13; reg.: Zs, vol 3, (no.1207); pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 645: "trecenta iugera terrarum arabilium penes lacum Ferthew, que terra Lamperti vocitaretur ad possessionem Bala nominatam"

 $^{^{280}}$ MNL OL, DL 7398 (1388-05-29 > 1395-06-07); reg.: Zs, vol 1, (no.4208); pub.: CD, vol X/2, 333-334. (with wrong date - 1308), Kovács, *A borsmonostori*, 73 (with the wrong date).

²⁸¹ The abbey originally received perhaps only the half of Zsidány (1233). Ownership rights were debated (1270-1277), but later on the abbey was confirmed in the possession of the whole of Zsidány (1291): MNL OL, DL 86818 (1233-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 118 (no.26) pub.: HO, vol 5, 12; Kovács, *A borsmonostori*, 234; Wenzel, vol 1, 308-309; MNL OL, DL 722 (1270-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 125 (no.51); pub.: CD, vol V/1, 52; Wenzel, vol 12, 33; MNL OL, DL 3647 (1272-1274); pub: CD, vol VII/5, 386.; MNL OL, DL 86847 (1277-11-27); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 129 (no.64); pub.: Wenzel, vol 4, 77; MNL OL, DL 1324 (1291-08-17); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 132 (no. 76); pub.: CD, vol VI/2, 68.

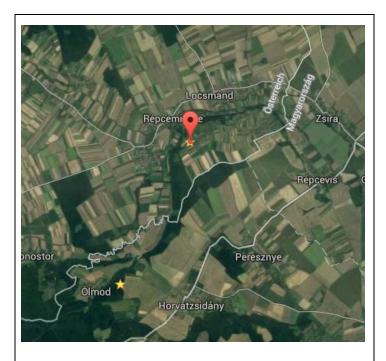


FIG. 14. Possible sites suggested for the location of the deserted village of Enyed (near Peresznye, Zsidány and Frankenau)

Next to Zsidány, the abbey also managed to get hold of the village of Enyed, including a huge piece of arable land (terra ad 5 aratra), a haymeadow (fenetum), a grove or wet pasture (nemus), – apparently for grazing -, as well as a threewheeled mill. All these were donated to the abbey in 1231.²⁸² Later documents show, however, that the whole village was acquired (through donation and purchase).²⁸³ Later than the 1420s, Enyed do not even appear in the sources anymore, which suggests that it was

depopulated by that time. This could be most probably a deliberate decision as the monks were most probably seeking out to have more lands, perhaps for animals or for crops. Notably, it was in the very same area, where a round meadow (*pratum rotundum*) was received in 1223,²⁸⁴ and another meadow in 1286 was donated by a noble in Répcesarud (Frankenau) along the Répce.²⁸⁵ As it became the property of the abbey, the boundary of Enyed was likely merged with that of abbey lands in Peresznye, Fraknó and Zidány. The approximate location can be inferred from perambulations dating from 1357 and 1370.²⁸⁶ Although Kovács suggested the location of the Csárda-malom (in Peresznye, near Ólmod (Bleigraben)),²⁸⁷ landscape archaeological findings

²⁸² MNL OL, DL 204 (1231-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 119–120 (no.30); pub.: Wenzel, vol 11, 275; MNL OL, DL n/a (1237-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 120 (no.33); pub.: CD, vol IV/1, 75. Weis, vol 1, 307.

²⁸³ MNL OL, DL 10255 (1414-09-20) reg.: Zs, vol 4, (no.2494); MNL OL, DL 10256 (1414-09-20); reg.: Zs, vol 4, (no.2493); pub.: CD, vol X/5, 553 and Kovács, *A borsmonostori*, 103.; MNL OL, DL 10428 (1416-02-11 > 1416-03-18); pub.: n/a; MNL OL, DL 10575 (1417-05-29); reg.: Zs, vol 6, (no.483); pub.: CD, vol X/5, 839.;

²⁸⁴ MNL OL, DF 208360 (1223-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 112 (no.11); pub.: CD, vol III/1, 426 or Kovács, *A borsmonostori*, 23.

²⁸⁵ MNL OL, DL 1196 (1286-04-18); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 131 (no.72); pub.: CD, III/1, 249.

²⁸⁶ See: MNL OL, DL 4681 (1357-07-19>1357-09-06>1364-08-24>1378); Sopron I. pp.276-278.; MNL OL, DL 5830 (1370-03-23): Sopron I.pp.387-389: one of the boundary signs "...possessioni Pereznye ac possessionibus Chamaz et Stephani Enyud vocatis distingere et separare indicasset..."

²⁸⁷ N 47.4167; E 16.6000. Cf. Ignácz Kovács, "A borsmonostori apátság alapítása és birtokviszonyai az első három apát alatt," [The foundation and estate development of Borsmonostor Abbey in the time of the first three abbots] *Katholikus Szemle* 18 (1904): 958.

– surface finds and sunken lanes – point to a different location near Répcesarud (Fraknó/Frankenau) [*FIG. 14*]. ²⁸⁸ The archaeological dating of the sherds found there (mostly fourteenth century) confirms the possible desolation before the early fifteenth century. In addition to fishponds near the manors/granges in Malomháza, Peresznye and Szomód (as already referred above), as demonstrated above, and at the site of the abbey (at the parisher's house) the monks also seem to have fishponds in Ólmod and Zsidány. ²⁸⁹ Therefore, it is likely that after the desertion of Enyed a farm was established here too.

The data discussed so far reveals a couple of interesting patterns. Firstly, that there was a trend of continuous acquisitions. The chronological distribution of data over a long period between the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries illustrates the long term interest of the abbey to enlarge the estate. This chronological-historical context, as well as the socio-economic background (types of donations/contracts, the social strategies and identities of benefactors, partners) deserves further investigations, ²⁹⁰ as for now, they are not in the focus of our interest.

In regard to spatial-topographical patterns, it has to be noted that despite that these lands and farms were referred differently – as *terra*, *predia*, or *grangia* –, their sizes (i.e. the large arable) were similar – as they represented the same category of tenurial holding. It was definitely a category much larger in size than the single *curia* or *sessio*, the abbey received, for example, in Locsmánd in 1275 (see above), or in Csáfordjánosfa (Co. Vas) in 1452. This latter was described as *integra sessio seu curia* with 32 *iugera* with pastures (*pratum ad sex falcastra*), donated by nobles from Völcsej.²⁹¹ These difference will be discussed comprehensively at the

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²⁸⁸ N 47.4380; E 16.62366. Cf. Kurt Bors, "Ortswüstungen im Burgenland," *Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich* 7 (1991): 62-63.

²⁸⁹ Ignácz Kovács, "A borsmonostori apátság alapítása és birtokviszonyai az első három apát alatt," [The foundation and estate development of Borsmonostor Abbey in the time of the firt three abbots] *Katholikus Szemle* 18 (1904): 962.

²⁹⁰ Concerning the social context see e.g. Szabó, "Bencés apátságok társadalmi kapcsolatai" on the Benedictines. In regard to Borsmonostor, the *iobagio castri* (castle warriors) appear on multiple occassions in the above discussed grants/benefices. This social group was the most affected by transformative processes concerning royal estates (i.e. the fragmentation of castle domains in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries). Part of the social strategy of these people was to seek protection, as noted by Attila Zsoldos on the example of Co. Locsmánd: Attila Zsoldos, "A várjobbágyi birtoklás megítélésének változásai a tatárjárást követő másfél évszázadban," (Changes in perceptions concerning the property rights of the iobagio castri during the 150 years period following the Mongol Invasion) Aetas 5 (1990): 11.

²⁹¹ MNL OL, DL 14589 (1452-12-06); pub.: Sopron, vol 2, 375–376; Kovács, *A borsmonostori*, 115. Kovács refers mistakenly to another ID number for this charter (DL 14647).

end of the chapter. For now, I only underline that the above references clearly show that *predia* and *terrae* were different, as servants were mentioned only in connection to the former. ²⁹²

From a spatial perspective, most of the acquisitions were in the central area, in the close neighbourhood of the monastery, along the Répce River. The reason for this is most likely the circumstance that the lands received by the abbey in the original donation did not form a congruent block, so the monks followed a common "strategy" and started buying up properties adjacent to their properties. In addition to Peresznye (Prosscingen) and Micske (Strebersdorf) [Appendix], which were part of the foundation grant, as well as to the aforementioned pieces of domanial lands received by the abbey in the outskirts of Locsmánd (Lutzmannsburg), there were also other properties – small and large – acquired systematically through donations and purchases in this area, on the other side of the Répce. Acquisitions in the vicinity of the monastery, in the area of Locsmánd and in Söpte-Kozár imply that there was a deliberate policy to enlarge the estate around the large agricultural farms.

Another summative point concerns the patterns of land use. In case of Borsmonostor there are a number of estate maps – in addition to Military Surveys – which are fairly detailed, and combined with archival data on the medieval period, it is possible to show the different focuses in economic activities with regard to different parts of the estate and the different farms. In general, we see a multistranded economy at these farms, of which a perfect example is the grange of Szomód, where arable lands, an orchard, a fishpond, and woodland were mentioned. The large arable lands imply that crop production was generally important. As for Kethely and Peresznye, the cultivation of wheat and oat is evidenced in 1222, when the tenants' services are mentioned. It is very rarely, that such sources (land/tax registers) are available from the medieval period, specifying the types of crops. Much more frequently, however, there were controversies (over territorial rights) and acts of might, whereby the yields are mentioned in connectin to thefts. In connection to Borsmonostor, for example, the *cives* and *hospes* of Kőszeg and Locsmánd became a constant threat for the abbey from the late fourteenth century on, ²⁹³ and the respective documents reveal that grain yields (wheat) were stolen from *Baran*, ²⁹⁴

²⁹² See on this: Szabó, "The praedium."

²⁹³ See e.g. MNL OL, DL 6775 (1381-05-02 > 1381-05-10); Sigismund's failed attempt in 1391 on settling the conflict: MNL OL, DL 7696 (1391-05-28 > 1391-12-02); reg.: Zs, vol 1, (no 2055), (no 2289); pub.: CD, vol X/1. 679-680

²⁹⁴ MNL OL, DL 11099 (1421-06-19): "duodecim modios frumenti" is taken.

Malomháza,²⁹⁵ and from *Zaka*.²⁹⁶ Conspicously, the abbey had large arable lands in all three places, and these thefts indicate that there must have been storage facilities (granaries) there. The grange in Malomháza most probably functioned as the primary point of collection, e.g. collecting grain tithes (*capecias*) from Füles.²⁹⁷

In 1360, the woodland of Ukas (Malomháza and/or Füles) is mentioned.²⁹⁸ In 1455, ploughlands, meadows, hayfields and (again) a woodland (*silva Rosgrunth*) are referred, which were taken from the abbey and kept occupied by the townfolks in Locsmánd.²⁹⁹ According to the Second Military Mapping Survey, the woodland situated between the boundaries of Füles-Malomháza, Gyirót and (further south) Locsmánd [*FIG. 15*] was quite extensive. Part of it was domanial reserve as shown by an estate maps from 1769, ³⁰⁰ which delineated quite large chunks of this woodland (e.g. one was about 1200 *iugera* large, bordering on the area of the winehill in Zaka). Other maps reveal that there were similarly large areas of woodland between Kethely and Kőszeg, ³⁰¹ and between Micske and Peresznye.³⁰²

²⁹⁵ MNL OL, DL 18289 (1479-11-22); pub.: Sopron, vol 2, 526–528: "31 modios tritici" is taken

²⁹⁶ MNL OL, DL 10399 (1415-11-18); reg.: Zs, vol 5, (no.1246); pub.: Sopron, vol 2, 28.; MNL OL, DL 10933 (1420-06-11); reg.: Zs vol 7 (no.1825); MNL OL, DL 11135 (1421-09-13): all kinds of yields are taken.

²⁹⁷ MNL OL, DL 1770 (1311-04-16); pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 72: "capecias terre Ukas". The *capecia* (Hungarian "kepe") is a measure for untreshed grain. Cf. Hóman, *Magyar pénztörténet*.

²⁹⁸ MNL OL, DL 5003 (1360-11-01); reg.: pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 332–333 (in German): "wald zu Vgeis gehord"

²⁹⁹ MNL OL, DL 14946 (1455-05-03); reg.: pub.: Sopron, vol 2, 386–388; MNL DL 14993 (1455-09-07).

³⁰⁰ See e.g. MNL OL, S 16 No 0614-0615: Delineatio Geometrica Silvarum Malomhasiensium in Occidentali ejus Plaga sitarum [1769 – Samuel Krieger]; MNL OL, S 16 No 0618-0619: Delineatio Geometrica Silvae Malomhaziensis Majoris In Meridionlai jus Plaga situatae [1769 – Samuel Krieger]

³⁰¹ OSZK, TK 1759 Mappa exhibens terrenum oppidi Kethel inclyto comitatui Soproniensi et celsissimi principatus Eszterhazyani dominio Kőszeg ingremiati [1823 – Josephus Brechter]; MNL OL, S 16 No 0486 Mappa exhibens Terrenum Oppidi Kethel [1822 – Samuel Andritska]

³⁰² OSZK, TK 2032: Brouillon von der Strebersdorfer Gemeind Waldung [1816 – Franz Krausz]



FIG. 15. Manorial woodland north of Borsmonostor (blue drop). To the north from the woods there are Malomháza, Zaka (with the Zaka winehill – blue arrow) and Gyirót. (Source: 2nd Military Survey)

from providing Apart building materials (timber), woodland was important for pastoral farming too. I will discuss this theme in detail in Chapter 4, but let me note here briefly that the lands of the abbey along the floodplain of the Répce, could be predominantly used as pastures. Some meadows were mentioned by name along the stretch of the Répce between Micske and Locsmánd. There were also woodlands situated nearby, and the benefits of wet pastures and woodland pastures could

be combined. Pastures with pollard oak and beech trees are shown e.g. on the map of Micske, described as "Viehweide mit einzelnen Eichen und Weissbüchen bestanden" (i.e. in the neighbourhood of the vineyards of Micske [*FIG.* 16]. The aforementioned 1222 agreement also hints on pig keeping, as each household in Micske and Peresznye had to supply a mature pig on an annual basis.



FIG. 16. "Viehweide nit einzelnen Eichen und Weiszbuchen", i.e. pasture with oak and beech pollard trees near the Répce, in Répcemicske (Strebersdorf) (Source: OSZK, TK 2032: Brouillon von der Strebersdorfer Gemeind Waldung, 1816, by Franz Krausz)

Viticulture was also a very important element of Borsmonostor's economy. Military Survey maps show extensive vineyards situated in the centrally lying settlements of the estate, in Kedhely, Peresznye, Locsmánd, Malomháza and Zaka. Borsmonostor also had a set of royal privileges, which illustrate the significance of wine production in the regions, as well as around the abbey. The Cistercians were granted the right to collect the so called *cibrio* (csöböradó), 303 i.e. the wine tithe, (together with other taxes, the *pondus*, and the free denars) from certain villages, and later they also received the grant to have the twentieth part (the royal share) of all wine tithes collected in the whole county of Sopron. 304 This must have been a significant financial contribution to the abbey's budget. Their privileges imply that wine production was

³⁰³ Concerning taxation on wine cf. László Solymosi, "A szőlő utáni adózás a 13 – 14 századi Magyarországon," (Taxation on wine in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Hungary) *Történelmi Szemle* 38 (1996): 16.

³⁰⁴ The *cibriones* collected by Borsmonostor are mentioned, when King Emeric granted the markets of Micske and Kethely to the monks (i.e. rights to the collection of tolls). MNL OL, DL 38 (ca 1200-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 110 (no.3); pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 4; CD III/1, 456 (mistakenly dated to 1224). The right to the collection of the 20th part of the wine tithes was donated by King Ladislaus IV: and confirmed later and King Charles I: MNL OL, DL 2831 (1334-05-26)The grant was made by King Stephen V: MNL DL 715 (1270-11-05 > 1272-09-07); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori* 124-125 (no.48) 126 (n.53); pub.: Wenzel, vol 3, 233. Confirmed a number of times later on. Cf. Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 100–104. See also DL 716-720 all with the same date (1270-11-20)

an important economic resource. As vineyards did not usually count as standard pertinences of a tenant's plot³⁰⁵ it is definitely a significant fact that the aforementioned 1222 agreement about the tenants duities in Peresznye and Kethely refer to the payment of an *urna vini* concerning each household. Thus, these tenants of the abbey were likely cultivating their own vineyards, and were paying their due shares to the abbey. The production of wine was therefore not limited exclusively to domanial management, relying on service people (*vinitores*), as the records of Szentgotthárd provide, for example, a reference for that, but could have been also a characteristic part of the rustical (peasant) segment of the economy, as a result of the favourable landscape conditions. References on the *tributum montis* regarding the winehill in Zaka³⁰⁶ or on the *tributum vinae* in the donation of Pomogy to the abbey³⁰⁷ reflect foreign influence (Bergrecht),³⁰⁸ and the plantation of vineyards on the lands of the Austrian abbey of Heiligenkreuz around the Lake Fertő,³⁰⁹ as well as in Malomháza itself³¹⁰ suggests that the development in this sector was significant, and due possibly to the strong German influence and connections between Heiligenkreuz and Borsmonostor.

Viticulture and horticulture remained characteristic of the local landscape in the postmedieval period as well. Based on the sixteenth and seventeenth century estate records, Ferenc Maksay points out that manorial economy – in particular viticulture and horticulture – was highly developed under the lordship of the Nádasdy and Eszterházy families (nota bene: most of the abbey's lands were incorporated into the domain of Léka castle, which belonged to these families). Besides, milling and fishing were also in the focus and despite the critical period of the economic downturn and political turmoils at the end of the sixteenth century, manorial economy recovered. On the other hand, the example of the Szomód grange (Co. Komárom) is illustrative of exactly the opposite economic and landscape historical processes during the period of Ottoman rule (beginning in 1541). Land-use patterns changed there drastically, as in other occupied parts of the country, due to the high degree of settlement desertion. A tax conscription from 1570 attests that Szomód was also completely deserted and the area used as

³⁰⁵ Solymosi, "A szőlő utáni," 23.

³⁰⁶ MNL OL, DL 14994 (1455-09-12); pub.: Sopron, vol 2, 388.

³⁰⁷ MNL OL, DL 2048 (1321-07-23); pub.: CD, vol VIII/2, 318 and Kovács, *A borsmonostori*, 73.

³⁰⁸ As to the foreign origins of the use of the *tributum* Cf. Solymosi, "A szőlő utáni," 18.

³⁰⁹ Solymosi, "A szőlő utáni," 14.

³¹⁰ MNL OL, DL 9836 (1411-11-13); reg.: Zs, vol 3, (no.1207); pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 645-648.

³¹¹ Ferenc Maksay, *Urbáriumok XVI-XVII.század* (Magyar Országos Levéltár Kiadványai II. Forráskiadványok 7.) [Land registers – 16-17 centuries] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1959), 90.

³¹² A recent regional survey was prepared by Edit Sárosi, *Landscapes and Settlements in the Kecskemét Region* 1300-1700. PhD Thesis (Budapest: CEU, 2013).

pastures – possibly by tenants in Tata – as shown by the considerable amount of income collected from that. 313

³¹³ Cf. Lajos Fekete, *Az esztergomi szandzsák 1570. évi adóösszeírása* (The 1570 conscription of the sandžak of Esztergom) Budapest: Gróf Teleki Pál Tudományos Intézet, 1943.

3.3 GRANGES AND MANORS ON THE ESTATES OF PILIS AND ZIRC

As both Pilis and Zirc have lost considerable parts of their archives, the topography and history of their estates can be reconstructed only fragmentarily. The available documents do not mention granges; there is but one reference in one of the general chapter statutes³¹⁴ to either the home grange of Pilis (i.e. the abbey precint) or the grange at Pomáz Nagykovácsi-puszta. There are a couple of other farms mentioned as *predium* or *allodium* in the abbey's documents, yet, the *curiae* and *domūs*, which the abbey had in the town of Pozsony were town houses/courts, and not rural manorial courts (see on this Chapter 6).³¹⁵ As has been underlined by Beatrix F. Romhányi, however, there might well be more to the lack of references on granges than the poor preservation and scarcity of archival records.

3.3.1 Woodland granges and land reclamation?

Notably, the siting of both Pilis and Zirc was unique, as they were situated in dense woodland areas, within protected royal forests. Before I explore the scant data concerning their farms, it will be appropriate to summarize briefly the research concerning the Cistercians' role in woodland management. As mentioned in the introduction, land reclamation (and woodland management) was central to the traditional interpretation of Cistercian economy and has been Moreover, also to the economic and social historical paradigm known as *grands défrichements* advanced by Georges Duby and Richard W. Southern. Duby and Southern argued that "the age of medieval rural prosperity is the age of land reclamation" and that Cistercians developed an economic system, which responded (by opening up new lands) to the needs of the twelfth century, as there was an increasing pressure on land, that led to the opening up of new areas. As Bruce M.S. Campbell noted, the "widespread and well-documented process of reclamation and colonisation" was a physical expression of the demographic and economic expansion of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

³¹⁴ St 1222:25 : 'De inhumanitate facta <u>in abbatia et grangia de Pelis</u> abbati et monacho de Cicador, quae etiam multis aliis de Ordine exhibetur, committitur abbati de Aceio ut quod videbit dignum emendatione corrigat et seguenti capitulo quod actum fuerit studeat enuntiare.'

³¹⁵ On the estate of Pilis, in case of Visegrád, Pozsony and Dévény. See Hervay, *Repertorium*, 150.

³¹⁶ This has been highlighted as an important pattern in site selection of English abbeys, a third of which were situated within or very near royal forests. Cf. Donkin, "The Cistercian Order," 184.

³¹⁷ Richard W. Southern, Wester Society and the Church in the Middle Ages. London: Penguin, 1990, 225.

³¹⁸ Bruce M. S. Campbell, *English Seigeurial Agriculture 1250–1450* (Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, vol 31) (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2000), 11.

Contradicting these assumptions, there is a widespread consensus now – shared by religious historians, ³¹⁹ historical ecologists ³²⁰ and economic historians alike – that the Cistercians' role in the reclamation of wasteland was self-proclaimed. As Campbell notes, it was more often the initiative of peasants than of landlords. ³²¹ Land clearances did not take up considerable scales, and/or most of this activity was unrecorded. "Even when Cistercians were granted usage rights to woodland, they were often restricted to gathering windfall and or cutting certain tree species (oak were generally off limits) or trees of specified size."³²² In less intensely settled/cultivated regions, such as Yorkshire, the impact was understandably more considerable. ³²³ In summary, however, "the precise degree to which the Cistercians were involved in land clearance and the size of their contribution is much debated."³²⁴ Land grants to French houses illustrate that Cistercians settled lands, which were already cultivated, and regional surveys from Germany (in Lower Saxony³²⁵ and in the Middle Rhein Valley³²⁶) also concluded this and that land clearance was not significant.

There have been a number of other studies to support this critical tone. Focusing on the regions of the Pilis and Bakony mountains, where Pilis and Zirc settled, Péter Szabó investigated this theme in his doctoral thesis – a comprehensive survey, combining archaeological-topographical, archival and landscape data. As discussed, both woodlands were royal forests with private royal lands, hunting reserves and hunting lodges. In addition to the Cistercians, also numerous other monastic communities – Benedictine, Pauline, and Carthusian houses – were donated with lands by the kings. By the time the Cistercians settled (in the late twelfth

³¹⁹ Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1996), 120.

³²⁰ John Aberth, *An Environmental History of the Middle Ages: The Crucible of Nature*. London: Routledge, 2013.

³²¹ Campbell, English Seigneurial Agriculture, 11.

³²² Aberth, An Environmental History, 94.

³²³ Janet Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, 1069–1215 (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: Fourth Series) (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 225.

Janet Burton, *The Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain 1100-1300* (Cambridge Medieval Textbooks) (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1994), 238. The key issue under debate is the extent to which the monks resettled lands which had been recorded as 'waste' in the Domesday Book. In other words: how far the recovery of the settlement network had already taken place before the arrival of the Cistercians. According to Burton, the evidence suggests that over 40 percent of twelfth century granges were settled on lands recorded as waste in 1086. Much of the arguments found here, as well as in later publications rely on Robert A. Donkin's analysis: "English Cistercians and Assarting. C.1128-C.1350," *Analecta sacri ordinis cisterciensis* 20 (1964): 49-75. Idem, "The Cistercian settlement and the English Royal Forests," *Citeaux: Commentarii Cistercienses* 11 (1960): 39–55, 117–124

³²⁵ Wiswe, "Grangien niedersächsischer Zisterzienserklöster," 43.

³²⁶ Franz, "Grangien und Landsiedel," 50.

³²⁷ Szabó, Woodland and forests, Chapters 9 to 17.

century), there was already a fully developed system of settlements³²⁸ (of free commoners, who provided different types of labour services (for the royal court) as reflected by placenames.³²⁹ The Pilis hills were surrounded by royal residences with good connections to roads, as this was, in fact, the political center of the Hungarian kingdom. ³³⁰ Szabó concluded that neither the Pilis nor the Bakony hills could be considered as marginal zones suitable for internal colonization.³³¹

In regard to the role of Pilis and Zirc in woodland management, Szabó underlined that woodland exploitation was strictly controlled – by the castellains (*comes*) appointed by the kings. The privileges of lay or religious communities allowed the exploitation of woodland, but the castellains were expected to intervene in case of any abuse. They themselves were involved in administering the sales of timber, for example. Drawing on Paul Benoit's assessment on Chaalis, or the Bordesley project, as well as on the results of excavations at the site of Pilis abbey, Szabó concluded that animal husbandry and industrial production could have been the dominant forms of economic activity in the neighbourhood of Pilis and Zirc. Referring, however, to the results of the excavations carried out within the precinct of Pilis, he brings evidence only concering industrial use.

I will expand on both of these themes in the forthcoming chapters (Chapters 4 and 5), for now, however, it is important to underline regarding granges and other farms, that this landscape historical context and the status of woodlands (royal forests) suggest that economic activities (including woodland clearing or colonizing) could not take up an extensive scale. The royal confirmation concerning the lands of Pilis shows that the abbey's lands did not form a congruent central block and the surviving data on Zirc's lands suggest the same. Although their secluded locations within the royal forests was perhaps closer to Cistercian ideals, they had no convenient

³²⁸ Szabó, Woodland and forests, 136-137 (Bakony)

³²⁹ On the role of this institution – with comprehensive historiographical overview –, see Péter Kis, *A királyi szolgálónépi szervezet a 13-14. században* [The institution of royal service people in the thirteenth – fourteenth centuries] Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2010.

³³⁰ Szabó *Woodland and forests*, 147: "The different histories of Pilis and Bakony also reflected the influence of royal power in their respective regions. In Pilis this power was unquestionable because of the closeness of Buda and Visegrád. That is why there were no castles in the region, and monasteries were all royal foundations. In contrast, Bakony was far less dominated by the royal house."

³³¹ Szabó, Woodland and Forests, 117–118 and 146.

³³² Szabó, *Woodland and forests*, 97: Szabó refers here to an emblematic example, the case of the Dominican nuns on the Margareth Island, whose tenants were held up by the people of the *comes*, when transporting wood from Csaba to Buda and Esztergom. See MNL OL, DL 16631 (1468-03-21)

³³³ Szabó *Woodland and forests*, 113: refers to the example of Bordesley Abbey. See later in this thesis (Chapter 5).

option to expand their agricultural lands in the vicinity of the monastery and their economic background differed fundamentally from that of Borsmonostor, Szentgotthárd and Topuszkó, in as much as they also received shares from royal customs revenues, collected at Győr, Óvár, and Pozsony, 334 – this arrangement was perhaps a compensation of what characterized their landed properties. Thus, the evidence concerning their farms is very limited.

3.3.2 A possible grange of Zirc in Olaszfalu (Co. Veszprém)

Konstantin Horváth, the monographer of Zirc, mentions Olaszfalu and Sóly (Co. Veszprém) as granges of the abbey. 335 This is based, however, on later estate records, dating from the eighteenth century when monks from Henryków (Heinrichau) took over the administration of Zirc following the period of dissolution during the Ottoman occupation. It could be them who establish these farms anew, on the other hand, there is no medieval record to support the claim that there were farms here in medieval times. In case of Olaszfalu, it seems highly likely though, both because of its location next to the site of the abbey and because of circumstantial evidence (placenames and archaeological topographical data). The placename – Olaszfalu~villa Latinorum, i.e. "the village of the Latins" – implies that it was colonized by French-Vallon settlers. 336 This was suggested by Tibor Koppány, who also assumed that similarly to other possessions donated to the abbey elsewhere, the area of Olaszfalu belonged originally to one of an early royal curia / hunting lodge in Zirc, the archaeological remains of which he identified. 337

Archival references on Olaszfalu are very late and very laconic. The earliest is a royal tax register in 1488,³³⁸ and there is another charter from 1500 concerning an act of might.³³⁹ However, settlements with similar names (referring to *Latins*) are mostly known from the

³³⁴ F. Romhányi, "The Role of the Cistercians", 184.

³³⁵ Horváth, Zirc története, 8.

³³⁶ The local tradition holds that the original population was Hungarian, but they were relocated following the arrival of German settlers. This tradition, however, refers to the resettlement of Olaszfalu during the early eighteenth century, and not the medieval period. Cf. MRT, vol 1, 191.

³³⁷ Tibor Koppány, "XI. Századi királyi udvarház maradványai Zircen," (Remains of an 11th century royal *curia* in Zirc) *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 11 (1972): 146. Koppány notes that Tevel (together with Iváncháza in its vicinity), as well as Berend and Sóly could be similarly carved out from lands, which previously belonged to royal *curiae*. He suggests that Kőudvar (which is of unknown location) could be also one of them, as its name implies ('udvar'~'court').

³³⁸ MNL OL, DL 28340 (1488-00-00); reg.: Horváth, *Zirc története*, 283 (no. 146). This is a tax conscription of Co. Veszprém; the source was already known to Remig Békefi, *A Balaton környékének egyházai és várai a középkorban* (Budapest: Kilián Frigyes, 1907), 223.

³³⁹ MNL OL, DF 207977 (1500-06-10).

thirteenth century,³⁴⁰ and so the origin of Olaszfalu might go back to this period too. Koppány hypothetically assumed that it was colonized by the Cistercians, but also noted that there is evidence for similar naming patterns already in the 11th centry, so the village could even date from before the Cistercians. Archaeological topographical research confirmed the early occupation of the site: within the present day boundary of Olaszfalu, in an area called Mézes-

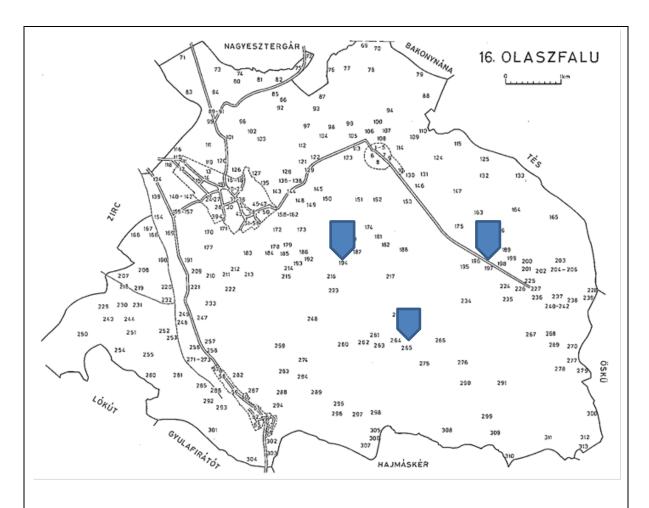


FIG. 17. Historic and present day pLacenames within the boundary of Olaszfalu 194: Mézes-mező (the site of the early medieval church), 197: Birkalegelő; 265: Köves-kút [Source: Magyar Névarchívum http://mna.unideb.hu/forras.php?megyeid=9&oldal=7]

mező [FIG. 17], the location of a

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³⁴⁰ Cf. Gábor Kis and Balázs Zágorhidi Czigány, "Egy mikrotáj történeti helynévanyaga. Vasvár keleti határa az Árpád-korban," [Historic placenames of a microregion. The eastern bounds of the town of Vasvár], in *Helynévtörténeti Tanulmányok*, vol 2, ed. István Hoffmann (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Nyelvtudományi Tanszék, 2006), 138 passim. See also György Székely, "A székesfehérvári latinok és a vallonok a középkori Magyarországon," [Die Latiner und die Wallonen von Stuhlweissenburg], in *Székesfehérvár évszázadai, vol 2, Középkor*, ed. Alán Kralovánszky (Székesfehérvár: Fejér Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1972), 64 (see note 38 with further literatures).

possibly early medieval (11-thirteenth c.) church/chapel was identified. Since it has not been excavated, its dating and function is uncertain.³⁴¹ It could have belonged to an Árpád period settlement, but there is also possibility that it was part of a grange, as the one at Pomáz–Nagykovácsi-puszta (see below). Perhaps there was originally a *predium* there, which could have belonged to the nearby royal hunting lodge in Zirc – as Koppány suggested. The question remains whether there was an early settlement at this site, before the arrival of the Cistercians, or the area was, indeed, colonized by the monks at a later date.



FIG. 18. Wood pasture with open-grown veteran trees in the area of the Eperjes-hegy (Source: Varga and Bölöni, "Egy felhagyott fás legelő")

³⁴¹ The date was suggested on the basis of surface finds collected during field surveys. Cf. Pál Rainer, "Középkori lelőhelyek." (Medieval sites) In *Olaszfalu története: egy magas-bakonyi község múltja és jelene*, ed. József Hudi. Olaszfalu: Önkormányzat, 2005, 47–48.

Historic placenames, e.g. *Birkalegelő* ("sheep pasture"), or the aforementioned *Mézes-mező* ("Honey-meadow", i.e. "bee pasture", allegedly dominated by lime-trees [*tilia*]³⁴² offering nectar sources for bees, hence the name) reveal the siginficance of extensive animal farming and woodland management. These characteristic wood pastures situated along the Gaja- and Cuha-streams (near the Eperjes-hegy, SW from Zirc) [*FIG. 18*] were studied in a historical ecological survey and they could be traced back to at least the early nineteenth century, based on cartographical evidence and estate records. It was also demonstrated that wood clearance took place on a more considerable scale in the abbey woods in the eighteenth century and the pasture area (for sheep, pigs and cattle) substantially increased.³⁴³ To what extent this goes back to medieval he pre patterns needs further investigation.

Given the close distance from the abbey (4-5kms), a grange likely existed here. The name Kő-



FIG. 19. Photo of the so called Köveskút, a natural spring probably used already in medieval times. Note the steps carved into the bedrock

(stone-court/enclosure) udvar might be interesting to mention: it appears in the records of the abbey already in 1365, listed among abbey's the other properties,³⁴⁴ and probably refers to a grange or manor. A natural spring, Köveskút (stonewell) whose name conspicously resonationg with aforementioned Kőudvar the also situated nearby, was providing freswater for the herds of the abbey [FIG. 19]. Apart

from the early chapel mentioned above, archaeological topographical surveys also provide some inconclusive evidence: small valley dams and fishponds along the Cuha-stream were situated exactly in the neighbourhood of these pastures and they were certainly connected to

Source: Magyar Névarchívum [Internet archive of Hungarian proper names] http://mna.unideb.hu/forras.php?megyeid=9&oldal=7

Anna Varga and János Bölöni, "Egy felhagyott fás legelő területének tájhasználat változása Olaszfalu (Veszprém megye) határában," A Bakonyi Természettudományi Múzeum Közleményei 28 (2011): 55-66.
 MNL OL, DF 200973 (1365-09-29)

monastic activities as they were dated to the medieval period.³⁴⁵ Sophisticated water management systems with multiple fishponds could prevent fleshfloods, supply food (fish) for the monastery, and could also serve as a source of freshwater for the animals grazing nearby.



FIG. 20. Predium Aklipuszta on an estate map in 1810, with the manorial buildings at the centre, and with the large arable, the fishpond and the mill next to it (Source: MNL Veszprém Megyei Levéltár, XV 11 a T 140: Forst Carte von praedium Akli, 1810, by Ferenc Zmali]

In addition to Olaszfalu, could be other granges around Zirc, but none of them are mentioned explicitly in medieval documents. In the nineteenth century, there were manors there, and their proximity (as well as some landscape features, buildings [FIG. 22]) suggest that there could be farms there in the medieval period too, i.e. at the present

Tündérmajor (transl. literally as 'Fairy-manor') (2 kms W from Zirc) and in Aklipuszta (4 kms SW from Zirc) [*FIG. 21*]. In the Heinrichau era, these were manors of Zirc, ³⁴⁶ as for the medieval period, however, the available records of the abbey only refer to Aklipuszta, in 1422-1423, ³⁴⁷ documenting controversies over the ownership and use of Akol/Akli between the Cistercians and the nearby Benedictine convent of Bakonyél. ³⁴⁸ The documents reveal that the

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http://epa.oszk.hu/02100/02163/00005/pdf/EPA02163_orokseg_0705.pdf

³⁴⁵ MRT, vol 1, 191.

³⁴⁶ Eszter Vajda, "Az Akli major," *Örökség* 11 (2007): 3-4.

³⁴⁷ The tenants of Zirc harvested crops, cut hay and let their pigs fed there. MNL OL, DF 207618 (1422-06-13); reg.: Sörös, *Bakonybéli regesták*, 358; MNL OL, DF 207625 (1422-10-24); reg.: Sörös, Bakonybéli regesták, 359. Other documents concerning the ongoing lawsuit between the abbeys: Horváth, *Zirc története*, no. 107, 109-115. Sörös, *Bakonybéli regesták*, 358–360.

³⁴⁸ The village is mentioned as early as the 11th century, as the possession of Bakonybél. Historical data as well as the results of archaeological excavations (1972) concerning the small rotunda to the east from the manorial buildings have been summarized recently: Orsolya Csirke and Sylvia K. Palágyi, "Zirc, Akli-puszta kerek temploma," Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei 24 (2006): 95–126. Excavations confirmed a late 13th century data for this church.

lands in Akol/Akli were used both for farming crops and pasturing animals. There were also small ponds fond at the site [FIG. 20].

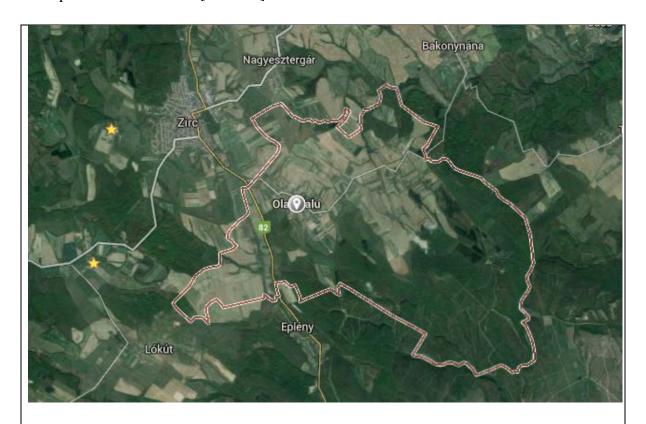


FIG. 21. Zirc, Olaszfalu (outlined), and the location of other possible manorial farms: Tündérmajor (W from Zirc) and Akli-puszta (SW from Zirc)



FIG. 22. The eighteenth c. manorial buildings at Aklipuszta

3.3.3 Other manorial farms of Zirc

Both Akli and Olaszfalu were situated in the vicinity of the abbey and except for these two sites, there might have been only one other farm in Berénd (Co. Veszprém), which is situated about 30 km southwest from Zirc, still in the Bakony hills. The farm itself is not mentioned actually, but among the documents there is reference on the abbey's bailiff (officialis) there in 1353 and also in 1499,³⁴⁹ and this implies the existence of a farm. Interestingly, one part of Berénd was owned by the chapterhouse of Veszprém, where there was the chapter's cultellus, i.e. a the centre of its tithe collection district. ³⁵⁰ Perhaps the other part – owned by the Cistercians – also had a similar manorial-administrative center. As Berénd became deserted during the sixteenth century, its geographical location can be indetified only by microtoponyms - geographical names, such as the 'Beréndi-dűlő' and 'Beréndi-erdő' - within the bounds of Ajka. 351 The toponyms also hint on historic land-use patterns: Tósok-berénd (owned by the Benedictine abbey of Tihany), Erdő-berénd and Gyepes/Gyepüs (both of them owned in parts or completely by Tamás and Beke, sons of Lőrente)³⁵² were situated in this area. The first parts of their two-part names ('Erdő'~'woodland' and 'Tósok'~'with ponds') point to the presence of woodlands and ponds, while the name of Gyepes/Gyepüs refers to a woodland edge zone, i.e. a cleared area, which was probably rounded by fences, protecting the woodland from grazing animals.³⁵³ According to historical geographical descriptions,³⁵⁴ and an estate map

³⁴⁹ MNL OL, DL 41248 (1353-06-14); reg.: Horváth, *Zirc története*, 73; MNL OL, DL 66356 (1499-08-01); reg.: Horváth, *Zirc története*, 154.

³⁵⁰ Berénd is mentioned as *cultellus* in 1513 and 1526. Cf. László Kredics, Lajos Madarász and László Solymosi, *A Veszprémi káptalan számadáskönyve, 1495-1534* [The account book of the Chapter of Veszprém 1495-1534 – Chronicle 1526-1558; Benefices and beneficiaries 1550, 1556] (Veszprém: A Veszprém Megyei Levéltár Kiadványai, 1997), 13. See also: Balázs Karlinszky, *A veszprémi káptalan a középkorban. A veszprémi székeskáptalan középkori birtokai* [The Veszprém Chapter in the Middle Ages. The medieval estate of the Veszprém Chapter] (Piliscsaba: PPKE, 2013), 108.

³⁵¹ Éva Kovács, *A tihanyi összeírás mint helynévtörténeti forrás* [The land register of Tihany Abbey as a source of placename history] (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó, 2015), 100. See also Lajos Balogh and Ferenc Ördög ed., *Veszprém-megye földrajzi nevei* [Geographical placenames in Co. Veszprém], vol. 3, (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1991), 179, 187, 288–289.

³⁵² As for Gyepes (owned by the said Tamás) see MNL OL, DL 1968 (1319-07-17); reg.: Anjou Oklt, vol 5, 208-209; pub.: AOkmt, vol 1, 525–526. As for Erdőberénd, see MNL OL, DL 66623 (1341-11-25); Cf. László Solymosi, "Hospeskiváltság 1275-ben," *A Veszprém Megyei Levéltár Kiadványai* 3 (1984): 27, 78. According to this latter charter, the family owned also parts of *Bolde*, half of which was owned by Zirc. Cf. MNL OL, DF 200973 (1365-09-29); reg.: Horváth, *Zirc története*, no. 79; pub.: HO, vol 4, 200–202.

³⁵³ Cf. Lajos Takács, "Irtásföldek és irtási eszközök (irtókések) az Őrségben és a Felső-Rábavidéken," [Rodungsfelder und Rodungsgeräte (Schneitelmesser) im Örség und in der Obeben Räba-Gegend], *Ethnographia* 77 (1966): 23-24.

³⁵⁴ Elek Fényes, *Magyarországnak s a hozzákapcsolt tartományoknak mostani állapota* [The current situation of Hungary and its adjoint provinces] (Pest: n/a, 1841), 120.

from 1864³⁵⁵ there were, indeed, considerable woodlands in the area of the two Berénd. The activity of the monastery was most likely characterized here by extensive animal husbandry. A charter from 1356 also attests that the abbey received a mill here. It was formerly owned by the said Lőrente, but the abbot decided to give it back to Tamás, whom he acknowledged as the rightful owner. Perhaps this was in recompensation of a controversy that developed between the abbey and the family in the previous year, concerning the boundaries of Gyepüs.³⁵⁶

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 ³⁵⁵ MNL VeML, XV 11 a T 067: Tósokberend határának térképe [A map of Tósokberénd] [1864 – Müller János]
 356 MNL OL, DL 41290 (1356-10-18); reg.: Anjou Oklt, vol 40, 273; MNL OL, DL 41248 (1355-01-27); reg.: Horváth, Zirc története, no.73.

3.3.4 The grange of Pilis in Pomáz-Nagykovácsi (Co. Pilis)

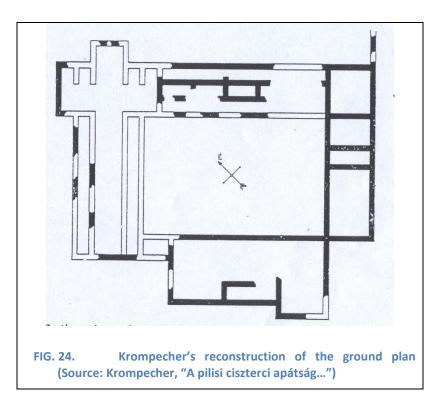
Concerning the grange of Pilis Abbey in Pomáz–Nagykovácsi-puszta, there is a better coverage of archaeological data regarding both the location of the farm and its broader landscape. Similarly to Olaszfalu, documentary sources are almost absent. The only document mentioning the village of Kovácsi is King Bela IV's aforementioned confirmation charter from 1254 (*villa Kouachi*). Along with other settlements listed therein, the village of Kovácsi was most probably part of the original donation of King Bela III. The lack of later references implies, however, that it did not survive into the late medieval period. The approximate site of the village is revealed by the 'Kowatsina' toponym, recorded on the map of the Second Military Mapping Survey [*FIG. 23*]. It was situated approximately 4 kms to the south-southeast from the monastery (in Pilisszentkereszt), downstream along the valley of the Dera Creek connecting the abbey and the grange, and between the bed of the Dera (on the southern side of the valley



FIG. 23. Pilisszentkereszt (the site of the abbey) and the valley of the Dera Creek (SW) with the site of 'Kowatsina' on the Second Military Mapping Survey (lower right corner)

bottom) and the modern road (on the northern side of it).

In the 1950s, archaeological field surveys have confirmed the location of the village, on the basis of surface finds.³⁵⁷ In 2001 a test excavation was carried out,³⁵⁸ which recovered traces of ironworking, substantiating the claims that the settlement functioned as a "village of blacksmiths", as implied by its name, and also that it did not survive into the late medieval period. Settlements with similar occupational names were typical for royal estates, populated by royal servants, whose duty was to supply the royal *curiae* with different services and materials.³⁵⁹ Those monasteries, which received royal donations could rely on the services of these people to manage the economy of their estates.³⁶⁰



The site of the grange was known to archaeologists since the late nineteenth century, but it was originally thought to have been the site of a monastery Following the first excavation campaign conducted in 1928, László Krompecher claimed to have found the Cistercian monastery of

Pilis.³⁶¹ He recovered several wall fragments, on the basis

of which he published a tentative reconstruction of the ground plan [*FIG. 24*] . Later research highlighted, however, that this was rather imaginative, and his excavation methods and interpretations were problematic.

³⁵⁷ MRT, vol 7, 196.

³⁵⁸ Tamás Repiszky, "Pomáz, Kovácsi (MRT 13/1.k. 23/26.lh.)" in: Régészeti kutatások Magyarországon 2001. [Archaeological Investigations in Hungary 2001] (Budapest: KÖH-MNM, 2003), 205.

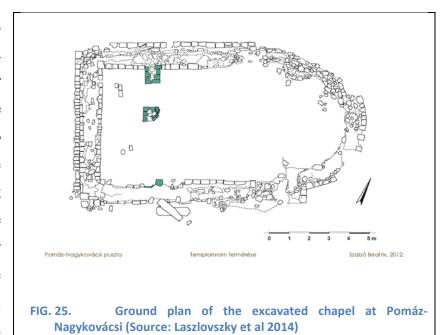
³⁵⁹ On this issue see: Péter Kis, *A királyi szolgálónépi szervezet a 13-14. században* [The institution of royal household population in the thirteenth-fourteenth century] (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2010).

³⁶⁰ Prominent example is the conscription of the Pannonhalma estate. Cf. László Solymosi, "Albeus mester összeírása és a pannonhalmi apátság tatárjárás előtti birtokállománya" [The conscription of Magister Albeus and the estate of Pannonhalma before the Mongol Invasion], in *Mons Sacer 996*–1996 (Pannonhalma 1000 éve), vol 1, ed., Imre Takács (Pannonhalma: Várszegi A., 1996), 515–526.

³⁶¹ László Krompecher, "A pilisi ciszterci apátság és a Szent Keresztnek szentelt pilis pálos kolostor építészetimaradványai," *A Magyar Mérnök és Építész Egylet Közlönye* 62 (1928): 329–333; Idem, "A pilisi apátság romjainak fellelése," *Technika* 15 (1934/2): 36–37.

After WWII, the excavations at Pomáz did not continue, and from the 1970s the excavation of the Pilis monastery begun by László Gerevich, diverting attention from the Pomáz site. ³⁶² More recently, Krompecher's results as well as later field reports (by Sándor Sashegyi, an amateur archaeologist) have been evaluated by József Laszlovszky, who concluded that the building complex functioned as a grange of Pilis. ³⁶³ Systematic landscape surveys and archaeological investigations began in 2011.

Thus far, the excavation has fully exposed the walls of a small church (with semicircular apse) [FIG. 25], standing at the centre of a courtyard, and also revealed certain sections of the surrounding walls of the buildings, as well as some graves of the church cemetery (both around and inside the church) and several archaeological features



associated with glass production (both inside and outside the church and the western range of the surrounding buildings). In this chapter, I will only refer to relevant observations with regard to the topography and historic land-use of the site; industrial activities – including archaeological evidence from the monastery – will be discussed in Chapter 4.

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³⁶² See his publications in Chapter 1, footnote 17.

³⁶³ József Laszlovszky, "Ciszterci vagy Pálos?: a Pomáz-Nagykovácsi-pusztán található középkori épületmaradványok azonosítása," [Cistercian or Paulinian? The identification of the ruins at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi-puszta] in *A Ciszterci Rend Magyarországon és Közép-Európában*, ed., Barnabás Guitman (Piliscsaba: PPTE, 2009), 191–288

The medieval building complex consisted of three large rectangular buildings (about 10 x 30 m each) arranged around a rectangular courtyard with a small, fully detached chapel at its center.

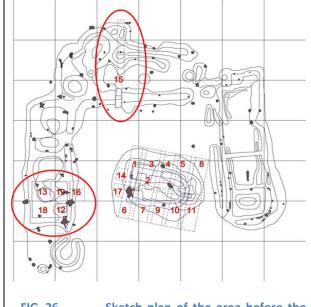


FIG. 26. Sketch plan of the area before the excavation showing the approximate situation and orientation of the buildings and the location of the trenches (with numbers) [2011-2014]

[FIG. 26] Similar ground plans are known from elsewhere: based on the work of Colin Platt³⁶⁴ rectangular courtyards, with chapel buildings, which were built specifically for the use of laybrothers (conversi) to allow them to stay at work and attend the mass during the day with inner and outer courts were a characteristic arrangement.

In case of Pomáz, there is a different explanation for the presence of the small church. The excavation has shown that not only the orientation of the building is clearly different from that of the others, but also its building technique and materials. The church had ashlar-lined walls, whereas the

surrounding buildings had rubble masonry. Interestingly, ashlar walls were applied in case of other churches nearby, which can be perhaps connected to the Cistercians (e.g. in Békásmegyer), ³⁶⁵ and it seems that the use of this technique on similar buildings might have been influenced by monastic architecture. ³⁶⁶ About twenty graves were found both inside and outside of the church. Based on stratigraphic observations (there were no datable grave goods

³⁶⁴ Colin Platt, *The Monastic Grange in Medieval England: A Reassessment* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1969). A more recenty survey on church buildings and monastic granges has been done by James Bond, *Monastic Landscapes* (Stroud: Tempus, 2004), 101–123, 227–229, 234–237.

³⁶⁵ Cf. László Ferenczi, "Molendium ad Aquas Calidas. A pilisi ciszterciek az állítólagos Fehéregyházán. Történeti, topográfiai és tájrégészeti kutatás a pilisi apátság birtokán" [Molendinum ad Aquas Calidas. The Pilis Cistercians at the suspected site of Fehéregyháza] *Studia Comitatensia*, new series, 1 (2014), 145–160.

³⁶⁶ József Laszlovszky , Dóra Mérai, Beatrix Szabó and Mária Vargha, "The "Glass Church" in the Pilis Mountains," *Hungarian Archaeology* 3 (2014/2): 1–11. Open access: http://www.hungarianarchaeology.hu/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Laszlovszky_E14T.pdf On the other hand, the data provided here – for the detailed list of places I thank hereby to Mária Vargha – may suggest some connections between the occurrence of this building method and certain monastic estates (e.g. Benedictine, Premonstratensian, and Cistercian alike). Cistercians as landlords could apparently influence the architectural style of parish churches on their estates. An example of this from the region is the estate of Sedlec and the area around Kutna Horá, where this connection could be demonastreted with regard to the style of the belltowers of parish churches. Cf. Karel Kibic, "Vesnické kostely na panství cisterciáckého kláštera v Sedlci u Kutné Hory" [Village churches on the estate of the Cistercian monastery in Sedlec near Kutna Hora], *Zprávy památkové péče* 71 (2011/4) 281–288.

found), most of these could be medieval and apparently belonged to a churchyard cemetery. The full extent of the cemetery has yet to be assessed. A fragment of a bronze processional cross was also found, as scatter find (by metal detectoring), in the SW corner of the courtyard. It is dated to the early period of the site. This and the graves confirm that the church could function, indeed, as the parish of the nearby settlement. Archaeological features found inside and outside the surrounding domestic buildings – thus far the northern and western ranges have been investigated by test trenching –, however, were dated to the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, and this suggests that the farm was established considerably later. When exactly this second construction took place, requires further excavations and the detailed assessment of the finds recovered so far, focusing e.g. on the stratigraphic relationship between the buildings and the graves of the cemetery.



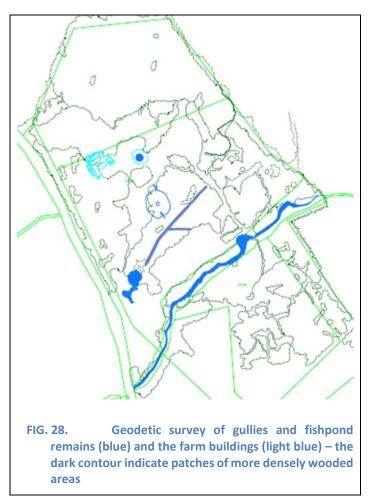
FIG. 27. The area of the present day farm (outlined) [source: https://www.mepar.hu/mepar/] and the situation of the ruins within the area

The parcel size of the present day farm around the site [FIG. 27] is about 30-40 hectares, and it is roughly identical with that of the nineteenth century farm, the size and location of which is shown on the Military Mapping Surveys. The boundary line was apparently defined by

³⁶⁷ Similar pieces are known from the late twelfth to mid-thirteenth century. See Zsuzsa Lovag, *Mittelalterliche Bronzgegenstände des Ungarischen Nationalmuseum*. (Catalogi Musei Nationalis Hungarici. Seria Archeologica 3) Budapest: MNM, 1999), 45–46 and 163 (no.76–77)

landscape features – i.e. by two roughly parallel SW-NE gullies, and (further uphill) by a ridge of the Pilis mountain –, there could have been likely a continuity between the medieval and the pre-modern/modern situations as well.

The site of the building complex is situated in the NW corner of the farmland [*FIG. 28*], on a plateau of a hillslope, about 20-40 meters above the valley of the Dera Creek (ca 250 m asl).



The three large farm buildings are connected in right angles – along the edges of the small plateau – providing extra protection from those sides where the slope of the hill is the steepest (NW, SW), but allowing access to the chapel and the courtyard from the direction of multiple fishponds (E, SE), which were connected by a channel running down gently towards the bottom of the valley [FIG]. None of these ponds appear on the maps of the Military Mapping Surveys, which shows their earlier origin and that they were already out of use by that time. They likely harvested the rainwater through an extensive network of ditches and

dykes and were perhaps supplied also by an underground water spring.³⁶⁸ Similar water

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The Bükkös Creek, on the other (northern) side of the ridge of the hill was characterized as follows: "Hilltop areas have sufficient rainwater source, yet, the edges of the catchment areas are short of water. Supply varies between extremities, so tapping them for water supply is not possible. Due to periodicities, the water is usually polluted. Due to shortages in the supply and the steep slopes, standing waters could not develop, as they became very soon silted." Cf. Borbála Széles, "A Bükkös-patak vízgyűjtőjének átfogó hidrológiai vizsgálata". Budapest: BME Építőmérnöki Kar, Vízépítési és Vízgazdálkodási Tanszék, TDK Konferencia, 2011), 5. Patterns of water supply in modern times, however, could be substantially different due to altered hydrological and climate conditions. In what ways the water system of the grange was supplied, need further investigations.

management systems can be found at several other monastic sites in the Pilis and Bakony mountains – not only Cistercian, but for example also Paulinian houses. 369

The area to the NE and E of the buildings seems terracced: there are lines of stones visible on the surface, but whether these were medieval features (e.g. indicate ploughland terraces) is yet to be ascertained. Despite occassional weather extremeties (e.g. extreme cold or flashfloods), this woodland edge area could have been suitable for the cultivation of crops or vineyards in medieval times. There were once vineyards on the higher lying hillslopes in the vicinity of Pilisszentkereszt as illustrated by the Military Mapping Surveys. In the thirteenth century, the tenants of the abbey in Boron (today in Csobánka) likely specialized in wine production, as

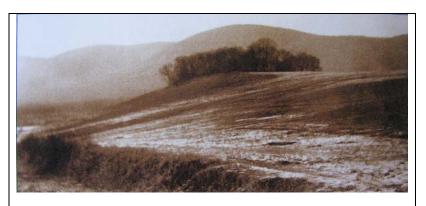


FIG. 29. The area of the site photographed in the 1900s, with the patch of wood covering the site of the ruins) (Source: Szörényi and Repiszky, *Legendák és valóság*, 166.)

they were paying wine tax.³⁷⁰ However, landscape archaeological surveys conducted in the area of Nagymaros (opposite to Visegrád) illustrate that derelict terraced vineyards look much different from what could be evidenced at the farm site.³⁷¹ Whether the

hillslope was cultivated in any possible way remains an issue to be further investigated. It was definitely reforested only recently, since an early twentieth century photograph revealed that it

³⁶⁹ Zsuzsanna Eszter Pető, "Medieval Pauline Monastic Space in a Royal Forest: Spatial Analysis in the Pilis," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 21 (2015): 1–22.

³⁷⁰ MNL OL, DL 2879 (1329-10-09): Concerning wine tax see the collection of *cibriones* at Borsmonostor. As for Boron and land-use in the central part of the estate cf. László Ferenczi and József Laszlovszky, "Középkori utak és határhasználat a pilisi apátság területén" (Medieval Roads and Land Use Patterns on the Estate of the Pilis Abbey) *Studia Comitatensia*, New Series 1 (2014): 103–124.

³⁷¹ Extant remains of vineyard terraces are usually dated to the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries, and not before. An exception: Andrea Kiss, Zoltán Sümeghy, Attila Czene, Zoltán Karancsi, "Wine and Land Use in Nagymaros, Northern Hungary: A Case Study from the Danube Bend," In *Acta Climatologica et Chorologica Universitatis Szegediensis*, 38–39 (2005): 97–109;. The remains of the stone walls of such terraces could be sometimes more than a metre high. Cf. Judit Endrődi, "A szőlőművelés múltja és jelene a Vászolyi-medencében," (The past and present of the cultivation of grapes in the Vászoly-basin) in Természetföldrajzi folyamatok és formák" in *Geográfus Doktoranduszok IX. Országos Konferenciájának Természetföldrajzos Tanulmányai*, ed. Tímea Kiss. Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem, 2009, 137.

was clear of woodland by that time – probably ploughed and/or used as pasture in a rotational system [FIG. 29]. 372

Similarly to Olaszfalu, the main problem here is that we are not able to trace back historic landuse patterns much earlier than the First Military Mapping Survey (late eighteenth c.). A survey of estate records available from the period following the end of the Ottoman occupation (1686) demonstrated that land-use patterns changed drastically in the region: the lands of abandoned, deserted settlements were used as hay pastures, 373 and deforestation of previously untouched woodlands occurred on a considerable scale. This was due to the increasing significance of animal farming supplying the growing urban population. The present day use of the area – as a goat farm – actually seems to contribute to the restoration of the historic (medieval?) character of the landscape, as the flock gradually eats away considerable part of the shrubs below the canopy of trees.

As for patterns of medieval-use, speculative points can be made. From the lack of late medieval references concerning the village one may infer that the Árpád period settlement became deserted at some point – speaking of which 1254 is apparently the "terminus post quem." Settlement desertion can be widely observed in the late thirteenth – early fourteenth century in Hungary, in connection to the nucletaion of settlement forms, and the contraction of the settlement network. In this region, in the neighbourhood of royal centres, the population could naturally gravitate towards the nearby towns. This process could be also catalized by the Mongol invasion (1241-42). Alternatively, there could be also a deliberate intention to free up agricultural lands along the valley of the Dera, once the farm buildings were established in the vicinity of the abbey, yet, it needs further claraification whether one can ascribe the desertion of the village to the Cistercians. Excavations recovered thus far only a few remains from the village, which do not inform about the chronology or possible cause of desertion. The grange was probably created later than the late thirteenth century, and if it involved a drastic change in the prevailing land-use system (focusing on animal farming), then, environmental archaeological investigations would be able to find out more about this change. Similarly to

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³⁷² Levente Szörényi and Tamás Repiszky, ed. *Legendák és valóság a Pilisben A gigászok küzdelmétől a Holdvilágárokig - Sashegyi Sándor Emlékezetére* [Legends and Reality in the Pilis. From the clash of the titans to the Holdvilág – rift. In memoriam Sándor Sashegyi] Budapest: Heti Válasz Kiadó, 2012, 166.

³⁷³ Éva Gál, "Buda környéke a töröktől való visszafoglalás idején," (Die Umgebung von Buda (Ofen) zur Zeit der Rückeroberung von den Türken) *Budapest Történetének Múltjából* 23 (1991): 77–101.

³⁷⁴ In 2014 and 2015, pollen samples were taken from several fishponds by Alex Brown (Dept. Of Archaeology, University of Reading, UK) and Pál Sümegi (Dept. of Geology and Paleozoology, University of Szeged, Hungary).

Olaszfalu, however, it seems very likely that pastures and not ploughlands were occupying the valley, as was generally typical in the vicinity of the monasteries. Evidence concerning Olaszfalu, Kovácsi, and Berénd– as upland granges – reflect altogether a slightly different focus of land-use, where the management of cropland or vineyards was less important, but rather that of woodland (pastures) and water (ponds, mills).

3.3.5 A possible grange of Pilis in Pozsonysákány (Co. Sopron)

Pozsonycsákány (Csákány, Čakany), together with all other lands of the abbey, was mentioned for the first time in King Bela IV's confirmation charter in 1254 (as *villa Chakan*). It is referred as the land of the abbey (as *villa* or *possessio*) in later perambulations of its neighbours of the abbey. The most important document concerning Csákány is a transaction from 1341. The monks made a deal (*permutatio seu concambium*) with the archbishop of Esztergom: in exchange for having been granted exemption by the archbishop from paying tithes (*decima*) in Csákány, they agreed to hand over the *census* collected in two other possessions of the abbey (*possessiones dicte ecclesie nostre in Humoro et Buhtirian*). As narrated herewith, these other lands were already in lease: *Buhtirian* was leased to the archbishop himself (so he became eventually free from paying the rent there), and *Humoro* was leased to Jacob, the *iudex* of Pozsony, and his son Nicholas. The contract was intended for a 20 years period, following which the two aforementioned leases were to be returned, and the tithes from Csákány were to be reassigned to the archbishop.

On the one hand, the *concambium* – or better said the swap of the aforementioned payments – was of practical value for both parties: for the archbishop it made sense to get hold of lands closer to his own properties (in Szunyogdi and Püspöki), and for the abbey it made the

³⁷⁵ The confirmation was likely needed because the original charter was lost during the Mongol attacks.

³⁷⁶ MNL OL, DL 7994 (1394-11-25); reg.: Zs, vol 1, no.3722: "circa metas ville Chakan abbatis de Pilisio"; DL 9883 (1412-02-06); reg.: Zs, vol 3, no. 1705: "possessio Chakan domini abbatis de Pylis"; DL 9970 and 61321 (1412-10-21); reg.: Zs, vol 3, no. 2817: "A parte possessionis Chakan vocate domini abbatis Pylysiensis tres metas erexissent quarum unam FelJanyok secundum dicte possessione Chakan et tertia predicte ville Madaraz. Deinde ad partes orientales pervenissent, ad unam metam antiquam secus quandam viam Vasaruth appellatam...ad eandem plagam eundo pervenissent ad unam metam penes eandem viam. Abhinc versus plagam septemtrionalem per modicum spatium eundo tres metas...quarum unam Janyok superiori dictarum dominarum, aliam possessionem Madaraz, et tertiam ville Kisjanyok...deinde declinando versus fluvium Homoro...lbique dictum fluvium pertranseundo penes domum jobagionis ipsius magistri Jacobi sub arboribus nucum unam...abhinc directe eundo versus eandem plagam...versus fluvium Molomuize in campo unam metam cursualem erexissent. Deinde eundo prope litus dicti fluminis Molomuize... abhinc dictam aquam Molomuiz / Molomuize per medium scendendo semper sursum tendendo usque ad aciem cuiusdam insule Varachuelgezigeth / Varachuelgezygeth vocate ... dicta vero insula Varachuelgezigeth / Varachuelgeziget dictis dominabus remanente."

³⁷⁷ MNL OL, DF 209028 (1341-05-03); pub.: Békefi, *A pilisi*, 335–337.

administration of different payments simpler (avoiding circular payments). On the other hand, alleviating the tenants of Csákány from paying tithes may reflect the significance of the property as a valuable farmland, while other properties were perceived as more "expendable." The collection of tithes from the tenants of the abbey in Csákány may seem as a much unwanted condition.³⁷⁸

All the more so, as in 1436, we hear again about the *decima* to be payed by the tenants of the abbey in Csákány. 68 florins of debt was accumulated within a certain period of time (not specified), however, the abbey brokered a 18 florins deduction in exchange for a *predium* in Kishéreg (Co. Komárom), which was situated *in contigua vicinitatis* of the archbishop's land in Héreg.³⁷⁹ From a broader perspective, similar transactions can be seen as evidence for the reorganization of the demesne: some farms were sold, some were kept, apparently those, where conditions for agricultural production were more favourable.³⁸⁰



³⁷⁸ It might have been perceived as an infringement of the Cistercian's exemption from tithes, which was an important privilege granted by the popes. Usually, such privileges were granted in case of those lands, which were managed by the order as demesne. Cf. Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes: From Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Though. New Series) Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1964, 278, passim.

³⁷⁹ MNL OL, DF 209069 (1436-10-09); pub.: Békefi, A pilisi, 404-405.

³⁸⁰ Wilhelm Janssen, "Zisterziensische Wirtschaftsführung am Niederrhein: Das Kloster Kamp und seine Grangien im 12.-13 . Jahrhundert" In Villa - Curtis - Grangia. Landwirtschaft zwischen Loire und Rhein von der Römerzeit zum Hochmittelalter. Économie rurale entre Loire et Rhin de l'époque gallo-romaine au XIIe–XIIIe siècle. 16. Deutsch-französisches Historikerkolloquium des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Paris, Xanten, 28.9.–1.10, 1980 (Beihefte der Francia, 11), ed. Walter Janssen and Dietrich Lohrmann München: Artemis, 1983, 205–221.

FIG. 30. The so called 'northern' fields in Csákány in 1767. The manorial arable was not a separate block, but devides into strip parcels, which indicate that their management relied on the peasants [Source: MNL, OL S 12 [Helytartótanácsi térképek] Div V No 0024: Agri Septemtrionales Venerabilis Residentiae Csákányiensis ad Abbatiem Pilisensem pertinentis, 1767, Adrianus Pater Prof Geometra)

The location of the farm in Csákány is shown on an estate map from 1767 [*FIG. 30*], and later also on the map of the First Military Survey [*FIG. 31*]. The settlement was a single street village with strip parcels, and the buildings of the manorial complex were situated at its western end. There is also a *Conscriptio* (a register) from 1787, which describes the farm buildings and movables in great details.³⁸¹ In the nineteenth century, the buildings were transformed into a family residence owned by the famous Hungarian historical anthropologist and traveler, Antal Reguly, whose father was a lawyer of Zirc Abbey.³⁸² As described by Arnold Ipolyi, a paleographer and archaeologist, the constructions preserved traces of the medieval buildings: his travelogue mentions that the layout of rooms in one of the outbuildings resembled the cells of the monks.³⁸³ Based on this account, Remig Békefi concluded that the existence of a grange in Csákány is 'undisputable'.³⁸⁴

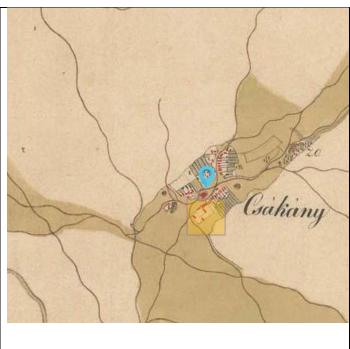


FIG. 31. The location of the farm buildings on the map of the First Military Survey.

"An inventory survived from 1686, drawn up apparently by Heinrichau monks in preparation of taking over the administration of Zirc, 385 which records – in addition to the *curia* that functioned probably as an abbatial residence – also a manorial building or house (*majos haz*), described as "nice and spacious". It is also noted that there is no additional iformation available on any pastures, woodlands or fishponds/fisheries, which could have belonged to the abbey. This

³⁸¹ MNL OL, C 103 (Helytartótanácsi Llt) *Conscriptio bonorum*. Bundle no. 23, Fol. No. 177-230.

³⁸² By that time, Zirc Abbey became the head of the Cistercian congregation in Hungary, and heir to the estates of some other Cistercian houses (including Pilis), which were formerly dissolved by the Habsburgs.

³⁸³ Arnold Ipolyi, "Csalló-közi útiképek," [Travelogue from the Csalló-köz] *Vasárnapi Újság*. January 10, 1858.

³⁸⁴ Békefi, *A pilisi*, 188–190

³⁸⁵ MNL OL, UC 99:64: "Inventarium possessionis Czakany ad abbatiam Pellisiense pertinentis" [1686].

means that the records about such properties must have gone missing already.

The aforementioned map hints on the significance of crop production as the dominant agricultural regime at this manor. The reference on crop tithes (*decima frugum*) in 1436 (see above) also underlines this. Historical descriptions of this region note its richness in fruit trees, ³⁸⁶ and historical ecological studies suggest that local woodlands could be also important economic resources, as gallery woodlands and river pastures along the Danube coud be used for extensive animal husbandry. ³⁸⁷ The most important asset was, however, the fertile alluvium that could provide above average crop yields. This explains why the abbey had other manorial lands in the vicinity of Csákány. In fact, it was not only the Cistercians, but there were also secular and ecclesiastical lords who had large farmlands in the area. Right next to there was Jányok (next to Csákány). ³⁸⁸ In Jányok itself the Poor Clares of Óbuda had their farm run by an 'officialis', ³⁸⁹ where they also possibly owned a mill, ³⁹⁰ which could serve the needs of the Cistercians as well. In Csallóközkürt (*Kywrth*), a similarly large farm belonged to the Szentgörgy-Bazin family – this underlines the significance of arable farming in the area. ³⁹¹

3.3.6 Other manorial farms of Pilis in the Csallóköz (Co. Pozsony) and in Héreg (Co. Komárom)

In addition to Csákány, the monks had farmlands in at least two other locations in the Csallóköz, in the vicinity of Csákány. They were not adjacent to it, but they were closeby; similarly to Csákány, they were situated along the trade route (*vasarwth* ~ *market route*) that connected Pozsony, Vienna and Buda. These properties are mentioned under different names, they first appear in the early fourteenth century, in leasing contracts, which involved the abbey and prominent members of the town community of Pozsony. Although Békefi transcribed most of these documents, he did not consider the topographical details and also made errors. Based on

³⁸⁶ For example, István Werbőczy and Miklós Istvánffy, humanist historiographers described the interfluvial region of Csallóköz as particularly rich in nut trees and fruit trees. See Attila Kovács Paládi, ed. *Magyar Náprajz* [Hungarian Ethnography], vol 2. Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 2001, 505.

³⁸⁷ See e.g. Bertalan Andrásfalvy, "Weidegang und Hirtenwesen in Transdanubien und in der Grossen Ungarischen Tiefebene," *A Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum Közleményei* (1971–72): 229–231.

³⁸⁸ MNL OL, DL 3778 (1358-05-27): a 400 *iugera* large land is mentioned between Jányok and Magyar owned by local nobles.

³⁸⁹ MNL OL, DL 8505 (1399-11-14); reg.: Zs, Vol 1, no. 6140.

³⁹⁰ MNL OL, DL 7994 (1394-11-25): It is indirectly indicated by the toponym "Malomvize" (Mill-stream) in the text of the charter:

³⁹¹ MNL OL, DL-DF 227791 (1406-06-28 > 1406-07-13)

maps and perambulation data, I will provide a closer reading here, correcting these errors and localizing these lands accurately.

In 1301,³⁹² a piece of land (*terra*) was mentioned, situated between the abbey's lands (*terrae*) in *Pruk* and *Humoro*. As explained, it had been once inhabited, but it was unjustly occupied and finally deserted (*habitatoribus destituta*, *tunc fuerat vacua et deserta*), so the abbot decided to lease the land perpetually for a yearly payment (two marks) to a certain *comes Hambaton* (*locavimus...in perpetuum in filios filiorum habendam...*). Hambaton was a venerable townsman of Pozsony³⁹³ and a banker to Cardinal Gentilis de Monteflorum, the papal legate responsible for the collection of papal tithes and active in Hungary in the forthcoming years.³⁹⁴ *Hambaton* was entrusted to "renovate" the land, with the counsel and approval of the abbot (*terre particula possit reformari cum consilio et consensus nostri*).

In 1341,³⁹⁵ his heirs (son and grandsons, *Jacobus filius Alberti dicti Hombath civis in Posonio, necnon unacum eodem discreti iuvenes Nicolaus et Johannes filii Henrici fratris eiusdem Jacobi*) decided to sell an *allodium*, considered as their hereditary property. It was situated in the vicinity of the Homoró stream (*super aquam Humuro in Chollokuz in vicinitate terre Pruk*). It stated, this was the same piece of land, which had been leased to *comes Hambaton* for a yearly census of twenty *pensa* (two marks): 'quam scilicet terram a ... fratre Stephano abbate per prius providus vir condam comes Albertus Hombatho memoratus, feudi titulo...iure perpetuo in filios filiorum... irrevocabiliter possidendam...compararat'. Thus, the renovation project was apparently successful, the terra was transformed into an allodium. The abbot granted Hambaton's heirs the permission to sell this as their property, on the condition that the monks would be paid an annual census and would retain the right to withdraw this license in case of infringements. It is important to note that despite that "perpetual" leases were considered hereditary, as referred in 1301 and 1341, such contracts did not seem to provide sufficient grounds to support the successive owners' claims, as they did not usually imply any

³⁹² MNL OL, DF 264839 (1301-07-24); also in transcriptions: DF 264842 (1311-07-12); DL 71356 (1340-10-03); reg.: Békefi, *A pilisi*, 335; pub.: AOkmt, vol 4, 43–44 (based on DL 71356)

³⁹³ Cf. Bálint Surányi, "Pozsonyi bíródinasztiák a XIII-XIV.században," (Les dynasties de magistrats presbourgeoises aux XIIIe - XIVe siècles), *Levéltári Közlemények* 35 (1964/2): 173–186.

³⁹⁴ Békefi, *A pilisi*, 192.

³⁹⁵ MNL OL, DL 71357 (1341-07-22); reg.: Békefi, *A pilisi*, 193 and 337; pub.: AOkmt, vol 4, 114–115.

liability for the lessors (except, when specified, e.g. to protect the lessee), but rather only offered an option to renew the contract. ³⁹⁶

Thus, by this permission, Hambaton's heirs eventually sold the *allodium* to *comiti Jacobo filio Dyeprehti*, who was also a *iudex* of Pozsony, and a member of another prestigious family of the town. He was, in fact, the son-in-law of Hambaton's grandson, Nicholas.³⁹⁷ In all probability, the abbey seems to have gradually lost control of this property and it was finally escheated by the king: the only reference dating from later is in 1462: *allodium Homoraw inter possessiones Szonyog et Pruk* appears in a context, completely similar to the one in 1341. This time, it was donated by King Ladislaus V to a certain Stephanus Gemattel, as nova donatio (he had this piece of land from the king already a while ago). As described, Stephanus was a former *iudex*, and now member of the town council (*iuratus*) in Pozsony.³⁹⁸ This transaction refers undoubtedly to the same land, which was from the fourteenth century on probably owned by prominent townsmen of Pozsony (on a consecutive basis).

There was another piece of land Pilis leased by the abbey in 1327 to Hambaton's grandson and grand-grandson (Nicholas and his son, John). The property was described as *terra seu possessio...Hueth*, and instead of the "perpetual" lease, the contract was made explicitly *ad vitam*, but similarly for a yearly census of 20 pensas (2 marks). The sum was to be paid to *magistrum nostrum in Posonio*. Nicholas was also required to invite the abbot for a meal twice a year (this became later a practice, officially taken care by the town of Pozsony – see Chapter 6). The 1341 exchange (concambium) – between the abbot and the archbishop of Esztergom that concerned the tithes from Csákány – assigned the payment of two marks from here (*racione cuiusdam sessionis seu curie in quadam porcione dicte terre Humuro*) to the archbishop. In 1348 Nicholas was still leasing it, when it is also stated that the abbot did not accept the two marks or 20 pensa payment *racione terre Hueth* from the said Nicholas, 401 which makes sense in context of the 1341 agreement.

³⁹⁶ Cf. e.g.: István Rugonfalvi Kiss, *Az egységes magyar nemesi rend kifejlődése.* (The formation of a uniform nobility) Debrecen: Debreceni M. Kir. Tisza István Tudományegyetemi Nyomda, 1932, 44.

³⁹⁷ Surányi, "Pozsonyi bíródinasztiák," 184.

³⁹⁸ MNL OL, DL 105414 (1462-06-07)

³⁹⁹ According to Surányi, "Pozsonyi bíródinasztiák", 185 both of them went by the nickname "circa portam," since they owned a house near one of the gates in Pozsony. This was later aquired by the abbot (See on this Chapter 6).

⁴⁰⁰ MNL OL, DL 41049 (1327-02-00 > 1347-08-03); reg.: AOklt, vol 11, 55.

⁴⁰¹ MNL OL, DF 238724 (1348-10-06); Békefi, A pilisi, 337-338.

Apart from Békefi's confusing narration, his topographical identifications for the *allodium* and for *terra Hueth* are also incorrect. He is not entirely right when equating *Hueth* with Hideghét (Studené, Gnadendorf), and he also mixes up references on *Hueth* and the *allodium*, as if they would concern the same property. It is clear from the documents (1301, 1341) that both farmlands were situated in the vicinity of *Pruk* (Dunahidas, Bruck, Most pri Bratislave) and of the *Humoro aqua*, which was a backwater of the Kisduna branch of the Danube. There are two important perambulations here, which Békefi made note in his book, however, did not look into (they were not transcribed). The two texts make perfectly clear, where the *allodium* and *terra Hueth* were situated. The first perambulation was made in 1338 concerning Dunahidas, and the second one dates from 1349 and concerns Mizsérd (Dunajská Luzná, Mischdorf). The first was made on the request of Jacob *iudex*, the son of the above referred Dyeprecht, and the second was requested by Jacob's sons, Stephen and Paul. 404

⁴⁰² Békefi, A pilisi, 193.

 $^{^{403}}$ MNL OL, DL 3203 (1338-09-15 > 1399-05-26); pub.: AOkmt, vol 3, 496–501

⁴⁰⁴ MNL OL, DL 4054 (1349-06-13 > 1365-02-14); pub.: Békefi, *A pilisi*, 352–354. Since they were landowners in Dunahidas and Mizsérd, it was their interest to have these lands perambulated in order to separate them from the lands subleased to them by the heirs of Hambaton and the abbey. In addition to the perambulations, their ownership is documented also in MNL OL, DL 5465 (1366-06-06); pub.: Békefi, *A pilisi*, 355–356.

The perambulation of Dunahidas (1338) is more detailed: it mentions both the *allodium* and the *terra*. The boundary began to the west from the village, at the main road (leading to Pozsony), and it was passing along *terra allodii Hambatonis* northwards, crossing the *meatum aquae Humero* and then also the Csalló River (Kisduna, Maly Dunaj). Then it went all around Dunahidas, to the east and then to the south, crossing the same water courses on the way back and reaching the point, which was described as the common boundary of Dunahidas, Hideghét, and *terra Heth filiorum Jacobi*. Since *terra Heth/Hueth* was originally acquired by Hambaton's grandson and grand grandson, it is rightly referred by the name *terra filiorum Jacobi / terram*



FIG. 32. The map of Second Military Survey, the area of 'Curia Petri' (Viertl-Feld) is highlighted (on the basis of the 1767 map), between Csölle and Mizsérd. To the north from that field, there were some allotments ('Haz Hellek'), indicating the possible location of a manor.

filiorum Jacobi Heth aridum vocatam / terra filiorum Jacobi que terra magistri dicitur. Thus, Hueth/Heth, was regarded as separate both from the said allodium (to the west from Dunahidas) and the village of Hideghét (to the east, northeast from it).

The perambulation of Mizsérd (1349) begins *primo in quadam terra*, *que <u>curia Petri</u> dicitur, penes brachium Danubii sunt due mete, quarum una terram dicte ville Miseer, reliqua vero terram abbatis de Pilisio Hueth vocatam separat et seiungit*. This clarifies that the abbey's terra was more to the south as it had also common boundaries with Mizsérd, and Peter's *curia*. About 400 years later, *Curia Petri*, alias *Viertl-Feld*, a piece of domanial arable, appears on the Map of the Second Military Survey [*FIG. 32*] NW from Mizsérd, between Mizsérd and Csölle (Rovinka, Woltersdorf), lying across the *via regia*, which connects the two villages and continues to Pozsony. ⁴⁰⁵ Thus, we can precisely identify the location of *Hueth* with the later Anna-major, NE from Mizsérd, between Mizsérd and Csütörtökhely. In this area, the First Military Mapping Survey inidicates that there were some allotments here (*Haz Hellek*), i.e. probably traces of a farmstead. The manorial farm (*m.h.* ~ *Maier-hof*) on the same map near

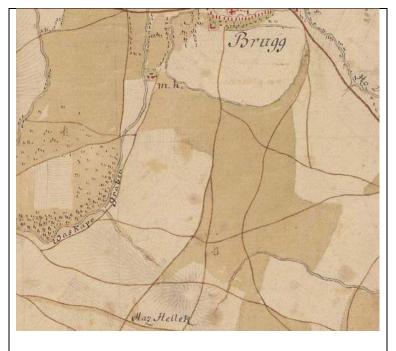


FIG. 33. Manorial farms (m.h. – 'mayer hof'; 'Haz hellek' – allotments) on the map of the First Military Survey in the vicinity of 'Curia Petri' Dunahidas.

Dunahidas (Brugg) can be tentatively identified with the site of Hambaton's *allodium*. [*FIG.* 33]

⁴⁰⁵ MNL VeML, XV 11 a T 098: Mappa curiae Petri Viertl-Feld nominatae in insula Csallóköz [1765 – Böhm Ferenc] The map survived in the Archive of Zirc Abbey, most probably because the abbey had its own land surveyed.

Concerning the *predium* in the vicinity of Héreg mentioned in 1436 (Co. Komárom), there is unfortunately no other reference, or perambulation available. The farmland was also transferred to the archbishop of Esztergom to redeem the tithes in the village of Csákány. Héreg was closer

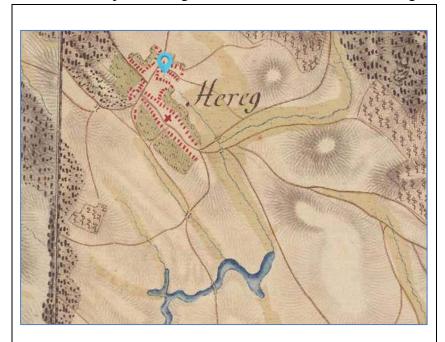


FIG. 34. The possible location of the predium of the abbey (Kishéreg) near Héreg, as can be assumed from the position of vineyards, fishponds and roads in the neighbourhood of the village.

to the monastery, situated along the main road to Pozsony, which could have been frequently used by the monks. The manor probably situated was near the Szent Lászlóstream, to the west from the village center, where the First Military Survey shows a fishpond and a vineyard [FIG. 34].

In summary, there are relatively few occurrences

of farmlands and other manorial properties in the documents of Pilis and Zirc. This suggests that direct management of agricultural lands and manorial economy was generally less in the focus in their case. Perhaps this was a consequence of the more significant losses of their archival records, however, these were the two abbeys, which had otherwise significant incomes from tolls.

On the other hand, the distant granges of Pilis in the Csallóköz region and in Héreg also illustrate the point, that Pilis did not have convenient options to establish large farms in the central part of its estate, at least not for crop farming. Although Csákány was situated at an unusual ditance, it was accessible on the trade route along the Danube, which went from Buda via Esztergom to Pozsony and Vienna. Cartographical data on Csákány and the Csallóköz illustrate that this area was especially fertile with many such farms. On the other hand, the woodland granges or farms in Olaszfalu, Akli, Berénd of Zirc, or the Kovácsi grange (of Pilis) could be different.

3.4 GRANGES AND MANORS ON THE SZENTGOTTHÁRD ESTATE

3.4.1 Granges in Badafalva, Janafalva, Nagyfalva, and Pocsfalva

A letter from Pope Urban III (1187), dating just three years after the foundation of Szentgothárd (1184) mentions Badafalva, Janafalva, Nagyfalva, and Pocsfalva as granges. The document was first presented by Teofil Heimb, 406 and it was discussed by Elek Kalász, 407 who interpreted it as a testimony to the traditional way of Cistercian estate organization: all of these places were centrally located, in an area surrounded by the Rába River and its tributary, the Lapincs, well within a distance of 15 kms and they were easily accessible from the monastery along the route of the Rába valley [Appendix]. The problemaic points: concerns about the relevance of similar references in papal documents have been raised, as has been already demonstrated in connection to Borsmonostor, 408 moreover, this letter is a forgery. 409

Regardless of these, the letter might provide credible data, however, Kalász was too quick to acknowledge, especially that he found no further references on these places mentioned as *grangiae*. Kalász also observed that the names of these settlements derive from the names of the abbey's servants mentioned in King Emeric's letter, which confirmed the original grant just about a decade later (1198),⁴¹⁰ and also listed a few other donations. It is clear from here that – similarly to Borsmonostor –, the Szentgotthárd Cistercians also received manorial farms with servants (*predia and servi*) and not simply lands and villages. (Some of these donations were not from the king, but from the local nobility.) From similar placanames (e.g. Tóthfalva, Zsidófalva, Szakonyfalva, Farkasfalva, Istvánfalva, Gárdonyfalva) to the south and east from Szentgotthárd), Kalász concluded that these, as well as other settlements within the estate, were also granges/manors, as the Cistercians colonized the area along the Rába River and its tributaries step-by-step. He even provided a hypothetical reconstruction concerning the process

⁴⁰⁶ Teofil Heimb, Notitia historica de ortu et progressu abbatiae sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis B. M. V. ad Sanctum Gotthardum dictae. Viennae: Franciscus Andreas Kirchberger, 1764, 43.

⁴⁰⁷ Kalász, *A szentgotthárdi*, 21-24.

⁴⁰⁸ See footnote 204...

⁴⁰⁹ Elemér Moór, *Westungarn im Mittelalter im Spiegel der Ortsnamen*. Szeged: Städt. Druck. und Buchverlag, 1936, 86.

⁴¹⁰ The '-falva' suffix translates as 'the village of...'. E.g. the name of Nagyfalva - Mogersford, pronounced as Mogvstoof) goes back to the name of 'Moch' mentioned in 1198. See MNL OL, DL 104875 (1198-00-00); reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 159; pub.: CD, vol 2, 326; Wenzel, vol 6, 193; See also Kalász, *A szentgotthárdi*, 136-137.

of internal colonization, of which the earliest stage was illuminated by the papal letter – as he believed [Appendix].⁴¹¹

Kalász' arguments were schematic, simplified or essentially false in many points. The servant families mentioned in 1198 had been likely settled there already before the lands were donated to the Cistercians. In case of Rábakethely, for example, archaeological investigations pointed to the earlier origin of the settlement. 412 On the other hand, Kalász did not distinguish between "manors" or "granges," or between villages and "manors." He simply insisted that each settlement was composed of two units: a "manor"/"grange" and an adjacent settlement of servi. Apparently, the lack of documents throughout the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries leave several questions open here, on which the present historical-topographical analysis focuses, namely: Did the Cistercians re-organize their benefices? Where, and how did they convert village lands or existing farms into granges? Did they create granges in areas previously uninhabited? Based on the papal latter, it might be safe to say that there were indeed granges/manors in Badafalva, Janafalva, Nagyfalva, and Pocsfalva, but the rest of Kalász's account is fiction. Hypothetically, it seems more reasonable to argue that since the estate was a congruent block of land (about 270 km2), a few granges close to the abbey and some distant farms could have been a more reasonable plan. Having manorial farms in each and every settlement – as Kalász implies – would have been unreasonable. It is also likely, , traditional manorial arrangements remained part of the estate's economic system – to what degree, that depended on the resources of the community.

The next relevant piece of evidence concerning the historical topography of the estate comes unfortunately after a huge chronological gap. It is a report from 1350 concerning a feud between the tenants of the abbey and the neighbours. The document has a supposedly complete list of the 'manors'/settlements (eighteen in total) and mentions some of the tenants by names, who were involved. All the eighteen settlements appear here as villae and the tenants as homines, *iobagiones*, and as *villici and hospites*. ⁴¹³ Based on this inquisitorial record (*littera inquisitorie*)

411 Kalász, A szentgotthárdi, 25.

⁴¹² Ilona Valter, "Szentgotthárd története a mohácsi vészig" [Die Geschichte von Szentgotthárd bis zur Niederlage bei Mohács]. In Szentgotthárd. Helytörténet, művelődéstörténeti, helyismereti tanulmányok, ed. Lajos Kuntár and László Szabó, Szombathely: Szentgotthárd Nagyközség Tanács, 1981, 29-81. On the other hand, it has to be noted that there has been no comprehensive archaeological topographical fieldwork done, which would improve our understanding of this issue.

⁴¹³ MNL OL, DL 100046 (1350-11-29); reg.: Kalász, A szentgotthárdi, 155-155. The villici of Badafalva, Cseretnek, Farkasfalva, Gárdonyfalva, Gyarmat, Huszaszo, Istvánfalva, Jánosfalva, Kalindicsfalva, Kedhely, Kristán and Nagyfalva, and the hospites of Kristán and Nagyfalva.are mentioned.

prepared in the course of a litigation process and not as a survey of economic assets, Kalász argued that before the mid fourteenth century the "manors" evolved into "villages". The development of manors stopped, and the adjacent settlements expanded due to demographic growth. This he saw as an organic and uniform development and as a change in the social-legal status of the tenants, which manifested in the right of iusrisdiction granted by the lord to the communities, i.e. the right to elect their *villici*, who were their representative in legal matters.⁴¹⁴

As references on the villici are key to Kalász's argumentation, we should stop here briefly to review his interpretation of the concept. The meaning of the villicus was originally associated with the *villicatio*, ⁴¹⁵ as the "manager" of the manor. However, the dissolution of the *villicatio*system during the course of the thirteenth century led to the emergence of Landsiedelrecht instead of *Meierrecht* in many places. This widespread social and economic change diversified the meaning of the villicus, and the term was more and more understood as referring to the legal representative of a particular settlement. It became a synonym of the scultetus, or iudex, and particularly in those regions, e.g. east of the Elbe, where the manorial system was not well rooted.416

In the Hungarian sources iudices seu villici are most of the time mentioned in connection to urban settlements and *hospes* communities, which acquired iudicial and economic priveleges (e.g. self-governance, exemptions from paying tolls). 417 The status of the *hospes* communities as forerunners of medieval towns apparently had an impact on rural societies, contributing to the formation of a legally integrated social layer, the *iobagiones*. 418

⁴¹⁴ Kalász A szentgotthárdi, 28.

⁴¹⁵ The *villicatio* (in German language research: *Villikationsverfassung*, in French: *domaine bipartite*) is a concept to describe the basic division of the traditional manorial estate into two parts: the lord's land (i.e. the villa, Hof, curia of the lord) and the holdings of the tenants (servi). For a brief introduction Michael Mitterauer, Why Europe? The Medieval origins of Its Special Paths. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010, see Chapter 2: 'Manor and Hide: The Manorial Roots of European Social Structures' 28–35.

⁴¹⁶ Leopold Schütte, "Der villicus im spätmittelalterlichen Westfalen." In Die Grundherrschaft im späten Mittelalter, vol 1-2. ed. Hans Patze. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1983. Vol 1, 343–368, 347 –348.

⁴¹⁷ Cf. Erik Fügedi, "Középkori városprivilégiumok," (Ungarische Stadtprivilegien im Mittelalter) *Tanulmányok* Budapest Múltjából 14 (1961): 17-108. More recently, in context of hospes communities: László Balázs, Vas megyei hospes privilégiumok az Árpád-korban," Hospes privileges from Co. Vas in the Árpád-period. Vasi Szemle 47 (2013) 412-424; Idem: Bíráskodási szabadság a XIII. századi hospesközösségekben (Judicial privileges of 13th c. hospes communities). Studia Iuvenum Iurisperitorum 6 (2012): 39–56.

⁴¹⁸ On this, see: László Solymosi, "Hospeskiváltság 1275-ből." (A Privilege of hospites from 1275) In: Tanulmányok Veszprém megye múltjából. (A Veszprém Megyei Levéltár Kiadványai, 3), ed. László Kredics. Veszprém: VMLt, 1984, 17–100. The social context is discussed by Cameron Stutt, Slavery in Árpád-era Hungary in a Comparative Context. (East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450, vol 31) Leiden: Brill, 2015, 195.

Thus, Kalász interpreteted the *villici* as the appointed legal representative of the respective villages. Elsewhere in his book, however, he also noted the *villicus seu officialis* in Szentiván near Almás (in 1376). ⁴¹⁹ This, then, is somewhat contradictory, illustrating the above described conceptual and functional distinctions between the original and later meanings of the term, i.e. the lord's appointed representative on the one hand, and the "headman" elected by the villagers on the other hand. Had they been all wardens/bailiffs in 1350, Kalász's argument would turn upside down. Hypotheticall, one would expect manorial officers (*officiales*) or laybrothers (*conversi*) to be mentioned in such a document, to provide testimony as witnesses. One should leave the possibility open that the *villici* were perhaps not representatives of their communities, but elected officials responsible for the coordination of the manors – without postulating that this applies uniformly.

In conclusion, these hypothetical points leave the question of manorial organization rather open. There is, however, a late fifteenth century land register – dating from ca 1480-1500⁴²⁰ [Appendix] –, which provides another snapshot view and is more to the point. This document has not been studied yet – as it was not known to Kalász –, but since its purpose is to give an account of the economic resources of the estate, it reveals a lote more details about manorial organization and land-use, than the above two documents. In the following section, I will provide a detailed analysis, focusing on the contextualization of data in a topographical context, using military maps and later documents (eighteenth century demographic records).

3.4.2 Excursion: the late fifteenth century land register of the Szentgotthárd estate

The land register of Szentgotthárd contains a list of twenty-seven settlements, describing for each the numbers of integer, half, quarter and deserted allotments, and the payments and duties of the tenants in cash and kind, as well as their labour services (in chronological order, according to the dates when they were due). Some of these contributions/requirements reflect general patterns – a system similar to that of other estates. For example, payments in kind occurred typically throughout the year, on major feastdays (Penthecost, Assumption of the

⁴¹⁹ In 1376 János Szentpéterfalvi was mentioned as having both titles (*villicus* and *officialis*). Kalász, *A szentgotthárdi*, 40. The charter could not have been traced since the exact date and issuer were not mentioned. ⁴²⁰ MNL OL, DL 104622 (ca 1480-1500). I am grateful for my late professor András Kubinyi for drawing my attention to this source. The documents has been identified as the land register of Szentgotthárd Abbey by András Kubinyi: Mátyás király és a monasztikus rendek. In: András Kubinyi, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon*. Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség 1999,

Virgin Mary, All Saints', St. Martin's, Christmas),⁴²¹ and payments in cash were collected on the days of St John, St Michael, St Laurence, marking the turning points of the agricultural calendar.

3.4.2.1 Data concerning payments and services and their implications concerning estate structure (settlement groups)

From our point of view, the differences are more interesting, because they characterize three distinctive groups of settlements [see in the Appendix]. The first group consists of those places (Bocsfalva, Bodafalva, Börgölin, Csörötnek, Dolinc, Gyanafalva, Háromház, Huszaszó, Istvánfalva, Kethely, Nagyfalva, Orfalu, Permisse, Raks, Szakonyfalva, Telekpataka, Tótfalva), where payments in kind were due between the day of Saint Gotthard (05.05) and either the day of All Saints (11.01), or the day of Saint Martin (11.11). St Martin and All Saints day connect in fact to dedications of the estate's two parishes, in Nagyfalva (St Martin) and Kethely (All Saints). The date of payments was assigned according to which parish the settlement was affiliated to. Importantly, the data corresponds to the parish system as we know it in the early eighteenth century [see Appendix], thus, remained unchanged since medieval times. 422 Most of those settlements whose names end with the '-falva' suffix are in this group, including the ones mentioned in the papal charter from 1187, are in this this group. Thus, the group may represent a fairly early layer of the settlement network. 423

The second group consists of settlements (Almás, Edelics, Kisfalud, Köröstyén, Olaszfalu, Lak, Gyepűslak/Magyarlak, Újlak), where the rent was paid mostly in cash: amounts of 30-40 *denarii* were paid on three occassions throughout the year, and they also paid tithes after from

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⁴²¹ For a comparative survey of data concerning different estates: László Solymosi, *A földesúri járadékok új rendszere a 13. századi Magyarországon* [A new system of feudal services in Hungary in the thirteenth century]. Budapest: Argumentum, 1998, 74–86; Idem, "Munera festivalia – ünnep és adózás." (Munera festivalia – Feastdays and taxation) In Egyházak a változó világban (a Nemzetközi Egyháztörténeti Konferencia előadásai : Esztergom, 1991. május 29-31), ed. István Bárdos, Margit Beke. Budapest: Tatabánya Komárom-Esztergom M. Önkormányzat JAMK, 149–156; László Erdélyi's essay analyzes conscriptions from Pannonhalma and services according to different groups. Cf. Erdélyi László, *Egyházi földesúr és szolgái a középkorban*. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1907,

⁴²² The affiliation of settlements to the four main parishes (in Kethely, Nagyfalva, Gyanafalva and Gyarmat) is documented in an eighteenth century record. Cf. Heimb, *Notitia*, 55-60. (see color codes in the Appendix).

⁴²³ Miklós Kázmér wrote a monographic study on placenames of this type, and argued that they appear in the thirteenth century – and probably already in the late twelfth century –, although most of them date from the fifteenth century. Cf. Miklós Kázmér, *A "falu" a Magyar helynevekben. XIII-XIX. század.* (The "falu" in Hungarian placenames) (Nyelvészeti Tanulmányok, 13) Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970, 58–59. Although the late twelfth century dating fits well with the available data, he accepts Elemér Moór's opinion that the 1187 reference is not reliable as the document might be a fifteenth century forgery. See footnote 407.

wine and pigs (*decima* and *tributum*). The tenants of Almás were required to perform manual labour, taking care of the abbey's vineyards, and the tenants of Olaszfalva and Lak were resposible for wine transports – they were entitled to two barrels of wine from each household in Almás, and the register refers to them as *portatores vini*, who paid taxes to the abbey after selling the wine. Almás in contrast to the first group, none of these settlements paid rent on St Gotthard's day. Maybe this signals that these settlements are chronologically later than the first group. Almás is the one of these settlements are not only finds again some names with the first group, falud's suffix, but there are also the ones with the first suffix. Importantly, György Györffy pointed out this latter occurs typically in case of those settlements, which were mentioned as *predia* or *curia* in the eleventh and twelth centuries.

In addition to the labour services of tenants residing in these places, Györffy's point is further substantiated – as we will see –, by earlier references on Almás as *predium* and *grangia*. Furthermore, the register explicitly refers to Olaszfalva (Lapincsolaszi, Wallendorf) and Lak (Deutsch Minichhof) as *villicatus*. Unlike the *villicus/villici* in 1350, this stands here clearly for manorial (allodial) properties, typically under the supervision of a *locum tenens* – a steward/reeve –, who could be named as *villicus*, but in the Hungarian records more often as *officialis*. The German name of Lak (Minihof ~ Mönch-Hof) and Gyepűslak/Magyarlak (Ungarisch Mönchhoffen) also imply that manorial courts were established there by the monks. As for Olaszfalva, the Hungarian name translates from the *villa Latinorum*, which refer to a *hospes* community. Since this is the first time that Olaszfalva appears in the documents, the possible date of its foundation remains uncertain. Finally, the tenants of settlements in the third group (Berekalja, Ercsenye, Farkasfalva and Zsidófalva) paid a certain amount of cash on an annual basis (one or two *floreni*, or less), at a certain date. The tenants in Ercsenye were due to perform only *corvée*, i.e. unpaid labor, in the abbey's vineyards. These were maybe tenats specilized in a certain skill or service (e.g. tradesmen, huntsmen etc.)

⁴²⁴ In an Austrian – German context portatores vini were mentioned as 'portatores vini vel leithauser', i.e. innkeepers. See: Heinrich Fichtenau and Erich Zöllner (ed.), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Babenberger in Österreich*, vol 2. (Die Siegelurkunden der Babenberger und ihrer Nachkommen von 1216 bis 1279) (Publikationen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Reihe 3) Vienna: Holzhausen 1955, 41.

⁴²⁵ The St Gotthard dedication of the Cistercian church – not dedicated to the Virgin, as a rare exemption – dates from after 1131, when St Gotthard, bishop of Hildesheim was canonized. Cf. László Solymosi, "A helytörténet fontosabb középkori forrásainak kutatása és hasznosítása," (The research and use of sources important for local history) *Történelmi Szemle* 19 (1976): 146.

⁴²⁶ György Györffy, *István király és műve*. (King Stephen and his work) Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1977, 262–264.

As is clear now, the differences in payments and services can be the result of many interlocking factors, e.g. the long term economic trend, ⁴²⁷ the parish system, and the immunities/privileges of certain groups of tenants (e.g. hospes groups, the Jews). 428 Nonetheless, the types of payments required by the abbey clearly reflect the functional-organizational structure of the estate, as there was a difference between predia and regular settlements. Overall, the register demonstrates that Kalász's argument concerning the transfiguration of granges/manors into villages is unrealistic. In the late fifteenth century, the abbey still operated a number of manorial farms relying on the traditional system of services provided by tenants. Remarkably, some of these (the villicatio in Lak and Olaszfalu) were situated in the same area (the confluvium of the Lapincs and the Rába Rivers), where Janafalva, Badafalva, Nagyfalva and Pocsfalva, the alleged early granges of the abbey. This indicates both the economic importance and the good accessibility of this area. What changes occurred between the twelfth and fifteenth century in this area is, however, unclear. The upland area, which they seem to have encircled could be gradually cleared of woodland, as far as historical maps and the modern day conditions of the landscape suggest.

3.4.2.2 Demographic data and its implication concerning land use

Demographic data recorded in the register for each settlement illuminate furtehr structural characteristics of the settlement network and estate organization related to the problem of land use. Notably, Börgölin, Dolinc, Háromház, Magyarlak (Gyepűslak) and Újlak, Orfalu, Permisse, Telekpataka (1st group), as well as Kisfalud, Olaszfalu, Lak (2nd group) Berekalja, Ercsenye (3rd group) all appear to have had no more than 10-11 households/families each. As for the other settlements, the total number of households is usually the double of this. Notably, the list overlaps with each of the above described three categories. Another common feature that is interesting is that none of these places appear in the 1350 inquisitorial record. Kalász explained this by stating that they were established after 1526 – except for Ercsenye, Magyarlak (Gyepűslak) and Újlak, for which he found have references from the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. Once again, the register demonstrates that Kalász was wrong when suggesting this,

⁴²⁷ Solymosi, *A földesúri járadékok*.

⁴²⁸ Cf. Erdélyi, *Egyházi földesúr*, 10-15. In this context, it is interesting that similarities and differences in rents collected from ordinary tenants (iobagiones), the nobiles prediales and other leasholders have been noted concerning the estates of the Hospitallers'. See e.g. Zsolt Hunyadi, "Hospitaller Estate Management in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary (Thirteenth to Fourteenth century)." In The Military Orders, Vol 4, On Land and by Sea, ed. Judi Upton-Ward. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008, 145-154.

and there are also other sources, – concerning Permisse, for example –, which confirm date the early origin of some of these settlements, i.e. before 1350, in the Árpád period. 429

Nonetheless, there is much uncertainty surrounding the chronology of settlements, and this conceals the processes of nucleation and/or expansion that generally defined the development of the settlement network throughout the early and late medieval periods. As for the later period, we see more clearly, and conscriptions (tax registers) from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reveal that all of these settlements appear to have been continuously inhabited, despite fluctuations in population numbers [cf. Appendix]. It was only after the eighteenth century, when land use patterns changed significantly, that their role transformed and they were merged with larger settlements situated in their neighbourhood (e.g. Háromház, Telekpataka, Kisfalud > Szentgotthárd; Permisse > Szakonyfalva; Berekalja > Csörötnek).

In fact, this group of minor settlements illuminate a characteristic aspect of land use along the Rába Valley. In floodplain areas, archaeological surveys generally demonstrate a diverse pattern of exploitation with regard to the Árpád period settlement network. Settlements were specializing in a range of activities related to floodplain and woodland management, focusing also on animal farming. As elsewhere, the settlements in the Rába Valley were typically situated on the outer edge of the alluvial plateau (i.e. the river terrace) in order to avoid flooding and also to have easy access both to woodland and floodplain resources. This could have suited the traditional preferences of the Cistercians, who – as Kalász underlined – were ideally seeking out fertile alluvial lands in the river valleys. The nineteenth century estate maps confirm

⁴²⁹ With regard to the chronological context, József Kovacsics' survey provides some additional dates and references previously unkwon to Kalász. Before 1350, besides the papal letter, there is a reference on Rábagyarmat from the twelfth century (1157), and in the thirteenth century only Permisse (1284) and Farkasfa (1208) are mentioned. Cf. Fig See: József Kovacsics, "Falvak, népek története a Szentgotthárd környéki hármashatáron," (The history of settlements and people in the triple borderland at Szentgotthárd) *Demográfia* 40 (1997/4): 341–367.

⁴³⁰ MNL OL, Urbaria et Conscriptiones 9:15. The data includes the number of households for each settlement. Such surveys can be also very fragmentary, not surveying every one of the respective settlements. The high fluctuations in population numbers could be due to various factors during the period of Ottoman occupation, e.g. epidemics, military raids, internal migration towards the more secluded parts of the estate. The growing number of households recorded in Dolinc, Istvánfalva, or Börgölin reflects perhaps the latter.

⁴³¹ István Viczián and Csilla Zatykó, "Geomorphology and environmental history in the Drava valley, near Berzence," *Földrajzi Értesítő-Hungarian Geographival Bulletin* 60 (2011/4): 357–377; József Laszlovszky, *Tanyaszerű települések az Árpád-korban*. (Farmsteads in the Árpádian age) In *Falvak, mezővárosok az Alföldön*, ed. László Novák and Selmeczi László. Nagykőrös: Arany János Múzeum, 1986, 131–152.

⁴³² József Laszlovszky, "Karámok Árpád-kori falvainkban," (Pferche in unseren Arpádenzeitlichen Dörfern). *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 109 (1982) 281–285.

⁴³³ Kalász, A szentgotthárdi, 25–26.

this pattern, as they show farm sites with meadows and gallery woodlands along the river [FIG. 35; FIG. 36].

As a valuable addition to the already known (and scant) references concerning the livestock of



FIG. 35. Map showing the Rába and an "alodium" wihin the bounds of Gasztony and Németfalu, in the neighbourhood of Gyarmat (Source: MNL OL, S 12 Div XIII No 0182 – Mappa fluvii Arabonis inter Territoria Posessionum Gasztony ... et Praedii Német-falu defluxum, 1791)

Szentgotthárd's tenants, 434 the land register also provides concrete clues concerning economic exploitation in these places, focusing on animal husbandry. Notably, Gyepűslak /Magyarlak, Újlak, Kisfalud, Olaszfalva. Lak (from among the above mentioned minor settlements situated along the river, which were also

farms), as well as Janafalva and Kristán paid pig tithes. The tenants had most likely swineherds, ⁴³⁵ and this information resonates well with the above described landscape character: the relative abundance of wetland pastures and woodlands along the floodplain, where small farmsteads were created. Swine were typically kept at isolated farmsteads, away from ploughfields and villages, and could be grazed in the gallery woods and swamps. Occasionally they could be fed on the cropfields following the harvest of the autumn yield. ⁴³⁶ This was a traditional form of landuse documented in similar geographical areas, for instance, in the Bodrogköz. The earliest available animal inventories (1775) indicate that traditional animal husbandry was dominated there by cattle (60%) and swine (30%). ⁴³⁷

⁴³⁴ Cf. Kalász , *A szentgotthárdi*, 67 and 73. Otherwise, his rather lengthy discussion relies on generalizations from normative sources and examples from abroad. Kalász , *A szentgotthárdi*, 65-86.

⁴³⁵ Notably, they also had payments due on the day of Carnisprivium, the last day before the Lent. According to ethnographic records, this was a special day for swineherds when they started conscribing the number of animals and visited each household.

⁴³⁶ Sándor Bodó, *A Bodrogköz állattartása* (Animal husbandry in the Bodrogköz region) (Borsodi Kismonográfiák 31) Miskolc: HOMÉ, 1992, 81.

⁴³⁷ Ibid., 20 and 32. Notably, Bodó also underlines the high economic efficiency of this pattern, classifying such settlements in a higher category from a regional point of view.

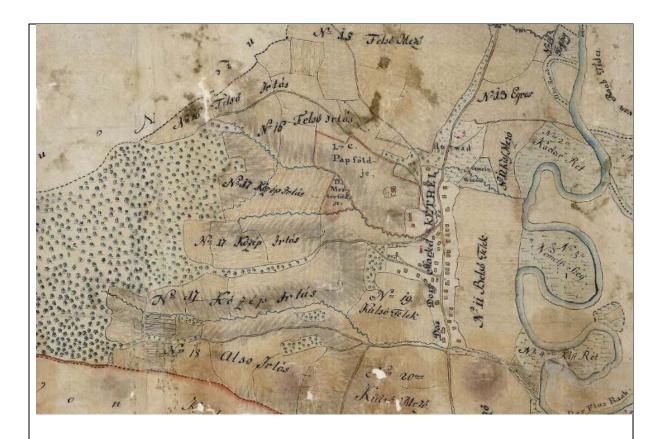


FIG. 36. Map showing the situation of Kedhely at the edge of the floodplain zone. Ploughlands possibly converted from wood-pastures in Kethely (Source: Vas Megyei Állami Levéltár, T 65: Mappa des Dorffs Markel oder Ketthel in der abteiliche Herschaft, 1785)

Based on demographic data from the register, there is another point to be made concerning land use changes. When comparing the late medieval population numbers and later population censuses (from the early eighteenth century) there is a significant growth, sometimes over 100% [see Appendix]. This must have transformed the character of land use significantly, Notably, the rise in population numbers seems to have been more significant in settlements situated in the area of the fertile river valleys: particularly in Magyarlak, Gyarmat, and Csörötnek, around which the above mentioned farmsteads were located. Another area that witnessed a comparatively higher population growth was the Rába-Lapincs triangle, where there were both granges and manorial farms. Bigger population growth points to extra resources, which was most probably due the condition that once there were extensive farmlands there, which could be converted to tenanted holdings.

Traditional land use patterns of neighbouring micro-regions have been discussed in historical ecological and economic historical surveys, ⁴³⁸ and these apply also for parts of the Szentgotthárd estate. Due to less fertile soils traditional methods were applied, which involved different techniques – periodic rotation of different land uses (including woodland grazing, coppicing, fallowing, ploughing) ridge and furrow systems (to manage excessively wet sites), and manuring (to sustain the fertility of soils e.g. through stubble grazing). ⁴³⁹ It has been hypothesized that Cistercians could have introduced the more advanced method of three-field rotation in the alluvial areas of the valleys, but this was not really compatible with the weak water bearing capacity of soils in the uplands, wheere traditional methods were applied, which resulted in a more mosaic landscape.

⁴³⁸ Gábor Tímár, *A Vendvidék erdeinek értékelése új nézőpontok alapján* (The Evaluation of Woodlands in the Area of 'Vendvidék' from new perspectives). Sopron: Nyugat-Magyarországi Egyetem Erdőmérnöki Kar, 2002. See especially pp. 35–41 (Open access: http://doktori.nyme.hu/id/eprint/174); A brief summary of the results of this research can be found in Gábor Tímár, Péter Ódor, László Bodonczi, "Az Őrség és a Vendvidék erdeinek jellemzése." (Characteriation of woodlands in the Őrség and vendivédk regions) In *A tervezett Őrség-Rába Nemzeti Parkot megalapozó botanikai-zoológiai kutatások IV. Kutatási jelentés*, ed. Dénes Bartha Dénes. Sopron: Nyugat Magyarországi Egyetem 2000, 323–340; Antal Vörös, "Az őrségi gazdálkodás az úrbérrendezéstől a XX. század elejéig," (Economic exploitation in the Őrség region from the urbarial regulation to the beginning of the 20th century) In Vas megye múltjából (Levéltári évkönyv, vol 3), ed. Mária Kiss. Szombathely: Vas Megyei Levéltár, 1986, 217–236.

⁴³⁹ Tímár, "A Vendvidék," 33: The mosaic character was so intense, that it is often problematic to separate different land use types based on cartographical representation.

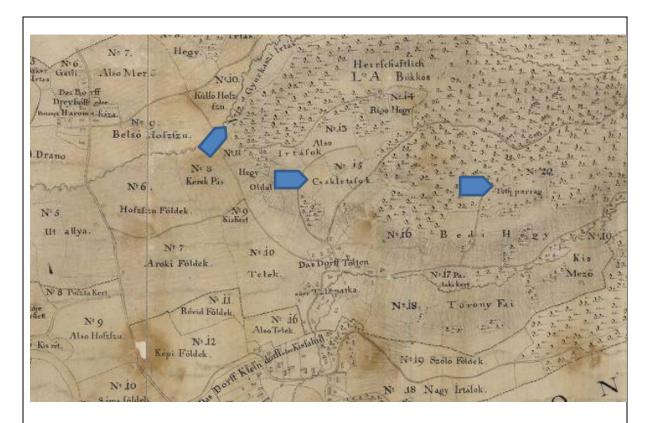


FIG. 37. Manorial beech wood ("Herrschafftlich Bükkös') in the area of Telepatka, Kisfalud, Háromháza, with newly cleared-assarts ("Irtások") and fallows ("parrag") (Source: Vas Megyei Állami Levéltár, T 60: Mappa derer Ortschaften Dreyhőff oder Háromház, Tölten, 1785)

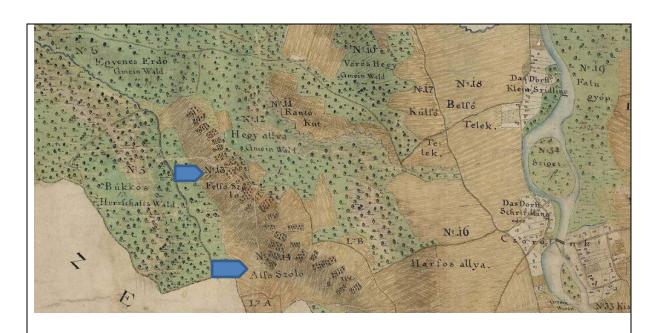


FIG. 38. Hornbeam and beech woods ("Herrschaflich Bükkös"), segmented by vineyards ("szöllők") of the abbey on the map of Csörötnek – (Source: Vas megyei Állami Levéltár, T 58: Mappa der Dorffs Schrittling oder Csörötnek gehőrig zu der Abtey Sz. Gotthard, 1785)

Overall a relatively large area could serve a relatively low pulation, and the above mentioned population growth led to the disappearance of historic landscape character. Primarily, more cropland was needed, at the expense of animal husbandry. Population numbers shifted the focus of agriultural activities to crop farming not only in the lower lying – more fertile – parts of the estate, but also in the woodland edge zones in the uplands. There was a growing pressure on woodland, the scale of assarting increased, ⁴⁴⁰ perhaps because animal husbandry could shift its focus from the alluvial zone more towards the upland zone, ⁴⁴¹ and at the same time new cropland was needed – a characteristic feature of changes was, for instance, the conversion of former woodland pastures to tillage (ploughlands), as observed by Ferenc Maksay on the example of Rábakethely. ⁴⁴² The present day character of the landscape and nineteenth century maps [*FIG. 37; FIG. 38*] illustrate this land use well, especially in the aforementioned Lapincs-Rába triangle [*FIG. 39*], where the granges and manors were situated. According to seventeenth and eighteenth century estate records new settlements were created here (Gillersdorf, Krobotek).



FIG. 39. The characteristic land use in the Lapincs-Rába triangle

⁴⁴⁰ Tímár, "A Vendvidék," 32.

⁴⁴¹ Nineteenth century records show, for example, that Huszaszó developed into a major farm. Especially pigs and sheep were kept there. See the data in Kalász , *A szentgotthárdi*, 68.

⁴⁴² Maksay 1971, 140–141.

The woodland is segmented by small patches of pastures, ploughlands, and one may hypothesize that present day conditions go back to characteristic medieval land use – of the late medieval farms in Olaszfalva and Lak, or of the granges or manors in Nagyfalva, Janafalva, Badafalva, Pocsfalva) –, where a more significant part of the woodland could be cleared in connection to animal husbandry already in the thirteenth century. ⁴⁴³ In modern times, as the extensive use of woodlads reversed, gradual reforestation began, which can be evidenced by relict ploughfields with ridge and furrow observed in many places around Szentgotthárd (Szalafő, Orfalu), and more broadly in the area of the 'Örség' and the 'Vendvidék', in SW Transdanubia. ⁴⁴⁴

In conclusion, historic land use requires a more systematic analysis relying on the retrogressive analysis of rich records from the so called Heiligenkreuz period, when the estate of Szentgotthárd was resettled from the Austrian abbey of Heiligenkreuz (1734-1878). The spatial statistical analysis of these uch records combined with archaeological field surveys may bring us closer to what characterized the medieval land use of the estate. Nonetheless, the above analysis could highlight interesting aspects of land use changes, which will be worth exploring further.

3.4.3 The grange in Almás (Co. Zala)

Almás (Almásháza / Zalaalmás (Co. Zala) is one of the more distant properties of the abbey. It is first mentioned in the 1198 confirmation charter, ⁴⁴⁵ as a sizable piece of land (*terra ad dua aratra*) and as a manorial farm (*predium*) with a few servant families (*servos*) and with seven vineyards (*vinea*) In 1260, it appears as *terra Almas* in a perambulation, ⁴⁴⁶ and after a long period of silence in 1381 as a *possessio*, pawned by the abbot with all its pertinences (*cum omnibus iuribus, utilitatibus, sylvis, pascuis, curia, vinea, prato, montanis*) to the Benedictines of Kapornak. ⁴⁴⁷ Although such *formulae* cannot be taken as conclusive evidence for the

⁴⁴³ There is a palinological study based on samples taken from Lake Sásos in Farkasfa and from the fen meadow at Szőce, which confirm that anthropogenic changes increased around 1200. Cf. Tibor Cserny and Elvira Nagyné Bodor, "Földtani és palinológiai vizsgálatok a nyugat-magyarországi peremvidék lápjain," (Geological and palynological research of wetlands at the foothills of Alps) In *A Magyar Állami Földtani Intézet évi jelentése 1997–1998-ról*, ed. Olga Piros and Dezső Simonyi. Budapest: Magyar Állami Földtani Intézet, 87–105.

⁴⁴⁵ As above. "Dedit et in Almas predictus comes terram ad duo aratra et septem vineas et servos...In eodem predio..." The charter notes that in addition to this, the abbey had five other vineyards there.

⁴⁴⁶ MNL OL, DL 89 (1260-00-00); pub.: Wenzel, vol 11, 479-481. (A perambulation of lands near Kehida and Kallós.) ⁴⁴⁷ MNL OL, DL-DF n/a (1381-00-00); pub.: Heimb, *Notitia*, 61–62. Two versions of the text preserved: the one in the Archive of Heiligenkreuz was transcribed by Heimb, the other in the Archive of the Hungarian Chamber

presence of a *curia*, in 1389 Almás was redeemed (with the financial help of the archbishop of Esztergom and his family), and again it was referred as *una cum grangia seu curia eidem possessioni adjacenti*, leased to the archbishop for an annual fee of 10 Marks. ⁴⁴⁸ As explained, this new contract was made because abbot Simon hoped to redeem two other properties of the abbey, which had been impignorated earlier by Stephen, the former abbot.

Thus, Almás was originally a farm, referred later as a village (villa) with an allodial court (grange). At some point a parish church was also built, as in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century the parish priest is mentioned. 449 A conscription from 1513, however, showed that only two families lived there. 450 Similarly to other settlements of the estate, sixteenth century conscriptions show that its population rather fluctuated. 451 Until today, however, it has remained a tiny single street villages – otherwise very typical in Co. Zala. The fact that despite its insignificant population it was considered as a village contradicts again Kalász's schematic argument. The fifteenth century register shows that the manor was operated with the help of local tenants (cultivating the vineyards of the abbey) as well as tenants from other settlements closer to the abbey. This arrangement may also reflect that in the central part of the estate wine production was not of considerable scale - in 1198 vineyards were only mentioned case of Szentkút and Almás, and the late fifteenth century register mentions also Ercsenye, where tenants had to work in the vineyards (possibly in Nagyfalva). Cartographical evidence demonstrates that there were small vinehills/vineyards e.g. in Lapincsolaszi and Lak [FIG. 40], and Csörötnek [FIG. 41]. Importantly, the names of Lapincsolaszi (Olaszfalu) and Lak (Deutsch Minihof) suggest that it was the foreign population of the estate (in this case apparently German), ⁴⁵² who were involved in wine production and wine trade. This evokes assumptions that Cistercians (and their settlers) played a part in bringing their know-how of viticulture (and probably also new breeds) to Hungary. 453

⁽Kamarai Levéltár) was used by Fejér: CD, vol IX/5, 510-512. The transcriptions are slightly different, however, none of them are available in the digital database of the Hungarian National Archive.

⁴⁴⁸ MNL OL, DL 36462 (1389-11-11); Zs, vol 1, no. 1205; Heimb, *Notitia*, 63–64.

⁴⁴⁹ Mon. Vespr, vol 4, 476 (1476); MNL OL, DF 262453 (1520-11-15) Cf. József Kovacsics, Cf. *Zala megye helytörténeti lexikona. Kéziratos regesztagyűjtemény*. (manuscript) Keszthely: Zala M Llt. 1991. http://archivportal.arcanum.hu/mltk/opt/a130322.htm?v=pdf&a=start mltk): Vas Megyei Lltt., Eccl. et famil. Abb. Kapornak 13.

⁴⁵⁰ MNL OL, DL 32206 (1513-00-00)

⁴⁵¹ Dica: 1531, 1542, 1548, 1554, 1564; defter 1587-88. Cf. Kovacsics, "Zala megye," n/a.

⁴⁵² Foreign settlers were mentioned already in 1350 in Nagyfalva and Kristán, so basically in the same area.

This is a point recurring in historical interpretations with regard to the hospes communities and the Cistercians. Cf. László Szabolcs Gulyás, "A középkori szőlőművelés és borkereskedelem információtörténeti



FIG. 40. The vineyards in Lapincsolaszi (Source: Vas Megyei Állami Levéltár, T 66: Mappa derer Dörfer Deutsch minihoff oder Németh Lak, Wollendorf...,1786)

vizsgálatának lehetőségei," (Possibilities of information history research on wine production and trade) *Aetas* 27 (2012/4):159. 155–175, However, beyond some general assumptions found in the foreign literature, there has been little research done to bring factual evidence in support of these theories. On the other hand, these assumptions concern rather the initial period of Cistercian settlement, and the late medieval context is not explored.

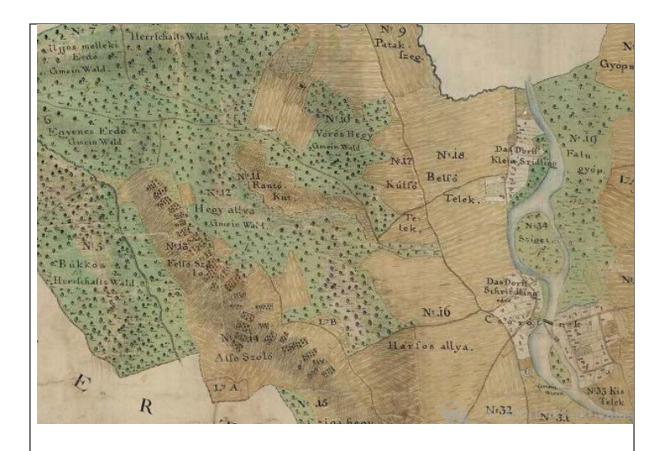


FIG. 41. The map of Csörötnek and the area of the vineyards (Source: Vas Megyei Állami Levéltár, T 58: Mappa der Dorffs Schrittling oder Csörötnek..., 1785)

The vineyards as well as the large arable were characteristic landmarks of the grange in Almás. According to modern maps, the total area of the tiny village is only about 6 km2. The eighteenth century documents still refer to a sizeable piece (300 ha~about 3 km2) of manorial land. Military Survey Maps show that there were two winehills in the village, the one closer to the settlement (to the east) could have belonged to the tenants. The other one was to the south where the pattern of roads, the field boundaries and water courses delineate an area of about 200 ha – roughly the size mentioned in the above records [*FIG. 42*]. On the Second and Third Military Surveys the name *Bölcsfölde puszta* and *Böcsfölde major* as demesne.

⁴⁵⁴ Despite that it was depopulated by the Ottoman raids (as this part of the country was occupied area) around the end of the seventeenth century, the tenants soon resettled and there is reason to believe that the topography of the area changed. Cf. Kovacsics, *Zala megye*.

⁴⁵⁵ According to a 1778 survey, it measured 270 *iugera* (a little more or equivalent to the original medieval size. Cf. Zala megye OL. P. 507. Nádasdy család Llt-a. Okir. III. rsz. 149.csomag no. 999. (1778) (Available at: http://archivportal.arcanum.hu/mltk/opt/a130322.htm?v=pdf&a=start_mltk)

⁴⁵⁶ Although a similar toponym is known from the medieval period, it refers to a settlement south from Zalaegerszeg. Cf. Kovacsics, *Zala megye*, 13. In the modern period this piece of land was merged with Tilaj (the

As of present, the vineyards completely vanished, and there is a small enclosure at the feet of the hill, the possible location of the old cemetery of Almás, where traces of ruins were identified, It is probably the medieval curch or very probably also the location of the curia/grange, perhaps with a chapel. A few hundred meters to the west from this location there is also a fishpond, which might be also of medieval origin, although it is not shown on the map of the First Military Survey [*FIG. 43*].



FIG. 42. Google satellite map showing the possible location of the grange, as well as the location of a small enclosure (today the cemetery) with traces of unkwon medieval buildings



IG. 43. The First Military Survey showing the abbey's vineyard (separately from that of the tenants) and the location of the cemetery / ruins.

3.4.4 Other manorial farms of Szentgotthárd

In addition to Almás, , there are four more *predia* mentioned in the 1198 confirmation letter, which, however, were not referred as granges later on. One was *Wossian* (Varsány), mentioned in perambulations describing the neighbourhood of Karakó in (1257 and 1294). ⁴⁵⁷ As described in 1198, its owners were the sons of Simon (*Jacobus et Petrus filii Simonis*), who also donated another *predium*, which became the site of the monastery (*ubi monasterium situm est*), and *predium Bothian* (Battyán), which was held in common with his kins (*terra communis cum cognati sui*). Yet another farm was the donation of *comes Laurentius*.

It is only the *predium* in Battyán, which appears in later documents, and about which we know a few interesting topographical details. In 1268, there is a perambulation, which mentions a *tria aratra* large land, as separate from the settlements of *Simon* (Simonyi) and *Batyan* (Battyán). 458 In 1373 Battyán was reportedly leased to Nicholaus of Szécs (banus of Slavonia), while

⁴⁵⁷ MNL OL, DL n/a (1257-08-01); pub.: Wenzel, vol2, 297; DL 86876 (1294-00-00); pub.: CD, vol VI/1, 283–284.

⁴⁵⁸ MNL OL, DL 43531 (1268-00-00 > 1348-06-24);

neighbouring landwoners (members of the Sitkei family, from Sitke) were banned from using the land. In 1381, terra Monochfelde time leased to members of the Simonyi and Mesteri families (the abbey's neighbours). In 1419, it is referred as *certa parte particule memorate terre Monahfelde*, situated *inter possessiones Mester, Symoni, Tornushaza et Intha*, this time leased to Michael son of Blasius of Mesteri. Based on the surviving placenames (Mesteri, Simony and Intha-puszta) the approximate location can be defined [*FIG. 44*]. In 1449, the monks'



FIG. 44. The area of 'predium Intha' surrounded by Mesteri, Simonyi and Tekercs, on the map of the First Military Survey.

lands are mentioned as particule *terre arabilis Symonremethefeldew aliovocabulo Symun et Bothyan vocate* (Simonremete-földe: transl. as the land of Simon the hermit) aliter *Monohfeldew* (Monoh-földe: transl. the land of the monk(s)). The abbey was claiming back both. Although perambulations are available from 1451 concerning the boundaries of Battyán, the orientation points are difficult to match with those mentioned in 1268, and also

⁴⁵⁹ MNL OL, DL 68258 (1373-06-14)

⁴⁶⁰ MNL OL, DL 48835 (1381-06-13)

⁴⁶¹ MNL OL, DL 100413 (1419-01-03)

⁴⁶² MNL OL, DL 100597 (1449-08-25 > 1449-09-26)

⁴⁶³ MNL OL, DL 100609 (1451-08-01); DL 93199 (1350-08-12 > 1451-00-00)

difficult to locate, except the name of the Ság (Saaghege – 1451), a volcaninc hill, as this was a major landmark situated to the west from Mesteri. Based on the First and Second Military Surveys, predium Intha (today Intapuszta) is situated in this area [FIG. 45], where excavations recovered an Árpád-period cemetery and ruins 464 which seems large enough to accommodate the said size of land, thus, we can tentatively identify Symonremethfeldew (in the medieval boundary of Simony?) and Monahfelde (in the medieval boundary of Bottyán) with predium *Intha* and perhaps also parts of Mesteri (Felső-Mesteri).



⁴⁶⁴ Archaeological excavations here recovered an early Árpád period cemetery (of 318 graves) and a 16th-17th century cemetery (of 68 graves). Cf. Gábor Ilon, "Szegény gazdagok? Megjegyzések a Mesteri-intapusztai Árpádkori temető ezüstjeinek értéke kapcsán," (Poor riches? Notes on the silver finds from the Mesteri-Intapuszta Árpád-period cemetery) Savaria – a Vas Megyei MúzeuMok értesítője 39 (2017): 149–168. The chronological gap between the two cemeteries indicate that the settlement was perhaps depopulated, while in the Cistercians' hands.



FIG. 46. Map of Intha /Intaháza/ showing the manorial buildings as well as a desolated church building as 'Puszta templom' (Source: MOL Batthyány cs Llt. S 20 No 0025; ca 1750-1760)

Similarly to Almás, this land could be also important for the abbey because of its excellent conditions for viticulture – although the abbey's vineyards are not mentioned in later documents, these conditions may explain why other abbeys – the Benedictines of Dömölk and Pannonhalma – received lands here too. 465 Interestingly, the abovementioned excavations also recovered the remains of a Roman villa (identified by earlier excavations as the so called *Villa Mestriana*), 466 which points to the long term continuities of land use (in regard to both viticulture and arable farming). The buildings of the nineteenth century manor [*FIG.* 46] are situated a stone's throw away from the place where the Roman and Árpád period ruins were found.

⁴⁶⁵ Károly Kozák, A dömölki bencés apátság története (The history of the Benedictine Abbey of Dömölk). Mansucript. Celldömölk: n/a, 1988, 6.

⁴⁶⁶ Cf. Zoltán Holéczy, Az intapusztai XI. Századi Árpád-kori sírmező részleges feltárása (Partial excavation of an 11th c. cemetery at Intapuszta) *Vasi Szemle* 18 (1964): 421–427.

3.5 EXAMPLES OF BENEDICTINE GRANGES

Apart from Cistercian granges, there are scant references on granges in connection to houses of Augustinian hermits, 467 Carthusians 468 and Paulines. 469 Archaeological excavations even claimed to identify a possible Franciscan grange. 470 Despite opinions that the organization of Premonstratensian estates copied the Cistercian model, – as they also kept their centrally located lands under direct management –, 471 their farms were typically referred as *predium*, and not as *grangia*. Interestingly, however, in the case of Benedictine estates, there are a few sites which turn up as granges. 472 Thus, in addition to the general point that granges were managerial units typical for Cistercian estates, 473 it is important to note that the term was more widely used, just like in Britain. 474 Sources concerning the granges of Benedictine abbeys will be illustrative to survey here, as they provide valuable details concerning the history, topography and functional role of these sites, while some issues are less well exposed in connection to Cistercian granges. To highlight differences and similarities between Benedictine and Cistercian sites, two examples, the grange of Pannonhalma Abbey in Remeteudvarhely near Somogyvámos, and the grange of Grabovo Abbey in Bijela will be discussed below. 475

⁴⁶⁷ MNL OL, DL 1858 (1315-02-10).

⁴⁶⁸ MNL OL, DL 10869 (1419-08-03); reg.: Zs VII, 224; pub.: Wagner, vol 2, 79; "Monachus professor in Lechnicz...ipse fundavit capellam in grangia"

⁴⁶⁹ With regard to the Friary of Patacs, there is reference on a "fundus sessionalis qui grangia dicitur." See Károly Belényesy, *Pálos kolostorok az Abaúj-hegyalján*. (Pauline Friaries in the Abaúj Hegyalja region). Miskolc: HOMÉ, 2004, 44, after Éva Knapp, "Pálos gazdálkodás a középkori Baranya megyében." (Pauline Economy in Medieval Baranya County) In: *Varia Paulina I.: Pálos Rendtörténeti Tanulmányok* (Historical Essays about the Paline Order), ed. Gábor Sarbak. Csorna: Stylus, 1994, 83.

⁴⁷⁰ Csilla Aradi and Annamária Bajzik, "Előzetes jelentés a Siójut-Hermecz föld nevű lelőhelyen történt feltárásról," (Preliminary report of the excavation at site Siójut-Hermecz föld) *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 18 (2008): 226.

⁴⁷¹ László Mezey assumed that the lack of sources/references concerning the central part of the estate of the Premonstratensian house of Csút reflects this type of management model, and he exaplained the later appearance of settlement names here as evidence for the colonization of the area. László Mezey, "Csútmonostor alapítástörténete és első oklevelei," (The foundation of the monastery of Csút and its earliest documents) *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 15 (1963): 7–42.

⁴⁷² Tata (1225): MNL OL, DL 86815 (1225-00-00); pub.: Sopron, vol 1., 9–17: "grangiam abbatis de Tata"; Bátmonostor (1337): Koller, vol 2, 467.; Cf... Borovszky Samu, ed., *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai. Bács-Bodrog vármegye.* Budapest: Országos Monográfia Társaság, 1896, 56: Bátmonostor was the grange of the Benedictine Abbey of Báta, which became devastated during the Mongol invasion, and resettled in 1337 as an independent monastery.

⁴⁷³ The grange is generally interpreted as the agrarian production unit of Cistercian monasteries. See e.g. in Kristóf Keglevich, "A ciszterci nagykáptalan és a Magyar apátságok a középkorban," (The Cistercian General Chapter and the Hungarian Abbeys in the Middle Ages) *Magyar egyháztörténeti Vázlatok* 20 (2008/1-2): 9, footnote 1.

⁴⁷⁴ Cf. e.g. Bond, "Monastic Landscapes."

⁴⁷⁵ Sources concerning Remeteudvarhely/Remeteszentjakab have been surveyed by Csilla Aradi in her PhD thesis on the ecclesiastical topography of County Somogy: Csilla Aradi, *Somogy megye Árpád-kori és középkori*

3.5.1 The grange of Pannonhalma in Remeteszentjakab/Remeteudvarhely

In 1225, a 240 *iugera* large arable land in *Vitya* was sold by the *iobagiones castri* of Co. Somogy to the abbot of Pannonhalma. *Vitya* was situated 200 km to the south from Pannonhalma, in Co. Somogy, at the centre of the county, the seat of the *comes comitatus*. The location of the land could be identified within the boundary of Somogyvár, based on the surviving placename of the deserted medieval settlement, *Vitya-puszta*. Interestingly, Somogyvár was also the place of another prestigous Benedictine abbey, founded by King Ladislaus in 1091, dedicated to St Giles, where there was a French community of monks. ⁴⁷⁶

In 1226, the nearby *Remeteszentjakab* is mentioned as the land of Pannonhalma.⁴⁷⁷ The name implies the presence of a chapel and that there could be a monastic hermitage or cell there (*Remete~ hermit/hermitage* – szentjakab~(of) Saint Jacob. Discussing the dependent priories of the Benedictines, Martin Heale noted that the motives of the abbeys to create dependent houses remain often obscured: they could mark out sites/lands, which were hallowed, and they could be also created to deal with economic or pastoral administration of the more distant lands within the estate. They were ran usually by bailiff-monks/wardens and could evolve into perpetual monastic establishments.⁴⁷⁸ In fact, this is exactly what we see unfolding in this case: this site could be originally a hermitage – which perhaps owed its existence to the presence of the nearby monastery –, but it started to function as an administrative centre, and the reason for this was most probably its distance from Pannonhalma Abbey.

Within two years from 1226, we hear that there was indeed a chapel in Remeteszentjakab (perhaps a simple wooden one), it was destroyed, however, in a violent rant, following a feud

egyházszervezetének létrejötte és megszilárdulása [The foundation and formation of church institutions in Co. Somogy]. PhD thesis. Budapest: ELTE, 2007. Most of the documents mentioned here were published by László Erdélyi in the series concerning the history of Benedictine abbeys: Erdélyi, László, Pongrácz Sörös, ed., *A Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története* (a Magyar kereszténység, királyság és Benczés-Rend fönnállásának kilenczszázados emlékére) [The History of the Benedictine Congregation of Pannonhalma (commemorating its 900 years anniversary and of Cristianity in Hungary)], vol 1-12b. Budapest: Stephaneum, 1902–1916. [hereafter: PRT].

Sources concerning Grabovo and its grange in Bijela were discussed by Stanko Andrić, "Benediktinska opatija svete Margarete u Grabovu i njezin odnos prema benediktinskom samostanu u Bijeli," (L'abbaye Bénédictine de Sainte Marguerite à Grabovo et son rapport avec le monastère Bénédictine à Bijela) *Scrinia Slavonica* 5 (2005): 62–98.

⁴⁷⁶ Gergely Kiss, "A somogyvári bencés apátság és francia kapcsolatai," (The French connections of Somogyvár Abbey) *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 2 (2000/1.): 43–60. For a literature survey: F. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalano*k, 80–81. .

⁴⁷⁷ Aradi, *Somogy megye*, 66; PRT, vol 1, 312.

⁴⁷⁸ Martin Heale, *The Dependent Priories of Medieval English Monasteries*. London: Boydell and Brewer, 2004, 24–30

between the bishop of Veszprém and the Abbey of Pannonhalma. This was reported in a letter by Pope Gregory IX to his chaplain and legate, Egidius, in 1228. The reason for the feud – as mentioned – was the collection of tithes from the village of Tord, situated next to Remeteszentjakab. In 1230, King Andrew II ordered that a new chapel shall be built there and monks shall be sent to the site. In 1232, the status of the renovated chapel was confirmed by the pope Pope. In 1237, King Bela IV also referred to the donation of his father, concerning a two yokes large land in the village of *Vitya*, situated next to the chapel in Remeteszentjakab. The king also had a conscription made of the lands of Pannonhalma (the so callled Albeus-conscription, 1237-40), which mentions his (!) donation of a two yokes large land in Remeteszentjakab – the chapel was referred hereby as a *coenobium*. In summary, there were at least two large farmlands referred – in Vitya, and probably also in Remeteszentjakab itself –, which were purchased by the abbot and/or donated by the kings, and were intended for the sustenance of the local community residing in Remeteszentjakab, where there was a monastic residence (court).

In 1418, 1449 and 1502, the *officiales*, *comes officialis*, and the *comes* of Remeteudvarhely are mentioned; in 1505, the *officiales* of the abbey appear again in a conflict with the parish priest of Szakácsi (again concerning the collection of tithes). ⁴⁸⁴ In 1520, Remeteudvarhely appears as *curia venerabilis et religiosorum fratrum Mathei abbatis et conventus monasterii Sancti Martini predicti Remethewdvarhel vocatam.* This may imply that the buildings were used by the abbots also as temporary residence. ⁴⁸⁵ Two other charters from 1525 and 1534 ⁴⁸⁶ reveal that

⁴⁷⁹ Aradi, *Somogy megye*, 66; PRT, vol 1, 156.

⁴⁸⁰ MNL OL, DF 206906 (1228-00-00); pub: Wenzel, vol 1, 253–254; PRT, vol 1, 312: "super quibusdam decimis et Ecclesia Sancti Saluatoris de villa Tord agitari noscuntur." By the way, the abbot of Zirc was the previous legate, who failed to settle the case between the parties.

⁴⁸¹ Aradi, *Somogy megye*, 66; PRT, vol 1, 313 and 676.

⁴⁸² MNL OL, DF 208291/54 (1237-10-29); reg.: Reg.Arp. vol I/2, 191; pub.: Wenzel, vol 2, 55: "...terram in villa Wycha ad usum duorum aratrorum prope capellam Sancti Jacobi de Heremo ad sustentationem fratrum in eadem capella commorantium." This grant survived in the so called *Liber ruber*, compiled under the rule of Abbot Uros, who also bought Vitya, as referred above.

⁴⁸³ MNL OL, DF 208315 (1237-10-29 >1400-1401); pub.: Wenzel, vol 2, 1–26: "In cenobio Sancti Jacobi quod wulgo Remete dicitur, habet ecclesia terram ad duo aratra ex donatione domini Bele regis." This piece of land could be the one mentioned in the above grant, where it is referred as King Andrew II's donation. It was likely not identical to the aforementioned piece of land in Vitya, bought by Uros. However, their sizes were similar. The so called Albeus-conscription was named after Albeus, the archadeacon of Nyitra. See László Solymosi, "Albeus mester összeírása és a pannonhalmi apátság tatárjárás előtti birtokállománya." In *Mons Sacer 996–1996*, ed. Imre Takács. Pannonhalma: 1996, 515–526. The document survived in a copy in the so called Pannonhalmi Registrum (1332), which was later transcribed (ca 1400)

⁴⁸⁴ Aradi, *Somogy megye*, 66.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., see MNL OL, DL 208208 (1520-05-11); pub.: PRT, vol 2, 286-287;

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., see MNL OL, n/a (1525-08-03 and 1534-07-25); pub.: PRT, vol 2, 578 and 593.

Remeteudvarhely was as a *districtus*, i.e. a centre for the collection of tithes (valued for 400 floreni): thus the cell presided over a territorial unit mentioned in different ways, as *comitatus* / *districtus decimarum* / *cultellus* in Latin, or *tizedkés* in the vernacular. 487

The building complex was likely enclosed by a stone wall (it was perhaps even fortified) as observed by local historians, ⁴⁸⁸ who identified its location within the bounds of Somogyvámos, at *Remetepuszta*, south from Vitya-puszta, along the Malom-patak ('Mill-creek') [*FIG. 47*]. On the First Military Survey map it is depicted as a 'Rudera eines Klosters' ('A ruin of a monastery'), which indicates that its physical appearance could be very similar to that of a

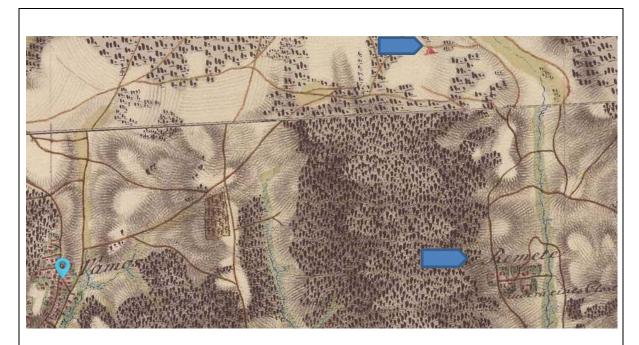


FIG. 47. Remetepuszta on the map of the First Military Survey, west from Somogyvámos. To the north, in the direction of Vityapuszta a silhouette of a small chapel/church can be seen, situated at 'Mérczi-puszta', probably this location also connects to the grange.

monastery. This explains why it was mistakenly identified as a (Pauline) monastery by Tamás Guzsik. ⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁷ See the above example of the Veszprém chapterhouse and its land in Berénd, Co. Veszprém, where Zirc was a *compossessor*. (Footnote 350).

⁴⁸⁸ Balázs Draveczky, Károly Sági and Gyula Takáts, *A Somogy Megyei Múzeumok régészeti adattára*. Kaposvár, Somogy Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1964, 46.

⁴⁸⁹ F. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 76: "Possible Pauline monastery. Tamás Guzsik identified Remete puszta with Vetahida, in the bounds of Somogyvámos. Although this is incorrect, there are remains of fishponds around the site, and also of a single nave church, 26.9 m long and 8.5 m wide, which has been surveyed. There is no knowledge of any charter concerning the site. Based on the size and location of the building, as well as the placename one may assume that there was some kind of monastery here' [my translation] F. Romhányi is referring hereby to Tamás Guzsik, *A pálos rend építészete a középkori Magyarországon* (Pauline Architecture in Medieval Hungary) Budapest: Mikes Kiadó, 2003, 85–86.

There were large farmlands around the complex, in Remeteudvarhely and Vitya, similar in size to the above discussed Cistercian granges and *predia* (e.g. Almás, Szomód, Battyán, Csákány). However, Pannonhalma also had large arable lands (two and three yokes large, together with meadows and woodland) in the nearby villages of Gamás and Tord, according to the Albeus conscription. 490 From the respective documents concerning Tord (in 1228, 1261 and 1273), 491 Csilla Aradi inferred that the monks had another residence/grange there, ⁴⁹² this, however, does not seem correct, as there is no explicit reference on a grange/curia or coenobium there. The papal letter from 1228 mentions only the collection of tithes, and other charters do not seem to refer explicitly to a grange in Tord either. In the 1273, the bishop of Veszprém described the peaceful settlement of a conflict between the abbot and the tenants/servants of the king, i.e. udvornici, in Gamás and Tord. The abbot was represented by a comes officialis and the udvarnici were represented by Andreas centurio de Gamas and Peturne comes udvornicorum, who claimed for themselves a 4 iugera large meadow, a 55 iugera large ploughland and eight vineyards. The abbey negotiated an exchange (concambium) of lands to keep this meadow, the location of which was described as ante grangian (sic!) predicti monasterii a parte aquilonis existente, i.e. situated in the prximity of the grange of the abbey, and to the north.

Since Tord (today within the boundary of Somogybabos) was situated N-NE from Remeteszentjakab, and it was also the neighbour of Vitya-puszta and Gamás, the reference on the grange very likely concerns the *coenobium* in Remeteszentjakab, whose lands included Vityapuszta along the 'Mill-creek', as well as parts of Tord. As Remeteszentjakab was the main residence and the administrative centre of this part of the estate, it would be unreasonable to establish a grange in Tord, basically with similar functions. Based on later documents, it was falsely assumed that there were monastic residential buildings there, ⁴⁹³ still, it is possible that there were some domestic outbuildings, as part of a farm. As shown on an estate map from

⁴⁹⁰ Wenzel, vol 2, 23. See above, footnote 483.

⁴⁹¹ 1228: PRT, vol 1, 312, 691, 699; 1261: PRT, vol 2, 77, and 341; However, I did not find a reference on the grange from 1261 either. Wenzel, vol 4, 30-31 (1273),

⁴⁹² Aradi, *Somogy megye*, 66.: "A pápai irat szerint a Szent Üdvözítő-egyház a pannonhalmiak curiája mellett, az ő telkükön épült, és szerzeteseik székháza is itt áll, amelyet Imre király idejében már bírtak (residencia monachorum). 1261-ben és 1273-ban a pannonhalmiak tardi grangiájáról is megemlékeznek"

⁴⁹³ Aradi, *Somogy megye*, 67 misinterpreted the content of a charter from 1336: "Ekkor említi az apátság itteni házait, <u>szerzetesi szálláshelyeit</u>." Cf. AOkmt, vol 3, 316–7. (1336): *item si qui in predictis possessionibus Tord nostris cellaria domos aut aliqua edificia fecerint, iuxta estimacionem suorum cohospitum liberam habeant vendendi facultatem, si qui vero ad promta et parat aedificia venerint unius anni, ad vacua vero loca venientes nova edificia fecerint, trium annorum libertate pacifice perfruantur"* However, this passage refers to outbuildings, which the tenants could have built rather for themselves, and they had the right to sell them in case if they relocate.

1865, there was a large piece of arable land between Gamás and Tord, with farmbuildings [FIG. 48]

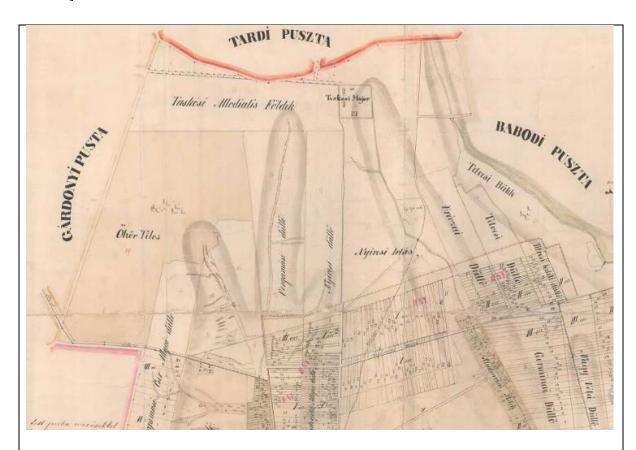


FIG. 48. Map of Gamás showing the outline of farm lands (partly indicated as 'Urasági földek'). The location of the medieval farm complex was maybe identical to the plot of the modern manorial buildings called 'Tuskósi' manor. (Source: Somogy Megyei Levéltár, L XV 2 b U 093: Felső Gamás helység határban végrehajtandóúrbéri szabályozás térképe, 1865)

How the Benedictine community organized the economic management of these farms is a little better illuminated by the available documents (including also financial registers concerning incomes collected as tithes ⁴⁹⁴), than in case of Cistercian examples. It is clear, for example, that the administration of the demesne relied on the king's people, the *udvarnici*. The economic organization of royal lands (castle domains) was based on them, and since ecclesiastical institutions (including Cistercians) received royal lands this socio-economic background resulted in similar arrangements. Notably, there were a number of other ecclesiastical landwoners mentioned in the area around Remeteszentjakab/Remeteudvarhely, Tord and

⁴⁹⁴ PRT, vol 1, 309, 318. E.g. incomes from the Kőröshegy grange (another cell of Pannonhalma) were spent on the renovation of the abbey, embellishments and the provision of lighting.

Gamás. Apart from the Benedictines, for example the St John's knights, the provostry of Székesfehérvár, the abbey of Somogyvár, and the diocese of Veszprém also owned lands in the neighbourhood, the economic management of which was based everywhere on the presence of people, "who came to be termed the king's tenants (iobagiones regales) or the king's people (populi regales), whatever their previous status had been, whether castle folk, udvornici, tavernici, tenants or serfs of the king."⁴⁹⁵ Among them there were typically skilled workers. According to Bela IV's letter from 1261, ⁴⁹⁶ part of Vitya was inhabited by royal smithes (fabri). A letter issued by the abbot in 1336 describes the duties of the local tenants: in addition to costumary rents due twice a year in money and kind (including a certain amount of oat, as well as live animals), they had to plough the abbey's lands, collect the hay, and make wine. ⁴⁹⁷ It was certainly them who took care of the vineyards and meadows (1273).

In summary, the example of Remeteudvarhely shows how the estate of a major Benedictine abbey was organized around a dependent priory. The Benedictines received a few large pieces of arable lands (apparently the parts of royal *praedia*), these were carved out from royal lands populated by the king's servants, and were situated roughly in one block. The monks created a central farm and a cell, most definitely out of practical (but also religious) considerations (to manage distant lands). The presence of the monastic community required the construction of new buildings (chapel and residential buildings) – similarly to granges, and the chapel was indispensable in this case, due to the distance from the abbey. Perhaps some of the lands/*praedia* had already courts (with residential buildings), but this issue remains generally unclear. The chapel was undoubtedly a new element.

In regard to land use, fishponds, vineyards, meadows appear in the documents, in addition to the large arables. The large arables could be farmed relying on the assistance of the tenants, the meadows and woodlands were held *communiter*, as described by the Albeus conscription concerning Tord and Gamás as well. Substantial transformation could be most likely observed only in the immediate surroundings of these complexes. At Remeteudvarhely, just like in case

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⁴⁹⁵ Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895-1526*. English translation by Andrew Ayton. New York: I.B. Tauris, 2001, 149. The changing terminology is due to a process of social integration, whereby certain rights formerly granted to hospes settlements became more generally applied in case of population of royal estates (including service people) forming the social strata of the *iobagiones*.

Wenzel, vol 8, 1–2 (1261-08-21); PRT, vol 2, 341;
 See as above: AOkmt, vol 3, 316–7. (1336): 'iugera nostra aratris propriis arare feneta nostra recolligere et vina nostra deducere tempore opportuno secundum antiquam eorum consvetudinem tenebuntur'.

of a typical grange, the most remarkable landscape features were the fishponds.⁴⁹⁸ However, the archaeological investigation of the cell of the Bohemian monastery of Ostrov [*FIG.* 49] brings also a nice example here, ⁴⁹⁹ where not only the remains of a multiple fishpond system could be identified – similarly to Pomáz –, but intense economic activities (with significant degree of deforestation) could be demonstrated on the basis of pollen samples.

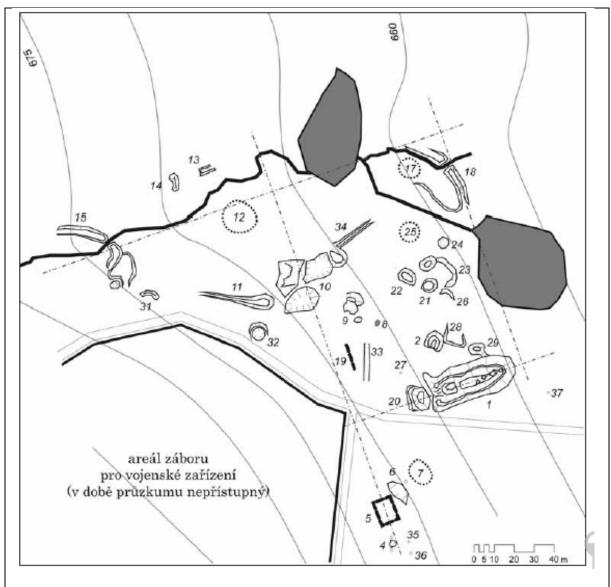


FIG. 49. Survey map of the cell of the Ostrov monastery, showing traces of a multiple fishpond system, the chapel and other buildings (Source: Nováček and Libor, "Praepositure in solitudo," 289)

⁴⁹⁸ F. Romhányi, Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok, 76.

⁴⁹⁹ Karel Nováček and Petr Libor, "Praepositura in solitudo: Ostrovská cella Baštiny (Teslín) a archeologie nejmenších řádových založení (Praepositura in solitudo: The Ostrov cell of Baštiny (Teslín) and the archaeology of the smallest monastic foundations)," *Archeologické rozhledy* 61 (2009), 285–302.

Although, this was made explicit only in the early sixteenth century references (*districtus*), the cell(s) also served administrative purposes (territorial supervision, collection of tithes). Territorial administration could be inevitable for Pannonhalma from the beginning, as its lands were scattered (only in Co. Somogy, for example, the abbey had approximately 20-30 settlements) [*FIG. 50*]. Despite that the abbey did not seem to be particularly efficient in compacting these lands, the creation of the cell as an administrative centre fits well into the trend of the early thirteenth century that generally characterized the strategy of landowners (eccesiastical institutions) to have scattered lands more organized and possibly more compact. ⁵⁰¹

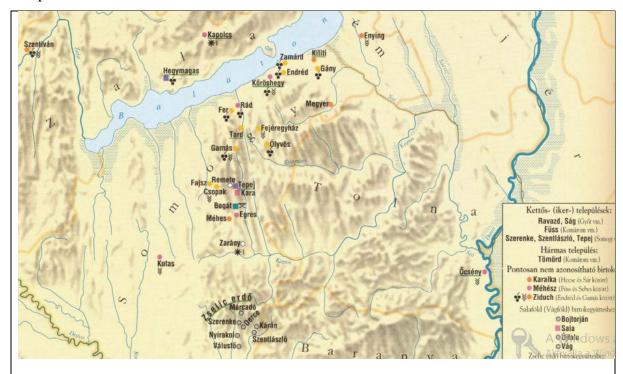


FIG. 50. Lands of Pannonhalma Abbey in Somogy (Source: László Solymosi, "Albeus mester összeírása és a pannonhalmi apátság tatárjárás előtti birtokállománya." In Mons Sacer 996–1996, vol 1, ed. Imre Takács. Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Főapátság, 1996, 515–526.)

⁵⁰⁰ Aradi, *Somogy megye*, 65.

Aradi, *Somogy megye*, 66 underlines that "In case of ecclesiastical landowners located at greater distances, it was through these units of supervision that they governed their estates. There are surprisingly many references on these institutions, and the few monks residing in these curiae or grangiae." [my translation]

3.5.2 The grange/cell of Béla (Bijela) and the monastery of Garáb

The monastery of Garáb (Grabovo, in Co Szerém, today in the Voivodina province, Serbia)⁵⁰² is a less well known Benedictine house. It was mentioned for the first time as a private monastery (1234), whose location has been a matter of debate.⁵⁰³ There is also little knowledge concerning its lands. Béla (Bijela, in Co. Körös, today in the Belovár-Bilogora province, Croatia), on the other hand, appears for the first time in 1332, in a letter of Pope John XXII as *locus ecclesiasticus*,⁵⁰⁴ subordinate to Garáb. On the decision of the pope, its revenues(!) were assigned to the bishop of Zágreb, because of the foolishness of its abbot, who was a Franciscan renegade. Despite a papal decree to remove him, the abbot must have remained in position as in 1340 he filed a complaint via his *officialis* against the donation of *terra Rusd*, claiming it as the property of the monastery. In 1366, Béla is mentioned as a grange (*grangia eiusdem Bela vocata*), where an 'abbot' named Conrad lived with his concubines.⁵⁰⁵ On the pope's initiative the site was soon taken over by a monk from the Benedictine Abbey of Szekszárd. After this period, however, it seems to be canonically united with Garáb, as shown by the title of its abbots in 1390, 1421, 1476-79.⁵⁰⁶

The history of the Bijela illustrates that dependent houses could administer their revenues separately from the monastery, ⁵⁰⁷ and they could potentially cut themselves loose from the mother abbeys and become independent. As the hierarchical lines of their filiation (e.g. Szekszárd – Garáb – Bijela), as well as the changes in their status (due to reform initiatives) remain vaguely documented in the sources, there can be many misinterpretation and confusions in the respective literature.

⁵⁰² F. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 33.

⁵⁰³ Menyhért Érdújhelyi, "A garábi apátság székhelye," *A Bács-Bodrogh vármegyei Történelmi Társulat Évkönyve* 16 (1900): 153–156. Vilmos Fraknói, *A szekszárdi apátság története*. Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1879, 24. Garáb was considered by Fraknói as a dependent house of Szekszárd.

⁵⁰⁴ A circusmscribed ecclesiastical territory. The term is also used e.g. for hospitals.

⁵⁰⁵ MNL OL, DL 207312 (1366-10-21); pub.: monasterium.net: http://www.mom-ca.uni-koeln.de/mom/HU-PBFL/PannHOSB/1366 X 21/Charter: "quod, cum ipsi in visitatione procedentes eadem ad monasterium prefatum de Grab et ad grangiem (!) eiusdem Bela vocatam visitaturi accessissent, tam idem monasterium, quam grangiam ipsam omni ordinatione vacare et in dicta grangia quandam mulierem infamem et filiam eiusdem pretiosis indutas vestibus habitare, eandemque grangiem pro suo imperio et libito gubernare repererunt"

⁵⁰⁶ Andrić, "Benediktinska opatija," 98: Abbot Laurentius (1390); Johannes de Alben (1421); Abbot Eustachius (1468, 1476) "abbas de Beley et de Garab"; cf. DL 108136 (1468-04-13); DL 231666 (1476-08-28); See also F. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 9–10 (Bijela), 33 (Garáb)

⁵⁰⁷ Heale, *Dependent houses*, 229–230.

There is unfortunately no data available on the topography of the site or buildings. It is likely, that the grange – similarly to Remeteudvarhely – was surrounded with a precinct wall., during the Ottoman period the site could be easily transformed into a military outpost, so that could also explain the above mentioned walls and towers. In the first half of the twentieth century visible remains of the complex were described – a precinct wall with battlements and towers – , nothing of which has remained by now. ⁵⁰⁸

3.5.3 The administrative function of dependent houses of the Benedictines

Benedictines seem to have been eminent in creating non-conventual or conventual dependent houses – referred either as priories or cells. The terminology reflects the different balance of the religious and administrative functions. So baserved, the dependent houses of Pannonhalma at Kőröshegy or Remeteudvarhely also operated as tithe collection districts. The best documented examples for such territorial system of division (in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) were other large ecclesiastical estates, e.g. diocesan chapters. However, some of these houses/cells were also referred as granges, most likely because this was meant to emphasize the presence of the monks' community – which also brings up the question of similarity in their physical appearance, in terms of the buildings required by these communities.

Ernst Holzfeind discussed the late medieval economic organization of Cistercian estates in Austria, underlining that one key aspect of change was the growing importance of the collection of tithes (the feudal rents), which resulted in the creation of tithe collection districts ('Zinsbezirke') and the division of the estates into administrative units ('Ämte'). ⁵¹⁰ Apparently, Cistercian granges also started to function as tithe collection centres, as in the late medieval period the administrative practices of the Cistercians began to converge with that of the Benedictines However, there is no indication that such a system developed in case of Cistercian estates in Hungary. What likely made a difference between the large Benedictine estates and the Cistercian ones in Hungary (and also generally) was that the lands of the Cistercians formed usually more congruent or compact blocks – in contrast to the scattered lands of Pannonhalma,

⁵⁰⁸ Branko Nadilo, "Obrambene građevine zapadnog i sjevernog Papuka" [Defensive structures on the west and north sides of Papuk] *Građevinar* 57 (2005/3): 184.

⁵⁰⁹ Cf. Heale, *The Dependent Priories*, 5.

⁵¹⁰ Ernst Holzfeind, *Die wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Verhältnisse bei den Cistercen in Österreich von deren Gründung bis zum "Schwarzen Tod"*. Phd thesis Wien: Universität Wien, 1957, 232 passim. See also Franz, "Grangien und Landsiedel," 40. In case of Haina this system was also fully functioning in the early fourteenth century. With further literatures on Heilsbronn, Ebrach and Bebenhausen.

or of the diocesan chapters for instance, and – from an administrative point of view – there was no need to establush such units.

3.6 CONCLUSIONS

Below, I provide a summation of the major findings of the topographical studies presented, focusing on the following problems: the number and size of granges and other manorial farms, their site location pattern and spatial distribution, the implication of topographical data concerning exploitation (function/management). In connection to this, I discuss briefly the role of *conversi* (laybrothers), the *officiales*, and the labour services of tenants. To a certain extent, this point will also allow me to reflect on changes in manorial economy, which will be further contextualized in the forthcoming chapters. Before I begin here, however, I would like to briefly underline also a few methdological concerns, which have emerged while going through the above examples.

In Chapter 2, I have noted the importance of integrating historical and archaeological data and that a landscape based approach has proved both feasible and valuable in studies concerning the small estates of Pauline houses. As for the Cistercian monasteries, this direction could not be followed systematically, as comprehensive archaeological surveys were available only for Pilis and Zirc and their surroundings. The lack of archaeological evidence, and most importantly of landscape archaeological observations, is the most disappointing when archival data are abundant (Borsmonostor and Topuszkó) and one would be able to contrast more detailed historical topographical data to the archeology. This discrepancy is clearly a challenge for future research and systematic landscape archaeological surveys would greatly improve the interpretation offered here. Chapter 5 on industrial activities, focusing on Pomáz–Nagykovácsipuszta grane will have already something to consider in this respect, discussing e.g. the results of recent excavations.

On the other hand, expanding the scope of investigation to include documents and cartographical evidence (estate records) dating from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, proved particularly fruitful. As I indicated, my approach was far from a systematic retrogressive analysis. It was rather problem specific, focusing on data to improve the topographical study on the farms. When juxtaposed to medieval perambulation data, later sources are very helpful, as they reveal the multifaceted continuities and discontinuities in land-use. Although estate records from the post medieval period have been surveyed in the monographical works on

Borsmonostor, Pilis,⁵¹¹ Szentgotthárd,⁵¹² and Zirc,⁵¹³ there has been no attempt on a more systematic landscape historical analysis, and in particular on the available cartographical materials, which were particularly helpful for the present study.

I would emphazise that due to the successive nature of domanial rights the location of manorial lands remained often unchanged, thus, one could argue that medieval farms/lands could be identified relatively easily if later estate records/maps are available. The changes in the size of manorial lands are, however, quite problematic to assess, since quantiative data are rarely available concerning the medieval situation. Thus, there is often uncertainity whether the later situation applies also retrogressively. A more accurate reconstruction would be only possible when these estate records/maps had been systematically evaluated in combinations with the results of the present research as well with comprehensive landscape archaeological surveys research. This would greatly improve the results presented here. ⁵¹⁴

3.6.1 Number of granges and other manorial farms – terminological problems

As noted in Chapter 1, I envisaged a comprehensive and targeted survey, to find more references on granges and manors, i.e. to make up for the shortcomings of the *Repertorium* as noted also by László Solymosi in his review article. It seems, however, that Hervay covered the available sources fairly well: he listed eight entries for the term *grangia* in connection to four abbeys (out of the eighteen in total), and only a few more were found for Szentgotthárd and Topuszkó. Overall, this did not change the picture significantly [Appendix], as it seems that only wealthier houses (royal foundations with large estates) could establish granges. Borsmonostor, Szentgotthárd, and Topuszkó rank first with four-five granges each, Pétervárad, Pilis and Zirc had at least one each. Other monasteries – Ábrahám, Bélapátfalva, Cikádor, Egres, Ercsi, Gotó, Kerc, Keresztúr, Pásztó, Pornó, Szepes and Zágráb – did not seem to have

⁵¹³ Horváth, Zirc története. Concerning the period between 1659-1814, see Part 3, from page 110.

⁵¹¹ Remig Békefi, *A pilisi apátság története 1541 – 1814* (A zirci, pilis, pásztói és szentgotthárdi apátságok története, vol 2.) [The History of Pilis Abbey 1541 – 1814 (The history of Zirc, Pilis, Pásztó and Szentgotthárd Abbeys, vol 2] Pécs: Taizs József, 1892.

⁵¹² Kalász, A szentgotthárdi apátság.

⁵¹⁴ A good example of a multidisciplinary (archaeological and ecological) study on a nearby manorial site in Lower Austria Thomas Kühtreiber et al., "The medieval castle Lanzenkirchen in Lower Austria: reconstruction of economical and ecological development of an average sized manor (twelfth-fifteenth century)," *Archaeologia Polona* 37 (1999): 135–144.

⁵¹⁵ Solymosi, "Észrevételek."

⁵¹⁶ Hervay, *Repertorium*, 26: mentions only Borsmonostor and Topuszkó ("Litterae de Borsmonostor et de Toplica grangias memorant"), however, references can be found on page 64, 65 (Borsmonostor), 106 (Heiligenkreuz), 136, 140, (Pétervárad) 182, 184 (Topuszkó), 202 (Záráb).

established granges according to their archival records. The existence of home farms (within the precincts), however, could be taken for granted, but these were rarely mentioned in the records, e.g. in case of Pétervárad, Pilis and Záráb. These records survived, however, more fragmentarily, which is apparently a bias. On the other hand, there is maybe chance to find more references among unpublished archival collections. Future archaeological investigations could also contribute to identifying other potential grange sites, like in case of Pomáz-Nagykovácsipuszta. Pozsonycsákány, where there is indication for architectural remains, is already a potential candidate. Some toponyms may refer to rural enclosures created by the monks, e.g. in case of Kőudvar in Olaszfalu (Zirc), 'Monach-felde' near Bottyán (Szentgotthárd) and Malomháza/Munichhof/Mönch-hof (Borsmonostor), but its unclear whether these were granges or not (see more on this below).

Apart from chance conditions influencing the survival of documents, there is maybe also a historical explanation why one finds that granges were "missing" in case of many Cistercian abbeys. On the one hand, they seem to have had fewer lands, with proportionately less area kept as demesne, and there was maybe no need to have farms apart from the home farm. On the other hand, while Borsmonostor (1190s), Pilis (1184), Szentgotthárd (1184), and Zirc (1182) were established in the late twelfth century, the aforementioned abbeys were founded a couple of decades later [Appendix], in the early thirteenth century – except for Cikádor (1142), Egres (1179) and Kerc (1202), which belonged to the first wave of Cistercian settlement and were also royal foundations. (In the second wave, there were typically private foundations.) This likely had an impact on how the economy of these abbeys developed later. The visitation of the abbot of Rein (*Relatio Seifridi abbatis Runensis*) in 1357 shows that they were financially weaker [Appendix]. The Mongol invasion of Hungary in 1241-42 and political events during the second half of the thirteenth century, following the end of the reign of King Bela IV (+1270) and the year of the last Cistercian fondation Ábrahám (1270) could critically affect them. , Bélháromkút, Cikádor, Egres, Kerc, Szepes, Pásztó and Pilis were devastated by the raids of

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⁵¹⁷ <u>Pétervárad</u>: MNL OL, DL n/a; reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 182 (1344-10-09): "castrum Varadini Petri...quod nunc est grangia abbatis" The MNL OL, signature is not available or uncertain, the document survived possibly in one of the following volumes of papal protocolls: DF 292394, 292400, 292722, 292724; <u>Pilis</u>: St 1222:25: "De inhumanitate facta in abbatia et grangia de Pelis"; <u>Zagreb</u>: MNL OL, n/a (1287-10-13) reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 202; pub.: CDC, vol 6, 598–600. "tunc abbatem de insula Sancti Jacobi plena... possessione loci et terre ... volens predictum locum divino officio per fratres memorati ordinis decorari, conferrens prenominato abbati et fratribus suis ... claustrum et grangiam secundum morem professionis ipsorum facultatem libere et pacifice ibidem construendi."

the Mongols, ⁵¹⁸ some sites were termporarily abandoned, and there were also certain foundations, which were previously planned, but have not been realized (e.g. Dénesvölgy – Honesta Vallis; Szentjános S. Johannis Baptistae). ⁵¹⁹ The later development of these relatively recent and less powerful Cistercian houses could have been abruptly prompted by their vulnerability to demographic, social and economic challenges (see more on this below) that followed in the course of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. In short, this may also explain the lack of evidence, and that they did not seem to have further interest in keeping grange economy going.

Among the farms and manorial properties of the Cistercians, however, there were also other types, mentioned under different terms, such as e.g. *curia*, *praedium*, *sessio*, as we have seen in case of Borsmonostor, Szentgotthárd, or Topuszkó. Borsmonostor had a *mansio* (1275), and also a *curia* (1330) situated in the area of Locsmánd-Répcemicske. The abbey also had a *curia* in Csáfordjánosfa (1452), a *predium* in Kozár (1224) with 300 *jugera ad duo aratra* land, and another *predium* in Csó (1299), which was *tria aratra* large. These were situated more distantly. Pilis had a conglomerate of demesne lands (mentioned as *allodium*, *curia*, *sessio*, *terra*) in the vicinity of Pozsonycsákány, near Pozsony, as well as a *predium* in Kishéreg (Héreg, Co. Komárom), situated 40 km from the abbey. Szentgotthárd had also distant *predia* in Almás, Bottyán and Varsány (1198), as well as in Boldogasszonyfalva and Zalaszentiván (1376). On the estate of Topuszkó, *predia* were mentioned in *Lestouam superiorem et inferiorem cum Rukouo* (1392),⁵²⁰ in Golinja (1434),⁵²¹ in Pokupsko, Roženica, Auguštanovec,⁵²² as well as in *Othok/Jukowarhevacz* (also in the area of Pokupsko) (1523).⁵²³ These were situated at distances between 25 – 45 km from the abbey.

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⁵¹⁸ Hervay, *Repertorium*, 33. This has been noted by the general chapter statutes in 1241-1242; A statute from 1259 concerning the Hungarian, Livonian and Polish abbots not attending the general chapter points to long term problems generated by the attack. *Ibid.* cf. See St 1259:4: "...qui propter metum Tartarorum non veniunt, ut tenentur, pro excusatis habeantur..."

⁵¹⁹ Hervay, *Repertorium*, 41.

⁵²⁰ MNL OL, DL 230707 (1392-04-25); reg.: n/a in the series of the *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár*; *Lestova inferior et superior* and *Rukovo*

⁵²¹ MNL OL, DF 252386 (1434-04-24) Gollina superior, predium/possessio cum Brechovicza (in metis predii)

⁵²² MNL OL, DF 252390 (1434-05-15) predia seu possessiones Pocopia, Rozonica, Sezwuelvo, Agustanovicza

⁵²³ MNL OL, DF 268 050 (1523-04-24) predium cum curia nobilitaria

It has been underlined that the terminology used in the documents was not necessarily consistent. This is the most clear when farms are referred e.g. as grangia seu curia. 524 The predium/praedium was clearly a term used the most frequently in reference to manorial farms in Hungary, and it is worth exploring their character from a topographical point of view, to find out about possible differences and similarities. Interpretive problems concerning the predium have been underlined by István Szabó and Pál Engel. As for the period before 1300, Szabó did a comprehensive research, collecting over 150 examples, and argued that the praedium was a distinctive type of settlement, under the control of a manorial farm (allodium), supervised by a *procurator*, and populated by families of servants-slaves. ⁵²⁵ On the other hand, relying on Antal Bartha, Szabó also emphasized its dual meaning, namely that in a more general sense the term refers to the lord's demesne. As noted elsewhere, the *praedium* was not simply a topographical category, but also implied a financial-economic-social bond inherent in the contemporary social order (beyond the subject status of manorial servants). ⁵²⁶ In this general sense, i.e. the *possessio* of the lord, the term could refer to different types of settlements, not only manors. Furthermore, Szabó and Engel both noted how the meaning changed in the late medieval period – unlike in the case of grangia.

According to Engel "there are growing numbers of charters mentioning lands that had become uninhabited, mostly *praedia*, that is *allodia* previously inhabited by serfs. This process was so general that by 1300 the meaning of the word *praedium* itself had changed. It came to refer to the *puszta*, that is, an 'uninhabited estate' (*possessio habitatoribus destituta*) with fixed boundaries, but no remaining tenants." ⁵²⁷ In summary, this could mean that in order to decide in what context the above references were understood, the topographical conditions should be studied. However, it is safe to assume that "traditional" farms were just as important as granges on Cistercian estates, and in addition to less than a half a dozen granges an equal number of "traditional" farms could be counted on the estates of Borsmonostor, Szentgotthárd and Topuszkó.

⁵²⁴ Concerning the archival evidence in Bohemia, similar observations have been made by Kateřina Charvátová, "Early Cistercian Economy in Bohemia (about 1150-1300): the mysterious affair of the granges," *Questiones medii aevi novae* 9 (2004): 288.

⁵²⁵ Szabó, "The praedium," 18–19.

⁵²⁶ See e.g. Elisabeth Magnou-Nourtier, "La seigneurie foncière en Allemagne (XIe-XIIe siècles), reflexion critique sur des travaux récents." *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 144 (1986), 8.

⁵²⁷ See Pál Engel, *The Real of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526.* London: I.B. Tauris, 2005, 111.

In comparison to these numbers, some Bohemian and Polish houses seem to have had more farms. There were for example eleven farms counted on the estate of Plasy Abbey in Bohemia, (founded in 1146), mentioned already in a papal confirmation letter in 1250, and there were others acquired later on (1420). Since all of them were referred as *curia*, there is a similar interpretive problem. Kateřina Charvátová argued that since almost all of them were situated within a 10 km distance from the abbey, these were in fact granges, operated by laybrothers and the topographical evidence confirmed this suggestion (see below). ⁵²⁸ In case of another Bohemian abbey, Sedlec (founded in the 1140s), Jaroslav Čechura listed twenty *curiae* mentioned in documents between 1290 and 1420. From a topographical point of view, Čechura differentiated between three categories/types, but did not clarify which farms he thinks were granges. ⁵²⁹ In case of Cistercian estates in Lesser Poland, there is usually one place mentioned as *grangia*, other farms were referred, however, mostly as *predium*. In the late fifteenth century Jędrzejów had fourteen of them, Wąchock fourteen-fifteen, Koprzywnica at least nine, Mogiła eleven, and Szczyrzyc at least three such farms. ⁵³⁰

As for the German Cistercian estates, the average number of granges (in case of abbeys with middle sized estates) was between ten and fifteen. Large estates had sometimes over twenty granges, whereas less well-to-do monasteries, e.g. Dobrilugk, Chorin, Lehnin, or others situated east of the Elbe, had maximum three or four.⁵³¹ There was also a considerable variation in the numbers of grange farms in France⁵³² and England, with maximums of twenty to thirty in case of more prestigious abbeys (e.g. Fountains, Meaux, or Warden).⁵³³ This overview suggests that the number of granges was in a reciprocal relationship with Cistercian expansion. Moving towards more marginal regions, as the region east of the Elbe, and Hungary, this generally

⁵²⁸ Kateřina Charvátová, "Le modèle économique cistercien et son application pratique en Bohême," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 30 (1987): 68.

⁵²⁹ Jaroslav Čechura, *Die Struktur der Grundherrschaften im mittelalterlichen Böhmen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Klosterherrschaften.* (Quellen und Forschungen zur Agrargeschichte, 39) Stuttgart: Gustav Fischer, 1994, 41–43.

⁵³⁰ Maciej Zdanek, "Folwarki cystersów małopolskich w średniowieczu," Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Żup Solnych w Polsce 24 (2005): 279.

For the data see e.g. Ribbe "Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit," 207; Rösener "Grangienwirtschaft und Grundbesitzorganisation," 140; Rösener "Die Agrarwirtschaft," 73; Schattkowsky, "De quelques aspects de l'économie rurale cistercienne dans les territoires est allemands au haut moyen âge," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 129 (1990): 46; Wichert, "Das Zisterzienserkloster Doberan," 70.

⁵³² Charles Higounet, "Le premier siècle de l'économie rurale cistercienne." In *Istituzioni monastiche e istituzioni canonicali in Occidente (1123-1215): atti della settima Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 28 agosto - 3 settembre 1977.* Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1980, 345-368.

⁵³³ Donkin, *The Cistercians*, 55.

reflects the comparatively less important role of *Eigenwirtschaft*. The estates of Borsmonostor, Szentgotthárd and Topuszkó fit perfectly this pattern.

3.6.2 The macro-topography (spatial distribution) of granges and other farms

There was the well-known practical norm that granges had to be situated within one day's journey (ca 20-25 km) from the abbeys, as this short distance allowed laybrothers to return to the monastery. This also allowed – from a managerial point of view – to control resources, which were more valuable or more labour intensive to manage. Notably, the centrally lying lands were important for animal farming and industrial activities. In most cases, it is this norm, whereby the predominantly central location of granges is explained. This patterns can be observed also in the case of Borsmonostor and Szentgotthárd, where granges were situated in one group around the monasteries, which were conveniently situated, on fertile lowlands (in river valleys with flood-plain areas). On the other hand, the central parts of the estates of Pilis and Zirc were characterized by high-relief terrains and dense woodlands (within royal forests), and the limited area suitable for crop farming may explain why larger blocks of farms were not established there.

Thus, geographical distance defined the area, where granges more typically occurred. Nonetheless, some granges were situated more distantly, and not only in fertile lowlands, but also in upland areas – with extensive pastures –, where the focus was not on arable farming but on animal husbandry.⁵³⁵ In the German literature the term *Ferngrangie* refers also to those granges, which typically served as administrative centres of more distant parts of the estates, which could not be supervised directly from the abbey.⁵³⁶ In this capacity, they were similar to the cells or dependent houses of the Benedictines.

In the case of Topuszkó, the distribution of granges (and other farms) shows a dispersed pattern [Appendix]. This might be explained partly by the mosaic character of the local landscape – low hills, plateaus, segmented by small rivers. On the estate of Plasy, a similarly dispersed pattern (still within a radius of 20-25 km) was explained as the result of the abbey's strategy to create farms within the bounds of existing villages, taking advantage of already cultivated lands

⁵³⁴ Discussed e.g. in James France, *Separate but Equal: Cistercian Lay Brothers 1120-1350* (Cistercian Studies, 246) Collegeville: Cistercian Publication, 2012, 118–119.

Platt, *The Monastic Grange*, 71: granges in marshland areas, alluvial valleys, were probably better for harvesting crops, while granges with marginally arable soils were suitable for sheep breeding.

⁵³⁶ E.g. Gahlbeck, "Die Ausbreitung," 544. (In connection to some granges of Lubiąż.)

(from where the tenants were relocated to other areas). As has been argued, this could be more resource efficient and viable, sparing financial and human resources,⁵³⁷ despite that the abbey had also a large area of uncultivated land (woodland).

As for the granges of Topuszkó, there is no historical evidence to support such a narrative, since most of the farms were mentioned only once, and fairly late [Appendix] There is no data on the systematic relocation of settlements either. As the abbey was donated with the territory of a whole county (Co. Gora), it could take over plenty of existing manorial farms too, some of which could be transformed to granges, but this remains a hypothetical point, until further historical and arhcaeological topographical investigations. Importantly, Topuszkó's granges were dispersed not only because of the landscape character, but some appear to be "satellites" of the abbey, connecting to major trade routes, markets, and towns, 538 which was a particularly common pattern in case of more distant granges, as these farms could be reached more conveniently from the abbeys, whereas they provided access to trade. 539 (See more on this in Chapter 6) Borsmonostor's grange at Szomód, the grange of Pétervárd at Kelenföld, Pilis's grange at Pozsonycsákány are also illustrative of this "symbiosis." In short, major roads were important for the site selection of grange farms. Overall, however, there was also a contrast between granges and *predium* type farms, in as much as examples from Borsmonostor, Szentgotthárd and Topuszkó show that traditional farms were usually more distantly located.

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⁵³⁷ Kateřina Charvátová, "Mindful of Reality, faithful to traditions. Development of Bohemian possessions of the Cistercian Order from the twelfth to the thirteenth Centuries." In *L'Espace cistercien*. Paris: CTHS 1994, 355–375; Eadem, "Early Cistercian Economy."

⁵³⁸ László Ferenczi, "Estate structure and development of the Topusko (Toplica) Abbey: a case study of a Medieval Cisterian Monastery," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 12 (2006): 83–99. Granges were situated adjacently to settlements, which appeared in the documents as market places (*forum*), and from the fourteenth century on as market towns (*oppidum*). See Appendix.

Freully: Nathalie Picart, "Le domaine de Preuilly." In *L'Espace cistercien*. Paris: CTHS 1994, 568–580; Dargun: Heike Reimann, "Die Historische Bedeutung des Zisterzienserklosters Dargun für die mittelalterliche Entwicklung eines magdeburgisch-pommerschen Grenzgebietes." In *Zisterziensische Wirtschaft und Kulturlandschaft*, ed. Winfried Schich. Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 1998, 57–63; Eberbach: Dagmar Söder, "Klosterlandschaft Eberbach. Das Kloser Eberbach als Wiertshaftsbetrieb und seine Spuren in der Rheingauer Landschaft." In *Klöster und Landschaft*. *Das kulturräumliche Erbe der Orden*, ed. Johannes Meier. Münster: Aschendorf Verlag, 2010, 39–60. For a comparative survey on economic functions see: Winfried Schich, "Grangien und Stadthöfe der Zisterzienserklöster östlich der mittleren Elbe bis zum 14. Jahrhundert." In *Zisterziensische Wirtschaft und Kulturlandschaft* (Studien zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Zisterzienser 3) Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 1998, 64–98.

Once again, this underlines that farms in the vicinity of the abbeys were used as granges (managed by laybrothers – see below), while others were operated in the traditional way.⁵⁴⁰

3.6.3 The size of granges and other farms

It is unfortunately very rarely that the size of farmlands is mentioned in land transactions or grants, and mostly only the size of ploughlands was given, as this had the greatest economic value. Its pertinences were not necessarily listed. Concerning granges, there were two examples found, where the size of land is specified: Almásháza (Szentgotthárd) with *dua aratra*, and Szomód (Borsmonostor), with *tria aratra*. It seems that *predium* type farms were just similar, as the size of the arable was the same. Among the lands of Borsmonostor there were, for example, Csó with *tria aratra*, and Kozár with 300 *iugera* (*ad dua aratra*). Among the donations to Szentgotthárd, Almás, Bottyán and Varsány were mentioned as *predia* (1198). The farm in Bottyán had at least one *aratrum* in 1198, and *tria aratra* in 1268. As for the other two, they presumably were of similar size. According to the so called Albeus conscription (1237-1240), ⁵⁴¹ Szentgotthárd had a 300 *iugera* large meadow in Zalaszentiván, mentioned as *predium* in 1376. ⁵⁴²

Similarly large pieces of arable lands (mentioned as *terra* and *predium*) appear on the estates of other religious orders too, e.g. of the Benedictine or Premonstratensian houses, and on other large estates in general. A several examples were collected by István Szabó, which demonstrate that such farms were not characteristic for Cistercian estates only. Szabó pointed out, that the main function of these farms was crop production, as apparently reflected by the large size of the arable.⁵⁴³ One *royal* aratrum (consisting of 150 *royal* iugerum) was calculated to about 120-130 ha,⁵⁴⁴ however, it has been also argued that in the early thirteenth century conscription of

⁵⁴⁰ As has been underlined also e.g. by Hidegard Weiss in his monograph on Ebrach, those farms, which were thought unsuitable to be converted to granges (because of their size or location) were left unaltered. Cf. Weiss, *Zisterzienserabtei Ebrach*, 33.

⁵⁴¹ Kalász, *A szentgotthárdi*, 146. Albeus was the name of the magister, commissioned by King Bela IV to prepare the land register of the Pannonhalma estate.

⁵⁴² Theophilus Heimb, Notitia historica de ortu et progressu abbatiæ sacri ordinis Cisterciensis B.M.V. ad S. Gotthardum dictæ, et in inclyto Hungariæ regno sitæ. Wien: Francisus Andreas Kirchberger, 1764, 65: "Abbatiale Molendinum in fluvio Saár, duasque possessiones Szentlvan et Bodogazonfalva, velut legitima S.Gotthardi praedia"

⁵⁴³ Szabó, "The praedium," 18: His database consisted 118 *praedia*. He found that there were only 4, where data implied that the focus was on animal husbandry and not crop production.

⁵⁴⁴ The size of the *aratrum regalis mensurae* was 120-130 ha. For a detailed discussion on the *aratrum* see István Bogdán, *Magyarországi hossz- és földmértékek a XVI. század végéig* [Measurement units of length and land up to the end of the 16th century in Hungary] (Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, IV, Levéltártan és történeti forrástudományok 3) Budapest: Akadémiai, 1978, 150-164.

Pannonhalma a different size occurs most typically (one aratrum consisting only 120 iugerum) and a different metric is used, the *common* iugerum (only 0.45 ha), so the size of the *aratrum* can be as little as 55 ha.⁵⁴⁵ This would meand that the size of a farm (3-2 *aratra*) can be calculated as big as 2 or 3 times 150ha and as little as 2 or 3 times 55ha, that is ca 160 – 450 ha.

Farms with large arables – similar to the *grangia* and *predia* – are mentioned, however, as *curia araturae/araturarum* (as distinguished from the usual *curiae*) also in case of monastic estates in Bohemia – including Cistercian (Sedlec, Plasy, Vyšší Brod, Zbraslav) Benedictine (Břevnov, Policky, Kladruby), as well as Premonstratensian examples (Strahov). They were also two, three, or four *aratra* large, as noted in the documents. In case of Plasy, the ones situated closer to the abbey were considered as granges. ⁵⁴⁶

The size of *curiae* or *predia* of Polish abbeys – referred in the literature as "folwarks"/manorial farms – was measured in *lanei*. The size of a *Lan* was ca 20-25 ha, equal to that of a *mansio*, i.e. the German *Huf*. The abbeys of Jędrzejów, Koprzywnica and Wąchock (Lesser Poland) had two, three, or four *lanei* large farms (40/50 - 80/100 ha), as shown by various references from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. ⁵⁴⁷ In Prandocin-Kacice the original site (home grange) of Mogiła was two *lanei* large (46-48 ha), as referred in 1283. According to fifteenth – sixteenth century sources, the size of the farms increased. Based on services of the tenants – as mentioned by Jan Długosz in his survey of ecclesiastical estates, the *Liber Beneficiorum* –, as well as on the data from land registers (*urbaria*) from the mid-sixteenth century (1560 and 1563), Maciej Zdanek estimated the area of manorial farms of Mogiła to about 5 to 8 *lanei* (100 to 200 ha). ⁵⁴⁸

Cf. Szabó, "The praedium," 17. Szabó erroneously equates aratrum with the so called katasztrális hold (0.57 ha) and calculates 2 aratra as large as 3 acres (3 x 0,4 ha), and 6 aratra with 8.5 acres (8.5 x 0.4 ha = 3,2 ha). In the Hungarian version no such calculations are provided.

⁵⁴⁵ Erdélyi, "Egyházi földesúr," 7.

⁵⁴⁶ Kateřina Charvátová, "Hospodářské dvory klášterů ve světle písemných pramenu," (Ke stavební podobě dvorů řádů benediktinského, premonstrátského a cisterckého," (Wirtschaftshöfe der Klöster im Lichte Schriftqellen (Zur Bauform der Höfe des Benediktiner-, Prämonstratenser und Zisterzienserordens in Böhmen). *Archaeologia historica* 12 (1987), 289–291.

⁵⁴⁷ Zdanek, "Folwarki cystersów," 275.

⁵⁴⁸ Maciej Zdanek, "Dochodowość majątku klasztoru Cystersów w Mogile w połowie XVI wieku na podstawie inwentarza dóbr z lat 1560-1566." [The profitability of the property of the Cistercian monastery in Mogiła in the mid-sixteenth century on the basis of an inventory from 1560-1566] In *Klasztor w gospodarce średniowiecznej i nowożytnej*, ed. Marek Derwich. Wrocław: Wrocławskie Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii, oddział Polskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego, 2013, 261. The following farms were mentioned: Mogiła – 5,1; Czyżyny – 4,95; Kacice – 5,1; Sędowice – 8 *lanei*. Size data concerning another group of farms of the abbey (in the Duchy of Zator) has been discussed by Agnieszka Baran, "Rola cystersów mogilskich w zagospodarowaniu terenu dawnego

Focusing on Silesian abbeys – Henryków and Lubiąż –, Stanisław Trawkowski calculated ca 60-70 ha per farm, similarly on the basis of indirect evidence (e.g., the number of large beasts or the amounts of grain sown). He also noted that there were larger and also smaller farms, e.g. Jaroslaw was *quator aratra* large, and Maciejowice, the smallest one, which belonged to Jędrzejów was 30 ha. ⁵⁴⁹

In summary, the two or three *aratra* large farms of monastic estates (taking either the Hungarian or Bohemian examples) are illustrative of a morphological and tenurial structure different from the Polish *folwarks*, or what can be evidenced elsewhere. Granges of Cistercian estates in the west varied more in size, and were (on average) not larger than 200 ha. The average size of fortified granges in Southern France – in Gascogne, a frontier region along the political borders of the English and French crowns – was estimated by Constance H. Berman to about 425-680 acres (ca 170 – 270 hectares). As for abbeys in the German lands, there was a considerable variation in the size of granges, between 50 and 400 hectares, with an average of 150-200 hectares. In Baden-Württemberg and in Lower Saxony, the average size was estimated to about 190 ha. Statement of Altzella (Lower Saxony) were between 20 and 162 ha, those of Walkenried were between 180 and 1000 ha. It is important to note that these sizes always refer to arable lands only. The total area of the farms/granges could have been larger, – with pertinences, e.g. meadows, woodlands etc. –, but is more problematic to estimate. Some

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księstwa zatorskiego (XIII-XVII w.)," Wadoviana. Przegląd historyczno-kulturalny 17 (2014): 24-25. The size of farms varied between 3 and 8 lanei (in the late sixteenth century).

⁵⁴⁹ Stanisław Trawkowski, *Gospodarka wielkiej własności cysterskiej na Dolnym Śląsku w XIII wieku*. (L'exploitation des biens de l'Ordre de Citeaux dans la Basse Silésie au XIII-e siècle) Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1959, 185.

⁵⁵⁰ Berman, *Medieval Agriculture*, 63.

⁵⁵¹ See e.g. Reinhard Schneider, *Vom Klosterhaushalt zum Stadt- und Staatshaushalt. Der zisterziensische Beitrag* (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 38) (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1994; Another survey of comparative data: Sven Wichert, *Das Zisterzienserkloster Doberan im Mittelalter*. (Studien zur Gescjichte, Kunst und Kultur der Zisterzienser, 9) Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2000, 71–72.

⁵⁵² Rösener, "Tradition," 410.

Wichert, "Das Zistertzeinserkloster Doberan," 71-72. They list the following examples (average sizes): Tennenbach 170 ha, Bebenhausen 193 ha, Salem 235 ha, Ebersbach 354 ha (the largest one was 530 ha) Altenkamp 450 ha. For his data cf. Rösener "Grangienwirtschaft und Grundbesitzorganisation," 147; Rösener "Zur Wirtschaftstätigkeit der Zisterzienser im Hochmittelalter," 128. Schattkowsky, "De quelques aspects," 46. On this latter see Wilhelm Janssen, "Zisterziensische Wirtschaftsführung am Niederrhein: Das Kloster Kamp und seine Grangien im 12.-13. Jahrhundert" In Villa - Curtis - Grangia. Landwirtschaft zwischen Loire und Rhein von der Römerzeit zum Hochmittelalter. Économie rurale entre Loire et Rhin de l'époque gallo-romaine au XIIe–XIIIe siècle. 16. Deutsch-französisches Historikerkolloquium des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Paris, Xanten, 28.9.–1.10, 1980 (Beihefte der Francia, 11), ed. Walter Janssen and Dietrich Lohrmann München: Artemis, 1983, 210. Stalt Pfeiffer, "Die früheren Unternehmungen der Zisterzienser - Wirtschaftswachstum und Entstehen einer Kulturlandschaft zwischen Walkenried und der Goldenen Aue," Vortrag, 3. Südharz-Symposium 11.-12. Juni 1999 in Sundhausen - Stadt Nordhausen. Open access: www.karstwanderweg.de/sympo/3/pfeiffer/

estimations provided for English and Welsh granges are, for example, several thousands of hectares, but these were upland granges with huge pastures/woodlands.⁵⁵⁵

It is particularly interesting to see how sizes of these farms relate to data on agricultural farmlands in different cultural contexts and chronological periods. For example, the typical size of the *fundus* of a Roman villa was 60 ha. 556 According to Carolingian and later legislations as well as various other records from the tenth to twelfth centuries, the size of the priest's fief, i.e. of the benefice of a parish church (the so called *Kirchendos* in the German literature) should have been at least one *mansio*/Huf, but in practice it was typically two (ca 60 ha), and later even four (120 ha). 557 Notably, similar rules also existed in regard to the provision of lands to monasteries: accoding to the synod of Esztergom (1114) two yokes (*aratra*) land were required to supply one monk. 558 This can explain why we see this measure of land turn up so often in connection to monastic estates, as a costumary unit of transaction. The required minimum number of such large farms would be, ideally, twelve (as this is the minimum size of the convent), and we see, indeed, approximately this many granges (or other large farms) in case of the Hungarian or Bohemian abbeys.

3.6.4 The size ratio of demesne to tenanted lands

When numbers of manorial farms and their average size are established, it is possible to estimate the cumulate size of the demesne and the size ratio of manorial and peasant lands. Then, such estimations could be compared to financial data (concerning incomes drawn from feudal rents, which appear more often in the records). This way, the significance of manorial economy could be approximately "measured." Calculating with ca 200 ha (arable) per grange, the cumulate size would be 800-1000 ha in case of Borsmonostor, Szentgotthárd, and Topuszkó. It is safe to

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⁵⁵⁵ Donkin, *The Cistercians*, 63-65.

⁵⁵⁶ See e.g. Annalisa Marzano, *Roman Villas in Central Italy: A Social and Economic History*. Ledien: Brill, 2007, 70. Paul Erdkamp, *The Grain Market in the Roman Empire. A Social, Political and Economic Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 19–20: The 240 Roman iugera land (ca 60ha is given here as an equivalent) is said to have been customary for villa-farms. The size of the Roman *centuria* was 100 parcels = 200 iugera = 50 ha. Cf. Zsuzsanna Hoffmann, *Mezőgazdaság és agrárviszonyok az ókori Rómában* [Agriculture and land tenure in the Roman period]. Pécs: JATE Press, 2014, 38.

⁵⁵⁷ Carola Brückner, *Das ländliche Pfarrbenefizium im hochmittelalterlichen Erzbistum Trier*. PhD thesis. Göttingen, 1997, 46–49. Open access: https://ediss.uni-goettingen.de/bitstream/handle/11858/00-1735-0000-0022-5D47-A/brueckner re.pdf?sequence=1

⁵⁵⁸ Bogdán, "Magyarországi hossz- és földmértékek," 153: "Abbates, provisa facultate, monasteria cum episcopo, ad duo aratra unum monachum regulariter vestitum et instructum teneant, et regulam Beati Benedicti omnes monarchi sciant et intellegant."

Grzegorz Żabiński, "Mogiła and Henryków: Patterns of Economic Development in Two Eastern European Cistercian Monasteries," Cîteaux: Commentarii cistercienses 61 (2010/2-4): 207–255.

assume that another 800-1000 ha can be counted to this as traditionally managed manorial farmland. Thus, the total area (only for arable) would be approximately 1600-2000 ha (max. 20 km2). In comparison, the total area of manorial lands of Henryków by the end of the thirteenth century was about 400-500 hectares, whereas tenanted lands extended to 670 hectares (a ratio of 1:1.6). This calculation included only lands cultivated as arable, whereas the total area of the estate was much larger, including about 8000 ha of woodland!

Providing systematic and accurate calculations for the Hungarian estates concerning the size ratio of demesne and tenanted lands would not be possible at the moment, as there is no accurate data on the total size of arable lands (including tenanted holdings), or population data (as a proxy), like in case of Henryków. The best approximation would be the spatial-statistical analysis of land-use, based on historical maps, i.e. the Military Mapping Survey or estate records, although presumable changes in land-use since the medieval times would pose a certain degree of uncertainity. It is only in case of Szentgotthárd, that we know of the number of tenanted plots from the late fifteenth century register – there were ca. 420 of them. Counting with ca 25 *iugera* (13 ha) arable per household⁵⁶¹ (cf. also *Chapter* 4), the total arable area would be 10500 *iugera* (6300 ha) and together with that of the farms the total arable size of the estate would be 7000-8000 ha.

Kalász provides completely different numbers based on a *Grundbuch* dating from 1869.⁵⁶² The total size of the estate was said to be about 9000 cadastral hold (ca 5150 ha), including ca 7000 cadastral hold (ca 4000 ha) woodland, and only 2000 cadastral hold (ca 1150 ha) arable. For the inconsistent data I have no explanation at the moment, but the ratio of woodland (75%) is significant. Based on topographic maps, the total area of the estate could be in fact more than 20000 ha (225 km2),⁵⁶³ and when deducing the same ratio of woodland, the total arable would be about 56 km2 (5600 ha), which is closer to the above estimate than Kalász's data.

In all probability, however, the ratio of demesne and tenanted lands (arable) would be $1/4^{rd}$ to $1/5^{th}$ approximately. Despite the uncertainities, it would be useful to make similar calculations concerning other abbeys. The ratios would be likely very divergent depending on the total size of the estates as well as land-use patterns, the share of local woodlands etc. Topuszkó had for

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., 227.

⁵⁶¹ See below, footnote 571.

⁵⁶² Kalász, *A szentgothárdi*, 91: *Grundbuch des gesamten Besitzstandes der Abtei Si. Gotthard in Ungarn*. Source: StiftsArchiv Heiligenkreuz, R. 47, f. XXXV. No. 5.

⁵⁶³ Engel, Magyarország későközépkori birtoktérképe.

example a much larger area, (ca 660 km2), but more densely settled, however, with settlements with smaller boundaries. Its estate was also less wooded than those of Pilis, Szentgoothárd or Zirc. Calculations concerning western abbeys show a much higher ratio (2/3rd) of manorial lands.⁵⁶⁴ This reflects the more significant role of manorial economy there, whereas feudal revenues and taxes based on tenanted lands could have provided a larger part of the incomes of Cistercian abbeys in Central Eastern Europe.

3.6.5 The micro-topography of granges/manors

In England and Wales the boundaries of tithe free lands – including cistercian granges in particular – were accurately recorded on nineteenth century tithe maps, so their boundaries (topographical situation) could be determined with precision and with relative ease. More typically, however, researchers are left only with medieval peambulation data, and this is often problematic to match with the present day landscape features, due to historical changes, e.g. the late medieval or post medieval contraction, desertion of settlements and changes of toponyms.

Gusztáv Wenzel, as one the first monographers of Hungarian economic history wrote in his *History of Agriculture in Hungary* that the terms *grangia* and *curtis* refer to those types of farms, where domestic buildings were detached from the residential ones, i.e. from the *curia* of the lord. This statement should not be understood categorically (as granges did have buildings for residential functions), but rather as a distinction from the *sessio-curia*, the residences of the nobility, which could be integral parts of a settlement. In case of large farms, including granges and certain *curiae*, however, spatial separation was characteristic. This has been underlined elsewhere as a generic feature that differentiated granges from other manorial holdings. As George C. Homans briefly summarized in his review on *The Monastic grange in Medieval England*, a grange "differed from an ordinary monastic manor in that, at least in the

⁵⁶⁴ In case of Walkenried the area of granges extended to ca 6000 ha, while 2000 ha belonged to the tenants (until 1280). Cf. Pfeiffer, "Die früheren Unternehmungen." A similar ratio is evidenced at Kamp: two third of the estate was made up by grange lands and one third by tenanted villages. The estate of Kamp was, however, much more compact (extending only to ca 1500 ha) in comparison to that of other houses, e.g. the estate of Ebrach was perhaps ten times larger about 15000 ha. Cf. Janssen, "Zisterziensische Wirtschaftsführung," 208–211.

⁵⁶⁵ This was due to extensive privileges, granted in the twelfth century (for lands cultivated by themselves), and by the Lateran Council in 1215 (for newly acquired properties, i.e. novalia).

David H. Williams, "The Mapping of Cistercian Lands with especial Reference to Wales." In L'Espace cistercien.
 Paris: CTHS 1994, 311–319.; Idem, Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1990;
 Gusztáv Wenzel, Magyarország mezőgazdaságának története. Budapest: MTA Történelmi Bizottsága, 1887, 246.

early days, it had no peasant holdings dependent on it, and that, even when geographically close to a village, its lands were consolidated and withdrawn from the village fields." David Knowles also described the grange as a "distinctive unit in the countryside, a self-contained demesne-farm." 569

As numerous regional surveys point out – for instance in Southwest Germany, ⁵⁷⁰ or in Lower Saxony ⁵⁷¹ – that granges were typically established in villages, this note on spatial separation seems particularly relevant. Interestingly, this marginality seems to unfold also from th eevidence concerning the Bohemian, or the above discussed Hungarian examples too. Granges and also other large manorial farms of the abbeys were typically situated in the outskirts of villages – and their lands were separate from the village fields. Based on topographical situation and size,

Size and topographical situation were naturally intertwined. The *predium/curia* araturae/grangia type farms could be ten times larger than the strip parcels of tenants and so they had to be located separately from tenanted holdings. On the other hand, the smaller manorial holdings (fundus, curia, sessio, curia sessionalis, fundus curiae, the German Hof), which occur for example in the records of Borsmonostor and Topuszkó, were similar to the allotments of the tenants, and they were basically parts of the settlement. Ferenc Maksay calculated that the usual size of these farms [FIG. 51], i.e. a curia/sessio/mansio, was only 60-80 jugera (48-64 hectares) in the thirteenth century, and it has shrinked to 30–40 jugera (24-32 hectares) in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Notably, Jaroslav Čechura proposed the following classification for different types of farms: Notably, Jaroslav Čechura proposed the following classification for different types of farms: Notably, 2.) farms which had their own economic regime, and were situated in a village, but the toponyms were identical; 3.) farms, which were independent economic and settlement units and had their own toponyms. Clearly, it is the second and third categories, wich apply to granges/larger farms, referred also as grosser Hof predium – or curia araturae in Bohemia to distinguish from smaller curiae.

⁵⁶⁸ George C. Homans, "The Monastic Grange in Medieval England: A Reassessment by Colin Platt," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 1 (1970/1): 199.

⁵⁶⁹ David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England, vol 1*. Cambridge: Cambridge 1979, 75.

⁵⁷⁰ Rückert, "Zisterzienser und Landesausbau."

⁵⁷¹ Wiswe "Grangien niedersächsischer Zisterzienserklöster."

⁵⁷² Ferenc Maksay, "Das Agrarsiedlungssystem des mittelaterlichen Ungarn," *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 24 (1978): 91.

⁵⁷³ Čechura, *Die Struktur der Grundherrschaften*, 42.

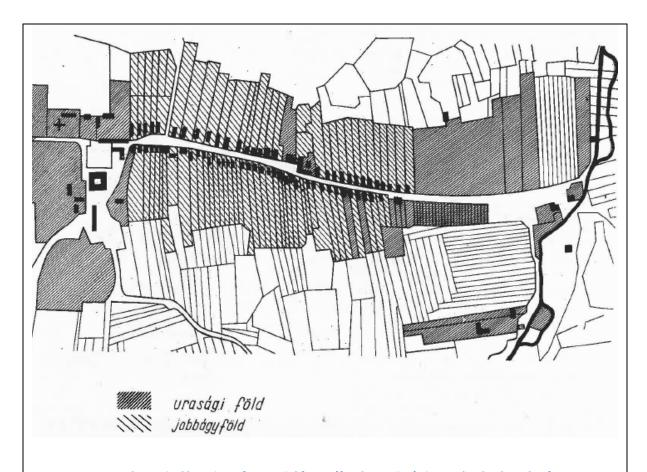


FIG. 51. The typical location of manorial farms (fundus curiae) situated at both ends of a one-street village in Co. Zala (indicated with dark colour). Source: Ferenc Maksay, A magyar falu középkori településrendje. Budapest, Akadémiai 1971, 68.

In practice, the abbeys' demesne could be composed of a mixture of different types of manorial farms and we have already seen above the typical patterns of large-scale spatial distribution. When looking on a closer scale, there is, however, another interesting pattern: granges could be surrounded by traditional farms / smaller manorial courts, as observed, for example, in case of Eberbach and its granges. The example of the Silesian abbey of Lubiaż and its lands situated between the towns of Legnica (Liegnitz) and Jauer is also particularly illustrative in this respect. The farms – referred as *curia* or *predia* – in Sichówek (Baierhof), Bielovice (Bellwitz), Brachów (Brechelwitz), Slup (Schlaup) and Myslinów (Jägendorf) formed a congruent block, however, their morphology was different. As of today, some of these settlements are

⁵⁷⁴ Mossig, *Grundbesitz und Güterbewirtschaftung*, 398–402. (Based on the *Oculus Memoriae* – a land register of the abbey from the early thirteenth century)

⁵⁷⁵ They were referred as *praedium*, *curia*, grangia, however, Königshaus interpretation did not differentiate between types of manorial units, but simply addressed them as *Höfe*. Cf. Waldemar P. Königshaus, *Die Zisterzienserabtei Leubus in Schlesien von ihrer Gründung bis zum Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004.

composed of small *nuclei*, with farm buildings at the centre and a couple of households around them. In medieval times, they functioned most probably as traditional manors, ⁵⁷⁶ but were likely subordinate to a central grange, the *allodium* in Slup (today Winnica). 577

"Existing tenurial and geographical systems were retained where possible, both for administrative convenience but also to reflect continuity and to reinforce the validity of the new Cistercian landlords,"⁵⁷⁸ – as noted in a case study on Strata Florida Abbey (Wales). The blend of local and Cistercian practices (emphasized already by Alfonso) could result in the above introduced topographical constellations, i.e. groups of manorial farms and properties composed of a central grange (or granges) and other manorial farms/lands in their surroundings. This pattern could be evidenced in the case of Pilis and its lands around Pozsony, and in the case of Borsmonostor and its lands around Locsmánd-Répcemicske. The Remeteudvarhely grange of the Benedictines of Pannonhalma, around which we find other farms in the nearby villages of Tord and Gamás is also illustrative of this. The central farm, in each case, could be the grange or cell, where buildings were erected for the staff, and the surrounding farms were operated by tenants and they could have maybe some domestic buildings too, but they were not significantly transformed.

In summary, the mixed system of management was said to have been characteristic for the whole region of Central Eastern Europe, 579 however, Alfonso also noted that it could be evidenced also in case of major Cistercian estates in Western Europe, already in the early period. As noted in the introduction, Alfonso emphasized the research on the local seigneurial context, to find out how the "ideal" Cistercian model was adapted. The above examples reveal what this has meant from a topographical and morphological viewpoint, provide a basis for a more nuanceed interpretation on the management of the demesne, and and allow some critical remarks concerning the points made in the available literature.

As noted by Charvátová, the landscape archaeological-topographical evidence could be constrasted to the views of those historiographers (e.g. Josef Žemlička and Tomáš Borovský),

⁵⁷⁶ In case of Bellwitz and Brechelwitz, the nearby villages were acquired in 1243, possibly to provide a source of labour force to help maintaining the abbey's demesne acquired earlier.

⁵⁷⁷ There was a larger complex of buildings already in the Middle Ages (which developed into a Cistercian provostry later on): Bożena Adamska, Prepozytura cystersów w Winnicy. Wroclaw, n.a. 1996. Notably, another grange of the abbey in Siciny (Seitsch, Seitsch) also became a provostry later on.

⁵⁷⁸ Jemma Bezant, "Revising the Monastic 'Grange': Problems at the Edge of the Cistercian World," Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies 3 (2014) 51-70.

⁵⁷⁹ See in general Charvatová, "Early Cistercian."

who argue on the basis of archival data that "classic" granges did not really exist in Bohemia because granges were not – or only rarely – referred in the sources. However, not only the terminology (the use of alternating terms), but also the topographical evidence could be problematic to interpret: based on the similarities in the size and the morphological-topographical character of large sized farms – referred as *predium*, *curia* or *gangia* – it is just as difficult to find out what was and what was not a grange. At least, it seems that the assumption (e.g. by Rösener) that the size of grange farms was a characteristic and innovative element of Cistercian agrarian management does not seem to hold valid in context of data on large farms in Bohemia or Hungary.

These morphological-topographical similarities are apparently the result of the condition that granges were often established in place of existing traditional farms, which were taken over by the monks as benefices (This was the case e.g. with Almás, Malomháza, Peresznye, Répcekethely, Répcemicske, Szomód, Thallern etc.) In addition to topographical and morphological data, Charvátová considered also this historical context and differentiated between two categories: 1.) green field investments: i.e. granges established anew (through assarting/défrichement), and 2.) farms in already cultivated areas (in the so called *Altsiedelland*). This latter had four subtypes: 2a.) when the nearby settlement was not relocated, 2b.) when it was later relocated, 2c.) when the grange was part of a dispersed settlement and when 2d.) it was established in place of a former manorial farm. ⁵⁸⁰ The Hungarian examples seem to represent 2a, and 2d predominantly.

Without comprehensive archaeological surveys, there is very little evidence to decide how granges were different from other large farms, i.e. how these farms were "transformed" into granges, and whether a farm could be a grange, despite not being referred as such. There are some farms, for example, which had their own names – e.g. Monach-háza (Borsmonostor), or Monochfölde (~ ger. Mönch-hof) (Szentgotthárd), Szentiván (Szentgotthárd), or Kőudvar (Zirc) –, which explicitly refer to monks, in contrast to those farms, which simply appear under the same name as the settlements they were part of – e.g. Kozár, Csó (*predia*). In connection to this, Charvátová underlines the physical layout of the (the buildings), as the material reflection of direct management.⁵⁸¹ To conclude this chapter, I will discuss examples, where the

⁵⁸⁰ Kateřina Charvátová, "Vztah dvorú k vesnickému osídlení na panstvích cisterckých klášterú v Čechách," (Die Beziehungen der Meierhöfe zur ländlichen Besiedlung auf den Herrschaften der Zisterzienserklöster in Böhmen). *Archaeologia historica* 11 (1986): 461-467.

⁵⁸¹ Charvátová, "Early Cistercian," 289–294.

archaeological and architectural evidence illuminate this question, and I will also review the archival data in regard to the management of the farms – focusing on the *conversi*, and other personell.

3.6.6 Grange buildings

Grange buildings were characteristic landmarks of local landscapes. Barns and gatehouses, for example, have been studied in detail, as outstanding elements of domestic architecture. The gatehouse at Hawkshead (the grange of Furness Abbey, Northern England), or the barn at Vaulerent (the grange of Chaalis, France) are among the most renowned examples of this architectural heritage. With regard to our regions, however, and the preservation of buildings, the situation is dire. Standing remains are almost completely absent and the landscape archaeological and topographical data have not been surveyed systematically, except for an essay by Kateřina Charvátová, focusing on the manorial farms of Plassy and other monasteries. She has noted the landscape archaeological evidence and references on various domestic buildings – chambers, refectories, stalls, barns –, as well as on chapels/oratories, which were typical for Cistercian farms, and underelined that some farms had also defensive functions (as mentioned e.g. as munitio cum curia or propugnaculum) similarly to fortified granges in other countries. Landscape archaeological evidence (the massive eartworks of rectangular precincts, and tower-like structures) also supported this.

At Pomáz-Nagykovácsi-puszta the excavations recovered buildings of substantial size, and their protective role is evident. Some of the finds – e.g. stove tiles – indicate that part of the complex had representative functions, and it was suitable to host high status visitors. The plan of the site – with a rectangular courtyard, a central chapel, surrounded by massive buildings from three sides – fits well into the types of building complexes described by Charvátová or Platt. The extensive earthworks documented around the site of the former village chapel (which

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⁵⁸² Roland William Morant, *The monastic gatehouse and other types of portal of medieval religious houses*. London: The Book Guild, 1995.; Peter Fergusson, "Porta Patens Esto". Notes on Early Cistercian Gatehouses in the North of England." In *Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context. Studies in honour of Peter Kidson*, ed. Eric Fernie and Paul Crossley, London: Hambledon Press, 1990, 47 59.; For the typology of Cistercian barns see: Christopher Holdsworth, "Barns at Cistercian Granges in England and Wales." In *L'Espace cistercien*. Paris: CTHS 1994, 353–363.

⁵⁸³ Kateřina Charvátová, "Hospodářské dvory klášterů ve světle písemných pramenu." (Ke stavební podobě dvorů řádů benediktinského, premonstrátského a cisterckého). (Wirtschaftshöfe der Klöster im Lichte Schriftqellen (Zur Bauform der Höfe des Benediktiner-, Prämonstratenser- und Zisterzienserordens in Böhmen). Archaeologia historica 12 (1987) 287–299.

⁵⁸⁴ Constance Hoffman Berman, "From Cistercian Granges to Cistercian Bastides. Using the order's records to date landscape transformation." In *L'Espace cistercien*. *Colloque "l'Espace cistercien*. Paris: CTHS, 1994, 204–215.

later became the chapel of the grange) illuminate the careful planning process by which the site around the church – and the area of the village itself – were transformed into manorial farmland.

At Hrnčire (Hirnzhedil, Czech Rep.), the grange of Ossegg Abbey, the archaeological investigations revealed that there was a manorial complex predating the grange. Hrnčire was mentioned first in a papal bull in 1207 and in 1340 as a curia (Hof). It was situated close to the monastery, along an important road leading to Saxony, and in the vicinity of another manor, Neuhof (Novy Dvur), which was established by the abbey later. Until 1995 the location of the grange was unknown, since the valley of the Ossegger creek and the area of the site was flooded on a regular basis. Excavations were conducted in 1995-2000 and a multiperiod site was found with several high- and late medieval phases in addition to an early Slavic settlement. The results confirmed that the early settlement was transformed into a grange sometime before the midthirteenth century. There was a 23 by 12 metres large two storey timber building, perhaps a barn, situated within a rectangular courtyard (50 by 110 metres) and surrounded by a 3 m wide and 1 metre deep trench, and this could have belonged originally to the small village community. In the second half of the thirteenth century, however, the trench was filled, a new well was dug, and the main building was relocated. Finally, around the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, stone buildings were erected, which had a more regular layout. The courtyard was surrounded by a 6m wide and 3 m deep ditch. At the end of the fourteenth century this ditch was filled, and again a building was erected with a one-storey barn, an oven, and a new fence. 585 The subsequent phases illustrate the transformation of an early medieval manorial complex into a grange with more massive and regular buildings, fortified by earthworks and walls.

The nicest – and geographically the closest – example of an extant grange complex is the Austrian Thallern, the grange of Heiligenkreuz Abbey, which was the foundation of Leopold IV Babenberg, markgrave of Austria. The grange deserves our attention partly because of the outstanding preservation of its buildings, and partly because it was/is situated in the same region where Borsmonostor also had lands. Thallern is now in the outskirts of the village of

⁵⁸⁵ Petr Meduna, "Curia Hirnzhedil. Príspevek k poznání restrukturalizace osídlení nejstarší osecké klášterní držby (Curia Hirnzhedil. A contribution to an understanding of the restructuralization of the settlement in the earliest monastery possession at Osek) In *Cysterki w dziejach i kulturze ziem polskich, dawnej Rzeczypospolitej i Europy Srodkowej: materialy z siódmej Miedzynarodowej Konferencji Cystersologów odbytej z okazji 800. rocznicy fundacji opactwa cysterek w Trzebnicy*, ed. Andrzej Marek Wyrwa, Antoni Kiełbasa, Józef Swastek. Poznán: Wydawn. Poznańskie, 2004, 1066–1072.

Gumpoldskirchen, which was once practically at the centre of the Heiligenkreuz estate. The original donation was made in 1141 by Leopold, who gave lands in free alms to the abbey shortly before his death. This included the village of Gumpoldskirchen with 6 hides (*Hube/Hufe*) of land, eight and a half *vinae* (vineyards), and four *curiae*. ⁵⁸⁶ Importantly, a few other monasteries also had lands in Gumpoldskirchen, and Heiligenkreuz even had a debate with the Benedictines of Melk over certain rights and incomes. ⁵⁸⁷

The buildings of the grange – with a free standing chapel in the middle – are surrounded by a rectangular precinct wall. At the western end of the precinct, there is an inner courtyard with farm buildings, lining up along the wall. Thus, again we see a typical arrangement, which can be found elsewhere in Austria. A detailed architectural survey on the chapel pointed to its medieval origin. Underneath the Baroque walls there was an L-shaped structure which was built with fine ashlar stones and was dating from the late twelfth century – this might be identical with one of the *curiae*. The Baroque renovation of the chapel incorporated also late medieval parts, dating from the second half of the thirteenth century, i.e. a room that most probably functioned as a narrow staircase, as well as a tower-like free standing structure. ⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁸⁶ The first donation of Leopold was a single vineyard in ca 1132/35. Short summaries are available concerning the history of the grange: Rudolf Büttner and Brigitte Fassbinder, *Burgen und Shclösser in NordÖsterreich*. Wien: Birken-Verlag, 1988, 28–29; Adalbert Diehl, "Das Freigut Thallern," *Sancta Crux. Zeitschrift des Stiftes Heiligenkreuz* 109 (1991): 13–19.

⁵⁸⁷ Diehl, "Das Freigut,": In 1178, there was a debate between Melk and Heiligenkreuz over the right of collecting tithes in Thallern and Trumau, and a vineyard in Mödling. (See FRA, vol 2/11) The case was finally settled by pope Alexander III and Leopold V. In 1194 the conflict was renewed, in 1216 Leopold VI decreed the village to be tithefree, and finally, in 1225, the papal cardinal also decided in favour of Heiligenkreuz.

⁵⁸⁸ Axel Hubmann, *Thallern, Freigut / Grangie* (Denkmalpflege in Niederösterreich, vol 9) St.Pölten: Amt der Landesregierung – Selbstverlag, 1992, 42–45.



FIG. 52. A satellite image of Gumpoldskirchen and the Thallern grange, showing the inner and outer precinct highlighted with green and red, and the chapel (orange).



FIG. 53. A view of the chapel building from the winehill.

The surrounding landscape is dominated by vineyards since medieval times. The mid-twelfth century donation charter already mentions the vineyards of the abbey, and the Heiligenkreuz necrologues also refer to the local *vinitores*, who were laybrothers, charged apparently with the supervison of wine production. The importance of wine can be also illustrated by numerous

donations and acqusitions in the thirteenth and fourteenth century in Gumpoldskirchen.⁵⁸⁹ The area must have been valued highly as a number of monastic communities acquired lands here through benefices and purchases.⁵⁹⁰

From a morphological-topographical viewpoint, it is interesting to consider – in contrast to Thallern – the *curia* or *Hof* of the abbey of Lilienfeld in the nearby village of Pfaffstätten. Similarly to Thallern, also other monasteries (Gaming, Mauerbach, Kleinmariazell, and Melk) owned vineyards there. The property of Lilienfeld, was, mentioned always as a *curia*, with a magister *curiae*, however, not even once as a grange. The differences were quite clear: unlike Thallern, where there was a building complex, circumfered by a rectangular wall, and with a larger block of land situated in the outskirts of the village, Lilienfeld owned in Pfaffstätten only a court, next to the parish church, and dispite that the original property was enlarged during the course of the thirteenth century, as the abbey bought other vineyards, these were situated in different locations and did not form a congruent block. Although the production of wine was the main profile in both cases, the topographical setting was entirely different.

In summary, the material evidence confirms that the physical character of manorial properties/courts were transformed, when taken over by the Cistercians: more massive buildings were erected, usually arranged around courtyards, which often incorporated a chapel, and were protected by walls. All in all, grange complexes looked very similar to monasteries, commanding over a variety of economic and industrial resources situated in their direct vicinity (large blocks of agricultural lands, ponds, mills etc). Importantly, the consolidated nature of agricultural lands of the granges meant that the pertinences (meadows, wood pastures) could be also exempt from common use, unlike in case of the manorialized holdings in the traditional system, where these were shared by the abbeys and their tenants.⁵⁹¹ Where it was not possible to consolidate lands pertaining to a grange, however, these could remain scattered, in different

The monastery received other pious donations and purchased other vineyards in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. See FRA, vol II/11, 121 (ca 1250); FRA vol II/16, 80 and 83 (1322); FRA, vol II/16, 222 and 224 (1356). Heiligenkreuz also had some disputes over properties: FRA, vol II/11, 269 (1293); FRA, vol II/16, 59 (1319). Disputed properties (with the Teitonic Knights of Viener Neustadt) are mentioned also in 1374, 1434 and 1444. Cf. http://monasterium.net/ on "Gumpoldskirchen"

⁵⁹⁰ In 1147, the Cistercians of Rein exchanged a property with the Benedictines of Sankt Lambrecht. In 1269, the property of the Teutonic Knights of Vienna is mentioned. In 1285, the Augustinian hermits of Baden (FRA, vol II/89, 47), in 1294 the Benedictines of Göttweig (FRA, vol II/51, 208-209 and 594–595), and in 1275 the Cistercians of Lilienfeld (FRA, vol II/81, 67) appear as landowners in Gumpoldskirchen. (Cf. http://monasterium.net/ on "Gumpoldskirchen")

⁵⁹¹ Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, 46-47.

parts of a village boundary, but – as we have demonstrated in the discussion – these conditions are documented only later, on modern estate maps.

3.6.7 The problem of management – conversi (laybrothers), servants, and bailiffs (officiales)

The twelfth and thirteenth century history of the *conversi* in Hungary is illuminated by scant references. These can be be found typically in charters recording litigations or transactions, when names of laybrothers could be mentioned in the witness lists (as *testes*), or in external sources (general chapter statutes, papal letters), which, however, reveal much more interesting details. Notably, the statutes concerning Pilis and Szentgotthárd paint a picture about the laybrothers in Hungary as a problematic group of people from a disciplinary point of view – and at a very early date. These and other statutes – concerning Szentgotthárd – imply that both Pilis and Szentgotthárd received *conversi* from France. This is, of course, not surprising since these abbeys were members of the Clairvaux branch. In summary, the practice of sending monks and laybrothers from the motherhouses could have proved counterproductive for preserving conventual discipline, as revealed by another general chapter statute in 1275, which mentions monks and laybrothers, who were sometimes sent to Hungary *omittendi pro culpa*. Shapes of the conversion of the Hungary *omittendi pro culpa*.

Regardless of disciplinary problems, the laybrother institution was already in decline by the end of the thirteenth century⁵⁹⁵ and monasteries had to cope with an increasing shortage of labour

Fervay, Repertorium, 170: St 1195:79 and St 1196: 10: De conversis Sancti Godardi qui in monachum quemdam inaudita crudelitate et furore incredibili saevierunt, praecipitur ut qui huius sceleris magis culpabiles fuerint comprobati, de ipsa domo et de tota Hungaria expellantur; Hervay, Repertorium, 141: St 1199:12 and 13: Renaudo monacho, de Guidone Tempeste et Martino fabro conversis de Pelis qui nuntios abbatis Cariloci minus reverenter et inhoneste tractaverunt; Hervay, Repertorium, 142: St 1213:46: De conversis de Pelis, qui conversum vivum subterraverunt; Hervay, Repertorium, 142: St 1233:52: Quoniam de abbatia Pelisii, tam de abbatibus, qui pro tempore illi domui praefuerunt, quam de monachis et conversis multa mala ad audientiam capituli per inquisitionem abbatum, qui illuc missi fuerunt, delata sunt, et excessus tam intolerabiles et enormes sunt auditi.

593 Hervay, Repertorium, 160: St 1205:40 and St 1206:44: In 1205 conversi from the monastery of Argonna (Moutier en Argonne) in 1206 conversi from Troisfontaines are mentioned residing in Szentgotthárd.

⁵⁹⁴ Hervay, Repertorium, 34: "Diffinit et ordinat capitulum generale ne aliquis monachus vel conversus omittendus pro culpa de cetero ad Hungariam mittatur, nisi ad tales domos, ubi sit conventus, et possit vivere regulariter et secundum ordinis instituta" (St 1275:9).

⁵⁹⁵ As there is no data on the number of laybrothers in Hungary, it is not possible to quantify changes. The general trend has been summarized e.g. by James S Donnelly, *The Decline of the Medieval Cistercian Laybrotherhood*. (Fordham University Studies Series, 3) Michigan: Fordham University Press, 1949. Louis L. Lékai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and reality*. Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1977, 341–344; Terryl N. Kinder, *Cistercian Europe: Architecture of contemplation*. (Cistercian Studies Series, 191) Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2002, 310-311; Brian Noell, "Expectation and Unrest Among Cistercian Laybrothers," *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006): 253–274.

As Kinder noted, Church historians assumed that this trend was induced by changing preferences in piety and patronage, ascribed to the appearance of the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century. Notably, the

force, as well as with revolts (of the *conversi*).⁵⁹⁶ It is reasonable to think that problems could quickly emerge into a systemic phenomenon, affecting the Cistercian network as a whole, as the *filiae* could receive less support from mother abbeys in terms of human resources. In fact, the institutional crisis could have struck the "periphery" more heavily, because of the aforementioned problems.

There were, however, other (local) conditions leading to the crisis. ⁵⁹⁷ The Mongol invasion in 1241-1242 had the most devastating effects on the long term, as noted above, causing also a general shortage in the number of tenants/servants. The report of the abbot of Rein (Austria) from 1357 shows that the number of monks rarely reached the minimum requirement (twelve), and there were no *conversi* mentioned, ⁵⁹⁸ which could indicate that the laybrother institution almost totally collapsed already before the mid-fourteenth century. Although contacts with French and German Cistercian houses remained intensive throughout the later Middle Ages, ⁵⁹⁹ there is no more word about laybrothers from abroad. Ideally, laybrothers were to be recruited from the locals, ⁶⁰⁰ however, a general chapter statute from 1237 mentions that in Hungary – as well as in other regions, like Bohemia, Poland, Livonia, and Friesland – *adulti raro veniunt ad conversionem*, i.e. the locals had less interest in joining the order. ⁶⁰¹

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mendicants also established confraternities for lay men, but they were involved only in domestic tasks. Laybrotherhood in some mendicant orders had more participative character, e.g. before 1291 the Carmelites allowed laybrothers to vote and take up offices. Cf. Peter Thomas Rohrbach, *The Journey to Carith. The sources and Story of the Discalced Carmelites*. Washington: Institute of Carmelite Studies, 2015.

⁵⁹⁶ James France suggested, however, that revolts were overemphasized in connection to the decline, and it was rather the unequal status of laybrothers causing revolts. Cf. James France, *Separate but Equal: Cistercian Lay Brothers*, 1120–1350. (Cistercian Studies, 246). Collegeville: Cistercian Publications, 2012.

⁵⁹⁷ Koszta, "Ciszterci rend," 127, Idem, "Die Gründung," 79-80. See here underlined also the urban development, and mendicant piety, which drove away human resources from the Cistercians.

⁵⁹⁸ Altogether thirteen monasteries were visited. <u>Pilis</u>: 12 monks and the abbot; <u>Pásztó</u>: 2 monks and the abbot; <u>Bélapátfalva</u>: 2 monks and abbot; <u>Szepes</u>: 12 monks and abbot; <u>Ercsi</u>: none, abbot absent; <u>Cikádor</u>: none; <u>Pétervárad</u>: 12 monks and abbot; <u>Gotó</u>: 12 monks and abbot; <u>Topuszkó</u>: 6 monks and abbot; <u>Zirc</u>: not visited; As for Ábrahám, Pornó, Zágráb, "vix merentur dici monasteria". Cf. Békefi, A pásztói apátság, vol 1, 254–257.

⁵⁹⁹ Hervay, *Repertorium*, 24: foreign personal names of monks mentioned in various charters (e.g. in litigations as procurators or witnesses) attest to active connections with the mother houses in France, even after the Mongol invasion (1241) and the Great Schism (1378). There are monks and abbots of French origin in Egres, Zirc (for example *Johannes Lemovicensis*, *Guido*, *Odo*), Pilis, Szentgotthárd, Topuszkó (*Guido*) and Pétervárad. Borsmonostor and Cikádor, and after 1356 also Pilis and its *filiae* were supplied with monks from Austria and Germany.

⁶⁰⁰ Unlike the monks. See on this Koszta, "Ciszterci rend," 127. Idem, "Die Gründung," 79. Notably, King Emeric's confirmation of the donations to Szentgotthárd (1198) mentions a *conversus* by the name (*Wzd*), who donated an oblate (Sculgad), whose name means in the Hungarian vernacular "your servant" to the monastery – both were, therefore, of Hungarian origin. Hervay, *Repertorium*, 159.

⁶⁰¹ See Hervay, Repertorium, 32: "Novitii infra octodecim annos recepti a visitatoribus eiiciantur...Excipiuntur ab hac regula, qui remotas inhabitant regiones utpote Frigiam, Hungariam, Poloniam, Bohemiam, Livoniam et

The laybrothers had, however, key roles. In Gotó, they were assisting in the supervison of the hospital of the abbey in the bishopric town of Bács. 602 The laybrothers of Topuszkó were ilnvolved in renovating conventual life in the abbey of Ercsi, following the Mongols' attack. 603 The practical economic tasks the *conversi* took on are pretty much obscured. In case of Borsmonostor, a *conversus* is mentioned as *procurator* in 1391, 604 and there were also a *prefectus conversorum* and a *magister curiae* there in 1398. 605 These references definitely suggest that Borsmonostor was among the few abbeys which maintained a healthy economy, managing its demesne perhaps more actively than other abbeys, and the conversus institution was well in place as late as the end of the fourteenth century.

The identity or social background of the persons behind the different terms (e.g. also in case of farms of Ossegg rector curiae, magister curiarum, grangarius were mentioned)⁶⁰⁶ is, however, not always clear. A rector or magister curiae, or the officialis (which turns up in the Hungarian context the most frequent) could be also a lay person. In the early period, the Cistercians were likely to recruit their officials from the conversi. In 1278, for example, the Austrian abbey of Viktring already decided to "outsource" the collection of tithes to laypersons, to make it more effective. In regard to the Hungarian houses, the case of Topuszkó can be illustrative of this, as the officiales mentioned in the thirteenth and fourteenth century documents of Topuszkó Abbey were apparently lay persons and also familiares of the abbot.⁶⁰⁷ This term implies that the officials were rewarded with tenure of land.⁶⁰⁸ Thus, there was a feudal type of bond (familiaritas) developing between landlords and their officiales / servitores. Most probably it is in continuation of this practice, that we see the lesser nobility of the estate (nobiles prediales) receiving grants of small noble curiae and praediae in reward for their (administrative?) services – usually with the following note: consideratis fidelitate et fidelium servitiorum

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Germaniae partes et alia loca, in quibus adulti raro veniunt ad conversionem" (ca 1220 – in the Libellum definitionum, a version of the Consuetudines).

⁶⁰² Hervay, *Repertorium*, 101; pub.: Theiner, vol 1, 124.

⁶⁰³ Hervay, Repertorium, 98; pub.: Theiner, vol 1, 216.

⁶⁰⁴ Hervay, Repertorium, 78; pub.: CD, vol X/1, 708.

⁶⁰⁵ MNL OL, DL 8518 (1398-04-18); reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 69.

⁶⁰⁶ Charvátová, "Early cistercian," 292–293.

⁶⁰⁷ MNL OL, DL 283328/53 (1259-00-00); pub.: MHEZ, vol 1, 244: "Ivan filio Ortun de Blyna et Huet officiali abbatis memorati"; DL 283328/32 (1270-05-10); pub.: MHEZ, vol 1, 150-151: "Torda eciam et Poorseno officialibus abbatis"; DL 283328/63 (1358-02-15); pub.: CDC, vol 12, 545: "Thomas filius Thome familiaris et officialis religiosi viri domini fratris Guilermi abbatis"

⁶⁰⁸ For instance, the land registers (Urbaren) of Heiligekreuz and Baumgartenberg also mention *officiales* as landowners. Cf. Holzfeind, *Die wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Verhältnisse*, 239.

gratuitis meritis, but not specified more closely – in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. 609

Administrative tasks related to the financial and juridical management of the estates apparently required reliable, trustworthy persons. It was, therefore, in the interest of the abbots as landlords to appoint suitable and loyal people, the selection of which is best done when considering mutual benefits. Understandably, Thomas Szécsi, whose family received the right of patronage of Szentgotthárd from Sigismund of Luxemburg, and who rented the abbey estate (*in arendam*) in the 1520s, reportedly appointed his own men as *castellanos* and *officiales*, replacing others. 610

In summary, the social background of operating and administrating granges could be limited from the beginning. The number of *conversi* (compared to that of the monks) was unlikely to reach the ratio of 2:1; 3:1; or 3:2 as observed elsewhere, and there were issues about the discipline and recruitment. Cistercians must have relied increasingly on traditional arrangements, requiring labour services from tenants and appointing lay persons as bailiffs (*officiales*). On the other hand, one can speculate that within the mixed system of management the shortage in number of *conversi* was generally not as problematic from an administrative point of view as elsewhere. Besides, the *conversi* should not be interpreted as a mass of illiterate and subordinate labour force, but rather a group of skilled professionals, managers, who took care of coordinating economic activities, involving other groups of workers. 612

The above sources concerning Borsmonostor also support this. It could be their task to coordinate the labour services of the servants (*servi*) donated to the monasteries together with

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⁶⁰⁹ Cf.e.g. MNL OL, DL 261939 (1434-07-06); DL 268056 (1525-05-20).

⁶¹⁰ Kalász, A szentgotthárdi, 170-174; Hervay, Repertorium. 163: "Thomas Zechy abbatiam possedisset … in arenda… , qui et post ftlius eius in castello, quam in aliis bonis ipsius abbatie proprios castellanos et officiales habuisset"

Michael Töpfer, *Die Konversen der Zisterzienser. Untersuchungen über ihren Beitrag zur mittelalterlichen Blüte des Ordens.* (Berliner Historische Studien, Friedrich Meinecke Institut der Freien Universität Berlin Bd 10) Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1983, 53–58.

⁶¹² Burton–Kerr, "The Cistercians," 67, 149 passim; Cf Brian Noell, "Expectation and unrest among Cistercian lay brothers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries," *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006): 264: the image of the humble and simple labourer (Cisercian literature) is contrasted by legal and contractual documents.

lands (*mansiones servorum*), ⁶¹³ as part of manorial farms (*predia*). ⁶¹⁴ The abbey of Topuszkó received and purchased such servants as late as 1269 and 1308. ⁶¹⁵ Similarly to Benedictine examples, ⁶¹⁶ the foundation charters of Borsmonostor, Pétervárad and Topuszkó mention these servants, as well as the *servitiae* – including labour services (see more on this in Chapter 4). Not only the farms, but also granges could be operated with the help of this workforce. Fourteenth and fifteenth century records also show that where extra workforce was needed, landlass tenants – employed probably as seasonal workers – appear. ⁶¹⁷

3.6.8 Exploitation – land use

Topographical data could be used not only to observe differences regarding the morphological character of the farms and their spatial distribution (on the large-scale), but also to study patterns of land-use. Land transactions (particularly those which include perambulations) and the much later cartographical materials (primarily Military Survey maps) inform about economic exploitation. In the absence of documents concerning manorial administration, these sources are highly relevant. Crop production must have been of primary importance on these farms, as implied by the highly valued large arables, and this characterized the general output of Cistercian manorial economy, as elsewhere. As for other forms of land-use (wood pastures, pastures, hay-meadows etc.), they were not systematically recorded in the documents, so the view provided by archival records is somewhat unbalanced. Meadows, pastures, ponds, mills were often mentioned only in a formulaic manner, as *pertinentiae*, referring to the arable *cum aquis*, *pasquis* etc. This underlines the importance of later estate records (especially estate

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⁶¹³ Elsewhere *called servi rustici, servi casati* or *non casati, mancipia, ancillae, operarii*. Cf. Prosper Boissonnade, *Life and Work in Medieval Europe: Fifth to Fifteenth Centuries*. New York: Routledge, 1999 (first published: 1927), 94–95. Bohemian sources mention also *robotarii*. See also Cameron Sutt, *Slavery in Árpád-era Hungary in a Comparative Context*. (East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages 31.) Leiden: Brill, 2015.

⁶¹⁴ Hervay, *Repertorium*, 63: Borsmonostor received also *mansiones servorum* in addition to animals and cash from *Dominicus banus*, as mentioned in the foundation document (See also the footnote 206). The foundation charter of Pétervárad also mentions 30 families of servants. (Hervay, *Repertorium*, 134–135.)

⁶¹⁵ MNL OL, DF 283328/73 (1308-08-10); pub.: CDC, vol 8, 198; DF 283328/74 (1269-00-00); pub.: MHEZ, vol 1, 148–149.

⁶¹⁶ Maksay, "Benedekrendi gazdálkodás."

⁶¹⁷ Cerman, Markus, "Unterbäuerliche Schichten in den ländlichen Gesellschaften des spätmittelalterlichen östlichen Mitteleuropa," *Bohemia. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der böhmischen Länder* 46 (2005/2): 380. Imporantly, in Silesia the earliest reference on thresers (i.e. Dreschgärtner) appears on the estate of Henryków in 1387. (Their services were increasingly needed with the development of manorial exploitation and the second serfdom in the sixteenth century.)

⁶¹⁸ For similar summative remarks concerning Bohemian Cistercians: Kateřina Charvátová, "Ekonomika cisterckých klášterů. 12.–14. století." in: *Klasztor w gospodarce średniowiecznej i nowożytnej*, ed. M. Derwich. Wrocław: Wrocławskie TowarzystwoMiłosników Historii, LARHCOR, 2013, 323.

maps), which describe these assets in more detail, and their precise locations can be also identified with the help of historial maps.

The records of Borsmonostor and Szentgotthárd were particularly illustrative of this problem, and we see that granges (and other farms too) did not just consist of large pieces of arable, but there was a variety of other resources – pastures, fishponds, mills. We find the farms in greater number in those areas which were fertile lowlands – apparently suitable for crop production (e.g. alluvial lands near the rivers in case of Csallóköz (Pilis), the Répce (Borsmonostor), and the Rába (Szentgotthárd). As in these area there were plenty of cultivated lands already, there was no need for asssarting. The role of arable farming was apparently less in the focus with regard to the immediate surroundings of Pilis and Zirc, due to the hilly landscapes, however, medieval documents do not inform about the significance of drawing into cultivation significant areas of woodlands. Circumstantial evidence (the establishment of a glass production site in case of Pilis, or later cartographical materials showing the character of woodland segmented by open areas – meadows and assarts under different names – in case of Szentgotthárd) show that this activity could have occurred to a certain extent also in medieval times.

In case of Borsmonostor and its surroundings the significance of horticulture and viticulture could be observed: the local vineyards were mentioned for instance, and the abbey also collected tithes from wine in the nearby villages and had the royal share (20th) from the tithes collected in the whole Co. of Sopron. This reflects the regional significance of intensive cultures, which is even more transparent in the sixteenth and seventeenth century records, as Maksay notes. In the next chapters I will re-approach the problem of land-use from the perspective of animal husbandry and industrial activities, and I would conclude here briefly with a note on the bias of archival documents. As has been underlined above, ploughlands were the main concern, they are referred and described systematically, while the data concerning other types of land use are rather limited, sometimes even when perambulations provide detailed topographical descriptions. Consequently, economic activities other than crop farming can be studied more effectively using other records (archaeological, ethnographical or landscape historical sources), which I hope to demonstrate.

The topographical approach is particularly relevant here, as the location of the farms (in relation to landscape and natural resources – woodland, water, mineral deposits) can be a useful proxy. It is mostly on the basis of such proxies that one differentiates between the "agrarian" and

"industrial" farms. Industrial farms, concerning which archival evidence are seldom available, are usually more secluded, and situated near mineral deposists. On the other hand, it is important to underline that sharp categorical distinctions between "agricultural" versus "industrial" or "pastoral" versus "agricultural" farms can be also problematic, or totally missing the point. Granges were complex econonimic units, representing a mixed approach on manorial agriculture with an integrated use of resources. As noted, it was the diversity of products that enhanced stability, though perhaps "at the probable expense of productivity." 620

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⁶¹⁹ Benoît, "L'espace industriel."

⁶²⁰ Jules N. Pretty, "Sustainable Agriculture in the Middle Ages: The English Manor," The Agricultural History Review 38 (1990/1): 7.

CHAPTER 4: ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

"Igen kevés hajok, számtalan jószágok, Erős regulájok, kevés zsolozsmájok, Bársonyos szolgájok, fekete kápájok Az apát uraknak."

Ferenc Apáti - Cantilena - ca.: 1520⁶²¹

("With a few hair, but countless stocks, With rules of force, but prayers poor, With servants in velvet, the abbot-lords prevail in their black copes.")

Animal husbandry was a branch of agriculture fundamental to monastic economy. Although the consumption of meat was originally prohibited in monastic communities, ⁶²² draught beasts were required for ploughing and other animals were kept for raw materials (hide, skin, and milk) processed in various ways in monastic workshops. As Kathleen Biddick argued in her monograph on the Benedictine Abbey of Peterborough, it is paradoxical that "historians have marginalized pastoral history while considering it a central feature of European agrarian history" and that "in contrast with an abundant literature devoted to cereal agriculture, only a scattering of data exists for European pastoral husbandry." ⁶²³

Regarding the Cistercians, animal husbandry could have been so important that it significantly influenced the site selection of abbeys and manorial farms. Bruce M.S. Campbell underlined the *communis opino* that "nowhere is the expansion of the pastoral area more conspicuous than on the estates of the many new Cistercian monasteries, whose ethos and land endowments

⁶²¹ Rabán Gerézdi, *A magyar világi líra kezdetei* [The beginnings of Hungarian vernacular poetry] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1962), 215–222.

⁶²² The Cistercians' dietary rules followed the Rule strictly, forbidding the consumption of meat except for those who got sick. It was not until the fourteenth century that meat consumption was permitted. The Cistercian general chapter granted first permission to the abbots (1335), later to the monks (1439). Eating meat was allowed once or twice a week, but outside the refectory. Cf. J. Patrick Greene, *Medieval Monasteries* (The Archaeology of Medieval Britain) (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 147. Needless to say, practices did not necessarily conform to these regulations.

⁶²³ Kathleen Biddick, *The Other Economy. Pastoral Husbandry on a Medieval Estate* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 1-2

predisposed them towards a predominantly pastoral economy."⁶²⁴ These assumptions are, however, generalizations made on a basis of well documented – and outstanding – examples. In fact, most case studies on the economy and history of Cistercian monasteries tend to ignore or consider only marginally the theme of animal husbandry,⁶²⁵ apparently due to lack of data. Although Biddick noted the abundance of documentation of Cistercian houses, this should be considered with reservations: according to Donkin "figures of livestock, particularly for the period of direct exploitation, that is before 1350", are poorly supplied".⁶²⁶

Biddick's work on Peterborough is an example where more detailed data could be obtained from manorial and household accounts, which allowed for an in-depth study of managerial practices over a period. As has been mentioned in Chapter 2, such documents rarely survived in Cistercian archives. Discussing animal husbandry, Donkin made use rather of other types of sources, which were more readily available, potentially informative and suitable for comparative analysis: (1a.) external surveys, conscriptions and visitation records, like the Domesday Book (1086), the *Taxatio ecclesiastica* (1291), (2.) lawsuits addressing conflicts over grazing resources (rights of land or water), (3a.) grants of pasture, as well as (3b.) other charters concerning land transactions. ⁶²⁷

Although some external surveys are available also in Hungary, there is a general shortage of quantifiable and comparable data (concerning monastic estates in general), due to the almost complete lack of household accounts. 628 Most of the sources we have, belong to the second or third of the above mentioned categories. Besides, the Árpád period is very poorly documented, as there are only isolated statements, mostly in specific land grants or transactions (where e.g.

⁶²⁴ Bruce M.S. Campbell, *English Seigneurial Agriculture, 1250-1450* (Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography). Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2000, 158.

⁶²⁵ The animal husbandry of Cistercian monasteries has been discussed in topical essays by Robert A. Donkin. See e.g. Robert A. Donkin, "Cattle on the Estates of Medieval Cistercian Monasteries in England and Wales," *The Economic History Review, New Series* 15 (1962/1): 31–53; Idem, "Cistercian Sheep Farming and Wool-Sales in the Thirteenth Century," *The Agricultural History Review* 6 (1958/1): 2–8. These studies were the basis for his later book: *The Cistercians. Studies in the Geography of Medieval England and Wales*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1978; A similarly comprehensive survey on the history and topography of Welsh Cistercian estates discusses this theme rather briefly, based on a few illustrative, but isolated examples. See David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*. Leominster: Gracewing, 2001, 246–253. Most case studies in French and German literature leave out animal farming from the discussion, despite recognizing it as an important branch of Cistercian economy.

⁶²⁶ Donkin, "Cattle," 34.

⁶²⁷ Donkin, The Cistercians, 74–75.

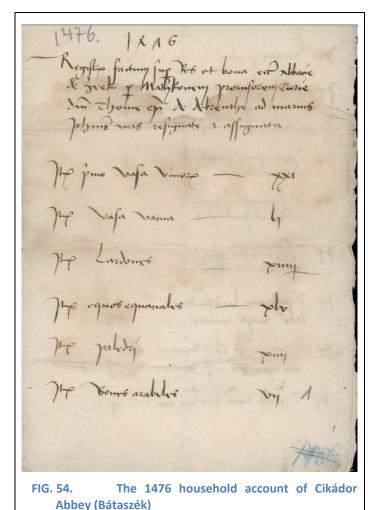
⁶²⁸ Cf Chapter 1, footnote 117.

plough beasts are mentioned), but these are geographically and chronologically sporadic and difficult to put in context. As I will demonstrate below, they can be still useful e.g. when calculating the average arable-pasture ratio or the grazing resources of farms. Much more relevant are those foundation charters, which mention not only lands but also numbers of animals. In addition to the foundation charters of Ábrahám and Borsmonostor, there are some documents concerning Benedictine abbeys [*FIG.* 55], and they can be conveniently compared. Besides archival data, however, the archaeozoological record is indispensable to systematically study Árpád period animal husbandry.

In the fourteenth century, registers and accounts are available from Cistercian houses, in Bohemia – the household accounts of Sedlec (1316), Vyšši Brod (1373), and Zbraslav (1378, 1384)⁶²⁹ – which can be compared to the ealier sources regarding the composition and size of livestock. For example, Although there is a visitation record (*Relatio*) on Cistercian houses in Hungary, prepared by the abbot of Rein in 1357 –,⁶³⁰ this document does not include inventories of animals, manorial or household assets, but only gives the yearly income of each house and the number of monks residing there. In the codices of Rein, there is also a marginal note concerning the numbers of animals kept at the manors of the abbey of Cikádor (today in Bátaszék) in 1361.⁶³¹

⁶²⁹ Kateřina Charvátová, "Inventáře klášterních dvorů" [Die Inventare der Klosterhöfe]. *Archaeologica historica* 15 (1990): 125–134.

⁶³⁰ Published by Remig Békefi, *A pásztói apátság története*, vol 1 [The History of Pásztó Abbey, vol 1.] (Budapest: Hornányszky Viktor, 1891), 254–257. For his comments concerning the content of this document see pp. 71–75. ⁶³¹ Zwettl MS.no. 137., fol.43b: "in equacia C capita. Item pro laboribus equos V. Item boves, vaccas LXXII." See Hervay, *Repertorium*, 88.



Apart from sporadic references on animals (owned by the abbeys or their tenants) in the late Middle Ages, there are some household accounts and animal inventories available on both lay and monastic estates, dating from a relatively short period – from the late decades of the fifteenh and early years of the sixteenth century. These specifically sources concern allodial/manorial assets, providing a reasonable body of data to illustrate differences of how manors monastic and noble estates were managed and to contrast the late medieval situation to earlier centuries (i.e. to point out long term trends). The most comprehensive record among them is the well-known

visitation of major Benedictine abbeys in Western Hungary (Transdanubia). This includes financial data, lists of liturgical and household items, and of animals. As for Cistercian houses, it is again Cikádor, where an animal inventory survived from this period (1476), it is again just a few lines, drawn up maybe hastily to take stock of manorial assets [*FIG.* 54]. The land terrier/register of Szentgotthárd Abbey (ca 1480-1500) ⁶³⁵ was already discussed in detail in Chapter 3. It does not list animals, but it reveals some aspects of livestock farming, which I am going to revisit in this chapter.

⁶³² MNL OL, DL 21890 (1508-03-00); pub.: PRT, vol 3., no 162. The visitation record was drawn up in 1508 by the abbots of Zalavár (Georgius Thurzó) and Báta (Nicholaus), commissioned by Máté Tolnai, the Archabbot of Pannonhalma, in preparation of an attempt to reform the Benedictine convents.

⁶³³ Data tables based on the register have been prepared by Géza Érszegi, "Zu Alltagsleben und Sachkultur ungarischer Benediktinerklöster des Spätmittelalters," in *Klösterliche Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters. Internationaler Kongreß, Krems a. der Donau*, ed. Harry Kühnel, Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980, 195–216.

⁶³⁴ MNL OL, DL 45673 (1476-00-00)

⁶³⁵ MNL OL, DL 104622 (1480-1500)

Given that data on Cistercian animal husbandry is very sporadic both from a chronological and geographical point of view, I opted for discussing this theme from a more comprehensive viewpoint, using the above mentioned sources to situate the mosaic knowledge on Cistercian animal husbandry in its broader context. Upon closer inspection of the archival evidence, including data from secondary literature, I will demonstrate that pastoral economy of monastic estates (including Cistercians) could have had a distinctive character in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as reflected in the composition and size of livestock. The data will also show that monastic animal husbandry was already in a downgrading trend a century later, and by the end of the medieval period (in the late fifteenh and early sixteenth century), an almost total collapse of livestock farming occurred, except maybe pig husbandry, which seems to have emerged in some places as the dominant form of animal farming. I mention these anticipatory remarks only in passing, in order to emphasize that through these sources we will be looking at long term changes associated with the decline of manorial economy, and since these documents offer an insight into a hitherto undiscussed aspect of this process, this issue needs to be addressed as well at more length in the concluding section of the chapter.

The chapter is structured in three parts. In the first part of the discussion, I will present the aforementioned archival records in details and explore the problem of primary (natural) factors influencing the fluctuation of animal numbers. I will also attempt to provide approximate calculations concerning what grazing resources manors and estates should have had to supply their livestock. In the second part, I will look at archeozoological data to further interpret the contrast between the Árpád period and later centuries as observed in the documents. Regional and chronological differences revealed by animal bone assemblages from different (urban/rural) sites will support my argument, that this contrast is beyond the context of monastic estate management, and is part of a broader economic trend. As regards the use of archaeological data in reconstructing animal husbandry practices, some interpretive problems and possibilities of future investigations will be also highlighted.

In the last part, I will narrow down the discussion to the five Cistercian estates, highlighting differences of their historic landscape-character (land-cover, land-use), particularly with regard to the different economic roles of riverine and woodland landscapes in animal farming (wet pastures, wood pastures). In order to understand better the medieval pastoral economy in the respective geographical regions, I am going to survey primary and secondary sources for

extraneous data (outside the Cistercian context), and also review the proxy data on the post medieval period, looking for key findings of landscape historical and historical ecological studies. Nonetheless, I will not provide a systematic spatial analysis of how landscape character evolved from the medieval times until present, as this is a far too complex issue, with significant regional variations. Yet, the underlying argument will be, that the physical character of these landscapes generally determined long term regional patterns of animal exploitation, as this can be inferred partly from historical ethnographical studies, and also from historical and the archaezoological data, which suggest that characteristic differences were very likely there already in the medieval times. This way, I hope to compensate – if only partially – for the shortage of medieval sources, and explain why pastoral economy of different Cistercian (monastic) estates took different directions.

4.2 DISCUSSION

4.2.1 Monastic animal husbandry in the light of written records

4.2.1.1 Animal lists in foundation charters from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries

The Yorkshire houses are undoubtedly the best-known examples when it comes to the theme of Cistercian animal husbandry. 636 They became renowned of specializing in sheep farming. Having acquired vast lands, mostly in upland areas, they established grange farms focusing exclusively on sheep husbandry. According to the Taxatio ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae (1291) some abbeys kept several thousands of sheep. ⁶³⁷ Donkin has shown their success to be the result of many interlocking factors. As Cistercian networks had opened new market opportunities, the Yorkshire houses were able to monopolize the wool market and control international trade. On the other hand, Donkin also underlined that it was less the quality of their produce, and their innovative technological solutions, but rather their logistical skills (handling, cleaning, washing, processing, packing and transporting fleece in big quantities) that came advantageous when bringing their produce to the international market. 638 They could flexibly manage rural resources and deliver big quantities of wool, which facilitated making long term contracts, so they could usually ask for a higher price, despite the fact that the quality of Cistercian fleece was generally average. 639 On the example of Rievaulx Abbey (Yorkshire, England), Elena Jamroziak explored this theme more recently, and argued that while the community was by and large successful in wool trade, at times it went broke (in a commercial sense), in part due to unexpected fluctuations in the number of animal heads. Despite being an international success, the whole economic enterprise involved considerable risks. 640

⁶³⁶ E.g. Janet Burton – Julie Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011), 150. Emilia Jamroziak, *The Cistercians in Europe*. New York: Routledge 2013.

⁶³⁷ Cf. Donkin, *The Cistercians*, 71; Donkin, "Cattle", 34; Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, 252.

⁶³⁸ Also the Cistercian regulations addressed these matters. E.g. fleece should be "faithfully packed....according to the ancient and due customs of the abbey" as noted by Donkin, "Sheep farming", 6-7.

⁶³⁹ Donkin, "Sheep farming", 2–3. On the other hand, Donkin notes that "intercourse with foreign countries brought about great and important improvements in the breeding of sheep', and also that 'there were considerable regional differences in the quality of sheep.

⁶⁴⁰ Emilia Jamroziak, "Rievaulx Abbey as a Wool Producer in the Late Thirteenth Century: Cistercians, Sheep, and Debts," *Northern History* 40 (2003/2): 197–218, 216-218. Jamroziak argued also that failures should not be seen purely in terms of finances, since the abbey also had to administer religious services, and this needed significant capital investment.

Interestingly, animal lists in the twelfth and thirteenth century foundation charters of Cistercian and Benedictine houses in Hungary similarly show the relative importance of sheep/goat vs other species of animals. The Benedictines of Csatár and Pécsvárad and the Cistercians of Borsmonostor seem to have had large herds, consisting of about a thousand heads or even more. Such numbers are remotely comparable to what can be evidenced in case of some wealthier houses abroad. On average, the ratio of sheep to cattle⁶⁴¹ was about 7 to 1, (between 3 to 1 to 10 to 1), which compares surprisingly well to what seems to be the case on the basis of the run of statements between 1270 and 1399 in the *Chronicle of Meaux*, another Cistercian house in Yorkshire.⁶⁴² There, the ratio stayed fairly constant: falling between 4 to 1 and 8 to 1 throughout the whole period – i.e. longer than a century. This indicates a rule of thumb, as a certain method of management. Based on a comparative survey of flock and herd sizes in manorial accounts, Bruce Campbell pointed out a ten-fold differential.⁶⁴³

This cattle ratio seems much lower than what appears to be typical in tenant households, or in other manorial holdings in the thirteenth century? Jenő Szűcs compared the number of large beasts (horse and cattle) to the number of small bovines and pig (considered together as one group) and found a ratio of 1 to 3 – or little more in case of manors (*predia*). This allows a very general conclusion that the animal husbandry of some monastic manors was characteristically different from what occurs to be a pattern elsewhere.

	Benedictines								rcians (at irteenth	,
Tihany (1055)	Százd (1067)	Csatár (1141-46)	Szkalka (1127)	Cégény (before 1181)	Pécsvárad (1037– ca 1220)	Ábraham (1263)	Borsmonostor (1190)	Mogila (Poland)	Sardeigne (Spain)	Poblet (Spain)

⁶⁴¹ This is a standard index used when calculating grazing requirements and carrying capacities of pastures.

⁶⁴² Donkin, "Cattle", 34: A similar ratio (6-7 to 1) is observed in case of Kirkstall Abbey in 1301. *Ibid*.

⁶⁴³ "figures suggest that a ratio of approximately ten sheep per head of cattle is of the right general order of magnitude" Cf. Campbell, *English Seigeurial Agriculture*, 105. Interestingly this is consistent with the 0.1 to 1 livestock unit ratio for sheep and cattle (see details on livestock unit below in footnotes).

⁶⁴⁴ Jenő Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*. (The Last Arpadians) Budapest: Osiris, 2002, 272–273. Szűcs compared the number of large beasts (horse and cattle) to the number of small bovines and pigs and found a ratio of 1 to 3 – or little more in case of *predia*. He interpreted the high ratio of cattle as an "ancient inheritance."

equi (horses)	34	10*	209		70	120	7			100	40
poledri (studs)	50 ⁶⁴⁵										
pecora (cattle)	-				100	84				200	
boves (oxen)		100	200				4	100	40		
vaccae (cows)	100							50	40	500	
oves (sheep)	70	500	1660	40	300	1464	60	1000	600	10000	2215
capras (goats)						92	4			1000	1500
porci (pigs)	100	200	220	40	200	137	30			2000	172
vasa apum (bees)	40		10						40***		

FIG. 55. Lists of animals in the foundation charters of Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries 646

⁶⁴⁵ This was a yearly contribution/donation from the royal stud.

⁶⁴⁶ Source of data: Tihany Abbey: DHA 149-152 – Százd Abbey: Wenzel, vol 1., 24–28. – Csatár Abbey: CD vol 2., 89–93 – Szkalka Abbey: CD vol 3/1., 449 – Czégény Abbey: RegArp, vol. I/1, 43. – Pécsvárad Abbey: DHA 72–80. This charter was later interpolated (thirteenth c.), therefore the data might as well date from later – the problem was critically surveyed by Gergely Kiss, "Jogbiztosítás a pécsváradi bencés monostorban a 12–13. században," in Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből 8. Tanulmányok Petrovich Ede tiszteletére, ed., Márta Font – Dezső Vargha (Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány, 2001), 87–99. – Ábrahám Abbey: CD vol. IV/3, 111–112 – Borsmonostor: Wenzel XI, 57–58 – Mogiła Abbey: Diplomata Monasterii Clarae Tumbae probe Cracoviam. Ed. Eugeniusz Janota (Cracow: Uniw. Jagiellońskiego, 1865), 2–3; Grzegorz Żabiński, "Swine for Pearls? Animals in the Thirteenth-Century Cistercian Houses of Henryków and Mogiła," in Animal Diversities, ed. Gerhard Jaritz, Alice Choyke, (Medium Aevum Quotidianum 2005, Sonderband XVI) 51: According to the foundation charter, the abbey also received 100 bushels of salt and 100 'clusters' of iron. – Sardeigne Abbey: Joseph Roth, "Die Wirtschaftgeschichte der Cistercienser," in Die Zisterzienser. Geschichte, Geist und Kunst., ed. Ambrosius Schneider, Adam Wienand, Wolfgang Bickel, Ernst Coester (Köln: Wienand, 1977), 564.

As for the English and Welsh Cistercians, Donkin assumed that "sheep stood well to the fore during the middle period of Cistercian activity" (i.e. the twelfth and thirteenth centuries), ⁶⁴⁷ but this he saw as a consequence of the unique situation just described. He also noted that the overwhelming dominance of sheep was only temporary, and could be observed only in case of those Cistercian houses, which were involved in international wool trade. ⁶⁴⁸ Furthermore, he argued that cattle was generally just as important as sheep, as revealed by numerous grants of pasture specifically referring to cattle. ⁶⁴⁹ Cattle particularly favored marshland grazing, but were equally comfortable on forest pastures. ⁶⁵⁰ Donkin highlighted that relatively large numbers of cattle (from few dozens to few hundreds) were documented on various granges, and sometimes entire valleys were given over to cattle farming. ⁶⁵¹

With regard to Cistercian houses on the continent, the data is more sporadic and there is generally no sign of a similar "anomaly" of sheep farming, at least not in relation to wool trade. On the example of Cistercian houses in Southern France, however, Constance H. Berman has emphasized that "the order's reputation for pioneering activities in the wilderness" was probably acquired due to a demonstrable interest in sylvo-pastoralism. ⁶⁵² In that particular region, the sylvan isolation and "access to extensive pasture allowed Cistercians to acquire and feed large flocks and herds", and concessions of pasture rights "allowed the monks to expand their herds beyond the numbers which could be supported on their own granges." ⁶⁵³ As regards animal numbers, Berman adds that "it is rarely possible to give actual numbers for those animals or to 'quantify' pastoralism except by citing the extent of pasture donations, or by arguing that the controversy which Cistercian pasture use began to arouse in the early thirteenth c. is itself witness to the extensiveness of Cistercian flocks and herds." From the available documents, Berman inferred that "a normal Cistercian flock must have been about one thousand or twelve hundred animals." ⁶⁵⁴ These numbers compare well to the data available from Yorkshire – or

Donkin, "Cattle", 31; Cf. Donkin, *The Cistercians*, 81: His argument is largely based on sheep-cattle ratios available in the *Taxatio ecclesiastica* (1291) and the *Chronicle of Meaux* (1270/80-1399).

⁶⁴⁸ Donkin, "Cattle", 44-45.

⁶⁴⁹ Donkin, "The Cistercian Order", 189.

⁶⁵⁰ Donkin, *The Cistercians*, 69.

⁶⁵¹ Donkin, "Cattle", 36–39.

⁶⁵² Berman, *Medieval Agriculture*, 97.

⁶⁵³ Ibid. 99.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid. 96 also brings the example of Poblet (Spain). In 1316 the abbey had 40 horses, 111 cattle, 2215 sheep, 1500 goats, 172 pigs.

from Wales –, where Cistercians were able to acquire extensive pastures, ⁶⁵⁵ from a general point of view, however, they must have been well above the average.

Concluding from these points, the excessive size of livestock of Cistercian houses (primarily composed of sheep) in Yorkshire, Wales, or in Southern France was either the result of successful economic enterprises (in wool trade), or of landscape conditions, which favored sheep husbandry. It would be misleading to generalize these examples, and to identify their excellence in sheep farming as a characteristic model for Cistercian economy, as has been noted. Similarly, it would be false to assume that Cistercian economy was "predominantly pastoral." Such views are partly fueled by the traditional ethos, and are sometimes considered unreflectively, for example, in case of Szentgotthárd, by Elek Kalász. This is not to deny that sheep husbandry could be comparatively more important for some monasteries, – as data from the foundation charters illustrate this –, however, these differences should be also explored rather from the viewpoint of what the regional character of animal husbandry was in the medieval period.

I also have to emphasize that the above introduced foundation charters represent just 'snapshots' and cannot be used to study the character of animal husbandry in any way similar to what is presented by Biddick, Donkin or others. Ideally, more data would be needed on animal numbers (from consecutive years or within a reasonably close period), and on grazing areas of different settlements and farms. Without such data, it is not possible to observe fluctuations in numbers, or to reflect on managerial issues, and there are numerous other issues, concerning which there is no evidence, apart from ethnographic records, for example: how animals were fed, how and when different pastures were grazed in different times of the year

⁶⁵⁵ As for the latter, see e.g. Williams, The Welsh Cistercians, 247.

⁶⁵⁶ E.g. Jamroziak, The Cistercian Order.

⁶⁵⁷ As Campbell notes: "Nowhere is the expansion of the pastoral area more conspicuous than on the estates of the many new Cistercian monasteries, whose ethos and land endowments predisposed them towards a predominantly pastoral economy." Campbell, *English Seigneurial Agriculture*, 158.

(the role of seasonal grazing on lowland and upland pastures, ⁶⁵⁸ grazing on stubble, ⁶⁵⁹ on fallow, ⁶⁶⁰ multispecies grazing ⁶⁶¹ etc.). Similarly, there is no data from the medieval period on the provision of sires, housing, and medicaments. ⁶⁶² In short, we do not know well enough the material conditions and managerial practices which framed animal husbandry practices, therefore, it is not possible to see whether Cistercians were able to manage their livestock in a sustainable way on the long run. There is, however, some knowledge of how certain primary factors – such as natural reproduction, consumption, external supplies – could have influenced fluctuations in animal numbers, and it will be instructive to briefly go through these questions before juxtaposing evidence from the twelfth -thirteenth century foundation charters with later registers, as we can look at the data also from this perspective, and understand more about the character of changes, which played out genuinely differently in case of different monasteries and different species of animals.

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⁶⁵⁸ Briefly discussed by Donkin, "Cattle", 41, where he notes that despite references on movements of cattle the purpose remains often unclear. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, 250–251 notes that Cistercian practices conformed the prevailing Welsh custom, i.e. vertical transhumance between summer and winter camps. – In Hungary, there is no clear indication of such practices with regard to Cistercian estates, but transhumance was part of the traditional lifestyle that characterized the land-use practice of the early Árpád period settlements (shifting cultivation). Cf. György Györffy, "A honfoglaló magyarok települési rendjéről," (Über das Siedlungssystem der landnehmenden Ungarn), *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 97 (1970): 191–242. Györffy also inferred – from the geographical distribution of early historic placenames derived from the names of the Hungarian tribes – that transhumance was practiced traditionally also on a larger scale. Such practices could prevail everywhere (including Cistercian estates), where plenty of lowland and upland pastures were available.

⁶⁵⁹ See: Warren O. Ault, *Open-Field Farming in Medieval England. A study of village by-laws*. London: Routledge, 1972, 16–17: "Medieval man pastured the stubble not to keep the soil in good heart...but to keep his flocks and herds in good condition." This practice became more widespread with population growth. Grazing cattle on stubble was also standard practice in mountainous regions in Hungary, evidenced in pre-modern times. See Tivadar Petercsák, *Népi szarvasmarhatartás a zempléni Hegyközben* (Borsodi Kismonográfiák 17) (Cattle farming of commoners in the Hegyköz region of the Zemplén mountain) Miskolc: Herman Ottó Múzeum, 1983, 27. The practice prevailed primarily in those places, where the agricultural area was so confined that there was a shortage in pastures. Cf. István Györffy, "Állattartás" [Animal husbandry]. In *A magyarság néprajza*, vol 2 [The Ethnography of the Hungarians, vol 2], ed. István Györffy and Károly Visky. Budapest: Királyi Egyetemi Nyomda, 1934, 117. Hypothetically, this practice could be reflected sometimes also by medieval charters, which record complaints concerning (perhaps unintended) conflicts over damages done by animals to sown crops.

buring the autumn period, animals were also driven from wood-pastures to fallows. See Petercsák, *Népi szarvasmarhatartás*, ibid. The practice of fallow grazing is also associated with improving crop productivity, however, due to intensification of crop production (in response to population growth), the fallow could be also often sown as seen in records from the late medieval period (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries): Peter Hoppenbrouwers, "Agricultural production and technology in the Netherlands, c. 1000-1500", in *Medieval Farming and Technology. The Impact of Agricultural Change in Northwest Europe*, ed. Grenwille Astill – John Langdon. Leiden – N.Y. – Köln: Brill, 1997, 103.

⁶⁶¹ Multispecies grazing could be a more sustainable practice as it improved animal production by better utilizing pastures. It improved nutrient recycling, as the loss of nitrogen was more, when grazing cattle alone. Cf. Esmail, S.H.M., "Multispecies Grazing by Cattle and Sheep," *Rangelands* 13 (1991/1): 35–37.

⁶⁶² Cf. Mark Page, "The technology of medieval sheep farming: some evidence from Crawley, Hampshire, 1208–1349," *The Agricultural History Review* 51 (2003/2): 137–154. The discussion here is based on account books, and could demonstrate how conscious managerial decisions influenced the productivity of farming.

4.2.1.2 Possible changes in livestock numbers – supply and demand

One of the basic factors affecting changes in animal numbers was natural reproduction. Rates of reproduction (mortality and birth patterns) can be estimated on the basis of empirical evidence. Notably, the most significant fluctuations must have occurred in the numbers of sheep and pigs. As for sheep, the mortality rate was relatively high (20-45%), ⁶⁶³ as they were more liable to illnesses. ⁶⁶⁴ As for pigs, there must have been a generally high positive fluctuation due to high rates of reproduction. ⁶⁶⁵

In addition to natural reproduction, manorial livestock could be supplemented from external resources. One way to supply animals for the manors was through securing donations. As for the Cistercians, however, receiving animals as benefices was rather uncommon according to the testimony of donation charters, ⁶⁶⁶ except for the foundation grants, some of which mention animals explicitly, as we have seen above. Contrasting this, however, Pauline monasteries, which became increasingly popular in the later medieval period, quite often received animals from their benefactors – particularly pigs. ⁶⁶⁷ This could have been all the more important for them, as acquiring a considerable number of animals through the collection of rents would not have been possible for them, as was in case for larger monastic estates (Paulines had usually small lands).

Collecting live animals from tenants, as rents (*census*) and gifts (*munera*), was a basic practice of *Rentengrundherrschaft*, from where manorial livestock could be regularly supplied. In the foundation charters, donations, and terriers (land registers) of Benedictine houses such contributions were relatively frequently referred – including big or small animals, most often

⁶⁶³ Page, "The technology", 145. Calculations for the years 1209-1349 show a survival rate of 55 to 79 %.

⁶⁶⁴ Donkin, "Cattle", 34.

⁶⁶⁵ Sows could produce ten piglets at a time, so the rate is much higher than for cattle and sheep. See *Medieval Archaeology: An Encyclopedia, ed.* Pam Crabtree. New York: Garland, 2001, 9. On the other hand, due to high rates of reproduction, normally, most of the pigs could be slaughtered when they grew to optimal size (by the end of their first year) with only a few sows being retained.

⁶⁶⁶ Trends can be observed only in case of Borsmonostor and Topuszkó. Cf. László Ferenczi, "Estate structure and development of the Topusko (Toplica) abbey – case study of a medieval Cistercian monastery," *Annual of the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU* 12 (2006): 83–100; László Ferenczi, A ciszterci birtokszervezés és tájátalakítás elemei a borsmonostori apátság példáján," (Elements of Cistercian estate organization and landscape transformation – the example of Borsmonostor Abbey), *Soproni Szemle* 64 (2010/2): 115–138.

⁶⁶⁷ F.Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 130 and 133. Most of the data discussed there on pig husbandry are related to the use of woodlands.

chicken and pigs, paid usually once or twice per year. ⁶⁶⁸ For example, the Benedictine Abbey of Bakonybél was to receive on the feast of St Michael from a single village (Ganna, Co. Veszprém) hundred buckets of malt, fifty buckets of flour, two cattle, two pigs, two sheep, two chicken, twenty hens, ten geese and butter. ⁶⁶⁹ The late-thirteenth century land registers (*urbarium*) of the Benedictine abbeys of Melk (1289-1294), ⁶⁷⁰ and Klosterneuburg (1257) (in Austria) include similar references. ⁶⁷¹ The early fifteenh century (1438) lists of incomes and expenses of the Benedictine abbey of Pécsvárad (Co. Baranya) testifies to the continuing importance of collecting animals from tenants – in addition to tithes collected in grain and wine, the list of incomes of the abbey included a yearly contribution of 42 goats and 24 pigs (collected as *dica porcorum*). ⁶⁷²

As for the Cistercians, there is very little evidence to illustrate the role of this practice in connection to animal husbandry. One may rest assured, however, that similarly to Benedictines, their tenants were also obliged to submit such payments on a customary basis. Dating from the early decades of the thirteenth century, the foundation and confirmation grants of Borsmonostor, Pétervárad and Topuszkó mention the collection of direct taxes (*tributum*). Technically, these were domanial taxes, formerly collected by the kings' representatives, for the royal treasury. The kings, however, granted these incomes, as well as the right of collection to the monasteries. Borsmonostor claimed to collect the 20th part of all the tithes in Co. Sopron, as well as wine tax in some locations.⁶⁷³ In case of Pétervárad, the foundation charter mentions

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⁶⁶⁸ Attila Paládi-Kovács notes, however, collection of tithes of the herd (cattle/calf) was not costumary in Hungary. See: Palád-Kovács, Attila, *A magyarországi állattartó kultúra korszakai. Kapcsolatok, változások és történeti rétegek a 19. század elejéig*, (The historical phases of animal husbandry in Hungary. Connections, changes, and historic layers). Budapest: MTA Néprajzi Kutatóintézet, 1993, 69-70.

⁶⁶⁹ See: Wenzel, vol 1, 66–69 (1171): "C ydrias brasii, L farine, 2 boves, 2 porcos, 2 oves, 20 gallinas, 10 anseres, 100 ova, ollam butiri"

⁶⁷⁰ Here, the yearly contribution was 100 pigs and 48 sheep in total: *Das älteste Urbar des benediktinerstiftes Melk (1289-1294)* (Österreichische Urbare, vol 3/1. Urbare Geistlicher Grundherrschaften – Die mittelalterliche Stiftsurbare Niederösterreichs. II. Teil – Melk), ed. Edmund Kummer (Wien – Graz – Köln: Böhlau in Komm. 1970). 671 *Urkundenbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg bis zum Ende des Vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, II Abtheilung, XXVIII Band), ed. Hartmann Zeibig. Wien: Kaiserlich-königliche Hof- un Staatsdrückerei, 1868, 118 passim.

⁶⁷² MNL DL n/a; pub.: Historia Episcopatus Quinquecclesiensis, vol 3., ed. Josephus Koller. Pozsony: n/a 373–376. Transcribed and briefly discussed by Károly Tagányi, "A pécsváradi apátság bevételei és kiadásai 1438-ban," (The incomes and expenditures of the Pécsvárad Abbey in 1438) *Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle* 6 (1899): 333–335.

⁶⁷³ See the relevant charters concerning the 20th part of the tithes discussed by Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 96–106. The claim to collect wine tax first appeared in two forged charters: MNL OL, DL-DF n/a (1224-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 113 (no.13); and MNL OL, DL124/DL 36445/DF 208358 (1230-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, A borsmonostori, 116 (no.21); pub.: CD, vol III/2, 189; CD vol III/1, 455; Urkunden des Cistercienserstiftes Heiligenkreuz, vol 1, ed. Johann Nepomuk Weis. Wien: Verlag K.K., 1856, 293.

three villages, where the abbey collected wine from the local vineyards and each household was to pay also one hen.⁶⁷⁴ Topuszkó Abbey received not only the right to collect the so called *marturina* (marten fur) – which was a form of direct local tax (levied in Croatian and Slavonian territories) – ,⁶⁷⁵ but also the *porci regii* or *tributum porcorum*. Unlike the *marturina*, from the payment of which the local nobility stayed exempt,⁶⁷⁶ pig tithes were collected from every household. Finally, in case of Szentgotthárd, the late medieval land register/terrier reveals that pig tithes (and *munera*) were collected from certain villages (see details below).

The collection of these revenues is, on the one hand, illustrative of the general situation that Cistercians diverted from the original idea to self-sustain themselves. On another note, the diverse references on such resources illuminate the peculiar character of economic/agrarian activities in different regions/landscapes. In case of Borsmonostor and Pétervárad, for example, the importance of viticulture (see more on this in Chapter 6), and for Topuszkó the role of pig husbandry (see below). Although these contributions could be translated into money payments, – when preferred –, in the beginning, they were most likely collected in kind, supplying the manors. As Hans Wiswe pointed out, there is usually no indication how these contributions were meant to be managed. He argued that it would have been hardly possible to treat them separately from what was normally kept and managed at the farms. ⁶⁷⁷ Concluding from here, it seems very likely that animal numbers of manorial inventories could be pulled up through tenants' contributions.

In addition to these *tributa*, *dica*, or *munera*, certain labour services (*servitia*) performed by the tenants were also mentioned in the documents, which connect to animal husbandry. The foundation charters of Pétervárad and Topuszkó refer explicitly to corvée (*servitium*) with regard to the transport (of wine) and the cutting and collection of hay.⁶⁷⁸ The hay was to be

⁶⁷⁴ MNL OL, DL 216 (1237-06-24); reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 135; pub.: Wenzel, vol 7, 29: "...sed quelibet mansio tenetur annuatim solvere ecclesie unum fertonem et quadraginta acones de annona non propria sed abbatis et ad monasterium deportare, et tenentur gallinam unam dare singule mansiones." (concerning three abbey villages in Co. Bács.

⁶⁷⁵ This was later collected in cash. For more on this, see: Stan Granic, "From Fur Money to Modern Currency: the Kuna," *Review of Croatian History* 4 (2008/1): 85–106.

⁶⁷⁶ MNL OL, DF 283328/1 (1211-00-00); pub.: MHEZ, vol 1, 25–27. "Porcos vero regios debet ecclesia de tota terra sua colligere, ita quod nullus ab eorum sollucione sit exemptus."

⁶⁷⁷ Cf. Wiswe, "Grangien", 78.

⁶⁷⁸ As for Pétervárad: MNL OL, DL 216 (1237-06-24); reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 135; pub.: Wenzel, vol 7, 27–31.: "modum serviendi ordinavit in hunc .modum: quad liberi sint a servitio aratro, sed quelibet mansio tenetur annuatim solvere ecclesie unum fertonem et quadraginta acones de annona non propria sed abbatis et ad monasterium deportare"; For Topuszkó: MNL OL, DF 283328 (1211-00-00); reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 181–183;

used most probably as fodder or bedding for animals. Similar references from the fourteenth and fifteenh centuries are indirect proofs of the continuing interest in collecting external supplies. In 1381, King Louis I (of Hungary and Poland) decreed that tenants (kmethones vel iobagiones) of Mogila Abbey had to work one day per year on the fields of the abbey, reaping and collecting the yields, plus another day to mow and transport the hay to the manor. ⁶⁷⁹ By the end of the fifteenh century, the working days dedicated to such services at Mogiła amounted to several days per year. As we read in Długos' account, the tenants of nine out of approximately forty settlements in total were obliged to work at least six days per year or even more (e.g. one day per week) in order to take care of the abbey's domanial properties. 680 According to the 1407, 1462 and 1473 land registers of the Cistercian abbey of Saar (Žďár nad Sázavou, Bohemia), tenants were to bring a cart of hay (*vectura feni*) on assigned feastdays. ⁶⁸¹ The 1480-1500 land register of Szentgotthárd also illustrates the continuing interest in labour services – unfortunately, not in connection to animal husbandry. 682 In summary, these services could be also used to sustain livestock management, one shall note, however, that there is no quantitative evidence concerning the size of livestock of any Cistercian houses in Hungary in the late medieval period, except the animal lists of Cikádor Abbey from 1361 and 1476.

Now turning from supply to demand, calculating the rate of consumption is also much problematic, if not impossible. One difficult issue is the secondary use of animals (for manufacturing raw materials, products), that could "consume" animal resources, but usually left no trace in the documents. Whether the dietary/supplementary needs of a community could be "covered" depended apparently not simply on reproduction rates, but also on variations the in the size of the convents, which, was also subject to temporal changes. Some household

pub..: MHEZ, vol 1, 25–27: "Centuriones cum suis subiectis servicium suum fideliter adimpleant, videlicet in metendo, congregando et inserendo omnes segetes ecclesie de causalibus proventibus in reparandis domibus, quocienscunque necesse fuerit, et in aliis debitis serviciis, in secando fenum et congregando proprio victu et vehiculis."

⁶⁷⁹ MNL OL, DL n/a; pub.: *Diplomata monasterii Clarae Tumbae prope Cracoviam*, ed. Eugeniusz Janota, Cracow: Drukarnie. K. Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego, 1865, 76–77: "duos dies infra unius anni spatium singulis annis, unum scilicet tempore messis ad metendum recolligendum et recollecta in horreo reponendum, et alium ad falcandum, falcata congregandum et debito modo in allodio ordinandum sint astricti"

⁶⁸⁰ Liber beneficiorum dioecesis cracoviensis nunc primum e codice autographo editus. In Aleksander Przezdzieczki, ed. *Joannis Dlugossii Senioris Canonici Cracoviensis Opera omnia*, vol IX/3, Krakow, 1864.

⁶⁸¹ Nejstarší ždárské urbáře 1407, 1462, 1483. ed. Metoděj Zemek and Josef Pohanka. Brně: Krajské nakladatelství, 1961, 63-90 (1407), 91-116 (1462), 117-153. I hereby thank Oldřich Chládek, PhDDr. (Karlsuniversität Prag), who kindly provided me copies of this source.

⁶⁸² Tenants in the villages of Almás and Ercsenye had to work in the abbey's vineyards. See more on this in Chapter 3, under Szentgotthárd.

accounts allow detailed calculations concerning dietary needs.⁶⁸³ Given that monastic dietary customs were set by the Rule, *per capita* needs were practically identical or very similar in every monastery. Theoretically, *per capita* consumption could be extrapolated to calculate the gross consumption of a community, once the size of the convent is determined. Even so, however, such calculations would be extremely problematic since it is often only the number of monks mentioned in the documents, and there is no quantitative data on the numbers of servants/staff.

There are very few statements concerning the size of Cistercian convents. Apart from the report of the abbot of Rein in 1357, which provides data for each house the abbot visited, there are only sporadic references, mostly from the early sixteenth century, thus, chronologically very late. The numbers reported in 1357 are very low, ⁶⁸⁴ and this reflects most probably the general situation that Cistercian houses were already experiencing troubles by that time, both from an economic and social point of view – this was explicitly stated in the report. From the numbers of monks reported thereby, one may infer that the original size of the convents was likely not significantly larger. It is safe to think that most Cistercian convents were of mediocre size (with only a few dozens of monks), and as the fourteenth century crisis hit in, numbers could have dropped drastically. In any case, it would be unreasonable to see their alimentary needs as a pressure factor that could considerably influence fluctuations of animal numbers.

4.2.1.3 Calculating grazing resources

One of the most important factors influencing the long-term development of animal husbandry was – obviously – the availability of grazing land/pasture. Whereas the size of arable lands (*aratrum*, *aratrum terrae*) was often explicitly stated in the various records, land grants (measured in *iugerum*, or *aratrum*), as the arable was the most important agricultural asset,

⁶⁸³ See e.g. the example of Westminster Abbey accounts discussed by Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England* 1100-1540. The Monastic Experience (The Ford Lectures). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. Especially pp. 46-66, with calculations of the costs and weights of (per capita per year) consumption of meat, fish etc., based on the late medieval accounts of the abbey. Another example is lan Kershaw's study on Bolton Priory. Ian Kershaw, *Bolton Priory. The Economy of a Northern Monastery*. 1286-1325. London-N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1973. Based on the years 1309-1314, Kershaw calculated that the averega number of livestock slaughtered were 91 cattle, 119 sheep and 78 pigs. The size of the household, including lay-brothers and servants, was estimated to 200 persons.

⁶⁸⁴ Békefi, *A pásztói apátság,* 254 –257: Pilis: 12; Pásztó: 2; Bélapátfalva: 2; Szepes: 18; Ercsi: 0; Cikádor: <12; Pétervárad: as stated in the report, it is capable to sustain 24 monks; Pozsega: < 12; Topuszkó: 6; Egres: 6; Kerc: 13

sizes of pastures/haymeadows (pratum/fenetum; measured in *iugerum*, or *falcastrum*) ⁶⁸⁵ were rarely mentioned. Few land grants refer to pastures/haymeadows, and mostly only because these were considered as *pertinentiae*, in context to secure fodder for plough-beasts needed for the cultivation of the arable. In conclusion, contemporary data from sporadic references do not allow detailed calculations concerning the total size of pasture lands available at monastic estates.

Theoretically, animal lists provided in the foundations charters – or in other documents – can be also used to estimate the grazing area (minimum required), by converting these numbers into area, using the so called 'livestock unit', i.e. the standard unit of conversion, defined as the grazing equivalent of one adult cow/cattle/horse (large beast). When comparing grazing requirements, as well as grazing capacities of agricultural lands, the 'livestock unit' is commonly used. Based on empirical knowledge, the average estimated carrying capacity of 1 hectare is 1 livestock unit per year. As for grazing requirements of different types of animals, however, different quotients apply. For example, one livestock unit equals the needs of two calves, or five pigs, or five to ten sheep. In other words: one sheep counts as 0.1 - 0.2 (or even 0.25) livestock unit, and the estimated grazing requirement would be \Box (or more often $\frac{1}{5}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$) of a hectare. ⁶⁸⁶ One could hypothetically object that animal numbers presented in foundation charters were only initiatives, which had been negotiated with patrons, but never realized, it seems, however, more likely that the data is factual data, which shall reflect – to a certain extent – the realities, i.e. differences in the potential grazing capacities of the respective estates. 687 If so, Borsmonostor, Csatár, or Pécsvárad must have had more extensive areas suitable for grazing.

Another (but similarly speculative) way of making calculations on the size of pasture lands would be to rely generally on those references, where not only the arable size, but also pasture

⁶⁸⁵ One *falcastrum* is a day's work of a haycutter, usually equals to ca. 1200 square fathoms (0.42 ha). Thus, one *falcastrum* was almost as large as the Hungarian 'hold' *iugerum* (0.43 ha). Cf. Bogdán István, *Magyarországi hossz- és földmértékek a XVI. század végéig* (Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, IV. Levéltártan és történeti forrástudományok 3. Budapest, 1978) [Hungarian linear and land measures before the end of the sixteenth c.], 200; Idem, *Magyarországi hossz- és földmértékek 1601-1874* [Hungarian linear and land measures, 1601-1874)]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990, 342–349.

⁶⁸⁶ Cf. Attila Paládi-Kovács, ed., *Magyar Néprajz*, vol 2. (Hungarian Ethnography, vol 2) Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2001, 611; Cf. László Szemán, *Gyepgazdálkodási alapismeretek*. [Introduction to pasture management] Gödöllő: MKK.NTTI Faculty of Environmental Engineering, course reader, 2006, 5.

⁶⁸⁷ More precisely, we are talking only about animals kept in the manors and grazing lands as manorial resources.

sizes are mentioned. Clearly, there was a huge variation to pasture/meadow sizes in this context (when pastures are mentioned as *pertnentiae*), from one/two to several dozens of *falcastra*, depending on the type of the arable (manorial or tenanted) they are mentioned with. An average arable-pasture ratio can be calculated, and this can be extrapolated, when only the size of arable is mentioned. Where the total size of arable lands (i.e. of domanial farmlands) can be approximately determined, then more or less accurate estimations can be given concerning the total (say minimum) size of pastures allocated to these lands as well.

As for tenant households, Jenő Szűcs already did calculations for the period between 1232 and 1318, and found that before the mid-thirteenth century typically one falcastrum of haymeadow/pasture went together with a 30 iugera large arable (1:60). ⁶⁸⁸ This ratio increased immensely in the second half of the thirteenth century, when one *falcastrum* was commonly attributed to a 2 to 8 iugera (most commonly 4 iugera) large ploughland (1:8). Where data could be broken down to the level of individual households (sessio/curia jobagionalis), the ratio appears to have been practically the same (1:8) – usually 2,5 falcastra of meadow went together with a 10 *iugera* large arable of a household. ⁶⁸⁹ Thus, while the size of arable pertaining to a household seems to have decreased significantly, the pasture size slightly grew. Szűcs explained the change as the result of the transition from extensive to intensive animal farming practices, which increased the need for haycutting. He ruled out that this trend would signal an increase in the gross number of animals. The complex processes influencing such changes shall remain – for now – outside of interest, ⁶⁹⁰ but the pasture-arable ratio was apparently kicked back to about 1:8, or 1:10 by the late thirteenth century. As for later periods, these calculations do not apply. In the late fourteenth and early fifteenh centuries a fenetum ad duo falcastra sufficiens (2400 square fathoms) was the customary (usualis) size of a meadow owned by a tenant household, which was already typically larger than 10 iugera. Interestingly, the "2 falcastra" size became the area unit used until modern times to describe the carrying capacity of pastures. ⁶⁹¹ As late as the eigtheenth century, however, the regular pasture size pertaining to

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⁶⁸⁸ Szőcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 288. See also the brief summary of Attila Paládi-Kovács, however, without mentioning the chronological context: Paládi-Kovács, *Magyar Néprajz*, vol 2, 244.

⁶⁸⁹ Szűcs, Az utolsó Árpádok, 197-198.

⁶⁹⁰ E.g. the changing policy of landlords (to convert or appropriate more domanial reserves), changing agricultural techniques, and respective changes in land-use systems (overall in favour of crop farming).

⁶⁹¹ The "dua falcastra" equals to 2400 square fathoms, i.e. a little less than a hectare (0.82 ha). For the use of the '2400 square fathoms' as a unit of measurement see: István Györffy, Györffy, István. "Állattartás" [Animal husbandry]. In A magyarság néprajza, vol 2 [The Ethnography of the Hungarians, vol 2], ed. István Györffy and Károly Visky. Budapest: Királyi Egyetemi Nyomda, 1934. 120. Modern methods calculate per hectares.

a *sessio/curia jobagionalis* was varying between 4-6-8 *falcastra*.⁶⁹² This could reflect maybe the impact of early-modern development on animal husbandry as it was gaining more significance due to international cattle trade.

Similarly to the *iobagionalis sessio*, calculations can be done for domanial farms too. As has been illustrated in Chapter 3, these farms most often had quite large arable lands (2 or 3 yokes). As noted above, the size of pastures was often not stated explicitly, and in some charters the numbers of animals were given instead. Interestingly, there are certain patterns emerging from these references: when the size is given, it is often 30-40 (or more) falcastra, ⁶⁹³ and when animal numbers are mentioned, we often find 10-20 horses, 30 pigs and 100 sheep (e.g. also in case of predia owned by Bakonybél, Pannonhalma abbeys). 694 István Szabó found that in the period before 1250, 33 out of 118 references on predia mention animals. In total, he counted 50 cows, 100 cattle, 560 oxen, 673 horses, 1220 pigs, and 5605 sheep, which gave an average of ca. 20 horses, 16 oxen, 2 cattle, 1-2 cow, 30-40 pigs, and 170 sheep per one predium. 695 This corresponds roughly with what occurs in the above quoted examples of Bakonybél and Pannonhalma. If we translate these numbers into grazing area, based on the 'livestock unit', the required area would be approx. 20 ha for 20 horses, and another 20 ha for 100-200 sheep, plus a few more hectares for bovines. For the moment we may leave aside pigs. In total, this would amount to ca 40+ ha (ca 80 falcastra), covering the grazing requirements of mostly horses and sheep. It seems that these animals were characteristic for manorial livestock (versus tenanted properties).

The grazing requirements of pigs should be considered separately from that of other animals. They could be kept in paddocks, fenced pastures, and grazed in closed woods and groves as

⁶⁹² Cf. Ibolya Felhő, *Az úrbéres birtokviszonyok Magyarországon Mária Terézia korában, I.* (Dunántúl). Budapest: 1970, 13, 24–25.

⁶⁹³ A few examples: Wenzel, vol 8, 110-111: the Chapter of Győr received 120 *iugera* arable with 30 *falcastra* – Wenzel, vol 7, 196: the Premonstratensian Abbey of St Michael on the Margareth Island (*Insula Leporum*) in Buda receives in 1245 in uilla Pardeu "*terram ad duo aratra cum feneto ad 40 falcastra*" – DL 7398 (1388-05-29); reg.: Zs, vol 1, no. 570: *mag. Franciscus filius Johannis de genera Thyak* (Csák) donates the arable land of *tria aratra* together with 70 *falcastra* of pasture to the Abbey of Klostermrienberg.

⁶⁹⁴ E.g. PRT, vol 8, 277: In 1181 the Abbey of Bakonybél received *13 equi, 30 porci, 100 oves*, together with the donation of a single *predium* (in Palan ~ Polány); Wenzel, vol 1, 37: In 1086, 30 *porci* are mentioned in one of the farms of Bakonybél (in Sár); Wenzel vol 1, 56–57: In 1146, the Abbey of Pannonhalma receives a donation of 100 sheep, 30 pigs and 23 horses on a predium of three yokes in the village of Rádi. Szentpétery, vol I/1, 43–44: In 1181, the foundation charter of Czégény refers to 9 predia (12 yokes in total) with about 600 animals (70 horses, 100 oxen, 200 pigs and 300 sheep.

⁶⁹⁵ Szabó, "A prédium," 35.

well. They were allowed on wood pastures only for a limited period (the period of pannage was from September to December) to prevent the destruction of soil and woodland habitats. In order to support a flock of 50-100 heads, which is very frequently mentioned in the sources, ⁶⁹⁶ during these months a few hundred hectares of oak and/or beech woodland would be required – calculating with approx.15kg acorn per pig per day. ⁶⁹⁷ Otherwise a few acres of pastures would suffice to raise them throughout the earlier period of the year. ⁶⁹⁸ As there was – on average – a 5-6 years long cycle in mast years, ⁶⁹⁹ i.e. when oak and beech groves yielded an optimal amount of acorn and nuts, natural woodlands had to be managed carefully. A *silva glandifera* allowed acorn bearing trees of different age to grow, providing a good crop of mast as frequently as possible, thus, a more abundant and balanced source of food for swine. Because of this, the required area to keep a 50 heads large herd could be even more than ca. 150 ha.

Summing up these calculations, the size of meadows and the numbers of animal mentioned in connection to large agricultural farmlands converge around certain values. This suggests that there could be a set ratio of pasture attached to such farms and the problem of carrying capacity could be considered in medieval times too: certain pasture sizes could be allocated to certain farmlands/managerial units, to keep animals in optimal numbers. ⁷⁰⁰ However, there was also a

⁶⁹⁶ In connection to Pauline houses, for example, sources frequently refer to flocks of ca. fifty to hundred heads. About forty pigs were donated to Dobrakutya in a single testament in 1474. (F.Romhányi, *A lelkiek a földiek nélkül*, 104: MNL OL, DL 35686 (1474-05-03) About forty pigs were stolen from the Mlaka estate of the Zagreb Paulinians. (Ibid., 92: MNL OL, DL 34695 (1493-03-05); The *hundred* was seen as the ideal size already in the Roman times. According to Marcus Terentius Varro's 'De re rustica': "As to numbers, ten boars are considered enough for 100 sows, and some breeders even lessen this number. The number in a herd varies; for myself I consider a herd of 100 a reasonable number, but some breeders have larger ones, the number sometimes going as high as 150. Some double the size of the herd, and others have even a larger herd." See: Williams Davis Hooper – Harrison Boyd Ash (ed. & transl.), *Cato and Varro on agriculture*. (Loeb Classic Library 283). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934, 365.

⁶⁹⁷ The parameters needed for the calculation are as follows: The supply of acorn for 1 cadastral hold could be approx. 300 kg/year (200-400 kg/year for beech, 300-500 kg/year for oak). The requirements were 15 kg acorn/pig/day > 1800 kg/pig/season (4months) > 6 cadastral hold (ca 3 ha) /pig/season. Cf. Dénes Bartha, "Történeti erdőhasználatok Magyarországon," (Historic woodland management in Hungary) *Magyar Tudomány* 12 (2003) 1566-1577.

⁶⁹⁸ Based on contemporary practices, 1 hectare of pasture would suffice approx. 25 pigs when kept extensively. ⁶⁹⁹ Mast frequencies could vary hugely within a region, depending on soil, climate and management. Cf. Szabó, "Rethinking pannage", 55.

⁷⁰⁰ For example, hundred heads (and its multiples) occur often (e.g. for sheep and pigs). Some of these practices may go back to the Late Antique period. For the prevailing use of "the long hundred" in sheep-farming accounts, see Reginald Lennard, "Statistics of Sheep in Medieval England: A Question of Interpretation," *The Agricultural History Review* 7 (1959/2): 75–81. As regards swine, medieval authors (based on Varro's above referred work) also note that a "hundred" is an average and proportionate size of a swineherd. Will Richter – Reinhilt Richter-Bergmeier (ed.): *Crescentiis, Petrus de (Pier de' Crescenzi): Ruralia commoda: das Wissen des vollkommenen Landwirts um 1300, vol 7-12*. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1998. Liber IX (De omnibus animalibus, quae nutriuntur in rure).

huge variation to the size of pastures: where explicitly stated, the size was typically 30-40 *falcastra*, when animal numbers were mentioned, 80-100 *falcastra* could be calculated. As the size of the arable was typically 2-3 yokes (*aratra*), i.e. 2-3 times 110/120/150 *iugera*, the pasture-arable ratio would be maximum 1 to 10 – when counting with 30-40 *falcastra* –, but it would be double or triple as much (1 to 5 or 1 to 3) with 80-100 *falcastra*.⁷⁰¹

In case of tenant households (sessio/curia iobagionalis), it could be a commonsense practice to have a fixed minimum size of pasture allocated (typically 2 falcastra as has been noted), as this was necessary to secure fodder for a certain number of draught animals owned by the households. The 2-3 yokes large arables of manorial farms was 10-20 times larger than that of the arable of a tenant household. The 20-40 falcastra large pasture of a predium, was also exactly 10-20 times more that he 2 falcastra, which shows that there must have been a consistency in pasture-arable ratios concerning tenant households and large domanial holdings, at least, based on those examples, where pasture-arable sizes were explicitly stated. It seems reasonable to argue that this reflects a certain degree of coherence in the land-use system and agricultural management of different managerial units (i.e. tenanted and manorial holdings). On the other hand, the evidence shows that pasture size of large manorial holdings, could be set more flexibly, depending on preferences. The focus of economic activities in some farms could shift towards animal husbandry. As has been argued also by Szabó, the primary function of the predium was arable farming, but some farms were parimarily used for animal husbandry. 702 More pastures could be allocated to these farms not simply to supply fodder for draught animals, but to sustain a more considerable number of animals. Donkin argued that there must have been generally "a rather favorable ratio of stock to arable" on many Cistercian estates. 703 This assumption, however, would probably suit less the situation in Hungary, where one finds predominantly large croplands mentioned in connection to domanial farms, and animals are less typically referred.

⁷⁰¹ An interesting point to this: according to eighteenth century surveys the estimated average ratio between pasture land/haymeadow and arable land (for the whole country) was 1:3 (30-35 iugera pasture per 100 iugera ploughland). This includes also mountainous areas in Upper Hungary and elsewhere. Cf. Katalin Török, "A szántóföldek és a rétek aránya Magyarországon a XVIII. században," (Arable and pasture ratio in Hungary in the eighteenth century) *Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum Közleményei* (1969–1970): 135–152.; See also *Magyar Néprajz* (Hungarian Ethnography), vol 2., ed. Attila Paládi-Kovács (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2001), 241.

⁷⁰² Szabó, "A prédium", 39. Among the 118 collected examples, Szabó knows only four, where farms served specifically for pasturing animals (*ad pasturam*; *ad pascendum*).

⁷⁰³ Donkin, *The Cistercian Order*, 187.

As Szabó also demonstrated, the average number of animals for one large farm was about 100-200 sheep and a few dozens of horses and cattle. These farms should have had at least a few dozens of hectares (> 40) of grazing land serving 40 livestock units on average. In order to keep a thousand or more sheep/goat, as e.g. Borsmonostor, Csatár or Pécsvárad did, 5 to 10 times this area would have been needed, i.e. 5 to 10 farms, with a few hundred hectares of grazing land in total. When calculating with a sheep-cattle ratio of about 1 to 8, as was shown above, the total feed requirement for sheep would have been about the double of what was needed for cattle. This, sheep keeping could easily double or triple the grazing requirement needed for a farm, or for an estate. This could have been a major pressure factor when searching for suitable pasture areas and selecting the sites of such farms.

Whether farms, where animals were kept, were segmented plots of pastures, or were concentrated in certain parts of the estates, is yet another issue. Single farms could have sometimes huge areas of pastures, as is evident from the large number of animals mentioned there. For instance, on single granges of Kamp Abbey (in Germany), there were 1200-1300 sheep and 100 pigs counted. The monastery of Walkenried kept 165 cattle, 48 horses, 30-40 sheep, 23 goats, and 140-300 pigs on just about 100 ha large pasture – according to seventeenth century records. These were not stand-alone examples, but rather typical when landscape conditions were favorable for animal husbandry. Elsewhere, and this was more typical, Cistercians sought to concentrate their farms/domanial holdings – as noted in Chapter 3. As far as the Hungarian houses are concerned, the only example to illustrate this, is Borsmonostor, where there is ample evidence on land transactions. One could hypothetically argue that the abbey was pragmatically opting for a "strategy" to concentrate and join segmented properties (pieces of lands) along the River Répce, in the vicinity of the abbey, and this process was most likely driven by the need to secure grazing resources for the livestock. In case of other Cistercian

⁷⁰⁴ These numbers compare surprisingly well to thirteenth century data on various manorial farms in the region of Trier (Germany). cf. Christian Reinicke, "L'élevage des moutons dans les régions montagneuses de l'Allemagne occidentale au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne, particulièrement dans les régions de l'Eifel et du Hunsrück," in *Actes du Colloque international - L'Élevage et la vie pastorale dans les montagnes de l'Europe au moyen âge et à l'époque modern*, ed. XX (Clermont-Ferrand: Institut d'Etudes de Massif Central, 1984), 39.

⁷⁰⁵ Donkin, "Cattle", 34.

⁷⁰⁶ Janssen, "Villa, curtis, grangia," 2019.; Reinicke, ibid, 39.

⁷⁰⁷ Wiswe, "Grangien," 117.

⁷⁰⁸ Illustrative are the examples from Wales, where some farms had extreme large pastures (extending to several thousands acres). Cf. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, 65. The size of an acre (4000 sq metres) is roughly similar to that of a Hungarian 'hold'/iugerum (4300 sq meters).

houses, there is unfortunately no evidence for a comparable trend. Since Borsmonostor received its lands in separate blocks this development allowed in this case a more convenient management of livestock, relying on suitable areas along the valley. While Topuszkó and Szentgotthárd had much larger and congruent lands, and they would not have the same interest to do so, Pilis and Zirc had similarly segmented properties, but much less option for transactions, as they were situated in royal forestst, and the surrounding properties were either in the hands of the kings, or were donated to other ecclesiastical institutions, facing maybe similar difficulties.

4.2.1.4 Animal lists in late fifteenh and early sixteenth century registers/inventories

As noted in the introduction part, the earliest manorial inventories from Cistercian houses in the region of Central Eastern Europe are from Bohemia and date from the fourteenth century [FIG. 56]. These records include animal listst and already show a much-downgraded scale of animal husbandry in comparison to what foundations charters – representing a period 100 years earlier – reflect. As for the animal husbandry of Hungarian abbeys, however, the fourteenth century is is unfortunately a blind spot, except for a brief note on the livestock of the Abbey of Cikádor (1361) – most probably not a comprehensive one –, that lists 100 horses, 5 drought horses, 72 cattle and cows. ⁷⁰⁹ The *Relatio* of the abbot of Rein (1357) did not take note of manorial assets, but it stated explicitly that the abbeys were economically in bad shape. We may anticipate that not only the number of monks but animal numbers also drastically shrank, perhaps to the level illustrated by the roughly contemporary manorial inventories from the three Bohemian abbeys.

	Sedlec		Vyšši brod							
	(1316)		(1373)							
		Н	ome grange:							
	Břežany	Curia ad piscatores	Curia Caprarum	Curia vaccarum	Hořice	Ruckenhof	Nesselbach	Hodonice	Chotouň (1378)	Chotouň (1384)

⁷⁰⁹ Zwettl MS.no. 137., fol.43b: "in equacia C capita. Item pro laboribus equos V. Item boves, vaccas LXXII."; See Hervay, *Repertorium*, 88.

equi (horses)	4	5	1	2	2	2	2		8	4
tauri / pecudes		5	2	1	3	4	1	4		
(bulls / cattle)										
boves (oxen)		7	7	3	8	14	4	12		
vaccae (cow)		18	14	21	13	13	2	18	3	2
oves (sheep)					18			60	51	12
pulli (chicken)	60								89	35
porci (pigs)	4	9			14			24	4	4

FIG. 56. Animals listed in manorial inventories of Cistercian estates in Bohemia (fourteenth - fifteenh centuries)⁷¹⁰

Jumping forward yet another hundred or hundred and fifty years, late fifteenh and early sixteenth century animal lists in the household accounts/inventories of monastic and lay estates make perfectly clear that monastic animal husbandry was in a prolonged state of decay and did not regain its former significance. Although manorial registers could have a different focus, which is sometimes problematic to interpret, 711 it is less of an issue with their lists of animals. The tables compiled from animal lists from Csorna (Premostratensian), Cikádor (Cistercian) and the Benedictine houses [FIG. 57; FIG. 58] illustrate, on the one hand, a fundamental change in monastic animal husbandry practices. The often-negligible size of livestock is in sharp contrast to what we have seen in earlier documents – in the foundation charters. On the other hand, these documents also reveal interesting differences between monastic and lay estates in the late medieval period – not simply in regard to the size of the livestock, but also to its composition. Notably, sheep seem to have disappeared from monastic estates completely, whereas there is a considerable number of them mentioned in the inventories of the Fahidy, Várdai or Batthyány families. Large beasts were not completely 'banished' from monastic manors, but cattle and horses were kept only in small numbers. The most characteristic change, however, can be observed with pig husbandry, as it seems to have taken up a more prominent role in the late medieval period. 712 Considering the almost negligible numbers of other animals,

⁷¹⁰ See Charvátová, "Inventáře" 125 −134. The documents were also discussed by Jaroslav Čehura, *Die Struktur der Grundherrschaften*.

⁷¹¹ András Kubinyi notes for example, that registers or household inventories coming from different social context were often selective, as they reflect different attribution of values determined by the social rank of the families. András Kubinyi, "A középkori anyagi kultúra kutatása és néhány módszertani problémája," *Aetas* (1990/3) 51-67. Idem: "Die Rolle interdisziplinärer Forschung für die mittelalterliche Realienkunde." In *Die Erforschung von Alltag und Sachkultur des Mittelalters* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte 433.) Wien: Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Mittelalterliche Realienkunde, 1984, 45–52.

⁷¹² For more comparative data on noble estates, based on isolated references mostly from lawsuits cf. Márta Belényesy, "Az állattartás a 14. században Magyarországon," In *Fejezetek a középkori anyagi kultúra történetéből*,

and that pigs were able to reproduce at a high rate, the significance of pig keeping shall be seen as very relative. There are usually less than hundred heads mentioned, which is a fairly common number according to various records (testaments, donations, court cases). In certain parts of the country, where environmental conditions were favorable for extensive pig husbandry, the size of pig herds was much larger (see more on this below).

			Fahidy			
			family	Várdai		
	Bátaszék	Jakcs family	(middle	family	Batthiány	
	Abbey	(high rank	rank	(high rank	family	Csorna Abbey
	(Cistercian)	nobility)	nobility)	nobility)	(aristocracy)	(Premonstratensian)
	Bátaszék	Hadad	Gáld	Kisvárda		
	estate	estate	estate	estate	Enying	
	(Co.	(Co. Alsó-	(Co. Alsó-	(Co.	estate	Csorna estate
	Baranya)	Szolnok)	Fehér)	Szabolcs)	(Co. Fejér)	(Co. Győr)
	1476	1489	1491	1521	1520-26	1522
bubali		28				
pecora		53	14	14		
vaccae	7			9	19	14
vituli	5 ⁷¹³	32	8	7	18	11
alii vituli		32	0			
juvenes					43	14
boves arabiles	7	60	18	13	60	10
porci		350	200	761 ⁷¹⁴	110	79 ⁷¹⁵
porcelli		330	200	701	50	16
larda	14 ½	60	10	29		15

ed. Anikó Báti. Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2011, 19–58. This was pub.: earlier in the *Néprajzi Értesítő* 1956, 23–59.) Márta Belényesy, "Az állattartás és pásztorkodás a 14-15. században Magyarországon," In *Fejezetek a középkori anyagi kultúra történetéből*, ed. Anikó Báti. Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2011, 69-134. Pub.: earlier also in German: "Viehzucht und Hirtenwesen in Ungam im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," In *Viehzucht und Hirtenleben in Ostmitteleuropa*, ed. László Földes. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1961. 13–82; With regard to the small nobility, Belényesy notes that the size of their properties (household plots) was similar to that of the tenants', so one could observe similar patterns – i.e. they kept similar animals in similar numbers.

⁷¹³ Pecudes biennos are mentioned in the inventory.

⁷¹⁴ The total number breaks down to the following entries: *porci Transylvanes*: 346; *triennes vel quadriennes*: 31, *porci decimales*: 135 (*ex his syldew* – suckling piglets: 25); *porci in pecuario existentes grandiores et pociores*: 155 (*ex his porce sunt*: 40); *porcelli harum*: 69; *porci decimales* 40.

⁷¹⁵ The total number breaks down to the following entries: *scrophe sive porci maiori sunt* 79; *minores porci sunt* 16. The inventory mentions that there were a further 53 pigs, which had been stolen, and 14 piglets were also lacking.

equi equatiales	45		72		310	38
filii equorum	14				60	6
oves		400	222	767 ⁷¹⁶	907	
agni/agnelli		400	128	707	403	
capre / capelle				59		

FIG. 57. Animal inventories of monastic and lay estates from the fifteenth century⁷¹⁷

	Bakonybél	Koppány- monostora	Hahót	Csatár	Szkalka	90	ér	Almád	а	
	Bak	Кор	Hak	Csa	Szk	Kolos	Lekér	Alm	Tata	Σ
porci				2	12	16	15	60	45	150
vaccae /		2	2	3	4	7	9	12	7	46
vituli										
equi			2	3			1		6	12
oves									125	125
pecora					10					10
alvei apum					2					2

FIG. 58. Animal inventories of Benedictine abbeys from the 1508 visitation record, commissioned by Máté Tolnai, abbot of Pannonhalma⁷¹⁸

⁷¹⁶ The total number breaks down to the following entries: *porci Transylvanes*: 346, *triennes vel quadriennes*: 31, *porci decimales*: 135 (ex his syldew: 25), *porci in pecuario existentes grandiores et pociores*: 155 (ex his porce sunt: 40), *porcelli harum*: 69, *porci decimales* 40.

⁷¹⁷ Sources: <u>Bátaszék</u>: MNL OL, DL 45673 (1476-00-00) *Registrum factum super res et bona ecclesie abbatie de Zeek per Mathkonem provisorem curie* – <u>Hadad</u>: MNL OL, DL 27967 (1489-11-14); <u>Gáld</u>: MNL OL, DL 36326 (1491-06-20) *Inventarium condam Johannis Fahydi super rebus eiusdem in Gald et possessionibus eiusdem habitis* – <u>Kisvárda</u>: MNL, OL DL 82582 (1521-00-00); pub.: Zichy, vol 12, 343–364: The land register of the Várdai family (Kisvárda estate) – <u>Enying</u>: MNL OL, DL 104647 (ca. 1520-1526) *Inventarium factam super rerum et bonorum mobilium magnifici domini Francisci de Batthyan* – <u>Csorna</u>: MNL, OL DL 26357 (1522-00-00) *Registrum de omnibus bonis mobilibus ecclesiae Chornensis*

⁷¹⁸ Géza Érszegi, "Zu Alltagsleben und Sachkultur ungarischer Benediktinerklöster des Spätmittelalters," in *Klösterliche Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters* (Internationaler Kongreß, Krems a. der Donau, 18.-21. 9. 1978. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 367. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs 3), ed. Heinrich Appelt (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), 195–216.

4.2.2 The archaeozoological record

As a "negative imprint of livestock", 719 archaeozoological data provide an alternative way to investigate husbandry practices. However, from Cistercian sites in medieval Hungary there are no relevant archaeozoological assemblages to be considered here. In fact, there are only a handful of monastic sites, where archaeozoological samples were collected and documented systematically, yet, they have been rarely processed and there are no published results. There is one detailed archaeozoological report available from the Márianosztra-Toronyalja Pauline monastery in Co. Nógrád, but the sample represents post-occupational deposition (backfill). 720 Apart from the problem of sampling methods, one should also add immediately that site specific reports can be only of limited value. As has been underlined in a case study on the Cistercian abbey of Holme Cultram "monastic sites do not in all cases provide samples of sufficient size to allow detailed inferences to be made regarding the economy of the site". As explained, this is partly due to "cleaning activities which prevented the accumulation of dietary debris and later destruction and disturbance."721 Thus, chronological observations are often problematic as archaeological records do not readily allow to discern phases of expansion and growth and of economic decline. Ideally, more data would be required to allow comprehensive analysis of a variety of monastic and non-monastic sites, and the comparative study of archaeolozoological materials could perhaps shed light on the character of Cistercian animal husbandry, particularly on those aspects, which cannot be assessed on the basis of written sources.⁷²²

The available Árpád Period (eleventh-thirteenth c.) and Late Medieval (14-early sixteenth c.) assemblages have been comprehensively evaluated by László Bartosiewicz. 723 Apart from

⁷¹⁹ László Bartosiewicz, "Meat consumption and sheep/goat exploitation in centralised and non-centralised economies at Arslantepe, Anatolia," *Origini* 34 (2012): 111–123, 111.

⁷²⁰ E.g. for the Pauline monastery of Toronyalja (Co. Nógrád) see László Bartosiewicz, "Márianosztra-Toronyalja állatcsontleleteinek elemzése," *Váci könyvek* 8 (1997): 159–182.

⁷²¹ See Don O'Meara, "Scant evidence of great surplus: research at the rural Cistercian monastery of Holme Cultram, Northwest England." In *Barely Surviving or More than Enough? The environmental archaeology of subsistence, specialisation and surplus food production*, ed. Groot, M., D. Lentjes & J. Zeiler. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2013, 279–296.

⁷²² For example, metrics, such as age structures and variations in kill-off patterns. E.g. cows kept for their milk were slaughtered usually at the age of five, pigs normally at one year, and a higher variation in the age of slaughter might indicate extensive practices. See David A. Hinton: Archaeology, Economy and Society from the fifth to the fifteenth century. London – New York: Routledge, 1990, 3. In case of caprines the age difference reflects whether they were kept for milk or wool – a younger age would imply that the main purpose of keeping was milk and meat. Cf. Bartosiewicz, "Meat consumption", 111.

⁷²³ László Bartosiewicz, "Animal husbandry and medieval settlement in Hungary," Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich 15 (1999) 139 – 155.; László Bartosiewicz, "A középkor régészeti állattani kutatása Magyarországon," (Research into the medieval archaeozoology of Hungary), in *Gazdaság és*

genuine differences between rural and urban contexts – there were only urban, rural (non-monastic) and high-status sites sites (castles, residences) included in this analysis ⁷²⁴ – interesting chronological and regional patterns were highlighted, which are important to consider here. The aggregate data demonstrated the same contrast what has been found in the above discussed animal inventories, notably, swine occurred in a higher ratio in late medieval samples, and sheep became less significant (the ratio of caprines to swine changed from 65%–35% to 44%–56%). ⁷²⁵ Since the geographical scope of the survey covered the area of present day Hungary, the data imply that the change was not specific for monastic estates, but more general. One may conclude that the downscale of monastic animal husbandry was accompanied by a generally shifting pattern of farming practices, as reflected by changing ratios of animal types all over the country.

Concerning this so called sheep/pig divide, Bartosiewicz also underlined that since species were "highly environment-dependent", relief and hydro-geography were considerable issues, as swine require higher amount of water than sheep and goat. The question how different geographical conditions influenced regional variations of the ratios of major meat producing animals (cattle, sheep, pig, horse), has been addressed in István Vörös's survey of archaeozoological data from the Árpád Period. The example, he observed the relative importance of pigs in the hilly Transdanubian region. Looking at the location of the sites, however, and their grouping [FIG. 59] one may suggest that such differences could be partly the result of local environmental conditions, and such investigations would be better carried out with a much finer spatial resolution to better reflect on these differences – taking into account e.g. micro-regional characteristics too. Nonetheless, if archaeozoological samples would be available from monastic estates (including the Cistercians), their analysis would probably fit with large scale trends.

gazdálkodás a középkori Magyarországon: gazdaságtörténet, anyagi kultúra, régészet, ed. András Kubinyi, József Laszlovszky and Péter Szabó. Budapest, 2008, 83–89.; László Bartosiewicz et al., "Animal Exploitation in Medieval Hungary" in *The Economy of Medieval Hungary*, ed. József Laszlovszky – Balázs Nagy - Péter Szabó – András Vadas. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018,

⁷²⁴ Bartosiewicz, "Animal husbandry", 85: The site groups referred here are 1.) rural settlements, 2.) high status sites and 3.) urban sites (out of which 8 are situated in the market town of Vác).

⁷²⁵ Bartosiewicz, "Animal Exploitation", 119 and 128.

⁷²⁶ Ihid

⁷²⁷ István Vörös, "Adatok az Árpád-kori állattartás történetéhez" [Data on animal husbandry in the Árpád Period]. In *A középkori magyar agrárium. Tudományos ülésszak Ópusztaszeren*, ed. Lívia Bende and Gábor Lőrinczy. Ópusztaszer: Csongrád M. Múz. Igazgatósága, 2000, 78-79.

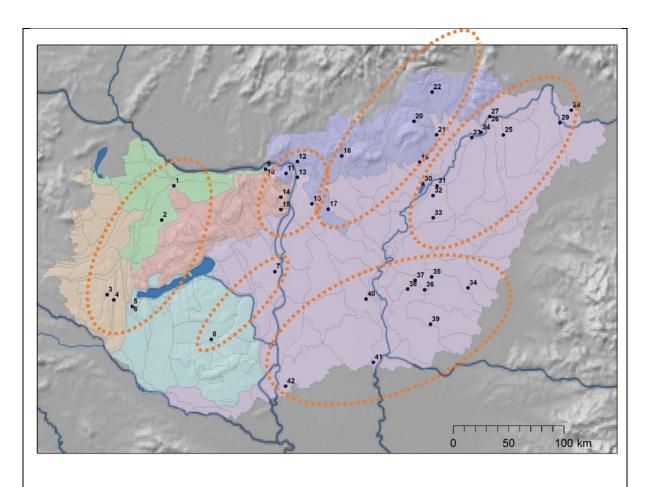


FIG. 59. Regional grouping of archaeozological assemblages by Vörös (indicated with dotted red lines) set against the map of geographical macro- and micro regions in Hungary⁷²⁸

4.2.3 The landscape background I (Borsmonostor, Szentgotthárd): river valleys and wet pastures

The environment-dependence of animal exploitation and the problem of regional patterns have been also often noted by landscape historians and historical ethnographers. Links between patterns of animal husbandry and landscape character imply that studying landscape history can be another "entry point" to find out more about possible differences in animal exploitation of Cistercian estates. The general rule, that Cistercians "favoured rural sites and were particularly

⁷²⁸ Source of data: Vörös, "Adatok az Árpád-kori", 73–76; map of micro-regions: the Landscape Ecological Vegetation Database & Map of Hungary has been pub.: by the MÉTA project See: http://www.novenyzetiterkep.hu/node/407

⁷²⁹ E.g. Viga, A népi kecsketartás, 17; Belényesy, "Az állattartás a 14. században", 51.

associated with valleys"⁷³⁰ is well known, "dictated by the needs of water supply".⁷³¹ The low-lying riverine landscapes offered generally favorable conditions for wetland grazing. Particularly two monasteries, Borsmonostor and Szentgotthárd, fit into this pattern, and there are some archival documents to illustrate this.

As for Borsmonostor, the royal confirmation (1225) mentions already two meadows of the abbey by names. They were situated along the River Répce, as described in the perambulation part of the charter. One was previously owned by a *iobagio castri* of Sopron, ⁷³² who had lands between the villages of Enyed and Zsidány. The other one was lying further downstream, in the vicinity of Locsmánd, and was possibly donated by the patron family (of comes Bors). This was exactly in the area, where the abbey systematically acquired lands, possibly aiming to create a congruent block (see more on this in Chapter 3). One may speculate that one reason for these acquisitions was to secure more pasture lands for the livestock. The example of a nineteenth century estate map, showing pastures scattered with pollard trees in the boundary of Strebersdorf has been already noted, ⁷³³ and it is illustrative of the primary economic function of this area.

In case of Szentgotthárd, the landscape was similar, being dominated by the valleys of the Rába and Lapincs Rivers, it was, however, also a bit different, in regard to extensive hilly woodlands situated to the south from these valleys (in the Vasi-Hegyhát micro-region). In terms of grazing resources, both wet pastures and wood pastures were available, which likely supported a bipolar model of animal husbandry. As noted in Chapter 3, Kalász argued that Cistercians "colonized" first the rich and fertile alluvial area along the rivers, thus, we have the earliest (1187) reference on settlements/manorial farms/granges in Janafalva, Nagyfalva, Badafalva, and Bocsfalva. The base demonstrated that this argument was largely speculative, however, the

⁷³⁰ Burton – Kerr, *The Cistercians*, 56.

⁷³¹ For a detailed case on the site location of Welsh houses see e.g. James C. Bond, "The location and siting of Cistercian houses in Wales and the West," *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 154 (2005): 66.

⁷³² MNL OL, DL n/a (1223-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, A borsmonostori, 112; pub.: CD, vol III/1, 426; Kovács, *A borsmonostori*, 23. This was the so called 'round meadow' (*pratum rotondum*) donated by Baka, *iobagio castri* of Sopron; DF 208360 (1225-00-00); reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 65-66; pub.: Sopron vm., vol 1, 9-17: mentioned as *Zakanrete*.

⁷³³ See Chapter 3, FIG. 16.

⁷³⁴ As noted e.g. by a socio-ethnographical study regarding the Bodrogköz region in NE Hungary, where one finds more similar landscape conditions to the area of Szentgotthárd. Cf. Sándor Bodó, *A Bodrogköz állattartása* [Animal husbandry in the Bodrogköz] (Borsodi Kismonográfiák 36) (Miskolc: Herman Ottó Múzeum, 1992).

⁷³⁵ Kalász, *A szentgotthárdi*, 22–23.

late fifteenh century land register/terrier is worth bringing forward once again at this point, as it reveals that some domanial properties were – at that time – indeed situated along the Rába valley, where not crop production, but rather animal husbandry (most probably pig husbandry) was in the focus.

Based on the number of tenant families listed under each settlement [See Appendix], the abbey had a number of small settlements consisting of just a few households (3-10). They are not to be found on modern maps – except *Háromháza* (in case of which the toponym of *Háromháza*-creek indicates its location) –, but the First and Second Military Surveys still reveal their locations. *Berekalja* was situated within the boundary of Csörötnek, *Háromház*, *Kisfalud*, *Telekpataka* were in the outskirts of Szentgotthárd, *Lak* was near *Olaszfalu* (today Lapincsolaszi), and *Permisse* was in the outskirts of Szakonyfalva. As Donkin explained, such small farmsteads or hamlets were often associated with dairy farming: "dairy cattle, unlike sheep, require regular attention and the siting of entirely new settlements, at first perhaps very small and only temporarily occupied, was sometimes necessary. These are generally represented today by hamlets or isolated farmsteads."⁷³⁶

Conspicuously, none of these places appear in the 1350 lawsuit, whereby possibly all the major villages were listed, owned by the abbey at that time. There are three possible ways to explain this absence: 1.) it is falsely assumed that the document lists every one of the abbey's properties; 2.) these settlements did not yet exist at that time; there is unfortunately no written or archaeological record to verify this, perhaps they were created/settled sometime after the midfourteenth century and before the end of the fifteenh century; 3.) they already existed at that time, but they were not considered as "normal" settlements/villages, and consequently had no representatives (*iudices*), who should have been involved in the lawsuit as witness. In case of this latter possibility, these small hamlets could be in fact domanial holdings. Despite their obscure origins, one thing is for certain about these settlements: according to the testimony of nineteenth century maps, as well as seventeenth and eigtheenth century estate records, they all survived until the nineteenth century, and their dissolution began only in modern times, when traditional patterns of agricultural farming have been abandoned.

⁷³⁶ Donkin, "Cattle", 45.

This is important, as the fifteenh century terrier is also very clear on the fact that some of these places were used for animal husbandry. Namely, *Gyepűsújlak*, *Kisfalud*, *Kristan*, *Lak*, *Olaszfalu* and *Újlak* were those properties of the abbey, where tithe-pigs (*decima de scrofis*) were collected. On the other hand, *Kisfalud*, *Telekpataka*, and *Berekalja* had waterfront locations, which may imply that pastures were the dominant form of land use. Concerning the Heiligenkreuz-era (the eighteenth -nineteenth centuries), Kalász already underlined, that areas closest to the rivers were not farmed, but were used as haymeadows. According to the household accounts of the abbey from this period, the grass yields were enormous: a single plot of meadow in Zsidófalva yielded 50 carts of hay. This abundance may indicate that despite the post-medieval colonization, demographic boom and land-use changes (as explained in Chapter 3), the extent of domanial pasture lands was still considerable, perhaps already so since medieval times.

4.2.4 The landscape background II (Pilis, Topuszkó, Zirc): hilly landscapes, wood pastures and pannage

In contrast to the riverine landscapes of Borsmonostor and Szentgotthárd, the central parts of the estates of Pilis and Zirc were characterized by hilly terrains ⁷³⁸ (the Pilis-Visegrád-hills and the Bakony-hills respectively) and closed woodlands administered as royal forests, where woodland exploitation must have been under strong royal control. From a general point of view, it is very unfortunate that medieval documents usually speak shortly of woodlands. They typically mention their size or legal status (e.g. *silva magna*, ~ *permissoria*), but less often their economic functions (e.g. *silva dolabrosa*, ~ *glandifera*). ⁷³⁹ Estimations (*aestimatio communis*) provide the most details, systematically describing the parts of an estate or a settlement in terms of size and function (land-use types, including woodlands), in order to value their incomes. ⁷⁴⁰ Such documents, however, come down to us very rarely. Most of the time, it is only the perambulation records – produced in response to various legal conflicts concerning specific settlements/locations –, which inform about the local character of woodlands. These are particularly valuable sources from a historical ecological point of view, because of the variety

⁷³⁸ This was a similarly typical site selection strategy for the Cistercians. Cf. Robert A. Donkin, "The Cistercian Settlement and the English Royal Forests," *Citeaux: Commentarii Cistercienses* 11 (1960): 117–124.

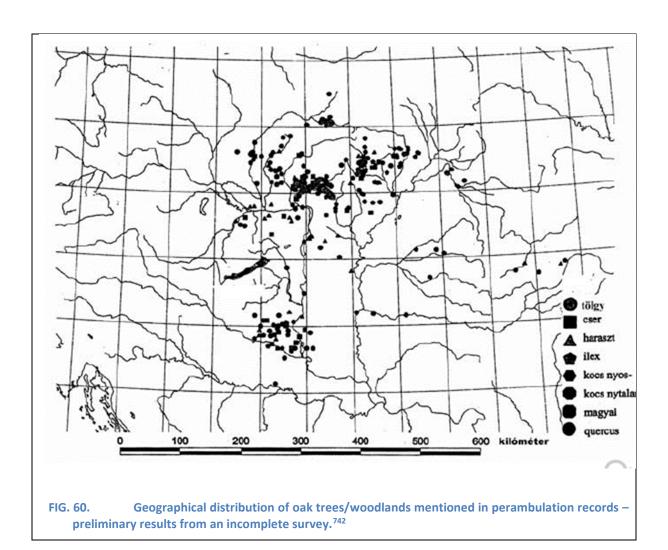
⁷³⁷ Kalász, *A szentgotthárdi*, 67.

⁷³⁹ See Pál Csöre, "Adatok a magyarországi erdők XI-XV. századbeli történetéhez" [Data to the eleventh-fifteenth century history of woodlands], Az Erdő 12 (1963/2): 55–60.

⁷⁴⁰ Data from estimations have been compiled by Péter Szabó. Cf. Péter Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 153–156.

of trees and other plants mentioned as orientation points. Among the documents of Borsmonostor, Szentgotthárd, and Topuszkó there is a good number of these records, and it will be interesting to briefly summarize the differences in regard to quantities of different tree types (without going into the details of topographical reconstruction of the settlement boundaries). Apparently, this type of data is ideal for comparative and quantitative analysis. Case studies were done on different regions, ⁷⁴¹ and a comprehensive survey is also planned, covering the entire area of the Carpathian Basin. [*FIG.* 60] The results so far already hint on the possible continuity between historic and present-day woodland character – generally, there was a high prevalence of oak observed in those regions where the potential natural woodland cover is deciduous woodland.

⁷⁴¹ A case study on SW Transdanubia (Co. Somogy): Árpád Szijártó and József Szilágyi, "Fafajok a középkori Somogyban," [Tree types in medieval Somogy], *Az Erdő* 25 (1976/12): 567-570. As for the Bakony hills see Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 164–165.



The area around Borsmonostor was particularly rich in fruit trees.⁷⁴³ The importance of horticulture has been also noted by Ferenc Maksay for Co. Sopron, concluding from his survey on sixteenth-seventeenth century land registers.⁷⁴⁴ As for Szentgotthárd, there is a few perambulation records available concerning only the more distant lands of the abbey along the River Rába, in Co. Vas, where we see again the dominance of oak trees.⁷⁴⁵ Concerning the main block of the estate (i.e. the hilly area of the Vasi-Hegyhát microregion, including the present day boundary of Szentgotthárd, as well as other settlements south from the valley of the Rába), there are no perambulations, however, administrative accounts and cartographical

⁷⁴² András Gryneaus – Tamás Gryneaus: Kísérlet a középkori kárpát-medencei magyar növényismeret rekonstruálására (Adatok Magyarország középkori növényföldrajzához). (Attempt to reconstruct plant knowledge in the medieval period in the Carpathian basin (Data to plant geography in Hungary)) In Környezettörténet 2. Környezeti események a honfoglalástól napjainkig történeti és természettudományi források tükrében, ed. Miklós Kázmér. Budapest: Hantken Kiadó, 2011, 30 and 34.

⁷⁴³ See the list of available perambulations in Appendix.

⁷⁴⁴ Ferenc Maksay, *Urbáriumok*, 90.

⁷⁴⁵ See the list of available perambulations in Appendix.

sources from the eigtheenth -nineteenth illustrate that oak and beech were the dominant woodland components, as has been noted by Kalász. Pine, which now occupies considerable parts of this area, is only a secondary succession, as demonstrated by a historical ecological survey. As for Topuszkó, relatively many perambulations could be collected, the estate was relatively large, the data covers geographically very diverse areas: riverine landscapes in the valleys of the Una, Kulpa and Sava rivers, as well as hilly regions surrounded by them (the area of the historical Gora County, today in the southern part of Co. Zagreb). Nonetheless, chestnut comes second to oak there, which is an interesting observation as its more frequent occurrence in more southern lying regions may be due to the warmer sub-Mediterranean climate – contrarily to previous assumptions chestnut was also native to Southern Transdanubia.

In addition to oak, as the major woodland component, it is particularly interesting to see that certain fruit trees – pear (pyrus) and apple (pomus) – come out in quantitative surveys usually as the second most frequent.⁷⁵⁰ It has been pointed out that these *taxa* are typical components of certain types of woodland habitats (mosaic woodlands segmented by wood-pastures).⁷⁵¹ The frequent occurrence of oak and fruit trees in archival sources reflects very well the character of

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⁷⁴⁶ Kalász, *A szentgotthárdi*, 80.

⁷⁴⁷ The presence of pine woodlands is the result of secondary succession in place of acidophilous beech forests. Cf. Gábor Tímár, A Vendvidék erdeinek értékelése új nézőpontok alapján [The evaluation of woodlands in the area of Vendvidék based on new aspects] Phd thesis. Sopron: Nyugat Magyarországi Egyetem, 2002, 22 and 78–79. (Open access: http://doktori.nyme.hu/174/1/de 2247.pdf)

⁷⁴⁸ See the list of available perambulations in Appendix.

⁷⁴⁹ István Csapody, "Az év fája. A szelídgesztenye őshonossága," *Erdészeti Lapok* 141 (2007/2): 34–37.

⁷⁵⁰ Pear appears to be the second most common based on the number of occurrences.Cf. Szijártó – Szilágyi, "Fafajok", 570; Sown grasslands, separated by hedgerows and paths, were also scattered with peer, plum and apple trees the most often. See Gábor Máté, *A Mecsek-vidék tájtörténete. Táj és ember viszonyának változása háromszáz év tükrében* [The landscape history of the Mecsek region. Changing relations of landscape and people in the perspective of 300 years], PhD thesis. Pécs: JPTE, Földtudományok Doktori Iskola, 2013, 57. (Open access: http://old.foldrajz.ttk.pte.hu/phd/phdkoord/nv/disszert/disszertacio.nyilvanos.vedes.mg.pdf),

⁷⁵¹ Tibor Hartel et al., "Wood-pastures in a traditional rural region of Eastern Europe: Characteristics, management and status," *Biological Conservation* 166 (2013): 267–275.

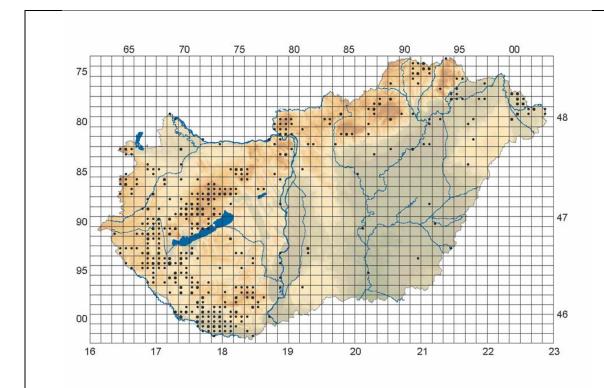


FIG. 61. Distribution of historic and present-day wood pastures (the Hungarian Biotope Database – note the regions of Southern Transdanubia and NE Hungary, where this practice made the most significant impact (Source: Varga-Bölöni, "Landscape history", 74; Source of vegetation data: The Landscape Ecological Vegetation Database & Map of Hungary has been published by the MÉTA project See: http://www.novenyzetiterkep.hu/node/407)

the local environment, as well as that of Transdanubia as a whole – a region potentially rich in oak woodlands, ⁷⁵² and also in wood-pastures [*FIG. 61*]. ⁷⁵³

With regard to different parts of Southern and Western Transdanubia (including e.g. the Mecsek and the Zselic hills, as well as the region around Szentgotthárd)⁷⁵⁴ landscape historical and

⁷⁵² Landscape geographical research describes Transdanubia as characterized by lowland hills and mosaic landscapes with closed oak woodlands occupying the ridges, and settlements positioned predominantly in the valleys. Cf. Sándor Somogyi, "A magyar honfoglalás földrajzi környezete," [The Hungarian Conquest and its geographical environment], in *A Kárpát-medence történeti földrajza*, ed. Sándor Frisnyák (Nyíregyháza: Honfoglalás, 1996), 7–17.; Gábor Csüllög – Sándor Frisnyák – László Tamás, "Történeti tájtípusok a Kárpát-medencében (11-16. század)," [Historic landscape type in the Carpathian Basin. eleventh-sixteenth centuries], *Történeti Földrajzi Közlemények* 2 (2014/2): 1–10.

⁷⁵³ The results of systematic ecological surveys have been pub.: at:

http://www.novenyzetiterkep.hu/english/node/74 Concerning the background of this research, with regard to wood-pastures see e.g. Anna Varga – János Bölöni, "Landscape history of forest grazing and wood-pastures in the Carpathian-basin," *Természetvédelmi Közlemények* 15 (2009): 68-79

⁷⁵⁴ For Southern Transdanubia see: János Dávid, "Erdőhasználati módok változásai a zselici erdőkben," [Changing methods of woodland management in the Zselic region, Hungary], *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 17 (2006): 147–158; Máté, "A Mecsek-vidék". For a historical landscape survey of the region around Szentgotthárd, see Tímár, 78–79.

historical ecological studies demonstrated that wood pastures are, in fact, relicts of historic woodland management practices. As for the Bakony hills (around Zirc) the importance of using local woodlands as wood pastures (for foraging pigs) is well illustrated by the fact that one of the traditional Hungarian breeds of swine (the "bakonyi") received its name from the name of the hills, as it was bred in that region, lying north of the Balaton Lake, and more broadly in the whole of Transdanubia.⁷⁵⁵

Hence, the geographical distribution of wood pastures – as a peculiar type of habitat with both ecological and cultural-historical values – connects to historic methods of woodland exploitation, and specifically to animal husbandry. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to trace back this connection to the medieval period, primarily for two reasons. On the one hand, woodland management practices have been drastically changed – as has been underlined in the abovementioned historical ecological studies as well –, which led to the disappearance of wood pastures on a considerable scale. On the other hand, there is a dearth of evidence (archival records, maps etc.) to attest to this continuity. Concerning the Bakony and Pilis, for example, Péter Szabó concluded that "the combination of pollards and grassland was at least as visible in the landscape of 1400 as it is today", but there is no evidence to show that a particular wood-pasture could have existed since the Middle Ages. ⁷⁵⁶

Historical ethnographical studies were also instrumental in identifying geographical areas, where woodlands were extensively used for pastoral economy, furthermore, providing also valuable data on methods of management, i.e. how different practices have actually contributed to the formation of wood pastures. Márta Belényesy explained, for example, that "contact zones of the plain and hilly landscapes in Co. Bihar and Co. Szatmár were especially favorable for extensive keeping of pigs and sheep – during the summer months the islands of wet pastures,

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⁷⁵⁵ István Tálasi, "A bakonyi pásztorkodás," [Pastoral economy in the Bakony], *Ethnographia* 50 (1939): 12. József Szabadfalvi, "Az ősi sertésfajták Magyarországon," [Ancient pig breeds in Hungary] *Agria* 23 (1987): 161–173; For a summative evaluation of this research cf. Magyar Néprajz, vol 2., ed. Attila Paládi Kovács. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2001, 752–753.

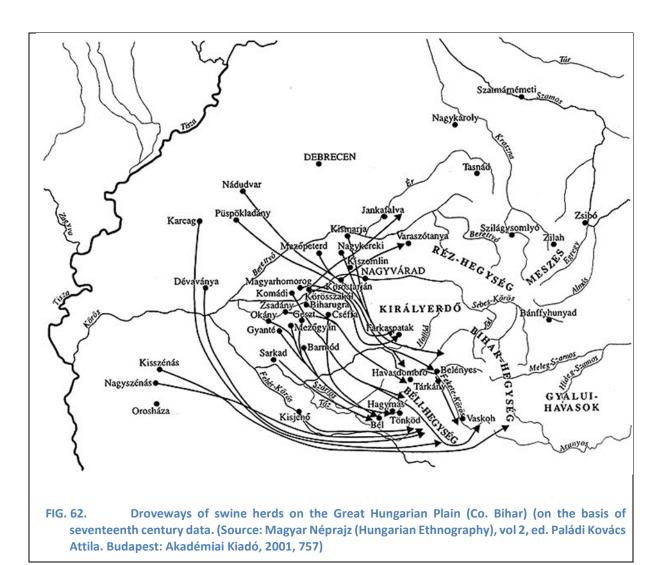
⁷⁵⁶ Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 133. On the methodology of research see Oliver Rackham, *Ancient Woodland Its History. Vegetation and Uses in England* (London: Edward Arnold, 1980). Szabó's more recent research – on a Moravian woodland – is exemplary of how multidisciplinary methods – the integration of ethnographical, landscape archaeological and historical ecological evidence – could improve such investigations. Cf. Müllerová, Jana – Szabó, Péter - Hédl, Radim, "The rise and fall of traditional forest management in southern Moravia: A history of the past 700 years," *Forest Ecology and Management* 331 (2014): 104–115. Such studies, unfortunately, do not abound.

in the winter the steaming marshes melt the snow, so that pigs were able to find plenty of food. These natural conditions apparently favored transhumance – driving sheep down from the hills during the winters to graze along the valleys, and driving pigs up in the hills for foraging." ⁷⁵⁷ Clearly, swine, sheep and goat were the most typical animals kept on wood-pastures. Gyula Viga argued that keeping goats was more suitable for hilly terrains, than flatlands, where they were almost absent. ⁷⁵⁸ As for oak woodlands, the importance of pig husbandry could be underlined, as the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries records demonstrating that sizeable herds (of pigs and sheep) were regularly moved to certain woodland regions, acorn bearing woods, for seasonal grazing [*FIG. 62*] . ⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁵⁷ Belényesy, "Az állattartás a 14. században", 51

⁷⁵⁸ Viga. A népi kecsketartás, 17.

⁷⁵⁹ E.g. Iván Balassa, "Makkoltatás a Kárpát-medence északkeleti részén a XVI–XIX. században," [Foraging in the NE part of Hungary in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries] *Ethnographia* 84 (1975) 53–79.; József Szabadfalvi, "Juhmakkoltatás az északkelet-magyarországi hegyvidéken," [Foraging sheep in the Northern Hills], *Műveltség és Hagyomány a Debreceni Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem Néprajzi Intézetének évkönyve* 5 (1963) 131-143.; József Szabadfalvi, "Migráció és makkoltatás az Alföld keleti peremvidékén [Migration and foraging at the eastern margins of the Great Hungarian Plain], *Műveltség és Hagyomány a Debreceni Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem Néprajzi Intézetének évkönyve* 10 (1968) 55–84.; Tivadar Petercsák, "Feudalizmus kori erdőhasználat az Északi-Középhegységben," [Waldbenutzung zur Zeit des Feudalismus im Nördlichen Mittelgebirge Ungarns (Auszug)], *Hermann Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 28-29 (1991): 180–194.



Results from these works also demonstrate the long-term continuity of pastoral economy in the respective study areas. Although medieval references are collected and occassinally mentioned in these studies, their chronological focus is primarily the pre-modern period (sixteenth – nineteenth centuries), which is completely understandable taking into account that from the sixteenth century on more sources were produced concerning woodland management. Despite the fact that domanial woodlands enjoyed legal protection already in medieval times, it was only from the sixteenth century on, that woodland exploitation intensified (primarily due to exploting woodlands for building materials and the increased need for grazing), and an interest developed to secure the explotation of woodlands through written agreements between

landlords and tenants, introducing new regulatory measures.⁷⁶⁰ In summary, the use of wood pastures became much better documented in this period than wetland grazing.⁷⁶¹

Based on a survey of documents mentioning acorn-bearing woods, "two permanent strongholds of pannage in the Carpathian Basm are apparent: one in the north-east (around today's border area between Romania, Ukraine, Slovakia and Hungary), and the other in central western Hungary around Lake Balaton". Archival data on the history of market towns and settlements for example in Co. Bereg, Bihar, Máramaros, and Szatmár in the sixteenth century also confirm that from the start of this period large herds of pigs – of several hundred or sometimes several thousand heads – were kept in these mountainous areas suitable for seasonal grazing, situated E-NE from the Great Hungarian Plain. Bailiffs, market towns, peasants and nobles were all involved in this activity. In 1526, the townsmen of Máramarossziget drove away 500 pigs from the woods of their neighbors, the Dolhay family, who regularly kept their herds there. In 1563, the castellan of Huszt seized 600 pigs from his domain, including villages in the neighborhood of the castle of Huszt and the market town of Máramarorssziget.

As the price of swine was comparatively high (1 florin)⁷⁶⁴ and swineherds were moveable assets, large herds became targets of assaults. This, as well as the increased environmental pressure on woodlands could have led to more frequent debates over rights of usage, and the number of such documents may in fact indicate the intensification of seasonal grazing. Notably, the geographical distribution of a small sample of court cases (1389-1420) dating from the era

⁷⁶⁰ The tenants' rights to free use of woodland (firewood, grazing) became restricted, withdrawn. Access was granted only in return of payments. Abuses were sanctioned both on local and country levels. The origins and antecedents of such measures can be seen already in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. For instance, Stephen Werbőczi's Tripartite – a summary of Hungary's contemporary legal customs – already notes the importance and value of the *silva glandifera*. Part III/33. gives instructions on repayments due when cattle or other animals make damages to woodlands. It is this period when the first royal decrees were issued against practices of vlach shepherds – by King Matthias (1469) and Maximilian II (1565). See e.g. János Földes, "Az erdőségek térvesztése," [The area loss of woodlands], *Erdészeti Lapok* 1910 (49): 756-762.

⁷⁶¹ As noted e.g. by Bodó, *A Bodrogköz állattartása*, 45.

⁷⁶² Péter Szabó, "Rethinking pannage. Historical interactions betwen oak and swine," in *Trees, Forested Landscapes and Grazing Animals: A European Perspective on Woodlands and Grazed Treescapes*, ed. lan D. Rotherham. New York: Routledge, 2013, 53.

⁷⁶³ László Glück, "Máramarossziget mezővárosa, helyrajza és társadalma 1600 táján." (The topography and the society of the market town of Máramarossziget) In *Diszciplínák határain innen és túl. Fiatal Kutatók Fóruma 2. – 2006*, ed. Margit Balogh. Budapest: MTA Társadalomkutató központja, 2006, 427–445, 434.

⁷⁶⁴ See e.g. Zichy, vol 12, 221: "Primo vendidi porcos XXIIII flor. auri XXIII. Item secundo vendidi porcos XXXIII pro flor. XXXX. Item tercio vendidi porcos XXIII pro flor. auri XXXIII."

of King Sigismund [*FIG.* 63], ⁷⁶⁵ seems to match exactly with the above mentioned two regions – studied by ethnographers, historians, and historical ecologists –, where acorn-bearing woods and wood-pastures were recorded. This highlights again that extensive pig husbandry could have been the most important form of woodland management in the NE and SW parts of the country. The documents also reveal that the scale of this activity could be quite similar to what is evidenced later. In 1416, for instance, 1200 pigs are reported to have been driven away in Co. Križ. ⁷⁶⁶ In Co. Szatmár, a very large pack of swine consisting of 2000 pigs is mentioned as early as 1357, driven 100 kilometres away (!) from the flocks of the vlach shepherds of Sólyomkó (Co. Bihar) to the woodlands of Szatmár for foraging. ⁷⁶⁷ Although the evidence from the medieval period is less substantial than in later centuries, such references demonstrate the importance of pig husbandry and wood pastures in these regions, well before the sixteenth century.

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⁷⁶⁵ Dating between 1319-1526, a sample of ca 260 records could be found using keyword queries. Surveying the data, I have found that the geographical distribution of these references falls in line with what can be demonstrated on smaller sample from the Sigismund-era. the one presented below, I did not calculate the exact numbers here since they did not seem to modify the abovementioned trend.

⁷⁶⁶ MNL OL, DL 102003 (1416-12-11>1416-12-31); reg.: Zs, vol 5, 668–669: from Tamás Csupor of Monoszló.

⁷⁶⁷ MNL OL, DL 51772 (1357-11-15); pub.: AOkmt, vol 6, 620.

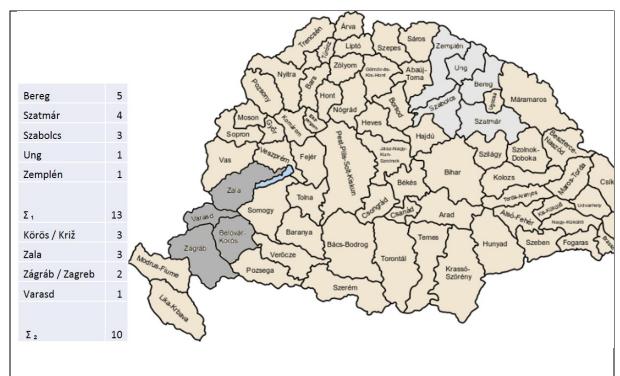


FIG. 63. The geographical distribution of court cases (n= 28) in connection to extensive pig keeping, dating from the Sigismund Era (1389-1420) based on the digital database of the Hungarian National Archive

Extensive pig keeping was also very characteristic of monastic woodland management, and could have been practiced not only in the late medieval period, but from very early on. The foundation charter of Pécsvárad (1037) mentions already pig herders among the tenants of the abbey. The case of the Benedictine abbey of Pannonhalma is also well known: the earliest (1093) conscription of its lands mentions several families of pig herders settled in the Zselic hills, in southern Transdanubia. As illustrated above, late medieval records, the income and expense register of Pécsvárad and the land register of Szentgotthárd refer to the collection of servitiae including live animals (goats/pigs) hinting on the continuing importance of extensive animal husbandry. Despite the assumption that the Cistercian contribution to transforming woodland landscapes through extensive animal husbandry was significant, the theme remains very elusive, as there is usually a lack of relevant sources as to actually how monasteries exploited woodlands.

⁷⁶⁸ For the problematic dating of this source see the literature in footnote 645.

⁷⁶⁹ MNL OL, DF 206963 (1093-00-00 > 1236-00-00); ed.: *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima*, vol 1, ed. György Györffy. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1992, 301.

Court cases are again the most informative documents on that matter. 770 Conflicts and litigations typically occur in two contexts: industrial exploitation (of fuelwood or building materials), and woodland grazing (violations of rights of pasture). As for industrial exploitation, there is generally very little evidence for the involvement of monastic institutions – they occur very rarely in this context in the documents.⁷⁷¹ Nonetheless, it was this type of exploitation that could increase environmental pressure to an intolerable scale, seriously affecting the regeneration of woodlands – as renewable resource –, leading to overuse and deforestation. Woodland grazing could be less of a concern, as it was a more sustainable practice, it was, however, also more widespread, thus, generating more evidence. The legal status of woodlands was apparently important here. Wood pastures were often in shared use as access to resources was granted to different parties.⁷⁷² To a certain extent, this practice could prevent unlawful actions by promoting collective and mutual interests in maintenance. On the other hand, it could also lead to litigations. To avoid complications, monasteries often sought privileges from their landlords – in case of royal foundations, from the kings. As for the Hungarian Cisercians, however, there are no known privileges or writs addressing this issue.⁷⁷³ Examples from elsewhere suggest that Cistercians were likely to use the resources of royal forests unrestricted, yet, this could be a delicate issue, depending on the good will of the kings – and, of course, on mutual interests. 774

Pilis and Zirc were situated in royal forests, and likely enjoyed special protection, receiving also permission to use the woods for pig husbandry or for else. Unfortunately, there is very little indication how royal forests were protected by special laws/customs, and there is no knowledge

⁷⁷⁰ For example, Siegfried Epperlein's study, focusing on woodland management in the light of court cases provides a rich collection of sources primarily in Cistercian context: *Waldnutzung, Waldstretigkeiten und Waldschutz in Deutschland im Hohen* Mittelalter (2. Hälfte 11. Jahrhundert bis Ausgehendes 14. Jahrhundert). Stuttgart: Steiner, 1993.

⁷⁷¹ For example, the Premonstratensian house of Jászó had mining privileges, and in 1255 conflicts occurred between the monastery and the townsmen of SzoMNL OL, nokbánya and Gölnicbánya. The problem was the cutting of wood in *silvas nigras vulgariter fenywerdew vocatas*, and King Sigismund finally ruled that the respective piece of woodland should remain in shared use. Cf. Csöre, "Adatok," 60.

⁷⁷² Epperlein, *Waldnutzung*, 14–15, 31, passim.

⁷⁷³ Péter Szabó knows of one example concerning the Bakony: the founder of the Pauline house of Porva, László Garai, palatinus of Hungary granted the house access to wood pastures to feed their livetsock there. Szabó, Woodland and Forests, 132.: the monks could pasture "porcos eorum, oves, boves, equos at alia animalia" MNL OL, DL 1424 (1450-11-30).

 $^{^{774}}$ In 1200, for example, King John ordered the Cistercians to remove their pigs and horses from royal forests as a punishment for not having agreed to tax on their year's clip of wool. Cf. Henry Mayr Harting, *Religion, Politics and Society in Britain 1066 – 1272* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 162.

how this affected the economic activities of the Cistercians or of other orders. 775 Nonetheless, the very fact that generally few incidences (court cases) were reported in the documents, perhaps reflects strong royal control and protection. Concerning Zirc, there is one conflict that emerged in 1422 between the abbey and its neighbors, the Benedictines of Bakonybél. The Benedictines owned Akol (today Aklipuszta), a settlement situated halfway between the two monasteries, where the Cistercians also had maybe some domanial lands. The tenants of the Cistercians (from other villages?) reportedly mowed down the meadows owned by the Benedictines and their swineherd caused a lot of damage to the yield. As the source recording the complaint of Bakonybél dates from late October, the beginning of the winter season, one may speculate that the incident was possibly associated with the practice of extensive pig keeping. The Cistercians' offensive move was perhaps the result of a shortage of wood pastures. 776 Also later, there were conflicts, which highlight that the tenants of Zirc were using the woods (maybe wood pastures) of other landowners unlawfully. 777 In case of Pilis, there is only one interesting case. This, however, did not concern directly the Cistercians, but the Franciscan Nunnery in Óbuda, which complained against a townsman of Buda in 1483, who had lands in *Fedémes*, – situated in the close neighborhood of the Cistercians –, and whose herd - pecudes et pecora, which generally implies sheep, cattle and maybe horses -, ⁷⁷⁸ mowed down the haymeadows owned by the nunnery. 779

Among the sources concerning Topuszkó, there are no examples of similar court cases/conflicts, in which the monks – and their tenents – would have been involved. As has been mentioned above, chestnut trees and oak trees frequently occur in perambulation records

⁷⁷⁵ Cf. Szabó, Woodland and Forests, 97, 147–149.

⁷⁷⁶ MNL OL, DF 207625 (1422-10-24); A couple of other charters (only interesting in administrative aspects) refer to this and other conflicts: MNL OL, DL 207618 (1422-06-13); DF 227561 (1422-10-24); n/a (1422-10-25); n/a (1422-11-28); n/a (1422-11-29); n/a (1423-01-03); DF 207628 (1423-02-02); reg.: Horváth, *Zirc története*, no. 106; 107; 110-112; 114-115. See also Pongrácz Sörös, "Bakonybéli regesták a 15. század első feléből (1406-1449)," [List of early fifteenth century documents from Bakonybél] *Magyar Történelmi Tár* n/a (1903): 355–372.

⁷⁷⁷ Tenants of the abbey using woods of other landlord in Csékút: MNL OL, DL 102567 (1470-04-05); Tenants using the woods of the bishop of Győr: DL 48996 (1525-12-24) – maybe pine wood as can be inferred from its name.

⁷⁷⁸ "Item quod pecudes et pecora hoc est: boves, oves, vaccae, et equi gregatim vel alio sub colore..." cf. Ignác Batthiány: Leges ecclesiastieae Hungariae et Provinciarum eidem adnexarum 1-3, vol 1 (Albae Carolinae – Claudiopoli, n.a., 1785), 597.

⁷⁷⁹ MNL OL, DL 18758 (1483-02-08): "[...] usque ad hec tempora quamplures pecudes et pecora sua de allodio ipsorum in predio Fedemes habito ad prata et fenilia dictarum exponentium, in territorio possessionis earundem Kande vocate in comitatu Pilisiensi habite emitti fecissent. Quequidem sic emisse pecudes et pecora fena in eisdem pratis ipsorum exponentium annuatim procreata in magna parte depasce fuissent [...]."

of settlements within, or in the neighborhood of the estate. These types of trees were most likely major components of local woods, so these could be also particularly suitable forkeeping pigs. External sources, concerning the broader region, the county of Zagreb (including the estates of the diocesan chapter, the bishop of Zagreb, the St John's knights of Gora, as well as Pauline monasteries), provide clear evidence that pig husbandry was an important and typical form of woodland exploitation also in this SW region of the country – as has been noted above.

Discussing the economy of Pauline monasteries, Beatrix F. Romhányi mentions many examples from Slavonia, emphasizing that this is where data predominantly came up. Particularly illustrative was the monastery of Streza, where there were frequent conflicts with the local nobility over pasture rights. Another case in point is an agreement from 1391, between some noble families (*generationes*) in *Huthyna* (near Steničjak) and *Lakonyk* (along the Kupa River). The two parties divided their lands, including acorn-bearing woods, hayfields and wet pastures. They specifically indicated that wood pastures (mentioned as *pannage*) should be expropriated, so that each party could have their share, other pastures, however, were to be used collectively.

Tax conscriptions from the early sixteenth century (dating from the years 1507, 1517 and 1520), are also illustrative for the broader micro-regional context. Some of these lists include not only the names of tenants/taxpayers (households), but also their titles and occupations (*iudex*, *vayvoda*, *carpentarius*, *pistor pannis* etc). Notably, pig herders (*pastor porcorum*) appear in various places, but mainly around the most populated settlements in the area (e.g. Steničjak/Pokupsko, Zagreb, Sisak) [*FIG.* 64], which also had access to nearby woodlands. As for Sisak (Sziszek), there is yet another conscription from 1509, which includes also lists of animals owned by the tenants/households. It seems that in the market town (*oppidum*) of Sziszek and in its surrounding province (including the following settlements: Strelecko, Hrastelnica, Odra, Pračno, Gornja Drenčina, Vurot, Dužica, Donja Drenčina, Jazvenik, Petroves, Sela and Žabno) the total population was approximately 170 households, and they owned altogether some 2000-3000 pigs. This may mark that pig husbandry could be the

⁷⁸⁰ Romhányi, *A lelkiek a földiek nélkül*, 39.

⁷⁸¹ MNL OL, DL 33467 (1391-11-28); reg.: Zs, vol 2, 2283.

⁷⁸² MNL OL, DL 104184 (1507-00-00); DL 104337 (1517-00-00); DL 104304 (1517-04-24K); DL 104305 (1517-04-24K); DL 104398 (1520-00-00); DL 104399 (1520-00-00); DL 104400 (1520-00-00).

⁷⁸³ MNL, OL DF 256654 (1509-00-00).

dominant form of woodland exploitation and its scope was just as significant here, as it was in NE Hungary. Interestingly, ethnographic records from later periods confirm this too. ⁷⁸⁴ It is also interesting to see data from the medieval documents foreshadowing a long term socioeconomic development in which pig husbandry became a powerful social factor. In regard to the post-medieval period, this process is particularly well attested in Bosnia and Serbia, where rich families of local herders and traders involved in this business became to play a role in the "political dynamics of the emerging state". ⁷⁸⁵

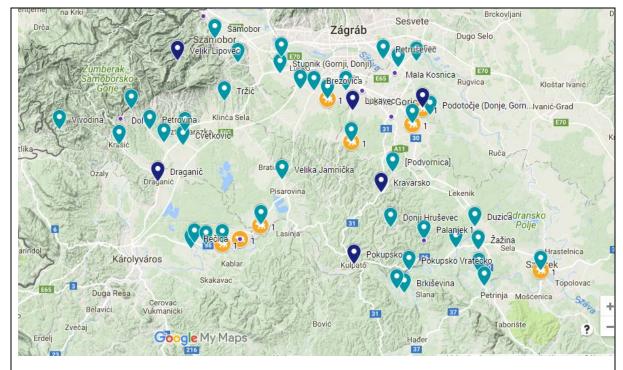


FIG. 64. A district in Co. Zagreb, in the 1507 tax conscription. Settlements classified according to household numbers: blue dots: 2-5 households / light blue: 6-60 households / dark blue: 70-130 households / orange: settlements with "pastor porcorum". 786

⁷⁸⁴ See e.g.: Bertalan Andrásfalvy, "Wald-Viehhaltung in Ost-Trasdanubien," in *Viehwirtschaft und Hirtenkultur*, ed. László Földes (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969), 391–401. For further bibliographical references see the chapter on pig husbandry in Paládi Kovács, *Magyar Néprajz*, vol 2, 757.

⁷⁸⁵ Joel Halpern, "The ecological transformation of a resettled area, from pig herders to settled farmers in Central Serbia (Sumadija, Yugoslavia) during the nineteenth and 20th centuries," in *Transhumant Pastoralism in Southern Europe. Recent Perspectives from Archaeology, History and Ethnology*, ed. Laszlo Bartosiewicz and Haskel J. Greenfield (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 1999), 79–98, 82–83.

⁷⁸⁶ MNL OL, DLF-DF 104184 (1507-00-00).

4.3 CONCLUSIONS

The comparative analysis of quantitative data from animal listst (foundation charters and late medieval registers) shed some light on the often neglected and – with regard to monasteries in Hungary – hitherto unexplored aspect of manorial economy: animal husbandry. Moreover, this affords also a long term (diachronic-historical) view on how livestock composition changed. Despite the topographical focus of the thesis, it is worth exploring briefly the socio-economic factors behind the sharp contrast between early and late medieval data. Given the proverbial interest of the Cistercians in self-sustenance, one would not expect to see them giving up animal husbandry. There was a collapse, however, and it seems that other large ecclesiastical estates – Benedictine abbeys – experienced this too. Monastic economies did not recover and could not contribute to (and profit from) the economic upturn in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, of which animal husbandry was a significant element, thanks to the intensification of international trade.

Cistercian foundation charters showed that some abbeys started promisingly, with large herds, while others received only a few animals. Contrasting Ábrahám and Borsmonostor, the status and wealth of their patrons explain the considerable differences of their benefices. Although for all the other Cistercian monasteries (including royal foundations), we have no data to compare, one suspects that royal monasteries were more generously endowed. They certainly got more lands (including pastures), and there is every reason to believe that "starter kits" ⁷⁸⁷ were negotiated, including animals. Animal numbers recorded in the foundation charters can reflect to a certain extent the ideas of the communities about what they thought was inevitably necessary. This could lead to the notion of a "norm", similarly to the *per capita* directive concerning the size of manorial cropland to be assigned to supply the communities (see in Chapter 3). If so, this may explain why Borsmonostor seems to have received a variety of animals and seemingly in carefully set numbers. The number of sheep is notable here, as a large flock was essential for self-sustenance, i.e. to produce their own wool/cloths. Similarly, the absence of swine may reflect the strict observance of dietary restrictions. Trading and breeding horses was approved by the general chapter only in 1184,⁷⁸⁸ and perhaps this is why we see

⁷⁸⁷ I borrowed the term from Emilia Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order*.

⁷⁸⁸ The relevant points from the Cistercian *Statuta* on horse breeding have been summed up by Kurt Villads Jensen, "Arms Race and War Technology in the Baltic in the Early Thirteenth Century.," in *Crusading and Chronicle*

also the absence of horses in case of Borsmonostor (unlike in case of the Benedictine abbeys). With a few examples, however, these are only speculations. The common characteristic in the composition of livestock was the low number of cattle and oxen, as they were used most probably only as draught animals to cultivate manorial farmlands.

Contrasting this picture, late medieval inventories (from the fourteenth to early sixteenth centuries) reflect completely different practices. Only swine were kept in more substantial numbers, sheep and cattle completely disappeared from monastic livestock. Written and archaeological records suggest, however, that beyond the Cistercian – and more broadly the monastic – contexts, there were general changes to livestock keeping: 1) there was a general shift of emphasis on pig husbandry (the so called sheep/pig divide), and 2) and there was a decreasing trend in numbers of manorial livestock (particularly large beasts). The traditional, normative viewpoint of *Ordensgeschichte* has been apparently that this reflects the loosening of monastic discipline and the decline of monastic movements in general. In the late medieval period, dietary rules were not observed by the monks. Pork meat was the most easily accessible, due to high reproduction rate of swine and pigs could be supplied also from external sources (collected as tithes). Some monasteries maybe managed to bring produce to the market and turn pig husbandry into a lucrative economic enterprise (e.g. Csorna). In connection to the declining popularity of monasticism, the decreasing numbers of monks and the changing alimentary needs have been also noted. The Cistercian and Benedictine visitations (1356, 1508) are quite illustrative on the social and spiritual crisis, as are the various legislations and reform attempts of the Cistercian general chapter and of the kings during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. ⁷⁸⁹ Despite these attempts, the number of monks in the convents remained overall very low, almost insignificant.

In critique of this interpretation, the same external surveys can be referred, as their data illustrate that the state of economic affairs was not always particularly bad. Although there were fewer

Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier, ed. Marek Tamm – Linda Kaljundi – Karsten Selch Jensen (Farnham – Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 245–264, 256.

⁷⁸⁹ See generally Lekai, *The Cistercians*; Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order*. (Chapter VIII on In Hungary, there ew groups of monks arrived, the affiliation of abbeys were changed – direct control of Clairvaux over its lineage lost its role, and supervision and visitation of *filiae* was re-assigned to German or Austrian houses (closer to Hungary, e.g. Rein, or major Hungarian houses. The administration of some abbeys were assigned to trusted men, i.e. lay or religious *commendatores*. Reform attempts have been summarized by Békefi, *A pásztói apátság*, 71-90. Concerning the fifteenth c., and particularly King Matthias's role in "reforming" the monastic orders by relying on lay or religious "*commendatores*, see András Kubinyi, "A monasztikus rendek".

and fewer monks and the physical state of buildings could have deteriorated, the 1357 visitation report shows that in terms of financial incomes the situations was diverse: some abbeys were very wealthy, some were very poor, whereas the size of the convents rarely exceeded the minimum (of twelve). Similarly, the 1508 visitation of Benedictine houses records a total number of 63 monks in 17 abbeys, yet, some houses (e.g. Almád, Bakonybél, Koppánymonostora and Tata) were comparatively much wealthier, as shown by the long lists of their liturgical objects. These lists indicate that some abbeys preferred to invest their incomes in thesauration. It is also interesting to see the abbey of Tata as a comparatively rich one, since Tata was also acting as a 'place of authentication' (*locus credibilis*). This yielded extra incomes, which could have allowed the abbey also to maintain a healthier economy [Appendix]. The complexity of interpreting divergent incomes and expenditures, - and priorities of management – has been noted elsewhere too; ⁷⁹⁰ as different types of data may illuminate different aspects of monastic life, making arguments from only one type of (data) can be often misleading.

On the line of this argument, there is another thread of interpretation, which sees the decline of animal husbandry as a "pragmatic" decision. This connects the declining popularity of Cistercians and to the social-spiritual collapse of the laybrotherhood institution, the symptom of which was the lack of manpower. In reponse to this the abbeys were looking for alternative solutions to secure incomes, and were making economic decisions, gradually abandoning direct management. Land were leased out, particularly those farms, which were difficult to manage. ⁷⁹¹ As Donkin pointed out, a considerable loss in grazing area could have occurred, which could change animal exploitation fundamentally: numbers of sheep and cattle decreased from the fourteenth century on, and this played out generally better for cattle. Concerning the sheep-cattle ratio, he emphasized that "the change in the proportion of sheep to cattle may reflect the loss of lands used for pasturing as much as a deliberate change of policy." ⁷⁹² In regard to this, it is important to distinguish between practices of intensive and extensive keeping. ⁷⁹³ Horses, sheep and swine, referred sometimes under the common name, as *grex* (herd), could be kept

⁷⁹⁰ A similar problem is discussed e.g. in connection to Rievaulx, and its incomes drawn primarily from wool trade. Cf. Jamroziak, "Rievaulx Abbey," 203.

⁷⁹¹ As generally explained, this process was also driven by increasing monetization (need of cash incomes). Cf. Lékai, A Ciszterciek, 292–295 (only in the Hungarian version); James S. Donelly, "Changes in the grange economy of English and Welsh abbeys 1300–1540," *Traditio* 10 (1954): 399–458, 441. Burton – Kerr, *The Cistercians Order*, 158–160.

⁷⁹² Donkin, "Cattle", 35.

⁷⁹³ Apparent from the terminology, e.g. *bos* vs *bos pascualis*; *equs indomitus* vs *equus domitus*, as explained by Belényesy, "Az állattartás a 14. században", 25.

out in the fields for the most part of the year, while draught animals and cows were kept closer to the farms, in the barns. As Belényesy noted, this is why these animals occur more typically in theft crimes. The practice of keeping large numbers of sheep – requiring a substantial amount of pastures – could be relatively more sensitive to the loss of grazing lands. Extensive pig keeping, relying primarily on foraging in the woods, on the other hand, could be less affected.

Following Donkin's argument, it would be instructive to briefly look into the problem whether the observable changes in animal exploitation are linked to land leasing on a significant scale. As noted in Chapter 2, only the archives of Borsmonostor and Topuszkó supply abundant materials, on the basis of which it is possible to evaluate long-term historical ternds, or spatial patterns of land transactions. The collected documents for Pilis, Szentgotthárd and Zirc are less representative in this respect, with only a few charters reporting about transactions. Although the growing importance of land transactions and the gradual loss of lands of monastic and ecclesiastical estates in the late medieval period has been well known to historians, ⁷⁹⁵ the socioeconomic contexts of land transactions and the spatial-topographical development of the estates – in the late medieval period – have received little interest. ⁷⁹⁶

My earlier investigations into the documents of Borsmonostor and Topuszkó confirmed that there was, indeed, a tendency to lease out lands, starting from the late thirteenth century. In Chapter 3, I discussed examples, when manorial farmlands, granges were sold or leased. These were typically the distant ones, e.g. the Szomód grange of Borsmonostor, the Csákány grange of Pilis Abbey, or the Almás grange or the Battyán *predium* of Szentgotthárd Abbey. I demonstrated that granges were similar to the *predium*-type farms, characterized primarily by large pieces of arable lands. However, the evidence is too limited to argue that this trend made any impact on animal husbandry, influencing animal numbers – as suggested by Donkin. Areas primarily used for grazing were situated in the central parts of the estates and seem to have been

⁷⁹⁴ Belényesy "Az állattartás a 14. században", 26.

⁷⁹⁵ Generally noted by Donkin, *The Cistercian Order*, 82. The growing importance of land leasing in connection to monastic economy in Hungary was noted by Károly Tagányi, with regard to the Pécsvárad accounts. (See Appendix). Similar trends were observed concerning Benedictine estates by Maksay, *Benedekrendi gazdálkodás*. ⁷⁹⁶ An excellent comparative study (specifically dedicated to this subject) has been done Jaroslav Čechura, Die Struktur der Grundherrschaften"32–51: Part of the work is focusing on the estate the Cistercian monastery of Sedlec in the period between 1340 and 1419. It is demonstrated that Sedlec leased out many of its manors to the burghers of Kutná Hora.

⁷⁹⁷ See above, footnote 665.

unaffected. Major Cistercian estates even rented out pastures, which suggests that there was no shortage. Pornó (which became in fact subordinate to Szentgotthárd – as noted in 1353⁷⁹⁸ – maybe also in terms of economic governance) and Topuszkó both leased out pastures to nearby Pauline houses, which, in turn, were facing a shortage, as their lands were small. ⁷⁹⁹ Had the Cistercians have similar issues, we would see them acting the same way, acquiring concession rights as explained by Berman on the example of the Southern French countryside. Furthermore Cistercians could have relied also on the services of their tenants, to supply live animals to keep animal husbandry at an optimum level or fodder for their animals (had this been an issue) Considering these options, the collapse of animal husbandry could be rather the result of general neglect, and of the downscale of both conventual life and manorial economy. On the other hand, "starter packs" did not guarantee that the "model" will be workable, given the diversity of landscape conditions, as well as economic changes. Why Borsmonostor did not succeed in sheep husbandry could have many reasons. Apart from internal conditions, (the financial and social situation of the abbey), the abbey was nowhere to becaome as favourably positioned on the market as the major wool-producing houses elsewhere. ⁸⁰⁰

Apart from the decline of monasticism and changes in the economic management of Cistercian estates – as a pragmatic response –, one should also consider more generally the overarching economic historical trends. The study of archaeozoological assemblages from different parts of the country illustrate sufficiently that preferences of livestock keeping (i.e. the composition of livestock) changed profoundly, and this was not simply a monastic phenomenon, but a general one. Archaeozoological observations fit into the broader narrative concerning the fundamental

⁷⁹⁸ Hervay, *Repertorium*, 155.

⁷⁹⁹ Pauline houses were particularly active in renting lands, particularly woodlands and pastures, which they used for pig husbandry. In addition to the case of Topuszkó and Szentgotthárd (Pornó), there are also other examples, which fit into this context. See the following examples quoted by F.Romhányi 2010, 30: the Paulines of the St Peter monastery in Zlat rented a *predium* in Stirmecz in 1402 from the Cistercians of Topuszko, and payments include the 'dica porcorum' (MNL OL, DL-DF 34682 (1402-00-00)) – The Zagreb monastery (Remetinc) rented the villages of Novák and Alsonovák from the Chapter of Zagreb. Both the monastery and the villages were situated at the feet of the *Medvednica* mountain, possible with access to woodland pastures. This contract was confirmed by the pope. (MNL OL, DL-DF 34480 (1460-05-08)), and quittances are also available from the second half of the fifteenth century. – In 1525, the Paulines of Eberau (Monyorókerék) rented a pasture from the Cistercians of Pernau (MNL OL, DL-DF 25315 (1525-03-21)) – The Paulines of Csatka were using the woods of the Chapter of Fehérvár in Bodajk (MNL OL, DL-DF 106557 (1460-07-02) – In 1416, local nobles have stolen 115 pigs from the Paulines in Garić (near Garešnica, Co. Križ), which were grazed in the woods of the Zagreb bishop. MNL OL, DL-DF 35425 (1416-04-17).

⁸⁰⁰ As argued by Beatrix F. Romhányi, the abbey had no interest in building on this capacity as the products could not compete with imports from abroad, e.g. from Britain. Cf. Beatrix F. Romhányi, "Kolostori gazdálkodás a középkori Magyarországon", 407.

socio-economic transformation around the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Changes in agrarian techniques, settlement forms (nucleation, desertion), demographical growth (growing demographic pressure), as well as changes in land-use systems (from shifting cultivation to two- or three-field systems) were studied, ⁸⁰¹ and the possible environmental-climatic background of these changes was also investigated. ⁸⁰² Late medieval agrarian production was generally characterized by the emphasis on crop production (cereal agriculture). Traditional land-use systems were transformed, grazing lands were reduced and were turned into arables. Intensive farming techniques relying on the collection of fodder (for the winter season) became more common. ⁸⁰³

It is partly this process (coupled with monetization), from where economic historians deduce the general decline of manorial economy. A major point of this argument is found in István Szabó's essay on the *predium*, which demonstrated that most of the settlements which were referred as *predium* disappear (or transform into villages) in the late medieval period, contributing to the nucleation process of the settlement network. Szabó's observations underpinned interpretations of major socio-economic changes, namely that rent based economy became more dominant (based on tenanted holdings) and that a uniform peasant society (*iobagiones*) was formed. 804 With regard to the end of this development in the fifteenth century, Pál Zsigmond Pach concluded as follows:

"...it can be laid down as a fact that the importance of labour rent in general and that of predial service, the agricultural work in the demesne fields, in particular was usually very limited in Hungary in the second half of the fifteenth century. This form of feudal rent was, so to say, petering out not only in the boroughs but also in a great number of the village."

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For a summative discussions with further literatures, see e.g. Ferenc Maksay, *A magyar falu középkori településrendje*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971, pp. 51–53. Szűcs, "Az utolsó Árpádok," 219-370.

⁸⁰² Zsolt Pinke, LászlóFerenczi, Gyula Gábris, Balázs Nagy, "Settlement patterns as indicators of water level rising? Case study on the wetlands of the Great Hungarian Plain," Quaternary International 415 (2016): 204–215.

⁸⁰³ See e.g. Róbert Müller, "A középkor agrotechnikája." [The Agrarian technology of the Middle Ages], in A középkori magyar agrárium, ed. Lívia Bende – Gábor Lőrinczy. Ópusztaszer: Csongrád Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2000, 27–44.

⁸⁰⁴ See this briefly outlined e.g. in *Cores, Peripheries and Globalization - Essays in honour of Iván T Berend*, ed. Peter Hans Reill – Balázs A. Szelényi. Budapest: CEU Press, 2011, 195; Karl Gunnar Persson and Paul Sharp, *An Economic History of Europe. Knowledge, Institution and Growth, 600 to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, 95; Specifically on Hungary see: László Solymosi, *A földesúri szolgáltatások új rendszere a 13. századi Magyarországon* (A new system of feudal services in Hungary in the thirteenth century) Budapest: Argumentum, 1998, 29–54; On the examples of monastic estates (Tihany and Bakonybél) also Maksay, "Benedekrendi gazdálkodás." Pál Pach Zsigmond, "The Development of Feudal Rent in Hungary in the Fifteenth Century," Economic History Review 19 (1966/1): With further literatures on the Czech and Polish lands.

"...in the second half of the fifteenth century the development of the feudal agrarian system had in Hungary too reached the level where labour dues played a merely subsidiary role; moreover, feudal rent assessed in money came more and more to the fore and even had, sometimes, preponderance over rents in kind (produce rents), though the latter continued to be of great importance. This points to the fact that in Hungary, until the end of the fifteenth century, the trend of development of medieval rural economy was fundamentally concordant with that of the west European countries." 805

The evidence discussed above may be supportive of this – to a certain extent –, on the other hand, the continuing importance of manorial services and duties was also demonstrated. Firstly, we shall repeat the point that the dissolution or transformation of *predia* type manorial farms – as primarily agrarian units focusing on crop production (according to Szabó) – did not necessarily have serious consequences for the availability of grazing resources. In regard to this, Kathleen Biddick criticized Michael Postan, who "without actually studying livestock husbandry, …argued that grazing resources diminished as arable land grew in the thirteenth century; herds, consequently, declined in numbers." Based on archaeological, demographical, and settlement historical evidence, Biddick emphazised that "evidence contradicts the simple linkage between demography, cereal agriculture, and livestock advanced by Postan". ⁸⁰⁶ Consequently, we should be careful with assuming that there is a direct link between the growing emphasis on cereal agriculture in the late medieval period and the decline of <u>animal</u> husbandry.

Secondly, there is the problem of fragmentary archival evidence. The available documents concern specific aspects of economic management and organization of an estate, and should be treated cautiously. For example, it has been inferred from the list of expenses and incomes of Pécsvárad Abbey – which mentions only small beasts (ungulates) as *dica* or *munera* collected from tenants –, that large beasts (draught animals) were not kept at the manors of large estates (including monastic and other church estates), because these animals were typically supplied by the tenants, when needed for work, as part of their labor services (*corvée*). As this type of source, or earlier conscriptions do not provide details specifically how the abbey manors were managed, it is misleading to see them as convincing evidence for the decline of manorialism/self-sustenance point.⁸⁰⁷ The landscape character rather suggests that the high

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⁸⁰⁵ Pach " The Development," 6 and 13.

⁸⁰⁶ Biddick, *The Other Economy*, 3.

⁸⁰⁷ Károly Tagányi, "A pécsváradi apátság bevételei és kiadásai 1438-ban," (The incomes and expenditures of the Pécsvárad Abbey in 1438) Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle 6 (1899): 333–335.; Ferenc Gállos – Orsolya

number of goats and pigs was likely a local feature in this case, due to the character of the terrain. Drawing a conclusion concerning the decline of manorial economy from documents like this – and from the ample evidence concerning the tenants' ownership of large beasts –, 808 can be problematic, all the more, as the collection of rents in kind and labour services can be interpreted in the opposite way, as discussed.

Thirdly, interpretations emphasizing the decline of manorial economy should take into account local characteristics. Economic historians argued that in Central Eastern Europe economic conditions during the tenth to thirteenth centuries were characterized "by the persistence of a subsistence economy with only a very slow and low-level of economic development." Consequently, the effect of possible changes arising from land transactions and monetization (a shift to rent based incomes) could be less dramatic.

Finally, the shift to a monetary form of economy was not a uniform, but rather a divergent trend. Focus on manorial management (including animal husbandry) could be maintained primarily in those regions, where it was economically more viable. For example, contrasting trends were observed regarding the economic strategies of two Benedictine houses, Garamszentbenedek (Co. Bars, Slovakia) and Kolozsmonostor (Co. Kolozs, Transylvania, Romania). While Garamszentbenedek was typically leasing out its lands, claiming fixed incomes (in cash), Kolozsmonostor was keeping its manorial lands, and was also relying on tenants' contributions

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Gállos: Pécsvárad bencés apátsága és települése a középkorban. (Pécsvárad Benedictine Abbey and the settlement in the Middle Ages) In: Füzes Miklós (szerk.). Pécsvárad: Pécsvárad város önkormányzata, 2001125: "Feltűnő, hogy az apróállatok tartásán van a hangsúly, ami az állattenyésztés szűkebb körre szorulását, a nagybirtok igényeihez való alkalmazkodást is mutatja. Igásállatot a szervezett nagybirtok nem tart, ökreivel a robotmunkára kötelezett szolgák sokasága áll rendelkezésre."

⁸⁰⁸ MNL OL, DL 100046 (1350-11-29); Kalász, *A szentgotthárdi*, 150–156: in 1350, a considerable amount of large beasts, 112 horses and oxen, and 132 cattle (*pecudes*) were taken from the tenants of Szentgotthárd Abbey in the village of Rákos, and 29 oxen were taken from tenants in the village of Szakonyfalva – In 1430, nine oxen were stolen from the tenants of Bátaszék in the village of Bokod. See: Zichy, vol 8, 408-409 – DL 79778 (1422-12-13), pub.: Zichy, vol 8, 73-75: the tenants of Bátaszék were mentioned taking cattle and oxen from their neighbours – In 1468, seventy oxen were lent by the abbot of Bátaszék to the nearby Benedictine Abbey of Báta. See József Sümegi, "Cikádor története a középkorban." (The History of Cikádor in the Middle Ages) In *Bátaszék története a kezdetektől 1539-ig*, ed. Gyula Dobos. Bátaszék: Bátaszék város Önkormányzata, 1997, 390. Keeping large packs of draught animals meant that the abbey could equip more ploughs.

Malcolm Malowist, "The problem of the inequality of economic development in Europe in the later Middle Ages," *Economic History Review, Second Series* 19 (1966/1): 17–23.

in kinds (Kolozsmonostor). The difference was explained by differences in the physical and social landscapes. 810

From these points, the importance of a comparative approach should be clear by now. As far as the present investigation is concerned, the parallel study of archaeological (archaeozoological), historical, and landscape historical evidence has been instrumental. The different landscape character of the estates determined the availability of grazing resources and the preferences of animal husbandry. Larger estates (Borsmonostor, Szentgotthárd, and Topouszkó) had theoretically more options to keep operating their manors and could still focus on animal husbandry. In addition to natural conditions, access to the market and the development of market economy could be alternative factors influencing this issue, which might as well weigh in even more than landscape conditions. For example, an interesting contrast has been highlighted by Grzegorz Żabiński for the monasteries of Mogiła (Lesser Poland) and Henryków (Silesia). Although Henryków acquired plenty of natural resources (woodlands potentially suitable for pastoral economy), it was Mogila, where manorial production significantly improved, as this monastery became more connected to local markets. 811 This problem channels the discussion towards the theme of the next chapter, which will explore the urban connections of the monasteries, and towards the development of market economy, as parallel to (and independent from) Cistercian economic agency.

It is not our task here to chart the development of market economy in Central Eastern Europe in the late medieval period. This theme has received much attention from economic and social historians internationally.⁸¹² An emerging interest in the export of grain and animals, directed

⁸¹⁰Gyöngyvér Noémi Szabó, *A kolozsmonostori*, 121. E.g. more frequent land leasings in case of Garamszentbenedek have been interpreteted in connection to the circumstance that the abbey estate was surrounded by many small landholders (lesser nobility), instead of a few large estates.

⁸¹¹ Cf. Żabiński, "Swine for Pearls?": By the time of its foundation, Mogiła already had a slaughterhouse in Cracow, and sometime between 1244 and 1273 received another one, plus a town house (curia) in 1299. Besides these properties, it also held market rights in Prandocin. From the point of view of natural resources, the privilege to hunt beaver (granted in 1238) was also important, as fur trade could be a considerable source of profit. The abbey had ca 690 ha sparsely populated land, a manor in Niklowice, and ca 1250 ha large woodland, potentially suitable for keeping animals.

⁸¹² It was interpreted as a polarization between West and East, fundamentally from a dualist viewpoint (centre vs periphery), and also deterministically (owing its character to either demographic or social factors). These issues (demographic versus social) were contrasted in the Brenner debate. For Brenner's essays and reflections on this issue Cf. Trevor Henry Aston – Charles Harding English Philpin (ed.): The Brenner Debate, Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. The core element in this polarisation was the growing importance of manorial services ('second serfdom') in East-

to western markets was observed, that brought an intensification, or, indeed, a "revival" of demesne economy. In Hungary, the most significant impact – that connects to the role of animal husbandry – could be observed with regard to the Great Hungarian Plain, where there was "a strong concentration of livestock, especially in the second half of the sixteenth century" ⁸¹³ induced by export trade. ⁸¹⁴ Environmental conditions for wetland grazing were also ideal here, and there was also convenient access to a network of local market towns. The intensification of livestock management made a lasting impact on the historic landscape (settlement network and land-use systems) that prevailed until present times. ⁸¹⁵

Were similar trends relevant in regions where the estates of the Cistercians were situated? Interestingly, Ferenc Maksay noted that sixteenth century household accounts reflect the growing significance of manorial production in Co Sopron, Pozsony, Nyitra and Sáros. ⁸¹⁶ This is the region where the lands of Borsmonostor (and also of Heiligenkreuz) were situated. Maksay assumed that the interest of ecclesiastical estates to exploit market opportunities has

Central Europe (from the early sixteenth century on). For an overview on the region see: Jerzy Topolski. "Continuity and discontinuity in the development of the feudal system in Eastern Europe (Xth to XVIIth centuries)." In Jerzy Topolski, *Manorial Economy in Early-Modern East-Central Europe. Origins, Developments and Consequences*, (Variorum Collected Studies Series 470, Studies in East-Central Europe 1500-1900). Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994, 373–400. Idem: "The manorial-serf economy in Central and Eastern Europe in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries." In ibidem 341-352. On Poland: Jan Rutkowski. "Medieval Agrarian Society in its Prime. §5. Poland, Lithuania and Hungary." In *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, vol. 1 The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages, ed. Michael.M. Postan, 487-505. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. On the Czech lands: Čechura, *Die Struktur der Grundherrschaften.*; Eduard Maur, *Gutsherrschaft und "zweite Leibeigenschaft" in Böhmen. Studien zur Wirtschafts- Sozial- und Bevölkerungsgeschichte (14-18. Jahrhundert*). München: Oldenbourg, 2001. (Chapter 2: "Genese und spezifische Züge der spätfeudalen böhmischen Gutsherrschaft." pp. 59-83.)

⁸¹³ Kyra Lyublyanovics, *New Home, New Herds: Cuman Integration and Animal Husbandry in Medieval Hungary from an Archaeozoological Perspective*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2018, 257. (The book is based on her PhD thesis at CEU: *The Socio-Economic Integration of Cumans in Medieval Hungary. An Archaeozoological Approach*. PhD thesis. Budapest: CEU, 2015. Open access: www.etd.ceu.hu/2015/lyublyanovics kyra.pdf)

^{531–532: &}quot;In regions where large-scale sheep rearing is evidenced, the ratio of sheep in the faunal material remained unchanged, again signaling that market-oriented animal production may well go unnoticed in the archaeological sample."

⁸¹⁴ Cf. Ferenc Makkai, "Der ungarische Viehhandel." In *Der Aussenhandel Ostmitteleuropas*, ed. Ingomar Bog. Köln – Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1971: 482–506.

⁸¹⁵ Focusing on long term changes in land use systems see Edit Sárosi's recently published doctoral thesis at CEU: Edit Sárosi, *Settlement dynamics and land management in the Great Hungarian Plain 1300-1700*. Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2016.

⁸¹⁶ This trend was observed on the example of large and middle-sized estates in County Nyitra, Pozsony, Sáros, and Sopron. Cf. Ferenc Maksay, *Parasztság és majorgazdálkodás a 16. századi Magyarországon* (Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből 7) [The Peasantry and Demesne Farming in Hungary in the sixteenth century], (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1958), 26–27, and 46–49. A German language summary by the same author: "Gutswirtschaft und Bauernlegen in Ungarn im 16. Jahrhundert," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 45 (1958/1): 37–61.

developed relatively late though.⁸¹⁷ There is evidence for Borsmonostor's involvement in international trade (see Chapter 6 on Borsmonostor), this dates from an earlier period and cannot be associated to the late medieval trend. In case of the Premonstratensian house of Csorna, however, there might be a point of connection. Situated just 60 km NE from Borsmonostor this monastery produced grain for export and supplied the Viennese market using its own Danube ship(s).⁸¹⁸ Its household inventory lists relatively significant numbers of animals and their grouping into separate age groups⁸¹⁹ may be a sign of a more professional practice. d animal husbandry on an above-average level. The estates of Borsmonostor, Topuszkó and Szentgotthárd were also situated in westernmost regions of Hungary. Despite their favourable geographical locations and their connections to roads and towns (see in Chapter 6), there is no indication that these houses exploited this opportunity or that their animal husbandry was profiting from this in any ways.

⁸¹⁷ Maksay brings no conclusive evidence in that respect. As for the area of Borsmonostor, he mentions only the importance of viticulture, as a more general phenoenon.

⁸¹⁸ See Chapter 6, footnote 974. The long list of its liturgical objects (50-60 items) shows that Csorna was wealthy. It also functioned as an important place of authentication, and maintained a huge archive of documents.

⁸¹⁹ On this latter issue, see Belényesy, "Az állattartás és pásztorkodás", 76.

CHAPTER 5: INDUSTRIOUS CISTERCIANS? THE PROBLEM OF INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITIES AND TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION – A CASE STUDY ON PILIS ABBEY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

5.1.1 On the problem of technological innovation

That the institutionalized network of the Cistercians facilitated cultural interactions and knowledge transfer, is beyond doubt. 820 This lends itself to the theme of industrial activities, technology and innovation, and historians of technology share a common view that reformed monastic orders (particularly the Cistercians) played a leading role in industrial entrepreneurship and technological innovations. This view is embraced particularly in connection to water technology and the reclamation of wasteland, 821 but it has been also elaborated in connection to the spread of the three-field system, allegedly pioneered by Benedictine abbeys, as their farms were interpreted as "model farms", introducing new agrarian techniques. 822

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⁸²⁰ As summarized by Robert Friedell "The order represented a network of expertise, exchanging personell and experience throughout Europe, and in this way knowledge of productive ways of doing things spread more effectively than they had in the Early Middle Ages" quoted by Karel Davids, *Religion, Technology, and the Great and Little Divergences: China and Europe Compared, c. 700–1800*. Leiden: Brill, 2013, 130–131.

⁸²¹ See e.g.: Dieter Hägermann, "Das Kloster als Innovationszentrum. (Mühlbetreb, Salzproduktion und Bergbau)." In Kloster und Wirtschaftswelt im Mittelalter, ed. Claudia Dobrinski - Brunhilde Gedderth - Katrin Wipfler (MittelalterStudien des Instituts Interdisziplinären Erforschung des Mittelalters und seines Nachwirkens, Paderborn). München: Wilhelm Fink, 2007, 13-24; In regard to water technology, see Lynne White Jr., Medieval Technology and Social Change. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962. Robert James Forbers, Studies in ancient technology, vol 2. Leiden: Brill, 1965, 109: "In fact it seems that the order of Cistercian monks, those undefatigable reclaimers of barren waste lands, was prominent in the diffusion of the water-mill."; Frances Gies - Joseph Gies: Cathedral Forge and Waterwheel: Technology and Invention in the Middle Ages. New York: Harperperennial, 1995. See especially pp. 112-114 on the role of the Cistercians and Casthusians in water management; Ernst Tremp's book (Mönche als Pioniere. Die Zisterzienser im Mittelalter. Meilen, Verein für wirtschaftshistorische Studien, 1998) also appears to be overusing the topoi of the order as a Rodungsorden and Cistercians as innovators. Cf. Alain Dierkens, "Tremp (Ernst), Mönche als Pioniere. Die Zisterzienser im Mittelalter," Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire 78 (2000/2): 668-669; Roberta J. Magnusson, Water Technology in the Middle Ages. Cities, Monasteries, and Waterworks after the Roman Empire. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University, 2003, 11: "The rapid and widespread diffusion of the Cistercian order was followed by a rapid and widespread diffusion of hydraulic technology, in a kind of institutional cloning."

⁸²² See e.g. the work of Walter Endrei, *A középkor technikai forradalma* (The Technological Revolution of the Middle Ages) Budapest: Magvető, 1978. This work inspired also the views of the agrarian historian Ferenc Maksay, who noted the Benedictine's in the use of three-field systems: Ferenc Maksay, "Das Agrarsiedlungssystem des mittelalterlichen Ungarn," *Acta historica. Revue de l'Academie des sciences de Hongrie* 24 (1978): 89: "Nach den Initiativen der "Musterwirtschaften" des Benediktiner-Ordens, die bereits in den vorigen Jahrhunderten westlichen Methoden folgten und deren Werk jetzt von den Zisterziensern fortgesetz wurde, ging man je mehr zu den Varienten der Zwei- und Dreifelder-wirtschaft der Feldgemeinschaft über."

Apparently, these views owe much to the works of ecclesiastical historians, who emphasized the Benedictine idea of self-sustenance (to which the Cistercians returned), as well as the Cistercian incentive on colonizing marginal lands, their innovative use of natural resources, and their skilfulness in applying new technologies. These views were based one-sidedly on the Cistercian general chapter statutes (which otherwise have plenty of implications for agricultural and industrial activities) and on narratives concerning the foundation period emphasizing seclusion and the "taming of the wilderness."

This line of thought – concerning the superiority or excellence of the Cistercians in medieval industry and farming – has been central for the interpretation of the economic model, and the model was seen as one of the most important factors triggering Cistercian expansion. Resulting 323 The success of the expansion has been explained in context of the thirteenth century economic development. It was seen as a phenomenon intertwined with the rising number of urban population as it responded to increased demands (by expanding the area of agricultural cultivation and by the application of innovative methods of production). This socio-economic narrative sharply contrasts political and/or religious narratives on the expansion of the Benedictine network. Por the Cistercians the opposite is true: the "missionary role" has been much less of a concern Resulting as the region east of the Elbe – than their role as

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⁸²³ E.g. Gerhard B. Winkler, "Die Ausbreitung des Zisterzienserordens im 12. unf 13. Jahrhunderten." In *Die Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit. Eine Ausstellung des Landschartsverbandes Rheinland, Rheinisches Museumsamt, Brauweiler*. (Schriften des Rheinischen Museumsamtes, 10), ed. Kaspar Elm. Bonn: Rheinland-Verlag-Rudolf Habert Verlag, 1980, 87–92; Reinhard Schneider also noted the connection between expansion and the Cistercian economic model (emphasizing effective organization and the recycling of economic profit into land acquisitions). Reinherd Schneider, "Anfänge und Ausbreitung der Zisterzienserordens." In *Von Citeaux nach Bebenhausen*, ed. Barbara Scholkmann – Sönke Lorenz. Tübingen: Attempto, 2000, 13. Concerning the presumed "superiority" of the model, as well as the criticism of this paradigm, I have already referred to Isabel Alfonso's "Cistercians and feudalism" in Chapter 1 and Chapter 3.

⁸²⁴ On the expansion of Benedictine networks and political agenda in case of Normandy: Potts, Cassandra, Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy Studies in the History of Medieval Religion. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 1997.; Eliana Magnani Soares-Christen, "Réseaux monastiques et réseaux de pouvoir. Saint-Gilles du Gard: du Languedoc à la Hongrie (9e- début 13e siècle)," Provence Historique 54 (fasc. 215) 2004: 3–26.; With regard to the role of missionary activities and the "founding fathers" in Benedictine expansion, see for example: Pablo C. Díaz, "Monasteries in a peripheral area: seventh-century Gallaecia." In Topographies of power in the early Middle Ages, ed. Mayke de Jong, Frans Theuws and Carine van Rhijn. Leiden: Brill, 2001, 329-360: "The extraordinary proliferation of monasteries in seventh-century Gallaecia is usually explained by the missionary zeal of the two, Martin and Fructuosus of Braga."

⁸²⁵ As regards missionary activities of the Cistercians in East of the Elbe, see: Jerzy Kloczowski, "Die Zisterzienser in Klein-Polen und das Problem ihrer Tätigkeit als Missionare und Seelsorger." In *Die Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit. Ergänzungsband* (Schriften des Rheinischen Museumsamtes, 18), ed. Kaspar Elm - Peter Joerissen. Köln: Rheinland-Verlag-Wienand-Verlag, 1982, 71–78; Teresa Dunin-Wąsowicz, "Projets missionnaires cisterciens dans la Rus' du sud-ouest aux XII e –XIII e siècles," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13, (1988/1989): 531–550.; Marek Tamm, "Communicating crusade. Livonian mission and the Cistercian network in the thirteenth century," *Ajalooline Ajakiri* 129-130 (2009/3-4): 341–372.

Kulturträger, i.e. their cultural and technological "mission," 826 as protagonists of colonization. 827

However, the criticism of traditional interpretations and of the so called "frontier thesis" ⁸²⁸ has also brought forward a more critical stance concerning ideas on technological innovations (which was linked to that). The critiques note for example that generalizations from individual examples (on technology transfer) are problematic and that data on the early period are scant. The Cistercians' role as innovative farmers and entrepreneurs in less developed rural regions has been questioned. ⁸²⁹ Their pioneering role in upland management needed revision, ⁸³⁰ and the general impression is that the impact of the Cistercians in transforming the landscape has been overemphasized. ⁸³¹

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⁸²⁶ From an economic point of view (also on knowledge-transfer) Hans Muggenthaler's insight should be mentioned in the first place as an early example, *Kolonisatorische und wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit eines deutschen Zisterzienserklosters im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert.* München: Hugo Schmidt Verlag, 1924; From a cultural point of view, the impact of the Cistercians on Gothic art has been in the focus in numerous studies. For a comprehensive survey, see Matthias Untermann, *Forma Ordinis. Die mittelalterliche Baukunst der Zisterzienser* (Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien, 89). München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2001. In Hungary, the strong cultural contacts between the French and Hungarian royal courts have been also noted by art historians: Ernő Marosi, "A pilisi monostor szerepe a XIII. századi magyarországi művészetben" [The role of the monastery of Pilis in Hungarian art], *Studia Comitatensia* 17 (1984): 551–562; See also László Gerevich, *A pilisi ciszterci apátság* (Egy középkori kulturális központ a Pilisben) (The Cistercian Abbey of Pilis (A medieval cultural centre in the Pilis)) *Studia Comitatensia* 17 (1984): 542–548. On Cistercians and Gothic art in Poland see Marian Kutzner, "Czy cystersi spełnili w Europie Środkowej rolę pionierów sztuki gotyckiej?" (Were the Cistercians Pioneers in Gothic art in Central Europe?" In *Historia i kultura cystersów w dawnej Polsce*, ed. Jerzy Strzelczyk, Poznań: Uniwersytet im Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, 1987, 387–412. See also the literature review in Chapter 1.

⁸²⁷ The Cistercians' role in the processes of *Ostsiedlung* is a central theme of German research. See e.g. Joseph Gottschalk, "Die Bedeutung der Zisterzienser für die Ostsiedlung, besonders in Schlesien," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 15 (1966): 67–106; Heinrich Grüger, "Die Kolonisatorische Tätigkeit der Mönche in Schlesien," *Deutsche Ostkunde* 36 (1990): 99–105; Sebastian Brather, "Brandenburgische Zisterzienserklöster und hochmittelalterlicher Landesausbau." In *Zisterzienser. Norm, Kultur, Reform – 900 Jahre Zisterzienser*, ed. Ulrich Knefelkamp. Springer: Berlin, 2001, 153–177; Peter Rückert, "Zisterzienser und Landesausbau: Ordensideal und Realität im deutschen Südwesten." In *Norm und Realität. Kontinuität und Wandel der Zisterzienser im Mittelalter* (Vita Regularis, 42), ed. Franz J. Felten and Werner Rösener. Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2009. 97–116.

⁸²⁸ Cf. Alfonso, "The Cistercians and feudalism." See more in Chapter 1.

⁸²⁹ The review on Anna Götlind's book argued that the evidence on the Cistercians' role in Scandinavia in transferring agricultural technology is unconvincing. See Eric Christiansen, "The Messengers of Medieval Technology? Cistercians and Technology in Medieval Scandinavia' by Anna Götlind. A review," *The English Historical Review* 109 (1994): 411.

⁸³⁰ Concerning Wales, for example, it has been noted that already existing management structures might have been overlooked. Christopher Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Middle Ages. Ca A.D. 600-1150*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2013, 301: this point is based on a landscape archaeological study: Andrew Fleming and Louise Barker, "Monks and local communities: the late-medieval landscape of Troed y Rhiw, Caron Uwch Clawdd, Ceredigion," *Medieval Archaeology* 52 (2008): 261–90.

⁸³¹ C. James Bond, *Landscapes of Monasticism*. In Landscape: The Richest Historical Record, SLS Supplementary Series 1., Hooke, D.(ed.), Amesbury, 2000, 63-72.

Regarding industrial technologies, the spread of the vertical water-wheel, as one of the most important technological feasts of the Middle Ages, was traditionally attributed to the Cistercians. However, archaeological findings demonstrated that this technology was present before the Cistercians' arrival. Rate All in all, surveys on medieval economic, environmental and technology history tend to be now more careful in their appraisal of Cistercian innovation. Concerning farming systems, for example, I have already noted (cf Chapter 3) Werner Rösener's remark that the only real innovative aspect introduced by the Cistercians seems to have been the size of their manorial lands (in regard to examples from Germany).

In addition to these debates, another major issue here is the fundamental character (or more precisiely the scale) of industrial enterprises. Namely, where, when and why did self-sustenance shift into market-oriented production, if at all. As has been generally assumed, industrial activities served self-sustenance and were of secondary significance to agricultural activities. Apart from the fact that mining, as the most labour- and technology intensive as well as the most market dependent activity, could be an exception here, apparently, these assumptions stand on weak grounds, because industrial activities are generally poorly understood and they have not been subject to detailed investigations.

Archival evidence predominantly concerns the agrarian activities, including sometimes data on agro-industries (e.g. food processing – bakeries, breweries), or the extraction or production of building materials (e.g. stone quarrying, brick production) in connection to documented building projects. There are also privileges on the mining of minerals, mostly salt and iron. The mining of iron has been documented on Cistercian estates in England and France as early as the twelfth century. Nonetheless, most of these data are indirect, in as much as they only "talk"

⁸³² Colin Rynne, "The Introduction of the Vertical Water-mill into Ireland: Some Recent Archaeological Evidence," *Medieval Archaeology* 33 (1989): 21-31.; Colin Rynne, "Waterpower in Medieval Ireland." In *Working with Water in Medieval Europe – Technology and Resource-Use*, ed. Paolo Squatriti. Leiden: Brill, 2000, 1–50. Adam Lucas, *Wind, Water, Work: Ancient and Medieval Milling Technology*. Leiden: Brill, 2006, 195–200; Adam Lucas, "Narratives of Technological Revolution in the Middle Ages" In *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms, Methods and Trends*, ed. Albrecht Classen, Berlin: De Gruyter. 2010, 980.

⁸³³ Sidney Pollard, *Marginal Europe: the contribution of the marginal lands since the middle ages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997, 165–167; Richard Hoffmann, *An Environmental history of medieval Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2014, 104.

Werner Rösener, "Tradition und Innovation im hochmittelalterlichen Mönchtum."; See also Christian Stadelmeier, "Die Zisterzienserklöster als Träger von Agrarinnovationen im hochmittelalterlichen Deutschland," *Arbeitskreis für Agrargeschichte. Newsletter* 22 (2007): 3-10.

⁸³⁵ Winfried Schich, "Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit der Zisterzienser. Handel und Gewerbe," in *Die Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit*, ed. Kaspar Elm, Peter Jorissen and Hermann J. Roth. Köln: Rheinland Verlag, 1980, 229-230.

about the use of such resources. 836 Similarly, topographical connections (between monastic sites and natural resources) are only implications, and can be regarded as indirect evidence.

The major problem with this kind of "proxies" is that neither the grants to use natural resources, nor the site selection patterns provide conclusive evidence on the actual scale of such acivities. Ian Blanchard has emphasized, for example, that the Silesian abbey of Lubiąż (Leubus) secured important privileges in a mining area shortly after being founded (1175), but it remains problematic whether the "high hopes were ever translated into mining activity" during the course of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Similarly, the Lotharingian and Burgundian abbeys seem to have been interested in the mining industry in the area of the *Foret de l' Othe*, but it is difficult to establish the chronology and the scope of their activities – whether they invested into this, and whether it was profitable, or – let alone – technologically innovative. Technological solutions were apparently of key importance in connection to scaling up production.

Thus, these issues ranging, in fact, from supply (of material resources), through technological methods (of production), to demand (market and trade), are interrelated and problematic and require multidisciplinary investigations. The role of archaeology is extremely important here as documentary sources are extremely rare, or not informative enough. Because of this, I dedicated the present chapter to discussing archaeological evidence from excavations conducted at Pilis Abbey and at the grange in Pomáz-Nagykovácsi. To put the evidence in

⁸³⁶ Doris Bulach, "... unde oft uns wes overlopet, dat moge wy vorkopen thu unser nut ... Die besondere Rolle von Handwerk, Gewerbe und Handel bei Zisterzienserklöstern östlich der Elbe." In *Norm und Realität: Kontinuität und Wandel der Zisterzienser im Mittelalter* (Vita regularis 42), ed. Franz J. Felten and Werner Rösener. Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2009, 150–178.

⁸³⁷ Ian Blanchard, *Mining, Metallurgy and Minting in the Middle Ages*, Vol 2., Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2001, 699.
838 These issues were mentioned by David Crossley, based on the survey of archaeological evidence recovered in few places, near Schaffhausen, along the Swiss border, and at Bargen, Hofweisen and Berslingen, where stone built furnaces with bowl hearts and low shafts were found, dated to the 14th c. Cf. David W Crossley, "Medieval iron smelting." In *Medieval industry. CBA Research Report 40*. London: CBAR, 1981, 33. According to Schich, "Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit," 230, French houses had an important role in promoting metal mining and production in Lotharingia (around Briey and Chaligny). In case of Clairlieu im Tal in the Mosel valley, its role in mining is "implied" from the beginning by its location close to the mines. The abbey also acquired mining rights and the rights to use woodland resources extensively (to be able to burn charcoal and to produce iron using their own forgeries and hammers). Certain abbeys, including Clairvaux, traded with a significant amount of raw iron even in late medieval times; On Fontenay and its granges cf. Paul Benoit and Denis Cailleux, *Moines et métallurgie dans la France médiévale*. Paris, 1991; Paul Benoit, "L'espace industriel cistercien à la lumière des exemples bourguignons et champenois". In *L'espace cistercien*. Paris: CTHS, 378–390.

⁸³⁹ See for example the unique and often quoted technological manual written by Theophylus presbiter, or financial accounts specifically addressing the activities of monastic workshops.

context and to illustrate interpretive problems, I have surveyed the archaeological literature concerning what industrial activities could be documented at Cistercian precincts and granges.

5.1.2 Archaeological evidence concerning industrial activities at monastic precincts (outer courts) and granges

Extensive archaeological research in Cistercian outer courts were conducted mostly in Britain,. In France ⁸⁴⁰ and Germany ⁸⁴¹ such investigations were less typical, and there is much less evidence in connection to industrial activities. Examples from Britain brought, however, very important results concerning various activities. A range of domestic buildings were documented, including, for example, fulling mills and a woolhouse at Fountains, ⁸⁴² tanneries at Rievaulx and Margam, ⁸⁴³ corn mills, forge mills, metal working workshops at Bordesley, ⁸⁴⁴ Fountains, ⁸⁴⁵ Kirkstall, ⁸⁴⁶ Tintern, ⁸⁴⁷ and Bective, ⁸⁴⁸ as well as a bell foundry ⁸⁴⁹ and tile kilns ⁸⁵⁰ at Norton Abbey. Chronologically, most of these buildings date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The relatively late dates imply that they were less likely associated with self-sustenance, but rather with the developing markets.

⁸⁴⁰ Sheila Bonde and Clark Maines, "The Archaeology of Monasticism: A Survey of Recent Work in France, 1970-1987," *Speculum* 63/4 (1988): 794–825.; Benoit, "L'espace industriel."

⁸⁴¹ Matthias Untermann, Ausgrabungen und Bauuntersuchungen in Klöstern, Grangien und Stadthöfen. Forschungsbericht und kommentierte Bibliographie (Studien zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Zisterzienser 17) Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2003; Idem, "Aspekte archäologischer Forschung in Zisterzienserklöstern." In Zisterzienser im Norden. Neue Forschungen zur Klosterarchäologie, Internationale Archäologie, Arbeitsgemeinschaft, Symposium, Tagung, Kongress, ed. Rolf Bärenfänger. Rahden: Leidorf, 2007, 11–19; Tobias Schöneweis, "Grangien – Verborgene Zeugnisse zisterziensischer Klosterökonomie," Archäologie in Deutschland (2011/1): 34–37.; Idem, "Grangien. grangiae (...) pro munimine sui saepe incastellantur. Befestigte Wirtschaftshöfe der Zisterzienser," Cistercienser Chronik 118 (2011): 260–275.

⁸⁴² Glynn Coppack, "The Excavation of an Outer Court Building, perhaps the Woolhouse, at Fountains Abbey, North Yorkshire," *Medieval Archaeology* 30 (1986): 46–87.

⁸⁴³ John Cherry, "Leather." In *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, techniques, Products*, ed. John Blair and Nigel Ramsay. London: Hambledon Press, 1991, 302.

⁸⁴⁴ Grenville G. Astill, *A medieval industrial complex and its landscape – the metalworking watermills and workshops of Bordesley Abbey* (Council for British Archaeology Research Reports, 92), York: CBAR, 1993.

⁸⁴⁵ Glynn Coppack, "The Excavation of an Outer Court."

⁸⁴⁶ Holly B. Duncan and Stuart Wrathmell, "Bell moulds from Kirkstall Abbey, West Yorkshire (three 15th century examples)," *Historical Metallurgy* 20 (1986): 33–35.

⁸⁴⁷ Paul Courtney, "Excavations in the Outer Precinct of Tintern Abbey," *Medieval Archaeology* 33 (1989): 99–143.

⁸⁴⁸ Geraldine Stout and Matthew Stout, The Bective Abbey Project. Archaeological excavations 2009-2012. Group for the Study of Irish Historic settlement," Dublin: Wordwell, 2016.

⁸⁴⁹ Leslie E. Webster and John Cherry, "Medieval Britain in 1976," *Medieval Archaeology* 21 (1977): 204–262., 223

⁸⁵⁰ J Patrick Greene, *Norton Priory: The archaeology of a medieval religious house*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989; Derek Hall and David Bowler, "North Berwick, East Lothian: its archaeology revisited," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 127 (1997): 659 –675.

In addition to the archaeological remains of buildings, the analyses of the small finds helped in reconstructing how raw materials were processed and how products were manufactured. The study of large assemblages from industrial sites (e.g. the forge mill at Bordesley) supplied chronological arguments, which could be contrasted to the results of architectural or stratigraphical analysis, and the parallel interpretation of different data improved the understanding of long term economic development. This perspective has been particularly relevant in the absence of archival sources.⁸⁵¹

In Poland and Hungary, most Cistercian monastic sites have been excavated to some extent, but the investigations focused on the church buildings and the cloisters. The discussions mostly concern building archaeological and art-historical issues. Chances of recovering archaeological data on the economic activities are limited, since much of the archaeology (including the outbuildings within the precincts) was destroyed, or is inaccessible. In Hungary, most of the sites were abandoned with the onset of the Ottoman occupation (1526) that ended about 150 years later (1686). Only Szentgotthárd, Pásztó and Zirc were resettled, but with the constructions of Baroque monasteries the medieval remains were damaged. The precincts were substantially altered during rebuilding projects, or due to urban development, which started already in the late fifteenth early sixteenth centuries, when for example Cikádor, Pásztó, Szentgotthárd, and Zirc became boroughs (see Chapter 6). As a result of this, modern structures are blocking access to the archaeological remains.

In case of Pilis Abbey, however, the complete precinct preserved intact and it is accessible. Although the monastery almost completely destroyed (and the site was used as a stone quarry during the Ottoman period), the landscape surrounding the precinct remained unchanged (as the nearby villages was depopulated during the Ottoman period). The 1967-1982 excavation campaign investigated large areas within the complex, thus, the Pilis monastery became one of

⁸⁵¹ Astill, *A medieval industrial complex*.

⁸⁵² For an overview on the Hungarian archaeological research conducted in Cistercian monasteries see Ilona Valter, "Die Erforschung der ungarischen Zisterzienserklöster unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Abtei Cikador," Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich 12 (1996): 227–237. On Cistercian abbeys in Poland cf.: Jerzy Aleksander Splitt, "Stan badan archeologiczno-architektonicznych nad meskimi opactwami cysterskimi w Polsce," In *Historia i kultura cystersów w dawnej Polsce*, ed. Jerzy Strzelczyk, Poznań: Uniwersytet im Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, 1987, 225–249.

⁸⁵³ New monastic complexes were built in Pásztó, Szentgotthárd and Zirc, and Baroque parish churches were built in Klostermarienberg (Borsmonostor) and Bátaszék (Cikádor).

the few archaeological sites, where not only the church and the cloister, but also other buildings were investigated.854

As for archaeological research of granges, most of the examples are again from Britain. Systematic historical-topographical and landscape archaeological surveys identified a vast amount of these sites, which apparently subserved site specific investigations. 855 On the other hand, most excavations were small scale, - in contrast to archaeological research of precincts, and the different activities were documented often only by single features or buildings. For example, small, isolated bloomeries, dispersed slag deposits, and remains of a forge mill were found at Bradley grange (of Fountains Abbey). 856 A woolhouse was excavated at Laskill 857 and furnaces and roasting hearths were found at Baysdale, 858 - both were granges of Rievaulx. Another example of a forge mill is known from Chingley, the grange of Boxley Abbey. 859

From Germany (North Rhine-Westphalia), there is a fine example of a large-scale excavation in Rozedehusen (a grange of Hardehausen Abbey). The results are illustrative of the spatialfunctional arrangement of buildings: the precinct of the manor was separated into two parts (demarking residential and non-residential functions) Domestic buildings included a barn, a smithy, and a bakehouse. There was also a fishpond within the precinct, and the whole manorial area was separated by a small stream from the tenanted lands of the abbey. Within the precinct there was a tower like structure with fine ashlar quoins, built during the course of the fifteenth century, when the site was still owned by the Cistercians, and was operated as a local centre of turf extraction [FIG. 65].860 All this illustrates the typical topographical character of these complexes finely – as has been described in detail in Chapter 3.

⁸⁵⁴ The precinct of the Abbey of Pásztó was also investigated extensively, where a forge and a glass workshop were found. Ilona Valter, "Das Zistercienserkloster Pásztó. Geschichte und neue archäologische Forschungsergebnisse," Analecta Cisterciensia 38 (1982): 129-138. Eadem, "Quelques établissements protoindustriels en Hongrie." In L'Espace cistercien. Colloque L'Espace cistercien, abbaye de Fontfroide, 24-27 mars 1993, ed. Léon Pressouyre, 391-400. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1994.

⁸⁵⁵ E.g. Platt, The Monastic Grange.; Donkin, The Cistercians.; Williams, Atlas of Cistercian Lands.

⁸⁵⁶ J. Walton, "Medieval ironstone working in Bradley Wood, Huddersfield, West Yorkshire," *Naturalist* (1931): 333–334.; Stephen Moorhouse, "Iron production." In West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to AD 1500, ed. Stephen Moorhouse and Faull, M.L., Wakefield: West Yorksihire Metropolitan County Council, 1981: 783-786.

⁸⁵⁷ J. McDonnell, "The Rievaulx Abbey Woolhouse Remains at Laskill," Ryedale Historian 14 (1989): 51–52.

⁸⁵⁸ Crossley, "Medieval iron smelting"

⁸⁵⁹ David W. Crossley, The Bewl Valley Ironworks, Kent, c1300-1730. London: Royal Archaeological Institute Monographs, 1975.

⁸⁶⁰ Schöneweis, "Grangien – Verborgene Zeugnisse."



FIG. 65. The ground plan of the excavation of Rozedehusen grange (Source: Schöneweis, "Grangien – Verborgene Zeugnisse.")

Concluding this survey, the research methodologies, aims and the scale of investigations clearly determine what types of economic activities can be documented. Intensive archaeological research in the nuclei of granges typically identified only a few characteristic features (e.g. hearths, pits) in connection to industrial activities, while more extensive and systematic research in the outer courts offered more. Small scale excavations often missed the chance to see the "larger picture", i.e. identify the variety of other activities, including evidence for agricultural or agro-industrial activities, ⁸⁶¹ which are less "transparent" in the archaeological record. Landscape archaeological surveys, off-site sampling and environmental archaeological assessments are, therefore, instrumental for understanding the full ptential of

⁸⁶¹ Archaeological evidence of agricultural activities are generally rare. With regard to grange sites, evidence for sheep farming was found at Roystone, a 160 ha large upland grange of Garrendon Abbey. See: Richard A Hodges, *Wall-to-Wall History: The Story of Roystone Grange*. London: Duckworth, 1991; Some pit features found at Horton grange of Newminster Abbey were interpreteted in connection to the processing of hem based on environmental samples. Cf. Warren Muncaster, *Archive Report, Fox Covert, OCCS, Dinnington,Tyne & Wear Muesums Archaeological Excavation*. Newcastle: (manuscript), 2007.

economic production at any given site. In case of Pomáz-Nagykovácsi, we are in a favourable position as such investigations have been already accomplished or are currently underway. Intensive archaeological research provided data concerning industrial production in the vicinity of the abbey, as well as at Pomáz, on the other hand, agrarian activities and land-use changes could be also documented with extensive surveys. These perspectives are particularly important keeping in mind that the grange and the abbey were situated in a woodland edge zone and the exploitation of natural resources were going both ways: in addition to industrial production agrarian activities were characterized by extensive animal faming, most probably focusing on sheep, pig or cattle, as in modern day agro-silvicultural systems.

5.2 DISCUSSION – CASE STUDY ON PILIS ABBEY AND THE POMÁZ-NAGYKOVÁCSI GRANGE

The glass production site currently excavated in Pomáz-Nagykovácsi is an example of an 'industrial' grange, which is, to this date, unparalleled in a regional context: from East-Central Europe I know of only one other archaeologically investigated grange site. Read It is also unique as a glass production centre, as there have been only a few such workshops found in Hungary including urban and rural sites. The complexity of the archaeology offers a detailed insight into the material culture of different types of industrial activities, including the results of excavations at the abbey complex. Excavations there were conducted by László Gerevich in 1967-82 and the results have been published in excavation reports, and in a representative volume in 1977 and 1984-1985. The small finds have been re-evaluated recently, and a geophysical investigation has been conducted as well. The ongoing excavation project at the grange of the abbey in Pomáz Nagykovácsi-puszta has started in 2011 by a team of archaeologists led by József Laszlovszky (a professor of Archaeology and History at the Medieval Studies Department of CEU). Thus far, the interim results have been published in two short reports, which discussed the architectural character of the small church (chapel), as well

In Hirnzhedil (Hrdlovce), a grange of the Bohemian abbey of Ossegg was recovered during a rescue excavation campaign. See Petr Meduna, "Curia Hirnzhedil. Příspěvek k poznání restrukturalizace osídlení nejstarší osecké klášterní državy," (Curia Hirnzhedil. A contribution to understanding the restructuralization of the oldest property of the monastery of Osek(Ossegg)) In Cysterki w dziejach i kulturze ziem polskich, dawnej Rzeczypospolitej i Europy Środkowej: materialy z siódmej Miedzynarodowej Konferencji Cystersologów odbytej z okazji 800. rocznicy fundacji opactwa cysterek w Trzebnicy, ed. Andrzej M. Wyrwa. Poznán: Wydawn. Poznańskie, 2004, 1066-1072. Based on a survey of secondary literatures, I did not find examples from Poland.

⁸⁶⁴ Pásztó: Ilona Valter, "Adatok a pásztói monostor gazdasági életéhez" (Data on the economic history of Pásztó Abbey). In *Historia est...Írások Kovács Béla köszöntésére*, ed. Gergely Csiffárfy. Eger: Heves Megyei Levéltár, 2002, 425-437. <u>Diósjenő</u>: Katalin H. Gyürki and Zsuzsa Miklós, "Középkori üveghuta feltárása a Nógrád megyei Diósjenő közelében," (Medieval glassworks in Diósjenő, Co Nógrád) *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 119 (1992): 69–90.; <u>Visegrád, Bene-telek</u>: Edit Mester, Péter Gróf , Dániel Gróh andlstván Szabó, *Középkori üvegek*. (Visegrád régészeti monográfiái 2) Visegrád: MNM Mátyás király Múzeum, 1997, 7–8; <u>Visegrád, Rév utca</u>: Orsolya Mészáros, "15. századi városi üvegműhely és környezet Visegrádon" (A Fifteenth century glass workshop and its Environs in Visegrád). In *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon*, vol 2, ed. Elek Benkő and Gyöngyi Kovács. Budapest: MTA Régészeti Intézete, 2010, 675–691.

⁸⁶⁵ László Gerevich, "Pilis Abbey a Cultural Center," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 29 (1977): 155–198.; Idem, "Ausgrabungen in der ungarischen Zisterzienserabtei Pilis," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 39 (1983): 281–310; Idem, *A pilisi ciszterci apátság*. [The Cistercian Abbey of Pilis]. Szentendre: 1984; Idem, "Egy középkori kulturális központ a Pilisben," [A medieval cultural center in the Pilis]. *Studia Comitatensia* 17 (1985): 541–594; Idem, "Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in der Zisterzienserabtei Pilis," *Acta archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 37 (1985): 111–152.

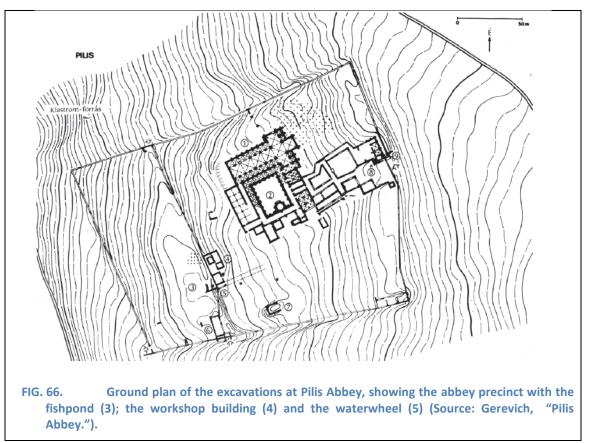
⁸⁶⁶ Holl, Funde.

⁸⁶⁷ Elek Benkő, "A pilisi ciszterci monostor geofizikai kutatása." In *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon*, vol 2, ed. Elek Benkő and Gyöngyi Kovács. Budapest: MTA Régészeti Intézete, 2010, vol 1, 401–419.

as the remains of medieval roads and other landscape features identified in the surroundings of the grange complex. 868

5.2.1 The smithy

As mentioend above, investigations within the precinct were extensive. In addition to the church and the cloister, traces of various buildings were found.⁸⁶⁹ These were situated to the east and south from the cloister quadrant [*FIG.* 66]. The excavation did not cover the full extent of them,



but only certain parts were investigated with test trenches. Most of the courtyard area (precinct), however, was not investigated. There, the above mentioned geophysical survey identifed

⁸⁶⁸ József Laszlovszky, Dóra Mérai, Beatrix Szabó, Mária Vargha, "The 'Glass Church' in the Pilis Mountains – The Long and Complex History of an Árpád Period Village Church," *Hungarian Archaeology. E-journal* 2014 winter; http://www.hungarianarchaeology.hu/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Laszlovszky E14T.pdf

László Ferenczi, Máton Deák, Balázs Kohán and Tamás Látos, "Történeti útvonalak kutatása a Pilisben: tájrégészeti-tájtörténei vizsgálatok térinformatikai háttérrel" [Research on historical pathways in the Pilis landscape historical and landscape archaeological examinations with GIS]. In *Az elmélet és a gyakorlat találkozása a térinformatikában. Térinformatikai konferencia és szakkiállítás,* ed. Balázs Boglárka, 121–129. Debrecen: Debrecen Egyetemi Kiadó, 2014. Open access:

http://geogis.detek.unideb.hu/TKonferencia/2014/Konferenciakotet 2014.pdf.

⁸⁶⁹ László Gerevich, "Ausgrabungen." Idem, "Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen."

further structures (not on the map), situated to the east and south from the cloister. The function of these buildings have yet to be determined.⁸⁷⁰

The excavation brough to light the remains of an iron forge, southwest from the cloister, together with a wheel shaft of an adjacent overshot vertical waterwheel. The building and the mill shaft were positioned next to a N-S running wall (to the east of the building), that divided the precinct into an upper and lower terrace. [*FIG.* 66] Water was supplied from an artificial reservoir on the other side of the N-S wall, i.e. in the upper terrace, the level of which was raised above the wheel. In the rooms of the building there were furnaces and a thick layer of slag found (the debris of iron smelting) possibly indicating the long term use of the workshop.

Unfortunately, the archaeological dating of the features related to the workshop inside the building remains problematic, since the documentation of stratigraphic observations did not comply with modern standards (relevant informations were missing from the original records). There was a re-assessment in 2000, which concluded (from the available records and from the typoligical evaluation of small finds, as well as from early sixteenth century coin finds found in the debris) that the workshop was active until the 1540s, that is, even after 1526, when the monks fled to Vienna following a fire in the monastery. ⁸⁷¹

Gerevich argued that the position and layout of the building and of the water wheel should be considered in connection to the set-up of the water management system (water pipes, water reservoir), and this implies - in his opinion - that the mill and the workshop building were built as part of the initial planning process, together with the whole monastic complex. Furthermore, he assumed that this is the earliest example of the application of the waterwheel for industrial purposes in medieval Hungary – and the only one documented archaeologically. However, considering the problems with the archaeological records, the possibility cannot be excluded that the original function of the building was different and the metal working workshop was established only later.

The capacity of the waterwheel was likely low and it was probably operated only temporarily. It could be used to repair the worn out tools and to supply new ones for the community (for

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⁸⁷⁰ Elek Benkő, "A pilisi ciszterci monostor geofizikai kutatása." (Geophysical research on the Cistercian monastery of Pilis) In *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon*, vol 1, ed. Elek Benkő – Gyöngyi Kovács. Budapest: MTA Régészeti Intézet, 2010, 401–419.

⁸⁷¹ Hervay, Repertorium, 146.

⁸⁷² Gerevich, "A pilisi ciszterci apátság," 544.

everyday tasks, housekeeping or agricultural works). The metal objects found at the site represent in fact a mixture of import as well as local produce. Their datings – based on typology – vary between the thirteenth and early sixteenth century. The agricultural tools were likely produced (or recast) in the workshop, whereas more elobarate objects (e.g. bookbindings) were imports. Most of the knives, as common personal objects, were imports too – from Styria –, and they were dated to the late fourteenth and fifteenth century. These were also of fine quality, and together with grey ware pottery (stamped Austrian ware) were common import tools, typically associated with high status sites. Generally, their presence indicate the intensive trade connections with Austria, ⁸⁷⁴ but in case of Pilis it is also particularly relevant that there was a community of foreign monks residing there.

There has been also a variety of tools found, e.g. crucible, hammer, tweezers, chisel, rasp, which were associated to working with fine metals (coppersmithing and goldsmithing). These were found, however, in different areas of the cloister, including a rubbish pit next to the workshop. Since the typo-chronological classification of these finds could not establish narrow dates, the periodization of the workshop remains unclear.

It would be important to conduct metallurgical analysis on the finds and on the furnace slags to study the technology and determine possible sources of raw materials, the quality of the objects, and to compare local products to imports, both from the abbey and elsewhere, as well as both in rural and urban contexts. ⁸⁷⁶ Scientific investigations of charcoal remains from metal working sites has demonstated, for example, that the usage of certain wood species for industrial firewood can be indicative of technological advancements. ⁸⁷⁷ The problem of what technology

⁸⁷³ Holl, Funde, 111-113

⁸⁷⁴ Holl, *Funde*, 117.

⁸⁷⁵ Holl, *Funde*, 46, note 181: he assumes, however, that the goldsmith's workshop could be located in one of the rooms to the east from the cloister.

⁸⁷⁶ An example from Hungary (Transylvania): Kurt Horedt, "Eine sächsische Schmiede des 13. Jahrhunderts. (ein archäologischer Beitrag zur Herkunftsforschung des Siebenbürger Sachsen)." In *Emlékkönyv Kelemen Lajos : születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára*. Kolozsvár: Tudományos Könyvkiadó, 1957, 334–348. The material analysis demonstrated the better quality of the objects produced by the urban workshop in comparison to village smithies. In context of the Pilis Abbey, the material analysis of iron hoards or treasures recovered in the villages of Kána (12th-13th and Nyársapát (15th -16th c) (Co. Pest) – both within the area of the medium regni – could be a fascinating case study to compare the technological levels of the workshops involved.

⁸⁷⁷ Jane Wheeler, "Charcoal analysis of industrial fuelwood from medieval and early modern iron-working sites in Bilsdale and Rievaulx, North Yorkshire, UK: evidence for species selection and woodland management," *Environmental Archaeology* 16 (2011/1): 16–35. Wheeler points out that the technological change from bloomery furnaces to blast furnaces could have necessitated the use of higher density and stronger woods, such as oak, instead of branchwood and stemwood, which is reflected by the dominant presence of such taxons in charcoal samples. In case of Hungarian bloomeries, however, the use of oakwood was demonstrated. Cf. Ádám

this workshop could be using is also interesting from the point of view of the rich archaeological evidence (hearths, furnaces, slags, iron objects etc.) found outside the monastery.

Namely, in the Árpád period, it was the task of royal authorities and servants of royal domains to organize the distribution of (processed) raw iron, which was produced in certain parts of the country. 878 Considering that the village of Kovácsi (the name translates: 'the village of smiths') was part of this network (and it was donated to the abbey), it is safe to say that the Cistercians were connected to a "supply chain." In addition to this supply, however, the use of local iron could be also evidenced. Roasting furnaces and a large amount of bloomery slag (tap slags or furnace slags – not specified in the report) were found during field surveys in 1942. 879 A piece of pig iron – characterised by an unusually high mass fraction (%wt) of carbon arbon – was collected from Pilisszentkereszt, 880 most probably from outside the precinct, where there was an early Árpád period settlement. During the 2001 test excavation of the Árpád-period settlement of Kovácsi smithy slags were found, which most likely hint on the use of local iron deposits: samples taken from the slag had a high phosphor content, which is typical for bog iron. I refer here on the preliminary communication by the archaeologist, Tamás Repiszky, who disclaimed (on the basis of this analysis) the earlier suggestions that this source is to be associated with mining activities in the area of the Holdvilágárok, which is situated about 1 kilometre to the east from the grange. 881 Accumulations of loose (washed-out) iron deposits

Thiele, A bucavas koraközépkori előállításának korhű gyártástechnológiája a korszerű anyagtudomány tükrében (The technology of raw iron production in the medieval period as shown by state of the art analytical investigations). Budapest: BME Közlekedésmérnöki Kar Járműgyártás és -javítás Tanszék, (OTDK dolgozat) 2009, 14. Open access: http://www.bucavasgyuro.net/

⁸⁷⁸ Gusztáv Heckenast, Gyula Nováki, Gábor Vastagh and Endre Zoltay, *A magyarországi vaskohászat története a korai középkorban (A Honfoglalástól a XIII.század közepéig)* (The Histoy of Hungarian Metallurgy in the Early Middle Ages) Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1968, 165: The distribution of iron was based on the network of settlements specilizing in metalworking. E.g. servants of the Pannonhalma monastery were obliged to select and transport iron from Vasvár (Co. Vas) to Pannonhalma.

⁸⁷⁹ Sándor Sashegyi's report from 1942 is discussed in Repiszky and Szörényi, ed. *Legendák*, 198. See also Heckenast et al., *A magyarországi vaskohászat*, 20 and 156. According to the same report, there was also a roasting furnace found in the area of Pomáz, and in 1948 Sándor Sashegyi reported again about two roasting furnaces found at the same location, which remains unspecified. His dating to the Roman period might be incorrect.

⁸⁸⁰ The find is mentioned by Heckenast et al., *A magyarországi vaskohászat*. See the list of finds and the results of material analysis by Heckenast et al. compiled by Ádám Thiele, *A földtöl a vastárgyakig*. *A vasbucakohászat koraközépkori technológiája* (The medieval technology of smelting pig iron) (OTDK dolgozat). Budapest: BME, Közlekedésmérnöki Kar, Járműgyártás és -javítás Tanszék, 2010, 34. Open access: http://www.bucavasgyuro.net/ which suggests that subsequent refining was required before smithing.

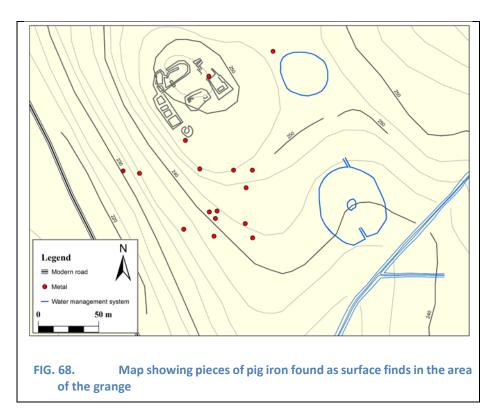
⁸⁸¹ Since the andesite tuff there did not contain magnetite in quantities worth for mining. See: Tamás Repiszky and Levente Szörényi, ed., Legendák és valóság a Pilisben. A gigászok küzdelmétől a Holdvilágárokig [Legends and realities in the Pilis]. Budapest: Heti Válasz Kiadó, 2011, 392–393. Open access:

could be observed, however, in the catchment area of the Bükkös-stream, in the vicinity of Sikáros, two kilometres to the north from the grange [FIG. 67]. 882



During the 2012-2014 excavations, pig irons were collected as scatter finds. They were found in a big concentration on the western slopes around the grange complex [*FIG.* 68], marking perhaps the edge of the early medieval settlement of Kovácsi.

http://holdvilagarok.hu/perujrafelv.html. Sándor Sashegyi seems to have also incorrectly identified a feature in the Holdvilágárok as a bloomery.



All these finds imply that iron could be collected from local deposits and processed locally in small bloomeries. Perhaps the local iron source with high magnetite content was used also as an additive material in refining (decarburization) process, i.e.

produce wrought iron from pig iron. The Árpád-period exploitation of such deposits needs to be investigated more thoroughly. In the late medieval period, however, the situation seems different. Quality iron from Styrian mining centres (Erzberg) became more accessible: Styrian iron (and metal objects) entered the Hungarian market in growing quantities, targeting the emerging urban centres. 883 The Pilis region, as the political centre of the kingdom, could be literally flooded with import objects. Conspicuously, a piece of bar iron ('Stabeisen') was found in the sixteenth century debris inside the building of the forge/workshop⁸⁸⁴ and this may indicate that the monastery and the workshop was supplied with raw iron from external sources. Concluding from the above compiled data, the ironworking workshop in the monastery was established at an uncertain date. Iron ore was processed locally to make raw iron, but the workshop (as a finery forge) could be supplied also externally. In later times, the workshop

With regard to the "bigger picture", the monopolistic role of royal authorities in the internal trade of iron (and salt) might explain why Cistercians, otherwise keen to be involved in the

likely lost its significance, as better quality iron objects entered the market.

⁸⁸³ Holl, Funde, 46. mentions the example of a Sopron merchant from 1483, who brought 6 centners of iron in one go ("ducit ferrum massas VI")

⁸⁸⁴ Holl, Funde, 46.

mining industry in other countries, ⁸⁸⁵ did not seem to develop interest in the extraction of iron ore (or salt) in Hungary. ⁸⁸⁶ None of our sources hint on mining privileges similar to the one mentioned e.g. in the charter of the Premonstratensian house of Jászó (1243), which granted free access to mineral resources. ⁸⁸⁷ The Cistercians, nevertheless, did acquire royal grants to receive supplies from the salt mines, and they could also trade their own stock. The Cistercian monastery of Egres, situated along the Maros River, i.e. along the major transport route of salt had been granted for example with 30 000 salt cubes annually, and became one of the major distribution points in salt trade. ⁸⁸⁸ (See more on this in Chapter 6) As beneficiaries of such resources, the monasteries have secured a steady annual income, without the costs of investment required by such enterprises. Another factor that possibly kept them from getting involved in activities related to mining could be the lack of human resources (i.e. the limited supply of laybrothers), as has been discussed in Chapter 3. Concerning Pilis, the report of the abbot of Rein is worth noting: the abbey was completely desolate, both in a spiritual and temporal sense. ⁸⁸⁹

5.2.2 The tilery

The analysis of floor tiles found in the area of the cloister and the church demonstrated that certain types (the relief tiles with figurative and nonfigurative decorations) are known also from other places, including churches and residences in Buda, Esztergom, Kesztölc, Pomáz, Visegrád and Zsámbék [*FIG.* 69].⁸⁹⁰ Waste pieces (a good number of overheated, burnt,

⁸⁸⁵ Otto Volk, Salzproduktion und Salzhandel mittelalterlicher Zisterzienserklöster (Vorträge und Forschungen - Sonderbände, 30) Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1984.; Burton – Kerr, *The Cistercians*, 181–182; Schich, "Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit," 231-232.

⁸⁸⁶ F. Romhányi, "The Role of the Cistercians," 190: F.Romhányi suggests that the interest of Morimond and Wachock in the mining industry could have played a role in the foundation of the Abbey of Szepes (Stiavnik) in Northern Hungary, as it was the filia of Wachock, and its estate was rich in mineral resources. Concerning Szepes, I did not yet found any documentary or archaeological evidence to support this point.

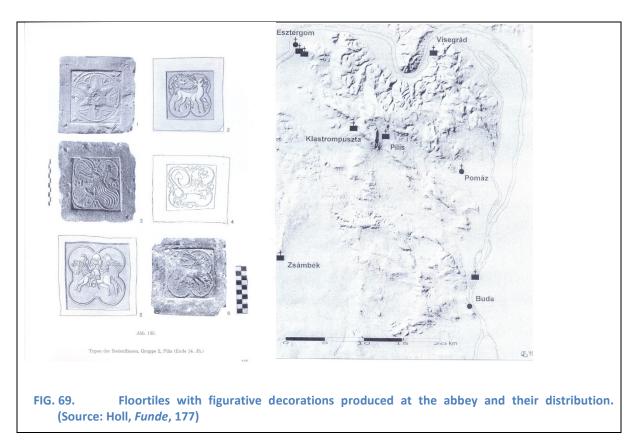
⁸⁸⁷ CD IV/1, 304.Cf. Lőrinc Spilka, *Jászó története 1243-tól 1552-ig*. (The History of Jászó 1243-1552) In *A jászóvári premontrei kanonokrend gödöllői Szent-Norbert gimnáziuma 1942—1943-i évkönyve*, ed.Lőrinc Spilka. Gödöllő: Dunántúl Pécsi Egyetemi Könyvkiadó és Nyomda, 1943, 407–451.

⁸⁸⁸ Beatrix F.Romhányi, "A só mint alamizsna a középkorban," (Salt as alms in the Late Middle Ages) *Orpheus Noster* 4/3 (2012): 7-17.

^{889 &}quot;in spiritualibus et temporalibus quasi omnino desolatum" See Hervay, Repertorium, 144.

⁸⁹⁰ Holl, *Funde*, 62–65: <u>Buda</u> (Margareth Island, Dominican monastery), <u>Esztergom</u> (the Franciscan monastery, the church of St Ladislaus (parish church), the archbishopric palace, the Dominican monastery), <u>Kesztölc</u> (Paulinian monastery), <u>Pomáz</u> (residence of the Czikó family), and <u>Visegrád</u> (royal palace, Zsámbék (Premonstratensian monastery). The stylistical analysis of their iconography (the one with lion and dragon) pointed out southern German influence (the Wolf Dietrich poem). See Orsolya Réthelyi, "The Lion, the Dragon, and the Knight: an Interdisciplinary Investigation of a Medieval Motif," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 7 (2001): 9–38.

deformed, discoloured tiles) were found at the monastery, some of which were apparently used as building materials – collected from the debris left behind by post-medieval stone extraction. Based on these observations, Imre Holl suggested that the abbey also operated a tilery inside (or outside) its precinct. He interpreted the large number of burnt pieces as the result of technological flaws, perhaps indicative of a process different from the one used in case of the earlier tile groups, i.e. the mosaic tiles (dated to around 1200). He pointed out that Cistercians have been since long familiar with a more developed type of kiln (as demonstrated by archaeological excavations in England), in which the firing chamber and stocking chamber were better separated. In case of Pilis, however, Holl argued that a simpler type could be used, in which there was direct contact between the chambers and the lowest layer of tiles could be exposed to excessive fluctuations in temperature and could overheat and burn. ⁸⁹¹



He dated the activity of the workshop to the 1360s, i.e. to the period parallel to the renovation of the church.⁸⁹² This was when community life was revived by monks coming over from

⁸⁹¹ Holl, Funde, 61

⁸⁹² A new rood screen (Lettner) was installed. See Gerevich, "Ergebnisse," Fig 27; Imre Takács, "Kórusrekesztő töredékei." (Fragments of the rood screen) In *Pannónia Regia. Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000-1541*, ed. Árpád Mikó and Imre Takács. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galária, 2006, 264–265., no. IV-33. The artistic parallels can

Heiligenkreuz, and maybe also from southern Germany, and the constructions were apparently supervised by a new abbot, *Henricus*, formerly a cellarer of Heiligenkreuz, appointed on the personal request of King Louis I in 1356. He stayed in office until 1379.⁸⁹³

The typological analysis identified four groups of tiles, among which the first three represented three different masters and were dating from the years between 1360 and 1380. The fourth group was likely of a later date, but this is uncertain. Holl underlined that the circle of spatial distribution was relatively small, the style was relatively uniform, characterized by the parallel use of older and newer versions (copies). He asserted that these tiles were produced at the monastery, and also found examples of similar tiles from the Cistercian Abbey of Cikádor (Bátaszék, Co. Tolna). The archaeological investigation of Cikádor has pointed out that similar renovations took place there, which likely commenced in the years following the generous donation by Töttös of Becse (1347), who was at that time the comes of Co. Pilis, castellanus of Visegrád, and master of janitors at the royal curia. Cikádor was a filia of Heiligenkreuz, and strangely enough, the above said Henricus appears to have confiscated the financial resources of the monastery in 1367 (res et bona... asportavit in usus proprios convertenda), most probably to secure more funds for the newly established convent and for the construction works at Pilis. 894 Connections between Pilis, Heiligenkreuz and Cikádor demonstrate, however, a strong German influence by the end of the fourteenth century. Setting up the tilery and the building projects in Cikádor and Pilis were the initiatives of this new community, which cen be perhaps interpreted as a precursor of the activities of the glass workshop at the grange of Pomáz-Nagykovácsi-puszta.

be found in the Bavarian region, e.g. Augsburg. The furnishings of the church must have been renewed as well. Elek Benkő mentions that in addition to the fragments of the fourteenth century rood screen, charred remains, possibly fragments of church furnishing, were found in the mixed fill of the Gertrudis grave, for which radiocarbon dates were obtained (1285-1390). See Elek Benkő, "Reginam occidere." In *Arcana tabularii. Tanulmányok Solymosi László tiszteletére*, ed. Attila Bárány, Gábor Dreska, Kornél Szovák. Budapest–Debrecen: ELTE BTK, 2014, 505. As explained, the radiocarbon dates of charred remains indicated the fell of trees used for the furnishing of the church. Cf. Sándor Horváth and László Legeza, *Pilisszentekereszti klastromkert. Tanulmány a klastromkert kialakításáról.* (Study on the Pilisszentekereszt, 2008. Open access: http://szpke.hu/tanulmany.pdf 893 See Cf. Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, 257-258 and 299. The papal letter mentioning the king's request was not known to him: MNL OL, DF 289 525; (1356-04-13); reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 144; AOklt, vol 40, 155; pub.: Monumenta Romana episcopatus Vesprimiensis. A veszprémi püspökség római oklevéltára. Közrebocsájtja a Római Magyar Történeti Intézet, vol I-IV. Budapest, 1896-1908, vol 2, 165-166. The regesta in the series of the *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár* has, however, some mistakes: instead of the monastery of the Holy Cross a monastery of the Order of the Holy Cross is described, and instead of Passau Padua is given as the dioecese. Cf. *Anjou-kori Olevéltár*, vol 40 (1356), ed. Krisztina Rábai. Budapest-Szeged: Quintus, 2014, 155.

⁸⁹⁴ MNL OL, DL 87212 (1347-00-00); reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 83–84; pub.: Zichy, vol 4, 577-578.; MNL OL, DF 289832 (1367-09-03); pub.: CD IX/4, 71-73.

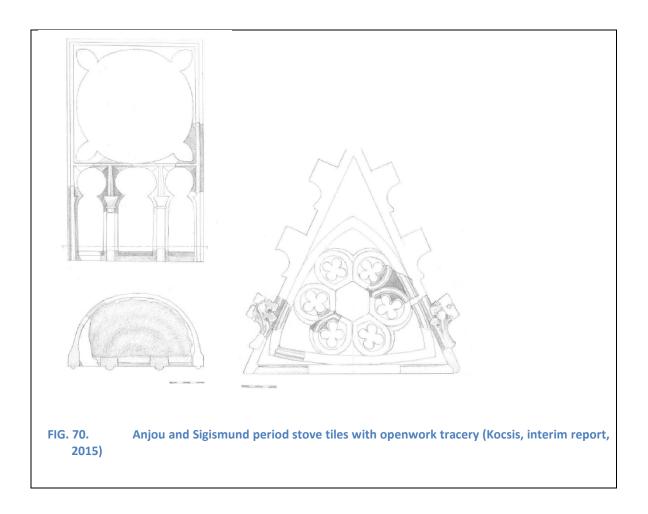
5.2.3 The glass workshop

The glass workshop at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi dates the latest in comparison to the smithy and the tilery. As regards the chronology of the features excavated at Pomáz, the earliest phase is represented by the graves of the early Árpád-period cemetery. These graves were found in test pits opened on the southern and northern sides of the small church that could function once as the chapel of the grange, the fills of the graves were, however mixed, and included only a small number of undated ceramic finds. As pointed out in Chapter 3, however, the presence of the graves implied that the church was originally used as parish church of the nearby village of Kovácsi (mentioned the last time in 1254). Connecting to this period, a bronze pectoral cross – late twelfth – early thirteenth century) was found as a stray find. When exactly the site turned into a grange, has yet to be established by the archaeological research. Future excavations of the courtyard and of the surrounding buildings may bring conclusive evidence in that matter.

Thus far, fragments of different types of stove tiles were found. They were recovered from the 2012 test trenches situated in front of the east wall of the western range of the building complex. The tiles were piled up, found in secondary position, i.e. deposited in rubbish pits dug into the floor of what seems to be a portico near the entrance. At the moment, these finds are the best clues to the dating problem [*FIG. 70*]. On the other hand, they also shed light on the use of the building complex. The earliest fragment is of the finest quality, decorated with open-work tracery, dating from the time of King Louis I (1342-1382). The quality of these pieces imply representative and residential functions associated with persons of higher social status – it seems likely that part of the complex was used as a guest-house or abbot's house. There was another group of stove tile fragments, which were also of fine quality: glazed pieces, with openwork tracery, produced by a workshop active between 1432 and 1437, as shown by similar pieces from the castle of Buda. The third and the fourth group date from the fifteenth and the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries and represent a much lower quality of craftsmanship with functional design: grey coloured, unglazed fragments of bowl shaped stove tiles, which must have belonged to a rustic stoves.⁸⁹⁵

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⁸⁹⁵ The interim report on stove tile fragments was prepared by Edit Kocsis (BTM), 2015. Classification of the types is based on: Imre Holl, "Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon IV," (Medieval stove tiles in Hungary IV) *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 117 (1990): 58–95.; Idem, "Kályhacsempék és népművészet a falusi kúriákban," (Stove tiles and folklore in country noble houses (curia) *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 135 (2010): 85–145.



Evidence for glass production found so far include various features and objects, however, most of them were found in secondary position:

- hearths of furnaces were found inside the rooms of the western range, and there was one also outside the eastern wall of the western range, with its back leaning to the wall, buried underneath a pile of building bricks. [*FIG. 71*]
- similar, and also secondarily deposited clay bricks were found piled up against the west wall of the chapel, almost opposite to the aforementioned furnace. All of them had characteristic shapes (trapezoid in cross section)
- crucible fragments were found in this pile too
- hearths and shallow pits dug into the ground were found beneath the original floor level inside the chapel. These could have been also associated with the process of glass making (probably tempering / cooling).
- a ca 10-20 centimetres thick layer of glass debris, composed entirely of broken pieces (of possibly semi-finished objects), was found above the hearths in the chapel. This

patch of debris extended over the central part as well as the northwest quadrant of the interior. It was dated with a coin of King Matthias, and was covered by an almost half a metre thick mixed layer of rubble, earth, and mortar, apparently associated with the destruction of the building (ca 1526-1541?). This could have terminated further activities on the site. There have been also a couple of post-medieval features identified inside the chapel (some graves, postholes, robbing-pits), which destroyed most part of the medieval surfaces. These features indicated the temporary, ad-hoc use of the site probably as a hideout for Turkish or Hungarian troops during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.



FIG. 71. Characteristic building blocks of glass furnaces

Given that a large part of the complex has not been excavated yet, it might be too early to speculate about the active period(s) of the glass workshop. The late fourteenth century, as a start date, would come nicely together with the historical context, yet, the typological assessment of glass fragments recovered thus far support a much later date. Regardless of this, the domestic buildings could be dated to this period (as stove tiles could be in place already in the late fourteenth century), when the new group of monks (recruited from Heiligenkreuz) arrived here with the new abbot. Apparently determined to resolve the abbey's financial problems, they likely reorganized economic management. Whereas the tilery seems to have functioned only for a few decades, the amount of glass recovered at Pomáz suggests that the glass workshop could become a more permanent source of income – it might have supplied glass for the renovation of royal palaces in Buda and Pressburg during the reign of Sigismund,

but unfortunately, there is no written evidence to confirm this hypothesis, and further scientific investigations would be needed to clarify the dating of the different types of glass.

A preliminary typological assessment revealed that there were several of them. The typological classification of glass objects is unfortunately less refined – from a chronological perspective – than that of ceramic tiles, and it is not possible to provide narrow dates. For example, bi-conical bottles were already used in the late fourteenth century – they are known from assemblages found in Buda –, ⁸⁹⁶ but they were popular in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries too. Other objects include circular window glass (9-12 cms in diameter) dated to the early fifteenth century, ⁸⁹⁷ lamps (fifteenth – sixteenth centuries), 'Kuttrolf' type bottles (late fifteenth to early sixteenth century), prunted glass (Nupfenbächer) (fifteenth to sixteenth century), and over a hundred semi-finished pieces (possibly window glass). 898

As for the composition of the glass materials, thin, transparent, pale coloured pieces (usually from luxury imports from the Mediterranean) were found only sporadically (similarly to the finds in Visegrád). This may point to the practice of recycling: the possible re-use of such waste glass could improve the quality of the products. The bulk of the materials recovered was the lesser quality 'forest glass' (Waldglass) with green or brown hue (due to impurities). 899 The semi-finished fragments in Pomáz preserved in particularly bad condition, probably because they did not go through the final stage of the production process (tempering).

In addition to typological analysis, material analytical investigations would be desirable including samples from other sites (particularly from the other glass workshop in Visegrád and from royal residences and towns around the "medium regni.") This would reveal variations in local production, and see if the products were present in the towns. With regard to the

⁸⁹⁶ Katalin H. Gyürky, "A budapesti Fortuna u. 18. számú lakóház régészeti kutatásából származó üvegleletek," [Glass Finds from the Archaeological Excavations at 18 Fortuna street Buda castle] Budapest Régiségei 37 (2003): 13-28.

⁸⁹⁷ Dating is based on similar finds from the castles of Buda and Ozora (after Katalin H. Gyürky). See Megyeri Edit, "Üvegek a Visegrád Rév utca 5.szám alatt feltárt üvegműhelyből és Pomáz-Nagykovácsi lelőhelyről" [Glass objects from the workshop excavated in Visegrád, Rév str 5, and from Pomáz-Nagykovácsi puszta], in A múltnak kútja. Fiatal középkoros régészek V.konferernciájának tanulmánykötete (The Fontain of the Past. Study Volume of the Fifht Annual Conference of Young Medieval Archaeologists), ed. Tibor Ákos Rácz. Szentendre: Ferenczy Múzeum, 2014, 78-84.

⁸⁹⁸ Ibidem.

⁸⁹⁹ On forest glass/green glass see e.g. Thomas Glick, Stephen J. Livesey, Wallis Faith, Medieval Science, Technology and Medicine. An Encyclopedia. New York: Routledge, 2005, 199-200.; Peter Kurzmann, Mittelalterliche Glastechnologie. Archäologie - Schriftquellen - Archäochemie – Experimente. (Revised doctoral thesis) Tübingen: Peter Lang, 2004.

technological process, samples collected from the inside of crucibles (covered with the residue of melted glass) are particularly informative. Such analysis has been carried out already in case of the glass workshop of Pásztó Abbey. Pásztó was a Cistercian abbey, but it was incorporated only in the early thirteenth century, while the activity of the glass workshop was dated to the pre-Cistercian period. There were furnaces found in one of the buildings inside the precinct, 900 and the analysis of glass materials has indicated that the glass produced was not the typical Waldglass-type, but similar to the basic Roman type of soda-lime glass (with a significantly different ratio of Aluminium and Magnesium) This peculiar composition is yet to be explained, 901 but a comparative approach would be particularly interesting with regard to the problems whether there were different recipes linked to monastic and urban workshops, and whether the production of monastic workshops was of a higher than average quality.⁹⁰² Furthermore, comprehensive analytical investigations on glass workshops in the Weser region indicated that the quality of forest glass improved with time as new recipies were used: a change was observed starting from the fourteenth century, indicating a technique that potash was produced more typically from branches, foliage of trees and fern, which increased the durability of the glass material. 903 The amount of semi-finished materials found at Pomáz was approximately 150 kgs, and this suggests that the workshop operated on a commercial basis, similarly to the Visegrád workshop, and the quality of glass must have been surely a concern.

The landscape setting of the site is particularly interesting with respect to natural resources required to produce glass. In the region of Solling, glasshouses were typically set up relatively deep in woodland, at the upper end of river valleys. This "pattern" is exemplified also in case of Pomáz and the valley of the Dera-stream. Geologically, the valley divides the Visegrád Hills (Volcaninc) and the Pilis Hills (limestone), providing convenient access to different materials, which were key ingredients in glassmaking or used for improving the stability and transparency

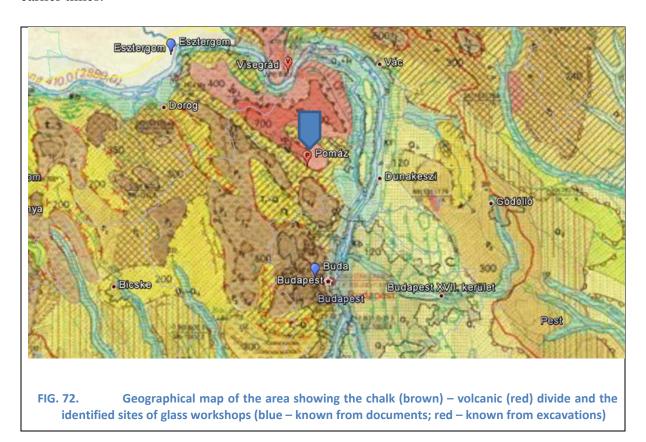
900 Valter, "Quelques établissements."

⁹⁰¹ István Fórizs, "Üvegkészítés Magyarországon a kezdetektől a XVIII.századig" [Glassmaking in Hungary from the beginnings until the 18th c.]. *A Miskolci Egyetem Közleménye A sorozat, Bányászat* 74 (2008): 122 (Based on an analysis of the glass residue found on the inside of crucible fragments.)

⁹⁰² Fórizs underlines that as of present there is no comprehensive analytical survey comparable to the one published by Wedepohl: cf. Karl H. Wedepohl, "The change in composition of medieval glass types occurring in excavated fragments from Germany." In *Annales du 14e Congrés de l'Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre, Italia, Venezia-Milano* 1998, ed. David Whitehouse, 253–257. Lochern: AIHV, 2000. Efforts are being made to put together a Hungarian database and to facilitate statistical evaluation. Then, the question of import and local produce, transport, and the problem of classification can be more appropriately addressed.

⁹⁰³ Hans Georg Stephan, ed., *Der Solling im Mittelalter. Archäologie- Landschaft- Geschcihte im Weser- und Leinebergland. Siedlung – und Kulturlandschaftsentwicklung. Die Grafen von Dassel und Nienover.* (Hallesche Beiträge zur Archäologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit Band 1). Dormagen: Archeotopos Verlag, 2010, 134.

of the glass – such as lime (Ca), iron (Fe), magnesia (Mg) and manganese (Mn). The dense woodland also provided fuel wood (oak, beech), whereas sand could be transported here from the lands of the abbey in Békásmegyer and Budakalász, where there were plenty of natural deposits of sand along the banks of the Danube. Local water supply was provided by the system of water reservoirs (fishponds) and artificial canals estblished at the grange (cf. Chapter 3). In connection to the use of fuel wood, other activities e.g. the production of charcoal and lime were also typical around such industrial sites. Landscape surveys identified a couple of lime kilns on the southern side of the Dera–stream, as well as near the monastery, which may be of later date (possibly eighteenth century). 904 This traditional practice most likely dates back to earlier times.



In Chapter 3, I already outlined the context why the extensive use of the local woodland was not possible. hich the woodland landscape was subject to transformations through intensive use must have been very limited. The use of woodland within the area of the royal forest was regulated by royal authorities in order to keep resources available also for recreational purposes (cf. the section on Pilis in Chapter 3). The locations of the Pilis monastery and of the Pauline

⁹⁰⁴ Ferenczi et al., "Történeti útvonalak."

houses on the fringes of the woodland area seem to resonate with this concern (quite similarly to the example of the Austrian Heiligenkreuz, in the area of the *Wienerwald*), at once, their establishment reflect that such forests were 'resource-laden assets'. In addition to legal bounds, the multi-use nature of woodland resources in forests – as a specific historic form of management – could have gained an extra significance in order to preserve the potential for productivity. 905 The operation of forest glass furnaces required relatively large amount of wood – for fuel, and also to produce potash –, and about 20-30 years intensive use could result in woodland clearance on a considerable scale, in about a 1 kilometre radius (300 ha). 906 Careful management of the landscape surrounding the grange was therefore an inevitable concern; industrial use was most probably combined with extensive animal farming (pastures for cattle, sheep, goats and bees), and complex woodland management (pollarding and coppicing). 907 Despite assumptions that in a more general sense extensive agricultural and industrial uses of woodland are resource competitive, 908 it was by the combination of these activities that the use of resources could have been optimized. 909

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⁹⁰⁵ Dolores Wilson, "Multi-use management of the Medieval Anglo-Norman Forest," *Journal of the Oxford University History Society* 1 (2004): 1-2.

⁹⁰⁶ Stephan, "Der Solling im Mittelalter," 134: After Karl Heinz Wedepohl, *Glas in Antike und Mittelalter. Geschichte eines Werkstoffes*. Stuttgart: Schweizerbartsche Verlagsbuchhandlung (Nägele und Obermiller), 2003. ⁹⁰⁷ In connection to Zirc (Olaszfalu), I have already noted (cf Chapter 3) the prevalence of historical (18th-19th c.) agro-forestry systems (dating back possibly to medieval times). See Varga Anna – Bölöni János: Erdei legeltetés, fás legelők, legelőerdők tájtörténete. [Landscape history of forest grazing and wood-pastures in the Carphatianbasin.] *Természetvédelmi Közlemények* 15 (2009) 68-79. 73.; Similar system was idetified and Pásztó (Saláta et al. 2009). Dénes Saláta, Barna Wichmann, Judit Házi, Eszter Falusi, and Károly Penksza, *Botanikai összehasonlító vizsgálat a cserépfalui és az erdőbényei fás legelőn* (Botanical comparison study on the wood pastures of Cserépfalu and Erdőbénye) *Animal welfare, ethology and housing systems* 7.3 (2011) 234–262.

⁹⁰⁸ Stephan, "Der Solling im Mittelalter," 133.

⁹⁰⁹ David W. Crossley, "The English glassmaker and his search for raw materials in the 16th and 17th centuries." In *The Prehistory and History of Glassmaking Technology*, ed. Patrick McCray and David Kingery, Westerville: American Ceramic Society, 1998, 167–179.

5.3 CONCLUSIONS

Archaeological investigations have recovered a variety of characteristic archaeological features and objects associated with different types of industrial activities at the site of the monastery of Pilis and at the grange in Pomáz-Nagykovácsi. Kilns, working pits, tools, semi-finished pieces, raw materials, slags and other types of debris testify for the practice of self-sustenance, as well as market oriented production. The finds suggest that the late fourteenth century and the fifteenth century saw probably the most active period of the abbey in terms of the variety and the intensity of industrial activities. The starting date of the glass workshop has yet to be determined more precisely, however, it was definitely active throughout the fifteenth century and probably in the early sixteenth century too. It most likely operated periodically to minimize environmental impact, due to the limited resources of wood within the area of the estate.

Taking into account the limitations of natural and human resources (the limited use of resources within the royal forest, the lack of laybrothers), the role of external supply (of raw materials and import objects), setting up a glass production site seems to have been a feasible plan. It was a relatively low risk-low cost-high return enterprise. It was less labour intensive than other industries, as it did not require a great number of people, but only a small group of skilled workers/expert artisans (laybrothers/tenants). It was also feasible from the point of view of environmental impact. By carefully chosing the location of the site, the access to raw materials was made convenient. The different phases of the production process were focused in one site, – unlike the early medieval examples of forest glass furnaces, of which there were typically quite a number scattered around in an area. ⁹¹⁰ The whole place could function eventually as a rural manufacture. The organizational model can be seen as exemplary, and even as "innovative". Similarly to the ironworking workshop, it also exemplifies the high skills of the Cistercians in water engineering and landscaping.

To tackle the issue of technological innovation, there is yet much to be done. Further analytical and comparative investigations will be necessary in case of both the ironworking site and the glass workshop to see whether there is anything specific in terms of technology that would classify as innovative. The use of waterpower itself was interpreted as such⁹¹¹ in regard to the

⁹¹⁰ Stephan, "Der Solling im Mittelalter," 134.

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⁹¹¹ Astill, *A medieval industrial complex*. Bordesley is noted as an early adopter of this technology by Burton – Kerr, *The Cistercians*, 178. As for the technological historical context, I have already referred to different opinions

water-powered metal working mills of Bordesley Abbey (Worcestershire, UK) and the Pilis workshop seems to be a similarly important site in context of this region. The chronology of the site shall be, however, further explored to substantiate this assumption.

In addition to water technology, Cistercians were also credited with the pioneering use of the more efficient blast furnace technique in the late medieval period, ⁹¹² which became more widely used in the early sixteenth century. The blast furnace is characterised by higher efficiency and the particularly low iron content of slags. ⁹¹³ More recent discoveries in Sweden (twelfth century) and Austria (thirteenth century) challanged the asumption that this technology was first introduced in Britain, and hinted rather on its widespread use prior to the fifteenth century. ⁹¹⁴ With regard to Pilis, it has not been looked at in detail what types of furnaces were used in the workshop building. The small output of bowl furnaces could satisfy the needs of the community. Shaft furnaces could produce up to 90 kilograms of bloom, and this technology would have made sense only if iron ore had been supplied in substantial amounts and the production had been directed towards the market. Instead, the water wheel was used most likely to provide energy for a simple finery forge. Future investigations should focus on technological issues including the analysis of the material composition of metal finds and slags from the site.

With regard to metallurgy, there is an underlying problem to the question of technological innovation: Cistercian settlement seems to have impacted the continuity or discontinuity of local metallurgical technologies and production. This is exemplified by archaeological evidence in case of the Pilis monastery and Pomáz-Nagykovácsi-puszta, but also in case of Borsmonostor. Notably, bloomery sites have been identified and excavated in the area along the Répce, within the bounds of Locsmánd, Szakonyfalva, and Peresznye, where the abbey had a numerous lands, including a grange/manor in Peresznye (cf. Chapter 3). Archaeomagnetic dating returned dates for bloomery slags between the ninth to twelfth centuries, thus, none of

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concerning the role of the Cistercians in the application of water power. Lucas affirms that the assumption that Cistercians had a role in the innovative use of water power for industrial purposes seems still valid.

⁹¹² Burton – Kerr, *The Cistercians*, 179.

⁹¹³ The technology was known at Laskill, a grange of Rievaulx, see Rob W. Vernon, Gerry McDonnell and Armin. Schmidt, "An integrated geophysical and analytical appraisal of early iron-working: three case studies," *Historical Metallurgy* 32 (1998/2): 67–81.

⁹¹⁴ Nils Björkenstam, "The blast furnace in Europe during medieval times: Part of a new system for producing wrought iron." In *The importance of ironmaking: Technological innovation and social change*, vol.1, ed. Gert Magnusson. Stockholm: Jernkontoret, 1995, 143–153

these bloomeries existed from the time on, when the monks appeared there [*FIG. 73*]. ⁹¹⁵ The extraction of local bog iron deposits seems to have stopped here too, and this brings up the question of "supply chains", and whether the presence of the monastery had anything to do with this. This reflects maybe a complex reorganization of economic contacts, focusing on external resources, while the local economic organization of the castle domain gradually disintegrated (see on this the section on Borsmonostor in Chapter 3). ⁹¹⁶

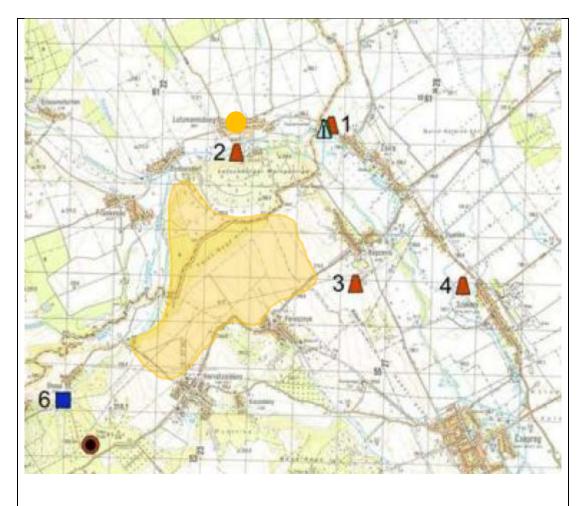


FIG. 73. Map of Locsmánd (yellow dot) and its surroundings, with dated ironworking sites (1-6) (source: Gömöri, Vasolvasztó kemencék, 32). The possible location of the abbey's manorial lands in Peresznye is coloured with yellow.

⁹¹⁵ As for the bloomeries in Szakonyfalva and their dating, see János Gömöri, "The Szakony Bloomery Workshops," *Journal of the European Study Group on Physical, Chemical, Biological and Mathematical Techniques Applied to Archaeology*. Strasbourg, 1988. See also Márton Péter, "A szakonyi vasolvasztó telep archeomágneses kora." In *Iparrégészeti és archeometriai kutatások Magyarországon. Iparrégészet*, vol 2, ed. János Gömöri. Veszprém: MTA VEAB Ért., 1984, 243–248. A survey map of nearby ironworking sites is published by János Gömöri, "Vasolvasztó kemencék Zsira-Kenderszer dûlőben," *Soproni Szemle* 66 (2012/1): 32.

⁹¹⁶ See particularly footnote 290.

As regards the glass workshop, it is particularly important that the full spectrum of the production process is reflected in the archaeological record, as this provides a promising opportunity to study different technological aspects. On a preliminary note – until a comprehensive assessment of finds is accomplished –, the character of the building blocks of the furnaces suggests that the type of furnace used at the grange was typical for the fifteenth century – similar to the ones found at Visegrád. Such furnaces are depicted for instance in Georgius Agricola's *De re metallica*, with circular or oval plan, reinforced with vault like ribs, and with multiple vents. There seems to be a high degree of similarity between the glass materials found at Pomáz and at Visegrád, which suggests that the technologies and the quality of the glass were similar. The small furnaces of the glass workshop at Pásztó, which were established at a much earlier date (by the Benedictines) clearly represent a different type, and the glass material was also different (see above). 917

Judging by the quality of the objects produced at the glass workshop or at the tilery, one would be certainly inclined to dismiss the idea of an innovative community. At this point, however, it seems also relevant to consider a few theoretical remarks concerning the concept of innovation. Stefan Weinfurter assumed that innovation is not simply a matter of technological novelty, but an organizational model and a system of values. From this perspective, he affirmed that innovations begin with the dedication of monastic communities to optimize and experiment with resources, with their drive to become "laboratories of innovation" and this comes from their genuine separation from the world. A similar concept – "pockets of innovation" – is used by Lucas. These notes impose a sociological perspective on the problem of innovation, regardless of economic aspects – e.g. profitability, or how innovation could be a response to challenges and crisis, as these are the thoughts most commonly associated with innovation. but also taking into account the spatial setting and micro-sociological conditions of monasteries as social groups, acting as agents in the process of diffusion. From this point of view, the

⁹¹⁷ Fórizs, "Üvegkészítés Magyarországon," 122.

⁹¹⁸ Stefan Weinfurter, "Innovation in Klöstern und Orden des hohen Mittelalters." In *Innovation in Klöstern und Orden des Hohen Mittelalters. Aspekte und Pragmatik eines Begriffs* (Vita regularis 48), ed. Mirko Breitenstein, Stefan Burkhardt, and Julia Dücker. Münster: LIT Verlag, 2012, 298-299. Themes in this volume revolve rather around the aspects of monastic reform, and innovative organizational ideas, some theroretical considerations are, however, relevant from the point of view technological-organizational issues too.

⁹¹⁹ Lucas, Wind, Water, Work,

⁹²⁰ Ulrich Müller, "Innovation und Technologietransfer im Handwerk. Einführende Bemerkungen." In Mitteilungen der Deutsche Gesellschaft für Archäologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit: Innovation und Technologietransfer. Sachkultur – Bauforschung – Produktion, ed. Manfred Schneider. Basel: 2002, 11-22. Internet publication. Open access: http://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/mitt-dgamn/issue/archive

problem of Cistercian innovation shall be seen not only in terms of economic drives and technological excellence, but more broadly as a response to the particular socio-economic setting the monasteries were faced with. The glass workshop, with its organizational model, as well as the agro-sylvicultural exploitation of its surroundings can be conceived as a truly innovative solution that took account of the available resources, environmental and social conditions, and adapted an appropriate organizational model, with the aim to yield economic profit, targeting the markets with a mass produce, manufactured efficiently and at an acceptable quality.

Another interpretive problem is whether this move as an 'innovative' solution shall be considered as a response to a critical situation or as a step that is driven by the opportunity and is designed to take advantage of otherwise favourable circumstances (market leap, natural resources etc.). P21 The above detailed historical data confirms a crisis-response scenario for the late fourteenth century period, in the fifteenth century, however, the convent did not seem to experience such pitfalls any more. In 1422 and 1470 the general chapter statutes refer to the monastery and its abbot as exemplary in as much as the purity of monastic life was concerned, and it seems that for the most part of the fifteenth century the abbey became the central agent of reform attempts, with supervision over other Hungarian houses. However, since the chronology of the glass workshop has not been firmly established yet, future archaeological results will have the last word about which of the above described historical contexts may apply.

Either way, the historical data implies that the implementation of the aforementioned economic model at Pilis owes much to the presence of monks arriving from Austria (and Southern Germany), and thus can be an example of "technology transfer". In the region of the Erzberg the Cistercians of Altzella, Grünhain and Ossegg were intensively involved in woodland clearance and colonization from the early thirteenth century on, and in the discoveries of local silver mines. The development of mining towns was going parallel to the economic

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⁹²¹ Helmut Hundsbichler, *Innovation und Kontinuität als Determinanten von Alltag und Fortschritt. In: Alltag und Fortschritt im Mittelalter.* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs 8: Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 470), ed. Harry Kühnel. Wien: VÖAW, 1986, 65.

⁹²² St 1422:22: "Capitulum generale in certis regnis ac provinciis certos reformatores inferius nominandos de quorum idoneitate constat, et conscientiarum puritate praesumitur, non improvide duxit deputare...Pro provincia Strigoniensi abbatem de Pelisio"; St 1470:18: Franciscus Enkanitati is appointed as abbot, because of his virtues.On the other hand, St 1413:71 still shows that there were disciplinary issues in the convent, and in 1494 (St 1494:57) the abbot of Heiligenkreuz is commissioned to reform the Pilis monastery 'in capite et membris'.

development of Cistercian estates. It was primarily the estate of Ossegg, where forest glass furnaces and workshops were established, in the surroundings of Seiffen (within an area of about 10 square km). Glass production is evidenced there by geographical names. This activity was mainly dated to the thirteenth century based on ceramic finds and it seems that it did not continue after the mid fourteenth century. 923

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⁹²³ Albrecht Kirsche, *Zisterzienser, Glasmacher und Drechsler. Glashütten in Erzgebirge und Vogtland und ihr Einfluss auf die Seiffener Holzkunst.* Münster: Waxmann, 2005, 29–47.

CHAPTER 6: URBAN PROPERTIES AND THE ROLE OF MARKET AND TRADE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The interest of monastic communities towards urban centres, markets, and trade manifested in various ways: in acquiring trade privileges, collecting custom taxes, holding markets and fairs, owning different kinds of urban properties (houses, taverns, market stalls, ports, market places, mills etc.) and even controlling whole towns. Park As for the Cistercians, their interests in trade was documented very early on by the general chapter statutes. Park Historical research generally acknowledges the point – put forward also in the statutes – that the primary aim of the Cistercians' presence in towns was to sell the excess of produce on the market and to reinforce their ability for self-sufficiency. With regard to the English houses, for example, Donkin assumed that "what induced the monasteries to seek their own premises was probably their growing interest in the marketing of wool." In consequence of this, control over urban space was coupled with control over trade (through privileges and exemptions). Thus, urban properties and the role of market and trade in Cistercian economy were clearly interrelated. As constituents of the estates' organizational system they cannot (and shoud not) be treated independently from the themes of agrarian or industrial production. This is demonstrated by

⁹²⁴ See these points illustrated on examples from England, based on the rich historical and landscape archaeological evidence: Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, 259–294. (Chapter 14 on "Monastic boroughs, markets, and urban property").

⁹²⁵ Winfried Schich, "Zum Problem des Einstiegs der Zisterzienser in den Handel im 12. Jahrhundert unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Ordensstatutes *De nundinis*", in *Historia i kultura cystersów w dawnej Polsce i ich europejskie zwizki*, ed. Jerzy Strzelczyk. Poznán: Uniwersytet Imienia Adama Mickiewicza, 1987, 33–59.; The 12th 13th century statutes concerning town houses have been surveyed by Reinhard Schneider, "Stadthöfe der Zisterzienser. Zu ihrer Funktion und Bedeutung," in *Zisterzienser Studien*, vol 4, ed. Franz J. Felten – Michael Töpfer. Berlin: Colloqium Verlag, 1979, 11–28.

 ⁹²⁶ Werner Rösener, "Agrarwirtschaft, Agrarverfassung und ländliche Gesellschaft im Mittelalter," (Enzyklopedie deutscher Geschichte 13), (München: De Gruyter, 1992), 86. See also the whole Chapter 2 ("Grundprobleme und Tendenzen der Forschung"). Burton – Kerr, *Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, 160.
 ⁹²⁷ Donkin, *The Cistercians*, 169.

studies, which discuss together e.g. craftmanship and trade, ⁹²⁸ or the topography of manorial farms and urban houses. ⁹²⁹

As town archives yield a large quantity of source materials, one would be right to assume that there is generally more data about the monks' economic activities in towns, than about other aspects of monastic economy. As a matter of fact, the blend of urban and Cistercian studies offered a vantage point, that has generated substantial interest since the 1970s. Based partly on town records (as well as the records of Cistercian archives) studies revealed the often intricate and multifaceted social background of Cistercian economic activities. There has been also a large amount of topographical data accumulated. Apart from discussions concerning site selection strategies –, i.e. the analysis of environmental, and landscape geographical conditions in the immediate surroundings of the abbeys 12 – not only our knowledge of urban topography was significantly improved, 13 but also the traditional image of the order, emphasizing seclusion, had been questioned: close connections between Cistercian sites and

⁹²⁸ See e.g. Winfried Schich, "Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit der Zisterzienser. Handel und Gewerbe," in *Die Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit*, ed. Kaspar Elm, Peter Jorissen and Hermann J. Roth, (Köln: Rheinland Verlag, 1980), 217–236; Doris Bulach, "... unde oft uns wes overlopet.", dat moge wy vorkopen thu unser nut ... Die besondere Rolle von Handwerk, Gewerbe und Handel bei Zisterzienserklöstern östlich der Elbe," in *Norm und Realität: Kontinuität und Wandel der Zisterzienser im Mittelalter* (Vita regularis 42), ed. Franz J. Felten and Werner Rösener, (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2009), 150–178.

⁹²⁹ Winfried Schich, "Grangien und Stadthöfe der Zisterzienserklöster östlich der mittleren Elbe bis zum 14. Jahrhundert," in *Zisterziensische Wirtschaft und Kulturlandschaft* (Studien zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Zisterzienser, 3), ed. Winfried Schich (Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 1998), 64–98.

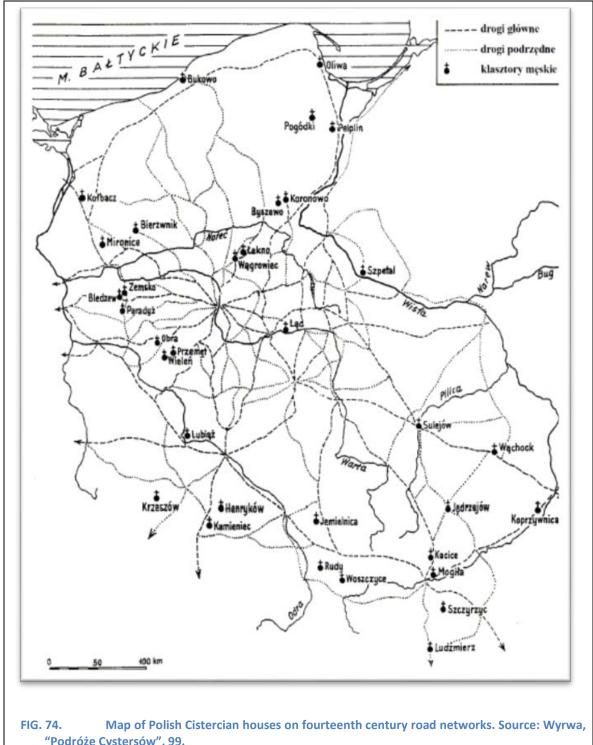
⁹³⁰ See especially the volumes of *Zisterzienser Studien*, published by the Friedrich Meinecke Institut in Berlin. Winfried Schich's essays on this topic have been collected in a volume: Winfried Schich, *Wirtschaft und Kulturlandschaft: Gesammelte Beiträge 1977 bis 1999 zur Geschichte der Zisterzienser und der "Germania Slavica"* (Bibliothek der brandenburgischen und preussischen Geschichte 12), (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2007).

⁹³¹ E.g. Wolfgang Bender, *Zisterzienser und Städte* (Studien zu den Beziehungen zwischen den Zisterzienserklöstern und den grossen urbanen Zentren des mittleren Moselraumes (12.-14. Jahrhundert) (Trier: THF, 1992).; Reinhard Schneider, *Vom Klosterhaushalt zum Stadt- und Staatshaushalt. Der zisterziensische Beitrag*, (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1994).

⁹³² See on this Barbara Scholkmann, "Spirituelle und materielle Realität. Überlegungen zu Standortvoraussetzungen und Determinanten der Platzwahl monastischer Anlagen am Beispiel des Zisterzienserklosters Bebenhausen," *Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich* 12 (1996): 151–168.; Andrzej M. Wyrwa, "Voraussetzungen und Motive der Ansiedlung von Zisterziensern in Groβpolen," in: *Zisterzienser. Norm, Kultur, reform 900 Jahre Zisterzienser*, ed. Ulrich Knefelkampf (Berlin: Springer, 1998), 91–126.; C. James Bond, "The location and siting of Cistercian houses in Wales and the west," *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 154 (2007): 51–79; József Laszlovszky, "Középkori kolostorok a tájban, középkori kolostortájak," [Medieval monasteries in the landscape, medieval monastic landscapes], in "*Quasi liber et pictura" Tanulmányok Kubinyi András hetvenedik születésnapjára*, ed. Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: ELTE Régészettudományi Intézet, 2004), 337–349.

⁹³³ See e.g. the example of Würzburg: Winfried Schich, "Die Stadthöfe der frankischen Zisterzienserklöster in Würzburg. Von den Anfängen bis zum 14. Jahrhundert," *in Zisterzienser Studien*, vol 3 (Studien zur europäischen

trade routes, as well as between the lands of a particular monasteries and the local networks of roads and towns were demonstrated. 934



"Podróże Cystersów", 99.

Geschichte 13), ed. Wolfgang Ribbe (Berlin: Colloqium Verlag 1976), 45-94; A collection of case studies concerning Stadthöfe is found in Schneider, "Stadthöfe der Zisterzienser," 19.

⁹³⁴ Cf. Robert A. Donkin, "The Urban Property of the Cistercians in Medieval England", Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis 15 (1959): 104–131; Idem, The Cistercians, 135-170 (i.e. the whole Chapter 5 on "Towns and Trade");

Before discussing evidence from Hungary, it is worth going through briefly some relevant points highlighted in the above listed literatures – particularly in connection to the region East of the Elbe. In the less densely populated peripheral regions of Europe urban development was belated and less dynamic. Cistercian expansion into these regions could contribute, from the beginning, to the emergence of new urban centres through colonizing empty lands, strengthening local markets, and establishing new ones – even creating boroughs. Nonetheless, in comparison to the majority of the abbeys founded in more developed regions and earlier, they had generally less chance and time to establish an extensive network of links to urban centres. There was often only one significant urban location, not very far from the abbeys, where they had properties. Overall, towns seem to have played a less significant role in the economy of these monasteries.

The earliest acquisitions of town houses date from the mid-twelfth century – e.g. in case of the Mosel valley. 937 Often, they were situated in diocesan seats, as they were received from local bishops. In the late twelfth century these houses typically functioned as hospices or residences (used also by the abbots during their travels). From the thirteenth century on, however, Cistercians also started investing money in buying up urban properties, and their motives were clearly economic. Due to the transition to rent based economy, town houses were often rented out, generating money income. Some houses had extensive lands near the towns (usually

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Winfried Schich, "Zur Rolle des Handels in der Wirtschaft der Zisterzienserkloster im nordöstlichen Mitteleuropa während der zweiten Hälfte des 12. und der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts," in *Zisterzienser Studien*, vol 4, ed. Franz J. Felten – Michael Töpfer. Berlin: Colloqium Verlag, 1979, 133 –169; Idem, "Grangien und Stadthöfe"; Idem, "Topographische Lage und Funktion zisterziensischer Stadthöfe im Mittelalter," in Wirtschaft und Kulturlandschaft: Gesammelte Beiträge 1977 bis 1999 zur Geschichte der Zisterzienser und der "Germania Slavica" (Bibliothek der brandenburgischen und preussischen Geschichte 12), (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2007), 127–142. Christian Gahlbeck, "Zur Frage der Wirtschaftsbeziehungen der Zisterzienser zu den Städten der Neumark" in Zisterziensische Wirtschaft und Kulturlandschaft (Studien zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Zisterzienser, 3), ed. Winfried Schich (Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 1998), 99 –139; Idem, "Die Ausbreitung der Zisterzienser in den Herzogtümern Polens," Norm und Realität: Kontinuität und Wandel der Zisterzienser im Mittelalter (Vita regularis 42), ed. Franz J. Felten and Werner Rösener, (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2009), 489–551. Andrzej M. Wyrwa, "Podróże Cystersów oraz idea, organizacja i promocja Szlaku Cysterskiego w Polsce", Studia Periegetica 6 (2008): 87-129. Available at:

https://papers.wsb.poznan.pl/sites/papers.wsb.poznan.pl/files/StudiaPeriegetica/6 2 2008.pdf

⁹³⁵ Schich "Grangien und Stadthöfe", 80-82, and 84 mentions the example of Leubus and the thirteenth century creation of the market town (*oppidum*) of Müncheberg.

⁹³⁶ Cf. Gahlbeck, "Zur Frage der Wirtschaftsbeziehungen", 137. (with regard to Neumark); Idem, "Die Ausbreitung der Zisterzienser", 545 (with regard to Polish abbeys). Gahlbeck also argues that this may partly explain why e.g. later foundations were less successful in economic terms. Schich, "Grangien und Stadthöfe," 76, 80-81.

⁹³⁷ Bender, Zisterzienser und Städte, passim.

vineyards), and the urban *curiae* (*Stadthöfe*) were typically functioning also as administrative centres, local headquarters of estate management (districts), collecting tithes and other incomes, storing and selling products. The administrative role of town houses/urban manors was observed also in case of the Cistercian estates in Asutria. It seems to have developed, however, less typically in our region, which can be perhaps explained by the circumstance that the relatively small and more compact estates did not require setting such functionality.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, conflicts of interest emerged between towns and monasteries, requiring arbitration by princely or royal authorities. At the core of these controveries lay the "strategy" of monasteries to secure financial incomes by acquiring privileges, tax exemptions, particularly in connection to trade related activities and urban properties. At once, these conflicts illuminate the growing economic role of urban centres and trade. Yet, rulers and kings were motivated by the same interest and were granting privileges to towns, in return of which they imposed taxes, which became increasingly important revenue streams of their chambers. Therefore, conflicts between towns and abbeys were often resolved by cutting back monastic privileges in order to increase the potential basis of royal revenues. From a general point of view, much of the data discussed in the literatures were produced in connection to these conflicts, also because town communities became increasingly protective about their sources of profit.

The aim of this chapter is to look into the above outlined issues, concerning the economic connections of monasteries to towns and trade, examining more closely the topography of urban and peri-urban properties (farms, vineyards, mills, town houses) and the relations to roads. I discuss also data concerning the functions of town houses, when available, as well as financial details of contracts/rentals, and trade and salt privileges. The available materials provide a fragmentary, but multifaceted picture. As has been explained in Beatrix F. Romhányi's essay, 940 the general situation in Hungary contradicts the "frontier thesis": Cistercian houses were

⁹³⁸ Schich, "Grangien und Stadthöfe", 78-79. 86 and 89. Examples here include e.g. Dobrilugk and its town house in Luckau, as well as Zinna and its house in Jüterbog. By the end of the fourteenth century, these town houses, or rather urban manors (Stadthöfe) were exempted from paying tax by the town magistrates. The fifteenth century tithe register of Zinna mentions e.g. the *grangiarius* in Jüterbog. Similar references may indicate that such *curiae* were not simply hospices, but functioned as economic units. This is also reflected by the parallel use of terms, *curia* and *grangia*, in papal charters, understood as urban and rural *Hofs*, i.e. manors. Cf. Schneider, "Stadthöfe der Zisterzienser," 18.

⁹³⁹ See on this Ernst Holzfeind, *Die wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Verhältnisse bei den Cistercen in Österreich von deren Gründung bis zum "Schwarzen Tod.* (PhD sissertation, unpub.:), (Wien: Universität Wien, 1957).
⁹⁴⁰ F. Romhányi, "The Role of the Cistercians."

typically located with good access to nearby roads, markets and centres. The analysis presented here will focus also on the micro-topography of urban properties, and will look deeper into the archival materials, discussing how Cistercians exploited connections to markets, how contacts between Cistercian abbeys and urban communities developed, and how urban premises were used – whether they functioned as residental sites, warehouses, wineshanks, or agricultural or industrial premises.

6.2 DISCUSSION

6.2.1 Borsmonostor (Klostermarienberg) – its connections to the nearby market towns and long-distance trade

In case of Borsmonostor, sources provide a multifaceted picture of the diverse geographical range of different trade related economic resources, and of the Cistercians' continuing interest in local as well as in long-distance trade. The site of the abbey was only a few kilometres away from Locsmand (Lutzmannsburg), which was the seat of a county (comitatus). Following the arrival of the Cistercians, however, the comitatus disintegrated and ceased to function as an organizational-territorial unit during the course of the late thirteenth century. 941 Still, it has remained the centre of a castle domain and a local node of ecclesiastical administration, the seat of an arch-deaconry. As such, it also functioned as a tithe collection district. In 1361, it was mentioned as oppidum, i.e. market town, 942 thus, it must have preserved its role as a central place and its economic gravity must have have contributed to the emergence of local markets. The market in Locsmand itself was mentioned as early as 1156.943 There were two other markets in the immediate vicinity of both the abbey and Locsmánd: in Répcekethely (Mannersdorf) and Répcemicske (Strebersdorf). These were donated to Borsmonostor by the founder, *Dominicus banus*, mentioned as *predia* in the foundation grant (ca 1190), ⁹⁴⁴ and a few years later (around 1200), King Emeric I also gave the rights to collect the market tolls (tributum) in Répcekethely and Répcemicske - this time they were mentioned as villae cum tributo. 945 Although Borsmonostor was a private foundations, and these places originally belonged to the founder, revenues from these markets were considered as instalments of the office of the comes parochialis (ispán), and it was not the founder patron, but the king, who

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⁹⁴¹ Cf. Kristó Gyula, "A locsmándi várispánság felbomlása," [The dissolution of the *comitatus* of Locsmánd], *Soproni Szemle* 23 (1969) 131–144.

⁹⁴² MNL OL, DL 6075 (1372-11-22): "opidum Luczman"; see Csánki, vol 3, 593. (It was dated by Csánki to 1361.) ⁹⁴³ The forum in Locsmánd is mentioned in 1156: MNL OL, DL 15 (1156-00-00> 1171-00-00 > 1412); pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 1-2; A full list of locations with markets mentioned in the Árpád Period has been compiled by Boglárka Weisz, A királyketteje és az ispán harmada - Vámok és vámszedés Magyarországon a középkor első felében [Customs and Customs Duties in Hungary in the First Part of the Middle Ages], (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2013), 247. As noted there, based on Péter Püspöki Nagy, the authenticity of the document is doubtful. Cf. Péter Püspöki Nagy, Piacok és vásárok kezdetei Magyarországon 1000–1301. I. Az Árpád-kori vásártartás írott emlékei és azok kritikája az államszervezéstől a tatárjárásig [The origins of markets and fairs in Hungary 1000-1301], (Budapest: Gondolat, 1989), 106.

⁹⁴⁴ MNL OL, DL 34 (ca 1190-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, A *borsmonostori*, 109, no. 1.; pub.: Wenzel, vol 11, 57-58; Kovács, *A borsmonostori*, 217.

⁹⁴⁵ MNL OL, DL 38 (ca 1198-1202); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 110 (no.3)pub.: CD III/1 p.456-457. "*Preterea forum in Meynhart et aliud forum in villa Michsa cum tributo sicut hactenus libere eos possidere concessimus.*"; Cf. Weisz, *A királyketteje*, 266-267 (Répcekethely/Mannersdorf), 268-269 (Micske/Strebersdorf).

⁹⁴⁹ Ibid.

could form the right to donate.⁹⁴⁶ As a result of some controversy between his son, *comes* Bors, and the abbey, the abbey's right to the *tributum* was confirmed later in other letters, all of which were, however, forged (probably by the Cistercians in Heiligenkreuz).⁹⁴⁷

What is interesting about weakly fairs is that their origins remain mostly undocumented. They could be found all over the country, but one mostly knows about them from toponyms marking the respective days of the week (i.e. the day of the fair). Together with other settlements with occupational names (of service people specializing in different agricultural and industrial activities), they could have formed the economic base of royal domains and castle districts (counties). The earliest references on the collection of market tolls (and road tolls) appear in connection to the centres of counties and major ecclesiastical domains, have as well as in their close neighbourhood—, since local trade was directed primarily to these high-status sites (central places), as illustrated by the case of Locsmánd. These places represent the earliest phase of urban development in medieval Hungary (eleventh and twelfth centuries).

As Erik Fügedi has pointed out, market rights and tolls had been – almost exclusively – under royal control until the mid-twelfth century. In the late twelfth century King Bela III started to donate such rights to lay and ecclesiastical landlords, however, Fügedi underlines that in case of Borsmonostor this was not simply a privilege, but eto preserve the *immunity* of the monastery

⁹⁴⁶ As Weisz noted the *tributum* was considered clearly as separate from other incomes collected there as rent. The *forum liberum* must have meant that the whole *tributum*, i.e. including both the king's part (2/3) and the comes' part (1/3) was assigned to the abbey. (As in other cases – see on this: Weisz, *A királyketteje*, 27).

⁹⁴⁷ MNL OL, DL 110 (interpolated) (1224-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 113 (no.14); pub.: CD vol III/1, 455-457. – DL n/a (falsum) (1224-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 113 (no.13); pub.: CD, vol III/1, 455, FRA, vol 1, 293. – DL 124 (falsum), plus two other originals DL 36445/ DF 208358 (1230-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery *A borsmonostori*, 116 (no.21); pub.: CD vol III/2, 189. – DL 776 (falsum) (ca 1224-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 114 (no. 18); pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 5. – DL 779 (falsum) (ca. 1230-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery *A borsmonostori*, 117 (no.23); pub.: CD vol III/2, 87, 197. Cf. Weisz, *A királyketteje*, 250 Lasztaj (Loisdorf), 266-267 Répcekethely (Mannersdorf), 268-269 Répcemicske (Strebersdorf), 320 Peresznye (Proscingen). These texts were intended to confirm also the collection of other revenues (e.g. wine tax). Weisz mistakenly assumes that market tolls were collected also in Peresznye (Proscingen) and Lasztaj (Alsó-László/Unter-Loisdorf). These places must have been listed in these texts in other contexts (in connection to other taxes collected from there), whereas market tolls were collected only in Répcekethely and Répcemicske, as mentioned in the donation of King Emeric.

⁹⁴⁸ In the Szentgotthárd domain there was e.g. another *Kedhely*. The geographical distribution of toponyms marking the days of the week (*Kedhely/Szerdahely/Csütörtökhely/Szombathely*) has been mapped by Jenő Major, "A magyar városok és városhálózat kialakulásának kezdetei," (Anfänge der ungarischen Stadtentwicklung), *Településtudományi közlemények* 18 (1966): 48–90. Following Major's discussion, the importance of such places for early urban development has been briefly reviewed by Weisz, *A királyketteje*, 17. (With further literatures.)

and its estate. ⁹⁵⁰ In the thirteenth century, there is evidence that markets were newly introduced partly on the initiatives of monasteries, but these initiatives needed to be approved by the kings. This can be illustrated on the example of the Premonstratensian abbey of Jászó, which decided to organize a market in 1243. ⁹⁵¹ Although the text does not specifiy, this could have been done by the king's permission, as elsewhere. ⁹⁵² Royal control over markets and the collection of tolls was reinforced in the late thirteenth, when it was decreed that only those priveleges/tolls/tributes are acknowledged rightful, which date back to at least the time of King Bela IV. ⁹⁵³ Fourteenth century sources also imply that establishing weekly markets needed approval from the kings, ⁹⁵⁴ even if this was meant to be a formal act, confirming the status quo. As for annual markets, they definitely required permissions – the aforementioned Premonstratensian house of Jászó also obtained this, but much later, in 1394. ⁹⁵⁵

Since Borsmonostor "inherited" a system-in-place, there was no need for the monks to request permits. They certainly did not promote the status of weekly markets by obtaining rights to organize annual markets, although their revenues from the tolls – granted to them in King Emeric I's privilege – could surely increase that way. They could, however, exploit these places through their domanial properties. In addition to acquiring such lands (see the details in Chapter 3), the monks also got hold of two mills in Locsmánd, in the late fourteenth century – one was granted, the other purchased. Sing Andrew II's 1225 confirmation letter mentions two-two mills within the boundaries of Répcekethely and Répcemicske as well. These could be either installed by the monks, or perhaps they were already part of the original donation. There was a bathhouse (balneum) in Répcekethely mentioned in 1522, and also a Hof /curia described as

⁹⁵⁰ Erik Fügedi, "Középkori magyar városprivilégiumok" [Ungarische Stadtprivilegen im Mittelalter], *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 14 (1961): 30.

⁹⁵¹ MNL OL, DL n/a; pub.: CD, vol IV/1, 304.

⁹⁵² Schich, Grangien und Stadhöfe, 84.

⁹⁵³ Weisz, *A királyketteje*, 19. (This could include the weekly markets too).

⁹⁵⁴ András Kubinyi, "A magyarországi városhálózat 14-15 századi fejlődésének néhány kérdése," [Einige Fragen zur Entwicklung des Städtenetzes von Ungarn im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert]. *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 19 (1972): 41–42. Data from the mid-fourteenth century imply that whenever landlords wished to establish weakly markets, they needed royal permissions.

⁹⁵⁵ MNL OL, DL n/a; pub.: CD, vol X/2, 195. Both sources were mentioned by Lőrinc Spilka, "Jászó története 1243-tól 1552ig," [The History of Jászó from 1243 to 1552], *A Jászóvári Premontrei Kanonokrend Gödöllői Szent-Norbert Gimnáziuma Évkönyve* 1 (1942—1943) (Gödöllő: n/a (private edition), 1943): 411. Annual markets were usually not mentioned before the fourteenth century. Their introduction also required royal consent from the very beginning, as was the general rule later.

⁹⁵⁶ MNL OL, DL 11016 (1381-11-01 > 1418-04-25 > 1421-02-09); reg.: Rupp, vol 1, 470. – DL 7161 (1385-07-26 > 1393-05-10); reg.: Zs, vol 1, no.2926; pub.: CD, vol X/1, 265–266 and CD, vol X/2, 147–148.

domus libera. 957 There is no information when these were established, however, Répcekethely also became an *oppidum* later, 958 which confirms its role as a central place.

Apart from local markets, the tenants of the abbey also visited neighbouring towns (Csepreg and Sárvár). It is in this context, that their territorial exemption from staple rights (i.e. paying custom tolls, i.e. road/bridge tolls) turns up in some documents Similarly to the part of the tributum collected at markets, these custom tolls also belonged to the office of the comes, and were not private tolls. 959 The collective exemption of the abbey from tolls (which must have benefited not only the monks, but also the tenants) is mentioned for the first time in the aforementioned set of forged charters, dated to the 1220-1230s – authentic transcriptions from the late thirteenthcentury suggest that these were forged before the 1270s. Apart from these, the first authentic letter mentioning the collective – but specifically territorial – exemption of the abbey dates from 1339.960 It was issued by the count (comes parochialis) of Co. Sopron and Co. Vas, "confirming" exemption from paying tolls in Sopron and Vas Counties. There were two particular locations mentioned hereby: Ukas/Füles (Nikitsh) and Szakonyfalva. In 1360, the exemption from paying road toll at Ukas/Füles was approved once again by the Burggraf (castellanus) of Kőszeg, on the condition that the abbey takes care of the maintenance of the bridge between Ukas/Füles and Malomháza, as it was frequently used by the carts of the abbey's tenants. 961 As pointed out in Chapter 3, Malomháza was one of the possible granges of the abbey. In 1371, the arbitration of the comes (comes parochialis) of Sopron was requested in a conflict with the *castellanus* of Kőszeg, who seem to have violated the abbey's exemption. As explained, the abbey's tenants were to travel freely through Szakonyfalva, when going to the

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⁹⁵⁷ MNL OL, DL 23698 (1522-11-19); pub.: Kovács, *A borsmonostori*, 133. "domus illa nostra libera, que sita est et constructa in Manesdorff, circa balneum, et publicam viam cum omnibus suis pertinentiis scilicet pratis aquis, hortis, extirpationibus fundis, et locis unacum pomario videlicet prato Silvestro vocato" The text does not imply that the bath was abbey property, however, the whole village belonged to the abbey, so the bath was most probably in the hands of the abbey.

⁹⁵⁸ See e.g. the title of the map drawn by Georg Braun, Frans Hogenberg, Joris Hoefnagel, Jacob Hoefnagel: Eisenstadium vulgo Eisnstat, in ultimis finibus Austrie Inferioris civitas Mannersdorfium, oppidum in extremis confinibus Inferioris Austriæ, et Hungariæ situm Coloniae Agrippinae, 1612-1618.

⁹⁵⁹ Cf. Péter Haraszti Szabó, "A 14. század eleji megye kereskedelemirányító feladatai és a honor rendszer," *Korall* 53 (2013): 135. See also: Weisz, *A királyketteje*, 165.

 $^{^{960}}$ MNL OL, DL 3224 (1339-04-25); reg.: AOklt, vol XXIII, 107.; pub.: Sopron, vol I, 144-145. The letter refers to former (royal and papal) grants.

⁹⁶¹ MNL OL, DL 5003 (1360-11-01); pub.: Sopron, vol I, 332–333. "si vnd ire nachchunftig ze Vgus nimmer schullen dhain maud geben".

town of Csepreg, without paying the toll. ⁹⁶² In addition to Récpekethely, Répcemicske, and Locsmánd, the produce (most probably wine and grain) coming from the estate (from the tenants, or from the abbey farms) could be transported and sold at the markets of Csepreg and Sárvár. Both were situated more distantly, but they were major centres, which already started gaining economic significance in the late thirteenth century. ⁹⁶³

Long distance trade was another option, maybe partly directed to those places, where the abbey had already interests in collecting tolls. For example, the testament of comes Bors (1237), although a forgery, ⁹⁶⁴ mentions the toll (*tributum pontis*) collected at the bridge between Sajókaza and Sajóvadna in Co. Borsod, i.e. in the eastern part of the country, where the estate of the patron family was situated – some 400 kms away from Borsmonostor. Also from this year, another forged document stateed that the abbey had been granted the half of the toll collected at Lake Fertő. ⁹⁶⁵ Furthermore, Borsmonostor had a share from the royal salt mines, which was administered to them in the town of Sopron (Ödenburg), as described by King Andrew's confirmation letter in 1225. ⁹⁶⁶ Other abbeys – including the Cistercians of Egres, Ercsi, Pétervárad, Pilis, Pornó, Szentgotthárd, Zirc as well as Borsmonostor's Asutrian mother house, Heligenkreuz – also received supply from the Transylvanian salt mines, and except Egres, which was commissioned to deposit and transport salt on the River Maros, ⁹⁶⁷ their shares were administered by royal officials (*salinarii*) at different salt depots (e.g. in Székesfehérvár, Pozsony, Sopron, Vasvár in Transdanubia). ⁹⁶⁸ For Borsmonostor this location was Sopron, ⁹⁶⁹

⁹⁶² MNL OL, DL 5906 (1371-01-28); pub.: Sopron, vol I, 391–392. : "cum tamen iobagiones dicti monasterii in confinitate dicti monasterii existentes a diebus antiquis et tempore quorumlibet suorum predecessorum ad civitatem Chepreg transire volentes, nunquam solucione tributi ville Zakon debitores fuissent"

⁹⁶³ See e.g. József Dénes, "Két alapvető kérdés Csepreg kialakulása körül. Adalékok Csepreg településtörténeti vázlatához," [Two fundamental questions about the origins of Csepreg. Data to Csepreg's settlement historical outline], *Vasi Szemle* 60 (2006/4): 422-426.

⁹⁶⁴ MNL OL, DL 219 (1237-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, *A borsmonostori*, 120-121; pub.: CD, vol IV/1, 61. Cf. Weisz, *A királyketteje*, 415.

⁹⁶⁵ MNL OL, DL 220 (falsum) (1237-00-00); reg.: Szentpéteryi, *A borsmonostori*, 121; pub.: CD, vol IV/1, 98; W, vol XI, 294. Cf. Weisz, *A királyketteje*, 161.

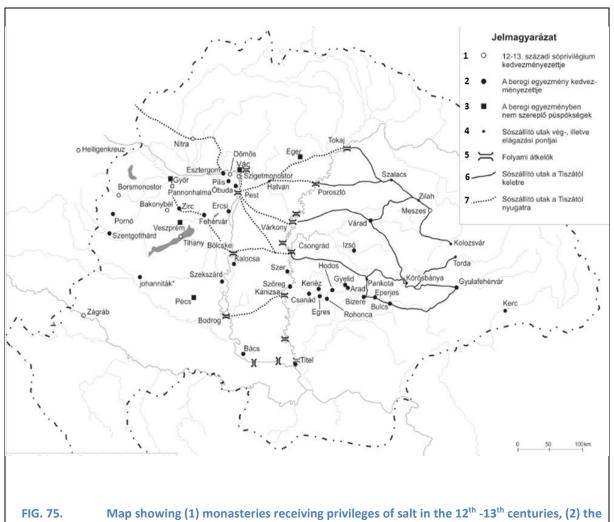
⁹⁶⁶ MNL OL, DL 120 (1225-00-00 >1291-08-17> 1317 > 1327); reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 64-66.; pub.: CD, vol III/2, 59: "*Dedimus etiam eis ducentos zuanos salium magnorum in castro Supprimiensi*" Sources concerning the salt revenues of Borsmonostor, of other Cistercian and Benedictine abbeys have been comprehensively discussed by Beatrix F Romhányi, "A beregi egyezmény és a magyarországi sókereskedelem az Árpád-korban," [The Oath of Bereg and the Hungarian salt trade in the Árpád-period], in *Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Évkönyv 2016: Válság – Kereskedelem*, ed. György Kövér – Ágnes Pogány – Boglárka Weisz (Budapest: MTA BTK Történettudományi Intézet, 2016), 265–302. As explained there in detail, there are later royal charters – forgeries – for Borsmonostor, which mention 1000 cubes (*zuanos*).

⁹⁶⁷ Hervay, Repertorium, 96; pub.: MES, vol 1,

⁹⁶⁸ Romhányi, "A beregi egyezmény", 269.

⁹⁶⁹ MNL OL, DL 86815 (1225-00-00); reg.: Hervay, Repertorium, 66; pub.: Sopron, vol 1, 9-17.

for Pétervárad it was Szeged (Co. Csongrád), ⁹⁷⁰ for Pilis, it was Szalacs (Co. Bihar), ⁹⁷¹ for Pornó and Szentgotthárd it was Vasvár (Co. Vas) [*FIG.* 75]. ⁹⁷²



beneficiaries named in the Oath of Bereg – including Benedictine, Cistercian houses, (3) dioecesan seats not mentioned in that document, (4) end nodes of salt transportation routes, (5) ferries (6-7) and reconstructed transportation routes. (Source: F. Romhányi, "A beregi egyezmény", 270.)

The above listed places could be of importance for the Cistercians also because they could potentially trade their produce there. As Borsmonostor was situated close to the Austrian border (similarly to Szentgotthárd), trade contacts must have involved cross-border trade. The confirmation letter of King Andrew II (1225) is quite explicit on this, giving also permission to Borsmonostor to import and export salt, linen and other commodities and remain duty free at

⁹⁷⁰ MNL OL, DL 216 (1237-06-24); reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 135.; pub.: Wenzel, vol 7, 27–31.

⁹⁷¹ MNL OL, DL n/a, (1236-02-08); reg: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 142; pub.: Theiner, vol 1, 143.

⁹⁷² Pornó: MNL OL, DL 99838 (1233-10-01); reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 154; pub.: Wenzel, vol 6, 517.
Szentgotthárd: MNL OL, DL 99839 (1233-10-01); reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 160; pub.: RA, vol 1, no. 505.

any border custom, however, they were only allowed to provision their own needs. 973 "Other commodities" likely included grain 974 and wine. 975

Cross-border transports were also important for Borsmonostor's mother house, Heiligenkreuz. The Austrian abbey had lands in Hungary and also received a yearly amount of salt – donated by King Andrew II in 1208. With regard to this, and to regular contacts between the filia and the mother house, it is very probable that Borsmonostor's export-import trade was directed to Heiligenkreuz – and, of course, to Vienna. The continuing importance of cross-border transports is underlined by King Louis I's privilege to Heiligenkreuz in 1374. For the provision of the monastery and of the brethrens, they were allowed to take out from the country (i.e. from the villages and manors (*curiae*) in Hungary) all sorts of food, including specifically oxen, calves, cows, sheep, pigs, poultry, cheese, grain and wool, without paying taxes (tolls) – *sine tributi solucione*. The seems that this letter was simply intended to allow the monastery to manage its lands in Hungary, and did not permit free trade. Its also important to note that the aforementioned document from 1339 explicitly states that tenants of Borsmonostor were also crossing the borders – apparently in the hope of selling their produce. One may presume that this was the case also with the tenants of Heiligenkreuz.

The royal town of Sopron could be an important point of contact for the two abbeys. As mentioned, their shares from the royal salt depots were administered there. Heiligenkreuz also

⁹⁷³ As above; "Permittimus etiam nos pro negociis suis libere sine tributo, et absque omni impedimento ingredi et egredi per omnes portas, et quidquid de salibus, seu lanis, seu quibuslibet aliis rebus suis, quas vendere ipsi habuerint, aut emerint, nullus ab eis, seu ministris ipsorum tributum exigere praesumat..."

⁹⁷⁴ The regional significance of grain trade can be highlighted on the example of the Premonstratensian priory of Csorna, which was situated 60 kms to the east from Borsmonostor. Csorna kept a fleet on the Danube cally and regularly transported grain to Vienna – Imre Kovács, "Fejezetek a csornai prépostság történetéből," *Magyar egyháztörténeti évkönyv* 1 (1994), 185-202. See also MNL OL, DL 16186 (1465-04-13): One of these boats is mentioned as "navis magna vulgo Kereph vocata" in another context, transporting the king's troops to Komarno (Komárom).

⁹⁷⁵ Among other towns, Kőszeg and Csepreg were both involved in trading wine to the west, and their conflicting interests generated quite a number of documents. Cf. Vera Bácskai, "Mezőgazdasági árutermelés és árucsere a mezővárosokban a 15. században," [Production and trade in 15th century market towns] *Agrártörténeti Szemle* 6 (1964) 8–13.

⁹⁷⁶ Heiligenkreuz StiftsArchiv (1208-00-00); reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 104; pub.: FRA Weis, vol II/11, 38–39. Source: http://monasterium.net/mom/AT-StiAH/HeiligenkreuzOCist/1208/charter?q=Suprun

⁹⁷⁷ Heiligenkreuz StiftsArchiv (1371-07-15); reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 107; pub.: FRA Weis, vol II/16, 299–300. "ut ipse quelibet victualia pro monasterio et fratribus suis necessaria, puta boves, vaccas, oves, vitulos, porcos, pullos, caseos, frumentum et alia quecunque victualia … et lanam de villis et curiis eorum in regno nostro habitorum … extraducere valeat atque possit sine tributi solutione"

Cf. http://monasterium.net/mom/AT-StiAH/HeiligenkreuzOCist/1374 VII 15.1/charter

⁹⁷⁸ The http://monasterium.net database does not list any other relevant charter, that would tell more details about cross border trade.

owned a plot in the town, the *Salzhaus*, donated by King Emeric I in 1195. ⁹⁷⁹ It was situated at the southern side of the Orsolya square (the salt market). As illustrated by an agreement concerning payments collected from the burghers at the Győr-Pozsony customs, Pilis and Zirc were also on good terms with Sopron – this dates, however, much later than the privileges of Borsmonostor and Heiligenkreuz. ⁹⁸⁰ Merchants from Vienna, Nuremberg and Cologne frequented the town, ⁹⁸¹ and from a general point of view the presence of German population was always significant in Sopron and in the surrounding province. As pointed out by Károly Mollay, the castle domain (of Sopron) was inhabited predominantly by a Hungarian population before 1195, but this has changed whem from the 1190s German settlers arrived. ⁹⁸² Dág was also colonized by German settlers, and most probably when in the hands of the Cistercians, thus, they could have played an active part in the colonization process.

Borsmonostor's contacts involved particularly one family (of German origin), the Agendorfers, who had their names from the name of a village: Ágfalva/Dág (today Agendorf). Dág was situated in the outskirst of Sopron and was originally part of the castle domain. Part of it was donated to the abbey (by the founder), the other part was given (by King Bela IV) to Peter, member of the family. 983 In 1265, when Peter was *castellanus* of Sopron, he purchased the other part of Dág from the abbey. Why the monks were willing to make this deal is unclear, but perhaps to win the support of Peter's family, and avoid possibile conflicts with the townfolk in Sopron. The land was confiscated from Peter by the newly appointed *comes* of Sopron, Laurentius of the Aba kindred, who also claimed the patronage right over Borsmonostor for

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⁹⁷⁹ It is mentioned in 1195, 1208, 1211, 1233. The Cistercians were selling their salt here – which they received from Transylvania – until 1354, when this activity was halted by concurrent transports of Austrian salt. The house was sold to the bishop of Zagreb beofere 1379. Cf. Ferenc Jankó, József Kücsán and Katalin Szende. (ed.): *Magyar Várostörténeti atlasz* (Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns), vol 1 (Sopron. Sopron: Győr-Moson-Sopron Megye Soproni Levéltára, 2010), 77. Referring to Mollay Károly (ed.): Erstes Grundbuch (Első telekkönyv1993, 1480-1553. Sopron város történeti forrásai Series A, vol 1. Sopron: 1993. XXXIV.

⁹⁸⁰ See King Sigismund's mandate to Tandorfer of Somorja, a collector at the Óvár customs. MNL, OL DL 351 (1407-07-06); reg.: Zs, vol 2, 67 (no. 5604); pub.: Házi, vol I/2, 4–5.

⁹⁸¹ Merchants from Cologne, however, do not appear in the sources before the fourteenth century and after 1420. Cf. Katalin Szende, "Kölni kereskedők a középkori Sopronban" [The Cologne merchants in medieval Sopron], in *Tanulmányok Csatkai Endre emlékére*, ed. Attila Környei and Katalin Szende. Sopron: Soproni Múzeum, 1996. 57–70.

⁹⁸² Károly Mollay, "Névtudomány és várostörténet Dágtól Ágfalváig (1195-1416)," [Namenkunde und Stadtgeschichte. Von Dag bis Agendorf (1195–1416)], *Soproni Szemle* 15 (1961/2): 117. See also

[&]quot;Névtudomány és várostörténet Dágtól Ágfalváig (1195-1416), II. rész" [Namenkunde und Stadtgeschichte. Von Dag bis Agendorf (1195–1416)], *Soproni Szemle* 15 (1961/3): 198. Colonization started before the Cistercians' arrival, however, it gained a new impetus from the 1190s.

⁹⁸³ Ibid. As a reward for his support in the wars against King Ottokar II of Bohemia.

himself in 1275. ⁹⁸⁴ Peter probably lost his land *propter suas offensas* against the castle warriors (*iobagiones castri*), for which he was considered as *malefactor et depredator regni* and was sentenced to death by the congregation of nobles and his fellow townsmen in 1278 – and beheaded subsequently. ⁹⁸⁵ Despite the political turmoils and the unfortunate fate of Peter, the abbey most likely remained in good terms with the family, who continued to play a very important role in Sopron's civic life in later times. ⁹⁸⁶

6.2.2 Kerc (Cîrţa) – its 'fundus' in the royal town of Sibiu (Szeben, Hermannstadt)

Kerc was a royal foundation, however, with a very small estate. It was situated in the Făgăraş region (Fogarascher Land/Fogarasföld/terra Blacorum), in the valley of the Olt River, near to a major N-S trade route leading through the lands of the Transylvanian Saxons, which was active already in the thirteenth century. At that time, it was Sibiu (Hermannstadt) and not Brasov (Kronstadt) – both were Saxon towns – that controlled the southern trade. 987 The abbey likely profited from local trade in its vicinity. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Hermannstadt was a major post in long distance trade, from where Saxon merchants travelled to as far as Buda, Vienna, Košice (Kassa) and Cracow, and the town became a transit point of Levantine trade. 988 King Louis I of Anjou (1342-1382) encouraged commercial activities of the Transylvanian Saxons, granting them free travel (exemption from road tolls) in 1365, 1372, 989 and it was likely from this period onward, that the possession of a town house as a resource could gain economic significance for the abbey. For example, the weekly market of the town was mentioned for the first time in 1328 and the earliest reference on the merchants' guild dates

⁹⁸⁴ MNL OL, DL 918 (1275-00-00); reg.: Szentpétery, A borsmonostori, 127 (no. 59); pub.: CD, vol V/2, 246.

⁹⁸⁵ For more information on the political context: Katalin Szende, "Fidelitas és politika. Kihez és miért volt hűséges Sopron városa a középkorban?", [Fidelitas und Politik. Wem und warum war Ödenburg im. Mittelalter treu?], *Soproni Szemle* 55 (2001): 343–355.

⁹⁸⁶ For the genealogical tree and archontological data concerning members of the family see Mollay, "Névtudomány", 117-118. Certain members of the family were married to Viennese burghers in the fourteenth century. Martinus Agendorfer, as member of the town council in Sopron, signed the letter confirming the contract concerning the acquisition of a mill (the so called *Angermüll*) in Locsmánd in 1385. See footnote 956.

⁹⁸⁷ Maria Pakucs-Willcocks, *Sibiu–Hermannstadt. Oriental trade in 16th century Transylvania*. Städteforschung A/73 (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2007), 29.

⁹⁸⁸ Pakucs-Willcocks, *Sibiu–Hermannstadt*, 6–15 (Chapter 2.: The early history of trade in Sibiu. Fourteenth – Fifteenth centuries); Concerning the Levantine connection, there has been a debate over the significance of this route versus the role of the Danube route in the medieval period. Cf: Zsigmond Pál Pach, "Levantine trade routes and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages," in Actes de XVe Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Bucarest, 10-17 août 1980; publié avec financière de l'UNESCO, du Conseil International de la Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines et du Bureau du Comité International des Sciences Historiques), ed. n/a (Bucarest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1982.), 222–230. Available in reprint: *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 60 (2007/1): 9–31.

⁹⁸⁹ Pakucs-Willkocks, Sibiu–Hermannstadt, 9.

from 1367. 990 The abbey's property in Hermannstadt is mentioned unfortunately only once, and chronologically much later: in 1430 a decision was made with the agreement of the abbot of Egres (the mother house of Kerc), who was named in the text as *visitator*, to sell a *fundus* to a local butcher. In return, a yearly payment of 40 pounds of linseed oil (*quadraginta libras olei ex semine lini boni preparati*) was requested. 991 As explained, the deal was made to compensate for the great losses the monastery suffered due to ransacks by heretics and the vlachs (*Olachi*). 992

The plot was mentioned also as *curia cum suis edificiis*, and it was situated *in platea Sporergasse civitatis Cibiniensis*. Topographically, the *Sporergasse*, i.e. the site of the *fundus* was situated at the *Salztor* near the city walls, ⁹⁹³ which might be particularly interesting in context of the suggestion that the abbey could have been involved in the production of salt by operating salt evaporation pans and using the nearby salt springs as sources. ⁹⁹⁴ Despite such opportunities and prospects, the monastery continued to suffer molestations and on the king's demand, it was merged with the provostry of Hermannstadt in 1474. ⁹⁹⁵ It seems very likely that the Dominicans, who moved into the inner town exactly this year, and left their former place

⁹⁹⁰ Harald Roth, *Hermannstadt. Kleine Geschichte einer Stadt in Siebenbürgen* (Wien-Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2005), 27.

⁹⁹¹ Oil was an important commodity, used also for sanctuary lamps. The cost of oil was an insignificant amount of expenditures (<1%) related to other houshold costs as shown by the early 16th century account book of the Franciscan convent in Sopron (Ödenburg). Cf. Neumann Tibor, "A soproni ferences kolostor a középkor végén," [The Franciscan monastery in Sopron in the late Middle Ages], in *Nyolcszáz esztendős a ferences rend. Művelődéstörténeti Műhely. Rendtörténeti konferenciák (8/1-2)* (Budapest: Magyar Napló Kiadó, 2013), 136–152. The amount indicated here is, however, much more. Counting with the price of 35 *denarii* for 1 pound of oil, as indicated by Neumann, the total income drawn yearly from this transaction could be valued about 6 florins (200-240 denarii=1florin in the early 15th c.). For a conversion table see: Peter Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 293.

⁹⁹² MNL OL, DF 244703 (1430-10-31); UbS=*Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol 1-7, ed. Franz Zimmermann, C. Werner, G. Gündisch. Köln, 1892 – 1991.; pub.: UbS, vol 4, 413–414. The early fifteenth century was an important period from the point of view of the vlachs. The earliest evidence of them being autonomous users of seals dates from 1413. Cf. Antal Lukács, "Fogarasföld autonómiája: keretek és korlátok. in *Történelmi autonómiák a Kárpát- medencében*, ed. Gusztáv Mihály Hermann and Zsuzsánna Kolumbán (Csíkszereda Hargita Megye Művelődési és a Nemzeti Kulturális Örökség Igazgatósága, 2004), 54–66, 56.

⁹⁹³ Roth, Hermannstadt, 33.

⁹⁹⁴ See: Horst Schuller, "Zisterzienserspuren in Siebenbürgen," in *Zisterziensisches Schreiben im Mittelalter. Das Skriptorium der Reiner Mönche* (Beiträge der Internationalen Tragung im Zisterzienserstift Rein. Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik Reihe A – Band 71), ed. Anton Schwob and Karin Kranich-Hofbauer (Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2005), 278. Schuller specifically mentions salt pans / salt springs. Although this suggestion may seem unlikely, considering that more significant supply of salt could come from the mines. However, surface mining has been described by István Draskóczy as a technology typical for the Árpád period. Cf. István Draskóczy, "Sóbányászat és-kereskedelem Magyarországon a középkorban," [Mining and trade of salt in medieval Hungary], *Valóság: Társadalomtudományi Közlöny* 57 (2014/4): 57.

⁹⁹⁵ MNL OL, DF 244991 (1474-02-27); pub.: UbS vol 7, 5-6.

just outside the Salztor, took over the premises of the Cistercians. The site of the new Dominican monastery was later inherited by the Ursulines, whose Baroque monastery was converted into a school, which is to be found now at 36 *Sporergasse*. This could be the possible location of the Cistercian curia/fundus [FIG. 76] To the west of Sporergasse, there was the Fleischergasse (Butchers' street), and the Heltauergasse, in the direction of the nearby market town of Nagydisznód (Heltau, Cisnădie), parts of which also belonged to the Kerc monastery as a separate possession under the name of Kisdisznód (Michelsberg, Cisnădioara). 996 It may be a speculative point, but it is tempting to suggest that the Cistercians supplied their fundus or curia in Sibiu (with stalls and barns) from Nagydisznód/Kisdisznód, from the names of which one may point to pig keeping, 997 and that they most probably maintained a slaughterhouse in Sibiu, as it was sold – maybe not coincidintally – to a local butcher. It seems therefore, that this property likely served economic functions, unlike the one in the market town of Braşov (Brassó, Kronstadt,), where Cistercians only maintained a single chapel, dedicated to St Catherine (1388). This must have been large enough to include residential buildings, on the basis of which a nunnery could be formed before 1406. 998 Following the aforementioned union of the abbey with the provostry of Sibiu, King Matthias requested the magistrate of the town of Braşov in 1474 to appoint a caretaker (*vitricus*) for this property. ⁹⁹⁹

⁹⁹⁶ MNL OL, DF 244577 (ca 1223-09-15>1449-10-27); pub.: UbS vol 1, 26 – 28 and CD vol III/1, 399 – 402; DF 292124 (1357-08-20); pub.: UbS vol 2, 144-145; Jakó, vol 3, 335.

⁹⁹⁷ The second part of the German name *Heltau* [Halde (artificial hill), Aue (wet pasture, grove)] may hint on the local significance of animal husbandry, more specifically pig keeping as the Hungarian version of the placename Nagy-/Kisdisznód (disznó= pig) implies.

⁹⁹⁸ Hervay, *Repertorium*, 80: A "rector capelle Sancte Katherine in … Corona" is mentioned in 1388, but 1406 is the earliest explicit reference to a "domus sororum". Hervay suggests that the buildings could have been there already in 1388 and before.

⁹⁹⁹ MNL OL, DF 286775 (1477-01-10); pub.: UbS vol 7, 128. "Supplicatum itaque est maiestati nostrae, ut eisdem id gratiose annuere et concedere dignaremur, ut in eandem capellam seu sacellum idoneum rectorem eligere et locare ac pro custodia et conservatione rerum eiusdem vitricos circa eandem constituere possent et valerent."; reg.: Hervay, Repertorium, 80-82.

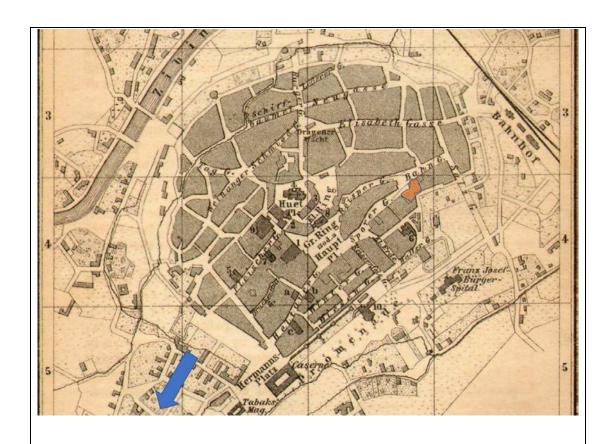


FIG. 76. Map of Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt), showing the possible location of the Cistercian curia, and the direction towards Kisdisznód. (Source: Map of Sibiu (Hermannstadt) by Wagner & Debes, 1880, Leipzig

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hermannstadt_1880_10_x_15.jpg)

6.2.3 Pétervárad (Petrovaradin) a peri-urban grange and a town house in Buda, the royal seat

The grange of Pétervárad abbey in Kispest/Kreinfeld/Kelenföld has been already mentioned in Chapter 3. This suburb was situated to the south from the town and castle of Buda (on the Castle Hill) – today it is the northern part of the eleventh district of Budapest. Due to its peri-urban location, it is more appropriate to discuss this grange as an "urban" property and in context of trade. As a matter of fact, the considerable geographical distance between the grange and the abbey points to the role of the grange as a trading post, along the Danube route, and its

significance is underlined by the status of Buda as a royal seat, and of Pest as a major market town.

The earliest source that concerns Pétervárad, however, only mentions the supervision of chapels: the patronage right and the incomes (church tithes) of the St Gerhard church in Kispest (Parvus Pesth seu Creynfeld) was donated to the abbey by King Bela IV (by the consent of the archbishop of Esztergom) in 1236, together with two (subordinate) chapels in Sasad and Budaörs (also in the nearby area). 1000 In 1237 the foundation charter, and in 1243, another royal charter confirms this donation, describing the St Gerhard church as a temporarily vacant royal chapel (capella regia vacante), with its pertinences (due capelle). 1001 In 1244, however, when the privileges of the German hospes-community of Pest had to be renewed concerning their staple right, as well as their exemption from paying the wine tax (the so called *cibriones*), ¹⁰⁰² the king extended their rights to the area of Kispest (situated on the Buda side). This decision must have involved the tenants of Pétervárad too, as it has escalated into a long conflict between the abbey and the bishops of Veszprém. The bishops were relentless in claiming their share from the incomes from wine (quartalia magistralis). 1003 We hear about the abbey's vineyards and the grange due to this conflict: in 1298, 25 barrels of wine, in the value of 20 marks (perhaps the total yield from that year), were stolen from the abbey's cellar, by the men of the Veszprém bishop. 1004 Viticulture was undoubtedly the most important economic resource here. This is underlined also by a charter from 1240, which reveals that the Benedictine monasteries of Telki

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¹⁰⁰⁰ MNL OL, DF 238252 (1236-08-29>1286 >> 1504); pub.: Bp, vol 1, 34-35. (Bp= Budapest történetének okleveles emlékei. Monumenta diplomatica civitatis Budapest. Csánky Dezső gyűjtését kiegészítette és sajtó alá rendezte Gárdonyi Albert, vol 1, 1148-1301. Budapest: Budapest Székesfőváros, 1936.); Györffy, vol 4, 572. See here also the foundation charter: DL 216 (1237-06-24>1279>1385); pub.: Wenzel, vol 7, 30; Györffy believed that the reference to the parishes of both Pest and Kispest in the foundation charter ("plebanias utriusque Pest cum patronatibus et omnibus proventibus") could be an interpolation aimed at balancing out the privileges granted to the German community from 1244 on (not only in Pest, but also in Kispest) – see here below.

¹⁰⁰¹ MNL OL, DF 238252 (before1243-09-01>1286 >> 1504); pub.: Bp, vol 1, 40.

¹⁰⁰² The original privilegial charter was lost during the Mongol attacks. MNL OL, DF 240797 (1244-11-24 >> 1496); reg.: Györffy, vol 4, 572; Bp, vol 1, 42: "Minor Pesth ultra Danubium sita, quantum ad naves ascendentes et descendentes et cibriones non solvendos consimili gaudeat libertate"

¹⁰⁰³ Györffy, vol 4, 572: provides a list of the relevant charters dating from 1245, 1277 and from the years between 1295 and 1302. He also describes the details of the conflict. It is briefly discussed also by András Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza*, (The medieval topography of Buda) (Monumenta Historica Budapestiensia XV), (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2006), 21. The data concerning the Cistercians have been first collected and discussed by Vidor Pataki, "A péterváradi ciszterciek a középkori Kelenföldön" [The Cistercians of Pétervárad in medieval Kelenföld]. In *A Ciszterci Rend Budapesti Szt. Imre Gimnáziumának Évkönyve 1941—42*, ed. Frigyes Brisits. Budapest: Ciszterci Rend Budapesti Szent Imre Gimnáziuma, 1942, 30.

¹⁰⁰⁴ MNL OL, DF 200067 (1298-05-09 > 1298); reg.: Györffy, vol 4, 572; pub.: Bp, vol 1 , 327-328: "tunellas vini dicti abbatis et conventus sui de grangia ipsorum de Creenfeld potentialiter recepissent, quas scilicet viginti quinque tunellas estimavimus pro viginti marcis communis argenti"

and Kána leased their lands (extending to 200 iugera, i.e. quite large, in Sasad, to the east from Kelenföld) to the townsmen of Pest in order to have them planted with grape wines. ¹⁰⁰⁵ Interestingly, the Cistercians also appear to have planned to incorporate the abbey of Telki (as this was requested by the patron of the abbey). In the end, that plan was not realized. ¹⁰⁰⁶

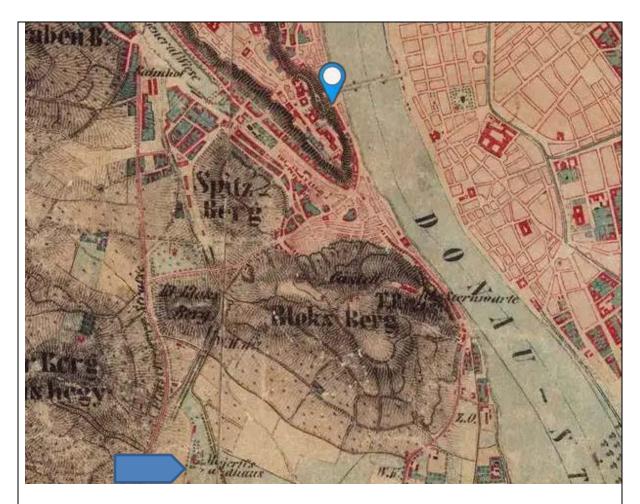


FIG. 77. The Second Military Survey showing the area of the castle of Buda (blue), Pest, on the other side of the Danube, and the possible location of the grange in the area of the medieval suburb of Kispest south from the Gellért Hill. The southern slopes of the nearby hills were once planted with grapes, according to historic maps. (Source: 2nd Military Survey)

¹⁰⁰⁵ MNL OL, DF 200008 (1240); pub.: Bp, vol 1, 37. According to the agreement, the townsmen of Pest (a Bavarian German community) had to pay 10 marks per year plus the tithes to the bishop of Veszprém. This was apparently against the interests of the Saxon hospites community in Kispest. The 1243 charter is a lawsuit between the Saxons of Minor Pest and the Benedictine abbeys of Telki and Kána.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Hervay, *Repertorium*, 40. Cf. Koszta, "A ciszterci", 126. Koszta argues that sincet he patron (Micha comes) was likely member of the Héder kindred, the mother abbey (referred as monasterium S. Crucis) would have been rather Heiligenkreuz (in Austria), and not Vértesszentkereszt (in Hungary).

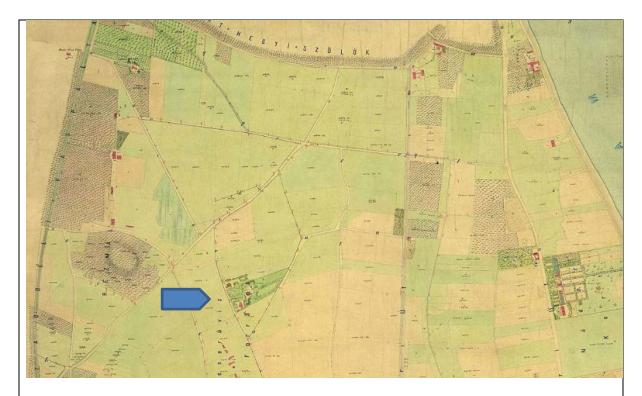


FIG. 78. A close-up, on the same area, site of the "Keserűvíz-források" is a likely candidate. (Source: Budapest Főváros Levéltára XV.16.a.206/26, 1861, Varásdy Lipót)

The Pétervárad Cistercians not only cultivated vineyards in Kispest [FIG. 77; FIG. 78], but wine from the wine region of Szerém (Srijem) could be also transported to their grange. Szerém – or *Marchia* as it was called in contemporary documents – was the region, where the centre of the abbey estate was situated, a few hundred kilometres to the south on the Danube. It was most probably the Romans, who first started vine plantations there; 1007 and in medieval times viticulture had been already documented before the arrival of the Cistercians. For example, the local vineyards were mentioned in 1189, and the connection to Kispest was also noted in 1232. 1008 According to the foundation charter of Pétervárad (1237), there were several vineyards and specialist families (vinitores) dwelling on the abbey estate. 1009 Having surveyed the literatures concerning the origins of viticulture, 1010 Miklós Takács argued that new fermentation techniques and grape varieties (particularly the furmint) could have been

¹⁰⁰⁷ László Szathmáry, "Kis magyar bortörténet" [A concise history of wine in Hungary], *Magyar Statisztikai Szemle* 17 (1939): 629–631.

¹⁰⁰⁸ MNL OL, DF 230056 (1232-00-00 > 1395); reg.: Györffy, vol 4, 572; pub.: Bp, vol 1, 20-21. The *cives* of Kispest "tenentur locum dare pro foliato parando et tam ipsi quam et omnes alii secundum consuetudinem de Marchia ad dictum foliatum convenire cum suis curribus ad solvendas suas decimas".

¹⁰⁰⁹ MNL OL, DL 216 (1237-06-24 > 1279 > 1385) reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 137.; pub.: Wenzel, vol 7, 27-31.

¹⁰¹⁰ Cf. Érdújhelyi, *A kolostorok és káptalanok* and Wenzel, *Magyarország mezőgazdaságának története*, 126, 130, 144, 398.

disseminated and traded not only by vallon settlers (e.g. in Francavilla), but also by the Cistercians. 1011

Trading wine from Szerém was likely the most important economic resource for the abbey. Unfortunately, the role of the Cistercians in wide trade is not very well exposed in later documents, despite that the popularity of the wine is demonstrated by a number of narrative accounts and other sources in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (e.g. by Galeotto Marzio, Antonio Bonfini, István Brodarics). It has even attracted the attention of the Ragusan merchant families and the burghers of Buda, who became also involved in wine trade, ¹⁰¹² and transports went to as north as Kassa (Kosice) and Poland. ¹⁰¹³

The role of Pétervárad is wine trade is exposed once again in the early years of 1400s, when a conflict emerged concerning the collection of tolls in Szerém,. At the root of the conflict was a decision by John Maróti, banus of Macsó (Mačva), and also the comes of Szerém by that time, to introduce the exaction of a *tributum* at Kőszentmárton-Dombó (Rakovac, Serbia). In the first place we hear about this in 1406, when the right of collection was donated to the local Benedictine abbey (of St George). ¹⁰¹⁴ In 1408, the townsmen of Szeged protested against this, stating that this was an unusal measure (*tributum inconsuetum*, *in vulgari fokwam vocatum*),

¹⁰¹¹ Miklós Takács, *A bélakúti/péterváradi ciszterci monostor* [The Cistercian Monastery of Bélakút/Pétervárad]. Újvidék: Forum, 1989, 31; László Szabolcs Gulyás, "A középkori szőlőművelés és borkereskedelem információtörténeti vizsgálatának lehetőségei," [The role of information flow and literacy in medieval viticulture and wine trade], *Aetas* 4 (2012): 155–175. Based on Kalász, Gulyás notes that Cistercians are generally appraised for their role in knowledge transfer related to wine production. However, the evidence – based on antiquarian works and historical sources – seemed unconvincing. The possible western origin of the furmint has been, however, recently confirmed by DNA profiling. Cf. Jancis Robinson – Julia Harding – José Vouillamoz, *Wine Grapes. A complete guide to 1,368 vine varieties, including their origins and flavours* (London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 2012): 37, 373-375, 1115.

¹⁰¹² Cf. András Kubinyi, "Buda és Pest szerepe a távolsági kereskedelemben a 15-16. század fordulóján," [The role of Buda and Pest in distant trade around the turn of the 15th – 16th centuries], *Várostörténeti Tanulmányok* 10 (2009): 361–405.

Cf. Zsigmond Csoma, "Reneszánsz bor, reneszánsz élet" [Remessaince wine, renessaince life], *Korunk* 19 (2008/9) Open access: http://epa.oszk.hu/00400/00458/00141/csomazs.html; Zsigmond Csoma, "A középkori franciavallon hatás a magyarországi szőlő-borkultúrára. [French-vallon influences on medieval Hungarian wine-making] *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 46 (2007): 578-586.

¹⁰¹³ László Szabolcs Gulyás, "A középkori szőlőművelés és borkereskedelem információtörténeti vizsgálatának lehetőségei," 169.

¹⁰¹⁴ It was granted by John of Maróti: MNL, OL DL 9224 (1406-07-28); Cf. Sándor Nagy, *Dombó. Középkori monostor és erőd*, [Dombó. Medieval monastery and fortification], (Novi Sad: Fórum Kiadó, 1974), 8. Formerly, Menyhért Érdújhelyi was on the opinion that Kőszentmárton belonged to the abbey of Pétervárad and was situated in Transdanubia. Cf. Boris Stojkovski, "Bácskai birtokosok a Hunyadiak korában," [The Bačka landholders in the age of the Hunyadis.], *Revista Irregular F* 7 (2011/2): 142.

and they turned to King Sigismund arguing that they had been exempted from paying tolls for wine transports from Pétervárad via Kőszentmárton-Dombó. The king had the case investigated and issued a decree regulating the amount of the payments. As noted already in the fourteenth century, as well as in later sources, the Szeged merchants also owned vineyards in the area of the market towns (*oppida*) of Pétervárad, Kamanc (Sremska Kamenica) and Szalánkemén (Stari Slankamen). Connections between the Cistercians and Szeged must date back to the time of Pétervárad's foundation: according to the foundation charter, the abbey was supplied with salt from there.

In the late fifteenth century, the burghers of Szeged had conflicts with the abbot of Pétervárad too. This was in a period when the bishop of Eger and King Matthias already introduced new measures to protect the interests of local wine traders in Upper Hungary, which were discriminative for the trade of the Szerém wine in favour of local wine. This could have made the Szeged merchants more cautious about their own privileges. Although the archbishop of Kalocsa, as the *gubernator* of the abbey, approved that they were to pay the same amount of *tributum* (in this case not toll, but direct tax) after their vineyards in Pétervárad and Kamanc as paid by locals, 1019 the newly appointed abbot decided to introduce extra taxes (*cibriones*), against which the Szeged traders successfully protested. 1020

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¹⁰¹⁵ MNL OL, DF 210890 (1408-01-09); reg.: Reizner, vol 4, 16–17; In 1471, King Mathias confirms and transcribes this privilege – transcribed together with the previous charter in 1481: DF 210925 (1408-01-09>1471-08-22>1481-06-15); reg.: Reizner, vol 4, 69–70, 78–80. (János Reizner, *Szeged története* (The History of Szeged), vol 1-5. Szeged: Szeged Szab. Kir. Város, 1893-1900)

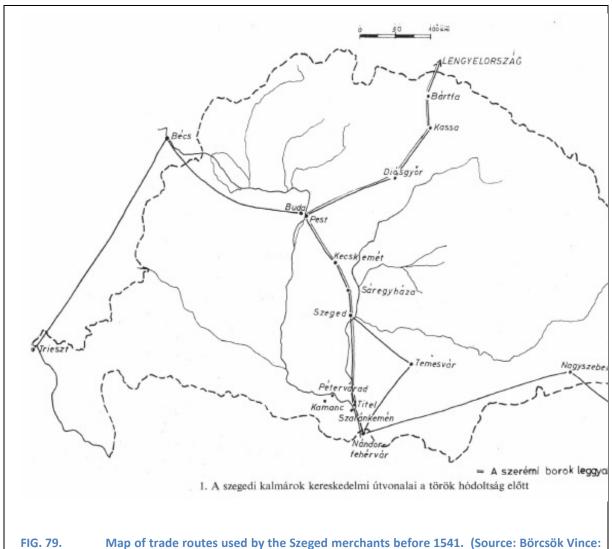
¹⁰¹⁶ György Székely, "Vidéki termelőágak és az árukereskedelem Magyarországon a 15-16. században" [Ländliche Produktionszweige und der Warenhandel in Ungarn im 15—16. Jahrhundert]. *Agrártörténeti Szemle* 3 (1961): 309–343.; Gulyás, "A középkori szőlőművelés", 161. (With further literatures.)

¹⁰¹⁷ See footnote 1000: "contulimus eidem Ecclesie quinque tymynos salium soluendos in Scegued annuatim ad usum fratrum, qui in eodem monasterio commorantur"

¹⁰¹⁸ Gulyás, "A középkori szőlőművelés", 171.

¹⁰¹⁹ According to the foundation charter, the abbey (and presumably its tenants) was exempted from paying tolls, and the tenants were to pay only the half amount of all kinds of (royal) taxes.

¹⁰²⁰ MNL OL, DF 210923 (1478-04-02); reg.: Reizner vol 4, 75–76; DF 210924 (1477-05-04); reg: Reizner, vol 4, 77. The Veronese Gabriel Rangoni, archbishop of Kalocsa was also *gubernator* of the abbey. The newly appointed (ca 1480?) abbot, Peter (Petrus Alemanus), however, tried to levy some extra tax. Cf. Balázs János Véber, *Két korszak határán. Váradi Péter pályaképe és írói életműve* [At the turn of two periods. A biographical sketch of Peter of Várad, and his ouvre). PhD thesis. Budapest, PPKE, 2008, 56. Open access: https://btk.ppke.hu/phd/tortenelemtudomany/veber janos balazs/disszertacio.pdf



Adatok a szegediek borkereskedelméről és borfogyasztásáról [Angaben zum Weingeschäft und Weinkonsum in Szeged] A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, 1976/66-1. (Szeged, 1978). 233–252.)

Although the participation of the Szeged merchants in wine trade could have meant that wine transports were taking routes to Buda via Szeged [*FIG.* 79], the Danube route could have retained its importance – with regard to transports either on carts, or on boats –, as indicated by the reference on the Pétervárad/Kamanc–Kőszentmárton transit. The link between the Cistercian Abbey of Gotó (Honesta Vallis) and a hospice at the castrum of Bács, ¹⁰²¹ a seat of the archbishops of Kalocsa, is also intriguing, as this could have been also a possible location functioning as a stationary point in wine trade – especially from the 1490s, when Pétervárad

¹⁰²¹ Hervay, *Repertorium*, 101; pub.: Theiner, vol 1, 124. See also: Katalin Szende – Judit Majorossy (ed.), "Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary. Selected documents," in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Spitals und der institutionellen Fürsorge in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. Martin Scheutz, Andrea Sommerlechner, Herwig Weigl and Alfred Stefan Weiß. (Wien, Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 2010).

was permanently held *in commenda* by the archbishops of Kalocsa. ¹⁰²² Besides, wine transports were also organized southbound, in the direction of Nagyszeben (and apparently Kerc) [*FIG.* 79].

Chronologically the latest thread in the relations between Pétervárad and urban centres is the reference on a town house in Buda (i.e. inside the town walls). In 1457/58 Emericus Újlaki (who became the abbot of Pétervárad just a few years later) bought a house from Stephanus Örmény (a member of the town council) for 600 florins. 1023 Thirty years later we hear about this property again: in 1483 the Cistercians bought back part of it from Georgius Lábatlan. Due to financial shortages, however, they were only able to do this by selling the other part to their neighbours, Tamás Bakócz of Erdőd (the future archbishop of Esztergom, who was at that time the provost of Titel) and his brothers for 232 florins. The *procuratores* of the abbey (Johannes Weinmann de Zuffenhausen and Valentinus de Barót) explain that the house was appropriated while the seat of the abbot was vacant, and they were ought to make the deal the way it was to reimburse the costs of renovations done on the house in the meantime. 1024 The house stood near the Church of Our Lady (today Matthias Church), at the western end of the St Paul street (today Országház utca). On the one side, there was the house of the parish priest, and on the other (eastern) end of the Olasz street (today 1-3, Országház str) the house of the Bakócz family, which was formerly owned by the Rozgonyi family, and Georgius Brankovics, the Serbian despot [FIG. 80]. 1025

¹⁰²² Hervay, Repertorium, 140.

¹⁰²³ MNL OL, DL-DF n/a (1464-05-26); reg.: András Végh, Buda város középkori helyrajza (The Medieval Topography of Buda), vol 2. (Monumenta Historica Budapestinensia 16) Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2008, 97. Idem, Buda város középkori helyrajza (The Medieval Topography of Buda), vol 1 (Monumenta Historica Budapestinensia 15), (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2006): 250-251.

¹⁰²⁴ MNL OL, DL-DF n/a (1483-08-11); reg.: Végh, *Buda város* [vol 1], 237–238; Végh, *Buda város* [vol 2], 109–110. ¹⁰²⁵ Ibid.

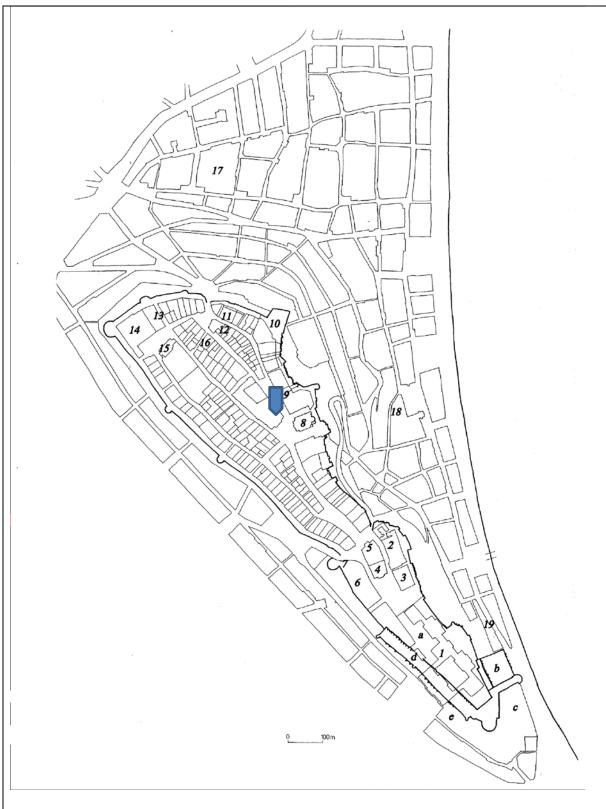


FIG. 80. The location of the house of Pétervárad in the town of buda – in front of the Matthias Church (8), and the St Nicholas' Dominican Friary (9)

6.2.4 Pilis Abbey – the customs revenues and town houses in Pozsony (Bratislava, Pressburg)

The site of Pilis abbey and the central block of its estate were situated in a peculiar landscape environment: in a royal forest. On the other hand, this area - surrounded by royal residences/towns in Buda (which later became the civitas principalis), Óbuda, Visegrád, and Esztergom, around the Danube bend – was also the political centre of the kingdom (the medium regni) [FIG. 81]. 1026 Pilis was one of the most prestigious, if not the most prestigeus, Cistercian foundations – which received a couple of donations (urban and peri-urban properties) close to these residences, including vineyards near Óbuda and Pest, 1027 a mill in Békásmegyer (near Óbuda), 1028 and a curia in Visegrád. 1029 Connecting to the main trade route (via magna/via publica) that went along the Danube and connected these sites, there was also a diagonal (SE-NW) road between Buda and Esztergom, that crossed the woodland in the Pilis-Visegrád-hills, passing by directly at the abbey (formerly the site of a royal hunting lodge), and linking also the central lands Pilis owned as part of the royal grant (formerly part of the royal domain). The sites of two Pauline monasteries (Szentlélek and Szentkereszt) were also linked to this road, ¹⁰³⁰ which was basically the shortest - and the most convenient - connection between Buda and Esztergom. The kings and their retinues could frequently pay visits to the abbey when traveling between these places and when going for hunting. 1031

¹⁰²⁶ The "medium regni" concept was first addressed by Bernát L. Kumorovitz, *Buda (és Pest) "fővárossá" alakulásának kezdetei*, (The beginnings of Buda and Pest becoming a 'capital'), *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 18 (1971): 7–57. A recent and comprehensive overview: Julia Altmann et al (ed.), *Medium Regni. Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats*. (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999. On royal forests: Péter Szabó, *Woodland and Forests in medieval Hungary* (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2005).

¹⁰²⁷ The vineyard in Buda (Óbuda) was donated by King Bela IV's uncle, Berthold, who was bishop of Kalocsa (1213-1218) and later the patriarch of Aquileia (1218 -). Cf. Hervay, *Repertorium*, 150. This property is probably mentioned again in 1351: MNL OL, DL 4185 (1351-04-22); reg.: AOkmt, vol 5, 460–461.

¹⁰²⁸ László Ferenczi, "Molendinum ad Aquas Calidas. A pilisi ciszterciek az állítólagos Fehéregyházán," (Molendinum ad Aquas Calidas .The Cistercians in the Alleged Village of Fehéregyháza), *Studia Comitatensia* 1 (2014): 145–160.

¹⁰²⁹ In the first half of the fourteenth century the town became more important due to the setting up of a permanent royal seat there and the construction of the Royal Palace. However, the house was sold in 1343 to Töttös Becsei in 1343 for 20 florins. Cf. Békefi, A *pilisi apátsáq*, vol 1, 337.

¹⁰³⁰ László Ferenczi and József Laszlovszky, "Középkori utak és határhasznalat a pilisi apátság területén," [Medieval roads and types of land use in the territory of Pilis Abbey] *Studia Comitatensia* 1 (2014) 103–124. Zsuzsa Eszter Pető, "Roman or medieval? Historical roads in the Pilis forest," Hungarian *Archaeology e-journal* 2014. Open access: http://www.hungarianarchaeology.hu/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/eng peto 140.pdf

¹⁰³¹ Between stays in Buda and Esztergom, often several days passed, which could have been probably spent in the area of the Pilis, and partly at the monastery. Cf. Norbert C. Tóth – Pál Engel: *Itineraria regum et reginarum* (1382–1438) Subsidia ad historiam medii aevi Hungariae inquirendam, vol 1. (Királyok és királynék itineráriumai (1382–1438) Segédletek a középkori magyar történelem tanulmányozásához 1.) Budapest: MTA-MNL OL, 2005.

Passing through the forest, connecting these royal residences and monastic sites, there was maybe also a certain "private" (and one might say even "sacral") character to this road, although it was never mentioned as "via regis." ¹⁰³² Interestingly, the Cistercians gained control over a number of chapels/churches situated on the road: between Óbuda and Esztergom, they had a small church (possible grange chapel?) in Békásmegyer, ¹⁰³³ they expressed their claims concerning the parish church in Budakalász in 1326, ¹⁰³⁴ there was a grange chapel in Pomáz–Nagykovácsi-puszta, which was formerly the parish church of Kovácsi (see more on this in Chapter 5), and there was another chapel (and a grange?) also in Esztergom. ¹⁰³⁵ Similarly to Pétervárad's chapels in Sasad and Budaörs, this "pattern" was a manifestation of "symbolic" control. The point is further substantiated by evidence concerning private/royal churches/chapels (*ecclesia propria*) situated south of Buda on the road to Székesfehérvár (the royal seat, where coronations took place). ¹⁰³⁶ The ownership and patronage of churches granted to Pétervárad and Pilis could be perhaps associated with the private devotion of the royal family, and reflect the prestigious role of Cistercian abbeys.

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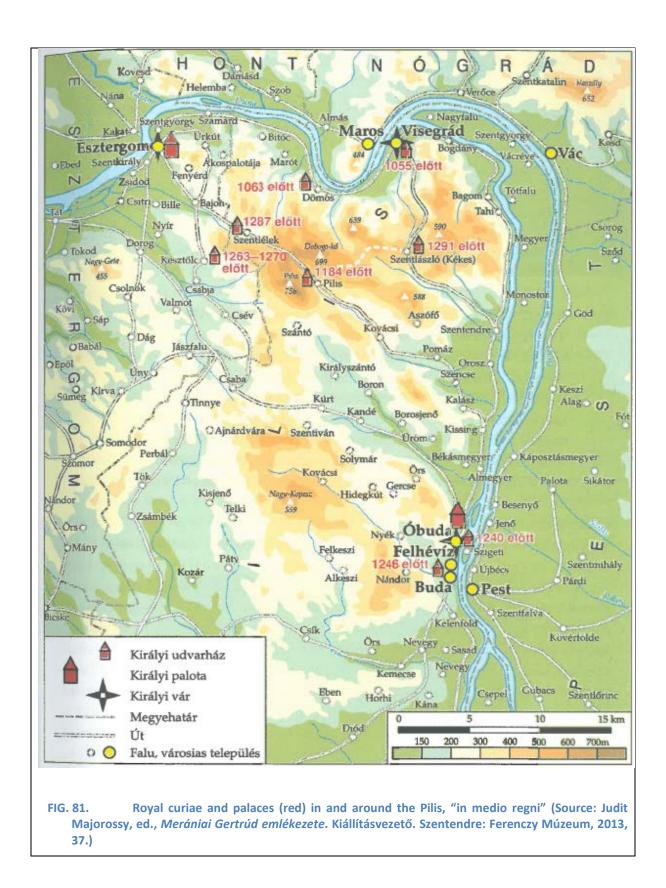
¹⁰³² As implied somewhat unfortunately by the title of E. Benkő's study: Elek Benkő, "Via regis – via gregis. Középkori utak a Pilisben," [Via regis – via gregis. Medieval roads in the Pilis," in "Fél évszázad terepen". Tanulmánykötet Torma István tiszteletére 70. születésnapja alkalmából, 115 – 119, ed. Klára Kővári Zsuzsa Miklós. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2011.

¹⁰³³ Ferenczi, "Molendinum ad Aquas Calidas", 153.

¹⁰³⁴ MNL OL, DF 200129 (1326-05-14); MNL OL, DF 200131 (1326-07-13>1326-09-08); reg.: Györffy, vol 4, 641; AOklt, vol 10, 138.

¹⁰³⁵ MNL OL, DL 236132 (1277-03-23); reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 40; pub.: MES, vol 2, 72.: 'capella Sancte Marie de Campis'. This may actually refer to a grange chapel/dependent house. It is mentioned also as a *monasterium*. Cf. Hervay, *Repertorium*, 40. (e.g. in 1326) In 1391, the *officialis* of the abbot is mentioned here: Békefi, *A pilisi apátsáa*, vol 1, 380; Mon.Vat., vol I/3, 137.

¹⁰³⁶ Cf. Miklós Jankovich, "Buda-környéki plébániáinak középkori kialakulása és a királyi kápolnák intézménye," (Die Entwicklung der Pfarren der Umgebung von Buda im Mittelalter und die Institution der Königlichen Kapellen) Budapest Régiségei 19 (1959): 57–98. As Jankovich points out, these churches likely qualified as ecclesia propria. The significance of the royal road connecting the residences as well as these private (royal) chapels – namely Fehéregyháza, Óbuda, Szentjakabfalva, Nyék, Alkeszi, Felkeszi, Buda, Kispest (St Gerhard parish), Sasad (St Andrew), Örs (St Martin), Csík – has been noted by Enikő Spekner, Buda királyi székhellyé alakulása a 13–14. században (Buda becoming a royal seat in the 13-14th centuries.) PhD dissertation, Budapest: ELTE, 2010, 4–5.



Looking beyond the central part of the estate in the *medium regni*, there were two major trade routes, connecting to more distant lands of the abbey. One was going north along the River

Garam, leaving the Danube route at Esztergom and heading towards the mining towns in Upper Hungary. In 1264, Pilis got hold of two villages on this road, Szántó and Marót, in Co. Hont (now in Slovakia), ¹⁰³⁷ and sometime before 1388, but certainly after 1254 (as it is not mentioned in King Bela IV's confirmation charter ¹⁰³⁸) the abbey also acquired the right to collect tolls in Bát (Bátovce/Frauenmarkt, Co. Hont), a town, which was mentioned as a *civitas*, where there was also a *mercatum*. ¹⁰³⁹

The other major road went along the Danube, heading towards Vienna. Again, the abbey not only owned lands in different locations along the road, but also collected tolls. King Bela IV's confirmation charter mentions one the one hand vineyards and houses in Dévény (Devín) and Pozsony, as well as the newly erected tower-house in Vödric (Vepruch / Vepricz / Vedritz), which was a suburb of Pozsony, on the other hand it confirms the abbey's one third share of the tolls collected in Győr, Csütörtökhely (Štvrtok na Ostrove, Co. Pozsony) and Pozsony (Bratislava, Pressburg). These towns and markets were skirting the western edges of the Csallóköz region, near the Austrian border, and were situated about 60 km from Vienna. The tolls collected in Pozsony amounted to almost 2/3rd of the abbey's income, as reported in 1357. 1040 The construction of the above said tower (by the abbey) was clearly aimed to protect this asset. On the other hand, the second largest block of the abbey's lands were also situated in the suburbs and in the surroundings of Pozsony, including villages and large agricultural farms (cf. Chapter 3) were situated on the island of the Csallóköz, embraced by the branches of the Danube and aligned with the trade route, the so called *Vásárút*. This area had excellent agricultural lands and its role can be compared to that of the *Unterer Werd* in the outskirts of Vienna (with the Bürgerpsital), similarly a large island in the Danube which could have functioned as a multifunctional ecological resource of the town. 1041

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¹⁰³⁷ MNL OL, DL 39181 (1269-00-00 >1350-07-29); cf. Bakács, *Hont vármegye*, 31.

 $^{^{1038}}$ The faximile of the now lost original: Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 528. Several copies survived: MNL OL, DL 383, 69946, 75350, 107235, 107301; DF 238628 and 254570 (1254-06-28) – most copies were prepared in the time of Bela IV, some are modern (18th c.); reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 142–144; pub.: Békefi vol 1, 316–319.

¹⁰³⁹ According to the forged donation charter of the Benedictine Abbey of Bél (Bakonybél) (1037), the right to collect the toll (*tributum*) was granted to the Benedictines by King Stephen I. (see Györffy, vol 3, 178.) Bát was mentioned as a civitas already In the Árpád period. The Cistercians of Pilis were mentioned as holders of the custom tolls in 1388. In what circumstances they got hold of the right is not known. MNL OL, DL 30301 (1388-03-28 >> 1388); reg.: Zs, vol 1, 50; Bakács, *Hont vármegye*, 24. (Békefi did not discuss this document.)

¹⁰⁴⁰ According to the *Relatio Seifridi abbatis Runensis*, 440 florins out of 700 florins in total. See Hervay, *Repertorium*, 144.

¹⁰⁴¹ Christoph Sonnlechner, "Der "ökologische Fussabdruck" Wiens im Spätmittelalter. Eine Annäherung," in *Europäische Städte im Mittelalter*, (Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte, 52.). Ed. Ferdinand Opll – Christoph Sonnlechner, 351–364, (Innsbruck–Wien–Bozen: Studien Verlag, 2010.)

Thus, Cistercian presence in Pozsony was strong, however, despite the relative abundance of sources collected by Békefi, and the rich literature produced by other historians who wrote about the topography and history of the town, the economic historical significance of relations between Cistercian houses and Pozsony has not been studied more closely and – as noted e.g. by Juraj Šedivý – has been likely underestimated. ¹⁰⁴² Drawing on more recent research into the topography and social history of the town, it is possible to offer now a more detailed account concerning Cistercian properties in Pozsony, and outline the economic relations and interests of the town and the Cistercians with regard to the period between the late thirteenth and early sixteenth century. Inside and outside the town walls the following Cistercian houses had properties: 1) a Cistercian nunnery was situated outside the town, possibly in the Vödric suburb; 2) a tower and the adjacent buildings were owned by Pilis Abbey in Vödric 3) there were other houses owned by Pilis inside the town walls. 4) Heilgenkreuz also owned a *curia* inside the town. Hereby, I am going to discuss the properties of Pilis and look into the economic and social contexts. As for the Cistercian nunnery and Heiligenkreuz's acquisitions, see below Chapter 6.2.9.

6.2.4.1 The custom toll, the tower and houses in the Vödric suburb

Vödric was a suburb, separate from the town. It belonged to the king and it was through royal grants that the Cistercians, as well as one of the prominent families/dynasties, whose members took part in the administration of Pozsony, acquired properties there. Although some suburbs were incorporated by the town as early as the late thirteenth century, the situation was different in Vödric, where this happened only in 1390, when the male lineage of the above said family became extinct. Vödric was devastated by the Mongol's attack in 1241, but was soon rebuilt. In the second half of the thirteenth century, groups of German settlers arrived and this process significantly transformed both the physical and the social landscapes outside and inside

¹⁰⁴² Juraj Šedivý, "Az egyház a középkori Pozsonyban. Régi választások és új kérdések" [The Church in Medieval Bratislava. Old dilemmas, new questions], in Fejezetek Pozsony történetéből magyar és szlovák szemmel, ed. Gábor Czoch, Aranka Kocsis, Árpád Tóth, Gizella Szabómihály (Pozsony: Kalligram, 2005), 114.

¹⁰⁴³ Judit Majorossy, "Egy határ menti szabad királyi város középkori igazgatásának vázlatos története (Tanulmány egy készülő pozsonyi archontológiai kötet elé)" [A historical sketch on the medieval administration of a border town – a preliminary study to an archontological volume (in preparation)], *Történelmi Szemle* 57 (2015/3): 443. Referring to King Ladislaus IV's donation to "Jacobus judex civitatis nostre" in 1288.

¹⁰⁴⁴ E.g. Schöndorf (1288). See Katalin Szende, *Otthon a városban. Társadalom és anyagi kultúra a középkori Sopronban, Pozsonyban és Eperjesen* [At home in the town. Society and material culture in medieval Sopron, Pozsony and Eperjes], Társadalom és Művelődéstörténeti Tanulmányok 32. Budapes: MTA–Történettudományi Intézet, 2004, 24. Vödric, however, was granted to the town only in 1390. Cf. MNL OL, DF 239089 (1390-03-23); pub.: Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 377–379.

the town. Hospes communities appeared also in other towns along the Danube, and it seems that they settled preferably in waterfront locations, most probably to exploit their skills in different craftmanships, including e.g. fishing. The riverbank in the Vödric suburb was a suitable location, and with its predominantly German population it was clearly an example of this trend. 1046

It was probably on the initiative of the Cistercians that German settlers were invited here, and the abbey also started the construction of the aforementioned tower already before 1254 (in the time of Abbot John), as it is mentioned in the confirmation charter that year. ¹⁰⁴⁷ Since the area of the Vödric suburb was a narrow strip of land between the castle hill and the banks of the Danube, it was an ideal location to control the road (along the river) to Vienna. Because of this, the tower was thought to have been erected specifically for the purpose of collecting tolls. ¹⁰⁴⁸ It could have served, however, other functions, e.g. overseeing the ferry station, the *portus*, as a depot, and providing water supply for the town and the castle as a "water tower" – as it was later referred as such [*FIG. 82*]. ¹⁰⁴⁹

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¹⁰⁴⁵ For a comprehensive introduction to this see László Gálffy, "Dunai társadalmak. Változások a városi folyamtérben Bécs és Buda között (XIII. század vége–XV. század közepe)." [Danube societies. Changes in urban space from Vienna to Buda (from the 13th to the mid-15th century)] In *Víz és társadalom magyarországon a középkortól a XX. század végéig* [Water and Society in Hungary from the Middle Ages till the end of the 20thcentury], ed Gergely Krisztián Horváth, 111–154. Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2014. More on the role of foreign ethnic groups in pre-urban development of medieval Hungary: Derek Keene, Balázs Nagy, Katalin Szende (ed): *Segregetaion, Integration, Assimilation. Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009, 67–88. On the German community in Pozsony: Juraj Šedivy – Tatiana Štefanovičová (ed.): *Dejiny Brasitlavy*, vol. 1. Od pociatkov do prelomu 12, a 13. Storocia. [The History of Pressburg. From the beginnings to the 12th and 13th centuries] Bratislava: SLOVART, 2012.

states that families in Vödric and also inside the town walls in the area of Dunajska street, were fishermen. All family names were indeed German (Unger/ Tompatörl/ Hainreich/ Spies/ Rueppl/ Unger/ Kuchaus/ Franckh/ Guldinger/ Karer/ Guldinger/ Dawchimnepel/ Polcz/ Swarcz/ Pehem/ Schrembl/ Hartman/ Karcz/ Nauferiger/ Bergel) Cf. Tivadar Ortvay, *Pozsony város története*, vol I-IV. [The History of Pressburg] Pozsony: A Pozsonyi Első Takarékpénztár, 1892-1912, vol II/2, 366. See also János Király, *Pozsony város joga a középkorban*. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történelmi Bozittsága, 1894, 176: there is cadaster from 1379 and a charter from 1430 which demonstrate that fishermen still lived in the area *sub castro*, at the Danube, that is in Vödric. However, Majorossy argues that in the time of King Sigismund it was already the carpenters who dominated the population of Vödric. Cf. Judit Majorossy, "A polgári térhasználat elemei a késő-középkori Pozsonyban," [The Elements of the Civic Usage of Space in Late Medieval Pressburg], *Urbs. Magyar Várostörténeti Évkönyv* 4 (2009), 73–97, 78. The two occupations connect, considering e.g. ship building, but it might as well be that occupational and habitational patterns were genuinely modified by the time of the fifteenth century.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Hervay, Repertorium, 142–143.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Šedivý, "Az egyház a középkori Pozsonyban", 117. The connection between the possession of the tower and the right to collect customs revenues was already noted by Király, *Mauth Recht*, 10, 38.

¹⁰⁴⁹ MNL OL, DF 238800 (1361-00-00); pub.: Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 350–351: '...quandam turrem seu domum aque vocitatam.' Similar towers are known from Buda and Esztergom. Cf. András Kubinyi, "Städtische Wasserversorgungsprobleme im Mittelalterlichen Ungarn", in *Städtische Versorgung und Entsorgung im Wandel*

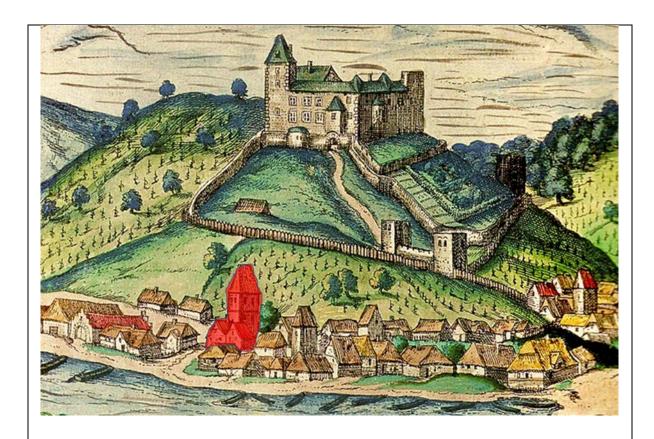


FIG. 82. "Posonium vel Pisonium vt Lazius" – a 16th century painting of Bratislava in Georg Braun – Frans Hogenberg: Civitates Orbis Terrarum (1588), vol 4.

In 2007-2008, archaeological excavations have been carried out in the area of Vödric, ¹⁰⁵⁰ and traces of thirteenth – fourteenth century houses were found. This confirms the rebuilding of the area in the period when new settlers could have arrived. Some houses had artificial underground caves carved into the rock of the castle hill. ¹⁰⁵¹ In the fourteenth century, the caves were lined with bricks and were converted into store rooms/cellars. As services of local tenants likely involved the provision of fish, or the cultivation vineyards, the caves were likely used for storing fish, salt, and wine.

der Geschichte (Stadt in der Geschichte. Bd. 8.) ed. Jürgen Sydow, 180–190. Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1980, 180–181; Idem, "Les problèmes d'approvisionnement en eau dans les villes en Hongrie au Moyen-Age," *Etudes historiques hongroises* 3 (1990): 65–73.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Zuzana Ševčíková, "Južné podhradie Bratislavského hradu. Kapitoly z dokumentácie architektonických reliktov Vydrice," [Die südliche Vorburg der Burg Bratislava. Kapitel aus der Dokumentation architektonischer Relikte von Vydrica (Weidritz, Wödritz)] *Archaeologia Historica* 37 (2012/2-3): 357–378.

¹⁰⁵¹ The stones were likely used as building materials for the fortification of the town and the castle.

The settlement process and population growth ¹⁰⁵² could generate pressure on the housing market and stimulate attempts to secure economic resources partly by extending the town's control over the suburbs. For example, the revenues of the river toll were granted to the town by King Adrew III, in his 1291 privilegial letter. ¹⁰⁵³ This, however, did not become a potentially important economic resource for Pozsony until the time of King Sigismund of Luxemburg. ¹⁰⁵⁴ On the other hand, there could have been attempts to collect house tax from the suburbs, which could be the first point where conflicts emerged between the abbey and the town. In 1324, the king warned the magistrate to behold the exempt status of the abbey and to leave their *curia* and *domūs* (apparently the towered house and the adjacent buildings) tax free. ¹⁰⁵⁵ In 1361, the tower *cum domibus circumiacentibus* was described as *desolata et ruinosa*, and due to the bad financial situation of the monastery, – as explicitly underlined –, it was leased to Jacob iudex, and his son, Nicholas, together with the incomes from the road toll (*simul eciam partem nostri tributi*, *ibidemque Durrmaut nuncupate*). ¹⁰⁵⁶

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¹⁰⁵² Demographic data are available only from the late fourteenth century onwards. Cf. Goda – Majorossy, "Städtische Selbstverwaltung," 69.

¹⁰⁵³ MNL OL, DF 238636 (1291-12-02); reg.: MES, vol 2, 303; pub.: CD VI/1, 107. Cf. also Ľubomír Juck (ed.), *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku I (1238–1350)*. Bratislava: Veda, Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1984. This river toll was collected at the so called *"portum Pernalte"*, on the other branch of the Danube.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Cf. Károly Goda and Judit Majorossy, "Städtische Selbstverwaltung und Schriftproduktion im spätmittelalterlichen Königreich Ungarn: Eine Quellenkunde für Ödenburg und Pressburg," *Pro Civitate Austriae. Informationen zur Stadtgeschichtsforschung in Österreich* 13 (2008): 69. This was due to the "commercial war" launched by King Louis I of Anjou against the Habsburgs. Cf Pál Engel, *Realm of St Stephen - A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526.* London: I.B. Tauris, 2005, 260. On the socio-economic context of this process, see Renáta Skorka, "Pozsony a bécsi közvetítőkereskedelem árnyékában." [Pozsony in the shadow of transit trade to Vienna] In *Tiszteletkör. Történeti tanulmányok Draskóczy István egyetemi tanár 60. Születésnapjára,* ed. Gábor Mikó, Bence Péterfi, András Vadas. Budapest: ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, 2012, 30–310. A branch of the Danube around Pozsony was in Austrian hands until 1323. See Renáta Skorka, "A bécsi lerakat Magyarországra vezető kiskapui." [Legal Loopholes in the Staple of Vienna] *Történelmi Szemle* 54 (2012): 11.

¹⁰⁵⁵ MNL OL, DF 238 671 (before 1324-05-24 > after 1358-07-27); reg.: AOklt, vol 8, 144–145; pub.: Békefi, A pilisi apátság, vol 1, 327-328. "ab omni honere servili civitatis liberam dimisissent permanere ita quod de eadem curia et domibus ac utilitatibus earundem nullum servicium, nulla collecta, vel exaccio...debeat...imponi" See also mentioned by Király, Mauth Recht, 16.

¹⁰⁵⁶ MNL OL, DF 238800 (1361-00-00); pub.: Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 350-351. The due sum was "10 talentum denariorum". Instead of the generally used "marca" and "pensa", calculations in financial registers were typically based on the "libra"/"talentum"/"Pfund" in towns near the Austrian border, i.e. also in Sopron. Cf. Lajos Huszár, "A pankart. Részlet Sopron középkori pénztörténetéből." [The pankart. Fragments concerning the history of currency in Sopron] *Soproni Szemle* 24 (1970/3): 256–259. The value of 1 silver mark was the 2/3 of the "libra". Cf. Bálint Hóman, *Magyar pénztörténet*, 1000-1325. [History of the Hungarian Currency] Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1916, 29–45 and 46–61

In 1380, Nicolaus Prugel-Schreiber, *magister* of Vödric sold a house next to the "water tower" of the abbey (*domum, nostrae domui Aquaticae in Wedricz adiacentem*) to a certain Nicholaus Brewer/Nicholaus Cervisiario and his wife. ¹⁰⁵⁷ This house must have belonged originally also to the Cistercians, as there was a disclaimer that the right of the abbey to collect the *servitia* from the house should be reserved. Based on the occpuational name of the new owner, the property could perhaps function later as a brewery. Interestingly, one of the buildings near the fishmarket was a brewery, "Sörfőző", as shown on historical maps [*FIG. 83*] Dated to the same

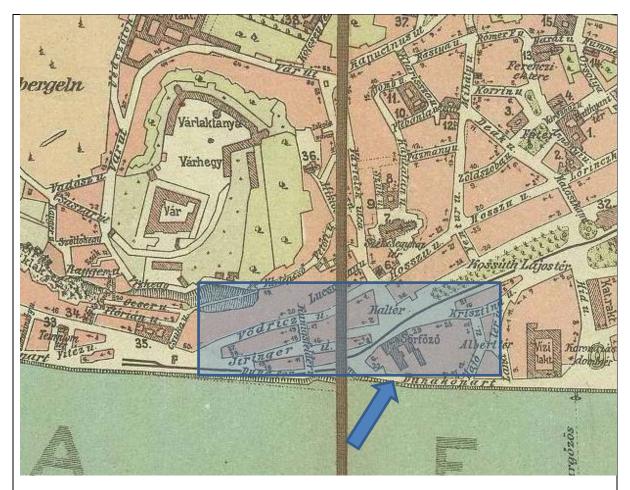


FIG. 83. The area of Vödric – the arrow pointing to the location of the Brewery (Sörfőző) (Source: Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum, Pozsony szabad királyi város térképe (1900) Városi Mérnöki Hivatal. 1:10000 [signature: G I h 536/8])

day, another charter survived, which concerns the same people/parties, but records the resell of another house, described as *domum aliquam nostrae lanienae ad Wedritz*. ¹⁰⁵⁸ This means that

¹⁰⁵⁷ MNL OL, DL 18439 (1380-12-06); pub.: Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 375–376 (German); vol 2, 271–272 (Latin). The transaction was recorded both in German and Latin. Both charters were found in the Archive of Zirc by Békefi, who transcribed them. Now, only the German version survived. The price was 20 pounds silver (libri denariorum).

¹⁰⁵⁸ MNL OL, DL 24334 (1380-12-06)

one of the buildings at the tower (and court house) could have functioned as a butcher shop/slaughterhouse.

Shortly after King Sigismund decided donated Vödric to the town (1390), he also seized the ruined tower (*cum domunculis et arcis eidem turri annexis*) (1401), which could be a step in preparation to improve the defensive outworks of the castle (*ex causa melioris habendae*). In 1401, 1059 He assigned it to his *familiaris*, Jacob Ventur, 1060 and Jacob's son, Caspar, as a hereditary possession (*iure hereditarie*). A year later, Ventur also received the lands which belonged to the castle, situated along the road and behind the tower. 1061 The king also approved a sum of 30 florins per year to be paid to the abbey in compensation for the tower – on top of the usual one third share from the toll, as a regular payment (*tertia parte tributi, quae ipsum monasterium ab antiquo concernit*). In return, Sigismund requested Jacob Ventur to erect new buildings for the purpose of collecting the toll (*ad colligendum tributum*), and specifically in a manner to create a congruent space (*huiusmodi locum utique habeat congruentem*) – i.e. possibly building a new *curia*, that had fortified walls, suitable for storing stocks.

This way, the monks could keep their revenues, but were releieved of the costs of maintenance and other liabilities. They still had their own toll-collectors in place: in 1407, both Jacob Ventur and the abbot collected their $1/3^{rd}$ shares from the tolls in Pozsony, ¹⁰⁶² together with Smilo of Wettau, ¹⁰⁶³ when they confiscated and divided up among themselves two carts of wax, brought

¹⁰⁵⁹ MNL OL, DF 239236 and 239250 (1401-12-31); reg.: Zs, vol 2, 161 and Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 391; pub.: CD vol X/4, 78-80. Referred by Király, *Mauth Recht*, 14–15, or Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 211.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Also known as Jacob Bonaventura, a member of a Florentine family and a resident of Pozsony. He was buried in the Corpus Christi confraternity. For biographical details and on members of the Venturi family see Krisztina Arany, *Florentine Families in Hungary in the first half of the fifteenth century*. PhD thesis. Budapest: CEU, 2014. Open access: www.etd.ceu.hu/2014/mphark01.pdf; On the social context see Judit Majorossy, "Towns and Nobility in Medieval Western Hungary." In *Mittler zwischen Herrschaft und Gemeinde*. *Die Rolle von Funktionsund Führungs gruppen in der mittel alter lichen Urbanisierung Zentraleuropas*. *Internationale Tagung, Kiel, 23.–25. 11. 2011*. Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte 56, ed. Elisabeth Gruber, Susanne Claudine Pils, Sven Rabeler, Herwig Weigl, Gabriel Zeilinger, 109-150. Inssbruck-Wien: Studien Verlag, 118–119.

¹⁰⁶¹ MNL OL, DF 239259 (1402-10-06); pub.: Békefi, A pilisi apátság, 393–394: "universas et singulas domos, et casas et areas sitas et habitas in suburbia civitatis nostre Posoniensis retro turrim ipsorum Jacobi et Caspar, supra littus Danubii, et prope stratam communem tendentem versus Dewen, sub monte castri nostril Posoniensis" Sigismund also confirmed the donation of the tower DF 239250 (1402-09-20); pub. Békefi, A pilisi apátság, vol 1, 392.

¹⁰⁶² MNL OL, DF 239293 (1407-08-03) in German; reg.: Zs, vol 2, no. 5657; pub.: CD X/5. 90; Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 396. Latin transcriptions are: MNL OL, DF 239308 (1410-05-27), and 239309 (1410-07-11); Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 396–399.

¹⁰⁶³ In 1412, he appears as the captain (*capitaneus*) of Sopron. Cf. Richárd Horváth, "Sopron megye tisztségviselői a késő középkorban (1458–1526)." *Soproni Szemle* 67 (2014): 74–87.

to Pozsony from Upper Hungary (Co. Szepes, Spis, Zips). In 1415-16, the toll-collectors of Jacob and of the abbey were warned by the king to behold the exemption of the local burghers (1415-16), and not to collect toll from them. On the other hand, Sigismund repeatedly confirmed the abbey's share from the toll (1427). Apart from Győr, Pozsony, and Csütörtökhely, however, – as places listed in 1254 –, other locations also appear as collection points, namely: Sziget and Mosonmagyaróvár/Óvár (Altenburg). ¹⁰⁶⁴ Another letter of the king, from 1407, ¹⁰⁶⁵ connects here too, as it was sent to his *tributarius* at Óvár (Mosonmagyaróvár), Tandorfer de Zamary (Šamorín, Somorja), whereby Sigismund prohibited the burghers of Sopron to take any action against the agreement from previous year. This was made between the abbots of Pilis and Zirc on the one hand and the burghers of Sopron (Ödenburg) on the other hand, as the two abbots assured the burghers that their past and current debts were cleared, but notified them to pay the usual one third of the *tributum* in the future. ¹⁰⁶⁶ Óvár was situated half way between Győr and Pozsony, ¹⁰⁶⁷ and perhaps it was despite mutual agreements between the burghers of Pozsony and Sopron, guaranteeing tax free trade (primarily for wine transports), ¹⁰⁶⁸ that traders of Sopron were still liable to pay the tolls, as it was the interest of the abbeys.

In 1431, a letter from the archbishop of Esztergom to the magistrate explaines that the incomes and properties (*bona*) of Pilis were alienated, and the archbishop delegated the parish priest (of the St Martin's church in Pozsony) to investigate the case. This must have concerned the custom revenue and the tower as the archbishop himself had an interest there too: as explained the tenth part of all incomes collected was to be paid to his church. ¹⁰⁶⁹ In 1444, negotations were underway between the representatives of the magistrate and the abbey, and since the two parties were meeting in Esztergom to prepare and sign a contract, this was likely the outcome of the previous case. The town's envoys reported to the magistrate that a contract was planned for 10-

¹⁰⁶⁴ MNL OL, DL-DF n/a (1427-10-23); reg.: Bártfai, *Pest megye*, 156–157.

 $^{^{1065}}$ MNL OL, DL 351 (1407-07-06); reg.: Zs, vol 2, no. 5604; pub.: Házi vol I/2, 4–5.

 $^{^{1066}}$ MNL OL, DF 201982 (1406-08-05 > 1407-02-20); reg.: Zs, vol 2, no 4909, and 5304.; pub.: Házi, vol I/1, 295–296, Házi, vol I/2, 1.

¹⁰⁶⁷ According to Hervay, the *tributum* collected there made up a part of the *tributum* assigned to Pilis and Zirc collected at Győr. Cf. Hervay, *Repertorium*, 213. According to the donation of King Ladislaus IV, however, the 1/3rd shares of the toll collected at Óvár were granted to Conrad of Altenburg and the Chapter of Székesfehérvár: MNL DL n/a (after 1282-09-03); reg.: RegArp, vol II/3, 299 (no 3176); pub.: Wenzel, vol 12, 355. Concerning Konrad of Óvár (Altenburg) see Ágnes Aszt, "Egy középkori karrierista - Óvári Konrád" [A medieval careerist-Konrad of Óvár] *Moson Megyei Műhely* 6 (2003/2): 16–29.

¹⁰⁶⁸ More on the Sopron burghers and the payment of tolls in Pozsony: Katalin Szende, "Sopron és Pozsony kapcsolatai a késő-középkorban." [The connections between Pozsony andd Sopron in the Late Middle Ages] *Soproni Szemle* 46 (1992): 173.

¹⁰⁶⁹ MNL OL, DF 239553 (1431-01-01); see also Király, *Mauth Recht*, 7 and 80.

12 years and that the abbot wished to add a security disclaimer. ¹⁰⁷⁰ Quittances dating from subsequent years issued by the abbots and addressed to the *iudex/iudices* of the town show that the contract was signed. ¹⁰⁷¹ As payments were due quarterly, the total annual income could have amounted to 100 florins at least. A quittance from 1581 shows that the practice of leasing these revenues even outlived the dissolution of the convent after the battle of Mohács (1526). ¹⁰⁷²

6.2.4.2 Acquisition of houses inside the town

In addition to the properties in Vödric, the abbey also acquired two houses inside the town walls and a suburban manor. Originally, these belonged to the family of the abovementioned Jacob *iudex*, i.e. the same Jacob, to whom the abbey leased lands in the vicinity of Pozsonycsákány before 1341. This family, whose members were the local elite, representing the town, seem to have been particularly interested in such transactions with the Cistercians, possibly as part of their social strategy, aspiring to the status of hereditary nobility. This aspiration, however, led to financial crisis. ¹⁰⁷³ Jacob's son, Nicholas managed to accumulate a huge debt (400 florins), and finally, not being able to pay the abbey, decided to pawn the houses of his family members in 1378. As he still could not settle the debt in the upcoming years, the houses were seized by the Cistercians in 1384. ¹⁰⁷⁴ Perhaps these properties were leased by the abbey as early as the late 14th century, it is, however, only 100 years later that we hear about this. Rents drawn after

¹⁰⁷⁰ MNL OL, DF 239826 (1444-03-31); pub.: Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 406-407 and DF 239829 (1444-04-16); pub.: Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 408–410. See also discussed by Király, *Mauth Recht*, 217–219. The letters (reports) were authored by members of the magistrate, who were sent to negotiate the conrtract with the abbot in Esztergom.

¹⁰⁷¹ MNL OL, DF 239837 (1444-07-25); pub.: Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 411- 412: about 25 florins, addressed to *providi viri iudex et iurati*. DL 44393 (1445-04-24) and 44398 (1445-07-25); see also Király, *Mauth Recht*, 80–82: about 25 florins and addressed to *discreti viri iudici et iurati* and to *circumspecti viri iudex iuratique* respectively; DF 239918 (1447-02-14); pub.: Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 412: about 25 florins, addressed to *honorabiles viri fautores et amici mei carissimi*. This time the abbot requested that the money should be paid to the hand of Michael, the provost of Pozsony; DF 240487 (1464-05-03); a copy 239837; pub.: Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 415–416. About 26 florins. This letter concerned a sublease of the 1/3rd share of the abbey of Pannonhalma Abbey by the abbot of Pilis (Hermann), to Andreas Lang, a burgher of Pozsony, and Johannes Storch, a *familiaris* of the abbey.

¹⁰⁷² Király, *Mauth Recht*, 130, note 515 (Pozsony Town Archive. Lad. 26 F. A. No. 1.). In 1581, the town paid 80 florins to the bishop of Vác, who held the title of the abbacy, and received also payments after the vineyards and houses in Pozsony. The Pozsony Archives probably preserved other quittances from this period.

¹⁰⁷³ As has been argued by Surányi, "A pozsonyi bíródinasztiák," 182, based on E. Lederer's earlier research: Emma Lederer, *A középkori pénzüzletek története Magyarországon (1000-1458)*. [The history of financial transactions in Hungary in the Middle Ages (1000-1458)] Budapest: Kovács J., 1932, 134—148.

¹⁰⁷⁴ MNL OL, DF 248761 (1378-11-01 > 1384 > 1404); reg.: Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 373; pub.: CD, vol X/4, 343–350. See also DF 238972 (1379-02-01); pub: Békeif, A pilisi apátság, vol 1, 375: the king urges the magistrate to make a fair judgement concerning the debts.

the *Preternhaus* and the other house situated at the main square (market square) were mentioned in 1470 for the first time, ¹⁰⁷⁵ when a complaint was filed by the abbey to the magistrate, concerning overdue payments. Both the magistrate and the provost were involved in settling this debate. In 1503 and 1505 Abbot Stephen, ¹⁰⁷⁶ and in 1517 Abbot John ¹⁰⁷⁷ repeatedly complained about unpaid rents.

Out of the three houses described in 1384,¹⁰⁷⁸ the first (in the order of mentioning) belonged personally to Nicholas. The house had an "old tower", and it was situated next to the marketplace and the town hall, as described in 1378.¹⁰⁷⁹ Tower houses were typical features of contemporary townscapes – e.g. in Sopron (Ödenburg) or Vienna –, and unlike the "tower" in the suburb they were not necessarily associated with defensive outworks, but rather had representative functions. Their owners were usually members of the elite.¹⁰⁸⁰ The second house was the *Preternhaus*, which belonged to Nicholas' sister, Anna.¹⁰⁸¹ It was situated in the "*longa platea*" (1470), i.e. in the Lőrinckapu (Lorentz/today Laurinská) street. Its location is described in 1378 more accurately, as "around the gate" (of the *Lorenztor*), and adjacent to the "*curia decimalis*" (ger. *Zehnthof*).¹⁰⁸² This latter was used for the collection of tithes (*Hebestelle*), hence its name. It belonged to the archbishop of Esztergom, and it is mentioned in other documents – e.g. in the account books of the town in 1457.¹⁰⁸³ The *Preternhaus* was situated most likely to the west from it, with a backyard that was possibly contiguous with that of

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¹⁰⁷⁵ MNL OL, DF 240559 (1470-06-29); pub.: Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 428–429. The *Preternhaus* was rented by Gaspar Horundl, the other house at the main square, *in facie circuli*, by Wolfgang Forster.

¹⁰⁷⁶ MNL OL, DF 240967 (1503-03-18); pub.: Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 453–454.; Király, *Mauth Recht*, 82: Interestingly, Pannonhalma Abbey was also involved here, but the context remains unknown.; DF 240992 (1505-02-26); pub.: Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 454: The abbot appeals to the magistrate to make Andreas, the *familiaris* of the abbey and tenant of the house, pay the rent and also make others pay their *victualia* (in pepper). 1077 MNL OL, DL-DF n/a (1517-11-02); pub.: Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 465; Király, *Mauth Recht*, 129: The abbot appeals to the iudex of the town to assist his *familiaris*, Wolfgang to enforce payments from a tenant, named Peter Hoffer/Hauser?/; DF 241158 (1517-08-16); pub. Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 465 (dated to 1517-10-15): A quittance about 4 florins for Wolfgang, a burgher of Buda – probably the same person who was mentioned above. If so, again a *familiaris* of the abbey was renting the house.

¹⁰⁷⁸ MNL OL, DF 248761 (as above).: "quasdam tres domos, unam prope forum, penes domum consilii, secundam Peternhaus intra muros, et tertiam extra muros dicte civitatis in Duna Neysidl habitas et existentes"

¹⁰⁷⁹ MNL OL, DF 248761 (as above) "cum antiqua turri, cum anteriori et posteriori parte, in dicto Posonio iuxta forum et aciem in vicinitate Praetorii"

¹⁰⁸⁰ Imre Holl, "Középkori régészet IV. - Városkutatás." [Medieval archaeology IV – urban archaeology] *Acta Archeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 62 (2011): 379–418.

¹⁰⁸¹ MNL OL, DF 248761 (as above): She claimed that it was her hereditary possession.

¹⁰⁸² MNL OL, DF 248761 (as above): "circa portam iuxta domum Jacobi, filii Rosthen, ab una, ex aliaque parte penes curiam decimalem"

¹⁰⁸³ Ortvay, *Geschichte der Stadt Pressburg*, 28-29. See also Flóris Rómer, *Pozsony régészeti műemlékei* [The archaeological heritage of Pozsony]. Pozsony: Wigand Károly, 1865, 300.

Nicholas' house right up north from this plot. ¹⁰⁸⁴ The third "house" was in fact a manorial court (*allodium/Maierhof*) outside the town, in the suburb of Donau Neusiedl (today around Dunajská street, to the east from the old town) ¹⁰⁸⁵ Its precise location remains unknown.

6.2.4.3 A Cistercian chapel and the "Judenhof"

Lastly, the Pilis Cistercians owned another plot in the town, where they had a chapel (*oratorium sive capellam*). This was mentioned in Pope Benedict XII's letter in 1335, wherein the Pope informed the Archbishop of Esztergom about the complaints of Pilis concerning the constant disturbance caused by the noise from the synagogue the Jews built *iuxta dictum oratorium*. Following the expulsion of the Jews (in 1360) the synagogue was donated by King Louis I in 1361 to his physician. ¹⁰⁸⁶

The site where the synagogue was located was later Jacob Ventur's house. Jacob was not only a tax collector (*tricesimator*-1392), chamber count (*comes camere* - 1395), and the *familiaris* of the king (1401) – as mentioned above –, but also the judge of the Jews (iudex iudeorum-1397) and vice count of Co. Pozsony (1396-1397). We know this becuase he had a chapel built there in 1396, for the Corpus Christi confraternity As for the location of the chapel and synagogue, there is building archaeological proof: a Gothic portal with overpainted Hebrew inscriptions above it, at Laurinská (Panská) street 11. 1087

As Ferenc Kováts has suggested, the synagogue/Ventur's house/the Corpus Christy chapel could be part of a larger complex owned originally by the abbey, ¹⁰⁸⁸ and this was referred later as the *Judenhof*. In 1368, Paul, the son of Jacob, who must have been the brother of the aforementioned Nicholas, ¹⁰⁸⁹ sold his house, the *Judenhof*, for 120 silver pounds to two

¹⁰⁸⁴ Buildings owned by the members of the family possibly formed a congruent block. The town house, which was adjacent, was originally owned by the family of the other Jacob, (son of Dyeprecht), and were sold to the town. Cf. Surányi "Pozsonyi bíródinasztiák", 183.

¹⁰⁸⁵ MNL OL, DF 248761 (as above) "liberam vnam domum suam Preterenhaus vocatam, in dicta Civitate Posoniensi, circa portam, iuxta domum Jacobi filii Roschen ab vna, ex aliaque parte penes curiam decimalem habitam, simul cum uno alodio, vulgariter Mairhof dicto praefati Joannis, ante Ciuitatem praedictam circa Duna Neusidl, penes allodium ipsius Nicolai ex vna parte, vero ex alia penes domum Leudlini MNL OL, endinatoris" ¹⁰⁸⁶ MNL OL, DL 291404 (1335-11-13); pub.: Theiner, vol 1, 608; reg.: Hervay, Repertorium,144: "de novo synagogam construxerunt iuxta dictum oratorium seu capellam". On the synagogue see Judit Majorossy, "A Krisztus Teste konfraternitás a középkori Pozsonyban." [The Role of the Corpus Christi Confraternity in the Life of the Citizens of Late Medieval Bratislava] Történelmi Szemle 46 (2004): 82.

¹⁰⁸⁷ For more details on the history of these properties see Judit Majorossy, "A Krisztus Teste," 81–83.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Ibid, 82. (footnote 59).

¹⁰⁸⁹ Surányi, "Pozsonyi bíródinasztiák," 185.

Jews. ¹⁰⁹⁰ As prescribed in this letter, the tax free status of the property was to be kept, however, the Jews did not keep the house very long, as in 1374, it was Nicholas, who sold the perpetual *Burgrecht (ius burgense)* – basically the ownership right over this plot – for 100 silver pounds. This sum was to be collected over a period of ten years. The letter describes the precise location of the *Hof (curia)* and explicitly mentions that it was previously owned by the abbey. The context is interesting, as the person who bought the right to the house also paid 100 florins to Maerichlein the Jew, clearing the debt accumulated by Nicholas and by his father. ¹⁰⁹¹ This person was no other than the Viennese tradesman, Jans/Johannes Poll, ¹⁰⁹² the business partner of Nicholas' father, ¹⁰⁹³ who also bought several other houses in the town in the 1360s (also in the same street), and became a citizen of Pressburg. ¹⁰⁹⁴ As we see, the property was changing hands, but it was always members of the elite in close relationship with the abbey, who leased or owned it, i.e. Nicholas and his family, the Jews, who were money lenders, then the Viennese Johannes Poll, and later the Florentine Jacob Ventur.

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¹⁰⁹⁰ MNL OL, DF 238854 (1368-11-02); reg.: Evelin Brugger – Birgit Wiedl, Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden in Österreich im Mittelalter, vol 3 (1366-1386). Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2015, 76 (no 1261). The two brothers were the sons of Scheblein, who appears as a major figure (credit lender) in connection to the Schärfenberg counts in Southern Styria. The brothers developed business relationships to Norther Italy, including Triest. Cf. Birgit Wiedl, "Die Kriegskassen voll jüdischen Geldes? Der Beitrag der österreichischen Juden zur Kriegsfinanzierung im 14ten Jahrhundert," in *Krieg und Wirtschaft. Vom Antike bis ins 21. Jahrhundert*, ed. Wolfram Dornik – Iohannes Giessauf - Walter M. Iber, 241-260. Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2010, 249. Later they resided also in Maribor and Celje. Cf. Philippe Buc – Martha Keil – John Tlan (ed.), *Jews and Christians in Medieval Europe. The Historiographical Legacy of Bernhard Blumenkranz*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015, 65.

¹⁰⁹¹ MNL OL, DF 238908 (1374-05-12); pub.: Jenő Házi , János Pataki, Jenő Zsoldos (ed.), *Magyar Zsidó Oklevéltár*, vol 10, (1150-1766). Budapest: Scheiber Sándor, 1967.

¹⁰⁹² Majorossy, "Krisztus teste," 82.

¹⁰⁹³ Szende notes to whom the collection of tithes in Co. Sopron was leased in 1365, originally a Rathsherr from Vienna, who became a burgher of Pozsony. Cf. Szende, "Sopron és Pozsony", 174.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Five houses in 1364 (AMB, Lad. 5. No. 196); another in 1368 (AMB, Lad. 6. No. 232); a shambles (Schlachtbank) in 1370, near the *Lorenztor* (AMB, Lad. No. 249) Cf. Jörg Meier – Ilpo Tapani Piirainen – Klaus-Peter Wegera (ed.) Deutschsprachige Handschriften in slowakischen Archiven Vom Mittelalter bis zur Frühen Neuzeit, vol 1, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 5–8.



FIG. 84. The location of Cistercian courthouses: the Katherinenhof (red); the Preternhouse (green); Nicholas' house at the main square (yellow), and the Judenhof/Corpus Christi chapel (blue) (Source of base map: Judit Majorossy, "A foglalkozás topográfiája. A társadalmi tértől a személyes térig: a társadalmi mobilitás térbeli elemei a 15. századi Pozsonyban," Korall 45 (2011): 102-135.)

6.2.4.4 Summary

Overall, the position of the Cistercians in Pozsony was strong. Relations between the town and the abbey(s) seem to have been more intensive than in case of Borsmonostor and Sopron and there are relatively few conflicts. had a "personal" dimension, in as much as they were connected to certain members of the community (more specifically to two elite families), and chronologically to the late fourteenth century. Contracts with these families concerning manorial farms, lands (*allodium* and *predia*) in the neighbourhood of the town – e.g. in Hideghét, Mizsérd – have been discussed in Chapter 3. The above said Jacob, and his son

Nicholas were leasing the tower in Vödric (and incomes from the toll), and the other Jacob is mentioned e.g. in 1341 in connection to Hideghét. 1095

It seems that doing business with the abbey was more like a private agenda for them. As Katalin Szende has summarized they represent a transitional social layer between burghers and nobles – similarly to the Agendorfer family in Sopron, who originated from the local elite of the castle warrirors (*iobagio castri*). Such families had extensive lands, held offices in the towns (almost on a hereditary basis), resided in the towns, and managed to accumulate different revenues, leasing lands, tithes or tolls. ¹⁰⁹⁶ As for their motives, it has been demonstrated on the example of Sopron, that leases were attractive for the elite, elevating their financial status and social-political prestige while in office. ¹⁰⁹⁷

Partnerships with religious institutions – particularly with the Cistercians – were, therefore, important elements of their social strategies. However, chances for conflicts significantly increased as the practice of leasing became more widespread. While Pilis had relatively few conflicts over the use of resources with members of the the community, ¹⁰⁹⁸ the town seems to hace cultivated a less relaxed relationship with other religious houses, e.g. Pannonhalma. ¹⁰⁹⁹ On one occassion, even the provost of Pozsony experienced hard times with the burghers, struggling to find a *modus vivendi*: some vineyards of the provostry were leased out to townsmen, who did not pay the rents properly (1345) and finally the king had to intervene. ¹¹⁰⁰

1097 Károly Goda, "A városi igazgatás szerkezete Sopronban a középkor végén." [The structure of urban administration in Sopron at the end of the Middle Ages] *Soproni Szemle* 61 (2007): 255–271; Károly Goda, *A soproni városvezető réteg a 15–16. században a polgármesteri és városbírói tisztség összehasonlító igazgatás- és társadalomtörténete*. PhD thesis. Budapest: ELTE, 2011, 258. Károly Goda, "Generations of Power: Urban Political Elites in Sixteenth-Century Sopron." In *Generations in Towns: Succession and Success in Pre-Industrial Urban Societies*, ed. Finn-Einar Eliassen – Katalin Szende. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009, 232–256.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Cf. Bálint Surányi "Pozsonyi bíródinasztiák a XIII–XIV. Században." [Les dynasties de magistrats presbourgeoises aux XIIIe — XIVe siècles] *Levéltári Közlemények* 35 (1964/2): 173–186.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Szende, *Otthon a városban*, 42.

¹⁰⁹⁸ See e.g. MNL OL, DF 238732 (1351-04-10); Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 338–339: the lawsuit concerned the use of woods owned by the abbey on the island of the Danube; DF 239186 (1400-02-17); pub.: Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 390: against Wethel and fellow burghers

¹⁰⁹⁹ Pannonhalma Abbey also had 1/3rd of the customs revenues in the 1254 confirmation charter (see referred above). The share of Pannonhalma was, however, alienated in 1338 and also in 1392. From about 1330 to 1360, it was leased to Stephen and Paul, sons of Jacob, for 70 florins. In 1356, it was pawned to Nicholas, son of Jacob, who paid 240 *florins* in total. See Király, *Mauth Recht*, 11-13. In 1394, there was a lawsuit between Pannohalma and the town concerning the share of the abbey from the other toll, collected on the smaller branch of the Danube (Csalló). MNL OL, DF n/a (1394-05-30); pub. Cf. Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 380–388;

¹¹⁰⁰ MNL DF 273020 (1345-11-19); reg.: AOklt (1345) 457–458.; pub.: CD, vol IX/1, 341–343. This was highlighted as an isolated example. See Gábor Buják, "A pozsonyi káptalan korai története a szlovák historiográfiában." [The Chapter of Pozsony in the Slovakian historiography] In *Magister Historiae*. *Válogatott tanulmányok a 2012-ben*

This case was particularly interesting, as one would have expected a quick resolution as the *iudex* and the *prepositus* were brothers to each other. ¹¹⁰¹

For Pilis, the practice of leasing can be also seen as a response to financial hardships and managerial problems, while struggling to keep revenues steady. 1102 Contracting-out the collection of cash incomes and leasing out their lands could be a convenient and practical solution, which, however, prevented them to invest in maintenance, and created tensions because the statutes issued by the town magistrate would normally require everyone to pay community tax to cover maintenance costs. 1103 On the other hand, King Sigismund's policy to "outsource" the king's revenues from custom tolls, i.e. assigning these to the towns, 1104 gave more control to local communities over financial management. His interventions likely established a sort of equilibrium, as the abbey's rights to the 1/3rd shares were retained, and payments were administered in a regular way as quittances addressing the magistrate collectively (*iudex and iurati*) imply.

From a broader perspective, it was equally important that the practice of leasing not only simplified the process of collecting cash revenues, but converted financial obligations into social capital and created bonds with local elites. ¹¹⁰⁵ Considering that the Cistercians not only owned shares from the toll, but also had a number of properties in and around Pozsony, cultivating a good relationship with the elite was common sense. There is, indeed, proof that they exploited this social network, ¹¹⁰⁶ and perhaps the most practical manifestation of such bonds was an agreement between the abbey and the magistrate guaranteeing catering for the abbot and his retinue two times per year. ¹¹⁰⁷

és 2013-ban megrendezett középkorral foglalkozó mesterszakos hallgatói konferenciák előadásaiból (ELTE BTK Történettudományok Doktori Iskola – Tanulmányok – Konferenciák 7), ed. Mónika Belucz – Judit Gál – István Kádas – Eszter Tarján. Budapest: ELTE BTK Történelemtudományok Doktori Iskola, 2014, 41.

¹¹⁰¹ Surányi, "Pozsonyi bíródinasztiák," 181–182 also with a genealogical table on page 185.

¹¹⁰² Apart from the 1356-57 report of the abbot of Rein, charters from 1343 and 1361 explicitly mention the bad economic situation: MNL OL, DL 76708 (1343-08-20); reg.: Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 337: "propter nostras graves necessitates"; MNL OL, DF 238800 (1361-00-00); pub.: Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 350-351: "ob necessitatem legitimam nobis imminentem"

¹¹⁰³ Király, *Pozsony város joga a középkorban*, 90. According to the decision of King Louis I (1346), this contribution was compulsory for ecclesiastical or noble persons.

¹¹⁰⁴ Király, Mauth Recht, 22-26.

¹¹⁰⁵ A similar interpretation was put forward in case of Sibiu. See Pakucs –Willkocks, Sibiu–Hermannstadt, 21.

¹¹⁰⁶ MNL OL, DF 238732 (1351-04-10); Békefi, *A pilisi apátság*, vol 1, 338–339. The abbot proposed to settle the case in a friendly way(!) through the mediation of the iudex

¹¹⁰⁷ It is recorded for example in 1517 that the abbot indeed visited Pozsony two times, and he was invited to dine with the magistrate. Király, *Mauth Recht*, 85. (according to his footnotes the reference is found in the

As for house rentals, there was a principal issue about tax. Although the town sought to preserve its tax base, properties were granted to religious institutions/persons and nobles, who were, by nature, exempt from community tax. As mentioned in 1324, and also in 1377 the properties of the abbey in Vödric were not to be taxed by the magistrate and the king generally forbid the exaction of any tax on the properties of the abbey. Properties (with public or economic function, e.g. wine stalls) were not considered for taxation either, as noted e.g. on the example of Vienna. Interestingly, both the *Judenhof* and the *Preternhaus* were referred as *domus libera* in 1368, 1378, 1384, so they were free (of tax), and this was likely related to their functions; the *Preternhaus* could have functioned in part as wine-stall/-press, as implied by its name.

In this context, leasing could have been an option to satisfy the interests of both parties, as members of the local community would be able to use these buildings and the abbey could collect allowances/payments from them. It would be particularly interesting to know more about how these properties were managed and to whom they were leased. There are, however, little data available: according to quittances from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, houses were leased to the *familiares* of the abbey, ¹¹¹² who were apparently local residents in Pozsony, where they represented the abbey, could collect its shares from custom tolls, or the rents, and probably were responsible for supervising the management of abbey properties outside the town, and organizing supplies to the local market. Another group of people renting the houses were members of the local elite: Wolfgang Forster (*iudex*), Caspar Horundl (1470) and Petrus Hoffer/Hauser(?)(1517). ¹¹¹³ Apart from these quittances, the names of these people

Pressburger StadtArchiv, Stadtkammerrechnung under the years 1517-1518). Király did not mention other references, but this arrangement certainly dates back to 1327, when the abbey's land in Hueth was leased to the family of Jacob iudex and the payments included provisions for the abbot while in Pozsony. MNL OL, DL 41049 (1327-02-00 > 1347-08-03); reg.: AOklt XI, 55.

¹¹⁰⁸ To this purpose, there could be protective measures introduced concerning leases/rents (e.g. when someone was signing out from a rented property, he was responsible to find someone else to take over the rent) Cf. Király, *Pozsony város joga a középkorban*, 234.

¹¹⁰⁹ For 1324, see above, footnote 1055; MNL OL, DF 238 950 (1377-04-14); pub.: Békefi, vol 1, 373.

¹¹¹⁰ Maximilian Maurer, *Das Hofquartierwesen am Wiener Hof in der Frühen Neuzeit*. M.Phil. thesis. Wien: Universität Wien, 2013, 20.

¹¹¹¹ On the other hand, this was also a residence with representative functions, as it was used e.g. by King Vladislaus II in 1499, while in the town. Cf. József Schrödl, *A pozsonyi ág. hitv. evang. egyházközösség története*, vol 1. Pozsony: Ágostonos hitvallás evangélikus egyházközség kiadása, 1906, 8.

¹¹¹² See footnotes 1071: Johannes Storch (1464), Andreas (1505), and Wolfgang (1517) were mentioned as *familiaris*.

¹¹¹³ See footnote 1075.

do not turn up in any other documents related to the history of the abbey, so there is no further evidence concerning their relationship.

6.2.5 Szepes (Stiavnik) Abbey – a possible town house in Levoča

There is an early 19th century historical geographical work on the Szepes (Spiš) region assuming that there was a plot/property in Lőcse (Levoča, Leutschau) originally owned by the Cistercians, later by the Carthusians of Lechnicz (Červený Kláštor, Slovakia), and finally granted to the Jesuits by Georgius Széchenyi, the archbishop of Esztergom, who managed to take back also the lands of the Cistercians – including the castle – from its secular proprietors. ¹¹¹⁴ This he did in order to comply with the regulations of the parliament (*generalis congregatio*) in 1548 and 1552, ¹¹¹⁵ prescribing abandoned religious houses to be transferred to religious organizations with educational functions. As medieval sources concerning Cistercian properties in Levoča remain unknown, this information could not be confirmed as yet.

6.2.6 Szentgotthárd Abbey – mills in Vasvár

Most of the lands of Szentgotthárd formed a congruent block around the monastery, occupying basically the valleys of the small tributaries on the southern side of the River Rába. However, they were situated in a marginal geographical area, the so called *gyepű* – "a large frontier zone…originally a no-man's-land that was only gradually populated." Because of this condition, Szentgotthárd did not have as good access to nearby central places as for example Borsmonostor did, despite the considerable size of its estate. Most of the settlements here were small, with less fertile hilly lands. Except for Szentgotthárd, the villages of Rákos and Csörötnek, situated in the fertile lowland along the Rába, had more significant populations – as shown by the land register [see Chapter 3, Appendix]. The toponym *Rábakethely*, in the immediate vicinity of Szentgotthárd (similarly to Répcekethely near Borsmonostor), suggests that there was a marketplace at the abbey, where weekly fairs were organized. 1117

¹¹¹⁴ Georgius Bohus, "Historico-geographica terrae Scepusiensis in superiori Hungariae celeberrimae descriptio cincionata" in *Antiquae et novae Hungariae prodromus*, 69–124, ed. Matthias Bel, (Nürnberg: n/a, 1823), 170. ¹¹¹⁵ Ibid. Orsz.gv. határozatok [Statutes of the House of Commons] 1548/12, 1550/19

¹¹¹⁶ See e.g. Pál Engel, *The Realm of Saint Stephen*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 74. See also Gábor Kiss and Endre Tóth, "A vasvári 'Római sánc' és a 'Katonák útja' időrendje és értelmezése. Adatok a korai magyar gyepűrendszer topográfiájához I," (Die Chronologie und Interpretierung des 'Römischen Walles' und der 'Heerstrasse' zu Vasvár. Beiträge zur Topographie des frühungarischen Verhaugürtelsystems I.), *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* (1987): 101–137.

¹¹¹⁷ Rába-kethely refers to Tuesday (kedd), i.e. the day of the market. See Jenő Major, "A magyar városok és városhálózat kialakulásának kezdetei," *Településtudományi közlemények* 18 (1966) 48-90. (with map)

Along the valley of the Rába River, there was a major route, the so called *via Theutonica*, going in NE-SW direction, from Szombathely to the direction of Graz, passing by Szentgotthárd. 1118 Some of the more distant properties of Szentgotthárd were also aligning this road, showing its importance for the economic organization of the estate, as it provided the only access to more distant markets. About 50 kilometres to the east, the nearest town was Vasvár, the seat of Co. Vas, the centre of the castle district and of the royal domain from which the estate of the monastery was carved out. From the point of view of trade, this town must have been the primary contact point for the monastery. In the Árpád period, Vasvár was responsible for the distribution of important raw materials – iron and salt –, the mining of which was coordinated by royal authorities. As has been mentioned above, monasteries receiving salt grants collected their salt from local depots. For Szentgotthárd, this was apparently Vasvár. As far as Vasvár's role in the trade of iron is concerned, the centralized distribution system lost its significance in the late 13th and early 14th century, when Styrian mines increased their production and quality iron from Styria entered the Hungarian market. 1119 Still, the town remained an important trading post and the centre of public administration (with a provostry which became a locus credibilis). In 1279 it was even granted the title of *civitas*, similarly to Körmend, Kőszeg and Sárvár, all of which became major commercial centres in Co. Vas in the 14th and 15th centuries. 1120

About Szentgotthárd's connections to Vasvár, there are only a few known details. King Emeric's confirmation charter in 1198 mentions already two mills of the abbey donated not by

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Archaeological evidence (an early parish church) indicated, that the settlement predates the foundation of the monastery. Cf. Ilona Valter, "Szentgotthárd története a mohácsi vészig" [Die Geschichte von Szentgotthárd bis zur Niederlage bei Mohács]. In *Szentgotthárd. Helytörténet, művelődéstörténeti, helyismereti tanulmányok*, ed. Lajos Kuntár and László Szabó, Szombathely: Szentgotthárd Nagyközség Tanács, 1981, 29–81

¹¹¹⁸ The problem of medieval roads in Western Transdanubia has been discussed briefly by Gábor Kiss Gábor and Balázs Zágorhidi Czigány, "A Lapincs-Rába vonaltól délre eső terület Árpád-kori történeti földrajzához. A megyetörténet műhelyéből 1." [The Árpád period historical geography of the area S of the Lapincs] *Vasi Szemle* 64 (2010): 11–21. For a comprehensive survey on historical and archaeological evidence, manuscript maps etc. see: Magdolna Szilágyi, *On the Road: The History and Archaeology of Medieval Communication Networks in East-Central Europe*. Budapest: Archaeolingua Series Minor, 2014. The book is based on her thesis defended at CEU in 2012: Magdolna Szilágyi, *Árpád Period Communication Networks: Road Systems in Western Transdanubia*. PhD thesis. Budapest: CEU, 2012. Open access: http://goya.ceu.hu/record=b1164773~SO

¹¹¹⁹ Gusztáv Heckenast, "Eisenverhüttung im Burgenland und Westungarn im 10 bis 13. Jahrhundert," *Burgenländische Heimatblätter* 29 (1967/2): 55–65.

¹¹²⁰ Magdolna Szilágyi, "Városok, utak, kereskedelem. Az úthálózat szerepe Vas megye városi fejlődésében a 13–14. Században," [Towns, streets and trade. The role of the road network for urban development in Co. Vas in the 13th-14th centuries] *Savaria - a Vas Megyei Múzeumok Értesítője* 36 (2013): 223–241. See also: Katalin Szende, "Gespanschaftsburg zur Stadt: Warum, wie – oder warum nicht? Ein möglicher Weg der Stadtentwicklung im mittelalterlichen Ungarn." In *Stadtgründung und Stadtwerdung. Beiträge von Archäologie und Stadtgeschichtsforschung* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas 22), 375–405, ed. Susanne Claudine Pils and Christoph Sonnlechner. Linz: Österreichischen Arbeitskreises für Stadtgeschichtsforschung 2011.

the king, but by a certain *comes Symon*. ¹¹²¹ Other members of this family made contributions too, thus, the role of the local elite was important for Szentgotthárd and the monastery was linked to the seat of the county from the very start. The Cistercians most probably sold the mills later, since charters from the Árpád period mention only the mills of the collegiate chapter in Vasvár. ¹¹²² Despite the lack of data, the continuing importance of Vasvár as a regional centre was most probably one of the motifs why the abbey exchanged its land in Dobra (near the Styrian border) for Győrvár, a major village with a mill, to the south from Vasvár, in 1266. ¹¹²³ Similarly, the road from/to Vasvár and beyond must have remained at the centre of the abbey's interest, connecting the estate to nearby markets. The tenants of the abbey were mentioned in 1553, bringing their produce (grain) via Vasvár to Szombathely. ¹¹²⁴

6.2.7 Topuszkó (Topusko) – its fundacium in Zengg (Senj)

Since the estate of Topuszkó covered a large – and mostly congruent – territory, that comprised the whole Co. of Gora (now the southern part of Co. Zagreb), ¹¹²⁵ the abbey had a plenty of options to connect to local markets/central places. Similarly to the example of Borsmonostor and Szentgotthárd, there was a weakly fair (*forum*) organized in the vicinity of the abbey, 14km to the west, in *Bachus* (today Blatuša). Importantly, the licence to hold this fair was specifically requested by the abbot in 1213, within a few years after the foundation of the monastery. ¹¹²⁶

¹¹²¹ MNL OL, DL 104875 (1198-00-00); reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 159-160; pub.: Wenzel, vol 6, 193–194.

¹¹²² A comprehensive list of references on mills in the Árpád period was compiled (based on edited sources) by Tamás Vajda, "Okleveles adatok Árpád-kori vízimalmainkról." [Charter data on Árpád-period watermills] In Medievisztikai tanulmányok: a IV. Medievisztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2005. június 9– 10.) előadásai, 193–220, ed. Szabolcs Marton and Éva Teiszler (Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, Szeged, 2005). The Military Survey Maps and manuscript maps show two mills within the boundary of Vasvár, to the northwest (near Mákfa) and to the northeast in the direction of (Püspökmolnári): OSZK, TK 1045: 'Karte der Vasvárer Herrschaft (1840). Source: http://maps.hungaricana.hu/hu/1040/. One was labelled on the maps as "chapter mill'. Charters from 1362, 1363, 1404, mention the mill of the chapter, which was later expropriated by the town (the *iudex* of Vasvár). Cf. MNL OL, DL 91578 (1362-07-01); DL 91726 (1363-03-25>1366); DL 92434 (1404-12-17 > 1414) reg.: Zs, vol 2, no. 3542 and Zs, vol 3, no. 1678.

¹¹²³ MNL OL, DL 279127 (1266-00-00>>1377-05-16); reg.: RegArp nr.1509 (1266); no 2018 (1270); pub.: UB, vol 3, nr.391 (1326); reg.: Kóta, *Regeszták*, no.21, 23, 62, 167. The charter has been transcribed several times. See also: DL 42500 (1266-00-00 >> 1391-09-06); DL 93902 (1266-00-00>> ca. 1395), DL 91981 (1266-00-00 >> 1391-08-30)

¹¹²⁴ Kalász, A szentgotthárdi apátság, 73.

¹¹²⁵ The lands are listed in detail in the foundation letter: MNL OL, DF 283328/1 (1211-00-00); pub.: MHEZ, vol 1, 25-27. See other references on Gora and further literatures: Gábor Szeberényi, "A gorai comitatus a XIII. században. Megjegyzések a "hat gorai nemzetség" és a Babonić-ok korai történetéhez." [The comitatus of Gora in the 13th century. Remarks on the history of the 'six generations of Gora' and the Babonic family. In Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 6, ed. Péter G. Tóth Péter – Pál Szabó. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely 2010, 233–234. Briefly mentioned also: Ferenczi, "Észrevételek," 277–278.

¹¹²⁶ MNL OL, DF 283328/12 (ca 1213-00-00); pub.: MHEZ vol 1, 34.: "abbati eiusem loci concessisse et licenciam dedisse forum faciendi in Bachusa"

This is chronologically the earliest reference concerning local markets, which also highlights Topuszkó's interest to connect to these places. In the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, the following market towns (*oppida*) – situated within a 50-60 kilometres radius from the site of the abbey – appear in the documents: Maya (19 km) (1302) Brkisevina (42 km) (1481), Velika Kladuša (today in Bosnia-Herzegovin) (27 kms) (1481), Komogovina (40 km) (1486), Sziszek (Sisak) (45 km) (1507), Gradusa Prosavska (60km) (1515). 1127 Only Maya and Brkisevina were boroughs owned completely by Topuszkó. As for the other towns, the abbey's domanial properties were situated conspicuously close – in the same way as observed in case of Borsmonostor and nearby market towns (Locsmánd, Csepreg). In Gradusa, the abbey had a grange farm (mentioned in 1242 and 1334). 1128 Near Velika Kladuša, there was perhaps another farm (as suggested by the name of a settlement (*Grangya*). 1129 In Komogovina, the abbey received a piece of land and a mill (1312). 1130 Sziszek was also surrounded by the lands of the abbey and of the chapterhouse of Zagreb [Appendix].

Similarly to Pétervárad, Pilis or Szentgotthárd, Topuszkó was also connecting to major roads through "satellite" properties. Some of these roads were used since Roman times. The north-south trade route along the Danube crossed the River Sava at Osijek (Eszék), then it went in two directions: to southwest, along the Una River, via Bihács (Bihać), reaching the Dalmatian coast at Zadar (Zára), and to the northwest, along the Sava River, to Zagreb, and further turning west, reaching the coast at Zengg. ¹¹³¹ Connections to these roads were apparently of strategic importance, allowing the monastery to take part in long distance trade.

As for the southern road along the Una River, the estate had at least three important contact points: in Unčani, Bosanska Otoka, and Bihać. In all three locations the abbey owned islands

¹¹²⁷ Cf. Pál Engel, *Magyarország a középkor végén: digitális térkép és adatbázis a középkori Magyar Királyság településeiről.* [Hungary in the Late Middle Ages: digital map and database. CD-ROM] Budapest: Térinfo Bt- MTA TTI. 2001.

¹¹²⁸ MNL OL, DF 283328/23 (1242-00-00); pub.: MHEZ, vol. 2, 76

¹¹²⁹ Engel, "Magyarország a középkor végén."

¹¹³⁰ MNL OL, DF 283328/24 (1312-05-21); pub.: CDC, vol 8, 307-308

¹¹³¹ Lovorka Čoralić, *Put, putnici, putovanja. Ceste i putevi u srednjovjekovnim hrvatskim zemljama (Path, travellers, travel.* Roads and paths in medieval Croatian lands). Zagreb: AGM, 1997.

on the river, ¹¹³² apparently, these were important fords controlled by the abbey. ¹¹³³ According to historical traditions, Bihács was once the royal seat of the Croatian Kingdom, referred the first time as *civitas* (1271), and in later documents as *oppidum*. ¹¹³⁴ Topuszkó received from the king not only the island of St Ladislaus (in Bihács), where they built a tower and also houses, but also a piece of land in the vicinity of the town, specifically for the purpose to construct a grange there (1260). ¹¹³⁵ These properties were alienated (in the late thirteenth century, during the period of political turmoils), but confirmed in 1323. Later, however, they must have been alienated again and merged into the territory of Bihać.

Along the northern route, the Cistercians had another monastery in Zagreb, and Topuszkó owned numerous fisheries along the Sava in the area of Sziszek (listed in the foundation charter), as well as houses in the town of Zengg – including possibly a warehouse. Zengg was an ancient port, ¹¹³⁶ a transit point of the Levantine trade route, ¹¹³⁷ and under Venetian influence

¹¹³² Unčani (*Pounje/Pouna*): MNL OL, DF 283328/31 (1278-00-00); pub.: MHEZ, vol 1, 192–193: "terras seu possessiones ipsorum, Pouona vocatas…nec non insulam Wlkom vocatam cum aliis parvis insulis"; Bosanska Otoka: DF 283328/33 (1285-00-00); MHEZ, vol 1, 218: "terra, que dicitur insula Tympor"; Bihać: DF 283328/18 (1260-00-00); pub.: MHEZ, vol 1, 124–125: "in insula Sti Ladizlai que prius Byhugh nuncupabatur turrim et domos pro defensione sua et obsequio regio de nostro consensu construere cepissent"

¹¹³³ Cf. Hrvoje Kekez, "Croats and the Fifth Crusade: did two members of the Babonic noble family accompany King Andrew II of Hungary on his crusade?" In *The Fifth Crusade in Context The Crusading Movement in the Early Thirteenth Century*, ed. E.J. Mylod, Guy Perry, Thomas W. Smith and Jan Vandeburie. London: Routledge, 2016, The Crusaders were passing by the monastery, and likely crossed the river at Bosanska Otoka.

Daniele Farlati (1690-1773) describes the town as "oppidum pervetus, idemque nobilissimum fuit, quo olim duces regesque Chrobatiae regiam sedem ac domicilium transtulerant. Apud scriptores alias Aulam Regiam, alias Pagum, alias oppidum appellatum inveniens." Daniele Farlati, Illyricum Sacrum. Venetia: Sebastian Coleti, 1751., vol 1, 481. Sources refer to it as "oppidum" and also as "aula regia". In one of the letters transcribed in the Topuszkó chartulary it appears as "civitas." MNL OL, DF 283328/21 (1271-00-00); pub.: MHEZ, vol 1, 160–161. As underlined by László Szabolcs Gulyás, "civitas" was used (until the 14th c.) to denote different types of urban settlements. In the fifteenth century, sources differentiate more systematically between two basic types of towns: oppidum is used for market towns, civitas for royal towns. This distinction concerns, in the first place, the legal-jurisdictional difference between the two. See László Szabolcs Gulyás, "Civitas vagy oppidum? Szempontok 15. századi mezővárosaink jogi terminológiájának vizsgálatához." [Civitas or oppidum. Aspects of the fifteenth century terminology concerning market towns] In Arcana Tabularii. Tanulmányok Solyosi László tiszteletére, ed. Attila Bárány – Gábor Dreska – Kornél Szovák. Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem, 2014, 391–404; See also Ladányi Erzsébet, "Az oppidum fogalom használata a középkori Magyarországon. Az oppidumok jogélete," [The use of the concept 'oppidum' in medieval Hungary. The legal context.] Levéltári Szemle 42 (1992/4): 3–12.

¹¹³⁵ MNL OL, DF 283328/18 (1260-00-00); pub.: MHEZ, vol 1, 135.

¹¹³⁶ For its early history cf. Milan Turković, *Die Geschichte der ehemaligen croatisch-slavonischen Militärgrenze*. Sušak: Primorski štamparski zavod, 1936.

¹¹³⁷ Zsigmond Pál Pach, "Levantine trade routes and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages." In Actes de XVe Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Bucarest, 10-17 août 1980; publié avec financière de l'UNESCO, du Conseil International de la Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines et du Bureau du Comité International des Sciences Historiques, ed. n/a (Bucarest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1982.), 222–230. Available in reprint: Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 60 (2007/1): 9–31.

between 1275 and the 1380s.¹¹³⁸ Its importance as a trading post has been emphasized also in regard to the fact that Venetians had not only ports, but also lands in Northern Dalmatia.¹¹³⁹ The earliest of the documents concerning the town house(s) of Topuszkó, which survived in the chartulary, dates from before the Venetian period (1240).¹¹⁴⁰ It is a contract with Rembald de Carumb, the provincial master of the Templars in Gora.¹¹⁴¹ This was an initial agreement that provided the Cistercians with a plot situated at/near Zengg (*locum unum apud Sceingniam*) to build a house there. They were allowed to supply themselves only with what was necessary for the abbot and the convent (*ad domum unam ibidem edificandam pro rebus propriis et necessariis dicti monasterii emendis et vendendis*). The contract forbade them to buy houses, vineyards or lands in or around the town (*in pertinenciis Sceingnie*), or accept such in free alms, unless agreed by the Templars. Furthermore, if the Templars would decide to build a "fondaco" (*fundicum*) – i.e. a warehouse and storage facility for merchants –, the Cistercians were compelled to use that instead of their own. As has been pointed out, the Templars were keen on controlling the trade routes through Slavonia to the Adriatic, ¹¹⁴² and this letter is a clear proof of them protecting also their interest in maritime trade.

The Templars received Zengg from Bela III in 1184, and they set up their headquarters there. In 1257, however, conflicts emerged with the Ragusan merchants, as the Templars insisted on collecting maritime tax (*arboraticum*) from merchants coming from Dalmatian towns. ¹¹⁴³ As a resolution, the king forced an exchange deal in 1269 between the Templars and the Dukes of Krk, so the Templars had to release Zengg in exchange for the district of Dubica. ¹¹⁴⁴ It seems that the Cistercians were quick to react, as we see them in 1271 acquiring new houses: the

¹¹³⁸ Zsuzsanna Teke, "Il porto di Segna come impresa economica nel Medioevo," *Studia Historica Adriatica ac Danubiana* 1 (2008/1): 71–79.

¹¹³⁹ Judit Gál, "The Roles and Loyalties of the Bishops and Archbishops of Dalmatia (1102–1301)," *Hungarian Historical Review* 3 (2014): 478.

¹¹⁴⁰ MNL OL, DF 283328/70 (1240-04-00); pub.: MHEZ I.78. "abbas et conventus monasterii de Toplica iam dudum postulassent a fratre Rembaldo de Karump, magistro domus Templi...locum unum apud Sceingniam sibi dari ad domum unam ibidem edificandam pro rebus propriis et necessariis dicti monasterii emendis et vendendis. medietatem cuiusdam pecie terre, quam tenebat domus templi de terra quam tenuit quondam prior Prahk ad domum quam petebant edificandam..."

¹¹⁴¹ See also mentioned in 1239: MNL OL, DL 3629 (1239-06-11); pub.: CD, vol IV/1, 146–147.

¹¹⁴² Balázs Stossek, "Maisons et Possessions des Templiers en Hongrie," in *The Crusades and the Military Orders:* expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity; in memoriam Sir Steven Runciman (1903 - 2000), ed. Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky. Budapest: CEU, 2001, 245–251.

¹¹⁴³ Lelja Dobronić, "Templari u Senju," [Templars in Senj], Senjski zbornik 30 (2003): 200.

¹¹⁴⁴ More on the political context after the Mongol invasion: John V.A. Fine, Jr., *The Late Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999, 149–153.

second letter in the chartulary reports that that houses were assigned to them by the archdeacon of the diocesan chapter of Zagreb and they could collect the rents from the tenants. ¹¹⁴⁵ Perhaps these were previously owned by the Templars. The third (and last) charter in the chartulary is a brief report from about a hundred years later (1363), whereby the free ownership of the abbey (tax exemption?) was confirmed by the town's vicar on the request of the abbot. ¹¹⁴⁶

As for the locations of these houses, a fourth charter survived (1380), which describes the neighbourhood of one: 1147 It was situated near the coastline, and the main road (*via publica*), 1148 and its neighbours were prominent figures of the town. 1149 The plot the Cistercians originally received from the Templars was, however, likely outside of Zengg (as it is referred as *apud Scegniam*). In the are of *Abatovo*, next to the sixteenth century fortress of *Nehaj*, excavations revealed traces of an early chapel, which was identified as the Templars' St George church, mentioned in King Bela III's donation letter in 1184. It is believed that the site was taken over

¹¹⁴⁵ MNL OL, DF 283328/71 (1271-00-00); pub.: MHEZ vol 1, 160. "...quod cum frater Henricus monachus Toplicensis, electus eiusdem civitatis, in ipsam veniens civitatem, vice et nomine domini abbatis de Toplica... Qui idem Belzaninus [to whome the archdeacon formerly rented] ad nostram veniens presenciam claves predictarum domorum ad manus ipsius fratris Henrici porrigendo, ipsas domos sine aliqua contradictione assignavit, et ipsum fratrem Henricum coram archidyacono et toto capitulo, ac nobis in corporalem possessionem ipsarum domorum introduxit, statuens coram nobis debitores pro precio ipsarum domorum, et cum tempus solucionis adveniret, eidem domino abbati vel fratri Henrico solvere tenerentur pro domibus supradictis sive alicui alteri, cui dominus abbas deputaverit vel decrevit"

¹¹⁴⁶ MNL OL, DF 283 328/72 (1363-11-18): "dominus abbas sive procuratore ipsius aut qui eius successor pro tempore advenerit ipsas domos debeat libere et sine aliqua contradictione possidere"

¹¹⁴⁷ MNL OL, DL-DF n/a (1380-05-07); pub.: CDC vol.16, 90-91; It is a testament to the Franciscan monastery in Zengg made by the widow of Duym, comes of Vegla. The original charter preserved in the Archive of the Franciscan convent of Tersat in Fiume. The text describes the location of a house in the vicinity of the house of the Cistercians: "Cuius domus ab una parte est litus maris, ab alia est domus heredum ser Ranini, [a bobus (!) ambobus(?)] domus ser Francisci Paonis et una domus domini vicarii Andree via publica mediante, ab alia vero parte est domus monasterii s. Marie de Topulscha et quedam domuncula S. Quirini, etiam via media et apud domum olim Fricii Pauthlin etiam via publica media."

¹¹⁴⁸ Possibly a continuation of the "Via Schlavonia", i.e. the Roman highway outside of town, connecting Zengg to Tersat (Tergeste) and Otočec (Arupium). Cf. Aleksandra Deluka – Vesna Dragčević – Tatjana Rukavina "Roman roads in Croatia". In Huerta Fernández, Santiago. Construction History: Proceedings of the First International Congress: Madrid 20th - 24th January 2003. Madrid: Instituto Juan de Herrera, 2003, 733–742.

¹¹⁴⁹ As for *Andreas vicarius*, see: Lujo Margetić, "Senjski status iz godine 1388," [Statute of Senj from 1388], *Senjski zbornik* 34 (2007): 5–160. Margetić argued that his title as *vicar* has been misspelled, as other sources refer to him as *vicecomes*. Franciscus Paon was a Venice merchant, who appears in two other charters in 1375 and 1381: MNL OL, DL 34379 (1381-03-19); DL 34376 (1375-09-22); reg.: Elemér Mályusz, "A szlavóniai és horvátországi középkori pálos kolostorok oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban: harmadik közlemény," [Charters of Slavonian and Croatian Pauline monasteries in the Hungarian National Archive, part 3], *Levéltári Közlemények* 6 (1928): 186. These documents concern the house of the Pauline monastery near Zengg (S. Salvatoris prope Segniam / de valle Glubotina (ca1360-1550)).

by the Benedictines, ¹¹⁵⁰ however, based on the 1240 charter and the self-explanatory toponym of *Abatovo* (abbot's), successive Cistercian ownership is also likely.



FIG. 85. Map of the town of Zengg and the possible locations of Cistercian properties (Source: MNL, S 11 - No. 2038:1. Situations Plan der König. See Stadt Zeng mit seinem freyen Haffen Teritorio, 1829) The Cistercian houses were probably situated on the northern side where the road goes near the coast – as implied in 1380. The Nehaj fortress is situated upon the hill.

It is very unfortunate that later sources do not report about Cistercian properties or activities in the town, as it was exactly from the 1380s onwards, that Venetians and Florentines became involved in trading copper from Upper Hungary, from Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica) and

¹¹⁵⁰ The point was made by J. Frančiković and I. Ostojić, as referred by Lelja Dobronić, *Posjedi i sjedita templara, ivanovaca i sepulkralaca u Hrvatskoj (A keresztesek, a johanniták és a szentsír lovagok horvátországi rendházai és birtokai)*. [The estates of the Templars, the Knights of St John and the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre] Zagreb: Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1984, 93–97.

they organized transports through Zengg. ¹¹⁵¹ We also know that the Ventur family was involved – among other Florentine families –, and copper transports also went through Pozsony. ¹¹⁵² From all this, one may infer that perhaps the two Cistercian monasteries, Pilis and Topuszkó also profited from/took part in this activity in some ways, as they were connected to these towns. Furthermore, the area of Zengg was also rich in oak and beech woods, and the town was famous for exporting timber and beams, as well as wine and oil. Perhaps these were not only coming directly from its hinterlands, but also from the estate of Topuszkó. ¹¹⁵³

6.2.8 Zirc Abbey – a house in the market town of Pápa

Most of the lands owned by Zirc were scattered over Co. Veszprém and did not form a congruent block, with the site of the abbey situated deep in the royal forest. As shown on reconstructions of the medieval road network in Transdanubia, there were two or three major roads through Co. Veszprém: one going NE-SW from Székesfehérvár to Vasvár, and two major roads were connecting to this, going SE-NW, from Székesfehérvár to Győr and from Veszprém to Győr (via Pápa). In Győr, the abbey had $1/3^{\rm rd}$ share from the custom toll – similarly to Pilis. Although there are only fragmentary data on the abbey's lands, it is certain, that Zirc had at least two "satellite" properties along these roads: in Sóly, and also in Pápa. Apart from having been listed among villages owned by the abbey, there is no further information available in the documents concerning Sóly. 1155

As for Pápa, however, there are many interesting details. In 1520, King Louis II approved the grant of John of Szapolya, the voivode of Transylvania, who had granted a house in the market town of Pápa to the Carthusians of Lövöld (Co. Veszprém). The king confirmed that it shall remain free from taxes or contributions in line with the agreement between the Carthusians and John of Szapolya, who was the landlord of the town. The *elenchus* of the charter also asserts that the Cistercians held the same privilege for their house in the Hosszú street (This street,

¹¹⁵¹ Martin Štefánik, "Italian involvement in metal mining in the Central Slovakian Region, from the thirteenth century to the reign of King Sigismund of Hungary," *I Tatti Studies – Essays in the Renaissance* 14-15 (2011-2012): 31-32

¹¹⁵² Ibid., 32. See also above, footnote 1062. The charter describes a copper transport, arriving to Pozsony from the Szepes (Spiš "da fragt der Mawtter daselbs, was auf den Wegen leg, da antwurtend dy tzypser und sprachen, es leg kuppher darauf, und dasselbig kuppher, das sy bechannt haben"

¹¹⁵³ Sonja Lessacher, Ludwig I. von Ungarn und seine Dalmatienpolitik. MA thesis. Wien: Uni Wien, 2012, 78. With further literatures. Open access: http://othes.univie.ac.at/20666/

¹¹⁵⁴ As mentioned in the 1254 confirmation charter of Pilis. See above.

¹¹⁵⁵ Mentioned in 1365, 1468 and 1488: MNL OL, DF 200973 (1365-09-29); reg.: Horváth, *Zirc története*, no. 79.; pub.: HO, vol 4, 200-202; DF 200516 (1468-12-01); reg.: Horváth, *Zirc története*, no. 138; DL 28340 (1488-00-00); reg.: Horváth, *Zirc története*, no. 146.

"Hosszú utcza", was the major north-south oriented street of Pápa). As noted by the publisher, the document does not appear to be listed in the archival registers concerning property transactions/grants – *in protocollo inscriptionialium inserta non sunt*. Although a single reference, this house is believed to be identical with the Carthusian one. Based on the alignment of the plots to the west of its location, it has been argued that there was once an originally undivided piece of land in the area, and that the boundaries of the parcels were established during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when groups of artisans settled there.

Historical topographical data concerning the earlier period may imply that there were originally manorial/domanial lands/plots there. The late medieval period, however, witnessed a process of nucleation: the originally separate early medieval settlements – referred as Pápa, Zsemlér, Udvarsoka/Hodoska¹¹⁵⁸ – merged and the surroundings became more "urbanized". The previously agrarian functions of manors could have disappeared almost completely. The plots were segmented and more comfortable and representative town houses (*curiae*) were built, aligning the main street, which could be rented. Seventeenth century conscriptions still mention suburban manors, and also the Hosszú street – today Jókai-street – as *suburbium oppidi Papensis*. In the upper (northern) part of the street, closer to the town centre, there were more representative houses of prominent nobles and churchmen. ¹¹⁵⁹

The suggested location of the Cistercian *curia* (53, Jókai street) was in the southern part of the street, in the area where once Zsemlér was located, and this brings us further to an important point. According to fourteenth – fifteenth century documents Zsemlér was still considered as separate from Pápa – owned by the Zsemléri family (and not by the king). Parts of Zsemlér (also referred as Udvarsoka/Hodoska) were acquired by the Cistercians (including a mill) in

¹¹⁵⁶ The register was pub.: by János Reizner, "A gróf Esterházi család pápai levéltára," [The Pápa Archive of the Esterházy family], *Történelmi Tár* 16 (1893/4): 608. See also Andrea Haris, "A települések halmazától a városig" [From a conglomerate of settlements to the town], in *Tanulmányok Pápa város történetéből a kezdetektől 1970-ig*, ed. András Kubinyi, (Pápa: Pápa Város Önkormányzata, 1994), 33, footnote 72. The old archival fond is referred here as MNL OL, P. 1216 – A pápai uradalom lajstromozott iratai: 23. cs; Capsa 60; No.325; page 85.) I could not find the document in the digital database of the Hungarian National Archive under this date (1520). ¹¹⁵⁷ Haris, "A települések halmazától a városig," 32–33. Haris assumes that the Carthusian house was situated at 53, Jókai str.

¹¹⁵⁸ András Kubinyi, "A középkori Pápa" [The medieval Pápa], in *Tanulmányok Pápa város történetéből a kezdetektől 1970-ig*, ed. András Kubinyi, Pápa: Pápa Város Önkormányzata, 1994, 75–105.

¹¹⁵⁹ According to 17th century conscriptions such suburban manors were situated for instance in the Ispotály (later Kisfaludi) and Kristóf (later Kuruc) streets. Cf. Hermann István, "Pápai középnemesi házaspár végrendelete a 17. század közepéről," [A testament of couple of a middle rank nobility from the 17th century], *Lapok Pápa Történetéből 1998/4*, 74 and 76, footnote 63-64, 93, 114.

1359,¹¹⁶⁰ when they exchanged lands with the family. It was either this mill, or another one, that was leased by the abbey to the same family in latery years. (1375, 1418-1428).¹¹⁶¹

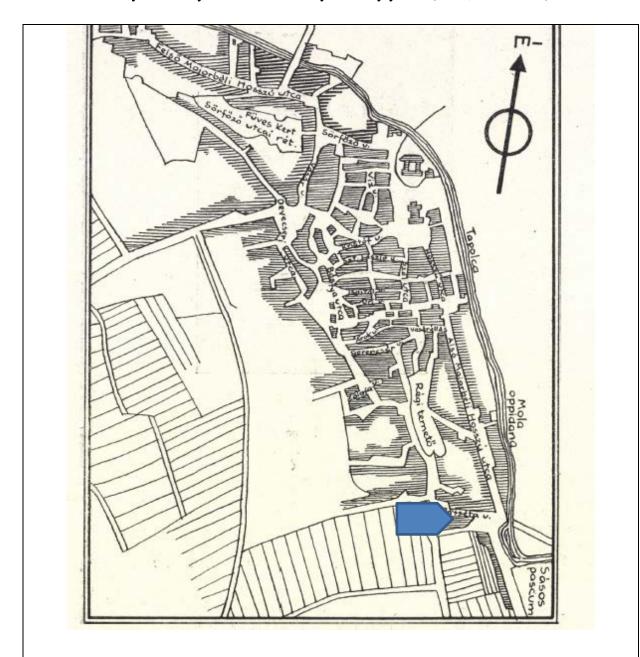


FIG. 86. The map of Pápa (1793) and the probable location of the Cistercian house at the southern end of the "Hosszú" street (Platea longa) (Source: Bognár Ede, Pápa településföldrajza (Historical geography of Pápa). Doctoral thesis. Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Apátság, 1943, 85.)

¹¹⁶⁰ MNL OL, DF 282747 (1359-11-16); reg.: Horváth, *Zirc története*, 76.

¹¹⁶¹ MNL OL, DL/DF n/a (1375-04-05), Quittances available from 1418-1428: DL 43398 (1418-05-17); DL/DF n/a (1420-06-02); DL/DF n/a (1421-06-28); DL 43536 (1422-12-11); DL 43575 (1423-12-11) DL 43747 (1428-05-25) reg.: Horváth, *Zirc története*, 85, 98, 100, 103,113, 116, 118.

6.2.9 Properties of Heiligenkreuz (Austria) and Koprzywnica (Lesser Poland) in Hungarian towns

Our survey would have remained incomplete without briefly mentioning Heiligenkreuz (Austria) and Koprzywnica (Lesser Poland), as both had properties in Hungarian towns. Koprzywnica (1185) was based initially in the town of Bardejov (Bártfa, Co. Sáros, in Upper Hungary, today in Slovakia). This was mentioned in a charter from 1247, 1162 and Jan Długosz also explains in his historical account, the *Liber beneficiorum*, that the market town (*oppidum*) of Bardejov was part of the domain of the monastery together with twelve villages. 1163 Thus far, there has been no archaeological or architectural evidence found, which could be associated with this building originally by the convent. 1164 It was perhaps converted into a Stadthof later on.

As for Heiligenkreuz's properties in Pozsony, the documents provide more details. In 1307, the abbey acquired a curia from Peter, the provost of Esztergom and canon of Pozsony, as a hereditary property, in exchange for an annual payment in cash and in kind (8 Viennese silver marks and a pound of pepper). As explained, the deal was made to provide Heiligenkreuz with a domus and repositorium in the town, to store and sell the wine produced in the vineyards of the abbey in Pozsonyszőlős (Vajnory, Weinarn). 1165 In 1319, the monastery received two more vineyards/wine hills (*duas vineas*) there, donated by Viennese burghers. ¹¹⁶⁶ The local vineyards could have been of special importance for Heiligenkreuz, as late fifteenth century statutes (1460-70) still mention the abbey as one of the owners of the Pozsonyszőlős wine hill. 1167

In 1311, Francis, a monk of the Cistercian monastery of Colomba (Italy), the chaplain of cardinal Gentilis, made a chapel built in the *curia* of the abbey in the town. It was dedicated to

¹¹⁶² Hervay, Repertorium, 125: 'quidam fratres...apud ecclesiam Sancti Egidii de Bardfa prope Sarus commorantes'.

¹¹⁶³ Hervay, *Repertorium*, 125–126.

¹¹⁶⁴ Cf. Martin Štefánik and Ján Lukačka, Lexikon stredovekých miest na Slovensku [Lexicon of medieval towns in Slovakia] Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV, 2010, 82.

¹¹⁶⁵ MNL OL, DF 238649 (1307-10-28); reg.: Hervay, Repertorium, 105-106; pub.: CD, vol VIII/1, 618-620.

¹¹⁶⁶ Heiligenkreuz StiftsArchiv (1319-07-25); pub.: FRA, vol II/16, 60.

¹¹⁶⁷ The statutes of the vineyards from 1460-1470: Ferenc Kováts, "A vajnori hegyközség rendtartása 1460-1470ből," [The statutes of vine-dressers in Vajnory, 1460-1470], Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle 7 (1900) 469-470: 'It(em) Mon sol auch das pergrecht nyndert anderstwo dan auf des Gotshaws zum Heylignnkrewtz [geben un nemen] grunnttnn vor Weinarnner perg bey der Huttn gebenn unde nemen allain ainer Hietzs mit des grunthern oder des pergmayster willnnanderstwo zu gebnn.'

St Catherine, hence, the property is referred later as the *Katherinenhof*. The year 1311 bears significance: Gentilis invited the Hungarian prelates to Pozsony and the construction of the chapel could be intended as a "political message" against the expansion of the mendicants. The chapel was consecrated in 1325, and a few monks are mentioned as caretakers in later years: *magister curiae* (1337), *Dyetericus lector curie* (1337), *Michl Vogel dy zent hoff meister* (1437). The location of the house was discussed first by Tivadar Ortvay: it was situated at the gate of the St Michael's street (*in transitu platee S Michaelis*). This Hof building complex was situated at 6, Michalska street, i.e. at the corner of the Biela and Michalska streets. The oldest part of the complex is the front to the Michalska street. Building archaeological investigations recovered late thirteenth century architectural details along the southern side of the chapel (8, Michalska str). In addition to the house in Pozsony, Heiligekreuz also owned the Salzhaus in Sopron, at the Orsolya square, donated by King Emeric.

Finally, Heiligenkreuz (and probably also Pilis) acquired lands around the town, which once belonged to the Cistercian nunnery in Pozsony. The nunnery was originally a house of religious laywomen – Magdalene sisters, or belonged to Benedictine nuns. It was established in the early 12th century and was incorporated by the Cistercians only in 1235. ¹¹⁷³ In 1297 its location is described as *ante civitatem Posoniensem*. ¹¹⁷⁴ The precise location is uncertain, but its properties were situated in the surroundings of the castle hill, and the nunnery was possibly also in the Vödric suburb. We know of a mill (1238), ¹¹⁷⁵ a meadow along the river banks in Vödric (1244), ¹¹⁷⁶ and of a vineyard, situated behind the castle (*retro castrum sita*). This latter was

¹¹⁶⁸ Ferenc Hanuy, *Pázmány Péter bíbomok, esztergomi érsek Magyarország hercegprímása összegyűjtött levelei,* vol 1 [The letters of Péter Pázmány, cardinal, and archbishop of Esztergom], Budapest: Regiae Scientiarum Universitatis, 1910, 151, passim.

¹¹⁶⁹ Denisa Valachová, "Rehoľa cistercitov v stredoveku" [The Cistercian Revolution in the Middle Ages] In *Rehole a kláštory v stredoveku*, ed. Rastislav Kožiak and Vincent Múcska, Banská Bystrica – Bratislava: Chronos, 2002, 111.

¹¹⁷⁰ Ortvay, Geschichte der Stadt Pressburg, 41–42.

¹¹⁷¹ Ortvay, *Geschichte der Stadt Pressburg*, 41-42.; Zuzana Ševčíková, "Dvorec cisterciánov na Michalskej ulici v Bratislave. Niekol'ko novších poznatkov," [Der Zisterzienser Hof in der Michalská-Gasse in Bratislava (Pressburg)], *Archaeologia Historica* 29 (2004): 471, 473.

¹¹⁷² See above footnote 979.

¹¹⁷³ Šedivý, "Az egyház a középkori Pozsonyban", 112–113; Hervay, *Repertorium*, 157.

¹¹⁷⁴ MNL OL, DL 1474 (1297-10-26); CD vol 7/2, 68-70; reg.: Hervay, Repertorium, 158.

¹¹⁷⁵ MNL OL, DL 12033 (1238-00-00); copies: DL 24325 and DL 36431; reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 157; pub.: CD, vol IV/1, 138;

¹¹⁷⁶ MNL OL, DL 12033 (1244-00-00) as *Widricha*; copies: DL 24325 and MNL OL, DL 36431; reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 157; pub.: CD, vol IV/1, 348–349.

mentioned on the occasion of being sold to Heiligenkreuz (1249). ¹¹⁷⁷ In the second half of the thirteenth century, the town was exposed to conflicts between the Hungarian crown and the Přemysl dynasty (Ottokar II, Duke of Austria 1251-1278; King of Bohemia: 1253-1278). This could have affected the nunnery in a disandvantegous way, breaking up the ties to Heiligenkreuz and finally, in 1297, King Andrew III finally donated their *fundus seu curia* with the consent of the town magistrate to the Poor Clares, as the Cistercian nuns were not able to invite/recieve substitute staff from elsewhere (most likely from Austria), although this was explicitly requested by the burghers. ¹¹⁷⁸

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¹¹⁷⁷ MNL DL-DF n/a; reg.: Hervay, *Repertorium*, 157; pub.: W, vol 2, 212 or FRA vol II/11, 118. Historical maps and engravings confirm that the area was extensively planted with vineyards.

¹¹⁷⁸ As described in 1297, the nunnery was derelict for more than 20 years, however, the wars must have spared the monastery as it was quite quickly resettled by the Franciscans, following the king's decision. Cf. Šedivý, "Az egyház a középkori Pozsonyban", 116.

6.3 CONCLUSIONS

The institutionalized coordination of Cistercian expansion, – the careful planning prior to sending out new communities (inspectio loci) as well as the supervision of economic/material welfare (temporalia) through regular visitations (visitatio) -, 1179 apparently suggest that practical aspects were taken into account, when choosing the location of Cistercian monasteries. Easy and secure connection between the abbeys (particularly to mother-abbeys in France and Germany) must have been a priority. Access to local or distant markets should have been considered too, as trade was a factor that could guarantee economic viability and sustainability. The above observed patterns in the topography of Cistercian properties underline the point that major "arterial" roads were of importance for the economy of Cistercian houses in Hungary. Sources also illuminate that the economic gravity of urban centres was exploited in many ways. Cistercians received revenues from salt, and their shares were distributed to them in royal towns (see especially the list of abbeys in the Bereg Oath in 1233). Their monasteries could be involved also in transporting and trading salt on a local/regional level. Some abbeys held shares from custom tolls (e.g. Cikádor, Pilis and Zirc) and received exemptions from paying taxes, including road tolls (e.g. Heiligenkreuz, Borsmonostor, Pétervárad). This much has been already explained by László Koszta and Beatrix F. Romhányi. Our discussion has added to this knowledge the subtler details concerning the topographic connections of estates to major roads, the micro-topogarphy of urban/peri-urban properties, patterns of acquisitions, conflicts between monasteries and urban communities, the different types of urban premises and their economic exploitation, as well as some financial issues.

6.3.1 Acquisitions of houses in major towns

The overall number of Cistercian properties in towns, focusing here only on town houses mentioned as *domus/curia*, reflects a generally low degree of connectivity – similarly to what has been observed by Winfried Schich concerning regions East of the Elbe. Many Hungarian abbeys did not seem to have owned urban premises – at all –, and those which had (n.b. the more prestigeous, royal foundations) were connected to only one significant town and had only one house there. (Except for Pilis, Topuszkó, and Heiligenkreuz, which owned more than one.) Networks of western monasteries were often more extensive. ¹¹⁸⁰ On the other hand, there were

¹¹⁷⁹ See on this e.g.: Jörg Oberste, *Die Dokumente der klösterlichen Visitationen* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999).

¹¹⁸⁰ Examples of London (due to the wool trade of the English Cistercians), as well as Würzburg (due to the wine trade of Frankish monasteries) are outstanding: Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, 266; Winfried Schich, "Die

only two major towns, where more than one Cistercian monastery had premises (Sopron, Pozsony). Among the Hungarian towns, Buda was the only exceptional case, the political centre of the kingdom, where many religious houses (affiliated to different orders) were present, including many Pauline and Benedictine communities, but from among the Cistercian monasteries, only Pétervárad had a house there. ¹¹⁸¹

As most of the Hungarian abbeys were founded between the 1180s and 1230s, acquisitions of urban (and peri-urban) properties followed only later: the earliest references date from the midthirteenth century and the context is clearly economic. They were donated either by the king or ecclesiastical lords. Pilis' tower house in Vödric/Pozsony was most probably part of the royal foundation grant. Topuszkó got hold of the plot near Zengg through a special arrangement with the Templar master (possibly in free alms). The houses inside the town were received from the Zagreb chapter (perhaps left unattained by the Templars after they left the town) The *curia* of Heiligenkreuz in Pozsony was granted by the archbishop of Esztergom. These examples illuminate that Cistercians did not seem to invest in the acquisition of urban properties, chronologically, however the dates coincide with a dynamic period of urban development — the second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century. The abbey of Kerc probably received the *fundus* in Nagyszeben during this period.

In the late fourteenth century, acquisitions followed a different trend. The mill of Zirc in Pápa (1359) was acquired through an exchange deal, houses in Pozsony (1378/84) were seized by Pilis as a result of clearing the debts of Jacob and Nicholas, who must have gone bankrupt. One

Stadthöfe der frankischen Zisterzienserklöster in Würzburg. Von den Anfängen bis zum 14. Jahrhundert," in Zisterzienser Studien, vol 3., ed. Wolfgang Ribbe. Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1976, 45–88. In both cases, there was a conglomerate of Cistercian properties in the towns, clearly associated with the significance of trade. Such extensive networks did not develope in Hungary or in the Central Eastern European region.

¹¹⁸¹ Végh, *Buda város*, vol 1, 322–323: In addition to the Cistercians in Pétervárad (Co. Szerém), the Benedictines of Pannonhalma (Mons S. Martini, Co. Győr), Bél, Tihany (Co. Veszprém), Szekszárd (Co. Tolna) and of the Holy Trinity monastery (today in Vokány, Co. Baranya), the Carthusians of Lövöld (Co. Veszprém) and Felsőtárkány (Vallis Auxilii, Co. Heves), the Franciscans of Segesd (Co. Somogy), the Paulinians of Szentlörinc, Szentkereszt, Szentlélek, Kékes (all in Co. Pilis) Örményes (Co. Zala), Veresmart (Co. Heves), Csatka (Co. Veszprém) and Lád (Co. Borsod) had houses in the town of Buda.

¹¹⁸² As has been mentioned in the introduction, the earliest examples from abroad date from the mid twelfth century. These were typically benefices from bishops and were used in the beginning as hospices.

¹¹⁸³ Cf. András Kubinyi, "A magyar várostörténet első fejezete" [The early phase of urban development in Hungary], in *Studia Miskolcinensia 2 – Társadalomtörténeti tanulmányok*, ed. Csaba Fazekas (Miskolc: Mikolci Egyetem, 1996): 36–46. Idem, "Városfejlődés a középkori Magyarországon," [Urban development in medieval Hungary], in *Magyar középkori gazdaság- és pénztörténet. Jegyzet és forrásgyűjtemény*, ed. Márton Kálnoki Gyöngyössy. Budapest: HEFOP konzorcium, 2006, 155–174. Available at:

 $[\]frac{\text{http://gepeskonyv.btk.elte.hu/adatok/Tortenelem/83K\%E1lnoki/GY\%D6NGY\%D6SSY\%20K\%D6NYV/07\%20KUB}{\text{INYI.pdf}}$

of the mills of Borsmonostor in Locsmánd (1381, 1385) was purchased (the other was received as a benefice). These examples illustrate that some abbeys had the finances to invest in urban properties, and also that mills were considered as lucrative assets – providing solid yearly revenues, and also the means of feudal control over the local tenants/burghers. This became essentially a source of conflict, particularly in the fifteenth century when urban communities grew stronger. It is in this context that we hear about the leasing of mills, as demonstrated in case of Borsmonostor – Locsmánd or Zirc – Pápa (see below).

Overall, however, the Cistercians' relative absence from towns is transparent. Not only in case of Buda, but also more generally, in comparison to other religious orders. One would expect the mendicants – who were essentially based in urban space – to show a much greater interest in acquiring urban premises. Nonetheless, the opposite was true: they only needed to keep them for specific economic functions (e.g. bakehouse), which could not be accommodated within the building complexes of their monasteries. On the other hand, the Paulines were overwhelmingly rural, like the Cistercians, and they not only had a good number of properties in the town of Buda, but a comprehensive survey also demonstrated that they were much more active in urban space.

The Paulines acquired a number of houses, mills, cellars in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. ¹¹⁸⁶ While direct investmenet was less typical for the Cistercians – or the Benedictines –, who typically acquired these properties as benefices, ¹¹⁸⁷ Paulines invested in purchasing houses, mills vineyards more systematically. One should certainly remember that many Pauline

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¹¹⁸⁴ Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Kolduló barátok, gazdálkodó szerzetesek. Koldulórendi gazdálkodás a késő középkori Magyarországon* [Friars as estate managers. Mendicant economy in Late Medieval Hungary], Academic doctoral thesis. Budapest: Károli Református Egyetem, 2014, 159.

¹¹⁸⁵ Buda was of exceptional importance, as their 'headquarters'/administrative centre was situated in the nearby Budaszentlőrinc.

¹¹⁸⁶ F.Romhányi, *A lelkiek a földiek nélkül*, 306–314. F.Romhányi adds that this chronological "emphasis" may reflect the economic downturn that halted the development of market towns during the mid- and late fifteenth century or might as well be a gap in the available sources. Cf. also Jenő Szűcs, *Városok és kézművesség a XV. századi Magyarországon* (Towns and crafts in 15th century Hungary), (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 1955). Concerning the debate over Szűcs's points a review was published by András Kubinyi, "A 15-16. századi magyarországi városi fejlődés kérdéseihez" [About the debated issues of fifteenth and sixteenth century urban development in Hungary]. *Századok* 99 (1965): 513-521.

¹¹⁸⁷ Town houses owned by Benedictines have not been comprehensively surveyed. It has been underlined on the example of Kolozsmonostor that Benedictines also received town houses as benefices, and they later opted for selling/leasing them. Cf. Szabó, "A kolozsmonostori bencés apátság", 98.

houses received a significant amount of cash in benefice (typically in testimonial letters), hence they were financially more liquid, than the Cistercians (or other monastic communities) whose assets were mostly in lands.

6.3.2 Conflicts with towns

As noted in the introduction, conflicts with towns emerged during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in consequence of which Cistercian abbeys often lost former privileges and properties (e.g. exemptions from paying taxes). In the discussion, conflicts between Borsmonostor and the town of Köszeg, between Pilis and the town of Pozsony, and between Pétervárad and the town of Szeged were addressed, illustrating this trend. However, the evidence is few. Apart from the bad preservation of archival data, one may speculate that this is perhaps to be explained by the limited economic exposure of the Cistercians on the market, and that their activities (in trade and money handling) rarely interfered with the developing economic interests of towns. In regard to this, one should also consider that the development of Hungarian towns followed a relatively belated course, and the relatively new urban communities did not necessarily have the political and economic background and strength to object or contest the interests and privileges of the Cistercians (or of other ecclesiastical institutions) – at least not as firmly as could be observed elsewhere.

One also has the impression that the gravity of these conflicts was less serious, as in case of examples discussed by Schich. Borsmonostor, Pilis and Pétervárad similarly called for royal arbitration and their ancient (royal) privileges were observed and confirmed. Borsmonostor successfully defended the toll-free status of its tenants against the burghers of Kőszeg, and Pilis was also successful to settle the debate with the burghers of Sopron and Pozsony concerning the abbey's share from the tolls and the tax exemptions of burghers. Concerning the complaints of the Szeged merchants (as tenants of Pétervárad) against the banus of Macsó, who introduced new taxes/tolls, the royal decision was in favour of the abbey – based on what was described in the early thirteenth century privelege. On the other hand, when the new governor abbot

¹¹⁸⁸ Beatrix F. Romhányi, "'Heremitibus sancti Pauli lego' Közvetlen és közvetett pénzadományok a pálosoknak juttatott hagyatékokban," [Unmittelbare und mittelbare finanzielle Gaben in Testamenten für die Pauliner], *Studia Caroliensia* 7 (2006/3-4): 65–70.

¹¹⁸⁹ Abbeys often fighted with neighbouring landowners from the start, but with towns, these conflicts seem to have occurred only later, starting in the late fourteenth century.

attempted to introduce taxes a few years later, his attempt was similarly rejected on the account of the abbey's ancient privilege.

It is important to underline that Cistercians seem to have played a rather passive role here, in the sense that they were interested in keeping the *status quo*. It was the urban communities who challenged this, as they were becoming more powerful due to external factors – i.e. to the intensification of foreign and internal trade. It is, therefore, that conflicts occurred in Sopron and Pozsony, whose economic significance has grown immensely in the fourteenth century. These towns were situated in a border region, literally 'at the gates' of the country, and due to changing royal policies on foreign trade, they took the leading role from towns in the central regions of the country. The donation of staple rights to Pozsony (1402), ¹¹⁹⁰ though only temporarily, was in the interest of the burghers, as merchants coming from abroad (particularly from Nuremberg) preferred to stop there, instead of traveling further to Buda. ¹¹⁹¹ Szeben also acquired staple rights, its economic role in Transylvania was, however, overshadowed by the growing importance of Brassó (Kronstadt). In case of Pétervárad, the Szeged merchants emerged as protegees of the abbey, they even became landholders in Szerém, and from very early on, the abbey relied on their cooperation in wine trade. This seem to have worked out fine throughout later centuries as well.

On the other hand, Borsmonostor's dispute with the townsmen of Kőszeg seems the most serious case. AS we have seen, it revolved partly around the collection of road tolls, from which the abbey's tenants were exempt. The decision of the *comes* of Sopron (1371) did not seem to settle the case, and there is evidence for a long period of hostility between the abbey and the town, and repeated violations of Borsmonostor's property rights in the fifteenth century. The key issue here was not only the exemption, but rather a territorial conflict concerning the lands of the abbey around Kőszeg and Locsmánd. Kőszeg – as the centre of a castle domain and a privileged royal town – had to supply its growing population around this time, and this meant greater demand for lands, leading to confrontations with neighbouring landowners, the closest of which was the abbey. All in all, the documents suggest that Cistercians did not seem to have interfered much with the interests of towns and their tradesmen in general. Conflicts

¹¹⁹⁰ Engel, The Realm of St Stephen, 259.

¹¹⁹¹ András Kubinyi, "A magyarországi városhálózat 14-15 századi fejlődésének néhány kérdése" [Einige Fragen zur Entwicklung des Städtenetzes von Ungarn im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert]. *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 19 (1972): 50.

¹¹⁹² Ferenczi, "A ciszterci birtokszervezés", 130-131.

are attributed mostly to land leasings, but this was an inherent problem. On the other hand, it was through leasing that the abbeys bonded with elite members of the urban social scene, as shown on the example of Sopron and Pozsony.

Documents concerning these two towns provide some insight into the social context. Local elites seem to have been generally on good terms with the Cistercians. Taking into account their common cultural backgrounds – as the elites of these towns and the convents were also German -, this is the least surprising. Heiligenkreuz was not only the mother house of Borsmonostor, but in the late fourteenth century it played a vital role in resuscitating conventual life in Pilis (cf. Chapter 5). Borsmonostor and Pilis received groups of German monks (and also settlers). As has been noted, the influential Agendorfer family in Sopron was of German origin too and had connections to Vienna. 1193 In Pozsony, there were families, similarly of German origin, who had leading political role in the town as members of the magistrate and were business partners of the monastery. These people belonged to a respectable social group of wealthy landowners, aspiring to the status of nobility as reflected both by their honourable titles in the documents (comes) and by their official roles (iudices). The focus of their economic interests was wine trade, leasing the collection of taxes and tolls, and money lending. They were keeping close contact with the king, 1194 and apparently also with the Cistercians, whose house/curia in Pozsony later became home of the Corpus Christi confraternity, members of which were recruited from the town's elite, including e.g. comes *Hambaton* (see Chapter 3), Johannes Poll, or Jacob Ventur. 1195

6.3.3 The topography of urban properties

Based on geographical distance, three groups/categories of central places/markets, where different types of urban peroperties were typically – and potentially – located, including not only houses, but also vineyards, and mills. The first group consists of those in the closest neighbourhood of the abbeys (within a day's journey), e.g. Borsmonostor – Répcekethely (4

¹¹⁹³ Mollay, "Névtudomány", 199: the Agendorfer family "belonged to the lesser nobles of Western Transdanubia, many of whom either became more closely associated with certain aristocratic families, like the Köszegi family, or recognized the economic and social prospects offered by the special support and protection of the kings towards the towns, like Sopron, during the late thirteenth and eary fourteenth century."

¹¹⁹⁴ Judit Majorossy, "Egy határ menti szabad királyi város középkori igazgatásának vázlatos története (Tanulmány egy készülő pozsonyi archontológiai kötet elé)," *Történelmi Szemle* 57 (2015/3): 441–469.

¹¹⁹⁵ Judit Majorossy, "A pozsonyi városi elit és az udvar kapcsolatának megközelítési módjai a késő középkorban és az újkorban." [Approaches to the connection between the urban elite of Pozsony and the court] *Urbs. Magyar Várostörténeti Évkönyv* 7 (2012): 176.

km), Locsmánd (9 km), Csepreg (24 km); Szentgotthárd – Rábakethely (1 km); Pilis – Esztergom, Pest and Buda (all within 20-30 km distance); Topuszkó – Blatuša (12 km), Maja (19 km). Those in the the second group were still relatively close, but at some distance from the abbeys (ca 40-50-60 km), where it could take 1-2 days to get there, e.g. Borsmonostor – Sárvár (46 km), Sopron (36 km); Kerc – Szeben (45 kms), Szentgotthárd – Vasvár (45 kms), Szombathely (52 km); Zirc – Pápa (50 km). Around the estate of Topuszkó, there were quite a few of these central places/markets: Velika Kladuša (today in Bosnia-Herzegovina) (27 kms) Brkisevina (42 kms), Komogovina (40 kms), Sisak (Sziszek) (45 kms), Gradusa Prosavska (60kms). The tenants of the abbeys were likely frequenting these markets (as recorded in case of Borsmonostor and Szentgotthárd), but this could be the general situation in case of other estates too.

Finally, the third group consists of those places, which were mor distant: Pétervárad – Buda (ca. 390 kms), Pilis-Pozsony (ca 210 kms), Topuszkó-Zengg (170 kms). Their distance from the abbeys were compensated by their importance: notably, these were towns, where the abbeys not only owned houses inside the walls, but also manors (*Hof/curia/grangia*) outside of the towns. Kerc's house (*domus*) in Szeben was relatively close to the abbey, but there was a similar constellation, as the abbey also owned lands (perhaps manorial lands as well) in the nearby village of Kisdisznód (Cisnădioara, Michelsberg). The grange of Pétervárad in Kelenföld was situated practically in the suburb of Buda. The manor/grange(?) of Pilis in Pozsonycsákány (Čakany) was 25 kms from Pozsony. As Winfried Schich noted, the constellation of peri-urban manors and town houses (*Stadthöfe*) point to economic exchanges, as the produce from the farms were primarily directed to the local markets. While farms were used for economic purposes, coordinating production as local headquarters, the houses inside the towns served residential functions and were typically rented out and served residential functions – as observed in case of Buda, Pozsony and Zengg.

The different physical character and function of urban premises is sometimes explicit from the different terms used in the documents (*domus*, *fundus*, *fundacium*, *allodium*, *curia*), but not always. The common term was *domus* and since it was used also in a *pars pro toto* context, ¹¹⁹⁶ this often conceals the difference between a single structure and a larger building complex

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¹¹⁹⁶ Winfried Schich, "Topographische Lage und Funktion zisterziensischer Stadthöfe im Mittelalter," In Wirtschaft und Kulturlandschaft, Gesammelte Beiträge 1977 bis 1999 zur Geschichte der Zisterzienser und der "Germania Slavica," ed. Winfried Schich, Ralf Gebuhr and Peter Neumeister. Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2007, 142.

arranged around a spatious courtyard, what would be more aptly described by the Latin word *curia*, or the German *Stadthof*.¹¹⁹⁷ Such *curiae* had most probably larger allotments, they were sitatuated typically in more spatious areas inside the town – e.g. aligned with the town walls.¹¹⁹⁸ The *fundus* in Szeben (Sibiu, Hermannstadt) may be an exemple of this too. In case of Buda, Pozsony and Zengg, the *houses* inside the town walls were more likely multi-storey buildings, without extensive courtyards and primarily for residential purpose, whereas farm economic buildings (cellars, barns) were to be found more probably in the manors situated in the suburban/periurban areas.

In regard to these peri-urban manors, referred as *curiae* or *grangiae*, it is a particularly interesting question, how their topographic setting transformed over time. This theme awaits for a more comprehensive assessment, ¹¹⁹⁹ but the Cistercian examples clearly illustrate the character of pre-urban settlement development in Hungary. As a result of initial urban activity, royal and ecclesiastical centres (e.g. Óbuda-Buda, Esztergom, Pozsony etc.) emerged, composed of separate settlement units. ¹²⁰⁰ Suburban farms, manors were characteristic landmarks of these landscapes, e.g. in the surroundings Buda. ¹²⁰¹ The grange of Pétervárad near the castle of Buda, in Kelenföld, was one of them. As separate town cores grew together from the thirteenth century on, areas inbetween them primarily used as agricultural lands seamlessly merged into the fabric of urban space. The Hof/*curia* of Pilis in Vödric was incorporated by the

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¹¹⁹⁷ Schneider, *Stadthöfe*, 18 has also noted the problem, i.e. the difference is between a *domus* and a *curia*. This becomes particularly interesting in regard to the localization of the *Judenhof* and the synagouge in Pozsony, which could be perhaps parts of the same court/plot.

¹¹⁹⁸ Katalin H. Gyürky emphasized that there are many examples of this type of courts (*curiae*) in Pozsony. Katalin H. Gyürky, "A Szent Márton kápolna régészeti maradványai Budán," [Archaeological remains of the St Martin chapel in Buda], *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 111 (1984): 40.

¹¹⁹⁹ From a comparative perspective the following essays may be of interest: Thierry Dutour (ed.), *Les nobles et la ville dans l'espace francophone (XIIe-XVIe siècles)*. Paris: Presse de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2010. See also Del Greenblatt, *The Suburban Manors of Coventry, 1279-1411*. Ithaca: Cornell U.P., 1967.

¹²⁰⁰ For a concise regional overview see e.g. Laurențiu Rădvan, *At Europe's Borders: Medieval Towns in the Romanian Principalities*. Leiden: Brill, 2010. (especially pp. 53-86: Chapter II: Towns in Medieval Hungary); See also: Katalin Szende – József Laszlovszky, "Cities and Towns as Princely Seats: Medieval Visegrád in the Context of Royal Residences and Urban Development in Europe and Hungary." In *The Medieval Royal Town at Visegrád. Royal Centre, Urban Settlement, Churches*, ed. József Laszlovszky, Gergely Buzás, Orsolya Mészáros. Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2014, 9–44.

¹²⁰¹ See e.g. Dezső Csánki, "Kuncz ispán majorja Budán," [The manor of comes Kuncz in Buda] *Századok* 40 (1906): 685–725. See also Végh, *Buda város*, 225: the manor later became the property of the Chapter of Esztergom. Other such farms were identified by Albert Gárdonyi, "A középkori Buda határai," [Frontiers of medieval Buda] *Budapest Régiségei* 14 (1945) 379–395. The socio-economic role of such properties has not yet been subject to detailed surveys. An archaeologically investigated example near Óbuda: Kárpáti Zoltán, "Árpád-kori majorság Budaújlak területén," [Arpadian Age Manor in the Area Of Budaujlak] *Budapest Régiségei* 35 (2002/2): 587–615. The excavation identified a barn and a workshop building (possibly related to bronze smithing).

town of Pozsony and since new defensive structures were planned, the reconstruction of the tower was required, and so it was seized by the king. The growth of urban space in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries could have transformed the topography of those areas where Cistercian courts/Hofs were located – perhaps this was the case with the houses of Zirc in Pápa and of Kerc in Nagyszeben.

With regard to allotments inside the town walls of the towns there is generally more knowledge on how they changed during the late medieval period. Some towns could have considerable agricultural areas inside the walls, which were usually used/owned by the elite (nobles, ecclesiastical institutions). These could be the areas occupied later by more spacious building complexes, i.e. *Stadthöfe*, or they were used as orchards, vineyards etc. As noted, there were a handful of examples for these urban courts in Pozsony. A process of fragmentation can be evidenced in case of the *Katherinenhof* of Heiligenkreuz, the *Judenhof* and also other plots acquired by Pilis from the aforementioned Nicholas and his family. Topograpical transformations were apparently due to demographic growth, as the inner core of the towns became more densely populated, the large courts and buildings were converted into separate blocks to solve housing problems. The house of Pétervárad in Buda was also split into parts in the late fifteenth century. The situation was perhaps different in Zengg, as this coastal town with only limited space for habitation must have been densely populated from the start.

6.3.4 Economic exploitation

There is generally little knowledge about what specific economic functions town courts/town houses had. As with mills, one sees basically two ways of exploitation: leasing/renting and direct exploitation. As is generally argued, the practice of leasing became more common in the estate management of various religious houses in the fourteenth century when management strategies shifted from direct exploitation to *Rentengrundherrschaft* due to increasing shortages of labour force. This concerned generally all kinds of properties, both in rural and urban locations. Lands, mills, vineyards were leased out frequently. The examples discussed above illuminate well this chronological pattern. With town houses, however, leasing seems to have been a generally preferable option. Even in case of those towns where there were other assets to manage – agricultural lands, vineyards outside the towns (e.g. Buda, Pozsony, Zengg) – so that the houses could be used as "headquarters", they were leased instead. Thus, this practice does not necessarily signal the downturn of direct economic exploitation, and certainly not in

case of Buda, where houses could serve primarily representative-residential functions for the abbots and their guests when attending the kings' court, ¹²⁰² and were rented out for this purpose to provide fixed incomes. ¹²⁰³ On the other hand, we typically kept cellars or wine stalls directly exploited, which hints on the importance of wine trade. ¹²⁰⁴

From a financial/economic perspective, incomes from leasings varied. A house rental yielded a few dozens of florins per year for Pilis in the fifteenth century. From leasing the Pápa mill in 1375, Zirc received 130 *cubuli* amount of grain per year – in the value of about 5 silver marks (15-20 florins), ¹²⁰⁵ and in the years between 1418-1428 the annual rent (of another mill?) was only 2 silver marks (less than 10 florins). To put this in context, the amount of such revenues was comparable to what the abbeys could have earned from trading off their salt reserves, ¹²⁰⁶ but it was significantly less than the money collected by Pilis from custom tolls (400 florins).

As for direct exploitation, the specific economic activities town houses were used for are rarely stated in the documents, nonetheless, it is possible to make some speculative points. At Pozsony, one of the buildings around the tower house in Vödric was sold to a brewer, and there was probably a brewery operating there before it was purchased. Another building that could have been part of the Cistercian court was explicitly referred to as a butcher's shop. One of the

¹²⁰² For a similar pattern, see e.g. London: John Scoefield and Alan Vince, *Medieval Towns. The Archaeology of Medieval Europe* (2nd ed.) London: Continuum, 2003, 87.

¹²⁰³ Végh, *Buda város*, [vol 1], 322–323: Végh even notes that in the same way as the chapels were held for example by Pétervárad. Such donations were almost exclusively done by nobles and wealthy clerics. In case if the monastery owned the house, and subsequently rented it out, the rental contracts typically specify in a clause if the owner wished to maintain residential rights occasionally. With regard to such references, evidence from Buda clearly reflects the representational role these houses played when their owners visited the royal court. ¹²⁰⁴ F.Romhányi, *A lelkiek a földiek nélkül*, 306–314.

¹²⁰⁵ The market value of this amount of grain could be about 5 silver marks (20 florins). Cf. Jenő Szűcs, "A gabona árforradalma a 13. században," *Történelmi Szemle* 27 (1984/1-2): 15: According to 14th century charters, 50-80-125 cubuli were the usual/custumary rent drawn from a mill; 28: the price of 30 cubuli (early 14th century) = 1 and ¼ silver marks.

¹²⁰⁶ At the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth century 100 cubes were valued at 3 florins. Cf. Beatrix F Romhányi: A só mint alamizsna a későközépkorban. (Salt as alms in the late medieval period) Orpheus Noster 4 (2012): 8. On the intervention of Jacob of Pecoraria, the papal legate, King Adrew II affixed the following amounts of salt to be reserved for Cistercian monasteries (in *zuani/lapidi*): Egres: 30.000, Heiligenkreuz: 3000, Szentgotthárd: 2500, Zirc: 2000, Pilis 2000, Pornó: 1000, Borsmonostor: 1000. Cf. Ignác Batthiány: Leges Ecclesiasticae Regni Hungariae et Provinciarum Adiacentium, vol 2, Kolozsvár: Typis episcopalibus, 1827, 343-347. For the full text of the Bereg Oath (1233) see: Nándor Knauz, *II. Endre szabadságlevelei*. Pest 1869, 51-63; Open access: http://realeod.mtak.hu/763/1/B3390110.pdf

The amount assigned to Borsmonostor was in fact only 200 cubes as pointed out by Imre Szentpétery or János Belitzky. Cf. János Belitzky: Sopron vármegye története, vol 1. Budapest: Stephaneum, 1938, 447–448. 1000-2000 cubes would be valued at 30–60 florins in total. If monasteries traded a certain part of this stock, for a proportionate income, a few dozens of florins income seems realistic. This would have made up 5-10% of the yearly income of Pilis (700 florins) for example.

houses inside the town – the *Preternhaus* – was probably a winery/wine press, as implied by its name. Kerc's plot in Nagyszeben was sold to a butcher, and it could be perhaps used by the monks as a slaughterhouse, supplied with animals most probably from the nearby Kisdisznód.

Town houses could be used also as trading and storage facilities. Heiligekreuz's house in Sopron, the *Salzhaus*, was used for storing salt the abbey received from the office of the *salinarius* based there. Pétervárad's main produce was wine, and there were cellars for storing wine at the grange in Kelenföld. Topuszkó's property outside the town of Zengg also functioned as a depot in connection to maritime trade – as stated explicitly in the documents. The building complex owned by Pilis Abbey in Vödric could be perhaps also used as a dock for river transports. In case of Heiligenkreuz, Borsmonostor, Pétervárad and Topuszkó, privilegial letters underline the significance of trade – as for Borsmonostor and Heiligenkreuz, also cross-border activities. In line with the general chapter rules (*Instituta*), the privileges did not allow them to trade for profit, but only to sell their goods in order to purchase necessaries. In addition to these early privileges being explicit on the interest of the abbeys in trade and selling their poduce, later sources refer to the tenants of Borsmonostor, Szentgotthárd and Pétervárad visiting nearby markets (Borsmonostor > Csepreg, Sárvár; Szentgotthárd > Szombathely, Vasvár, or Pétervárad > Kamanc). Whether they were trading their own or manorial produce is uncertain.

In the previlegial letters (Borsmonostor, Heilgenkreuz) there are general lists of goods, which shows that grain, live animal and wine were the common goods Cistercian traded with. The farmlands of Pilis in the fertile region of the Csallóköz were most probably used for producing grain. however, there is no information on what goods they have been trading with. In addition to victuals (including also salt), raw materials and industrial products should be likely added to the list. Topuszkó could perhaps trade with timber and copper ore. Pilis Abbey's grange at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi must have produced a large amount of glass objects most probably sold in Buda and other towns nearby. Overall, the volume of trade and the intensity of economic exchanges could have been negatively influenced by the low output of manorial economy, but it did not concern specific goods traded long distance.

6.3.5 Market towns/boroughs as enterprize zones and the Cistercian contribution to urban development in Hungary

In her seminal work on the Southern French Cistercian houses, Constance H. Berman noted that "it was also the more successful Cistercian houses in the south which had the closest ties

to the growing cities of the region." ¹²⁰⁷ Were then connections to towns crucial for the success and wealth of Cistercian monasteries? Considering that the share from the custom tolls collected by Pilis made up a huge part of its yearly income, one would be inclined to believe so. This was, however, a passive source of income. Although circumstantial evidence may suggest that connections to Pozsony could have positively influenced the abbey's focus on manorial economy on production and trade, the lack of data is a major obstacle to answering this question. Due to the lack of account books, it is generally not possible to quantify how, where and when monasteries profited from investing in production and trading their goods to the towns. On the other hand, there is also an interpretive problem that the above discussed examples/abbeys were all royal foundations. The fact that they were more exposed to trade is less of a sensation when taking into account that they were more prestigious, and also significantly wealthier houses (as demonstrated by the incomes recorded in the *Relatio* of the abbot of Rein). Their economic assets – including domanial lands, urban properties etc. – apparently exceeded that of minor abbeys. Thus, on the account of their already well established status, their connections to towns were not necessarily a source of (or reason for) their wealth and prosperity.

While Berman emphasizes only that connections to urban centres was instrumental for the economic success of Cistercian houses, one should also be aware that these networks must have been mutually beneficial (for urban communities too). Thus, the question can be also formulated: how did these connections promote urban comunnities and development (as a "side effect")? Based on the topographic and historical data compiled above, the most transparent aspect of this issue is the emergence of monastic boroughs/market towns and local markets. The historical development of market towns has been thoroughly researched, and a broad range of data have been analyzed in connection to their legal and economic development, including e.g. demographic and archaeological data. The presence of religious orders and instituions

¹²⁰⁷ Berman, *The Southern French Countryside*, 118.

¹²⁰⁸ Cf. footnote 1134: Gulyás, "Civitas vagy oppidum?" and Ladányi "Az oppidum fogalom használata."

For recent historiographical surveys (with further literatures) see: Edit Sárosi, *Deserting Villages – Emerging Market Towns: Settlement Dynamics and. Land Management in the Great Hungarian Plain: 1300–1700.* (Archaeolingua. Series minor, 39.) Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2016. This is the published version of her PhD thesis: *Landscapes and settlements in the Kecskemét region, 1300-1700.* PhD thesis. Budapest: CEU, 2013, 100–107. Open access: www.etd.ceu.hu/2013/mphbee01.pdf; Eadem, "The development of a market town and its market places in the Hungarian Great Plain. Kecskemét, a case study." *Historia Urbana* 21 (2013): 139–162; László Szabolcs Gulyás, *A mezővárosi önkormányzat funkciói és társadalmi háttere a középkori Hegyalján* [Functions and the social background of the self government in the market towns of the medieval Hegyalja region]. PhD thesis. Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem, 2008. Open access:

https://dea.lib.unideb.hu/dea/bitstream/handle/2437/33459/gulyas laszlo szabolcs.pdf?sequence=6&isAllowed=y)

(hospitals, mendicant friaries) in market towns has been also studied. ¹²⁰⁹ The expansion of the mendicants was seen as a particular sign of urbanization, – as many of them were established in market towns –, however, the role of domanial centers has been noted too (by Fügedi). Although recent research into the testaments of burghers underlined that benefices to mendicant communities were not overrepresented in numbers (n.b.: one would expect this in comparison to other religious orders), the role of the mendicants is still viewed in connection to urbanization, despite the fact that the effective support of landlords and domanial centres was a more significant pull factor for them than previously thought. ¹²¹⁰

From the point of view of Cisercians presence (and the role of other monastic orders in market towns) there was no comprehensive research done so far. In conclusion, I would like to underline a few points to argue that the "contribution" of the Cistercians could be significant in this context. We see it manifested early, in the visible connection between Cistercian sites and early markets, on the other hand, however, boroughs on monastic lands (partly in the immediate surroundings of the abbeys) also started to develop later. As can be illustrated with the examples of Borsmonostor and Szentgotthárd, early markets were tied to high-status sites, such as county seats (like Locsmánd), or other central places (like the monasteries). These markets existed already before the arrival of the Cistercians, who settled in their vicinity and tried to gain legal-financial control over them, like Borsmonostor did. In other cases, markets were established on the incentive of the monks: at Topuszkó, the right to hold a *forum* near the abbey was obtained within just a few years after the foundation. One of the minor Cistercian abbeys, Bélapátfalva, can be an example here too, which appealed for (!) and received the right to hold a *forum liberum* at the monastery as late as 1371. ¹²¹¹ Except for these two examples, however, sources

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For the building archaeological approach (based on the size of parish churches as demographic proxy) see: Katalin Éder, *Mezővárosi plébániatemplomok középkori városmentes tájakon* (Parish Churches of Market Towns in a Town-free Landscape). PhD thesis. Budapest: ELTE, 2010. Open access: http://doktori.btk.elte.hu/hist/ederkatalin/diss.pdf)

¹²⁰⁹ Concerning hospitals see András Kubinyi, "Spitäler und Städtewesen im spätmittelalterlichen Königreich Ungarn." In *Kirche, Staat und Gesellschaft im pannonischen Raum – Volksfrömmigkeit, Bildungs- und Sozialwesen. Internationales kulturhistorisches Symposion Mogersdorf 2000 in Mogersdorf 4. bis 7. Juli 2000* (Internationales kulturhistorisches Symposion Mogersdorf, vol 30.), ed. Leonhard Prickler. Eisenstadt: Amt der Burgenländischen Landesregierung, 2002, 123–130. Erik Fügedi, "La formation des villes et les ordres mendicantes en Hongrie," *Annales Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 25 (1970): 966–987; Idem, "Koldulórendek és városfejlődés Magyarországon." [Mendicant Orders and urbanization in Hungary] *Századok* 106 (1972): 69–95.

¹²¹⁰ Cf. F.Romhányi, *Kolduló barátok*, 55–57. Szabolcs Varga, "Az atyinai ferences kolostor alapításának háttere (Megjegyzések a ferences kolostorok és a városfejlődés kapcsolatáról Körös vármegye példáján keresztül)," [The background of the foundation of the Franciscan monastery in Atyina. Remarks on the connection between Franciscan monasteries and urban development in Co. Körös/Križ], *Fons* 19 (2012/3): 223–245.

¹²¹¹ MNL OL, DF 274118 (1371-05-24); Hervay, Repertorium, 55.

do not explicitly attribute the emergence of such markets to the interest of monasteries. This, could be perhaps a more general phenomenon (for other monastic orders too), but not very transparent, due to lack of documentation. There was also another group of central places with a higher degree of centrality as indicated by their title *civitas*, to which monasteries were connected (Borsmonostor > Kőszeg, Szentgotthárd > Vasvár and Topuszkó > Bihács). ¹²¹²

The fourteenth century was a decisive period, when some of these places degraded into ordinary villages, while others obtained legal recognition and rise to the status of "*oppida*", market towns/boroughs (e.g. Locsmánd, Pápa). ¹²¹³ In the early fifteenth century, the more frequent occurrence of market towns – established anew according to the documents – indicate a dynamic period of development. ¹²¹⁴ Critical interpretations have stressed, however, that this was due to a more systematic use of the term *oppidum*, and strictly speaking – it was a legal definition or recognition of privileged status (exemption from direct iuridical control). ¹²¹⁵

It is against this background that one witnesses – from the early fifteenth century onwards – a trend that rural settlements in the vicinity of monastic precincts are referred as market towns (*oppidum*). There are examples among Pauline houses, ¹²¹⁶ wealthier Benedictine abbeys, ¹²¹⁷ and Cistercians as well: Cikádor/Bátaszék (1441), ¹²¹⁸ Pásztó (1407), ¹²¹⁹ Szentgotthárd (1528), Topuszkó (1524), ¹²²⁰ and also Répcekethely (situated directly at Borsmonostor) received this

¹²¹² See footnote 1134.

¹²¹³ András Kubinyi, "A magyarországi városhálózat 14-15 századi fejlődésének néhány kérdése," [Einige Fragen zur Entwicklung des Städtenetzes von Ungarn im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert]. *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 19 (1972): 39-56.

¹²¹⁴ Cf. e.g. Szűcs, Városok és kézművesség. 1955. Kubinyi, "A XV-XVI. századi magyarországi városi fejlődés."

¹²¹⁵ As such, the use of the term does not necessarily reflect economic centrality, which is best measured with a centrality index defined by diverse criteria. Cf. András Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat a középkori Alföldön és az Alföld szélén*. (Urban development and netowrks in the Middle Ages on the Great Hungarian Plain and on its peripheries) (Dél-alföldi évszázadok 14). Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000. Kubinyi's criteria are generally based on fifteenth century data. Bálint Lakatos have raised the issue that modifications would be needed to make fit this system for the fourteenth century. Cf. Bálint Lakatos, *Hivatali írásbeliség és ügyintézés a késő középkori magyarországi mezővárosokban, okleveleik tükrében,* (Official Local Written Culture and Administration in Late Medieval Hungarian Market Towns in the Mirror of Charters). PhD thesis. Budapest: ELTE, 2013, 8.

Open access: http://doktori.btk.elte.hu/hist/lakatosbalintpeter/diss.pdf.

¹²¹⁶ E.g. Garig, Sztrezsa. Cf. Varga, "Az atyinai ferences kolostor," 228.

¹²¹⁷ E.g. Pécsvárad, Szekszárd, Földvár Cf. Fügedi, "Koldulórendek és városhálózat," 91. E.g. Garamszentbenedek, Pécsvárad, Kolozsmonostor. Cf. Szabó, *A kolozsmonostori bencés apátság*, 122.

Open access: https://dea.lib.unideb.hu/dea/handle/2437/161252.

¹²¹⁸ Csánki, vol 3, 411.

¹²¹⁹ MNL OL, DL 98261 (1407-04-26 > 1476 > 1494); reg.: Zs, vol 2, no. 5450.

¹²²⁰ MNL OL, DF 268055 (1524-08-14)

title before 1608. 1221 The trend was coupled with topographical changes too. As for Cistercian sites, this can be observed similarly around Cikádor/Bátaszék, Pásztó, or Szentgotthárd. Settlements, farms/manors situated in their surroundings were depopulated and their lands were merged into the growing territory of the towns. 1222 Land use patterns changed too, as large areas of agricultural lands – pastures, ploughlands – were needed to supply the growing population. The geographical setting was undoubtedly an important factor here: for example, Pilis and Zirc are exceptions to this trend, as they were more secluded, and despite evidence for Árpád period settlements outside their precincts, these were deserted or did not develop into towns in the late medieval period.

In addition to the legal recognition and topographical changes of boroughs situated around Cistercian monasteries, the influences and interests of the Cistercians are manifest (indirectly) also in the grants, transactions and conflicts. Examples have been shown above that lands, granges, mills, vineyards situated in the vicinity of market towns were granted to – or purchased by – the monks (e.g. Borsmonostor-Locsmánd; Szentgotthárd-Vasvár; Topuszkó-Komogovina; Zirc-Pápa). Chronologically, most of these acquisitions date from the fourteenth century, basically parallel to the activities of Pauline houses. Concerning transactions between market towns and monasteries it should be stressed, however, that more complex investigations would be required – e.g. comparative, regional, topographical and chronological analysis – to better illuminate the role of different monastic estates in the process of urban development.

Returning to the above outlined – and maybe a little rethorical – question, one sees the Cistercians not only seeking to establish control and passively exploit these connections, but also actively promoting the development of these places. It was partly due to their presence that

¹²²¹ Maksay, *Urbáriumok.* 16-17. század [Land registers – 16-17.c].

¹²²² We have presented some evidence already concerning Szentgotthárd (cf. Chapter 3), and historical topographical research on Bátaszék and Pásztó reveal the same process of settlement contraction. Cf. Sümegi József, "Cikádor története a középkorban" [The History of Cikádor in the Middle Ages]. In *Bátaszék története. A kezdetektől 1539-ig* (Bátaszék monográfiája 1), ed. Gyula Dobos, Bátaszék: Bátaszék Város Önkormányzata, 1997, 76–428; Ilona Valter, "Szentgotthárd története a mohácsi vészig" [Die Geschichte von Szentgotthárd bis zur Niederlage bei Mohács]. In *Szentgotthárd. Helytörténet, művelődéstörténeti, helyismereti tanulmányok*, ed. Lajos Kuntár and László Szabó, Szombathely: Szentgotthárd Nagyközség Tanács, 1981, 29–81.

¹²²³ Cf. F.Romhányi, A lelkiek a földiek nélkül, 42–51.

Bálint Lakatos' recent study on sales contracts in market towns analyses the issue from the perspective of legal administration, however, land transactions concerning market towns have not been subject to comprehensive studies from the above said viewpoint, which can be explained – as noted by Lakatos – by the circumstance that this body of source materials is very fragmented and do not fit to quantitative analysis. Cf. Bálint Lakatos, "Ingatlanforgalmi ügyek a késő középkori magyarországi mezővárosokban és falvakban," [Sales Contracts of Estates in Late Medieval Towns and Villages in the Kingdom of Hungary (including Slavonia and Transylvania)] *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Historica* 135 (2013): 139–164.

these towns emerged later. A speculative point can be also put forward, that Cistercians were quite successful in "identifying" central places that had an early potential to develop as "enterprize zones", and did not become "urban failures". ¹²²⁵ In this context, Cistercian (and more broadly speaking) monastic presence may indicate the centrality of these places prior to their legal recognition as "market towns", thus, contributing to the results of demographic ¹²²⁶ and archaeological approaches. ¹²²⁷ On the other hand, the dissolution of the convents following the Ottoman occupation of Hungary could have also significantly influence their development, preventing them to contribute to the agrarian development of the country, directed already to international markets. ¹²²⁸

¹²²⁵ This issue has been emphasized by Richard Goddard, "Small boroughs and the manorial economy: entreprise zones or urban failures?" *Past and Present* 210 (2011): 3–31.

¹²²⁶ E.g. György Györffy used papal tax records from the early fourteenth century to demonstrate the early "potential" of settlements later appearing as oppida.

¹²²⁷ In regard to the comparative analysis of parish church sizes, the main problem of archaeological research is that there is often no evidence concerning the early period – as noted by Éder, "Mezővárosi plébániatemplomok."

¹²²⁸ For a brief overview on periodisation and late medieval economic trends see: István Orosz, "A mezővárosi fejlődés szakaszai," [The stages of the urban development of market towns], *Zempléni Múzsa* 2 (2002/1): 5–16.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

This thesis aimed at studying the economy of Cistercian abbeys in Hungary, demonstrating the potentials of topographical research, combining different types of sources and applying a comparative methodology. A topographical and comparative approach has been warranted by both the need to surmount the difficulties raised by the scarcity of archival records, and to contribute to a more nuanced interpretation of Cistercian economic practices on a regional basis – in this case, Central Eastern Europe. By focusing on the study of local archives concerning a selection of Hungarian Cistercian estates, the thesis intentionally distanced itself from the generalizations concerning a uniform Cistercian model on the one hand – as has been criticized by many scholars like Isabel Alfonso, Werner Rösener and Emilia Jamroziak – and on the other hand from the traditional debate on "ideals" versus "reality", which entails a predisposition on emphasizing decline not only chronologically, but also in connection to the spread of this model into different regions – instead of adaptation and diversity. ¹²²⁹ In doing so, the thesis generally advocates a practical, functional viewpoint on Cistercian economy, contesting the views of religious and cultural history, which tend to overemphasize deviation from the norms.

Landscape archaeological and historical topographical studies typically focus on the following issues concerning monastic economy: 1230 1) the site location of monasteries, 2) the topography of monastic precincts; 3) the transformation of the landscape in the vicinity of the abbeys (in terms of water management and the expansion of agricltural lands (cropland, pasture) through assarting 4) the re-configuration of estate management (with regard to the changing role of manorial economy) 5) the role of markets and towns. The four thematic chapters explored mainly the last three points, as aspects of manorial economy of Cistercian estates. They relied primarily on archival evidence and included – where possible – comparative research concerning other monastic orders (Benedictines, Paulines) to illustrate how Cistercian practices relate to these strategies and what are the characteristic points.

Jamroziak, "Rievaulx Abbey as a Wool Producer", 200. "Part of the problem in the debate on the economic development of the Cistercian Order is a level of generalization which ignores the vastly different geographical and social conditions of the Cistercian Order in France, England, Germany, or Eastern Europe. By the time the Cistercian Order spread to Central and Eastern Europe in the mid-twelfth century, the Cistercians had abandoned many of the earlier restrictions on accepting churches, tithes, rents and the like. This however, should not be considered as a symptom of any decline. On the contrary, this ability to adjust to different and changing conditions was the reason for the success of the Cistercian Order in various socio geographical conditions."

¹²³⁰ Winfried Schich, "Klöster und Kulturlandschaft," *Mitteilungen der AktionGesellschaft für Archäologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* 5 (1994/95): 25.

Chapter 1 looked into the topography of granges and other farms. The comparative analysis of the physical topographical character of manorial sites and farmlands confirmed that despite that there is a great diversity – when looking on a European scale –, evidence for Hungarian, Bohemian and Polish abbeys reflect that farms had a similar layout – characteristic was the regular arrangement, the inner and outer courts and chapels. They typically had relatively large croplands (arable), and as far as the Hungarian examples are concerned, their size was basically identical to that of other large farms of e.g. Benedictine monasteries. Concluding from this, it would be difficult to argue that the size of farms was an innovative element of Cistercian economy in a local context.

In regard to management, the topographical situation of farms can be used as proxy, since data on the role of *conversi* are scant. Farms clearly had a mixed character: some are referred to as being, and could be in fact, managed as granges, supervised by monks and laybrothers, equipped with new buildings, while others were of the traditional type (mentioned simply as *predium*). Different types of manorial farms could sometimes form a conglomerate. Originally, most of the farms we hear about in the records seem to have been established before the Cistercians settled and it seems that the monks were only converting some of them into granges and perhaps new ones were also established (particularly in the vicinity of the abbeys, like the one near Pilis, at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi puszta).

By compiling quantitative data on the farms, it was also possible to measure – so to say – the economic footprint of the abbeys. 1231 It seems that major Cistercian estates had a considerable network of farms, each with large (ca 200-300 ha) arable section. On the estates of Borsmonostor, Szentgotthárd and Topuszkó 4-5 granges could be counted, and there was a similar number of *predia* as well. These were situated both nearby and distantly, and they were usually tied to tenanted settlement, which were situated in their vicinity. This mixed system – consisting of privately managed farms (granges) and traditional farms – confirms the criticism put forward by Alfonso concerning the neglected feudal character of Cistercian estate management. The topographical data, as well as the scant evidence concerning the *conversi*, suggest that the impact of the order in shaping the medieval landscape through the introduction of grange economy was less substantial than elsewhere. This had been anticipated earlier by

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¹²³¹ Philippe Racinet, "Les moines au village: pour une étude des installations monastiques dans le monde rural." In *Le village médiéval et son environnement. Études offertes à Jean-Marie Pesez, ed.* Laurent Feller, Perrine Mane, Françoise Piponnier (Série Histoire ancienne et médiévale, 48) Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998, 192.

László Koszta and Beatrix F. Romhányi, yet, there is now also substantial evidence to argue that major Cistercian abbeys did have a small network of granges and were interested in keeping up grange economy as late as the end of the fourteenth century, most probably focusing their production on special cultivations (predominantly viticulture, crop (wheat) farming) and sometimes managing farms at more distant locations which were of particular importance. Overall, data on the method of management, the economic preferences and activities do not reflect a particularly "Cistercian" character. However, the data illustrate that wealthier Cistercian estates (the royal foundations) were more successful in managing economic assets than other Cistercian foundations.

Chapter 4 and 5 set out to discuss animal husbandry and industrial activities, i.e. themes which have been relatively less well researched or completely ignored, partly due to lack of sources and also due to lack of interest. In connection to large sized farms, potential arable-pasture ratios as well as livestock compositions were calculated based on aggregate data from individual charters. Relying on animal lists (available in foundation charters and late medieval household accounts), it was also possible to "measure" and compare the significance of animal farming of different monastic and lay estates. These examples were geographically diverse and reflected the different landscape character. Based on archaeozoological data and samples of other types of documents – e.g. court cases – as well as historical ethnographical data, it seems feasible to argue that regional preferences in animal farming were just as transparent in medieval times as in later centuries.

However, the comparative analysis of animal lists from different periods also pointed to drastic changes in livestock composition from the early to the late medieval period. Except for pig husbandry (that served the late medieval monastic diet), there seems to have been an almost total collapse of animal husbandry on monastic estates (already in the fourteenth century). Sheep husbandry definitely disappeared, but more generally animal farming – as a labour-intensive branch of economy – did not seem to recover from the socio-economic crisis.

Chapter 5 presented a case study, focusing on the Abbey of Pilis and its nearby grange. Based on topographical and landscape archaeological data from past and recent field surveys, this particularly well-documented example illustrates how landscapes in the vicinity of the monasteries could have gone through a profound transformation. One of the key points made here was the complex use of resources (fishponds, mills, and both agricultural and industrial

use of woodland). The economic activities of the Cistercians were likely limited by the fact that their lands were situated within a royal forest, but the scope of their activities was diverse. Chronologically, the creation of a grange likely followed the desertion of an early medieval settlement and was perhaps the outcome of a project coordinated from the Austrian abbey of Heiligenkreuz in the late fourteenth century to renovate monastic life at Pilis. The results of recent excavations have revealed that at a later point the site became a center for local glass production. In connection to the material remains recovered thus far, the themes of technology transfer and production circles were problematized. One could hypothesize that the technology arrived here with the new group of monks recruited from Austrian and German abbeys and that the products of the workshop were intended for the markets of nearby royal towns.

In Chapter 6, the connection to markets and towns were explored further. Rösener underlines that the analysis of the connections between the grange/manorial system and the developing urban centers is a particularly important theme in the study of Cistercian economy. 1232 The overall impression is that such connections were comparatively weak in Hungary. While in the northern regions of East-Central Europe it was more typical that Cistercians who took the initiative of founding new urban centres – as they were actively taking part in colonizing these areas with settlers –, this does not seem to be the case in Hungary. The data suggest that the organization of their estates benefited from existing settlement hierarchies (Borsmonostor, Szentgotthárd settled very close to existing marketplaces), but they also promoted – to a certain extent – the legal recognition and economy of central places situated in the vicinity of the precinct or near the abbey. This way, Cistercians also contributed to the late medieval development of market towns, and they (i.e. including their tenants) were definitely using the urban networks around the estates to bring produce there. These connections likely developed to a level of regular business, in which peri-urban manors played a central role. There has been some circumstantial evidence found to argue that Cistercians supplied the towns with food from their manors. Their premises could have included butcher stalls (Nagyszeben, Sopron, Pozsony), as well as cellars, wine shanks (Buda-Kelenföld, Pozsony). Due to the geographical positions of the towns of Sopron and Pozsony, along the main water-transport route, the Cistercians of Borsmonostor and Pilis could also use their connections to get involved in foreign trade – similarly to Topuszkó's unique connection with the Adriatic port of Senj. Notably, the documents concerning Sopron and Pozsony also revealed that Cistercians cultivated excellent

¹²³² Rösener, "Die Agrarwirtschaft," 95.

relationships with the local elites from the very start and this facilitated business and could have prevented later conflicts.

As for the future prospects of research on the economy of Cistercian houses in Hungary, I would emphasize in the first place – as a possible focus point – the study of historical/chronological aspects, particularly the development of transactions between the abbeys and their neighbors, the discussion of which has been deliberately omitted here. These can be interesting from multiple viewpoints: 1) how the management of the estate was re-focused with regard to the changing role of manorial farms and granges 2) what were the preferential patterns of land transactions (e.g. selling, long term leases, *Rentenkauf* etc.) 3) the economic historical perspective: how this practice reflected / responded to the fourteenth century crisis 4) the social historical perspective: what social groups were interacting with the abbeys – e.g. castle warriors, local nobility, and what were their possible socio-economic motives. To explore these themes, however, there is a very narrow sample of data available primarily on Borsmonostor and Topuszkó.

To improve the quality of topographical analysis, I should also underline the possibility to systematically integrate settlement archaeological and environmental archaeological data into the discussion. On the one hand, this would improve our understanding of the settlement conditions prior to the Cistercians' arrival. This is the most relevant where written records are not representative of the medieval topography – for example, in case of Pilis and Zirc, and the Pilis and the Bakony woodlands, where Péter Szabó already accomplished this work, or in case of Szentgotthárd, where systematic landscape surveys are yet to be done. Surface collection of archaeological finds would be also desirable to provide relative chronology for the Árpád period (concerning which there is a lack of archival data), and to identify the topographical locations of medieval settlements and farms.

As far as the integration of archaeological and historical evidence is concerned, ¹²³³ another challenge is to collect archaeological data on the transformation of Cistercian landscapes. As has been demonstrated with the example of the Pomáz–Nagykovácsi site and the area surrounding Pilis abbey, extensive landscape surveys discovered remains of fishponds, dams and other earthworks and were able to identify economic activities which would have been left

¹²³³ This is noted as a general problem for medievalists by Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture. The Archaeology of Religious Women*. London: Routledge, 1994, 10.

unnoticed otherwise as there is no written record on them. ¹²³⁴ Systematic surveys combined with environmental sampling would be required to study other Cistercian estates too, to obtain a possibly complete view on the scope of landscape transformations – focusing on problems of water management and woodland economy. Thus far, environmental investigations have been carried out on fishponds in the Pilis and the results are promising. One should note, however, that environmental conditions in Hungary are generally unfavorable for the preservation of such materials and it is often difficult to make sampling effective for complex environmental analysis – particularly in upland regions. Some of the samples collected in the Vasi Hegyhát region, in the case of Szentgotthárd, as well as in the Pilis (in the case of Pilis) did not return datable or suitable samples. ¹²³⁵

Nonetheless, it is exclusively through this type of data that one is able to provide a reliable account on changes associated with woodland management and pasturage. The contribution of the present study to this research is that it has identified the potentially interesting sites for future archaeological investigations. Applying both invasive and non-invasive techniques will be able to produce new data on Cistercian farming and management of different natural resources, complementing the study of archival records and perhaps diversifying the picture presented in this thesis.

¹²³⁴ Noted also by Winfried Schich, "Kulturlandschaft und Zisterzienserklöster zwischen mittlerer Elbe und Oder." In *Zisterzienser. Norm – Kultur – Reform. 900 Jahre Zisterzienser*, ed. Ulrich Knefelkamp. Berlin – Heidelberg – New York – London: Springer, 2001, 181.

¹²³⁵ A good example here is the Welsh abbey of Strata Florida, where pollen records demonstrated extensive and permanent woodland clearance, in connection to pastoral activities in the uplands. Astrid Caseldine, *Environmental Archaeology in Wales* (with contributions by John Evans and Martin Bell) Lampeter: Dept of Archaeology, 1990, 95.

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LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1 – Filiation lines of Cistercian houses in Hungary

Appendix 2 – The report of the abbot of Rein on the Hungarian Cistercian houses (1357)

Appendix 3 – The accounts of the abbey of Pécsvárad (1438)

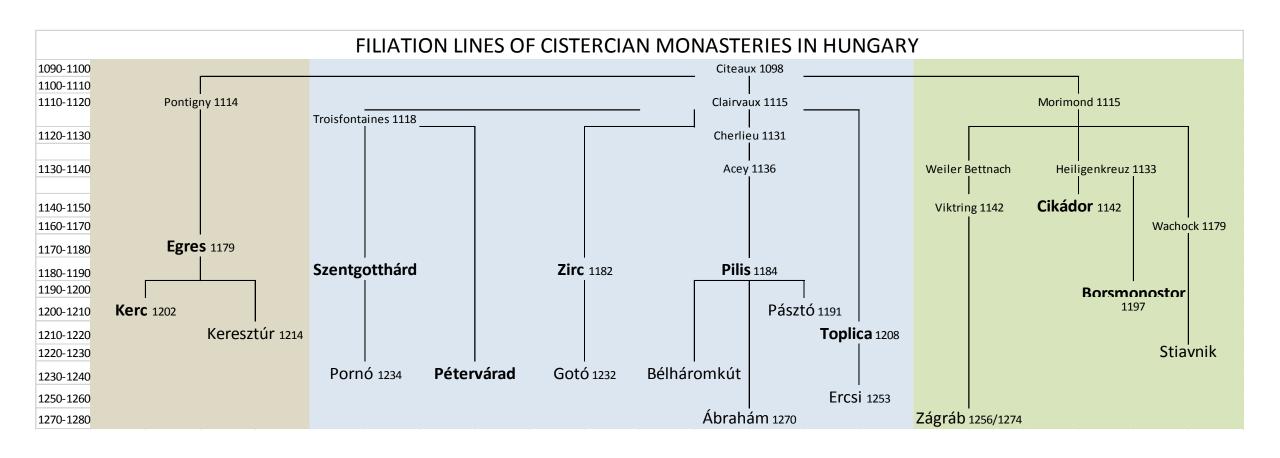
Appendix 4 – Map of granges and other manorial farms on the estates of Borsmonostor, Pilis, Szentgotthárd, Topuszkó, Zirc

Appendix 5 – Data table on granges and manors

Appendix 6 – map of granges and mills on the estate of Topuszkó

Appendix 7 – Aggregate data on the estate of Szentgotthárd (from the 15^{th} c. land register and from later tax registers (17^{th} - 18^{th} c.).

Appendix 8 – Map of settlement groups (1-3) on the estate of Szentgotthárd

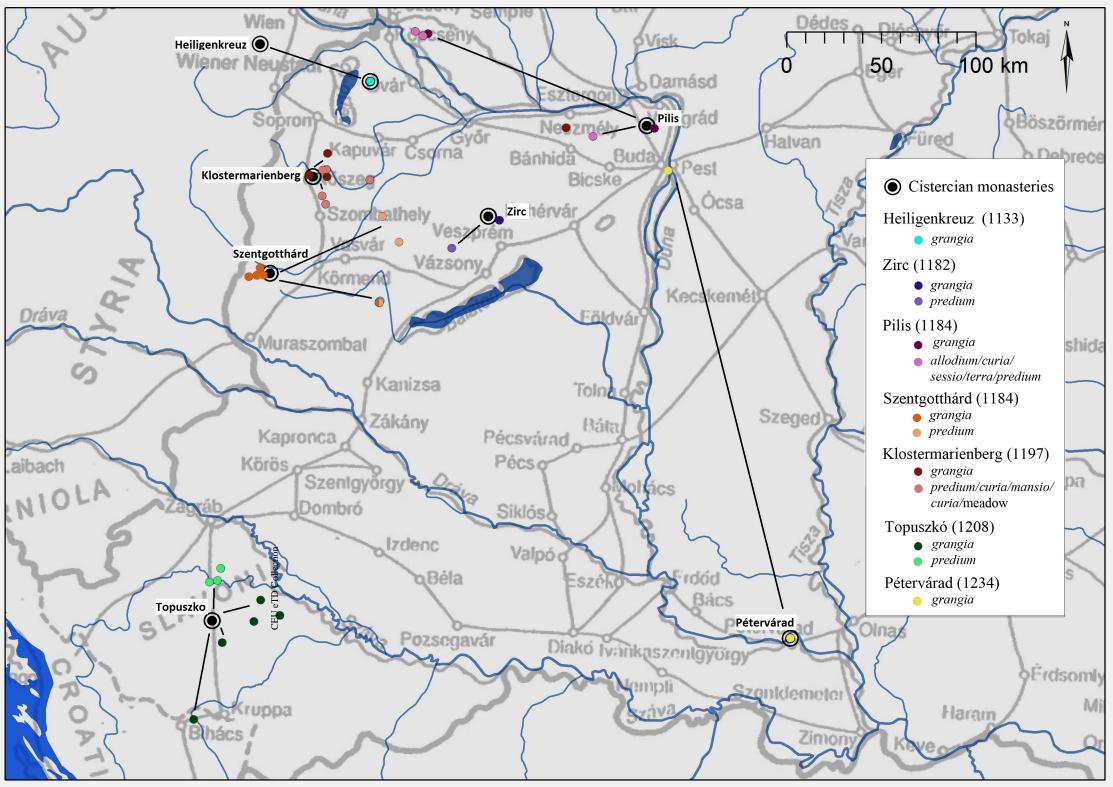


Incomes / taxes of Cistercian monasteries in Hungary as listed in the *Relatio* of Abbot Seifrid (1357) ___, and the Tax book (1340s) of the Chapter general___

Royal foundations

Name	1357 (Relatio Seifridi abbatis) (flor.)	1340s (Tax book) (livre tourn.)			
1. Pétervárad	1340	50"	10. Pornó	360	9' 6" 8d
2. Pilis	700	20'	11. Cikádor	320	8.
3. Zirc	560	13′ 6" 8d	12. Pásztó	260	6' 6" 8d
4. Kerc	560	5' (or 14')	13. Ábrahám	240	6'
5. Toplica	480	12"	14. Bélháromkút	200	5'
6. SztGotthárd	400	13' 6" 8d (or 10')	15. Egres	200	5'
7. Szepes	CEU eTP ollection	20'	16. Zágráb	100	N/A
8. Borsmonostor	400	3' or 5'	17. Ercsi	60	(?) 2' 13" 4d
9. Gotó	400	N/A	18. Keresztur	N/A	(?) 15'

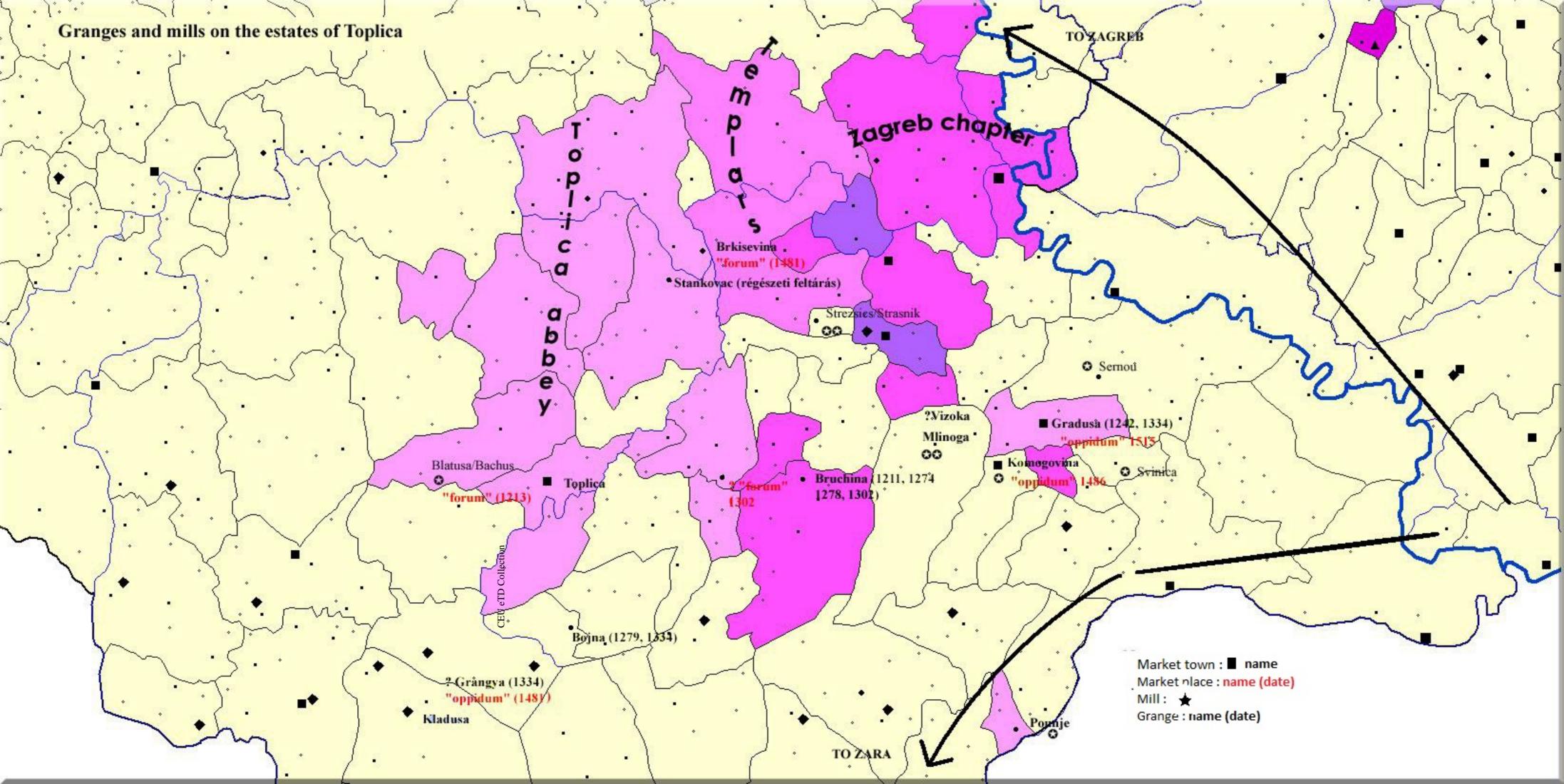
ì			
	The incomes and expenses of Pécsvárad Abbey (1438)	florins	denarii
	ecclesiastical tithes (the 'tenth')		
	Wine tithes (from Babarc)	150	
	Wine tithes (from Buda)	120	
	3000 <i>cubuli</i> (bushel) of wine (ca. 50 barrels) from the vineyards of the	120	
	abbey (Pécsvárad) 10 denarii / cubuli	300	
	feudal rents (the 'ninth') - paid in cash		
	after the vineyards of the tenants	300	
	1400 bushels of wheat (each counted at 24 denarii)	350	
	400 bushels of rye (each counted at 15 denarii)	60	
	200 bushels of oat (each counted at 6 denarii)	12	
	tenants' services		
	payments in cash	80	
	24 pigs per year	24	
	42 goats per year	2	11
	10 eggs, 2 breads due at Easter multiplied by 699 (the number of		
	households) (each valued at 2 denarii)	13	98
	10 eggs, 2 breads due at Christmas multiplied by 699 (the number of		
	households) (each valued at 2 denarii)	13	98
	Total incomes	1426	7
	Expenses		
	For the provision of the monks and the abbey servants : 4 bushels of wheat / day		
	(each bushels counted at 25 denarii) day	365	
	For the provision of 20 lancers mercenaries (16 bushels of wheat for each)	80	
	For the provision of their horses	12	
	For the table of the abbot and his servants (6 florins per week)	312	
	For the clothes of the abbot and his servants	100	
	Wine for the table of the abbot and his servants: 30 barrels, 60 cubuli each	180	
	For the table of the monks (1 florins 50 denarii per week)	78	
	Wine for the table of the monks: only 26 barrels, since the yield in this		
	year was bad, 60 cubuli each	156	
	150 cubes of salt	15	
	For the clothes of 13 professed monks (counting with 1 roll of Löwen		
	baize per 4 people)	65	
	For (the clothes of) 6 clericus - 2 rolls of Czech baize	10	
	Total expenses	1397	



			present day		
monastery	site type	site name	settlement	coordinates	date of reference
BORSMONOSTOR				47.4220936,16.5536352	
(1197)					
	grangia	Kedhely / Mannersdorf	Répcekedhely / Mannersdorf (A)	47.427267, 16.526336	1204-04-19
	grangia	Peresznye / Prosscingen	Peresznye	47.423215, 16.649131	1204-04-19
	grangia	Ukas / Malomháza	Nikitsch (A)	47.533661, 16.647709	1204-04-19
	grangia	Szomód	Szomód	47.678088, 18.322666	1225-00-00
	predium	Kozár	Kozár-major, Söpte	47.292017, 16.646820	1224-00-00
	predium	Csó	Pusztacsó	47.330425, 16.620729	1299-00-00
	curia	Janusfalva	Csáfordjánosfa	47.414198, 16.951357	<1452-12-06
	mansio	Locsmánd	Locsmánd	47.458642, 16.642343	
	curia	Locsmánd	Locsmánd	same area	
	meadow	n/a	Locsmánd-Frankenau	47.453931, 16.617770	
PILIS (1184)					
				47.691995, 18.892783	
				,	after 1254; 1222-00-
	grangia	Kovácsi	Pomáz-Kovácsi	47.677361, 18.946205	00?
	grangia(?)	Csákány	Pozsonycsákány	48.116056,17.3366664	
	allodium	Homoró	near Pruk	48.124800, 17.245163	
	curia/sessio/terra	Hueth	Hideghét	48.105807, 17.299833	
	predium	Kishéreg	Héreg	47.638883, 18.511416	

SZENTGOTTHÁRD (1184)				46.955000, 16.275000	
	grangia	Nagyfalva	Mogersdorf (A)	46.945804, 16.229062	1187-04-07
	grangia	Badafalva	Badafalva (A)	46.942188, 16.183725	1187-04-07
	grangia	Janafalva	Gyanafalva (A)	46.935570, 16.128317	1187-04-07
	grangia	Pocsfalva	Rosendorf (A)	46.978344, 16.203244	1187-04-07
	predium (1198) grangia-curia (1389)	Almas	Almásháza	46.838899, 17.044308	1389-11-11
	predium	Bottyán/Monahfelde	Sitke	47.242000, 17.044000	1198-00-00
	predium	Varsány	Jánosháza	47.122000, 17.164000	1198-00-00
TOPUSZKÓ (1208)				45.293000, 15.969000	
	grangia	Brochina	Vlahović	45.296961, 16.248404	1211-00-00; 1274-05-23; 1278-00-00; 1302-05-30
	grangia	Gradusa	Gradusa	45.329031, 16.421566	ca 1360
	grangia	Krala	Bihac	44.819283, 15.870533	1260-02-27 1264-03-15
	grangija	Bojna	Bojna	45.191000, 16.0410000	1279-00-00
	grangia	Machim	near Hrastenica	45.400000, 16.2900000	1272-00-00
	predigm	Lestova (inferior et supe	rior)		1392
	predium	Rukovo			1392
	predium	Gollina superior	Golinja	45.420290, 15.941112	1434
	predium	Pokopia	Pokupsko	45.485300, 15.992000	1434; 1523

	predium	Rozonica	Rozonica	45.543000, 16.012000	1434
	predium	Sezwuelno			1434
	predium	Agustanovicza	Agustanovac	45.476000, 15.938000	1434
ZIRC				47.2542642,17.7880217	
	grangia (?)	Olaszfalu	Olaszfalu	47.2346607,17.8627662	
	predium (?)	Berend	Ajka-Tósokberénd	47.0989455,17.5333926	



e ov	Settleme	No. of integer plots	24th April (St. George)	05th May (St. Gotthard)	Penthecost	24th June (St. John. Bapt)	15th August (Assumption)	*20th of August (Stephanus Rex)	10th August (St. Laurence)	29th September (St. Michael)	1st November (Omn.Sanct.)	11th November (St. Martin)	25th December (Nativity)	2nd February (Purification)	Carnisprivium	ОТНЕК	Data from Heimb - estate records early 18th c		no of plots	increase (color scale [Excel]	population
1	Edelicz	30	30d		10 ova 2 surmules			30d		30d		2 surmules 1 pullus	2 surmules 1 caponis			tributum in montibus		Edelicz			
2	Sido	11					1 fl							1 fl				Sido	16	5	hun
3	Thothfaluo	14		1 vigilator	24 ova 8 panes	30d	2 pullos 8 panes		18d	30d	2 pullos 8 panes 2 fertales avene et siligini 4 ova							Tottfalu / Windischdorff	40	26	vend
4	Zakomfalwa	19		1 vigilator	24 ova 8 panes	30d	2 pullos 8 panes		18d	30d	2 pullos 8 panes 2 fert. avene et siligini 4 ova							Zakomfalwa / Eckerstorff		26	vend
5		7	1 libram denariorum 4 panes 12 ova							1 libram denariorum 4 panes 1 pullus	4 panes 1 pullus							Permisse /Permisch	19	12	vend
6	Haromhaz	3		1 vigilator	20 ova 1 caseum	30d	2 pullos 8 panes		18d	30d	2 pullos 8 panes 2 fert. avene et siligini 4 ova							Haromhaz / Dreyhöff	12	9	hun
7	Orfalwa	10																Orfalu	28	18	vend
8	Dolincz	8		2 (ova?)	24 ova 8 panes	30d	2 pullos 8 panes		18d	30d	2 pullos 8 panes 2 fert. avene et siligini 4 ova							Dolincz	12	4	vend
9	Farkasfalwa	22		1 flor														Farkasfa / Farkerstorff	40	18	hun
10	Estwanfalwa	15		1 vigilator	24 ova 8 panes	30d	2 pullos 8 panes		18d	30d	2 pullos 8 panes 2 fert. avene et siligini 4 ova							Istvanfalva / Steffelsdorff	45	30	vend
11	Bergelin	11		1 (vigilator?)	24 ova 8 panes	30d	2 pullos 8 panes		18d	30d	2 pullos 8 panes 2 fert. avene et siligini							Börgölin / Wergelin	20	9	vend
12		11			30d	40d				40d				40d	1 pullus	decima de scrofis		Magyarlack / Ungarisch Mönchhoffen	50	39	hun
	Wylak	7			30 ova	40d				40d				40d	1 pullus	decima de scrofis		Wylak			
14	Berekhal	3											3 libras denariorum					Berekhal			
15	Huziazo	20		1 vigilator 4 ova	24 ova 8 panes	30d	2 pullos 8 panes		18d	30d	2 pullos 8 panes 2 fert.avene et siligini							Huziazo			
16	Kysfalwd	10			30 ova	40d				40d				40d	1 pullus	decima de scrofis		Kisfalu / Kleindörffl	20	10	hun
17	Thelepathka	10		ova	24 ova 8 panes	30d	2 pullos 8 panes		18d	30d	2 pullos 8 panes 2 fert.avene et siligini							Talapatka seu Dölsten	23	13	hun

18	Gyanafalwa (1187)	17	1 vigilator 4 ova	24 ova 8 panes	30d	2 pullo 8 panes	18d	30d		2 pullos 8 panes 2 fert.avene et siligini				decima de sero et tritico	Gyanafalva / Jennerstorff (S.Wenceslaus)	180	163	
19	Kristan	21		20 ova 4 casei			18d	40d		3			1 pullus	decima de scrofis decima de tritico	Cristán /Krieselstein	100	79	
20	Erczenye	9												vineas laborant	Ercsenye / Henndorf	90	81	
21	Kedhel	30	1 vigilator	22 ova	30d	2 pullos	18d	30d							Kethel / Kethely / Marckl (Omn.Sanct)	44	14	-
22	Cherethnek	21	1 vigilator 4 ova	24 ova 8 panes	30d	2 pullos 8 panes	18d	30d	2 pullos 8 panes 2 fert.avene et siligini						Cseretnek/ Schrietling	109	88	
23	Maythfalwa (1187)	29	4 ova	24 ova 8 panes	30d	2 pullos 8 panes	18d	30d		2 pullos 8 panes 2 fert.avene et siligini					Nagyfalva / Mogersdorff (S.Martini)	100	71	
24	Bodafalwa (1187)	17	4 ova	24 ova 8 panes	30d	2 pullos 8 panes	18d	30d		2 pullos 8 panes 2 fert.avene et siligini					Bodafalva / Weichslbaum	85	65	
25	Raks	24		24 ova 8 panes	30d	2 pullos 8 panes	18d	30d		2 pullo 8 panes 2 fert.avene et siligini				unum fundum dat pannum [?]	Rax	100	76	
26	Item vilicatus de Olazfalw et Lak	15		30 ova	40d			40d				40d	2 pullos 1 caponis	decima de scrofis	Olaszfalu / Wallendorf Némethlak /Teutsch Münchhofen	40 + 30	55	
27	Baczfalwa (1187)	14	4 ova	24 ova 8 panes	30d	2 pullos 8 panes	18d	30s	2 pullos 8 panes 2 fert.avene et siligini						Pacsfalu / Patschendorff	12	2	
28	Almas	13		10 ova 2 surmules				1 assatura 2 surmules (scilicet kalaz)			2 capones			vineas laborant				
		l L													Gyarmat (S.Lampert)	70		

COLOR CODES:

Light/Medium/Dark Green – groups according to the system of rent submissions

Light blue – settlements under 10 households

Light/Dark red – settlement groups according to parish system (bold letters=main parish)

65

Settlements of the Szentgotthárd estate (ca 1480-1520)

