

Doctoral Dissertation

**ON THE BORDER:
MONASTIC LANDSCAPES OF MEDIEVAL TRANSYLVANIA
(BETWEEN THE ELEVENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES)**

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

During the Middle Ages Hungary was home to a high number and variety of religious communities, male and female alike. However, some of them never settled in Transylvania. The reasons behind it are multiple and sometimes interconnected, which shall be analyzed in the coming parts of the dissertation. The work focuses only on the religious orders of Western Christianity which were present in medieval Transylvania (Benedictines, Cistercians, Premonstratensians, and Paulines) but does not include the analysis of mendicant orders or orthodox monasteries. I decided not to include the mendicant friaries and orthodox monasteries mainly because the source materials and field investigations would greatly exceed the volume of a dissertation. Mendicants are mainly settled in urban settlements and had different sources of income than the monastic ones. Because of this the landscape archaeological approach would require a different methodology. Furthermore, the mendicants shall not be detailed also because Zoltán Soós is already working on the subject. The Basilites were present in Hungary already in the eleventh century along with the Benedictines but disappeared totally after the Mongol invasion. At the same time, orthodox monasteries present in the late Middle Ages should also be treated in a different framework, thus they would also require a different investigation. An explanation should also be given for the inclusion of the Paulines since they were not a traditional monastic order but developed an interesting infusion of eremitic, monastic and mendicant traits. I could not avoid their study because in many ways, as it shall be seen in the coming parts, they resembled the monastic orders and because of it were an essential part of the Transylvanian monastic landscape. However, medieval Transylvania as a monastic region would require, at some point, a thorough detailed study looking at all the existing monastic communities in an expanded time frame, encompassing the pre-monastic and the post-monastic landscapes.

The Benedictines became the most widely supported religious community in the eleventh-twelfth century, and this was the period when some of the larger houses received extended landed estates. The Cistercians founded only one house in this region, at Kerc while the Premonstratensians settled only in two places but their presence was ephemeral, they did not survive the Mongol invasion (Fig. 2). The Augustinian canons and the Carthusians never settled in Transylvania. As the sources indicate, it is likely that the mendicants were more

prolific/favored by the Transylvanian communities, since the number of their houses was much higher (e.g. at least 11 Dominican and 15 Franciscan friaries are documented in Transylvania). However, behind this phenomenon several factors can play a role, which can hopefully be addressed in the future.

Two monasteries, Kolozsmonostor and Kerc were amongst the earliest and wealthiest documented landowners in Transylvania besides others, such as the king of Hungary, the Transylvanian bishop, castellans or local magnates. The monastery served the religious as well as the everyday needs of a community. It was a composition of sacred and profane space¹, with a monastic church, the dwelling and community spaces of the monks, and ancillary buildings (like barns, mills and agricultural buildings), which can perhaps be better understood as divided into an inner and an outer precinct², where various everyday activities would take place following the rule of each community. The monastery represented also the core of the outlying monastic properties, from where these were managed and where all incomes flowed in, it meant a constant interaction with the surrounding environment and communities. Monasteries were important landmarks in the landscape, a symbolic as well as a physical presence, where meditation, prayer and reading were combined with manual labor and everyday chores.

Scholars have dealt for decades with the history of different monastic orders on the territory of Europe and beyond. However, emphasis fell mainly on their formation, spread, transformation and dissolution generally from a historiographic viewpoint, relying mainly on archival sources. Regional analyses of the different monastic orders set in their specific environments and local contexts are not frequent. The present dissertation goes beyond the church and the claustral buildings and uses all forms of evidence to understand the monastic landscape. To a limited extent it also aims to understand pre-monastic landscapes as well as the post-monastic period to investigate what effects did the dissolution of a monastery had on the region and how it changed the land use.

Even though the title of the dissertation may be misleading, it reflects the original aim of the work. The focus points of the dissertation had changed during research thus, the end product became more of a historical geography and economic history of the monastic orders

¹ Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton, ed., *Defining the Holy. Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

² Megan Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings: Thirteenth-century English Cistercian Monasteries* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2001).

in medieval Transylvania with a strong emphasis on the potential for moving on to full holistic studies in future research.

1.1 AIM AND STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

The aim of the dissertation is to draw attention to and to explore the nature of monastic landscapes of different monastic orders within the boundaries of medieval Transylvania. Landscape archaeology and land use studies have gained ground in the recent years in monastic studies, through which a better understanding of a given religious community can unfold. Issues such as monastic economy or using the resources of various geographic regions of medieval Transylvania had enjoyed attention from scholars only in the late nineteenth, early twentieth century³ with scattered studies in the last ten years but showing a rising interest in the subject. The focus of scholars had shifted to the reconstruction of different economic histories of individual monasteries or orders but did not extend to a wider understanding of land use of various environments or landscape shaping activities of monks.⁴ Besides historic analysis architectural studies had proven to be one of the fruitful lines of investigation. In parallel also archaeological excavations took place in the early twentieth century on the site of large monasteries, such as Kerc and Kolozsmonostor.⁵ However, these excavations generally concentrated on the monastic church or the close-by areas of the convent, but never touched upon economic buildings, mills or fishponds. Therefore, the purpose of this dissertation is manifold, it looks into the reevaluation of the earlier studies, applies a new methodology with new sets of data and provides analysis of a wide area with case studies from the main regions of medieval Transylvania. Based on these features the dissertation builds up a fresh approach and analyzes how far Transylvania represents a unique area as the eastern border region of the Kingdom of Hungary in terms of

³ Elek Jakab, "Erdély egyháztörténelméhez: I. Apátságok Erdélyben – II. Apáca-klastromok Erdélyben [To the church history of Transylvania: I. Abbeys in Transylvania – II. Nunneries in Transylvania]," *Magyar Történelmi Társulat Tár XIII* (1867/series 2, volume 1): 3-42, 43-87; Lajos Csomor, *A kolozsmonostori bencés apátság és birtokai (1556-ig)* [The Benedictine abbey of Kolozsmonostor and its estates (until 1556)] (Kolozsvár: Gombos Ferencz Könyvsajtója, 1912).

⁴ Noémi Gyöngyvér Szabó, "A kolozsmonostori bencés apátság gazdálkodása a késő középkorban [The Economy of the Benedictine Abbey of Kolozsmonostor in the Late Middle Ages]" (PhD diss., University of Debrecen, 2012).

⁵ Given the multi-nationality of Transylvania researchers face a high number of place name forms which developed along the centuries (Latin, Hungarian, German/Saxon, Romanian, Serbian etc.). Therefore, the use of place names can get quite tricky and hard to follow, and always creates debates among the researchers. Due to the high number of versions and forms of the place names which shall be discussed in the dissertation from the perspective of clarity, intelligibility, and for an easier understanding I shall use the Hungarian forms throughout the text and their other available forms will be given in a table in the Appendices under Appendix 1. In cases, when the settlement disappeared at a certain point in time and does not exist today (perhaps only as a toponym) the most frequently indicated name (Italicized) by the sources shall be used (may it be in Latin, Hungarian or other form, e.g. *Tiburcztelke*).

monastic landscapes.⁶ In the same time, my inquiries shall focus on whether Transylvania as a historical region can be defined as an independent, unitary monastic region. As it will be seen in the coming parts even though several encompassing studies had seen light dealing with the monasteries of medieval Hungary none of these looked at Transylvania separately, as a distinct monastic region.

The present dissertation proposes to describe examples of how the landscape approach may be undertaken in the context of medieval monasteries and to produce the historical geographical evidence for their estate structures and specific sites. This will demonstrate the potential for long-term holistic archaeologies of these landscapes, something which has not been done previously for medieval Transylvania. Also, the dissertation is meant to fill in several gaps in the research of monasteries from medieval Transylvania, touching upon in details of the histories of various monastic estates and the economic history of several monasteries.

The following questions constitute the basis for the research: When and how did the estates of various abbeys spread over Transylvania? What was their relationship with the surrounding neighbors? Can property clusters be recognized? If so, then what could influence the structure of monastic clusters? Can perhaps, preferences of certain types of lands by the monastic orders be recognized? How can the estates of a monastery be identified and their boundaries pinpointed on the ground? What can still be recognized or found on the field? How did the monasteries use their lands? Can different monastic landscapes be identified based on the types of estates and land use of the abbeys? Are there differences among the orders in terms of land use and income?

The dissertation is structured into six chapters. The Introduction contains the Aim and structure, the Sources and Methodology, and a detailed discussion on the Landscape Approach. In the second chapter (Monasteries in time and space) the definition of medieval Transylvania is discussed based on the local characteristics and differences within the Kingdom of Hungary. How is it different from the other historic regions of the Hungarian Kingdom? Why can it be analyzed separately? What factors define its uniqueness? Then, a short introduction and discussion follows on the history of the four orders, which constitute the subject of the dissertation, with special emphasis on their presence in Transylvania.

⁶ See a similar case for the western Dunántúl; Beatrix F. Romhányi, “Kolostorhálózat, területfejlesztés, régiók a Borostyán-út mentén [Monastic network, regional development, regions along the Amber road],” *Soproni Szemle* 72/2 (2018): 119-146.

Finally, an assessment of the research of the medieval monasteries shall be presented. The third chapter (Kolozsmonostor abbey and monastic land use) launches the case study and partial landscape analysis of a group of estates of the largest Benedictine abbey of Transylvania, also focusing on the land use of the abbey with highlighted case studies of selected study areas from Kolozs County. In addition, a general discussion of all the monastic properties can be found grouped by historic counties⁷ and their location within the counties. The chapter contains a literature review and a short history of the abbey pinpointing those events that affected the property structure and land use of the Benedictines. Chapter four (Kerc Abbey and its lands) zooms in on the only Cistercian abbey of medieval Transylvania as a detailed case study of the abbey precincts of the monastic buildings as well as a chronological discussion of the evolution of the monastic properties. The chapter contains a review of the historic setting and literature with special attention to the issues connected to its foundation. The abbey precincts and their water systems are presented in detail based on the newest landscape research. The fifth chapter looks into the topic of Pauline micro landscapes with a case study on the monastery at Marosszentkirály and looks into the sources of the other existing Pauline houses as well. Finally, the Conclusions discuss the results of the research and provide insight into further possibilities of investigation. After the text the Sources and Bibliography, and the Appendices can be found.

1.2. SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

1.2.1. Written Sources

The first and largest group of sources is constituted by the written evidence. Here, I refer to all the preserved documentary evidence that contains information on the land use of the monasteries under research. The documents present a wide range of types, such as donation charters, litigation documents (complaints, investigations, reports, prohibitions), perambulations, conscriptions, introductions to the properties, and occasionally, protocols. Some of the written sources are accessible in edited volumes, while a large part is still unpublished. Luckily a great number of charters can be accessed online as well in their

⁷ As discussed above, throughout the dissertation I shall use the names of the contemporary historic counties of the Middle Ages as they appear in the sources. Many of the counties had since changed their territories, first in 1876, then after 1920 and 1945. Also, for an easier identification in the case of settlements the present-day county names shall be given and where it is necessary the difference between the historic and present day counties will be highlighted. In the case of modern institutions, the modern name shall be used. For settlements the Hungarian names will be applied just as described above, in footnote 5.

original.⁸ For the territory of Transylvania three source editions must be highlighted. First, the *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, which has been continuously edited and published for more than a century now.⁹ The volumes provide abstracts of the documents in German and in some cases the unpublished Latin text. Second, the source publication initiated by the Romanian Academy of Sciences, the *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, which debuted with its first volume in 1951 and still continues to be published.¹⁰ The series publishes the whole Latin text of the documents along with a full Romanian translation. Lastly, the series entitled *Erdélyi Okmánytár* initiated by Zsigmond Jakó in 1997 aims to publish all the written documents concerning the history of Transylvania.¹¹ The documents are published generally as an abstract in Hungarian, while earlier unpublished texts or parts of texts appear in Latin. All three source editions contain the written sources related to all three ethnic communities present in Transylvania, the Hungarians, Saxons, and Romanians. Amongst the early endeavors to publish the written sources the *Székely Oklevéltár* should also be mentioned since it is a collection of medieval and early modern documents which refer to the Székely Land and the history of the Székelys.¹²

The archival collections of abbeys in Transylvania suffered great destructions during the various attacks (just to name a few e. g. 1241, 1277, 1285, 1437, 1601, and 1658)

⁸ Here I used extensively the digital database of the Hungarian National Archives (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár), available online: <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/charters/search/> (Henceforth MNL OL, DL/DF) and the Medieval Archive of Romania (Arhiva Medievală a României) a result of a project of the Romanian National Archives (Arhivele Naționale ale României), the Babeş-Bolyai University and the National Archives of Norway: http://arhivamedievala.ro/webcenter/portal/oracle/webcenter/page/scopedMD/sb1ac891c_2b6f_47a7_b1ce_e311bc50c24e/PortalHome.jsp?wc.contextURL=%2Fspaces%2FArhivaMedievala&_adf.ctrl-state=dm87hw2qq_9&_afrLoop=1056027248481148#!%40%40%3F_afrLoop%3D1056027248481148%26wc.contextURL%3D%252Fspaces%252FArhivaMedievala%26_adf.ctrl-state%3D18h8swx5oy_4 (Henceforth ANR).

⁹ See the site of the Institute: <http://siebenbuergen-institut.de/special-menu/e-transylvanica/urkundenbuch-zur-geschichte-der-deutschen-in-siebenbuergen-online/> and the online searchable catalogue of the published volumes: <http://siebenbuergenurkundenbuch.uni-trier.de/> Henceforth the series shall be used in a shortened form as UB followed by volume, page, and document number.

¹⁰ *Documenta Romaniae Historica, C. Transilvania*, vol 1-16 (Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Române, 1951-2014). Henceforth DRH followed by the volume, page, and document number. The edition concentrates on the documents related to the history of Romania, grouped according to three regions: A – Moldova, B – Țara Românească, and C – Transilvania. In the dissertation the volumes containing documents related to Transylvania shall be used (C). The volumes are not accessible online. The first five volumes of the DRH appeared under the name *Documente privind Istoria României* (Documents concerning the history of Romania), short DIR.

¹¹ *Erdélyi Okmánytár. Oklevelek, levelek és más írásos emlékek Erdély történetéhez* [Transylvanian Documents: Charters, letters and other written records concerning the history of Transylvania], vol. 1-4, eds. Zsigmond Jakó, Géza Hegyi, and András W. Kovács (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1997-2014). Henceforth EO followed by the volume, page, and document number; available for online use on the site of the Hungarian Culture Heritage Portal: https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/collection/mltk_mol_sorozatok_nagysorozatok_forraskiadvanyok/

¹² *Székely Oklevéltár* [Collection of Székely Documents], vol. 1-8, eds. Károly Szabó, Lajos Szádeczky-Kardoss, and Samu Barabás (Budapest, 1872-1934). However, due to the unstructured and lacunar selection and publication of the sources a new series was launched in the 1970s by Lajos Demény and József Pataki. The last, eighth volume appeared in 2006.

therefore, these were preserved only rarely and fragmentarily. One single monastic archival collection is known to have survived as a closed ensemble, and that is the protocols of Kolozsmonostor abbey, which served also as a “place of authentication” (*locus credibilis*¹³) during the Middle Ages. The peasant uprising in 1437, led by Antal Nagy Budai destroyed the archives of Kolozsmonostor, and only the documents issued after this event were preserved at the abbey. Some of the earlier charters survived in other archives. The protocols are currently held in the Hungarian National Archives (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára) in the Diplomatic Archives (Diplomatikai Levéltár).¹⁴ However, the remains of the abbey’s private archive (documents issued as an authentication place) are kept in Gyulafehérvár, in the Batthyaneum library. Amongst the monastic orders the Benedictine and Premonstratensian houses were involved in charter-issuing, while Cistercian abbeys functioned as places of authentication only periodically.¹⁵ It has to be emphasized that none of the foundation charters of the investigated monasteries survived.

Land registers (*urbarium* or *conscriptio terrarum*) of monasteries survived only from a later period, generally from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the properties of the large monasteries (after dissolution/secularization) entered into extended lay or ecclesiastic estates, or the royal treasury. Sometimes these can provide a glimpse into the former economic administration depending on the level of detail offered by the description. In certain instances, it could be observed that the recipient of a monastery’s properties, after the dissolution of the monastery, sought to preserve their original structure or at least to keep together groups of estates.

My aim was to exploit the available sources for a slightly different purpose than they were used before, and to approach the data contained in them from a particular, land use perspective. In this pursuit certain types of documents, lawsuits or perambulations, proved to

¹³ Read more on *loca credibilia*: 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; Franz Eckhart, “Die glaubwürdigen Orte Ungarns im Mittelalter,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 9 (1914): 395–558. For a detailed account on the *loca credibilia* see: Gábor Dreska, “A Pannonhalmi konvent hiteleshelyi tevékenysége 1321-1500 [The Activity of Pannonhalma Abbey as *locus credibilis* 1321-1500],” (PhD diss., Eötvös Loránd University, 2008).

¹⁴ As mentioned above, henceforth MNL OL, DL/DF. The protocols of Kolozsmonostor had been edited and published in two volumes with abstracts: *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei* [Protocols of the convent of Kolozsmonostor], vol 1-2, ed. Zsigmond Jakó (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990). Henceforth KmJkv followed by the volume, page number.

Online: https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/collection/mltk_mol_sorozatok_nagysorozatok_forraskiadvanyok/.

¹⁵ László Solymosi, “A bencés konventek hiteleshelyi oklevéladásának kezdetei [The beginnings of the charter-issuing function of Benedictine Abbeys],” in *Mons Sacer 996–1996. Pannonhalma 1000 éve*, vol. 1, ed. Imre Takács (Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Főapátság, 1996), 481–498. 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.

be more useful than others. It was essential to read the original documents and not only the abstracts which were published, since a high number of details could be found only in the original, full text. Transcriptions of Latin texts frequently contained various errors. Therefore, wherever I had the chance I relied on the original form of the document written in Latin. The study of land use for the Pauline monasteries for example could be pursued only partially as the majority of their documents survived mainly in abstracts, and the relevant details remain hidden in the disappeared originals. From the available documentary sources, I compiled systematic datasets which contained information and data concerning land use, toponyms, location, and type of certain elements in the landscape or boundary signs, as well as the amount, size of land or price if it was mentioned (see in the relevant case studies). Additionally, where I had the opportunity I extracted information on the social aspects of the tenant peasants, the size of the properties or details on the administration of the monastic properties. This was a time-consuming meticulous process, where I followed the same criteria for all the properties of the monasteries.

1.2.2. Toponyms

After the compilation of datasets from the written documents the next group of studied sources were the place-names which can provide a starting point for the identification of certain topographic, landscape features, and places in the field. Place-names need to be correlated with other available sources such as, documents, maps and land surveys since in many cases they do not reflect anymore the medieval reality. Toponyms can also indicate to a certain degree the language used at a certain time in the studied areas (Latin, Hungarian, Romanian or German). I traced the toponyms from the time of their first appearance in the texts up until today using a combination of maps and land registers as well as oral tradition, where I had the opportunity.¹⁶ One would hardly expect to find any medieval toponyms preserved until nowadays but as it will be seen later on, in the case studies, some really did survive even today. A good example is a medieval toponym preserved until today, the “Sebedő” hill near the village of Kajántó, which, as it will be seen later, was an important landmark and boundary point through the centuries. The toponyms can sometimes provide important information on the vegetation, type of land or its use (e.g. “Fáshalom” – hillock with trees) at the time of its mentioning, which sometimes do not reflect today’s state of the

¹⁶ One of the most useful collections of toponyms for the territory of Transylvania proved to be the eleven volume work entitled *Szabó T. Attila erdélyi történeti helynévgyűjtése* [Attila Szabó T.’s collection of Transylvanian historical place names] published by Mihály Hajdú et al., between 2001 and 2010. Henceforth Szabó T., county name, volume, and page.

same place but offer a glimpse into an older state of the land (today the mentioned “hillock with trees” is just a bare hill). In most of the cases the toponyms survived because of their role as boundary signs or their dominant nature in the landscape which sometimes remained unchanged for centuries. The toponyms were also preserved unevenly, certain regions had a higher preservation percentage than others. Those that survived sometimes changed their form along the centuries. As a general tendency those toponyms which occurred in a Hungarian form in the medieval texts with time changed into or received a Romanian equivalent. Such shifts can be explained through a change of the population or administration; clear and detailed examples shall be presented in the case studies. It can as well reflect the language of the local population at the given time.¹⁷ After I had collected the toponyms they were added to the datasets compiled from the written sources. Also, datasets were created with their occurrence, form, location, and change (see the case studies). The analysis of the various place names, especially their interpretation as indicators of ethnicity, sometimes resulted in controversial conclusions. A relevant example is the case of Kerc, where some of the place names which appear in the documentary sources were interpreted as of Pecheneg origin, while their possible Hungarian origin was omitted.¹⁸ The dissertation shall look into the relevant place names in the following parts but will not go into the details and debates on ethnicity.

1.2.3. Cartographic Sources

The other significant group of sources used for the analysis were the maps, both historic and modern.¹⁹ Besides the fact that some of the maps contain relevant information about the change of the land use, landscape elements, and infrastructure or might even signal historic ruins, a part of the extracted toponyms could be identified on maps as well. Thus, locating the toponyms on field could be done more easily. I also used maps to illustrate my findings and to reconstruct the land use and medieval boundaries of certain properties however, these are only in the stage of work-in-progress since the early modern and modern data are not represented on them and the field survey of all the estates needs further work.

Concerning the available historic maps that present Transylvania with the relevant physical features for this study it has to be emphasized that their numbers are extremely low.

¹⁷ Similar cases were registered in Slavonia, too.

¹⁸ Recently a more balanced approach with useful notes on the earlier scholarship can be seen in: Dan Nicolae Busuioc von Hasselbach, *Țara Făgărașului în secolul al XIII-lea* [The Land of Făgăraș in the thirteenth century] (Cluj-Napoca: CST, 2000), vol. 1, 197, 243-280.

¹⁹ Since most of the historic maps scarcely contain details of a certain region, the most useful maps proved to be the Habsburg Military Surveys accessible online: <http://mapire.eu/en/>. Besides these local, smaller maps were used, where available.

Therefore, the historic base maps used in the dissertation were the three Military Surveys of the Habsburg Empire produced between 1763 and 1887.²⁰ Besides these I consulted and used the *Planurile directoare de tragere* (Romanian maps under “Lambert-Cholesky” projection system) compiled at the beginning of the twentieth century by Romanian military authorities.²¹ It is important to underline that first of all these maps fulfilled a military purpose therefore they differ greatly on the level of the represented regions as well as the details which appear on the maps.²² Only rarely were other types of local or regional maps available or useful, generally the bulk of the local land surveys are not yet accessible for researchers in Romania. Those that are available do not contain relevant details for my study.

1.2.4. Archaeological Evidence and Non-Invasive Research Methods

Data as the result of archaeological excavation can provide important details on the material culture, land use and production activities of the studied monasteries. However, the archaeological material available for the Transylvanian monasteries is limited and scanty. Systematic archaeological excavations and field surveys concentrate only on certain areas or sites of the country. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the largest monasteries (such as Kerc and Kolozsmonostor) were partly investigated through excavations.²³ It is unfortunate that the publication of the results was only partial in the form of short reports which do not provide a total publication of the material culture nor a concise interpretation of the archaeological contexts. A part of the finds unearthed in Kerc are kept in the Altemberger House – History Museum in Nagyszeben (most of it is missing), while the materials excavated in Kolozsmonostor are in the deposits of the National History Museum of Transylvania in Kolozsvár. Access to these materials was mainly restricted even though I have had the occasion to see the very few preserved archaeological finds from Kerc, I did not receive permission to work on them.²⁴ The materials comprise clothing accessories, arrow heads, iron fittings, tools, coins, pottery and glass fragments. The finds from Kolozsmonostor

²⁰ Online: <https://mapire.eu/en/browse/country/>. Luckily, the maps were geo-referenced, and the inaccuracy is about 20-30 m. On the cartographical research, see: Gábor Tímár, “A föld alakjának ismerettörténete – az archív térképek georeferálásának geofizikai alapja [The story of the Earth’s shape – the geophysical basis of geo-referencing archival maps],” (Phd diss., MTA Budapest, 2018).

²¹ See: <http://www.geo-spatial.org/download/planurile-directoare-de-tragere>.

²² Katalin Szende, “How far back? Challenges and limitations of cadastral maps for the study of urban form in Hungarian towns,” in *Städteatlanten. Vier Jahrzehnte Atlasarbeit in Europa*, ed. Wilfried Ehbrecht (Köln, Wien: Böhlau, 2013), 153-190.

²³ For the two largest monasteries (Kerc and Kolozsmonostor) and their excavation history with a summary of the results see the relevant chapters.

²⁴ The finds were later published by Petre Beșliu, see: Petre Beșliu-Munteanu, “Mănăstirea cisterciană de la Cârța. Cercetări arheologice de salvare (2009 și 2011) [The Cistercian Monastery from Cârța. Archaeological researches from preservation (2009 and 2011)],” *Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis* I (2012): 11-28. Available online: <http://medievistica.ro/pagini/arheologie/cercetarea/carta/carta.html> (accessed 7 May 2019).

were not accessible (nor kept in an organized manner, and a large part of it was never inventoried), until recently, when the systematic inventory work had restarted and the deposits reorganized. An attempt to re-interpret the some of the finds and the associated burials was undertaken by Erwin Gáll, who re-visited the subject a number of times.²⁵ However, his studies focus on the funeral inventories and do not treat the whole site with all the excavated features and finds.²⁶ The scarce archaeological material gathered from field walking on the site of the Pauline monastery in Marosszentkirály is kept in the Mureş County Museum. They comprise only a few fragments of pottery, wattle and daub, bricks, and worked stone. Most of the monasteries discussed in this dissertation were not researched archaeologically, some of them were not even identified on the field.

One of the important non-invasive research methods of archaeology I applied is field walking or field survey, which if done according to the newest strategies can generate “complete” datasets of wide areas. Field walking strategies changed fundamentally and evolved since the 1950s, from large-scale regional mappings (unsystematic reconnaissance) to extensive and intensive surveys planned according to the aim of the investigation.²⁷ Typically, archaeologists walk along an ordered grid, and collect and record surface archaeological finds. This data collection method can be used most successfully if open areas of ploughed fields are available. For the investigation of the monastic sites discussed in this dissertation I applied two non-invasive archaeological methods, first the extensive field survey, which helped to understand the landscape as a whole by locating sites, buildings and features in a larger area. Second, for dating a site I applied intensive field walking to collect archaeological surface finds in a systematic manner in order to map the location and extent of a buried site. The results of the field surveys and field walking shall be presented in the relevant chapters, where they can corroborate information obtained from other sources on the studied monastery. However, I did not manage to undertake all the field survey that would have been needed for the analysis of all the existing monastic estates. Thus, only smaller estate parts were examined more thoroughly but the dissertation managed to indicate the high potential of certain areas, where a complete landscape analysis could be attained in the future.

²⁵ Erwin Gáll, *Kolozsvár születése. Régészeti adatok a város 10-13. századi történetéhez* [The birth of Cluj. Archaeological data concerning the 10th and 13th century history of the town] (Kolozsvár: EME, 2009): 97-99; Tables 43-56.

²⁶ For a thorough interpretation of the burials and their relationship with the excavated features, see: Ágnes Ritoók, “Árpád-kori temetkezések Kolozsmonostoron (Cluj-Mănăştur, Ro) [Árpád Age burials in Kolozsmonostor (Cluj-Mănăştur, Ro)],” *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 137 (2012): 235-252.

²⁷ Read more on the method and possibilities: http://www.cafg.net/docs/articles/what_is_fieldwalking.pdf and <http://www.bajr.org/BAJRGuides/15.%20Field%20Survey%20-%20Land%20Survey,%20Fieldwalking%20and%20Metal%20Detecting/ShortGuidetoFieldSurvey.pdf>

Sometimes, the archaeological repertories can help in the identification of long disappeared sites or lands, which are based on the outcome of extensive or intensive field walking or land surveys. For the territory of Romania these repertories were generally compiled according to counties and theoretically comprise all the historic sites pertaining to all periods. However, large percent of the repertories which were published in the early 1990s or earlier focus mainly on the Prehistoric or Roman periods neglecting the medieval or early modern sites.²⁸ Therefore, only scattered information could be extracted from such compilations.

Another non-invasive method used in this dissertation was geophysical survey, a ground-based physical sensing technique used for archaeological mapping and imaging. Geophysical prospection is used to create maps of subsurface archaeological features. Geophysical instruments can detect buried features when their physical properties contrast measurably with their surroundings. Reading taken in a systematic pattern becomes a data set which can be rendered as image maps.²⁹ A significant number of geophysical survey methods exist (magnetometers, ground-penetrating radar, electrical resistance and conductivity meters), out of which I managed to apply only a couple (due to financial limitations) with the help of specialists from the Department of Geophysics and Space Sciences of the Eötvös Lóránd University in Budapest.³⁰ Such measurements should be correlated with the unique geology and archaeological record of each site. Geophysical survey took place on two sites, at the Cistercian abbey Kerc and at the Pauline monastery of Marosszentkirály. The results will be presented in the appropriate chapters, where they can be properly contextualized.

1.3. THE LANDSCAPE APPROACH

In the last decades, the study of monasteries was enriched with a new field of research widely used in Western Europe, with the study of monastic landscapes³¹ developed by British scholarship, which analyzes the wider context of monasteries in shaping the surrounding environment and the landscape. This approach combines in an interactive manner the results of economic history, historical geography and field archaeology, to which now a more complex and theorized approach to landscape meaning and context is being added. Almost

²⁸ See for example: Ion Horațiu Crișan, *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Cluj* [The Archaeological Repertory of Cluj County] (Cluj-Napoca: Institutul de Istorie și Arheologie, 1992). At the time, when the repertory was compiled the medieval, late medieval or modern sites were not considered important.

²⁹ See: http://www.archprospection.org/sites/archprospection.org/files/EAC_Guidelines_2_Geophysics.pdf

³⁰ I am grateful for the help and support of Professor László Lenkey.

³¹ James Bond, "The location and siting of Cistercian houses in Wales and the West," *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 154 (2007): 51-79; Idem, *Monastic Landscapes* (Stroud: Tempus, 2004); Tim Pestell, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004).

parallel the study of *Klosterlandschaft* developed in Germany which studies predominantly monastic regions in a slightly different, more document-based approach.³² In the last decades several important studies were elaborated on the medieval monastic landscapes of Hungary, which used a similar, complex methodology for understanding the changes in the landscape.³³ This approach can also yield a varied interpretation of monastic landscapes with all its different layers given the richness of written evidence is provided. All in all, the landscape approach seeks to understand the history of a place or a region by identifying, analyzing and interpreting features (standing buildings, settlement earthworks, field and communication pattern) to reconstruct the landscape of the past through using the sources presented above.

The dissertation is unique for the territory of medieval Transylvania since it aims to combine all the gathered datasets from various sources and investigates in few cases the evidence kept in the environment, the preserved natural features of the researched areas. The work also points to the regions where in-depth landscape studies can be undertaken in the future. By approaching the monastic lands in this way (shaped by its interaction with humans) naturally, an extended contextualization of the events and the people involved is needed, drawing on local and regional history. By understanding the small-scale processes and changes my analysis expands towards the regional, and then to the larger context of the Hungarian Kingdom and discusses the uniqueness of Transylvania in it. Gathering the data from the landscape through field work is a time consuming but highly rewarding investigation since it is probably the richest record left behind by people.³⁴ Earlier, attempts for

³² Johannes Meier, *Klöster und Landschaft. Das Kulturräumliche erbe der Orden* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2010), Roman Czaja, Heinz-Dieter Heimann, and Matthias Wemhoff, ed., *Klosterlandschaften: Methodisch-exemplarische Annäherungen. Mittelalter Studien 16* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2008). On the differences between the British and German approach, see: József Laszlovszky and Hedwig Röckelein, “Medieval Monastic Regions in Central Europe – The Spiritual and Physical Landscape Setting of Monastic Orders and Religious Houses,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 17 (2001): 296-308.

³³ 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* [Studies in the honor of András Kubinyi seventieth birthday], ed. Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: ELTE Régészettudományi Intézet, 2004), 337–349; Beatrix F. Romhányi, “*A lelkiek a földiek nélkül nem tarthatók fenn...*” *Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban* [Pauline economy in the Middle Ages] (Budapest: Gondolat, 2010); László Ferenczi, “Management of Monastic Landscapes. A spatial analysis of the Economy of Cistercian Monasteries in Medieval Hungary” (PhD diss., Central European University, Budapest, 2018); Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Kolduló barátok–gazdálkodó szerzetesek. Koldulórendi gazdálkodás a késő középkori Magyarországon* [Mendicant friars–farmer monks: Mendicant economy in late medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Martin Opitz, 2018); Zsuzsa Eszter Pető, *Hermits in the heart of the Hungarian Kingdom. Medieval monastic landscape of the Pauline order in the Pilis* (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2018). Recently a PhD thesis was written on the topic of the landscape shaping activities of the monastic orders in Hungary with a different approach than the ones used here but leading to similar results, see: Veronika Magyar, “A középkori kolostortáj vizsgálata a monasztikus rendek esetében [The analysis of the medieval monastic landscape in the case of the monastic orders]” (PhD diss., Szent István Egyetem, Budapest, 2018).

³⁴ For a methodological overview, see: Della Hooke, ed., *Landscape: The richest historical record* (Amesbury: Society for Landscape Studies, 2000).

understanding the landscape were made in the field of castle studies for the territory of Transylvania, as centers of power. However, these focused mainly on the communication system, local and regional roads, and not so much on an entire castle domain and its land use patterns.³⁵ Another important work which had a positive impact on my own research was the landscape characterization of a specific historic and ethnographic region of Transylvania, namely Kalotaszeg, elaborated by landscape architect Anna Eplényi.³⁶

Among the medieval written sources, the charters containing perambulations enjoy high priority, since these contain basic information for the reconstruction of medieval boundary and land use. The elements of medieval settlement and estate boundaries, which can still be identified on terrain even nowadays, the boundary signs and boundary points are particularly important in the analysis of monastic landscapes.

While specialized scholarship in Western and Central Europe, prominently in the United Kingdom has dealt with the subject of medieval boundaries and *metae* for decades, Romanian archaeology and field investigations paid little attention (except for the Roman period) to the existence of medieval boundary signs, which as it was shown above can still exist in today's landscape. Unawareness of their existence caused and still causes the frequent destruction of these medieval landscape features, which is further aggravated by the fact that landscape elements are not protected by law.³⁷ For the territory of Hungary, even though it does not focus strictly on the medieval period, an important book on the study and variety of boundary signs was published at the end of the twentieth century.³⁸ Since then, and especially in the last decades, when landscape archaeology unfolded, a number of new studies incorporated the research of medieval boundaries and the issues connected to it.³⁹

Important events were the perambulations (walking the boundaries), when a larger group of local people and officials walked along the boundary and marked or checked the

³⁵ Oana Toda, "Reconstructing historical landscapes: The road network of Râşnov castle," *Annales Universitatis Apulensis* 16/1 (2012): 141-161.

³⁶ Anna Eplényi, "Kalotaszeg tájkarakter-elemzése [The landscape character analysis of Kalotaszeg]" (PhD diss., Budapesti Corvinus Egyetem, Budapest, 2012).

³⁷ See Romanian legislation of the protection of historic monuments: law nr. 422 from 2001, see: <http://www.unesco.org/culture/natlaws/media/pdf/romania/rom lege 422 romorof.pdf>.

³⁸ Lajos Takács, *Határjelek, határjárás a feudális kor végén Magyarországon* [Boundary signs, perambulation at the end of the feudal age in Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987).

³⁹ See the papers of Csilla Zatykó, "People beyond landscapes: past, present and future of Hungarian landscape archaeology," *Antaeus* 33 (2015): 369-388; Csilla Zatykó, "Medieval villages and their landscapes: Methods of Reconstruction," in *People and Nature in Historical Perspective*, eds. József Laszlovszky and Péter Szabó (Budapest: CEU Medieval Studies and Archaeolingua, 2003), 343-374; Péter Szabó, "The Extent and Management of Woodland in Medieval Hungary," in *The Economy of Medieval Hungary*, eds. József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Péter Szabó, and András Vadas (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018), 219-237.

signs (“beating the bounds”). A perambulation could be requested on diverse occasions: recording the boundary, raising bounds, introduction of a new owner, disputes and litigations, renewal of the bounds or checking the condition of the signs. Usually, certain points, visible places were marked with boundary signs. The raising of the bounds depended on the available materials in the region, the size of the population that had to maintain them and on the characteristics of the terrain (lowland – furrows, woodland – trees etc.). Probably one of the greatest diversity of bounds can be connected to trees, which could be marked in many different ways (with distinct signs – cross, image, shapes; truncation; drilling; engraving; braided trees; peeling off part of the bark). Occasionally, trees with special features (strange shape or form, knobby) and generally the larger, hardwood trees were assigned as *meta* (oaks, beech, and frequently wild fruit trees – pear, cherry).⁴⁰ The study of tree bounds is important also for the historic reconstruction of local forests and the understanding of forest management in the studied region. I shall discuss this in more detail and examples in chapter 3, under the section of forests and woodland. Another widespread boundary sign was stone, which could mean a single stone (quarried stone, worked stone, reused stone) or a pile of stones. Sometimes the distance between the bounds could be significant, while in other cases a larger number of signs were raised in a smaller area.

Earlier works of historical topography provided a great starting point for my own research, such as György Györffy’s historical geography of Árpád-age Hungary⁴¹ or Dezső Csánki’s Hungary in the Hunyadi era.⁴² A historical topography by reconstructing the various estate systems throughout medieval Hungary was compiled by Pál Engel.⁴³ Concerning examples of applying a landscape approach on the study of monasteries, where the archaeological research of an abbey with the study of all its territories had been undertaken are known to me only from England and Wales.⁴⁴ A significant work, mentioned above,

⁴⁰ See a detailed discussion in Takács, *Határjelek, határjárás*, 40-74. Also, Péter Szabó, *Woodland and Forests in Medieval Hungary*, BAR International Series 1348 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005) and Magdolna Szilágyi, *On the Road: The History and Archaeology of Medieval Communication Networks in East-Central Europe* (Budapest: Archaeolingua, Series Minor, 2014).

⁴¹ György Györffy, ed., *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* [A historical geography of Hungary in the Árpád period] 4 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963–1998).

⁴² Dezső Csánki, ed., *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* [A historical geography of Hungary in the age of the Hunyadis] 5 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980-1913).

⁴³ Pál Engel, *Magyarország a középkor végén: digitális térkép és adatbázis* [Hungary in the Late Middle Ages: Digital Map and Database] (Budapest: Térinfo Bt., MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 2001).

⁴⁴ Grenville G. Astill, *A medieval industrial complex and its landscape: the metalworking watermills and workshops of Bordesley Abbey* (York: Council for British Archaeology Research Reports 92, 1993); David Austin, “Strata Florida and its landscape archaeology,” *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 153 (2006): 192-201.

which attempted to pursue a landscape characterization of a specific historic region of Transylvania, namely Kalotaszeg, was finished in 2012.⁴⁵

It should be highlighted here that the dissertation discusses both monastic landscapes and monastic region. I consider monastic landscapes as diverse geographical areas, where monasteries shaped to a certain extent their environment through their abbey constructions and landed estates managed by them. It is essential to filter those actions and events which could affect the landscape from the part of a monastery in the history of the ever-changing landscape of settlements and towns. Even though this will not always be possible I will try to follow this line of thought. Under monastic region I understand the whole territory of medieval Transylvania which encompasses the various ever-changing monastic landscapes developed by the monastic orders studied in the dissertation. Yet, it should be highlighted that a holistic landscape approach can be attained only if the pre- and post-monastic landscapes are researched and understood as well.

⁴⁵ Eplényi, “Kalotaszeg tájkarakter-elemzése”.

CHAPTER 2. MONASTERIES IN TIME AND SPACE

In this chapter I present the various monastic houses on the territory of medieval Transylvania, emphasizing their regional characteristics or similarities observed in the other areas of the Hungarian Kingdom. Also the further research possibilities of the monasteries will be assessed.

2.1. MEDIEVAL TRANSYLVANIA: LOCAL CHARACTERISTICS AND DIFFERENCES

Location, geographic description

Medieval Transylvania is a historic region in today's Romania. During the chronological time frame of my dissertation this territory represented the eastern border region of the Hungarian Kingdom, as a voivodeship led by a voivode appointed by the king of Hungary. In the Middle Ages (and even today) it was also a contact region between western and eastern Christianity, interpreted also as the Gate of Christendom, a marker which is frequently evoked by scholarship but appears in papal letters as well.⁴⁶ After the defeat at Mohács and a period of turmoil caused by a double claim for the Hungarian throne, the events led to the formation of the Transylvanian Principality in 1570. Yet, the Principality was short-lived, from 1687 it was attached to the Habsburg Empire. The dissertation offers a glimpse into these periods as well trying to provide insight into the afterlife of the monastic properties and illustrate their change of status and use. Yet, I must underline here, that the completeness of such a research on the post-medieval period would exceed the limits of my work. Also, I am aware that for a more complex research the earlier pre-monastic landscapes and environmental changes need to be included at some point.

In the dissertation I shall focus only on the territory of the historic or medieval Transylvania, which actually means the 300-500 m high Transylvanian Plateau, the area comprised largely by the Eastern, Southern, and Western Carpathians. Areas later attached or handled together with Transylvania (e.g. the so-called Partium) are not discussed in this dissertation. A number of significant rivers run across Transylvania such as the Maros,

⁴⁶ Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Szamos, Körös, Küküllő, and Olt as well as their tributaries which form a network of valleys, ravines and canyons. The region is generally characterized by a high number of smaller and larger river valleys, hilly areas (frequently with terraces), and dense forests (preserving one the most extended areas of woodland pastures in Europe besides Spain and France⁴⁷). The territory of Transylvania comprises three major vegetation zones: alpine, steppe⁴⁸, and forest.

Land organization, populations

The territory of Transylvania was incorporated into the Kingdom of Hungary beginning with the reign of King Stephen I (1001-1038)⁴⁹, who organized the territory into counties (*vármegye*), which in some cases were also archdeaconries (there is such a tendency only in northern Transylvania).⁵⁰ Most of the land was in royal possession. The first appearance of the title of Transylvanian voivode in written sources comes from the end of the twelfth century.⁵¹ Earlier mentionings refer only to the title of *ispán* or count (*comes*). They were the leaders invested with administrative, judicial, and military functions of the castle districts⁵² from the early eleventh century, but later dominantly of the counties. According to

⁴⁷ See more details on this topic: Tobias Plieninger et al., “Wood-pastures of Europe: Geographic coverage, social-ecological values, conservation management, and policy implications,” *Biological Conservation* 190 (2015): 70-79. A valuable database on the remarkable trees of Romania: <https://arboriremarcabili.ro/en/about-project/>.

⁴⁸ The term “steppe” used for Transylvania refers to the vegetation zones, the plant communities (similar to forest steppe or the steppe-like grassland in the Mezőség (Transylvanian Lowland) and not the physical geography.

⁴⁹ Most probably the southern part, south of Gyulafehérvár, was the last part to be incorporated. The existence of tenth-century cemeteries, which could be connected to the early Hungarians, discovered in other areas suggest an earlier incorporation of these territories, see: Erwin Gáll, “The Analysis of Churchyard cemeteries in the Transylvanian Basin from the 11th to the first half of the 13th century. On the Beginning of Institutionalized Christianity,” *Marisia* 33 (2013): 135-250. However, given the scarcity of the researched early medieval cemeteries and the low number of publications of the archaeological investigations, it cannot be excluded just yet that these existed. It is also likely that valuable data still lies in museum deposits.

⁵⁰ Gyula Kristó, *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon* [The formation of castle counties in Hungary] (Budapest: Magvető, 1988). In Transylvania the county system and the ecclesiastic administration do not always correspond to each other. Attila Zsoldos, “A megyeszervezés kezdetei a Magyar Királyságban (Az “óriás” és az “átlagos” nagyságú megyék kérdése) [The initiations of county-organisation in the Hungarian Kingdom (The problem of “giant” and “average”-sized counties)],” in *Megyetörténet. Egyház- és igazgatástörténeti tanulmányok a veszprémi püspökség 1009. évi adománylevele tiszteletére* [County History. Church and administration historical studies in the honor of the donation charter from 1009 of the bishopric in Veszprém], ed. István Hermann and Balázs Karlinszky (Veszprém: A Veszprémi Érseki és Főkáptalani Levéltár és a Veszprém Megyei Levéltár, 2010), 299-318.

⁵¹ László Makkai, ed., *Erdély Története. A kezdetektől 1606-ig* [The history of Transylvania. From the Beginnings to 1606], vol. 1, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986), 285-291.

⁵² A fortress and the royal lands attached to it. To read more on the subject of the *ispán* in the Hungarian Kingdom, see: Erik Fügedi, *Ispánok, bárók, kiskirályok* [Ispáns, barons, oligarchs] (Budapest: Magvető Könyvkiadó, 1986); Idem, *Castle and society in medieval Hungary (1000-1437)* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986); see also: Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526* (London, New York: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2001), Erik Fügedi, *Kings, bishops, nobles and burghers in Medieval Hungary* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1986). For the early period: Béla Köpeczi, *History of Transylvania* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994).

the historians the submission of the territory of Transylvania under the administration of the voivode was finalized in 1268, when the function of the voivode and the *ispán* of Szolnok was unified. The seven *comites castri/comites comitatus/comites provinciae* were subordinated to the voivode together with the counties of Bereg, Hunyad, and Belső-Szolnok. Each castle district fulfilled several functions.

Transylvania comprised a number of territories called land or region, such as the Székely Land (*Terra Siculorum*), Fogaras Land, Saxon Land or Royal Land (*Fundus Regius*). Some of these lands belonged to populations and communities of privileged status, and were later organized into seats or chairs (Fig. 1). For example, the Saxon Lands were organized into seats during the reign of Charles I of Hungary (1310-1342).⁵³

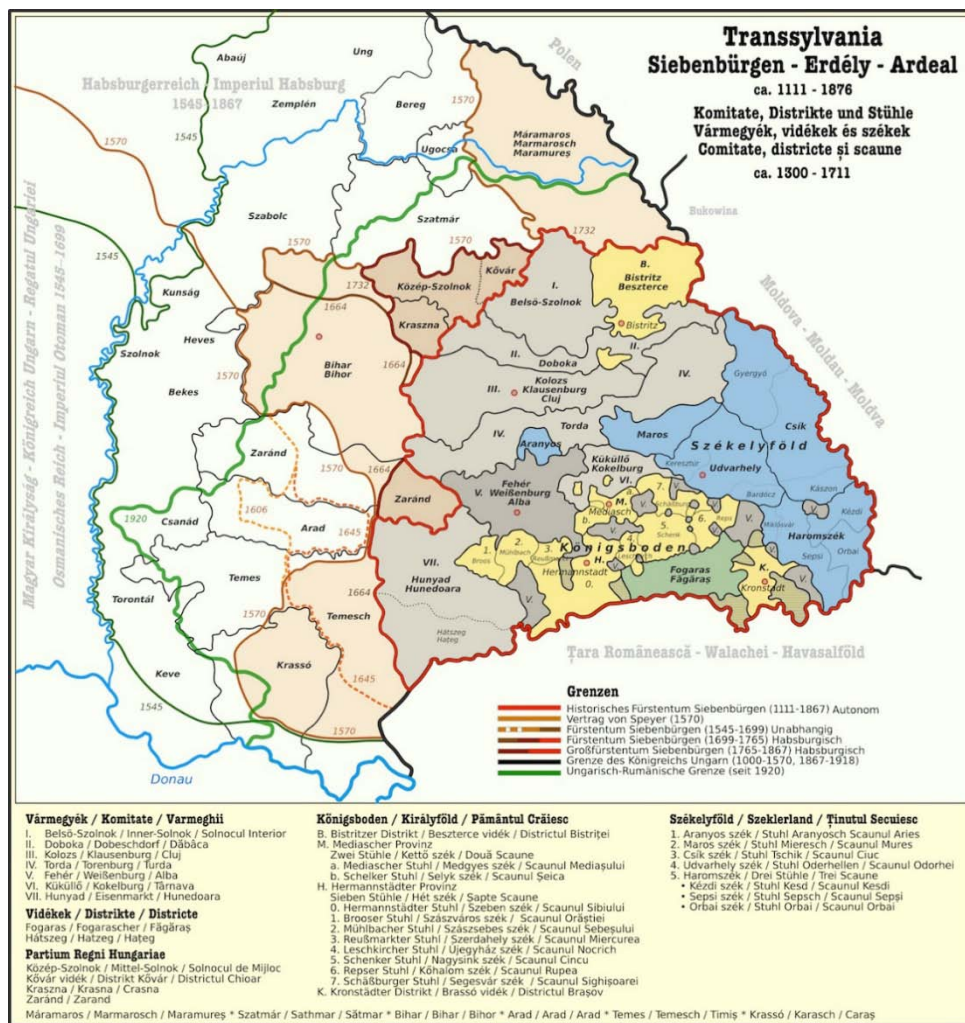


Fig. 1. Transylvania with the counties, lands, and districts

(https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b7/Sieben%C3%BCrgen_1300-1867.jpg)

⁵³ Attila Zsoldos, "Károly és a városok [Charles and the towns]," in *Pénz, posztó, piac. Gazdaságtörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról*, ed. Boglárka Weisz (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2016), 267-283.

Besides the castle districts and royal counties, the special status of Transylvania was defined also by the establishment of territories inhabited by border guard populations, who enjoyed certain privileges and exemptions granted by the kings of Hungary. Due to the scarcity of the written sources and the lack of other sources the earliest phase and circumstances of the settlement of the populations serving as border guards are in many cases still unclarified. However, here I shall attempt a short introduction and summary of what is known about them today.

Probably the earliest border guards were the Székelys⁵⁴, who first settled in the southern and eastern border regions of Transylvania, roughly in the eleventh century. Concerning their origins and time of settlement a variety of opinions can be found in literature, which shall not be discussed in detail here.⁵⁵ During the thirteenth century they were moved from their original settlement territory to the region where they live even today, to the Kézdivásárhely Basin, where they formed three Seats (Sepsi, Kézdi, and Orbai). Their relocation can be connected to the invitation of a new border guard population and the threat of the Cuman attack and the advance of the Byzantine Empire.

The colonization of Transylvania with German population began during the reign of Géza II (1141-1162). The main task of these colonists was to defend the southeastern border of the Hungarian Kingdom. The first wave arrived in the territory around Nagyszeben from Luxembourg and the Moselle River region. A second wave of colonists arrived at the beginning of the thirteenth century from the Rhineland, southern Low Countries, Thuringia, Bavaria, and even from modern-day France. A settlement was centered on the town of Nösen, which later became Beszterce and the region was known as Nösnerland. The areas inhabited by the German population, known under the general term Saxons, extended largely up to the Hortobágy River, and to the foot of the Szeben Alps/Cindrel Mountains and the Sebes Mountains.⁵⁶ A later phase of German settlement took place in the Barcaság as the result of the presence of the Teutonic knights (invited by Andrew II), which even though it was a short-lived project (1211-1224) it had a long-term impact on the region.

⁵⁴ Along the Middle Ages they were regarded as affined to the Hungarians but still a different, independent ethnic group.

⁵⁵ See relevant, up-to-date literature: Elek Benkő, *A középkori Székelyföld* [The medieval Székely Land] vol. 1 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2012), 1-97, 171-196.

⁵⁶ Gustav Gündisch, *Aus Geschichte und Kultur der Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Köln, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1987), 3-36; Konrad Gündisch, ed., *Generalprobe Burzenland* (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2013).

Documentary sources reveal much less about the appearance and status of the Romanians, attested by the sources as Blachs/Vlachs in medieval Transylvania.⁵⁷ Romanian population (more precisely *Blacci*) was attested in 1223, in a donation charter, which gave lands to Kerc Abbey.⁵⁸ Then, the *Diploma Andreanum*, issued in 1224 by King Andrew II (1205-1235), which listed the liberties of the German population (*hospites*) invited to settle in Transylvania in the region of Nagyszeben also mentioned Romanians, again as Blachs.⁵⁹ Little is known about their early land organization and power structures, more information is available from the fourteenth century (from the region of Hátszeg). Along the Middle Ages they were attested in various regions of Transylvania.⁶⁰

2.2. OVERVIEW OF THE MONASTIC ORDERS IN TRANSYLVANIA

In the following part I shall discuss the short history of the four religious communities that are studied in this dissertation and their presence in medieval Transylvania with special focus on their research history, newest research possibilities and trends, trying to build up the overall picture of the various monastic landscapes of the region. As already noted above, this analysis does not include the network of mendicant orders and others thus, it is a partial analysis of Transylvanian monastic landscapes. The discussions on the various religious communities contain also a short historic summary of the known monasteries in Transylvania. Due to the lack of sufficient sources the nunneries shall not be discussed in a separate chapter but will be included in the discussion of their order's analyzed monastery.

⁵⁷ Șerban Papacostea, *Between the Crusade and the Mongol Empire* (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Cultural Foundation, 1998).

⁵⁸ UB I, 26-28/38, EO I, 158-159/125.

⁵⁹ The original text was not preserved but it is known from a confirmation of the *Diploma Andreanum* by King Charles I (also known as Charles Robert of Anjou, 1308-1342) issued in 1317. The document mentions that a certain "*silva Blacorum et Bissenorum*" together with its waters was given to the Saxons to use it together with the Romanians and the Pechenegs, see in UB I, 33-35/43 or the original MNL OL, DF 244568.

⁶⁰ *Erdély Története*, vol. 1, 301-305. For the newest, up-to-date views, see: Florin Curta, *Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages (500-1300)* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2019), 381-388.

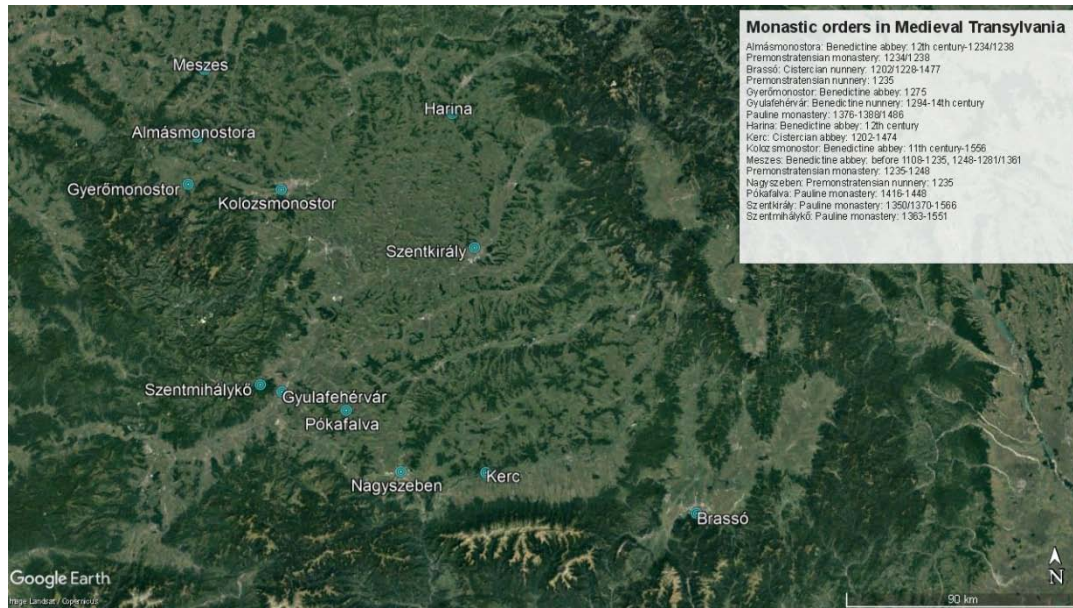


Fig. 2. Monastic orders in medieval Transylvania

2.2.1. The Benedictines

Overview of the research history and aims of the present research

The research and study of the Benedictines on the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom goes back for a long time in the scholarship, and certain points and events of their history are well clarified, while other topics are still biased and sketchy.⁶¹ Due to the source availability a number of histories of the greater abbeys are reconstructed and published but for instance the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century developments and characteristics of the Benedictine abbeys are only partly known and most of them are limited to generalities taken over from the west European examples. Thus, an almost unknown territory is the material culture connected to Benedictine abbeys, which would supply information and details on the daily life of the communities. Also, the analysis of animal bones found in excavations is totally missing, even though with their inclusion the diet of an entire Benedictine abbey could be reconstructed, which then would allow further comparative analyses of regional or local characteristics of production and animal husbandry. A strong bias can be observed in the literature because of the availability and the nature of the sources. While the written materials can be accessed relatively easily, the collection of archaeological data is more time consuming. In Transylvania large-scale excavations took place generally in the 1980s or earlier and the materials were seldom published integrally. Nowadays it is difficult to access most of the

⁶¹ One of the main works concerning the Benedictines but important also for the research of the Hungarian Middle Ages: László Erdélyi and Pongrác Sörös, ed., *A Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története* [The history of the Order of Saint Benedict in Pannonhalma] vols. 1-12 (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1902-1916). Henceforth PRT.

documentations or materials gathered from excavations. Also, the written material is again limited to certain topics and issues connected to an abbey, so they automatically restrict the topics that can be researched through them. The same is with the archaeological materials, they mostly provide evidence on topics that are not discussed by the written sources and only rarely do these two source types overlap.

Another rarely researched and almost unknown subject is the land use of the Benedictine abbeys, contrary to the Cistercians, where scholarship produced a number of reconstructions and analyses. Since the Benedictines did not form a centralized and controlled order such as the Cistercians, a general/standard Benedictine land use pattern does not exist; instead, each Benedictine abbey developed its own specific land use and economy. Studies and analyses on the history of the properties and economy of certain Benedictine abbeys, and aspects of economic activity are more frequent, given the bountiful sources on this subject, however these do not go beyond the limits of the written evidence.⁶² A significant part of the charter evidence can be linked to certain monasteries however, because of their activity as places of authentication most of the charters do not reveal anything about the monastery itself or about its economy or estates. Only more recently did researchers include ethnographic or archaeological parallels for supplementing written evidence on economy and production.⁶³

Given the newest research trends that a subject can be analyzed in a multi- or interdisciplinary way or even through a holistic view, the perception and possibilities of the investigator unfold and expand towards various fields of research (such as cartography, topography, landscape archaeology, digital tools, toponymy etc.). The newest approach can be used for the Benedictine abbeys as well even if it has not been used before. In the next chapter I shall attempt to identify sites where a holistic approach to the land use of the Transylvanian Benedictine monasteries can work or whether such an analysis can supply new results or in-

⁶² László Erdélyi, *Az egyházi vagyon eredete és jellege Magyarországon* [The origin and character of church property in Hungary] (Budapest 1913); Pongrácz Sörös, “A komáromi rév és vám 1373-tól 1490-ig [The ferry and toll at Komárom from 1373 to 1490],” *Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Szemle* 7 (1900): 138-141; Ferenc Maksay, “Benedekrendi gazdálkodás Tihanyban a XIII-XIV. századi struktúraváltozás idején [Benedictine economy in Tihany during the time of the structural change of the 13th and 14th centuries],” *Somogy megye múltjából* 3 (1972): 3-11; László Solymosi, “Albeus mester összeírása és a pannonhalmi apátság tatárjárás előtti birtokállománya [The conscription of Master Albeus and the estates of Pannonhalma abbey before the Mongol invasion],” in *Mons Sacer 996–1996. Pannonhalma 1000 éve*, vol. 1, ed. Imre Takács (Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Főapátság, 1996), 515-526; Gergely Kiss, “A szerzetesi intézmények gazdálkodása [The economy of the monastic institutions],” in *A pécsi egyházmegye története* [The history of the diocese of Pécs], vol.1, eds. Tamás Fedeles, Gábor Sarbak, and József Sümegei (Pécs: Fény, 2009), 465-484.

⁶³ Szabó, “A kolozsmonostori bencés apátság”; Laszlovszky, “Középkori kolostorok,” 337–349; József Laszlovszky and Beatrix F. Romhányi, “Cathedrals, monasteries and churches: The archaeology of ecclesiastic monuments,” in *Hungarian archaeology at the turn of the millennium* (Budapest: Ministry of National Cultural Heritage and Teleki László Foundation, 2003), 372-377.

depth knowledge of these communities, which could not be reached before due to the nature of the sources. Such a research requires an extended knowledge and gathering of the different types of useful sources, their collection and systematization over a larger period of time.

Research possibilities and source availability

The Benedictine abbeys in Transylvania enjoyed certain interest in historiography, and many specialists have dealt with their history or built heritage. However, research is sometimes biased and lacks depth and context. As a general tendency one can find more literature on the larger abbeys of the Middle Ages that have a greater number of written sources available for research (such as Kolozsmonostor) also because these large abbeys had an extended administration. However, some of the abbeys were treated only superficially and sometimes erroneously by earlier scholarship. In the following, I intend to provide a general overview of the Benedictine houses founded on the territory of medieval Transylvania in the light of the available sources and German, Hungarian, and Romanian literature. As one may presume, most scholarship written on the subject of the Benedictine houses was produced by Hungarian historians and art historians starting from the nineteenth century up until today.⁶⁴ German historiography barely touched the subject of Benedictine abbeys in Transylvania, while Romanian scholarship approached it mainly through the prism of architecture and art history.

⁶⁴ The literature that deals with the histories of the Benedictine abbeys in Hungary is quite vast therefore, here, I shall only highlight the most important general works which also contain information on the abbeys in Transylvania: Damianus Fuxhoffer, *Monasteriologia Regni Hungariae* (Pestini, 1858); Pongrácz Sörös, *Az elenyészett bencés apátságok* [The vanished Benedictine abbeys] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1912); Vasile Drăguț, *Arta gotică în Transilvania* [Gothic Art in Transylvania] (București: Editura Meridiane, 1979); Lajos Csóka, *Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums in Ungarn* (München: Ungarisches Institut München, 1980); Levente Hervay F., “A középkori monostorok jegyzéke [The register of medieval monasteries],” in *Népek nagy nevelője...Szent Benedeknek, Európa védőszentjének emlékezete* [To Saint Benedict, for the memory of Europe’s patron saint], ed. A. Szennay (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1981), 498-503; Ádám Somorjai, “Bencés monostorok Magyarországon a X-XVI. században” [Benedictine abbeys in Hungary in the 10th and 16th century] *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok. Regum* 8 (1996): 9-14; Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* [Monasteries and collegiate chapters in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000); Adrian Andrei Rusu et al., *Dicționarul mănăstirilor din Transilvania, Banat, Crișana și Maramureș* [Dictionary of monasteries from Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, and Maramureș] (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară, 2000). In the case of the Benedictine abbeys it can be observed that scholarship focused more on the reconstruction of the history of individual houses and did not discuss too often the history of the whole evolution and spread of the Benedictines. In my opinion this can be partly ascribed to the character of the Benedictines, who were never organized to such an extent as were the Cistercians for example, where one can find an extended literature dealing with the history of the evolution, spread and filiation of the order, giving a broader context for understanding the complex connections they have built along the centuries.

Written sources and specialized scholarship keeps track of five Benedictine abbeys and one nunnery on the territory of medieval Transylvania.⁶⁵ The first and largest Benedictine abbey on the territory of Transylvania was Kolozsmonostor dedicated to the Holy Virgin, founded most probably by King Ladislaus I (1077-1095). A second foundation of a monastery took place in the Meszes hills, the founder being probably prince Álmos and dedicated to St. Margaret of Antioch, and called frequently by sources *Mezesapath*. The other Benedictine houses were smaller (Nagyalmás, Harina, and Magyargyerőmonostor) and were supposedly founded by various noble families.⁶⁶ However, the possibility of some of the smaller foundations being connected to the royal family cannot be excluded (e.g. Harina). No other royal foundations took place in the coming period. It is striking that most of the Benedictine houses ceased to exist already in the thirteenth (Nagyalmás, Harina, and Magyargyerőmonostor) and fourteenth (Meszes and the nunnery in Gyulafehérvár) centuries or were taken over by the Premonstratensians for various periods (Nagyalmás – 1294, 1320; Meszes – 1235).⁶⁷ This can be connected to a general tendency that took place on the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom, when in the fourteenth century the number of Benedictine houses decreased by half.⁶⁸ The decrease was documented also by Pope Clement VI in 1344.⁶⁹ In the fourteenth century new Benedictine houses were not founded anymore, and due to the fusion of landed properties and the taking over of Benedictine abbeys by other orders the decline continued in the fifteenth century as well. In the same time, a number of reforms existed which did not mean a rise in the number of the monasteries but several were stabilized.⁷⁰ The

⁶⁵ See the comprising dictionaries on the subject, just mentioned in the previous footnote, by Romhányi and Rusu, with maps.

⁶⁶ On the topic of private foundations, see: Péter Levente Szócs, “Private Monasteries of Medieval Hungary (eleventh to fourteenth centuries): A case study of the Ákos kindred and its monasteries” (PhD diss., Central European University, 2014).

⁶⁷ The attempt was probably due to the increasing number of people living in the region and the fact that ecclesiastic prescriptions were taken more seriously after the Lateran Council. Besides, the Benedictines were not allowed to serve in pastoral care. It is not fully understood why the Premonstratensians could not establish themselves. It is a general problem in Eastern Hungary.

⁶⁸ See on the topic the work of Elemér Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* [Church society in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 212. Few ideas concerning the late medieval history and the changes which took place within the Benedictine communities in: Beatrix F. Romhányi, “A középkori magyar királyság kolostorhálózatának sorsa az újkor hajnalán [The fate of the monastic network of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom in the dawn of modern],” in *Egyházi társadalom a Magyar Királyságban a 16. században* [Church society in the Kingdom of Hungary in the sixteenth century], ed. Szabolcs Varga and Lázár Vértesi (Pécs: Pécsi Egyháztörténeti Intézet, 2017), 253-270.

⁶⁹ MNL OL, DF 207181, Levente Hervay F., “A bencések és apátságai története a középkori Magyarországon [The Benedictines and the history of their abbeys in medieval Hungary],” in *Paradisum Plantavit. Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary*, ed. Imre Takács (Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Főapátság, 2001), 466; PRT, vol. 2, nr. 130.

⁷⁰ On the monastic reforms of the Late Middle Ages in Hungary, see: Beatrix F. Romhányi, “A reform útja. Szerzetesi reformok a késő középkori Magyarországon (1445-1505) [The Ways of the Reform: Reforms of the Religious Orders in Late Medieval Hungary (1445-1505)],” in *Mátyás király és az Egyház* [King Matthias

only royal Benedictine abbey to survive in Transylvania, until its dissolution in 1556, was Kolozsmonostor.

In the following a short historic overview is provided for the known Benedictine monasteries in medieval Transylvania with special emphasis on each monastery's research opportunities and limitations. The largest Benedictine house Kolozsmonostor does not appear in the following list because it will be treated in detail in the coming chapter as a separate case study.

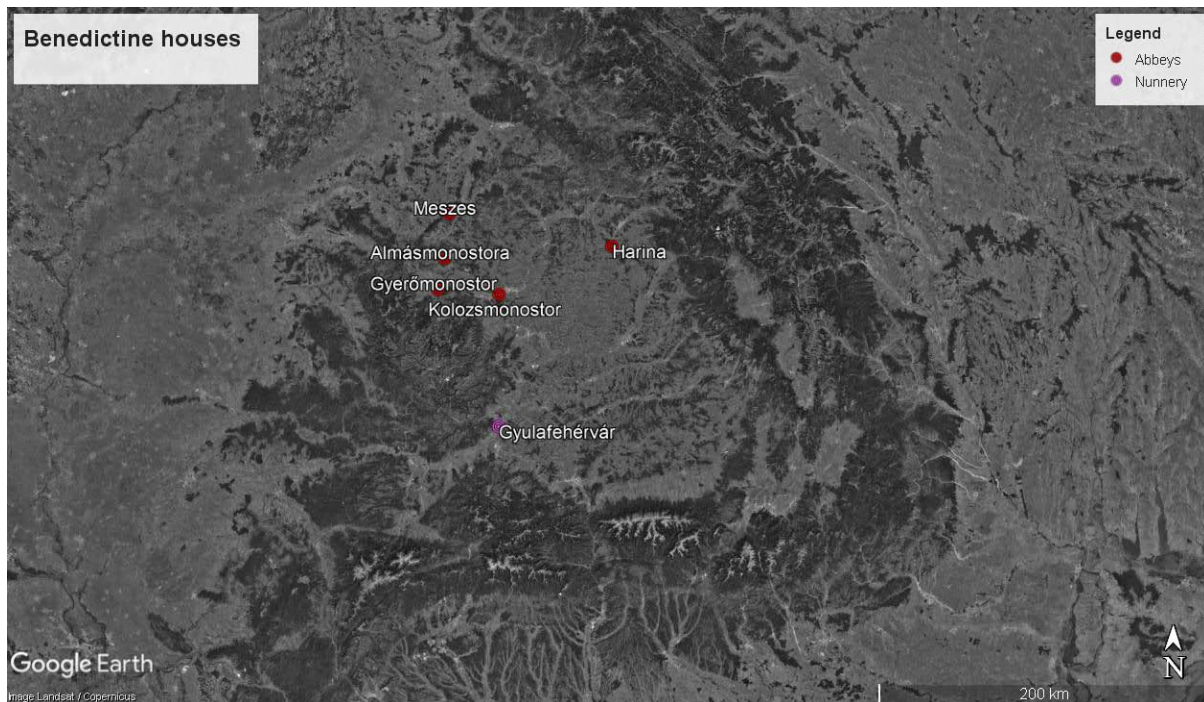


Fig. 3. Benedictine houses and nunneries in medieval Transylvania

Almásmonostora

The date of the foundation and the founder is unknown. Its first mentioning comes from 1234-1235, when it appeared in the list of Premonstratensian monasteries compiled by *Fredericus* (former abbot of Hamborn) during his visitation of the order's houses. Here, besides *Almásmonostora* the monastery of *Meszes* is mentioned as well.⁷¹ Additionally the three registers of the *Vetus Registrum* (compiled after 1264, the latest in 1270) also contains the same list of 43 Hungarian monasteries (five have not yet been identified).⁷² In this period the change of monastic orders within a monastery did not count as exceptional, the same

Corvinus and the Church], ed. Tamás Fedeles (Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem Egyháztörténeti Kutatóközpont, 2019), 233-251.

⁷¹ EO I, 180/176. In the well-known *Cartularium Ninivense* codex.

⁷² See the newest research on the Premonstratensian catalogues in Tamás Körömdi, "A 13. századi premontrei monostorjegyzékek magyar vonatkozásairól [Hungarian aspects of the thirteenth-century catalogues of monasteries of the Premonstratensian order]," *Történelmi Szemle* (2001/1-2): 61-72.

could be observed also for Csút and others. According to a papal letter from 1238 a certain *comes* Ladislaus (possibly Ladislaus I (?-after 1247) from the kindred Kán) occupied by force the monastery and chased away the Benedictine monks and installed the Premonstratensian canons in their place, who squandered and depleted their goods and then left. The pope ordered the investigation of the facts and requested to be sent for judgment to the curia.⁷³ In 1249, when Béla IV (1235-1270) donated the village to judge royal Paul, the monastery was not mentioned. It seems that the Benedictines did not return and the monastery was repopulated by the Premonstratensians as it appears in their registers (1294, 1320). In 1291-1296 in the tithe registers from Bishop Benedict the name *Almasmunustura* appears. Its name occurs for the last time in a perambulation from 1334/1335.⁷⁴ Thus, I shall discuss the monastery in more detail in the coming part dealing with the Premonstratensian provostries in Transylvania.

Gyerőmonostor

The monastery was presumably located in the village called today Magyargyerőmonostor, at the feet of the Gyalu Mountains. It was most likely a Benedictine monastery (the explicit affiliation of the monastery is not mentioned by documentary sources, and originally it might have been a collegiate chapter)⁷⁵ presumably founded by the Mikola family (but perhaps only patrons and not founders), mentioned for the first and only time in 1275, in a donation, which according to Zs. Jakó is a nineteenth century forgery.⁷⁶ In 1332 only the tithes paid by the village priest are mentioned. The lack of written data and the actual remains of a cloister make the development and research of this topic almost impossible. What remains to work with is the settlement's name which translates as the monastery of Gyerő (*Gyerőmonostor*), and the size and decorations of the church that would indicate a monastery.⁷⁷ Unless archaeological excavations take place in the surroundings of the church new data cannot be brought into the research. Available historic maps do not contain any details on additional buildings connected to the church and possible properties of the abbey are not known. It might have been sustained only through direct incomes.

Gyulafehérvár

⁷³ EO I, 183/187; DIR C, vol. I, 316-317, 414.

⁷⁴ EO II, 292/806. MNL OL, DF 254782.

⁷⁵ I thank Beatrix Romhányi for her insights on this problematic matter.

⁷⁶ EO I, 237/338. The original document is unknown.

⁷⁷ For a ground plan and description of the church, see: Vincze Bunyitay, *A váradai püspökség története alapításától jelenkorig* [The history of the bishopric of Oradea from its foundation until the present day] (Nagyvárad, 1883), vol. 2, 353-360.

Concerning the nunnery in Gyulafehérvár only few observations can be put forward. It was the only known Benedictine nunnery that existed in Transylvania if one does not count the single mentioning of the events from 1406 when a dispute broke out between the abbey of Kerc and the female residents (*seculares mulieres/soror*) of the house next to the Catherine Chapel in Brassó *sub obedientia abbatis monasterii sancte Marie in Candelis*.⁷⁸ According to the document the women joined the Benedictines but when the quarrels were settled they were allowed to return to the Cistercians.⁷⁹ In general, the number of nunneries in the Kingdom of Hungary is small if one does not take into consideration the nunneries of the mendicant orders, one can work only with few examples. Gyulafehérvár was the seat of the Transylvanian bishops thus, the nunnery could count on the protection of the bishops. The buildings which once belonged to the Benedictine nuns do not exist anymore, their location is unknown. Therefore, even though it would be an interesting subject to research, the possibilities are heavily limited by the scarcity of the sources and related finds. A first and only written mentioning of the Holy Spirit church comes from 1294/1347, when a certain John donated his land called *Pethelaka* (today Magyarpete in Co. Kolozs) to the nuns living there in the memory of his sister Elisabeth (who was also a nun at the same church).⁸⁰ The exact date of the foundation is unknown, and according to some the Transylvanian bishop could have been the founder. It disappeared during the fourteenth century.⁸¹ The appearance of the Benedictine nuns could have happened quite early, in 1289 a Dominican friary already functioned in the town, and in 1293 the presence of Augustinians was signaled for the first time in Gyulafehérvár.⁸²

Harina

Possibly a private (if not royal?) Benedictine monastery that was established and functioned in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The church which stands even today, can be dated to the 1250-1260s based on its well-preserved Romanesque features.⁸³ The remains of other buildings around the church are unknown, hypothesis exists that possibly additional

⁷⁸ Györffy, II, 151, 157. The lack of Benedictine nunneries throughout the Hungarian Kingdom is a general phenomenon; explanations are yet to be given.

⁷⁹ *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár* [Document collection from the Sigismund period], vol I-XIII, eds. Elemér Mályusz, Iván Borsa, and Norbert C. Tóth (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1951-2017). Henceforth ZsOkl. Here: ZsOkl II/1, 576/4698.

⁸⁰ EO, I, p. 303/531; MNL OL, DL 73654: "...ab remedium anime bone memorie domine Elyzabeth sororis...moniales ecclesie sancti spiritus de Alba dedit...".

⁸¹ Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 29; Rusu, *Dicționarul*, 47.

⁸² Rusu, *Dicționarul*, 47.

⁸³ Géza Entz, "Harina (Herina) románkori temploma [The Romanesque church of Harina (Herina)]," *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* III (1954): 20-33.

buildings would be preserved underground on its northern side. Harina was listed among the earliest landed estates of the Transylvanian bishop in 1264⁸⁴ and remained in his possession for about one and a half century, which would account for his *curia* (manor house) in the settlement. It is uncertain whether the bishop founded a Benedictine monastery on his land or not, according to Entz the monastic church ended up in the possession of the bishop after the Benedictines left or were expelled. Entz presented another perspective as well according to which Harina was a private foundation of the Kacsics family based on a perambulation of the family's Széplak estate received as donation.⁸⁵ The hypothesis might be right but the perambulation does not mention the village nor the monastery. It might have even been an early royal foundation which for unknown reasons could not be sustained or was given to the bishop. According to some scholars the church building bears all characteristic signs of kindred monasteries.⁸⁶ It is a three-apsed Romanesque church with two towers on its western façade.⁸⁷ Stylistic similarities can be observed with Romanesque architecture from western Hungary (e.g. Ják, Lébény, and Pannonhalma) but also with the church in Ákos or Nagykapornak.⁸⁸ In 1395 Harina was in royal possession which the king received from the bishop in exchange for the castle of Kecskés. It would be interesting to shed light on whether it was a private foundation or royal but for now the sources are too scanty.⁸⁹ The king donated Harina and its pertinences in 1402 to Anthony and John Somkerek⁹⁰ and in 1411 to Thomas Farkas. The church's correlation to the Benedictines is precarious even though it was an early foundation. Based on the written evidence it is not clear to which religious community did it belong. Most likely to the Benedictines. The village was established by the early German colonists before the Mongol invasion. The German name of the village is Münzdorf/Mönchsdorf meaning "monk's village", so the place name also offers a hint to the presence of a religious community. Perhaps future detailed archaeological investigations can shed light on the existence of additional claustral buildings.

⁸⁴ EO I, 190/201; MNL OL, DF 277178, 277250.

⁸⁵ Géza Entz, *Erdély építészete a 11-13. században* [Architecture in Transylvania between the eleventh and thirteenth century] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1994), 29.

⁸⁶ This art historical/architectural category in itself is problematic. See a detailed comparative study on Benedictine churches in the Árpád period: Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Bencés templomok az Árpád korban: korszakok és régiók [Benedictine churches in the Árpád age: periods and regions]," in *Örökség és küldetés: Bencések Magyarországon* (Rendtörténeti konferenciák 7/2), eds. Attila Pál Illés and Albin Juhász-Laczik OSB (Budapest: METEM, 2012), 753-763.

⁸⁷ For a detailed presentation: Corneliu Gaiu, *Biserica evanghelică Herina* [The Lutheran Church of Herina] (Cluj-Napoca: Accent, 2009).

⁸⁸ Entz, *Erdély építészete a 11-13. században*, 28-29.

⁸⁹ Szócs, "Private Monasteries".

⁹⁰ MNL OL, DL 73848.

Meszes⁹¹

The abbey located in the Meszes Mountains, possibly in the surroundings of today's village Mojgrád, near the Roman auxiliary camp, is one of the two royal foundations.⁹² Even though the location of the abbey falls on the borderline of medieval Transylvania, it is too important not to discuss its history and evolution in this chapter. Its foundation was linked to prince Álmos (1096-1106) based on a charter of King Stephen III, who dedicated it to Saint Margaret of Antioch, however the exact circumstances remain unknown.⁹³ Álmos could only have started the building the abbey in 1096 at the earliest, when he became lord of the duchy. However, he did not remain in this office for long because Coloman (1095-1116) seized the duchy from Álmos between 1098 and 1101-1102.⁹⁴ However, Álmos founded Dömös in 1107 thus, hypothetically perhaps the foundation of Meszes could have taken place even later. Based on the information that Benedictines were present in the entourage of Prince Álmos and they were the earliest monastic order that settled in Hungary, researchers have automatically connected the abbey to the Benedictines. However, early charters document important incomes donated to Meszes by the kings and queens. In 1165 King Stephen III (1162-1172) donated one rock salt (in money or in nature) to the monastery from the royal salt tax for the memory of his father (Géza II).⁹⁵ Queen Anna or Agnes of Antioch (1172-1184), wife of Béla III (1172-1196), donated the fifth part of the of the income of the custom of Zilah to the monastery (between 1173-1184).⁹⁶ Andrew II donated the land *Kelewa (terra)* to the monastery (mentioned as *ecclesia*) and instructed Gregory, son of *Chanad* to assign a new settlement area for the castle warriors living there (“duas mansions castrensium de Zonok”).⁹⁷ The abbey mentioned as belonging to a specific religious community comes from 1234-1235, when it was listed as a Premonstratensian provostry in the *Catalogus Ninivensis*

⁹¹ Recently I published a short article on the location of the abbey, in: Ünige Bencze, “The Abbey of Meszes: New Insights on the Site Location,” in *Genius Loci. Laszlovszky 60*, ed. Dóra Mérai et al. (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2018), 68-71.

⁹² The exact location of the site of the monastery is still debated. However, hypothesis exists based on the observations and excavations of Árpád Buday as well as on two recent excavation campaigns conducted in 2008 and 2009 (one of them under my leadership) within the Necropolis Porolissensis Project. Unfortunately, the results are not yet published but it can still be put forward that the part of the medieval cemetery unearthed in those two campaigns can most likely be linked to the abbey of Meszes (due to the quality of the stone works and small finds but also because of the coins).

⁹³ Dorottya Uhrin, “Antiochiai Szent Margit legkorábbi magyarországi kultusza [The earliest cult of Saint Margaret of Antioch in Hungary],” *Magyar Könyvszemle* 133, no. 1 (2017): 13-31.

⁹⁴ Gyula Kristó, *Magyarország története 895-1301* [The history of Hungary 895-1301] (Budapest: Osiris, 1998); Idem, *Early Transylvania 895-1324* (Budapest: Cholnoky, 2003); Attila Zsoldos, *Hercegek és hercegségek a középkori Magyarországon* [Princes and duchies in medieval Hungary] (Székesfehérvár: Városi Levéltár, 2016).

⁹⁵ EO I, 125/10; MNL OL, DL 76136.

⁹⁶ EO I, 126/11; MNL OL, DL 28573.

⁹⁷ EO I, 153/114; MNL OL, DL 105472.

but did not appear in the *Vetus Registrum*.⁹⁸ Sometime between 1264–1270 Queen Mary or Maria Laskarina (1235–1270), wife of Béla IV, confirmed the donation of the toll income from Zilah made earlier by Queen Anna.⁹⁹ In 1281 Queen Elisabeth or Elisabeth the Cuman (1270–1272), wife of Stephen V (1270–1272), at the request of abbot Stephen, gave back the fifth part of the toll income of Zilah to the monastery.¹⁰⁰ The next mentioning comes from as late as 1361, when king Louis I (1342–1382) donated the Meszes abbey with all its patronage rights and properties to *magister Jakch* and his five sons.¹⁰¹ The discussion on the monastic estates from this date shall be continued in the coming part under the Premonstratensian provostries.

2.2.2. The Cistercians

Overview of the research history and aims of the present research

Systematic research of the Cistercians on the territory of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary goes back to the turn of the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. These first studies concentrated primarily on the reconstruction of the histories of individual Cistercian monasteries based on the processing of written sources.¹⁰² Later, interest into the economic and social history of the Cistercians increased.¹⁰³ In the 1960s archaeological and art historic studies were elaborated, which focused mainly on the larger abbeys (such as Pilis¹⁰⁴, Szentgotthárd¹⁰⁵, Zirc¹⁰⁶, and Cikádor¹⁰⁷). For Transylvania the

⁹⁸ EO I, 180/176.

⁹⁹ EO I, 210/253; MNL OL, DL 28573.

¹⁰⁰ EO I, 256/389; MNL OL, DL 28573.

¹⁰¹ EO IV, 72/99.

¹⁰² Just to name a few: Remig Békefi, *A pilisi apátság története* [The History of Pilis Abbey] 3 vols. (Pécs: Taizs József, 1891–92); Egyed Bósz, *Az egresi ciszterci apátság története* [The History of the Cistercian Abbey of Egres] (Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda, 1911); Alán Baumgartner, *A kerci apátság a középkorban* [The Abbey of Kerc in the Middle Ages] (Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda, 1915).

¹⁰³ The first attempt at a reconstruction of estates and economy, see: Elek Kalász, *A szentgotthárdi apátság birtokviszonyai és a ciszterci gazdálkodás a középkorban* [The estates of Szentgotthárd Abbey and Cistercian management in the Middle Ages] (Budapest: Sárkány-Nyomda, 1932).

¹⁰⁴ László Gerevich, “Pilis Abbey, a Cultural Center,” *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 29 (1977): 155–198; Idem, “A pilisi ciszterci apátság [The Cistercian abbey of Pilis],” *Studia Comitatus* 17 (1985): 541–549.

¹⁰⁵ Ilona Valter, “Die archäologische Erschliessung des ungarischen Zisterzienserklosters Szentgotthárd,” *Analecta Cisterciensia* 38 (1982): 139–153.

¹⁰⁶ See the newest: Gergely Buzás, “Jelentés a zirci középkori ciszterci apátságban folytatott 2011. évi feltárásról [Report on the excavations at Zirc Abbey in 2011],” *Archeologia - Altum Castrum*, see: <http://archeologia.hu/content/archeologia/43/buzas-a-zirci-apatsag.pdf>; László Ferenczi, *A zirci ciszterci kolostor ásatása 2007-ben* [The excavation of the monastery of Zirc in 2007], accessible at: http://www.ocist.hu/user/browser/File/kozepkori_apatsag/Ferenczi-text-Hu.pdf

¹⁰⁷ Ilona Valter, *A cikádori, más néven Bába(széki) apátság története* [The history of the Cistercian Abbey of Cikádor, also known as Bába(szék)] (Budapest: METEM, 2015).

earliest archaeological research was initiated by Victor Roth in 1927 at Kerc.¹⁰⁸ Through archaeology the material culture of the Cistercians and ground plans of the abbeys were revealed but also details on production or economy could be observed. Two essential, synthesizing works on the Cistercian houses in Hungary, which are in use even today, were published at the end of the twentieth century.¹⁰⁹ At the end of the 1990s a number of scholars showed interest towards a re-interpretation and re-discussion of Cistercian economy.¹¹⁰ Recently a re-evaluation and detailed work was presented as a dissertation, applying the newest methodology, which focused on the analysis of the Cistercian economy throughout the Kingdom of Hungary.¹¹¹ This dissertation sheds new light on the economic practice of the Cistercians and refines the results of earlier presumptions. According to the newest research trends the study of monastic landscapes in Hungary is increasing¹¹² but still only few studies deal with the extended properties of the Cistercian abbeys.

Research possibilities and source availability

As the single Cistercian abbey founded on the territory of medieval Transylvania, Kerc enjoyed great scholarly interest. An extensive literature deals with its history and importance for the region as well as with the issues around its foundation and colonization activity. A review of the vast literature shall be presented in chapter 4, in order to give insight into the complexity of the topic. In respect of the available sources it has to be highlighted that the archival sources represented the starting point for the research, then the cartographic data and archaeological evidence, and finally the field walks and geophysical surveys. Due to the diversity of available sources, which in this case is fortunate, a revealing and complex picture of the land use of the abbey could be reconstructed, focused especially on the inner and outer precincts. For Kerc, due to the limitations in time as well as financial and human resources only a small part of the monastic properties (especially those that were close to the

¹⁰⁸ Victor Roth, "Raport despre săpăturile făcute la mănăstirea din Cârța săsească [Report about the excavations carried out at Saxon Cârța]," *Annuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice. Secția pentru Transilvania* (1929): 224-227.

¹⁰⁹ Ferenc L. Hervay, *Repertorium historicum ordinis Cisterciensis in Hungaria* (Roma: Editiones Cistercienses, 1984); Louis J. Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideal and Reality* (Ohio: Kent State University, 1977); and its Hungarian translation: Idem, *A Ciszterciek: eszmény és valóság* (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1991).

¹¹⁰ 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 and 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.

¹¹¹ See the fresh work of László Ferenczi, "Management of Monastic Landscapes. A spatial analysis of the Economy of Cistercian Monasteries in Medieval Hungary" (PhD diss., Central European University, Budapest, 2018).

¹¹² Laszlovszky, "Középkori kolostorok a tájban," 337–349.

abbey) could be investigated. Here, it must be noted that perambulations which could offer documentary details on land use are available only in a small number, therefore most of the analysis relies on the study of the landscape. As far as further research possibilities are concerned, with a larger team, adequate financial support and equipment the field survey of the landscape elements found on monastic properties would be feasible, since most are still small villages, where the landscape did not suffer large interventions.

Generally, three main periods can be distinguished in the history of the Cistercian order in Europe that also affected their settling in medieval Hungary. First, a dynamic beginning got underway in the 1140s, when the big expansion period of the order took place and the Cistercians arrived in the Hungarian Kingdom, with their first foundation in Cikádor.¹¹³ After this, a period with no new foundations followed. Then during the 1170s and 1180sa consolidation period ensued, with a big wave of foundations, but only in certain areas, for example in Hungary with its real first wave of foundations.¹¹⁴ After a pause, the beginning of the thirteenth century brought new foundations, especially on the edges of Europe (e.g. in the Iberian Peninsula, Wales, Ireland and Hungary) which were mainly royal foundations and direct *filiis* which indicate strong seigniorial support.¹¹⁵ On the territory of Hungary the last abbey to be taken over by the Cistercians was Szenttrinitás in 1303. Thus, the Cistercians acquired almost all their monasteries in less than one hundred years, most of these were founded for them and only six were taken over from the Benedictines.¹¹⁶ As it was observed by B. Romhányi, in Hungary most of the Cistercian monasteries were situated along important commercial routes or near market towns.¹¹⁷ Additionally, B. Romhányi and L. Ferenczi noted that the traditional Cistercian roles do not really appear in the case of the Hungarian foundations. In the same time, from this perspective Kerc is interesting because data shows that they were involved in land colonization.

As Chapter 4 of the dissertation deals exclusively with the Cistercian abbey of Kerc, its history shall be discussed there in the company of the scarcely documented nunnery.

¹¹³ Today in Bátorfő, more details on the foundation of the first houses, see: Koszta, "A ciszterci rend," 115-128.

¹¹⁴ Read more on the foundation waves in 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*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Katalin Szende (London: Routledge, 2016), 81-98.

¹¹⁵ Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 39; József Laszlovszky, *Angol-magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban* [English-Hungarian relationship in the middle ages] Vol. 1 (Máriabesnyő 2008): 143-171.

¹¹⁶ Romhányi, "The role of the Cistercians," 183.

¹¹⁷ Romhányi, "The role of the Cistercians," 188, 197, 199.

2.2.3. The Premonstratensians

Overview of the research history and aims of the present research

The Premonstratensians or the Order of Canons Regular of Premontr  following the Rule of St. Augustine and founded in 1120 by Norbert of Xanten settled on the territory of medieval Hungary relatively early.¹¹⁸ The order was approved by Pope Honorius II in 1126. Invited by King Stephen II (1116-1131) directly from Premontr , the canons founded their first provostry on a hill located to the north of the town of Nagyv rad (today in Romania), on the right bank of the River Sebes-K r s. The place of the first provostry to which the sources refer to was called *V radhegyfok*¹¹⁹ and most of the other Premonstratensian foundations happened from there. The *Catalogus Ninivensis*¹²⁰, the earliest preserved list of provostries from 1235, kept count of twenty male houses and two nunneries. The catalogue was studied and published by Norbert Backmund.¹²¹ The  rp d Age history of the Premonstratensian provostries on the territory of Hungary was written by Ferenc Oszvald,¹²² based on the charter evidence and preserved lists of the order. He enumerated altogether thirty-two provostries, even though data concerning some of these are precarious (e.g. the foundation date, founder and patron saint are not known). Newer research however brought forward unused registers which are equally important for the research of the Hungarian provostries.¹²³ Concerning the architecture and the ground plans of the researched Premonstratensian provostries new studies drew attention to the fluidity, variety of styles and to the knowledge transfer between the monastic orders in terms of architectural concepts.¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ For a comprehensive overview of the order in Europe, see: James Bond, "The Premonstratensian order: a preliminary survey of its growth and distribution in medieval Europe," in *In search of a cult. Archaeological investigations in honour of Philip Rahtz*, ed. Martin Carver (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1993), 153-185.

¹¹⁹ Since the documentary sources refer to the priory under the name *V radhegyfok*, throughout the dissertation I shall use this name.

¹²⁰ The original was lost but a fifteenth century copy still exists in the archives of the Premonstratensians. The list was compiled by Frederikus at the request of the Premonstratensian order between 1236 and 1241, when he visited the priories in the province or circary of Hungary (*Circaria Hungariae*) and enlisted them. This catalogue is important also because it contains the very first mentioning of the town of Brass  and a Premonstratensian nunnery which existed there: "*In Hungaria assignata est paternitas Dyocesis Cumanie: Corona*".

¹²¹ Norbert Backmund, *Monasticon Praemonstratense* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1983).

¹²² Ferenc Oszvald, "Adatok a magyarorsz gi premontreiek  rp d-kori t rt net hez [Data to the  rp d Age history of the Premonstratensians in Hungary] *M vészett rt neti  rtesit * 2-3 (1957): 231-254; See also: Ferenc Oszvald, *A magyarorsz gi k z pkori premontrei pr posts gok [The Premonstratensian priories of medieval Hungary]* (Budapest: 1939). Altogether nine medieval catalogues/registers had been identified which contain lists of the Premonstratensian provostries. F. Oszvald had published the data about the provostries in Hungary from only four out of these nine. The remaining five are detailed in the work of N. Backmund.

¹²³ K rmendi, "A 13. sz zadi premontrei monostorjegyz kek," 61-72.

¹²⁴ Alice D. Mezey, *T rje – Premontrei pr posts g* [T rje – Premonstratensian provostry] (Budapest: TKM Egyes let, 1999); Csilla M. Aradi and Istv n Moln r, *Premontrei monostor felt r sa B rudvarnokon* [The excavation of the Premonstratensian monastery in B rudvarnok] (Visegr d: M ty s Kir ly M zeum, 2014); B la Zsolt Szak cs, "Gyulafir t t, avagy a rendi  p t szeti hagyom nyok  tj rhat s ga [Gyulafir t t or the

Amongst all these provostries at most ten of them were royal foundations (Váradhegyalja, Jászó, Csút, and Margit sziget/Nyulak szigete etc.) while the others were founded by influential lay or religious persons. Premonstratensian provostries were located only on the northwestern boundary of medieval Transylvania, at *Meszes* and *Almásmonostor*, and two nunneries in Brassó and Nagyszeben, which most probably did not survive the Mongol invasion (Fig. 4).

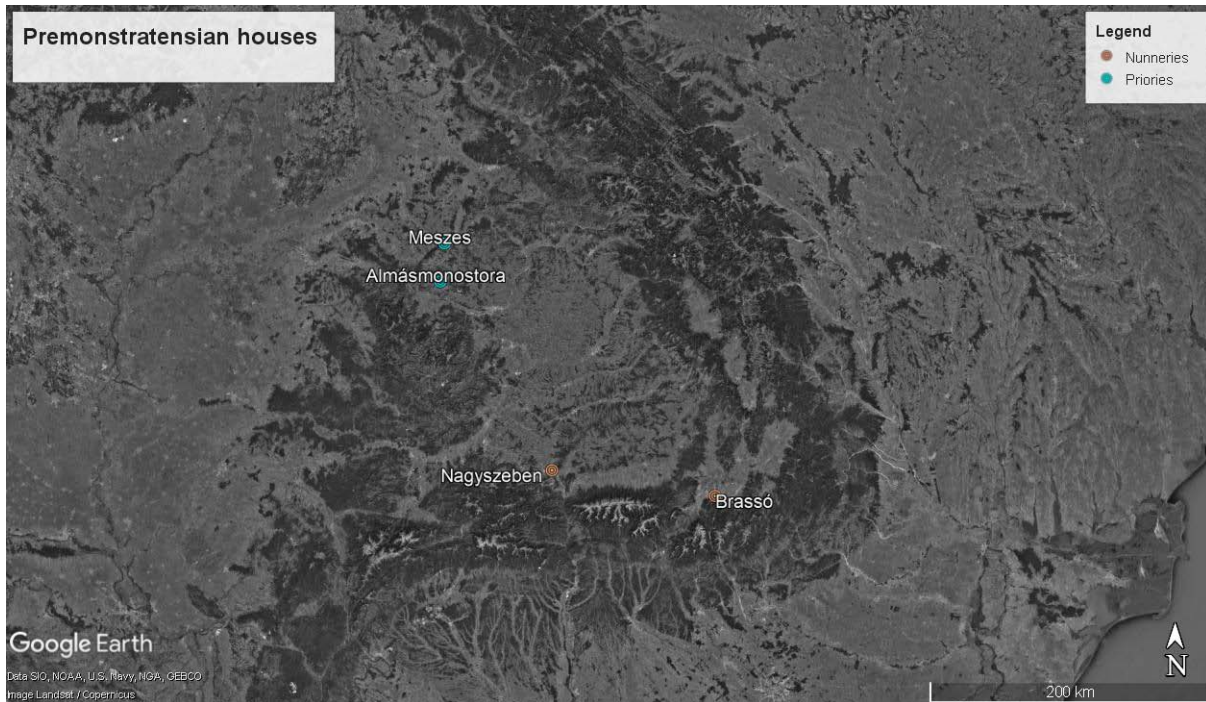


Fig. 4. Premonstratensian provostries and nunneries in medieval Transylvania

The earliest mentioning of all the provostries from Transylvania are contained in one source, in the aforementioned *Catalogus Ninivensis*. Additional sources contain scattered and brief information concerning their history. As mentioned above both *Meszes* and *Almásmonostor* in their earliest stage were Benedictine abbeys later taken over by the Premonstratensians. Little is known whether the Premonstratensians owned lands¹²⁵, and if they did, how was their administration organized or what kind of economy they pursued. The order was greatly influenced by the Cistercian ideals but followed the Rule of St. Augustine and the members of the community were not monks but regular canons, which meant that

permeability of the architectural traditions of the monastic orders],” in *Genius Loci. Laszlovszky 60*, ed. Dóra Mérai et al. (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2018), 19-25; Csilla M. Aradi and István Molnár, “Kísérlet a bárudvarnok-szentbenedeki premontrei prépostság környezeti rekonstrukciójára [An attempt at the environmental reconstruction of the Premonstratensian priory in Bárudvarnok-Szentbenedek],” in *Genius Loci. Laszlovszky 60*, ed. Dóra Mérai et al. (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2018), 73-76.

¹²⁵ In Western Europe, where the written sources were preserved to a higher degree it is clear that the Premonstratensians received donations of lands and possessions, for example: Bellelay, Tichfield etc.

their work included preaching and pastoral ministry. Sources are few and even those are silent about the lands or donations the Premonstratensians received in Transylvania.

Perhaps *Meszes* can be pointed out as an exception, it is the only Premonstratensian provostry on the border of medieval Transylvania about which late fourteenth-century sources indicate that owned lands.¹²⁶ The earliest mentioning of a property comes from around 1220-1230, when King Andrew II donated a land (*terra*) called *Kelewa/Kelevia* to the abbey of St. Margaret, without detailing the type of land.¹²⁷ The abbot of the monastery appeared in documents for the last time in 1281 in a grant of the income of tolls of Zilah.¹²⁸ In 1361¹²⁹ the monastery (as named in the sources) was donated to a lay nobleman, *magister Jakch de Kusal*¹³⁰ for his services. Soon after the donation, the family entered into litigations with the Dobokai family for the ownership of the abbey, which lasted until 1365 when they won the lawsuit.¹³¹ The litigation was restarted in 1368 by Ladislaus Vitéz and the parts reached an agreement, according to which they divided all the properties of the monastery into two equal parts. In addition, *magister Jakch* received the deserted monastic village called *Kerua* – the earlier mentioned *Kelewa* (which lay next to Kusaly), and half of the property named *Külsősolymos* (unidentified location).¹³² The first source to offer a list of the monastic properties by their name comes only from 1385: *Nyrsed–Nyirsid*, *Maygrad–Mojgrád*, *Warteleke–Vártelek*, *Kerykapatak–Karika*, *Beryd–Beréd*, and *Monosturpatak* (abbey stream) (disappeared). Another enumeration comes from 1386¹³³, when a representative from the collegiate chapter of Várad was sent out to introduce the sons of the late *magister Jakch* into the possession of the abbey and its lands (two additional lands were mentioned: *Kusal* and *Zakachy–Érszakácsi*). The two lists contain the names of villages from the surroundings of the presumed location of the abbey (Fig. 5). The original, early medieval structure of the monastic lands is unknown but the differences between the two lists might imply that the monastic

¹²⁶ See the detailed study: Bencze, “The Abbey of Meszes,” 68-71.

¹²⁷ EO I, 153/144, preserved in a later document issued by palatine Miklós Garai: MNL OL, DL 105472.

¹²⁸ See the abstract and the document: EO I, 256/389; MNL OL, DL 28573.

¹²⁹ King Louis I donated on the 2nd of February 1361 to *magister Jakch de Kusal/Gusal*, knight of the queen and official of Modur and Mogina, and his five sons the ruined abbey of St. Margaret called *Mezesapath*, located in the *Mezees* Mountains with its patronage rights and all its pertinences. See: EO IV, 72/99; MNL OL, DF 254796, 254799.

¹³⁰ Tamás Emödi, “A Kusalyi Jakcsok származása és címeres emlékei [The origins and coats of arms of the Jakcs family of Kusaly],” *Turul* 69 (1996): 57-66.

¹³¹ DRH C, XII, 454-468/436.

¹³² EO IV, 272/677; MNL OL, DL 96433.

¹³³ ANR: CJ-F-00460-2-36, also CJ-F-004060-2-37.

lands were the ones enlisted in 1385.¹³⁴ Also, it cannot be discerned which lands were received during the Benedictine presence and which perhaps during the Premonstratensian management. However, most likely this state cannot be traced back to the early periods. Given the already abandoned state of the monastery in 1361 its original property structure must have suffered alterations as well. Nothing can be said about the exact extent of the lands or their use since detailed perambulations did not survive.

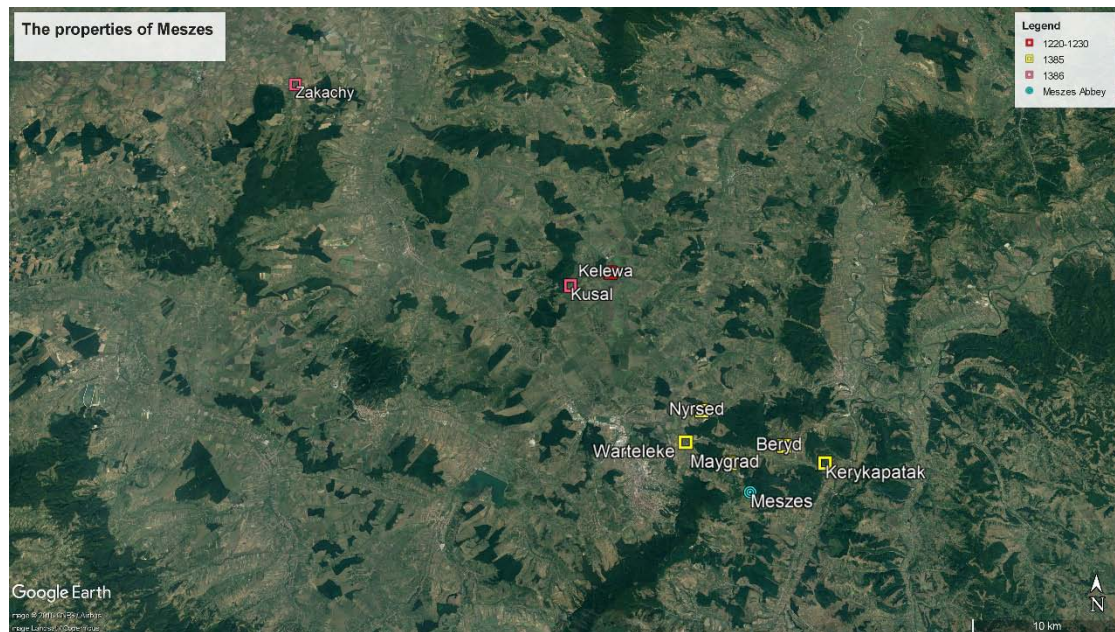


Fig. 5. The documented properties of Meszes Abbey

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century witness examinations located the toponyms *Monostor* and *Monostorpatak* between the villages of Mojgrád and Zsákfalva. Even though a number of attempts were made to locate the site of the abbey, it seems that the closest identification was made by Árpád Buday in 1914.¹³⁵ He excavated on the border of the two villages, in a place called *Pometul– Dealul Bisericii*, where he revealed a Roman house, which was later filled up and used for unclarified purposes. Various burials (simple burials and tombs built of bricks – some of which contained also medieval bricks) were dug into its walls. Buday distinguished two differently oriented inhumations (NW-SE and W-E). The unearthed finds contained medieval coins¹³⁶ (from the twelfth to the fourteenth century) and

¹³⁴ Kusal was the family's ancestral property, where according to a confirmation charter, issued by King Louis I, a weekly fair could be held, see: EO III, 268/724; MNL OL, DF 254797. It is likely that at the time Érszakácsi was part of the family's estates.

¹³⁵ See the excavation report: Árpád Buday, "Porolissumból. Jelentés az 1914. évi munkálatokról [From Porolissum. Report of the works from 1914]," *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum Érem- és Régiséggyűjtéséből* VI (1915): 51-95.

¹³⁶ The earliest issued probably by Coloman, then Béla II, Béla III, Ladislaus IV, Charles I, and Louis I.

worked stone fragments¹³⁷, which could distinctly be connected to medieval architecture. Á. Buday noted that the territory was disturbed in more places, and because of it the finds were mixed.

More recent excavations and geophysical survey was initiated in 2008 and 2009 on the Pomet hill, the results of which have not been published. The geophysical survey resulted in a complex map of Roman roads, fire places, traces of earlier trenches and buildings from at least two construction periods (a Roman and a post-Roman building activity).¹³⁸ Only one trench was opened, which contained a high number of successive burials, indicating a prolonged and intensive use of the space (with graves generally oriented NW-SE; and rarely W-E).¹³⁹ Based on the stratigraphy, a coin issued by King Stephen III, and the fact that some of the burials were dug into a Roman wall the inhumations were dated to the Middle Ages. Even though the excavation could not be finished the unearthed finds are extremely telling. The trench was located right in the vicinity of Á. Buday's excavation. Thus, the research area can be connected to Buday's excavation in three major points. First, the presence of inhumations with two different orientations, second, the existence of medieval coins, and third, the cutting of a Roman wall by the burials. Even though the exact connection between the building excavated by Á. Buday and the wall identified in 2008/2009 could not be clarified, chances are high that the newly discovered wall fragment was part of the building researched in 1914.¹⁴⁰ The spatial connections (if any) between this cemetery section (Pomet hill) and the Roman cemetery, which was situated further down the slope, on the Ursoieş hill¹⁴¹ has not been analyzed.¹⁴²

It can be concluded that the abbey of *Meszes* could have existed somewhere in this area since, the intensity of the burials as well as the occurrence of high-quality worked stone material indicate the presence of a wealthy religious institution. Even if one presumes (as

¹³⁷ Fragments from a rose window, a possible tympanum with floral decoration, a sculpture, and a lancet window frame.

¹³⁸ See the results: Tamás Lipovics et al., "Domborzati modell alkalmazása egy Porolissumban végzett régészeti célú mágneses mérés feldolgozásában és értelmezésében [Applying terrain model in the processing and interpretation of magnetic measurements with archaeological purposes in Porolissum]," *Archaeometriai Műhely* 2 (2009): 31-42.

¹³⁹ In total 36 inhumations were unearthed in the 4 x 4.80 m trench, and two successive burials in a stone cist (tomb built from re-used stone slabs). Such a high number of inhumations in such a small space clearly indicate the functioning of a cemetery with at least three burial horizons.

¹⁴⁰ Only large scale, open-surface excavations could shed light on the earlier excavated features and their connection to the newly identified ones.

¹⁴¹ The Roman cemetery was in the focus of the Necropolis Porolissensis Project which aimed to define the extent and characteristics of the cemetery. Here, only cremation burials were unearthed.

¹⁴² It has to be highlighted that cremation burials were not identified on the Pomet hill, only inhumations (generally without inventory) with skeletal remains.

Buday did) that the stone material was carried there to fill up the Roman building it was probably transported from a reasonable distance.¹⁴³ However, given the density of the building remains and other archaeological features in the area, extended excavations would be needed to locate, where exactly could the church or other monastic buildings have existed.

2.2.4. The Paulines

Overview of the research history and aims of the present research

In the last decades the study of Pauline monasteries has become a prolific research area in Hungarian historiography.¹⁴⁴ A great number of Pauline monasteries were submitted to historic, art historic, architectural, and archaeological research which constantly yield new results. Therefore, here I shall not enter into details concerning all the medieval Pauline houses but only those that pertain to my research with the relevant parallels. Due to the high number of studies and well-preserved sources the life of the Paulines on the territory of medieval Hungary is better known than that of other religious communities.

However, the Pauline monasteries from the territory of medieval Transylvania (Fig. 6) were treated modestly until recently, when several studies started to focus on their history mainly based on the written evidence. Short histories of the Pauline monasteries in Transylvania can be found in the already cited books of A. A. Rusu and B. Romhányi but an encompassing study which would contextualize their appearance, existence and functioning does not exist. A first detailed study of the Pauline monastery from Marosszentkirály was compiled by E. Benkő, in his two-volume book on the history of the medieval Székely Land.¹⁴⁵ Then, my own preliminary study followed which emphasized the possibilities offered by studying the monastic landscape of the Paulines in Marosszentkirály. Concerning the Pauline monastery in Pókafalva, a study on its history as well as a general conspectus of the Pauline presence in Transylvania was attempted by C. Hopârtean.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Monasteries were frequently sited near Roman ruins because of the available construction material which was at hand.

¹⁴⁴ See only a selection of the newest and most relevant for my research: Beatrix F. Romhányi, *A lelkiek a földiek nélkül nem tarthatók fenn. Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban* [The spirituals cannot be maintained without the earthly. Pauline economy in the Middle Ages] (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2010); Beatrix F. Romhányi, "Life in the Pauline Monasteries of Late Medieval Hungary," *Periodica Polytechnica, Architecture* 43, no. 2 (2012): 53-56; Pető, *Hermits in the heart of the Hungarian Kingdom*.

¹⁴⁵ Benkő, *A középkori Székelyföld*, 259-271.

¹⁴⁶ Corina Hopârtean, "The Order of St. Paul the Hermit in the Hungarian Kingdom: the order's remains Păuca, Sibiu County," in *ArhIn I Medieval changing landscape. Settlements, Monasteries, and Fortifications* (Sibiu: Editura 'Astra Museum', 2016), 163-168.

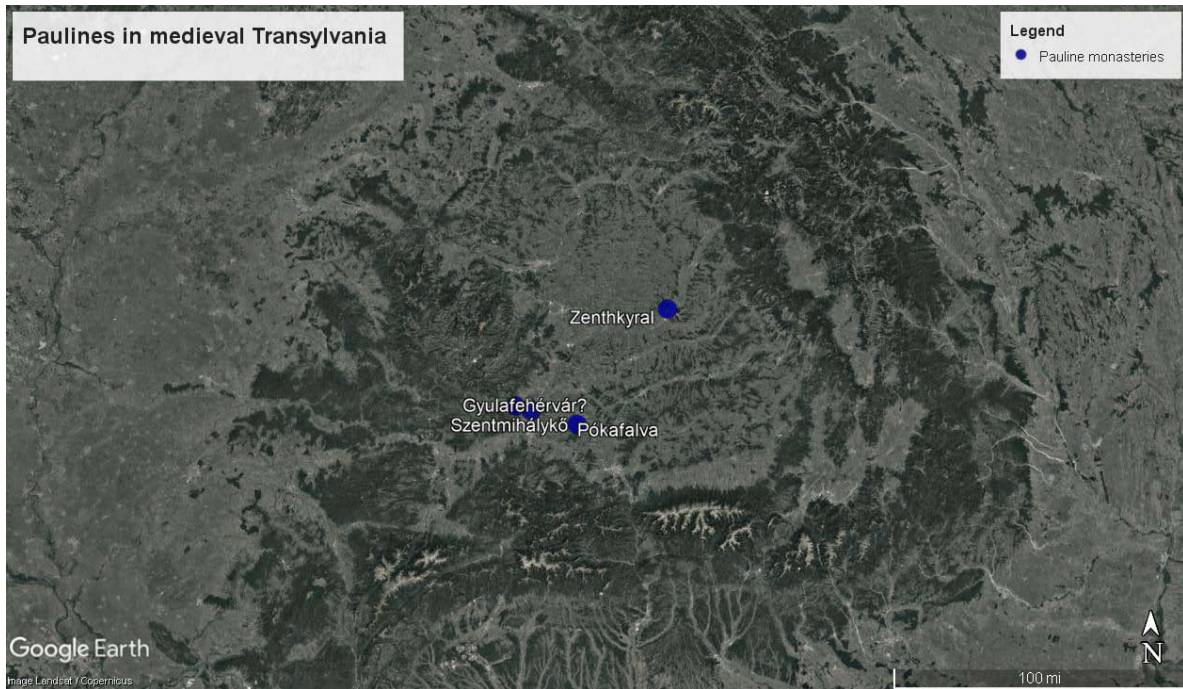


Fig. 6. Pauline monasteries in medieval Transylvania

Research possibilities and source availability

The Paulines, the only Hungarian-founded religious community, were recognized by the Pope as a religious order in 1308 and shortly became one of the most popular religious communities of medieval Hungary. The order's Prior General lived in Saint Lawrence's monastery near Buda, in the Pilis area. Due to their good relationship with the kings of Hungary they also played a political role. The end of the fourteenth century represented the first flourishing period of the Paulines, when they were able to found monasteries outside Hungary (Silesia, Dalmatia). They were supported mainly by the king, the lesser nobility and starting with the end of the fourteenth century by the aristocracy. Also, around 1300 the mightiest oligarchs supported the order. A second prosperous period can be connected to the reign of King Mathias Corvinus, who greatly supported the order, they also participated in the ecclesiastic reforms initiated by the king and his successor. The royal support continued until the demise of the medieval Hungarian state.

The order developed a particular character, traces of several monastic traditions can be detected in it, such as the hermitic, monastic, and mendicant. Most of their monasteries were small, hermitage-like communities, and the average number of monks in a Pauline community was about ten. The Paulines received landed estates from the beginning, which they managed in an innovative way. The earliest land donations comprised arable lands, hayfields, forests, and vineyards, which later were augmented by mills and fishponds or in numerous cases by

house plots and houses. They mainly received parts of properties, entire villages were donated quite rarely. Even in such cases, generally the size of the property was quite small. However, they also accepted other forms of alms such as testaments, indulgences, and *pro anima* donations.¹⁴⁷ Some of their monasteries became important pilgrimage places, which again contributed significantly to the popularity of the order.¹⁴⁸ Given the optimal source availability of the Paulines, their monasteries in Transylvania shall be discussed as a separate chapter (chapter 5) with a detailed case study focusing on Marosszentkirály but the other monasteries shall be investigated as well, although not to the same depth.

2.2.5. Nunneries

The investigation of the small number of nunneries of the monastic orders (Gyulafehérvár, Brassó, Nagyszeben), all located in southern Transylvania, had not received too much discussion in scholarship. First of all, because of the precarious source availability and second, because of the location of the nunneries in towns, where excavations are much harder to execute, and field survey is not a possibility. The small number of nunneries and their early disappearance can reflect a lack of a social layer which would have been willing to send the female members of its families to nunneries but also a lack of wealthy patrons willing to support them.¹⁴⁹ In contrast, the high number and variety of mendicant nunneries (in Brassó, Nagyszeben, and Kolozsvár) would indicate that these were more popular in Transylvania. The low number of nunneries of the monastic orders can be observed on the entire territory of the Hungarian Kingdom, while the most widespread were the female houses of the Dominicans and the Beguines.¹⁵⁰ A reassuring explanation for their small number still awaits to be given.

2.3. THE RESEARCH OF MEDIEVAL MONASTERIES IN TRANSYLVANIA: AN ASSESSMENT

Many people tend to think of monasteries as nicely preserved building complexes, where one can wonder around the conventual precinct exploring the high-quality stone works of various communal spaces and the church. However, a well-preserved monastery is generally an exception and not the norm. Commonly the medieval monasteries in

¹⁴⁷ Romhányi, *A lelkiek*, 54.

¹⁴⁸ Máté Urbán, "Pálos zarándokhelyek a későközépkori Magyarországon [Pauline pilgrimage places in Late Medieval Hungary]," *Vallástudományi Szemle* 5/1 (2009): 63-84.

¹⁴⁹ Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture. The archaeology of religious women* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

¹⁵⁰ See the maps in Romhányi, *Kolostorok*.

Transylvania are under the ground as ruins or their building material has long been incorporated into other buildings. The functioning of the monastic orders which settled in Transylvania ceased with the Reformation. The very few monastic churches or parts of monasteries that survived until today can be found at Kolozsmonostor, Kerc, Harina, and Magyargyerőmonostor. Parts of preserved, still-standing conventual buildings exist only in Kerc. All these ruins in their present state with the numerous changes they had suffered along the centuries represent only a mere fragment of their former glory and medieval state. Most of the monasteries were abandoned after the Middle Ages and their buildings were not utilized. In such instances, architectural analysis, archaeological excavations, and landscape studies can help to unravel the evidence in reconstructing the life of the once prosperous religious community that inhabited and owned the place. The situation with the Premonstratensian and Pauline houses is even more insecure. Even though some of the surviving churches, like Harina, Magyargyerőmonostor, Pókafalva are frequently linked to the presence and activity of certain monastic communities, additional conventual buildings or annexes were not identified nor researched. The material culture of the monastic orders in Transylvania¹⁵¹ had been less processed and discussed by researchers than in other regions of the Hungarian Kingdom. For the territory of medieval Transylvania these studies are just a few and present mostly the excavated materials coming from mendicants focusing only on certain, highlighted objects or

¹⁵¹ Monographs were published in Hungary, presenting the material heritage of excavated monasteries, such as: Imre Holl, *Funde aus dem Zisterzienserklöster von Pilis* (Budapest: Archäologisches Institut der UAW, 2000). For the larger, modern territory of Transylvania (including Bánság), attempts were made to publish the material culture of several monasteries, see: Adrian A. Rusu and Florin Mărginean, “Prelucrarea osului și cornului în Transilvania medievală (început de abordare tematică) [Bone and horn manufacturing in medieval Transylvania (The beginning of a thematical approach)],” *Arheologia Medievală* 5 (2005): 113-155; Zsuzsa Kopeczny, “Ferecături de cărți medievale în descoperirile arheologice din Transilvania [Medieval book fittings from archaeological excavations from Transylvania],” *Arheologia Medievală* 6 (2007): 141-166; Adrian A. Rusu, “Religios și non-religios în cultura material a abației Bizere (Frumușeni, jud. Arad). Obiecte din bronz (I.) [Religious and non-religious in the material culture of Bizere abbey (Frumușeni, Arad County). Bronze objects (I.)],” *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica* 17, no. 2 (2013): 123-154; Adrian A. Rusu, “Medieval stili from Romania,” *Marisia* 34-35 (2014-2015): 107-116; Adrian A. Rusu, “Motivations de la violence dans L’abbaye Benedictine de Bizere (Frumușeni, Dép. Arad),” *eClassica 2: Violência no Mundo Antigo e Medieval* (2016): 201-217, available online: http://www.tmp.letras.ulisboa.pt/images/stories/Documentos/eClassica/eClassica/Volumes/Vol.2_2016/II.4_Adr_ian_Andrei_Rusu.pdf; Adrian A. Rusu, “Jetoane medievale din ceramică: utilități cu multiple dubii de interpretare [Medieval Ceramic Jetons: A Use with Multiple Doubts of Interpretation],” *Analele Banatului. Seria Nouă. Arheologie-Istorie* 24 (2016): 337-378; Adrian A. Rusu, “Who cast mace heads in Arpadian-Era Hungary?,” in *Crafts and workshops in Hungary during the Middle Ages and the early modern period. Studies in memory of Imre Holl*, eds. Elek Benkő, Gyöngyi Kovács, and Krisztina Orosz (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Régészeti Intézet, 2017), 451-462; Claudiu Purdea, “Cuțite medievale descoperite la Abația Bizere (jud. Arad) [Medieval knives discovered in Bizere Abbey (Arad County)],” *Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabesiensis* 10 (2018): 75-108. However, the drawback of these studies is that they tend to concentrate on rare or outstanding objects or groups of objects of high quality (bronze, glass etc.) but the entire archaeological material from these excavated monasteries was not published as a whole (in the company of their contexts etc.).

groups of objects but whole assemblages are not published.¹⁵² The landscape shaping activities of the monastic communities remain mostly unknown. Several monasteries did not own extended lands nor even small estates since, patrons could provide direct incomes, too. The problem emerged after the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), after which the monastic estates should have been delimited. If there was not enough land or the land use was different (animal husbandry, forestry) the delimitation could be impossible. Thus, some monasteries were dissolved and their churches eventually became parish churches of the local communities.

So, what can one do with such scarce but varied remains? What results could one expect from a research of such monastic sites? Thankfully, with only a few exceptions, most of the sites can be found in rural environments, where large-scale landscape transformations have not yet taken place. However, new building constructions have already affected some of the sites and probably will extend to the detriment of the landscape features and unsurveyed territories. Ideally, a thorough, systematic documentation and survey of the still existing features would be needed before destruction takes place.

As it had been alluded to in the previous parts, compared to the territory of Transylvania (57.000 km²) a surprisingly small number of monastic houses were founded in the Middle Ages. This situation can be explained with several characteristics of the region. If one looks at the map of medieval Transylvania and the location of the abbeys (Fig. 2), the preferred sites seem to be the hilly areas, near major towns or market towns, close to important roads and mainly near the large rivers. A smaller concentration can be seen in the surroundings of the Szamos River, in the Meszes Mountains, in the Almás Basin, at the feet of the Gyalu Mountains. The private or kindred monasteries were placed generally in central places of the founding families¹⁵³ while the royal abbeys benefited of extended donations of properties. A hiatus can be observed on the map (Fig. 2) in the central-eastern part of Transylvania, towards the Eastern Carpathians. This territory encompasses largely the Székely Land but parts of the castle districts and Saxon territories fall into it as well. At this

¹⁵² Adrian A. Rusu, *Gotic și Renaștere la Vințu de Jos* [Gothic and Renaissance in Vințu de Jos] (Cluj-Napoca – Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 1998); Adrian A. Rusu, “A Glimpse into the Inner Life of a Transylvanian Monastery. The Dominican Monastery of Vințu de Jos (Alba County),” in *Church and Society in Central and Eastern Europe*, eds. Maria Crăciun and Ovidiu Ghitta (Cluj-Napoca: European Studies Foundation Publishing House, 1998), 13-21; Ünige Bencze, “Late Medieval Graphite Ware in the Târgu Mureș Franciscan Friary and the Study of Imported Pottery in Transylvania,” *Marisia* 30 (2010): 205-212; Zoltán Soós, “Bronze objects from the excavation of the Târgu Mureș Franciscan friary,” *Marisia* 31 (2011): 313-337.

¹⁵³ See an extensive study on private monasteries and a thorough discussion on the terminology used in historiography, with a detailed case study: Szöcs, “Private Monasteries”.

point researchers do not have a clear explanation for this situation. The possible scenarios enlisted in the dissertation are only presumptions, perhaps future research can tackle this issue in more detail.

The Premonstratensian provostries are the least known on the territory of Transylvania, but also as it has been suggested earlier they were more popular amongst the aristocracy and the nobility, a fact which is nicely outlined by the location of their houses, right on the northwestern border of medieval Transylvania. Otherwise, the sites of former Premonstratensian houses are largely unidentified and unresearched in this part of Europe. However, as presented above new studies started to focus on the Premonstratensians in Hungary. The lack of Premonstratensian provostries in central Transylvania can be partly explained by the lack of a solid aristocracy and nobility in Transylvania, most of the high status families were concentrated in the royal counties, while other extended lands were in the hands of privileged populations or ecclesiastic leaders. Or perhaps, their presence was early repealed by the Mongols and their void was successfully filled in by the Mendicants.

All the nunneries in Transylvania were situated in towns and the information on them is just as poor as for the Premonstratensians. The number of presumed private monasteries is also quite low, compared to the other regions of the kingdom. The absence and early abandonment of these clearly indicate that most of the surviving monasteries in Transylvania were either royal foundations or established by ecclesiastic leaders. Monasteries in the various privileged territories, such as the Székely Land or Saxon districts are again telling. Three mendicant orders were present in Transylvania, first were the Dominicans (earliest in Nagyszében, Beszterce), the Franciscans (earliest in Beszterce), and the Augustinians (earliest in Gyulafehérvár).¹⁵⁴ The mendicants had larger and more numerous monasteries in the Saxon territories, especially the Dominicans (fact which might rely on the missionary activity of the Dominicans). The only monastic order on Saxon territory was the Cistercian abbey in Kerc, and for a short period the nuns in Brassó. The very first religious community to settle in the Székely Land were the Franciscans, who became the most widespread along with the Dominicans. None of the monastic orders established a monastery in the Székely Land,

¹⁵⁴ Zoltán Soós, “The Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely) and the Franciscan Presence on Medieval Transylvania,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 9 (2003): 249-274. Concerning how ethnicity can influence the change of monastic networks and the appearance of the mendicants, see: Beatrix F. Romhányi, “Egy furcsa régió: A Temesköz a középkori egyházi intézményhálózat változásainak tükrében [A peculiar region: The Temesköz in the light of the changes of the network of medieval religious institutions],” in *Urbs, civitas, universitas. Ünnepi tanulmányok Petrovics István 65. születésnapja tiszteletére* [Urbs, civitas, universitas. Studies in the honor of István Petrovics’s sixty-fifth birthday], eds. Sándor Papp, Zoltán Kordé, and Sándor László Tóth (Szeged: SzTE Középkori és Kora Újkori Magyar Történeti Tanszék, 2018), 82-93.

besides the Paulines, who, as discussed above developed a particular character and are not considered a monastic order in its classical terms.

As the eastern part of the Hungarian Kingdom comprises a large enough territory, the small number of attested Benedictine abbeys is striking compared to the kingdom's central and western regions. Also, since a clear affiliation of almost all the Transylvanian Benedictine abbeys in the written sources, except Kolozsmonostor is only indirectly connected to the Benedictines is quite telling. The uncertainties make the research even more complex. The reasons behind the small number of monastic orders on the territory of medieval Transylvania are still debated and under discussion. Transylvania was a peculiar place from many points of view, from all the royally founded monasteries only two can be found on its territory: Kolozsmonostor and Kerc. Private monasteries are also barely documented (or research does not know about others), besides Magyargyerőmonostor, perhaps Harina and Nagyalmás could be counted here. The subject needs further research, since it seems that the phenomenon affected almost all the regions under the Archdiocese of Kalocsa. Not only were the monastic orders poorly represented here but if one looks at the history of the religious orders in Transylvania it becomes clear that even the mendicant orders arrived quite late and with difficulties but certainly had more houses.¹⁵⁵ According to Ş. Turcuş the Archdiocese of Kalocsa was more sensitive towards the eastern rite confessional realities, whatever this might mean in his interpretation.¹⁵⁶ However, the relationship of the privileged territory and Esztergom could also affect this question. Among the Saxon communities the monastic orders did not even develop possibly because at the time of their settlement the large orders were already in decline.¹⁵⁷

It seems that Transylvania's special social structure, the presence of different ethnic groups, privileged communities, and the distinct role and structure of the nobility as well as the extensive royal lands, did not favor the foundation of monasteries. In this matter the relatively low population density and territorial fragmentation might have also played a role; that is the region's capacity to sustain monastic houses was low. For now, this is a working hypothesis which the coming chapters and case studies can nuance or refine.

¹⁵⁵ See the map in Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 142-143.

¹⁵⁶ Şerban Turcuş, "Fondarea prepoziturii saşilor ca proiect transilvan al Sfântului Scaun [The foundation of the Saxon provosty as a Transylvanian project of the Holy See]," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie 'Gheorghe Bariţiu' din Cluj-Napoca* 49 (2010): 12.

¹⁵⁷ *Erdély története*, vol. I/III, 4.

Finally, it can be said that the present study was born from the need to understand the larger context and regional variations of monastic land use within Transylvania by analyzing in depth (as case studies) certain monasteries but then, going beyond their regionality and trying to interpret the monastic landscapes of Transylvania as a whole.

CHAPTER 3. KOLOZSMONOSTOR¹⁵⁸ ABBEY AND MONASTIC LAND USE

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Even though the Benedictine monasteries are well-researched on the territory of medieval Hungary, this chapter is the first endeavor to look at the largest and richest Benedictine house in Transylvania in a multi-disciplinary manner confronting and interpreting the evidence gathered from written sources, archaeology, cartography, toponymy, architecture, and landscape study. Such a complex monastic landscape approach was predominantly applied for Cistercian abbeys¹⁵⁹ and provided valuable insights and results, which could probably not have been attained with classical methods of either history or archaeology. I chose to analyze Kolozsmonostor as case study because of the abundance and variety of the available written sources which are suitable for a landscape analysis and hold relevant data for the reconstruction of land use of the abbey for certain time frames. It is not common to look at the Benedictines from such a perspective that is why I wish to test what kind of new results such a study would bring.¹⁶⁰

In this chapter the landed estates will be approached through the methodology and interpretation framework of landscape archaeology and will provide data on land use and boundary reconstructions first on a local and regional level and then in a larger framework of monastic land administration of different orders in medieval Transylvania. As it was emphasized before, Transylvania apparently represents a unique case, since in medieval times it was a border area between Western and Eastern Christianity, where population from both confessions cohabited for centuries. It is particular also in the sense of the number and variety of privileged groups of people (Saxons, Székelys, and Vlachs) invited by the kings of Hungary to settle the land and protect its borders. From this point of view, the history and

¹⁵⁸ Today Kolozsmonostor, once near the town of Kolozsvár, now fused with the town, and forms one of its largest neighborhoods.

¹⁵⁹ See the most important examples at Stanley, Bordesley, and Strata Florida: Graham Brown, “Stanley Abbey and its Estates, 1151 – c. 1640” (PhD diss., University of Leicester, 2011); Austin “Strata Florida,” 192-201; Astill, *A medieval industrial complex*. For the Cistercian monasteries in Hungary see the dissertation of László Ferenczi, “Management of Monastic Landscapes.”

¹⁶⁰ Most of the landscape archaeological and land use studies are focused on the Cistercians or the Paulines, a topic which is well-researched in scholarship related to them. In contrast to this almost nothing is known about the Benedictines, despite the fact that many abbeys were amongst the greatest land owners.

spread of the properties of different privileged groups, religious institutions and communities as well as lay owners (including the king and queen) presents a colorful and complex picture.

Kolozsmonostor is the only truly “classic” example of Benedictine monastery given its early foundation and endowment with large properties. Some of the estates of Kolozsmonostor still preserve the few-hundred centuries old changes in their property structure. Given the circumstances the changes are averagely well-illustrated processes that is why their analysis is needed. However, given the number of available sources, the analysis of the entire estate structure would rather be the subject of a separate dissertation, additionally certain elements cannot be researched from a landscape-archaeological point of view. The following analysis, in the form of case studies, will concentrate on those areas and groups of estates which can be researched from a landscape perspective, pointing out areas favorable for a holistic study. The studies of these features is essential if one wants to look at Transylvania as a larger monastic region in which this large Benedictine monastery is included as well. Apparently, Kolozsmonostor enjoyed a special situation in Transylvania while in the other parts of the Hungarian Kingdom a higher number of examples may be brought forward (Pannonhalma, Garamszentbenedek etc.) for such an analysis.

3.2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Kolozsmonostor is the only Benedictine house on the territory of medieval Transylvania that was founded and continuously supported by the kings of Hungary. The monastery was situated near the Kis-Szamos River, west of the town of Kolozsvár, its site is now incorporated into the city. The monastery and few of its one-time estates form one of the largest neighborhoods of modern Kolozsvár. Since, as shown in the first chapter, the affiliation of Harina to the Benedictines is not proven clearly by contemporary documents, the easternmost well-documented and researchable Benedictine abbey on the territory of medieval Hungary remains Kolozsmonostor. The issues and circumstances of its foundation were thoroughly discussed by Hungarian scholarship.¹⁶¹ Since this question does not pertain to my inquiries, in this chapter I shall not deal with this topic in detail. The first person to write about the history of the abbey from a scientific perspective was Count János Eszterházy, whose work focused on some of the estate litigations of the abbey.¹⁶² In 1912, Lajos Csomor discussed and presented the history of the abbey again in the light of the litigations, but on a

¹⁶¹ Just to name the most important and compact study dealing with the subject, see: *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei (1289-1556)* [The protocols of Kolozsmonostor Abbey (1289-1556)], ed. Zsigmond Jakó, vol. 1 (1289-1484) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), 19-23.

¹⁶² Eszterházy, “A kolozsmonostori apátság,” 89-109.

more substantial source basis.¹⁶³ A history of Kolozsmonostor was written by Pongrác Sörös in the twelve-volume history of the Benedictines in Hungary, which focused again mainly on the history of its estates.¹⁶⁴ The next scholar to research the history of Kolozsmonostor was Zsigmond Jakó, who wrote a seminal study on the forged charters of Abbot Otto. Subsequently, he published a two-volume source edition on the protocols of the abbey with a thorough study on the history and activity of the abbey as a place of authentication. This publication includes valuable data on the social background of the abbots (the leading elite as he called it) and the monastic community, as well as the personnel of the place of the authentication.¹⁶⁵ Jakó's approach was different from the earlier publications, because he analyzed in detail the social structure of the monastic community, which enabled a better understanding of the abbey's role in Transylvania and the people behind it. In 2005 Radu Lupescu discussed the brief history of the abbey in the context of the early history of the town of Kolozsvár and the spatial connections between the abbey the seat of the *ispán*.¹⁶⁶ According to him, in the beginning both centers were situated on the same hill, but the space was divided and subjected to different authority and sets of rules (or privileges). The innovative approach of Lupescu's work was to incorporate the results of the excavations.

Even though the large number of preserved documents contained valuable information on the economy of the monks, the first work to deal with the topic was written as late as 2012, when Noémi Szabó ventured into gathering and interpreting the available data in order to reconstruct the late medieval economy of Kolozsmonostor.¹⁶⁷ Her work is particularly valuable and also relevant to the present study, because she was the first to corroborate the data from the sources with ethnographic parallels, to highlight actual facts and not only generalities that were perpetuated in the scholarship. Furthermore, she was able to present important conclusions concerning the structure of estates, the transformation processes in the properties of the abbey and to some extent the basic economic system of the abbey. The early modern and modern history of the abbey and its properties were not discussed by any of the previously mentioned authors, and many had written the abbey's history until the sixteenth

¹⁶³ Csomor, *A kolozsmonostori bencés apátság*.

¹⁶⁴ PRT XII/b, 69-94.

¹⁶⁵ See: KmJkv, I, 102-111.

¹⁶⁶ The *ispán* or count (*comes*) was the leader of a castle district in the Kingdom of Hungary from the early eleventh century, see: Pál Engel, *Szent István birodalma* [The Realm of St. Stephen] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2001), 64-66. Radu Lupescu, "Kolozsvár korai történetének buktatói [Pitfalls of the early history of Cluj]," *Erdélyi Múzeum* 67, no. 3-4 (2005): 27-77.

¹⁶⁷ Szabó, "A kolozsmonostori bencés apátság".

century. Zsolt Bogdándi was the first to look at the activity of Kolozsmonostor as a place of authentication and its afterlife during the Principality of Transylvania.¹⁶⁸

Concerning the site of Kolozsmonostor, archaeological research has been restricted to an extended excavation undertaken by Petru Iambor and Ștefan Matei between 1970 and 1982, a work that was continued in the 1990s as well.¹⁶⁹ The results of the excavations were published partially in reports and the whole excavation was the subject of the PhD dissertation of P. Iambor.¹⁷⁰ The archaeological research focused on the western terrace of the fortification, which was almost entirely explored (Fig. 7). The eastern part of the fortification and the interior of the church was never researched archaeologically. The archaeologists first focused on the dating of the construction phases of the fortification, where they could identify three phases from the end of the ninth century until the Mongol invasion of the earth and timber fortification around Kolozsmonostor. The fortification was built directly on the virgin soil without any earlier settlement traces. During the excavations inside the fortification traces of settlement (pit-houses or sunken featured buildings) were unearthed to the west and to the north from today's church.¹⁷¹ One of the houses was dated with a coin issued by king Solomon (1063-1074). The researchers dated the settlement and the earth and timber fortification to the ninth and eleventh century.¹⁷² Above the settlement traces of an extended cemetery from the last decades of the eleventh and the end of the twelfth century existed. Another part of the inhumations were dated to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹⁷³ Altogether three areas with inhumations were unearthed: to the west, to the south-west and to the north from today's church. Also, the foundations of a round church (*rotunda*) were discovered under which inhumations were identified. After these, the emphasis of the investigators shifted to the clarification and understanding of the connections between the

¹⁶⁸ Zsolt Bogdándi, *A kolozsmonostori konvent a fejedelemség korában* [The convent of Kolozsmonostor during the Transylvanian Principality], *Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek* 274 (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2012).

¹⁶⁹ Petru Iambor and Ștefan Matei, "Cetatea feudal-timpurie de la Cluj-Mănăștur [The early feudal castle from Cluj-Mănăștur]" *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj XVIII* (1975): 291-304; Petru Iambor and Ștefan Matei, "Incinta fortificată de la Cluj-Mănăștur (sec. IX-XIV) [The fortified precincts from Cluj-Mănăștur]" *Acta Musei Napocensis XVI* (1979): 215-224; Petru Iambor, Ștefan Matei, and A. Halasu, "Considerații privind raportul cronologic dintre așezarea și cimitirul de la Cluj-Mănăștur [Reflections concerning the chronologic relations between the settlement and cemetery from Cluj-Mănăștur]" *Acta Musei Napocensis XVIII* (1981): 129-151; Petru Iambor and Ștefan Matei, "Noi cercetări arheologice în complexul medieval de la Cluj-Mănăștur [New archaeological investigations in the medieval precincts from Cluj-Mănăștur]" *Acta Musei Napocensis XX* (1983): 131-140.

¹⁷⁰ The whole documentation is kept in Muzeul Național de Istorie al Transilvaniei, Kolozsvár.

¹⁷¹ Iambor and Matei, "Noi cercetări", 131-133.

¹⁷² Iambor and Matei, "Incinta fortificată", 599.

¹⁷³ Iambor and Matei, "Noi cercetări," 133.

finds and the built structures.¹⁷⁴ The results of the excavations after 1982 were not published but are discussed in the PhD dissertation of Iambor.¹⁷⁵ The early dating of the earth and timber fortification was based on its connections to the pit-houses, which was never actually proven in the reports but was just stated and there is no possibility to verify this.

According to Radu Lupescu's interpretation, the fortification corresponds to the definition of early county seats of the Hungarian Kingdom both from the point of view of dating and structure. Thus, Lupescu argued that this might have been the early center of the historic county and the seat of the *ispán*.¹⁷⁶ An interesting fact was that inside the castle at least fifteen sunken featured buildings functioned until the end of the eleventh century. Erwin Gáll, who meticulously re-evaluated some of the results of the excavations (only the burials), the settlement can be dated to the eleventh or twelfth century and not earlier.¹⁷⁷ 207 burials were unearthed, oriented W-E, and 159 were published. From these 142 could be dated to the period between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Based on the coins two burial phases can be identified, one dated between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, and another to the fourteenth century.¹⁷⁸

Concerning the very first church archaeological data does not exist, it was not excavated and is presumed to lie under the church currently standing on the site. According to the archaeologists the round church was built in the thirteenth century, but it is not clear how long did it function. The first building which can be clearly connected to the Benedictines was the new church built in the thirteenth century (during the revival of the monastery), the sanctuary of which is still standing. Also, from the beginning of the fourteenth century the burials around the monastery re-appeared. As a result of Ritoók's analysis¹⁷⁹ two groups of burials, located at a significant distance from each other, could be separated and their earliest inhumations were not the same age. Based on the coin finds in the group situated to the

¹⁷⁴ Lupescu, "Koložsvár", 29.

¹⁷⁵ Petru Iambor, *Așezări fortificate din Transilvania (Secolele IX-XIII)* [Fortified settlements from Transylvania (9-13th century)] (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2005).

¹⁷⁶ Lupescu, "Koložsvár", 32. On churches found inside the *ispán*'s castles, see: Maxim Mordovin, "Templomok az *ispán*sági várakban [Churches inside the *ispán*'s castles]," in *Népek és kultúrák a Kárpát-medencében. Tanulmányok Mesterházy Károly tiszteletére* [Populations and cultures in the Carpathian Basin. Studies in honor of Károly Mesterházy], ed. László Kovács and László Révész (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2016), 777-794.

¹⁷⁷ See more on this: Erwin Gáll, *Dáciától Ultrasilvaniáig. A Kis-Szamos medencéjének településtörténeti változásai* [From Dacia to Ultrasylvania. The settlement historic changes of the Someșul Mic River Basin] (Koložsvár: EME, 2017): 58-59.

¹⁷⁸ See the publication of the cemetery and excavations with the relevant funeral inventories in Gáll, *Koložsvár születése*, 97-98; Tables 43-56.

¹⁷⁹ Ágnes Ritoók, "Árpád-kori temetkezések Koložsmonostoron (Cluj-Mănăștur, RO) [Árpád Age burials in Koložsmonostor (Cluj-Mănăștur, RO)]," *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 137 (2012): 235-252.

southwest, burials started a few decades earlier than in the group situated around the abbey church and this was probably the burial ground for the people who fell under the authority of the church built for the *ispán*'s seat, the building of which pre-dated the Benedictine abbey. It was abandoned at latest by the second third of the twelfth century. With the foundation of the abbey a new church was raised on the earlier settlement, around it and to the west a new cemetery was assigned (Fig. 7). The most telling were the inhumations of the northern part on today's church, where the significant differences in the depth of the burials but also the presence of several isolated inhumations could be connected to at least three constructions and levelling phases of the abbey (expansion). The analogies of the built graves indicates that these can be dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁸⁰

Despite the shortcomings of the excavations and the possible need for re-appraisal of their results the archaeological investigations provide the only account we have on the layout of the monastery (Fig. 7). The eastern part of the plateau (called Kálvária-tető) was never researched archaeologically even though the presence of the monastic grange and annexes were presumably sited in this area. It has to be highlighted here that earlier research has not dealt with earthworks in detail nor did it focus on the properties of the abbey from a landscape archaeological perspective. Therefore, no additional data or earlier surveys are available for conducting a landscape archaeological analysis of the surrounding areas, my research started from scratch. The results of the archaeological excavations summarized above are not directly connected to the present investigation, but the main development periods of the abbey present in the architectural history of the monastic complex are indirectly important for the changes of the estate management of this Benedictine monastery and for the more general issues of Transylvanian monastic history.

¹⁸⁰ Ritoók, "Árpád-kori temetkezések," 248.

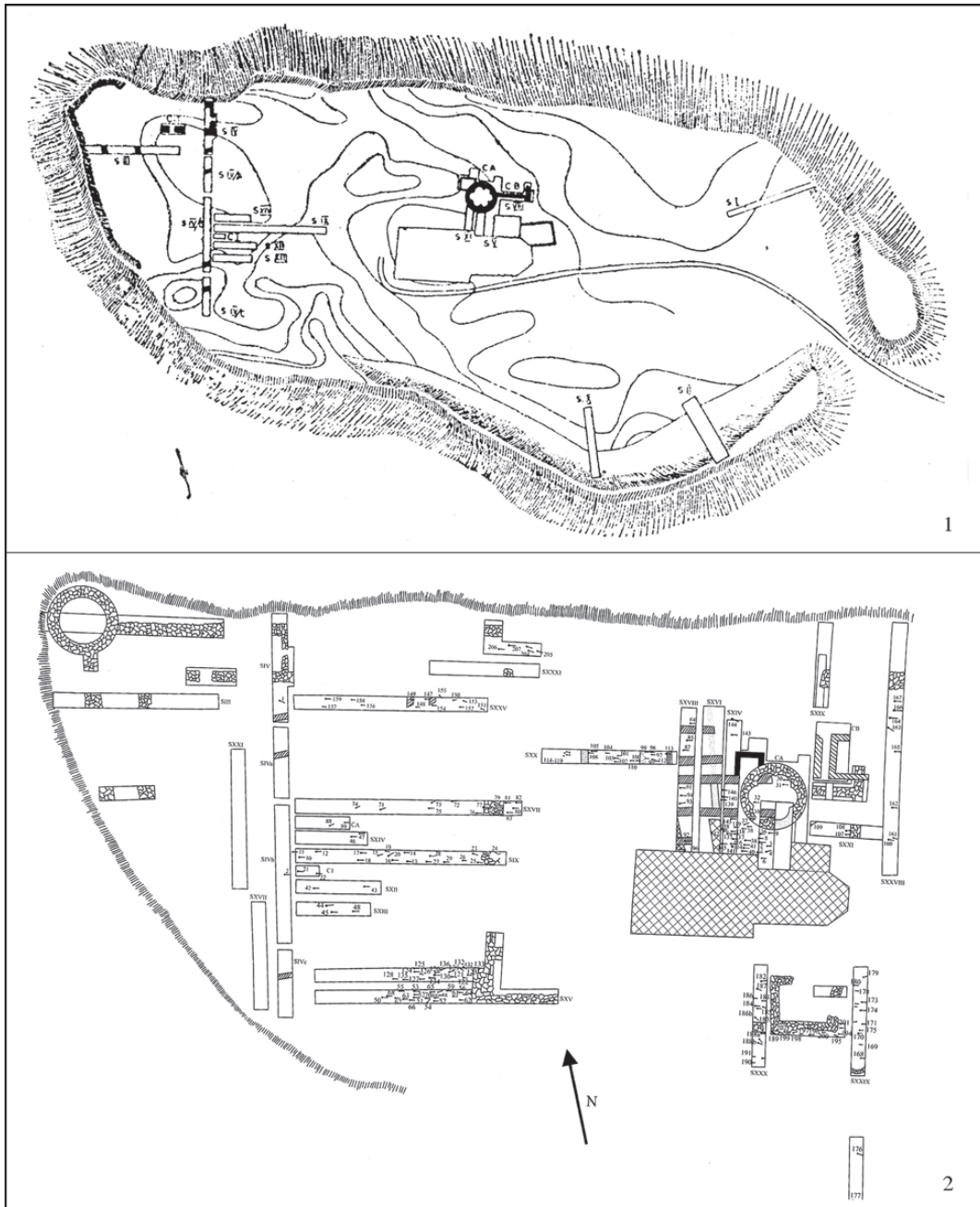


Fig. 7. General site plan of the plateau (up) and ground plan of the excavated areas around the church (down) in Kolozsmonostor, without scale (Ritoók, “Árpád-kori temetkezések,” 236)

3.3. RELEVANT SOURCES

In this section I return to discuss shortly the most useful sources for Kolozsmonostor, touching upon their relevance and value for my research.

The written evidence covers especially the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, thirteenth-century authentic sources are rare since most of the documents dated to this period are forgeries compiled in the middle or end of the fourteenth century. Fortunately, many of the forgeries were already identified and their relevance was thoroughly discussed by Zs. Jakó

highlighting that these can be used with the proper caution for certain topics. At the same time, not all forgeries need to be rejected outright, because they may reflect a legitimate claim and could have been produced because the abbey did not have any legal means to support their claim at the time when it was needed. Therefore, it is crucial to compare certain data based on which it can be decided whether to discard or use a forgery. The questions that need to be checked are the following: the time when the forgery was compiled, to which property did it refer to, with whom did the abbey enter into litigation at the time of the forgery, and whether the abbey did or did not have any authentic charter to the particular property. This means that much information contained in the forgeries were probably true but due to the lack of original charters the abbey had to resort to forgeries to prove its ownership.

One of the positive characteristics of the preserved sources is that most of them deal with litigations concerning monastic properties, from which data connected to the landed property and landscape elements can be extracted. Among the sources one can find different issues connected to the forced occupation or illegal use of a land and the outcomes of the violent trespasses. In some cases, one is informed about the type of the monastic land (e.g. arable land, forest, hayland etc.) or what happened on the respective land (e.g. attackers caused damage to a forest, mowed down the meadow and took the hay or animals etc.). In other cases, scarce information can be found on the activity of the tenant peasants (they transported wood, provided food for the Benedictines) or the private economy of the tenant peasants or of the abbey (how many and what types of animals or equipment were taken by the attackers).

Lease agreements appear scarcely and are connected to the management of the monastic mills and provide only a glimpse into this business. Pawning (mortgage transactions) was more frequent and more information can be extracted from these. In this case the written sources are generally fragmentary, unevenly preserved for the monastic properties, and biased, not to mention the high number of thirteenth or fourteenth-century forgeries, so they need to be treated with due caution. For instance, on the properties of the abbey, one forged document informs the researcher, which enlists them by name (from 1263¹⁸¹). In 1427 abbot Anthony recorded all the legal documents of the abbey grouped according to the properties.¹⁸² The entire inventory expanded to twelve chapters; the second

¹⁸¹ EO I, 206/239; MNL OL, DL 37213.

¹⁸² KmJkv I, 182-194/24.

chapter of the inventory contains the register of seventy-one charters concerning the properties of the abbey, of which many have since disappeared.

The post-monastic life of the abbey and especially its properties can be studied with the help of the preserved *urbaria* and other contemporary sources.¹⁸³ Since the incorporation of the early-modern and modern documentary sources would greatly exceed the framework of the present dissertation, these will be used only for some of the monastic properties to illustrate further research possibilities and to reveal data which can be traced back to the Middle Ages.

Since the written sources are so abundant (which is rarely the case for other monasteries), they offer a good opportunity for a land use and landscape analysis for some of the properties following the earlier outlined methodology. In certain regions, for example in the immediate environment of the abbey, due to the modern settlement network and building density, a landscape analysis cannot be carried out. There are, however, regions where a high number of historic landscape features were preserved, and their study combined with perambulations can provide important details about the properties. The present study therefore, focuses on these as case studies. This is a work which has never been done before in the framework of the Benedictine abbey of Kolozsmonostor and it is still not a complete analysis. Since a history of Kolozsmonostor does not exist in English, in the following I shall sum up the abbey's main developments based on the most recent scholarship.¹⁸⁴

3.4. THE MAIN DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION PERIODS OF THE ABBEY

Here I shall highlight the main developments of the abbey during its existence with special focus on those events or changes that had an effect on the structure or development of the monastic properties. Thus, this is not a full and detailed history of the abbey but more of a summary of those parts of its history which serve and aid my research and offer a contextual background for those unfamiliar with the subject.

¹⁸³ Some selected *urbaria* were published in Zsigmond Jakó, *A gyalui vártartomány urbáriumai* [*Urbaria from the castle district of Gyalu*] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1944). As far as the post-monastic written sources are concerned, much of it is still unpublished but accessible in the national archives in Kolozsvár.

¹⁸⁴ In the coming discussion the most important events will be presented chronologically; however, not all the abbots will be mentioned since some of them are barely known or they fulfilled the function of abbot for a short period of time. For a full list of the abbots see Fig. 8.

Even though its foundation charter does not exist, later documents and most recent research connect its foundation to King Ladislaus I (1077-1095) of Hungary.¹⁸⁵ The abbey was subjected to the Archdiocese of Esztergom and was exempted from the authority of the Transylvanian bishop. Even so, the abbey's privileged status generated several disputes with the Transylvanian bishop, who most probably saw a territorial rival in the Benedictines and an obstacle to his plans to extend the bishopric's landed estates. At the end of the twelfth century one of the disputes culminated in an open conflict with Bishop Adrian (1187-1202) who attacked the abbey with armed forces and destroyed it. The bishop opposed the privileged status of the Saint Ladislaus provostry from Nagyszében as well.¹⁸⁶ The same act of violence was repeated by Bishop William (1204-1211), who destroyed the abbey and all of its charters of privilege.¹⁸⁷ Such conflicts characterized the beginning of the thirteenth century, and as the final blow after this unstable period the Mongols destroyed the abbey in 1241. The abbey was repopulated only later possibly at the initiative of King Béla IV, when construction works began on the site. However a certain date cannot be pinpointed since it turned out that the early documents that mention several abbots (like Paul in 1283 and Henrik in 1296) were forgeries so the years around 1280 can be also regarded as a possible timeframe when the repopulation of the abbey took place.¹⁸⁸ The abbey had to face the expanded bishopric and emerging private estates in order to keep its properties and to uphold its claim to previously lost lands (e.g. in 1264 junior king Stephen permanently removed the land *Teremy*¹⁸⁹ from the jurisdiction of the abbey, an act which was not common in the period).¹⁹⁰ The depopulated state of the region after the Mongol destruction in combination with the lack of monastic management in those few decades gave way to the Transylvanian bishop to extend his estates. Beside the bishop ascending local nobles aimed to acquire former monastic lands or to extend their neighboring properties on those. Given the number of attacks that took their toll on the abbey, the first approximately three hundred years of the history of Kolozsmonostor are almost unknown. In the second half of the thirteenth century the earlier heavy disputes caused by the immunities of the abbey do not appear anymore, the frictions remained only at a general level of neighboring landowners.

¹⁸⁵ UB I, 521.

¹⁸⁶ KmJkv I, 22.

¹⁸⁷ UB I, 21-22; Csomor, *A kolozsmonostori bencés apátság*, 15-20; Lupescu, "Kolozsvár," 27-77.

¹⁸⁸ KmJkv I, 24.

¹⁸⁹ Preserved in later transcriptions, MNL OL, DL 28577, SzOkl IV, 1-3.

¹⁹⁰ KmJkv I, 23.

The first unquestionably authentic source about the reborn abbey comes from as late as 1299.¹⁹¹ A charter issued by the Transylvanian chapter (dedicated to Saint Michael Archangel) present that Abbot Lazarus reached an agreement with the bishop, who for at least a decade or so tried to concentrate the bishopric's lands around the Szamos River into one unified block at the expense of its neighbors. Already in 1291 the abbey's land called *Saság* was partly in the bishop's hands.¹⁹² In 1295, the bishop acquired the other part of the village, which earlier belonged to the Borsa kindred.¹⁹³ According to the agreement in 1299 the abbot gave the *Leske* Mountains and the settlement named *Szentgyörgy* (*Zenthgergh*, Saint George)¹⁹⁴ in exchange for the villages of Bogártelke and *Nádas*.¹⁹⁵

After Abbot Lazarus, Haidenricus appears in the documents as the leader, but in 1314 or latest in the first part of 1315 the archbishop of Esztergom replaced him because of various issues.¹⁹⁶ The archbishop entrusted Kolozsmonostor to Nicholas, abbot of Dombó¹⁹⁷ *in commendam*, that is, to enjoy the income from the abbey. In 1315 he already issued charters as abbot.¹⁹⁸ In 1319 the same Nicholas was elected abbot of Pannonhalma¹⁹⁹, where he died in 1333. Thus, he is the first abbot about whom sufficient information is available.²⁰⁰ As Zs. Jakó presented, it is likely that Nicholas kept Kolozsmonostor *in commendam* (known also as commendatory abbot²⁰¹) until 1326/1327, even though he did not live there anymore.²⁰² Jakó was the one to clarify the confusions created (by the name identity) around Abbot Nicholas Broda, who was entrusted to lead Kolozsmonostor while Abbot Nicholas was away at Pannonhalma. However, Broda did not stay long in Kolozsmonostor, he was accused of *irregularitas* (he chained and kept as prisoner one of the monks because he dealt with

¹⁹¹ EO I, 326-327/583 and 584; MNL OL, DL 29104; DF 275165.

¹⁹² UB I, 177.

¹⁹³ EO I, 304-305/537; MNL OL, DF 277209.

¹⁹⁴ The location of this monastic land is unknown, it was mentioned for the last time in 1299. Csánki presumed that the land could have been located around the Szentgyörgy vineyard, near Kolozsvár.

¹⁹⁵ UB I, 211-212, MNL OL, DF 275165.

¹⁹⁶ Lajos C. Dedek, ed., *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis* (Esztergom: Buzarovits, 1924) vol. 3, 128 (Henceforth MonEcclStrig).

¹⁹⁷ In Szerém County, in today's Serbia, near Rakovac.

¹⁹⁸ EO II, 115/255; MNL OL, DL 28717.

¹⁹⁹ The very first Benedictine abbey founded in the Kingdom of Hungary, which functions even today. In 1541 it became an archabbey.

²⁰⁰ PRT 2, 52-54.

²⁰¹ He was called komendátor (commander) or in other instances gubernátor (governor) which meant that the leader/person did not belong to any religious order, he was a lay person but had the same authority over the monks and the properties of the abbey as did an abbot.

²⁰² Jakó explains the absence of the otherwise influential abbot with two events. First around 1315/1316, when *Berzethe* from the Ákos kindred attacked and occupied the abbey and destroyed its charters (see: MNL OL, DL 28741). Second, when in 1321 prior John issued the charters and not the abbot.

usurious loans and the monk died in prison, while Broda was away in the royal court²⁰³) and then ostracized and suspended from priesthood. He was absolved only in 1328.²⁰⁴ The next to receive Kolozsmonostor *in commendam* was a certain Stephen, apparently a lay person, who in the same time administered other significant Benedictine abbeys as well (such as Bulcs, Bizere, Garáb, and Monyoród). According to the possibly biased sources he held the abbeys by force but supposedly he enjoyed the support of King Charles I. At the intervention of the Pope in 1332 Kolozsmonostor was taken away from him on account of being unworthy to fulfill the function of abbot, the office was given to Bishop Paul²⁰⁵, an Augustinian monk, royal secretary and loyal confidant of Charles I. Even though Paul was a monk his behavior was even worse than that of his predecessor, as can be seen related in a papal charter.²⁰⁶ Shortly, the Pope requested the bishop of Eger to retrieve all the occupied Benedictine abbeys from Paul and Stephen and to populate those with actual Benedictine monks on the grounds of the newest reform initiated by Pope Benedict XII in 1336.²⁰⁷

The implementation of the reforms reached the Hungarian Kingdom in 1337. Kolozsmonostor was repurchased from Bishop Paul, and the Benedictine chapter elected John as abbot. The new abbot was active in repopulating the abbey and recovering the lost properties²⁰⁸, actions that lead to litigations with its neighbors, some of which extended to the coming centuries. Among his earliest acts was to ensure and renew the abbey's privileges. The development of a place of authentication (*locus credibilis*)²⁰⁹ in the abbey can also be linked to his activity (a right that the abbey did not have earlier). He was mentioned for the last time in the written sources in 1343 but possibly he fulfilled the function of abbot until 1345/1346.²¹⁰ His successor was Abbot Jordan, his activity is known only in fragments and neither the beginning nor the end of his function is clear. The same applies to the next abbot Bereck, who most probably died in 1356. The following abbot was Ladislaus, who appeared first in the fall of 1356 and was mentioned for the last time in 1360. Several successful litigations can be linked to his name.

The next important abbot of Kolozsmonostor, starting with 1360/1361, was abbot Otto, who launched one of the most successful fights for redeeming the abbey's lost

²⁰³ KmJkv I, 27.

²⁰⁴ MonEcclStrig 3, 128.

²⁰⁵ Bishop in Nándorfehérvár.

²⁰⁶ PRT 2, 386-387; KmJkv I, 29.

²⁰⁷ *Benedictine* Statute, for an extended excerpt in Hungarian, see: PRT 2, 17-38.

²⁰⁸ KmLt nr. 10, MNL OL, DL 26859, 28725.

²⁰⁹ See more on places of authentication: Hunyadi, "Administering the Law," 25-35.

²¹⁰ KmJkv I, 34.

properties and created an effective legal defense arsenal (the highest number of documents dealing with property litigations come from him) based on which his successors could continue asserting their claims. He was the first abbot to take legal action to regain the long-lost distant monastic properties located in the Székely and Saxon lands (Nagyholdvilág, Keménynagyszöllős, Dános, Prod, Marosdátos, Maroslekence, and Nagyteremi) albeit unsuccessfully (Fig. 9).²¹¹ The most stubborn adversaries proved to be the Transylvanian bishop and the lesser nobles from *Tiburctelke*, who threatened the integrity of the main block of monastic properties. In this matter the lack of original charters could have had serious consequences, especially since 1366, when King Louis I sent a committee to Transylvania to put an end to the endless boundary disputes and to settle the property issues. In such circumstances did abbot Otto resort in 1370 to forge already destroyed or never-existing charters to serve for future litigations.²¹² The actual forgeries were done by the abbey's scribe named Stephen, who was later sentenced to death by the Transylvanian voivode László Losonczi, and burned at the stake. The forgeries were detected most likely in the course of the prolonged litigations for *Bénye* and *Tiburctelke*²¹³, when the abbot had to present the original charters to prove his claim for the monastic lands. Abbot Otto disappeared without a trace in 1383 and all the charges fell on the scribe. As a consequence the abbey's activity as a place of authentication was suspended and its seal was broken. The instability lasted until 1384, when Queen Mary, at the request of the new abbot Ladislaus, allowed the abbey to own a new authentic seal.²¹⁴

Another interesting and eminent leading figure was Henrik Albeni, who was appointed abbot by the king in 1407²¹⁵ but his actual presence in Kolozsmonostor can be dated to 1410, when King Sigismund took the abbey into his special protection.²¹⁶ During his activity as abbot of Kolozsmonostor, he continued the earlier litigations and started new ones for redeeming the illegally occupied monastic properties. Henrik paid attention to the upkeep of the churches, to the education of the parish priests, to the church services and compiled the very first inventories of the abbey's goods and properties.²¹⁷

²¹¹ MNL OL, DF 275171, 275183-25185, DL 28927.

²¹² These forgeries were discussed in detail by Zsigmond Jakó, "A kolozsmonostori apátság hamis oklevelei [The forged charters of Kolozsmonostor abbey]," *Levéltári Közlemények* 55, no. 2 (1984): 111-139.

²¹³ MNL OL, DL 28757.

²¹⁴ UB II, 589, MNL OL, DF 275198.

²¹⁵ The report of the convent to Pope Gregory XII: ZsOkI II, nr. 5399.

²¹⁶ MNL OL, DF 275218

²¹⁷ KmJkv I, 47.

In 1425 the abbot was Anthony, who was again one of the outstanding leaders of his community and elaborated a well-structured systematic plan to regain the privileges and properties of the abbey as mentioned before. He was the first to compile an extended register of all the charters pertaining to the abbey and gathered in twelve chapters all that was known about the history of the abbey and its estates at that time.²¹⁸ After gathering all the legal documents and compiling the inventory, Abbot Anthony had to face those who occupied the properties of the abbey in court and some of them proved to be quite pertinacious like the Transylvanian bishopric²¹⁹, the lords of the Almás castle estate²²⁰, the Transylvanian voivode Ladislaus Csáki or the Bánffy family.²²¹

One of the abbey's most enduring adversaries was the town of Kolozsvár with which the abbey was at court almost permanently because of everyday boundary issues as well as disputes generated by the vineyards and the *terragium* or *tributum montis* that had to be paid to the abbey. The power and influence of the town of Kolozsvár rose significantly after 1405, when King Sigismund gave the town privileges which raised it among the royal free towns of the kingdom, although the town already benefited from some of the rights earlier.²²² This opened up the way to further self-assertion of the town as well as to receive additional privileges from King Vladislaus II (1490-1516) in 1514 for holding another market on Mondays and Saturdays²²³, besides the one held on Thursdays. The town expanded both its

²¹⁸ KmJkv I, 182/24.

²¹⁹ Litigations took place in 1435 and 1437 but the trials continued even in 1447 (see: KmLt nr. 114, MNL OL, DF 275241; KmLt nrs. 146, 169, MNL OL, DF 275165, 275262, DL 28821, 28824, 28825, 28827-28829)

²²⁰ With the Pelsőci Bebek family for Nádas and Egeres the lawsuit lasted between 1433 and 1447 (KmLt nrs. 132-133, 136, 150-151; MNL OL, DF 275254-275255, 275265). According to Adrian A. Rusu the district of Almás was first documented in 1366. In 1341 it belonged to the voivode and was led by one of his estate managers. The man of the voivode tried to extend the estate of Almás towards south-east, along the Nádas Valley, in detriment of the abbey of Kolozsmonostor. For additional information on the history of the Almás castle, see: Adrian A. Rusu, *Castelarea Carpatică. Fortificații și cetăți din Transilvania și teritoriile învecinate (sec. XIII – XIV)* [Carpathian Castles: Fortifications and castles from Transylvania and the neighboring territories (13th and 14th centuries)] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2005).

²²¹ KmLt nrs. 137, 143, 148, 152; MNL OL, DF 275257, 275261, 275263, 275266, UB IV, 602.

²²² The first preserved royal privilege of the town dates from 1316; see: Attila Zsoldos, "Antecedentele privilegiului orașului Cluj din anul 1316 [Antecedents of the 1316 privilege of the town of Cluj]," in *Várostörténeti Tanulmányok* [Studies of urban history] ed. Mária Lupescu Makó (Kolozsvár: EME, 2018), 19-24. On the issue of terminology, see: András Kubinyi, "Szabad királyi város – Királyi szabad város? [Free royal town – royal free town?]," *Urbs – Magyar Várostörténeti Évkönyv* 1 (2006): 51-61. For a detailed presentation of the economic privileges of the town of Kolozsvár, see: Boglárka Weisz, "Economie urbană în epoca medievală. Privilegiile economice ale Clujului [Medieval Urban Economy. The Economic Privileges of Cluj]," in *Várostörténeti Tanulmányok* [Studies of urban history] ed. Mária -Lupescu Makó (Kolozsvár: EME, 2018), 47-55.

²²³ KvOkl I, 330/nr. 205 and 335/nr.

built-in territory²²⁴ rapidly and its boundary as a result of these privileges and by the fifteenth century its position against its neighboring landowners was strengthened. Still, as one shall see in the coming discussion a number of land occupations aiming at extending the town's boundaries took place towards the northeast and to the west at the detriment of the abbey. In 1437 the people of Kolozsvár and the uprising peasants lead by Antal Budai Nagy²²⁵ attacked the convent, destroyed the abbot's house and killed some of the abbey's people.²²⁶

Even after this incident the prestige of Kolozsmonostor rose significantly during the time of Abbot Anthony, he supported the parish churches of the villages owned by the abbey and its people, and the abbey received a higher number of personal donations than before as a sign of its rising popularity. Anthony died in 1451. The next leader, more precisely governor of the abbey was Gotthard Rápolti²²⁷, who most likely received Kolozsmonostor *in commendam* from John Hunyadi because of his family connections and services in politics. During the reign of King Matthias (1458-1490), in 1460 the abbey and its estates were given first to his doctor Bartholomew Gorzeres, following a practice that was common since the time of the Anjou kings (to reward royal doctors with religious benefices). Bartholomew had to resign in 1461 because of his bad relationship with the Benedictine community. After his departure, Matthias named his cousin Ladislaus Pongrácz Dengelegi governor of Kolozsmonostor in the fall of 1461. He was governor only for a short period. He tried to regain the lost boundary part of the monastic land Kajántó from the town of Kolozsvár and on one of the occasions, in 1463, when Ladislaus attacked and burned down a few civilian houses in the great turmoil the townsmen killed the governor and three of his noble retainers.²²⁸ The murder of his brother enraged the Transylvanian voivode John Pongrácz, who at once gathered his troops and was prepared to besiege the town of Kolozsvár. Only in 1464 did the king manage to reconcile the voivode²²⁹ and appointed an abbot from the local Benedictine community, Peter Pécsváradi.

²²⁴ A recent article discusses in details the possible expansion scenarios of the town: Radu Lupescu, "Cetatea veche (Óvár) a Clujului [The Old Castle (Óvár) of Cluj]," in *Városhistória Tanulmányok* [Studies of urban history] ed. Mária Lupescu Makó (Kolozsvár: EME, 2018), 93-118.

²²⁵ A lesser noble from Diós (Co. Kolozs). He was the leader of the uprising peasants, who rebelled because of the high tithes imposed on them by the high nobility and king. The event is also known as "the uprising of Bábolna", named after the mountain, where the peasants gathered and defeated the noble army. The troops of Budai marched as far as Kolozsvár, and even though two pacts were signed by the two sides, both of them were infringed. He fell during the fights at the end of the year 1437 around Kolozsmonostor.

²²⁶ MNL OL, DL 26390.

²²⁷ He was a relative of the Bishop of Vác, Péter Agmándi (KmJkv I, 452/1016)

²²⁸ UB VI, 156-157.

²²⁹ UB VI, 179-180.

Peter continued the litigations on the issue of the border between Kajántó and Kolozsvár. After 1474, when the king decided to rule in the matter, the disputes disappear from the sources which may mean that it was somehow settled in an acceptable way for both parties.²³⁰ The coming years of Kolozsmonostor are quite blurry, more information is available after 1490, when Peter Polnar²³¹, a Dominican friar was appointed the abbot.²³² After Peter's death in 1495, from the same family Gabriel Polnar took over the administration of the abbey, who supported financially especially the Dominicans in Kolozsvár and Segesvár. Gabriel Polnar died in 1501 and the ruler did not give the abbey *in commendam* to anyone nor did he let the monks elect an abbot but held it in the possession of the treasury. John Bornemissza as treasurer entrusted the administration of the abbey to a member of his family, Paul Tomori, later archbishop of Kalocsa²³³. In 1502 Paul was mentioned as the estate manager of Kolozsmonostor, besides this he dealt with the affairs of the salt mine from Kolozs and collected the royal taxes from the Saxons.²³⁴ In 1508 he also became the castellan of Fogaras and held the title of the administrator of the incomes of the abbey (*administrator proventuum*).²³⁵ Meanwhile, Matthew Tolnai, supported by King Vladislaus II initiated a kingdom-wide reform of the Benedictines because of the deplorable state of some of the abbeys.²³⁶ He ordered that all abbeys should follow the Papal Statute (from 1336 – Benedict XII's *Summa Magistri*), the organizing of general chapters every two years, and the visitations of the abbeys. Despite Tolnai's efforts the reform attempts did not reach Kolozsmonostor. In 1511 one single mentioning, in the company of Tomori, contains information of an abbot placed at Kolozsmonostor, Martin Bornemissza.²³⁷

As it is highlighted above, after 1501, the function of the abbot was separated from the conventual life and became a simple benefice offered as a means of payment to various noblemen. Little is known about the abbot Martin and the next ones following him (Martin Nagyszombati and John Sági). Under Tomori's administration the abbey's life was peaceful, its neighbors did not disturb them. Only after 1520, when Tomori renounced all his appointments and retired as a Franciscan friar but died as a general of the Hungarian army in

²³⁰ KmLt nr. 235, MNL OL, DF 275422.

²³¹ From a Saxon patrician family from Segesvár. He was a learned theologian and studied in Ingolstadt, Köln, and Paris.

²³² KmJkv II, 69/2712.

²³³ Kalocsa was an archdiocese of the Kingdom of Hungary.

²³⁴ KmJkv II, 213/3232, 213-214/3233, 219/3254, MNL OL, DL 21199.

²³⁵ KmJkv II, 289/3498, 296/3521.

²³⁶ Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom*, 221-227.

²³⁷ Tomori called himself castellan of Fogaras and governor of Kolozsmonostor abbey, see: KmJkv II, 310/3573.

the battle of Mohács (1526) did the conflicts reappear.²³⁸ Stephen Tomori of Csúcs²³⁹ was commissioned to lead the abbey, also a noble retainer of John Bornemissza. To ensure his family's continuous claim to the administration of the abbey he named Andrew Kálnai, one of the family's confidants, administrator.

Before and after the battle of Mohács various lay governors administered the abbey, some from the supporters of John Szapolyai²⁴⁰ others from those that recognized Archduke Ferdinand of Austria as king. Also, additional details and longer periods of administration did not follow, here perhaps only John Gervan of Musina and Emeric Czibak can be mentioned as holding Kolozsmonostor for a longer time, then the Tomori family reclaimed it. The administration of the abbey by Nicolaus Tomori ended in 1538, and was taken over in 1540 by George Martinuzzi (or known also as Brother George – *Frater Georgius*), bishop of Várad.²⁴¹ He was one of the fervent opponents of the Reformation and after he was murdered by Castaldo's men²⁴² in 1551, his close friend and supporter Francis Székely of Meggyes replaced him for a short time in 1553 in the administration of Kolozsmonostor. Simultaneously, Castaldo worked on the fortification of the abbey with the agreement of Ferdinand I (1526-1564). Yet, not much is known about his fortification works.

The defeat at Mohács and the Turkish occupation meant the end of the territorial integrity of the realm of St. Stephen. The Transylvanian Principality was established as the outcome of a double claim to the Hungarian throne between Ferdinand I and John I, then later by his son John Sigismund, who became the first prince of Transylvania, heavily supported by the Transylvanian orders and a vassal of the Ottoman Empire.²⁴³ On the occasion of the national assembly in 1554, the Transylvanian orders decided that the abbot could freely hire learned priests in the convent to assure the functioning of the place of authentication.²⁴⁴ At the same time, King Ferdinand, for the survival of Catholicism in Transylvania wished to restore

²³⁸ Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom*, 233.

²³⁹ According to Jakó he is the same person as Stephen Tókus but he used the name Tomori (from 1521), when he became a prominent public figure and gained wealth. In 1523 he was even named vice-voivode.

²⁴⁰ From the prestigious Zápolya family, voivode of Transylvania and King of Hungary just after the battle of Mohács, between 1526 and 1540. His rule was disputed by Archduke Ferdinand I, who also claimed the title of King of Hungary.

²⁴¹ A Pauline monk, bishop of Oradea and archbishop of Esztergom, who supported John Zápolya. See: Teréz Oborni, *Az ördögös barát Fráter György (1482-1551)* [The diabolic monk Brother George (1482-1551)] (Pécs-Budapest: Kronosz Kiadó, 2017).

²⁴² Giovanni Battista Castaldo was in the service of Ferdinand I, and from 1551 he was sent as the leader of the imperial army to take over the power in Transylvania.

²⁴³ See Géza Pálffy, *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the sixteenth century* (Wayne: Center for Hungarian Studies and Publications, 2009): 35-48.

²⁴⁴ *Erdélyi országgyűlési emlékek* [Sources for the national assemblies of Transylvania], vol I, ed. Sándor Szilágyi (Budapest, 1876), 502. Used as EOE.

the abbey by placing a cleric as its leader. His choice fell on John Kolozsvári, prior of the Dominicans from Nagyszombat (in modern-day Slovakia), who he appointed in 1554.²⁴⁵ The teachings of Luther started to spread already in the 1530s in Kolozsvár, especially among the Saxon population. The Reformation gained a greater impetus from 1544, when Gáspár Heltai was elected the vicar of the town. After the murder of George Martinuzzi the rivalries were unleashed and the population of Kolozsvár banished the Franciscans and Dominicans from the town. After the Habsburg troops withdrew from Transylvania in 1553 the political disorder lasted until 1556, when the remaining Benedictines were finally evacuated from Kolozsmonostor (the last entry in the registers of the abbey comes from the 30th of June 1556) and the abbey ceased to function. The buildings of the abbey and its properties were secularized.

In conclusion it can be summarized that the abbey's fortunes were in a continuous, dynamic change influenced by multiple factors, such as the abbot's social status/background and his personal connections, the royal support of the abbey or its relationship with the local elite and neighboring landowners, and so on. Perhaps one of the most striking episodes in the abbey's history was its beginning, about which the available sources depict a series of crises reflected in the high number of attacks the abbey had to cope with (the Transylvanian bishops and finally the Mongol attack). After the Mongol destruction the repopulation of the abbey was a lengthy process that left its marks on its property structure, which are well-reflected in the difficulties to keep their former properties and to take up the fight to reclaim lost lands as well as to restructure the existing ones. Such was the power relation with the Transylvanian bishop, who after Kolozsvár had been also destroyed by the Mongols, requested the town from the king as a donation to repopulate it and most likely had hoped that the territories of the abbey would also end up in his bishopric. Even if this was not the case, his influence grew and expanded beyond that of Kolozsmonostor. However, thanks to a few eminent personalities (the first was Abbot *Lazarus*), who were appointed abbots, the convent enjoyed flourishing periods and stability, and some of the properties were firmly held (particularly during the time of Abbot John, Otto, Henry Albeni or Abbot Anthony). From the second half of the Middle Ages the most appealing factor for acquiring the position as an abbot of a Benedictine house was the source of income that their vast properties and additional revenues could provide. So among the abbots many were interested only in gaining personal wealth and influence and some of them clearly neglected the welfare of the abbey and the religious

²⁴⁵ KmJkv I, 85.

community but on the other hand the properties needed to be taken care of in order to provide the estimated incomes. This process culminated in the system of the *commendata* which evolved from the papal *reservatio* (reservation) which meant that the pope reserved for himself the right to place an abbot at the head of a wealthy monastery. Thus, the pope could give any of the reserved abbeys to whom he wanted, to monks from other orders or even priests. Following this model since the time of King Charles I became a fairly common practice. Moreover, the kings went even further, from the fifteenth century on they assigned lay people as abbots who had no connection to religious life.

In the fourteenth century a raising number of struggles for Benedictine property rights can be observed as a result of Pope Clement VI's provisions from 1344 to regain the lost rights and properties of the Benedictine abbeys as a common action. However, the signs of decline could already be observed in the fourteenth century. Several reform movements were initiated between the fourteenth and sixteenth century which were only partly successful. With the rising power of the kings in giving the abbey to commendatory abbots or governors of a personal choice, the fate of the abbeys was taken out from the Benedictine's hands and used as a benefice. This led to the decline of the religious commitment of many of the houses and several of them even lost their original function.

Probably, one of the well-marked actions of the abbey which can be easily highlighted and important for my research was its constant fight for keeping especially its central properties located in Kolozs County, which generated a rich source material that constitutes the core of my research. This phenomenon will be analyzed in detail in the following, in the light of land use and landscape archaeology.

Cca. 1220	Abbot L[adislaus]?
1290?-1307?	Abbot Lazarus
1308?-1315?	Abbot Haidenricus
1315-1327?	Commendatory Abbot Nicolaus
1327?-1332	Cleric Stephen, commendatory abbot
1332-1337	Commendatory Abbot Paul, Bishop of Nándorfehérvár
1338-1345?	Abbot John
1346?-1350?	Abbot Jordanus
1350?-1356	Abbot Bereck
1356-1360	Abbot Ladislaus [Czudar]
1361-1383	Abbot Otto
1383-1385	Abbot Ladislaus
1385-1407	Abbot Paul
1407-1408	Abbot Fridel
1407-1421	Abbot Henrik Albeni
1421-1424	Abbot Blasius [Dobó?]
1425-1451	Abbot Anthony

1452-1457	Governor Gothárd Rápolti
1458-1460	Abbot Luke
1460-1461	Governor, royal medic Bartholomew Gorzeres
1461-1463	Governor Ladislaus Pongrácz Dengelegi
1463-1481	Abbot Peter Pécsváradi
1481-1482?	Commendatory Abbot Lawrence, canon of Boroszló
1483?-1490?	Governor Matthias Pongrácz Dengelegi
1490-1495	Commendatory Abbot Peter Polnár
1495-1501	Commendatory Abbot Gabriel Polnár, Bishop of Bosnia
1501-1520	Governor and administrator Paul Tomori
Cca. 1511	Abbot Martin Bornemissza
1518-1519	Abbot Martin Nagyszombati
1519	Abbot John Sági
1521-1523	Administrator Stephen Tókus/Tomori
1523-1525	Administrator Andrew Kálnai
November 1525	Commendatory Abbot Nicholas Szepekth
May 1526	Governor Imre Czibak
1526-1529	Commendatory Abbot John Gervan, Bishop of Csanád
1529-1530	Administrator John Kemény Gyerőmonostori
1530?-1534	Governor Imre Czibak
1534-1539	Governor Nicholas Tomori/Sárvári
1539-1551	Governor, Brother George Martinuzzi, Bishop of Várad
1553	Commendatory Abbot Francis Székely Meggyesi, Bishop of Csanád
1554-1556	Abbot John Kolozsvári, Bishop of Csanád

Fig. 8. List of abbots, commendatory abbots, governors, and administrators of Kolozsmonostor (after Jakó 1990, 94-95)

3.5. MONASTIC PROPERTIES AND LAND USE

My research on monastic properties and economy relies to a certain extent on the dissertation of Noémi Szabó, who did an outstanding job in gathering the data from written sources connected to the economy of Kolozsmonostor and took it a step further by involving ethnographic parallels, particularly in the context of land use. My work takes a part of her research even further on the path of a detailed landscape analysis for which one has to leave the quiet rooms of the libraries and go out on the field and gather data. Then, it analyzes the various features and confronts those with the data contained in the documents. Most of the scholars who wrote about the history and evolution of the properties of the abbey or its economy clearly did not go out to every village or property, which likely surpassed in numbers 44. That is why in certain cases errors or misunderstandings appear, which will be highlighted in the coming discussion. Additionally, analyzing consciously selected groups of estates can bring in new data and supply a better understanding. First, with the help of topographic and landscape field investigation a control of the earlier analysis can be done. Second, through exploring the landscape features and traces of land use, results and

conclusions can unfold which otherwise based on the written sources and ethnographic parallels could not have been observed. Thirdly, by analyzing a well-chosen group of properties through a holistic landscape approach a number of general features can be explored which makes the land use of other Transylvanian monasteries of various orders analyzed in a similar manner comparable with the Benedictine system from Kolozsmonostor. As was already earlier observed in Britain the landscape study of monastic properties can yield important information on monastic economy and offer a glimpse even into everyday life issues. Just as lay properties the monastic estate was never static (size, content) but probably was more stable than its lay counterparts. The land could be sold, exchanged, leased, or occupied by force.²⁴⁶ The greatest influence on the monastic estate was its dissolution or its annexation to other religious institutions or lay domains (see Kerc or Kolozsmonostor), which generally fragmented the estates that had developed under monastic ownership.

As it was presented above, based on the written sources, the abbey fought long and hard to keep the integrity of its lands which represented its main source of income. The earliest, original block of monastic estates is unknown; only a forged document from 1263 provides information about the incomes and lands of the abbey.²⁴⁷ The charter offers an idealized view of the state of the properties from the second half of the fourteenth century when the forgery was probably prepared. Nevertheless, other authentic charters confirm the Benedictine ownership of some of the lands (here, see these included in the analysis below), so it is possible that the earliest land donations might be hidden amongst the ones listed there. The list contains the names of 44 villages or lands and land parts (Fig. 9²⁴⁸), besides these the abbey was entitled to the tithes coming from the enumerated lands, as well as the right to collect tolls in Kolozsmonostor and *Apáthida* (now Apahida). The 44 villages and parts of lands were spread in various historic counties (such as: Kolozs, Torda, Maros, Küküllő, Szeben, and Fehér) on the territory of Transylvania. Naturally, the number of monastic estates varied along the centuries (some were lost, sold, exchanged, and new ones were acquired)

²⁴⁶ See more on this subject for Britain: Stephen Moorhouse, "Monastic Estates: Their Composition and Development," in *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries in England and Wales*, eds. Roberta Gilchrist and Harold Mytum (BAR, Oxford, 1989), 29-81.

²⁴⁷ The first person who recognized that it was a forgery was the historian Zsigmond Jakó and he connected it to the time of Abbot Otto, when the abbey was in great need of an original charter to prove its claim to the lands, since the earliest documents were destroyed during the conflicts of the thirteenth century. See the document: EO I, 206/239; MNL OL, DL 37213. See in Jakó, "A kolozsmonostori apátság hamis oklevelei," 112-115.

²⁴⁸ Some of the enlisted properties were never identified so those lands are not represented on the map, only those appear which more or less can be proved to have had some connection to Kolozsmonostor. The map is a work in progress because additional land surveys and field walking is needed for most of the properties. The extent of the lands is highlighted with green only where based on field walking and Engel's historical maps these could be reconstructed.

however in the second part of the fifteenth century mainly the same lands belonged to the abbey as in the late thirteenth century.

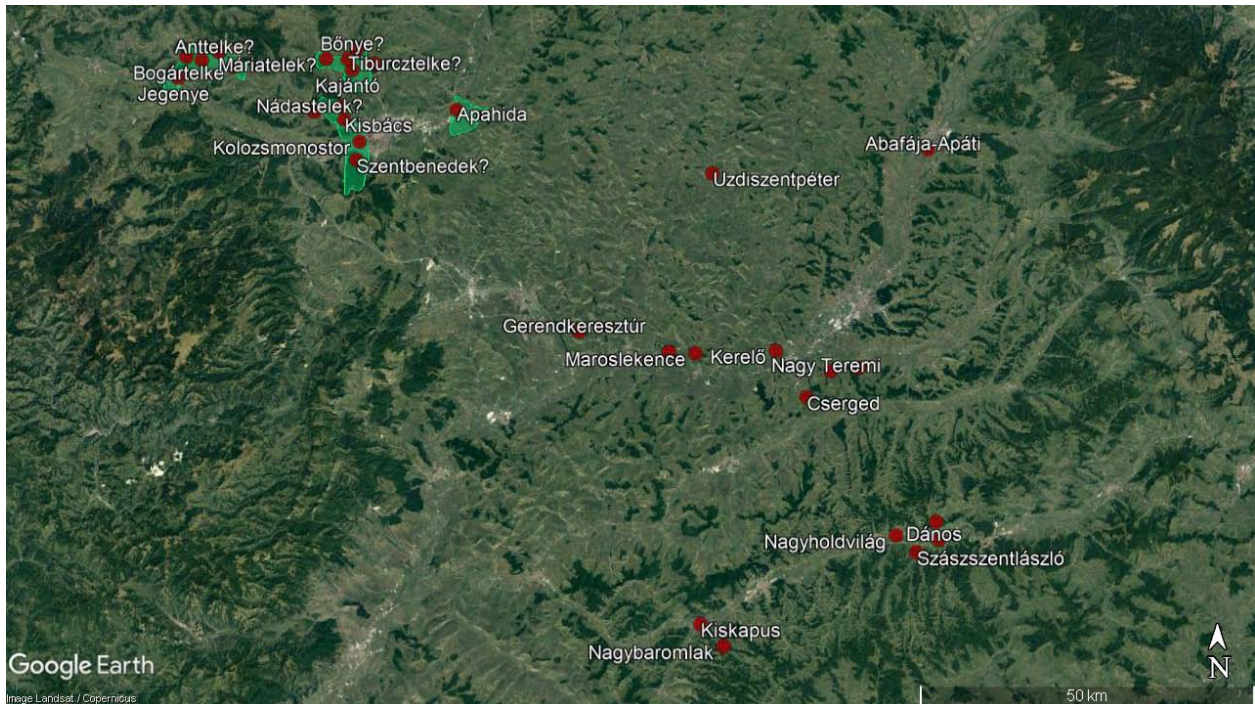


Fig. 9. Overview of the monastic lands of Kolozsmonostor
(red point-the villages, green polygon-the extent of properties based on written evidence)

Monastic properties were administered by estate managers (officials) appointed by the abbot, recruited generally from local noblemen, who were not clerics but rather entrepreneurs. It is hard to point out exactly which layer of nobility was frequently employed by the abbey. In some cases, one can discern that some of the estate managers came from the wealthier noble families. Zs. Jakó presumed that their wealth served as an assurance for the properties they managed.²⁴⁹ They could serve also as a local judicial forum. Jakó dated the permanent settlement of the litigation privilege of the abbey to 1341-1345, when Abbot John could successfully prove with charters that the abbey and its people were exempted from the local county court. The estate managers were entrusted with the management of incomes and the collection of the products. Unfortunately, a full exhaustive list of the actual products cannot be compiled, only bits and pieces of data come forth from the sources, these shall be presented where they are relevant.²⁵⁰ Still, little is known about their day-to-day activities or other aspects of their life. It is not known how they were organized or how many estates did they look after. Sources sometimes shed light on brief unfortunate happenings of conflicts connected to the estate managers who handled the properties. It seems that it could be a

²⁴⁹ KmJkv I, 129-130.

²⁵⁰ MNL OL, DF 275230 – the people from Kolozsvár bought wood from the estate manager of the abbey.

dangerous position too, a charter from 1375 relates such a situation, when Paul, the abbot's estate manager from *Bőnye*, was attacked by the Macskási nobles.²⁵¹ Occasionally the attackers murdered the abbey's estate manager so that they could occupy the land.²⁵² The monastic settlements were inhabited by tenant peasants and *hospites*²⁵³, who worked the lands, and about whom the sources supply quite precious and abundant information. Litigations show that tenant peasants frequently left the monastic lands or could be killed when neighbors forcefully occupied a piece of land. This worked the other way around as well, cases are known when the abbey's peasants caused material damage to the neighbors. Some sources even relate the value of the damage suffered by the abbey because the inhabitants had left a village as an outcome of attacks. In 1363 tenant peasants worth of sixty households (*mansio*) left the villages of Bogártelke, Egeres, and Jegenye because the estate manager of the Almás castle had occupied their lands.²⁵⁴

In the following, first I shall analyze the abbey's main, central block of estates located in Kolozs County, then I will extend the analysis to the remaining groups of landed property located in other counties. I aim to create a geographical, functional and chronological framework for the documented estates complemented with data extracted from the contemporary landscape. Nevertheless, it has to be emphasized that according to my findings some of the documented monastic properties, especially those that were situated at a considerable distance from the abbey, were in many cases never actually used and administered by the abbey. Kolozsmonostor renewed its claim from time to time but the properties lost at an early stage could almost never be regained. In the coming parts I shall thoroughly discuss these cases as well, highlighting the evidence to support such a definitive statement. Thus, the core of my research focuses on the main group of lands which were owned and administered by the abbey almost without interruption. This means that the properties from Kolozs County shall be discussed in detail in the form of a case study. I analyze the properties in the administrative framework of the historic counties where these were located, starting from the center (central/core properties) and advancing towards the furthest-located lands (periphery).

²⁵¹ MNL OL, DL 26758.

²⁵² See the events that took place in *Apáti/Abafája*: MNL OL, DL 28131.

²⁵³ Settlers of privileged standing coming from abroad or other parts of the country, see a detailed discussion on the *hospites* in towns with a discussion on the evolution of the term: Katalin Szende, "Hospitesből polgárok: a városi társadalom átalakulása az Anjou-kori Magyarországon [From Hospites to Burghers: Changes in the Focus of Urban Life in Angevin-era Hungary]," in *Várostörténeti Tanulmányok* [Studies of urban history] ed. Mária - Lupescu Makó (Kolozsvár: EME, 2018), 31-38.

²⁵⁴ MNL OL, DL 28914. Again in 1376 and 1417 – MNL OL, DF 275231; ZsOkl VI, nr. 661.

3.5.1. Kolozs County

One can presume that in the eleventh and twelfth century the Benedictines received a large portion of the royal lands in the historic Kolozs County²⁵⁵, the abbey being a royal foundation. After the conflicts of the thirteenth century and when the abbey was repopulated, its initial hypothetic main block of properties in Kolozs County was presumably restructured into smaller blocks of lands, concentrated along three river valleys (Nádas, Kis-Szamos, and Kajántó), comprising altogether nineteen villages or parts of villages (Fig. 10).

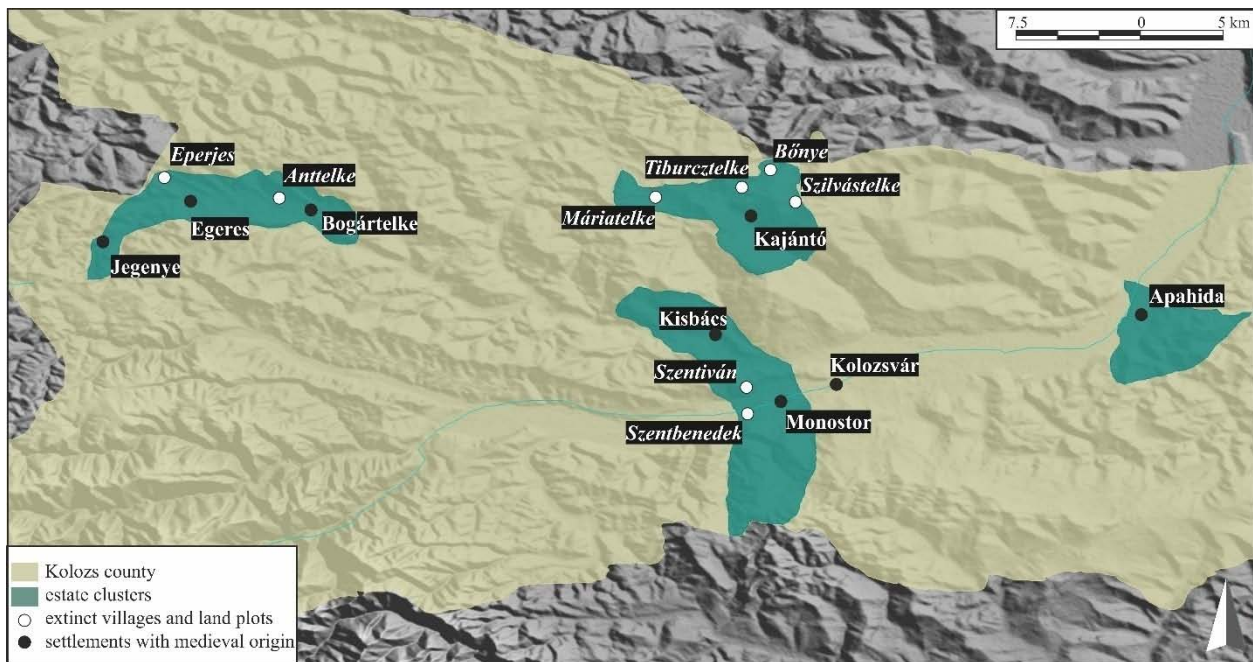


Fig. 10. The abbey's estate clusters in the medieval Kolozs County
(Bencze, Toda, "Tájhasználat", 102, Fig. 1; Toda, Bencze, "Lay or monastic?", 312, Fig. 1)

I shall start the analysis with the group of lands situated in the Kajántó Valley²⁵⁶, at a distance of approximately 15 km away from the abbey buildings. Based on the written sources, a group of at least five estates (appear under the name *telek* in the sources which

²⁵⁵ The territory of the historic county of Kolozs encompassed the southern third of the upper half of the Transylvanian Basin, it bordered to the west the Bihar Mountains, to the south the Gyalu Alps, to the north the Meszes Mountains and to the east the hilly area of the Mezőség. For more details on its history and early medieval formation, see: Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország*, vol. 3, 325-326.

²⁵⁶ A general assessment was presented by both authors (Bencze, Toda) as a paper at the conference: De Re Monastica VI organized in Rome – Subiaco between 9th and 11th of June 2017. A preliminary of this analysis was also jointly delivered at the conference: Történeti táj – tájrégészeti kutatásban [Historic landscape – landscape archaeology: Results and perspectives in the research of the landscape in Hungary] organized between the 6th and 7th November 2017 in Budapest. The paper was published as a study, see: Ünige Bencze and Oana Toda, "Tájhasználat a kolozsmonostori bencés apátság Kajántó-völgyi birtokain [Land use on the Kajántó Valley properties of Kolozsmonostor Benedictine Abbey]," *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum Érem- és Régiséggyűjtéséből* (New series) X-XI/2015-2016 (2019): 101-118. Recently: Oana Toda and Ünige Bencze, "Lay or monastic? The medieval landscape and property disputes over Tiburcztelke (Chinteni, Cluj county)," *Banatica* 29/I (2019): 275-319.

literally means land plot) and settlements belonged to Kolozsmonostor: *Kajántó*, *Máriatelke*, *Tiburcztelke*, *Szilvástelek*, and *Bőnye/Benye*.²⁵⁷ From these five the central and largest settlement was Kajántó which exists even today, all the other lands were located on its boundary. Most of the lands disappeared during the fifteenth century, apart from Kajántó and *Tiburcztelke* which was still inhabited in the seventeenth century but depopulated gradually.

A short detour is essential here, on the use and appearance of the suffix *-telek* as part of the place names. Since, Hungarian scholarship had dealt from the early twentieth century with the origins and dating of certain place names and their formation, it is important to highlight here some of the results which can be useful for my research as well. Concerning the use of suffixes such as *-falva* (village of), *-laka* and *-háza* (house of), and *-telke* with personal names (e.g. *Mária+telke*) historical and linguistic scholarship reached the conclusion that they appeared starting with the beginning of the thirteenth century.²⁵⁸ However, an exact dating cannot be provided for *-telek/-telke*. In line with the newest research it can be said that its meaning changed over the centuries and after a while it became the synonym of cultivated land, among others, such as: manured land (because of the animals kept there) or deserted land.²⁵⁹ However, initially, it might have meant a single habitation of an individual settler, who probably had cleared a smaller (plot-size) land and such a settling could have served as a starting point for the formation of a new settlement.²⁶⁰ Gy. Kristó observed that place names with the suffix *-telek* can be documented from even earlier from the eleventh and twelfth

²⁵⁷ Here the original names of the lands and villages will be used, the forms that appear in the written sources. The names have been used in documents in a great variety therefore, here I shall use only the ones used most frequently.

²⁵⁸ Gyula Kristó, "Szempontok korai helyneveink történeti tipológiájához [Viewpoints on the typology of the early historic place names]," *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis* (1976): 89-97; István Szabó, "A prédiüm. Vizsgálódások a korai magyar gazdaság- és településtörténelem körében [The *predium*. Investigations concerning early Hungarian economic and settlement history]," *Agrártörténeti Szemle* 5 (1963): 1-47; István Szabó, *A falurendszer kialakulása Magyarországon (X-XV. század)* [The emergence of the village system in Hungary (10-15th centuries)] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971): 36-54; László Makkai, "A mezővárosi földhasználat kialakulásának kérdései [Questions regarding the emergence of land use in market towns]," in *Emlékkönyv Kelemen Lajos születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára*, ed. András Bodor, Zsigmond Jakó, and Béla Cselényi (Bukarest: Tudományos Könyvkiadó, 1957): 471-478.

²⁵⁹ In more details for the territory of Transylvania, see: István Bátori, "Árpád-kori Erdélyi településnevek névrendszertani vizsgálatának tanulságai [Lessons from the analysis of Árpád Age Transylvanian settlement name taxonomy]," *Helynévtörténeti Tanulmányok* 10 (2014): 53-60; István Bátori, "A *telek* mint helynévformáns [*Telek* as formant of place names]," *Magyar Nyelvjárások* 53 (2015): 95-106;

²⁶⁰ Read more on the subject in English about the different types and meanings of the *-telek* in József Laszlovszky, "Space and Place: Text and Object. Human-Nature Interaction and Topographical Studies," in *People and Nature in Historical Perspective*, eds. József Laszlovszky and Péter Szabó (Budapest: CEU Department of Medieval Studies and Archaeologia, 2003), 81-104; József Laszlovszky, "Fama sanctitatis and the Emergence of St. Margaret's Cult in the Rural Countryside," in *Promoting the Saints. Cults and their Contexts from Late Antiquity until Early Modern Period*, eds. Ottó Geceker, József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Marcell Sebők, and Katalin Szende (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011), 103-125; József Laszlovszky, "Agriculture in Medieval Hungary," in *The Economy of Medieval Hungary*, eds. József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Péter Szabó, and András Vadas (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018), 92, 108.

centuries already, but back then it was not associated with cultivated land.²⁶¹ J. Laszlovszky synthesized that a substantial increase of cultivated land can be detected from the second half of the twelfth and particularly in the thirteenth century and this phenomenon can be linked also to the arrival of *hospes* settlers.²⁶²

Place name today	Place name in sources	Patron Saint	Construction date
Kolozsmonostor	<i>Monostor</i>	Holy Virgin	12 th century
Kajántó	<i>Kayanthow</i>	All Saints	12-13 th century
	<i>Tiburcztelek</i>	Queen Saint Helena	14-15 th century?
	<i>Máriateleke</i>	Holy Virgin?	-
	<i>Bewnye</i>	-	-
Bogártelke	Bogártelke	Saint Ladislaus	13-14 th century?
Egeres	Egeres	Saint Martin	14 th century
Jegenye	Jegenye	Archangel Michael	14 th century
	<i>Eperjes</i>	-	-
	<i>Anttelke</i>	-	-
Kisbács	Bács	Saint Agnes	13-14 th century?
	<i>Szentiván</i>	Saint John or Saint Egidius	15 th century?
	<i>Zenthbenedek</i>	Saint Benedict	13-14 th century?
Apahida	<i>Apáthyda</i>	?	14-15 th century
	<i>Nádastelek</i>	-	-
	<i>Zenthgergh</i>	-	-

Fig. 11. List of monastic properties with their parish churches in Kolozs County

The earliest land to be mentioned in an authentic charter is *Máriatelke* (in the sources as *Mariamagdalenatheleke/Mariatheleke*), in 1315.²⁶³ Then, the first authentic mentioning of Kajántó comes most likely from 1332, when two other deserted monastic lands were mentioned in its surroundings: *Tiburctelke* and *Bewnye*.²⁶⁴ Since, the original document has disappeared and cannot be consulted it is not clear whether the Latin text mentions explicitly the settlement of Kajántó or not. Chronologically, the next authentic appearance of the name of the village comes from 1339, when the abbot's peasants from Kajántó are mentioned.²⁶⁵ Although Kajántó already appears in earlier sources, Zs. Jakó proved that mostly all earlier charters containing the list of properties were fourteenth- and fifteenth-century forgeries. This lack of early authentic charters, as it was previously discussed, can be connected to the

²⁶¹ Kristó, "Szempontok," 91.

²⁶² Laszlovszky, "Agriculture," 95.

²⁶³ The name of the property appears in the perambulation of a neighboring land, called Szomordok, see: EO II, 115-116/255 and MNL OL, DL 28717.

²⁶⁴ EO II, 272/742; unfortunately, the original document is unavailable online under the number: MNL OL, DF 292762.

²⁶⁵ EO II, 367-368/1025. The original has disappeared sometime between 1898 and 1941.

numerous attacks that affected the abbey during the thirteenth century. Land names appear more frequently from the beginning of fourteenth century: *Tiburcztelke*, *Bewnye*, *Szilvastelek*, and *Máriatelek*. It might be safe to presume that these lands existed even earlier as the place name typology would suggest that this type (*-telek*) dates to the early thirteenth century as discussed above. However, earlier written sources did not survive to document their existence, nor were archaeological excavations carried out to date these villages. Due to the unevenness of the sources the data concerning these lands is biased, only the important events and issues are documented. We know for sure that Kajántó had a functioning parish church²⁶⁶ dedicated to All Saints in the fourteenth century (1342), when its priest was mentioned.²⁶⁷ The church is still in use today and based on the preserved architectural elements it can be dated to the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century.²⁶⁸ A curious prohibition from 1341, from the abbot of Kolozsmonostor, mentions the intention of building a chapel in *Tiburcztelke* by the people who forcefully occupied the land.²⁶⁹ In 1432 one finds out that Abbot Anthony donated the parish of Kajántó together with its *filia* in *Thyburch* (dedicated to Queen Saint Helena) to Mihály Porcsalmi.²⁷⁰ The parish priest of *Thyburch* was a certain Mathias in 1499 which means that the church was still functioning at that time.²⁷¹ These details shows that both settlements were important enough to have a parish church even though they were quite close to each other. Also, the expanding church administration (the upkeep of a *filia*-daughter church in *Thyburch*) could signal an important settlement development in this area and a rise in population density. G. Entz presumed a parish church in *Máriatelke* as well, dedicated to the Holy Virgin but the sources are silent about it (Fig. 11). However, it is more likely that the

²⁶⁶ For an analysis of the parish network, their numbers and estimation on the population numbers they could have served in medieval Hungary, see: Beatrix F. Romhányi, "A középkori magyar plébániák és a 14. századi pápai tizedjegyzék [The medieval Hungarian parishes and the fourteenth-century papal tithe register]," *Történelmi Szemle* 61 (2019), no. 3: 339-360.

²⁶⁷ Entz, *Erdély építészete a 11-13. században*, 104-105. Other priests: Benedictus (*sacerdos cappelanus* - 1389), Symon (1419, 1420, 1427), Valentinus (1429), Blasius (1450), Johannes (1507).

²⁶⁸ Entz, *Erdély építészete 14-16. században* [Architecture in Transylvania between the fourteenth and sixteenth century] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1996), 93. It is listed as a monument under the code: CJ-II-m-B-07565. Its corners are made of ashlar – medieval churches constructed from ashlar are quite rare on the territory of Transylvania. An attempt to briefly discuss the ashlar churches on the territory of medieval Hungary, see: József Laszlovszky et al., "The 'Glass Church' in the Pilis Mountains," *Hungarian Archaeology* (2014/Winter): 6-8. On the territory of Transylvania other churches constructed from ashlar can be found in: Bonchida, Boroskrakkó, Néma, Várfalva, Bálványosvára, Kisdisznód, Fugyi, Magyarsárd and Nádásdaróc. Also the round church excavated to the north of today's church in Kolozsmonostor was covered with ashlar. Most of these churches can be dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and many can be linked to royal and other lay centers, monasteries, and bishop's seats.

²⁶⁹ EO III, 58-59/76; MNL OL, DF 275166.

²⁷⁰ MNL OL, DL 37234/p. 8-9.

²⁷¹ MNL OL, DL 74272.

name *Máriatelke* originated from the fact that the land belonged to the abbey of Kolozsmonostor (which was dedicated to the Holy Virgin).

Several research steps were taken to identify the location of extinct villages along with the outline and possible changes in the medieval boundary and structure of the monastic properties.²⁷² The research started from the written sources where many relevant place names from several areas were preserved. In this respect, one of the best examples was the territory of Kajántó and its neighboring settlements. In the case of the deserted village of *Tiburcztelke* more than 50 documents were identified and used in the reconstruction of the boundary and land use. Written records from the second half of the sixteenth and seventeenth century (land registers, census reports, donations, and purchase letters) offered data on the inner structure of the land plots. These supplied the connection between the modern cartographic data²⁷³ and the medieval place names by pointing out various changes of the place names. From the approximately 16 useful medieval place names for *Tiburcztelke* only few were preserved and most of them changed their form (e.g. *Tiburț/Valea Tiburțului/Groapa Tiburțului, Sebide/Zebedeu/Schebdö* (Fig. 12), *Bénye/Bönye e[rdö]* or *Warhegy/Dealul Cetății*, on maps from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries). A regressive research aimed at the spatial distribution of the medieval place names²⁷⁴ through retracing the preserved elements from the twentieth century maps and topographic plans and going back in time in order to ensure a valid correlation to the boundary descriptions. Some of the key points (from perambulations etc.) could be identified on the field which enabled the team²⁷⁵ to organize several targeted field walks (between 2017 and 2019) and locate boundary sign, landscape elements, and archaeological traces. The gathered data was integrated into thematic maps.²⁷⁶

²⁷² See more in the article, Toda, Bencze, “Lay or monastic?,” 279-280.

²⁷³ The already used military surveys of the Habsburg Empire: <https://mapire.eu/en/browse/country>.

²⁷⁴ See online *Erdélyi helynévtörténeti adattár*: <http://eha.elte.hu/en/eha.php>.

²⁷⁵ Here I thank my colleague Oana Toda and my husband Koppány Ötvös for their assistance, devotion, and perseverance during field work and the help provided in data processing. I am grateful for Oana Toda’s help in the interpretation of the gathered information and for the possibility to work together in this area. I appreciate the collaboration with the National History Museum of Transylvania from Kolozsvár.

²⁷⁶ Toda, Bencze, “Lay or monastic?,” 280.



Fig. 12. The boundary point called *Zebedey/Sebide/Zebedeu* hill (upper right) from southeast (photo by Sz. Pánczél)

Based on the above it can be summarized that only a small percent of medieval place names survived until present. Additionally, sometimes the source material was too scanty for certain periods which made the research more difficult. Most of the place names had changed. As a general tendency it could be observed that the toponyms appeared in the sources in their Hungarian form. Later, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the population of the Kajántó Valley was gradually replaced by Romanians, the place names received a new, Romanian name or a Romanian equivalent. Also, examples are known, when the Hungarian name persisted in a Romanian form.

After all the available information on this property was gathered and compiled into datasets (such as the table below Fig. 13), the field work could take place. The most important details were gathered from the perambulations, based on which almost the entire boundary of medieval Kajántó could be reconstructed. The litigation documents were also helpful in identifying certain disputed areas. Finally, the cartographic data and the toponyms located through oral inquiry guided the team in locating many of the landscape features (Fig. 14).

Map ID	Toponym	Toponym type	First mention	Occurrence in written and cartographic sources				
				14 th c.	15 th c.	16 th c.	17-18 th c.	19 th c.
1	<i>Kayantho</i> (Kajántó)	settlement	1285?/1332					
2	<i>Tyburcztelke</i> (deserted)	settlement	1285?/1332					
3	<i>Máriatelke</i> (deserted)	settlement	1285?/1315				?	?
4	<i>Bewnye</i>	forest/woodland; settlement	1332					
5	<i>Szilvastelek</i>	forest/woodland; settlement?	after 1350					?
6	<i>Bedehalma</i>	hill	1315				?	?
7	<i>Herethalm</i>	hill	1315					
8	<i>Warhegy</i>	hill	after 1350					
9	<i>Zakadwuthberch</i>	hill	after 1350					
10	<i>Kayanthou Pada/Josephzenaffywe</i>	hayland/pasture	1339					
11	<i>Zyluastelkeberke/Yosephberke</i>	hill	1339					
12	<i>pratum Bydeskut</i>	well/source	1452					
13	<i>Kyralkwthaffew</i>	well/source	1367					
14	<i>Mariatehelekffew</i>	unknown	1367					
15	<i>via venitur de Zentmihalytelek</i>	road	1367					
16	<i>locus Rawazlywk</i>	unknown	1367 (1315)					
17	<i>terra paludosa Darwostho</i>	marsh/lake	1367					
18	<i>via Regia</i>	road	1379					
19	<i>Saashalom/Faashalom</i>	hill	1379					
20	<i>Aranyasfoka</i>	stream/river	1379					
21	<i>via iret ad Gyows</i>	road	1379					
22	<i>mons Zebedey</i>	hill	1379					
23	<i>viam de... Kayantho ad Machkas</i>	road	1379					
24	<i>fossatum Teulgypatak</i>	stream/river	1377				?	?
25	<i>via Vasarosuth/Beerchuth</i>	road	1418					
26	<i>via Wagaaswuth</i>	road	1435					
27	<i>kwehathar</i>	boundary sign	1435					
28	<i>Kayanthowth</i>	road	1564					
29	<i>via publica a Obuda versus Zomordok</i>	road	1461					
30	<i>Kyralkwth</i>	well/source	1315					
31	<i>via publica ad Korog</i>	road	1398					

Fig. 13. Toponyms and boundary markers of Kajántó collected from the sources (grey=yes, white=no) (Bencze, Toda, "Tájhasználat," 106, Table 2; Toda, Bencze, "Lay or monastic?," 281-282, Table 1)



Fig. 14. The location of the toponyms and boundary markers as indicated by the datasets and the field surveys

(Bencze, Toda, "Tájhasználat," 105, Fig. 3; Toda, Bencze, "Lay or monastic?," 313, Fig. 3)

Targeted, intensive field investigations took place in the surrounding areas of Kajántó, in the upper part of the Kajántó Valley. The main focus of the field investigations was on the one hand, to reconstruct the medieval boundaries of the monastic properties or at least one of them, and on the other, to identify the land use on these lands, and to locate the former medieval settlements that have disappeared by now. The various landscape features and boundary signs (*meta*) as well as sites of disappeared settlements were recorded with a hand GPS and Sistem GPS South. Thus, after a few successful field surveys the identified toponyms were placed on maps and the medieval (fourteenth- and fifteenth-century) boundary of Kajántó took shape. Concerning Hungary, it is important to highlight that a well-defined methodology exists for the archaeological and landscape archaeological analysis of medieval perambulations.²⁷⁷ A graphic methodology for boundary reconstruction has been developed by Cs. Zatykó.²⁷⁸ Thus, the present research and reconstruction builds on these earlier methodologies but develops it further through looking at the regional topography, elevation profile of the boundary elaborated by O. Toda, and the historic land use of the area.

In this case, the sources show a partial and in few places distorted image because the majority of data comes from perambulations and litigations, which focus only on certain areas or boundary parts of the properties, strictly where disputes or forced occupations happened.

²⁷⁷ József Laszlovszky, "Dedi etiam terram, que adiacet circa aquam, que vocatur Tiza: Adatok az 1075-ös garamszentbenedeki oklevél helyneveinek lokalizálásához [Dedi etiam terram, que adiacet circa aquam, que vocatur Tiza: Data concerning the localization of the place-names in the 1075 charter of Garamszentbenedek]," *Zounek* 1 (1986): 9-24.

²⁷⁸ Zatykó, "Medieval villages," 343-374.

Evidently the disputed boundary parts left behind a wealthier and more diverse enumeration of place names than those which were more peaceful. The litigation documents and perambulations are quite detailed, especially for the territories where the lawsuits dragged on for decades. This is exceptionally well-illustrated by the north-eastern and southern border line of Kajántó, since a large number of charters deal with the boundary disputes between the abbey and the surrounding neighbors. From all these charters the most important perambulations from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were extracted, which contained a description of different areas of the boundary. Based on these the northern boundary line could be safely pieced together while other parts of it could be only largely inferred from much fewer contemporary sources. An elevation profile²⁷⁹ offers a better understanding of the track of the northern boundary line and the geographic features which served as boundary signs (Fig. 15).

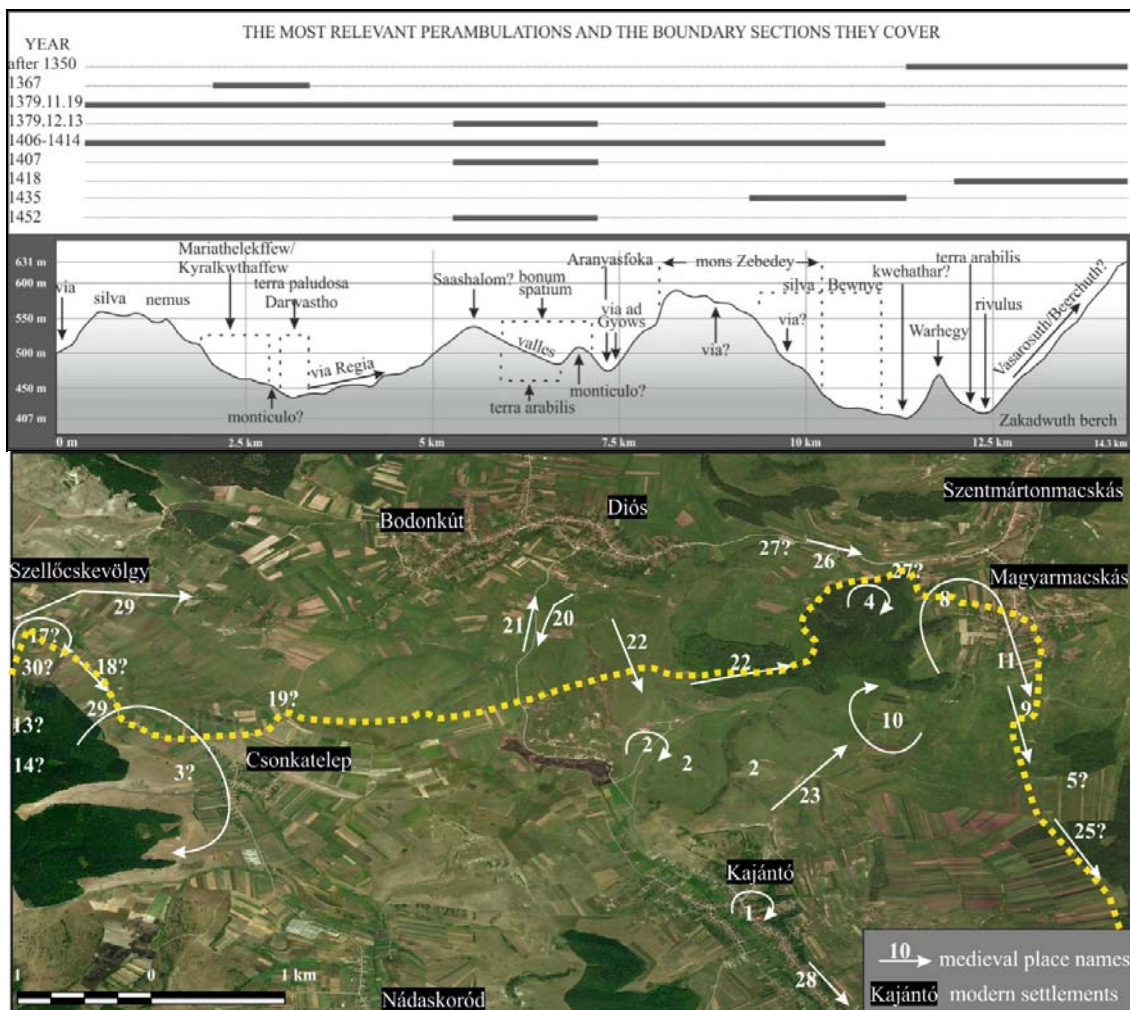


Fig. 15. Above: The elevation profile of the northern boundary line Under: The track of the northern boundary line with the identified toponyms and boundary markers

(Bencze, Toda, "Tájhasználat," 107, Fig. 4; Toda, Bencze, "Lay or monastic?," 314, Fig. 4)

²⁷⁹ I thank Oana Toda for the idea and the elaboration of the elevation profile.

Interestingly, a number of boundary points (*meta*) and landmarks mentioned in the descriptions could be identified in the field, such as: *Darwastow* (Fig. 21), *Faashalom/Hashalyom* (Fig. 17), *Zebedey/Sebedee* (Fig. 12), and *Warhegy* (Fig. 16). Three of these indicate high points in the landscape, such as high or large hills, and one was an extended marshland, again relatively easily recognizable on the field. Besides these, various medieval roads and road tracks were documented, along which the boundary stretched, or was crossed by it.

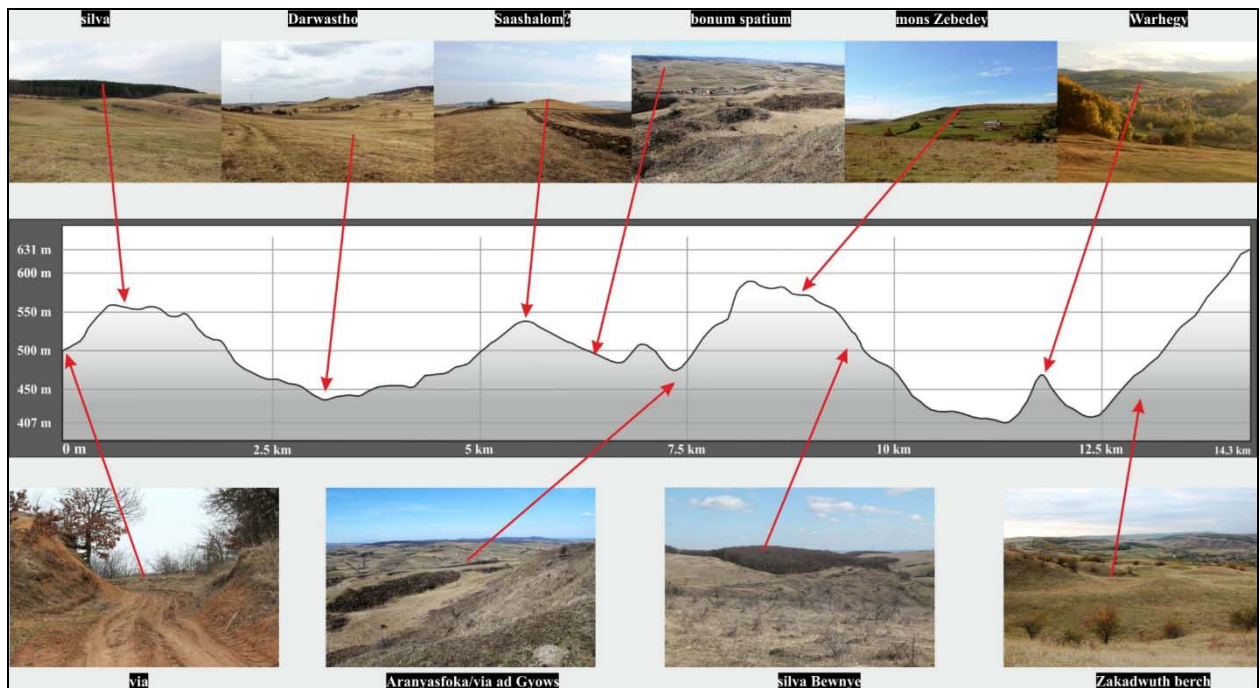


Fig. 16. Landmarks and their location on the elevation profile (O. Toda)²⁸⁰

It is known that boundary signs can be of the greatest variety and can be grouped based on several features, such as natural or man-made, permanent or temporary, “linear” or point-specific, they can differ also in their material and quality.²⁸¹ Medieval boundaries were not linear demarcations as we witness it today but were only largely pointed out and connected by an imagined line.²⁸² The perpetuation of the collective memory of the people

²⁸⁰ Presented in the paper by Oana Toda and Ünige Bencze, “The heritage beyond sites: spatial structures and landscape features of the monastic properties from Chinteni and *Máriatelke* (Cluj County)” at the international conference: Interethnic Relations in Transylvania. Medieval Patrimony and the History of Central and South-Eastern Europe, organized in Sibiu, in 2018.

²⁸¹ Outlined in detail in Takács, *Határjelek, határjárás*.

²⁸² See similar cases in Andrea Kiss, “A Fertő-tó partvidékének írott források alapján rekonstruálható tájviszonyai a késő-középkortól a szabályozások megkezdéséig [Landscape conditions of the Fertő/Neusiedlersee-shoreline from the late Middle Ages to the beginning of water regulation works],” in *A táj változásai a Kárpát-medencében* [Landscape changes in the Carpathian Basin], ed. György Füleky (Gödöllő: GATE, 1999), 215-221; Andrea Kiss, “A contribution to research on the historical geography of the first extant

regarding the boundary signs was an important task since the boundary tracks were mainly preserved orally.²⁸³

Most of the boundary signs investigated in the Upper Kajántó Valley are natural features (hills, marshland, forests, and specific trees) and some are man-made (roads and earth heaps). Only two earth heaps could be located due to their precarious nature: one on the northern border, the other on the eastern border line of Kajántó (see pictures below Fig. 17).



Fig. 17. The boundary sign *Saashalom/Fashalom?*–*Țeapa Neamțului* (left) and *duae metae antiquae*–eroded tumuli (right)

3.5.1.1. Topographic and Landscape Analysis of the Area

The results indicate that a large percent of the place names connect to natural or man-made factors that influenced the change of the landscape during the centuries until nowadays.

3.5.1.1.a. Natural factors

The natural factors which play a role in the shaping of a landscape depend largely on the weather conditions and the geomorphology of the area. The formation of the geological layers in the region around Kolozsvár goes back to the geological Neogene, in some places to the Eocene. The subsoil of the Kajántó Valley is formed from Oligocene and Miocene sedimentary layers, which sometimes consist of clay, marls, limestone, in other parts of loose sand layers, the hardness and resistance of which against erosion differs. Due to deforestation and the geomorphology of the area large-scale landslides and soil erosion occurred on both sides of the valley, which today offers one of the characteristics of the landscape. The soil movements affected historic hay lands, meadows, pastures, and roads, a part of which were entirely destroyed.

‘reambulation’ sketch from the Carpathian Basin,” *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti ZPDZ HAZU* 19 (2002): 121-141.

²⁸³ On the medieval character and modern after life of boundary signs in a similar hilly region, see: László Ferenczi and József Laszlovszky, “Középkori utak és határhasználát a pilisi apátság területén [Medieval roads and land-use patterns on the estate of Pilis Abbey],” *Studia Comitatusiensia* (new series) 1 (2014): 103-124.



Fig. 18. Landslide on the *Zebedey* hill (boundary point)



Fig. 19. Soil erosion in the area around *Kayantho Pada* (former hay land)

3.5.1.1.b. Anthropogenic interventions

One of the largest modern age human interventions was water regulation, which took place all along the valley starting from the nineteenth century. The whole line of the Kajántó stream was regulated in much straighter line than it can be seen depicted on historic maps, cleaned and deepened. The landslides and erosions also affected the course and flow of the stream. Some of the smaller, adjacent streams suffered interventions too, like in the valley, to the north of Kajántó, between *Tiburcz* and the *Zebedey* hill. Another anthropogenic

intervention that heavily impacted the environment was the partial deforestation of certain areas near Kajántó. Deforestation is one of the main causes for landslide and intensive grazing deteriorates it even further. However, the degree of deforestation was lower than anticipated. Additional interventions are represented by the intensive grazing, which basically cover all areas of the territory under research, and extended agricultural land plots, which however suffered a setback in the last ten-twenty years in favor of grazing. Instead of the use of arable lands a new wave of constructions appeared in the area, as a result of the rapidly expanding town of Kolozsvár. Since the archaeological repertory of the region is outdated and new research did not deal with the remains of medieval properties and landscape features²⁸⁴, it is unknown how much of the recovered and inventoried landscape elements will be preserved for the future.



Fig. 20 Deforestation on the *Zebedey* hill (left) and intensive grazing in *Tiburcz* (right)



Fig. 21. The drained site of the marshland *Darwastho*

²⁸⁴ Even though recently a new research has seen light concerning the area around the Kis-Szamos River Basin unfortunately new field work has not been used to collect data for the volume as the information contained for the medieval sites studied in this dissertation were collected from the old repertory. See: Erwin Gáll et al., “*Dáciától Ultrasilvaniáig*”. *A Kis-Szamos medencéjének településtörténeti változásai 3/4-12/13. század* [From Dacia to Ultrasilvania. The changes in settlement history of the Someşul Mic Basin between the 3-4th and 12-13th centuries] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2017).

3.5.1.2. Medieval Land Use: An Attempt at Reconstruction

Based on the assembled puzzle pieces from written sources, historic maps, and field work a significant part of the medieval (fourteenth-fifteenth century) land use of Kajántó could be reconstructed. These include arable lands, hay meadows, pastures, forests, and a marshland, which were under the administration of abbey. In the following these types of lands shall be discussed grouped by their use.

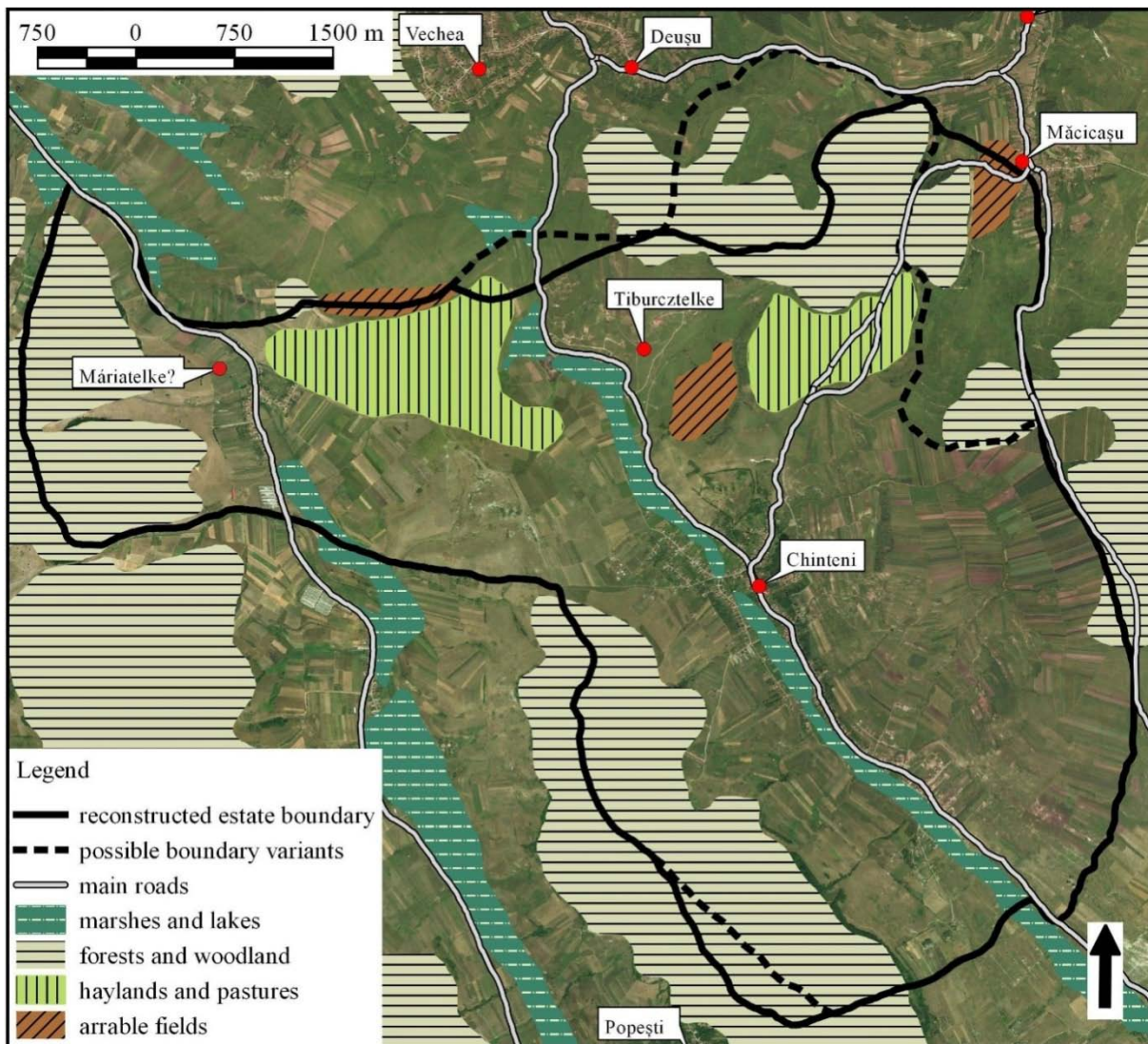


Fig. 22. Partial reconstruction of medieval land use on the territory of Kajántó (Bencze, Toda, "Tájhasználat," 111, Fig. 8)

3.5.1.2.a. Arable Lands

Even though the written documents offer little insight into the exact use of the abbey's lands, given the need to sustain the inhabitants of the lands and provide incomes for the abbey, it is highly probable that the monastic properties were largely used as arable lands.²⁸⁵ Litigation documents indicate mainly conflict situations, when the monastic lands were

²⁸⁵ The abbey had arable lands also in: Egeres, Jegenyé, Szentiván, and Apáthida.

attacked or were occupied by neighbors. Occasionally these can contain details on the nature of the lands which fell under occupation or suffered destruction. It can be observed that in certain areas the forceful land occupations happened consequently, returning from time-to-time, and frequently the court decisions had no effect on those that acted illegally.

Concerning the location of arable lands within the boundaries of Kajántó sources are less telling. The abbey suffered great losses in 1415 (after 1405 the town of Kolozsvár acquired a higher degree of autonomy and probably also power over its neighborhood), when the people of Kolozsvár attacked Kajántó and destroyed the boundary signs, after which they occupied a large portion of the monastic arable lands, meadows and groves. These are not indicated on Fig. 22 since their exact location was not detailed by the written sources.²⁸⁶ The investigation in the matter was decreed by the vice-voivode but the actual resolution of the problem happened only in the time of King Matthias in 1474, after which the quarrels did not reappear anymore.

Written evidence scarcely mentions what exactly was produced on the lands of the abbey. However, in a few select cases, charters do mention what was destroyed or stolen from a land. Such an incident was documented by a charter in 1415, when fruits from the monastic land (*predium*) of *Szentiván* were stolen regularly.²⁸⁷ Or, when in 1429, the people of Kolozsvár armed and with horses attacked Kajántó from where they took cereals worth “*tria milia capetiarum*”.²⁸⁸ The part which they could not transport was trodden down by their animals.²⁸⁹ In the next year, the townsmen took 1500 *capetia* of cereals.²⁹⁰ Both sources convey a significant amount, but the question remains whether the amount is exaggerated or not by the abbey. From the two documents one can infer that in August and September the cereals were already reaped and tied into bundles, but the products were not yet transported to their final storage place.²⁹¹ The types of the produced cereals are not revealed by the sources, again only bits and pieces can be found scattered around in the tithe registers. In 1418 the

²⁸⁶ ZsOkl V, 552; MNL OL, DL 28780.

²⁸⁷ MNL OL, DF 275227.

²⁸⁸ The “kepe” (in Latin: *capetia*) meant a pile of grains but sometimes it could refer to even a straw or hay pile. Bogdán associated its meaning with the “kalangya” which meant hay stack. The exact value of a “kepe” cannot be defined with certainty however, it can roughly be estimated at 1 kepe = 2 kalangya – see in more details: István Bogdán, *Magyarországi űr-, térfogat-, súly- és darabmértékek 1874-ig* [Measurements of liquids, weight, and pieces in Hungary until 1874] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991), 404-405.

²⁸⁹ MNL OL, DL 28807; UB IV, 392.

²⁹⁰ 1430.

²⁹¹ Szabó, “A kolozsmonostori bencés apátság,” 66-67.

flax, hemp and wax tithes of the monastic lands were mentioned²⁹², in 1451 only the yearly cereal tithe from Jegénye.²⁹³

Even though the above discussed fields/arable lands cannot be located the targeted field walks revealed man-made terraces or lynchets, on both sides of the Tiburc Valley. Some of them were preserved better while others can be barely seen due to the combined impact of water erosion, grazing, and deforestation as well as later agricultural activity. It is hard to tell whether these were used for agricultural purposes or other. The valley was inhabited (*locum sessionalem*) already by the middle of the fourteenth century.²⁹⁴ The lynchets on the upper part of the *Zebedey* hill were probably used for agricultural activity perhaps even as a vineyard (see below, Fig. 23).²⁹⁵ Traces of human intervention can be spotted in the landscape in a number of instances on both sides of the valley, even though these cannot be dated with certainty.



Fig. 23. Lynchets on the upper (deforested) part of the *Zebedey* hill (photo by Sz. Pánczél)

Additional strips of arable lands and enclosed fields can be seen on the modern maps as well as in the landscape, however most of these can be traced back until the early modern and modern.

²⁹² ZsOkI VI, 443/1679; MNL OL, DL 28166.

²⁹³ KmJkv I, 445/988; MNL OL, DL 36403 p. 59, nr. 5.

²⁹⁴ EO II 35/2.

²⁹⁵ More on this in: Toda, Bencze, "Lay or monastic?," 286-287.

3.5.1.2.b. Lands Used for Animal Husbandry

The earliest border disputes of the abbey appeared quite early, a charter indicates that in 1339 the abbot reached an agreement (after lengthy litigations) with the neighboring Macskási nobles²⁹⁶ concerning the abbey's hay meadow called *Kajanthoupada* (above the grove named *Josephbeerke* – grove of Joseph) but renamed by the nobles to *Josephzenafywe* (the hay meadow of Joseph). At least two Macskási (the Diósmacskási and Józsefmacskási) families existed just as the settlements with this name reflect. According to Diaconescu the two families had different origins²⁹⁷ but in this dispute with the abbot the descendants of the Józsefmacskási family took part. The dispute started when the nobles occupied and reaped the grass illegally on the land of the abbey. According to the agreement they returned that part of the land until the woods called *Josephberke*, paid the penalty, and ended the litigations.²⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the same crime was repeated in 1368²⁹⁹ and 1369.³⁰⁰ In 1375 the sons of Nicholas (son of Joseph of *Machkas* – probably the one who gave the name of the village and the family) Andrew and Blasius, together with their peasants took cattle from the abbot's lands (from the boundary of *Kajántó* and *Beunye*, the exact number is unknown, the source tells only that six oxen were killed and others were sold back to the abbey) and armed with weapons they tried to kill Paul the abbey's estate manager of *Beunye* but managed to kill only his horse. Still, as these crimes did not bring any satisfaction Andrew and his brother burned down *Beunye* property with his peasants.³⁰¹ The litigations for *Kayanthopada* continued in 1417 and the parts reached an agreement in 1418 by dividing the disputed part into two.³⁰² However, the agreement was quickly contested by the *custos* and members of the convent since it wasn't favorable for the abbey.³⁰³

Additional meadows and hay lands are documented around the *Darvastho* lake/marshland from the middle of the fifteenth century. A detailed discussion connected to the lake and its surroundings shall be presented in the coming part.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁶ Due to the lack of surviving documents for certain time periods it is hard to reconstruct the genealogy of the family or to discern how many families truly existed. It is also impossible to identify some of the family members.

²⁹⁷ Marius Diaconescu, *Structura nobilitatii din Transilvania in epoca Angevină* [The structure of the nobility from Transylvania in the Age of the Angevins] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2013), 183-184, 264-265, 454.

²⁹⁸ MNL OL, DL 28725; DL 36403.

²⁹⁹ DRH C XIII, 353 (1368 Sept 15).

³⁰⁰ ZsOkI I, 4519 (1396 Sept 19); ZsOkI I, 4532.

³⁰¹ MNL OL, DL 26758; DRH C XIV, 575-577/422.

³⁰² ZsOkI VI, 527-528/2113; MNL OL, DL 28792.

³⁰³ MNL OL, DL 36896, ZsOkI VI, 549/2212.

³⁰⁴ Further monastic hay meadows and grasslands were recorded in: Apáthida and Bács.

Extensive arable lands, meadows, and groves were also on the south-eastern border of Kajántó. Besides the mentioned arable lands, hay meadows, pastures etc. one can presume additional favorable locations within the borders of Kajántó. It would be logical for the abbey to use all the available land to support the inhabitants of the land as well as to produce income for the abbey. This is the part, where field work and eventually modern sources come in handy. Looking at the extent of Kajántó with its additional smaller lands located on its borders (*Tiburcztelke, Bőnye, Máriatelke*) it is highly improbable that other lands suitable for cultivation stayed unused. On the other side, however, not all the land was exploited at the same time. Even though actual data does not exist on crop rotation (two-field system) its use was widespread in the Middle Ages and was used in Transylvania as well. This could happen in two ways, one in which certain lands were cultivated for a longer period, then new lands were drawn into cultivation by giving up an earlier used land (less probable) or another when certain field systems encompassed a large territory.³⁰⁵

Probably most of the lands were drawn into cultivation through forest clearance, however for medieval Transylvania such issues were not studied in detail. Documents are silent on the estate management and the actual tillage of the land. It is not known whether the tenant peasants received the lands for perpetual use or these were redistributed from time-to-time. Only, one single late source, from 1555, testifies about monastic land distribution. This reveals that the abbot of Kolozsmonostor and the convent donated to a councilor of Kolozsmonostor, named László Borfejű the lands which he, on his own expense cleared from wood and bushes, and made it arable. The abbot added that he removed the cleared lands forever from those that were used to be divided among the settlers (*“inter alias terras arabiles colonorum nostrorum...connumerari, dividi et sequestrari nullo unquam tempore possint nec valeant”*).³⁰⁶ As it was observed by N. Szabó, this data offers a glimpse into an archaic land use.³⁰⁷ According to Belényesi this could be explained by the abundance of land, and in Transylvania, in the fifteenth century the community lands were still divided periodically.³⁰⁸ This source also attests that the expansion of the arable lands through deforestation was

³⁰⁵ Lajos Takács, *Egy irtásfalú földművelése* [The arable farming of a forest cleared village] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976); Imre Hegyi, *A népi erdőkielés történeti formái* [Historical forms of folk forest use] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978); Lajos Takács, *Irtásgazdálkodásunk emlékei. Irtásföldek, irtásmódok* [Relics of Hungarian Shifting Agriculture, Cleared Land and Methods of Clearing] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980);

³⁰⁶ KmJkv II, 798/5345.

³⁰⁷ Szabó, “A kolozsmonostori bencés apátság,” 57.

³⁰⁸ Márta Belényesi, “Hufengrösse und Zugtierbestand der bäurlichen Betriebe in Ungarn im 14-15. Jahrhundert,” in *Viewirtschaft und Hirtenkultur*, ed. László Földes (Budapest, 1969), 148.

characteristic all along the late Middle Ages and underlines that it was a general tendency to remove the cleared lands from a community's land use.

Nonetheless, field work supplied substantial data on the arable lands, hay meadows and pastures which must have been used during the late medieval and modern periods. One of the interesting places is the land called *Tiburcztelke/Tiburcz*, a toponym which was preserved until today and it appears on the First Military Survey under the indication: “*laage des gewesten Dorfs Tiburtz*”. *Tiburcz* is mentioned as inhabited for the last time in 1676, when around twenty peasants or perhaps cotters (*inquilinus*, most probably *subinquilinus* that is without owning a house) still lived there, and approximately fourteen house lots were already uninhabited.³⁰⁹ The source relates that the cotters often ran off. Arable lands, hay meadows, and fishponds were enumerated as parts of the land. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century it was already a field and pasture. Nowadays, the entire valley is used as a pasture, with two permanent farmsteads, one for sheep and the other for cows and horses. As discussed above the valley preserves well-defined terraces for arable land on both sides. Their earliest use could be linked to the end of the fourteenth and the fifteenth century based on the written evidence (but the process could have started even earlier if one looks at the place names) while their latest use to the seventeenth, some parts of it maybe even the eighteenth and nineteenth century. A land register from 1787 recorded four haylands in *Tiburtzi Rét, Tiburtzi Bönye, Tekéntőn, Csonkási szénafű*. Except for the last one (located on the boundary with Szomordok), these parts of land could have belonged to *Tiburcztelke* during medieval times.³¹⁰

Additional arable lands and meadows are attested in modern sources (1588, 1590-1594) on both sides of the Kajántó Valley although because of the frequent landslides and erosion the hillsides are more suitable for pastures than arable land. Arable fields today can be seen on the hilltops and the foot of the hills. Terraces are not characteristic nor practical for this landscape. Presumably some of the arable lands and meadows were used already in the late medieval period.

3.5.1.2.c. Water and Marshland

Concerning medieval water regulation or management the sources are totally silent. The preserved litigation documents do not discuss fishponds or mills, which both would have provided means of income for the abbey. The main water source of the valley is supplied by

³⁰⁹ Szabó, *Erdélyi helynévgyűjtése*, Kolozs megye, 10/C, 930.

³¹⁰ Szabó, *Erdélyi helynévgyűjtése*, Kolozs megye, 10/C, 931.

the stream with the same name: Kajántó, which flows towards the south and joins the Kis-Szamos at the end of the valley. The stream collects the waters of two other bigger brooks: the Nyír (Romanian: Mesteacăn, English: Birch) (which flows from the direction of Bodonkút, north-west) and Tiburc (originates from the valley of *Tiburcztelke*). Below the settlement, the Kajántó stream collects the waters of seasonal, smaller brooks, which flow downwards the valley from the surrounding hills.

Yet, as I shall prove below the abbey most probably had fishponds within the boundaries of the researched properties. One of the very first evidences for the existence of a (fish)pond can be found in the name of Kajántó (in Hungarian) itself, which translated into English would be “the lake of Kaján”.³¹¹ The settlement’s Hungarian name did not change until today however, its new Romanian name (Chinteni) does not mirror the fact that a pond had existed there, perhaps only its old name Chintău. To the north-west of the settlement a large fishpond can be seen even today, the existence of which is documented by historic maps, starting with the First Military Survey, the Second Military Survey, and the Third Military Survey (see maps below Fig. 24 and Fig. 25). The maps show clearly how the size of one of the fishponds expanded along almost three hundred years, but its location remained the same, even after modern water regulations. The Second Military Survey shows two additional fishponds as well, located to the north, just outside the settlement, which do not exist today, while the third survey indicates the whole area of the fishponds as a marshland.

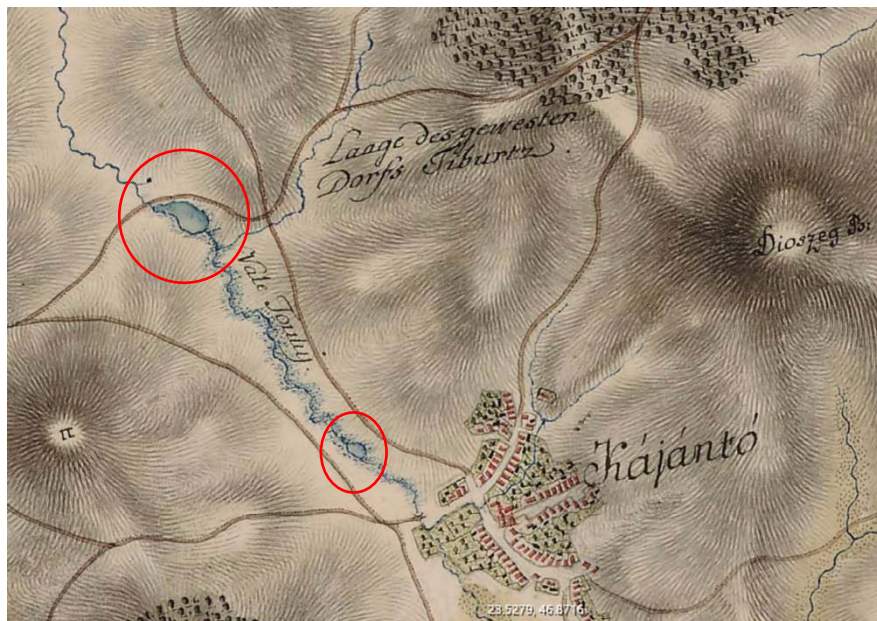


Fig. 24. The large fishpond next to *Tiburcztelke* and a small pond above *Kajántó* (First Military Survey)

³¹¹ Probably a personal name however additional information on its origins are unknown.

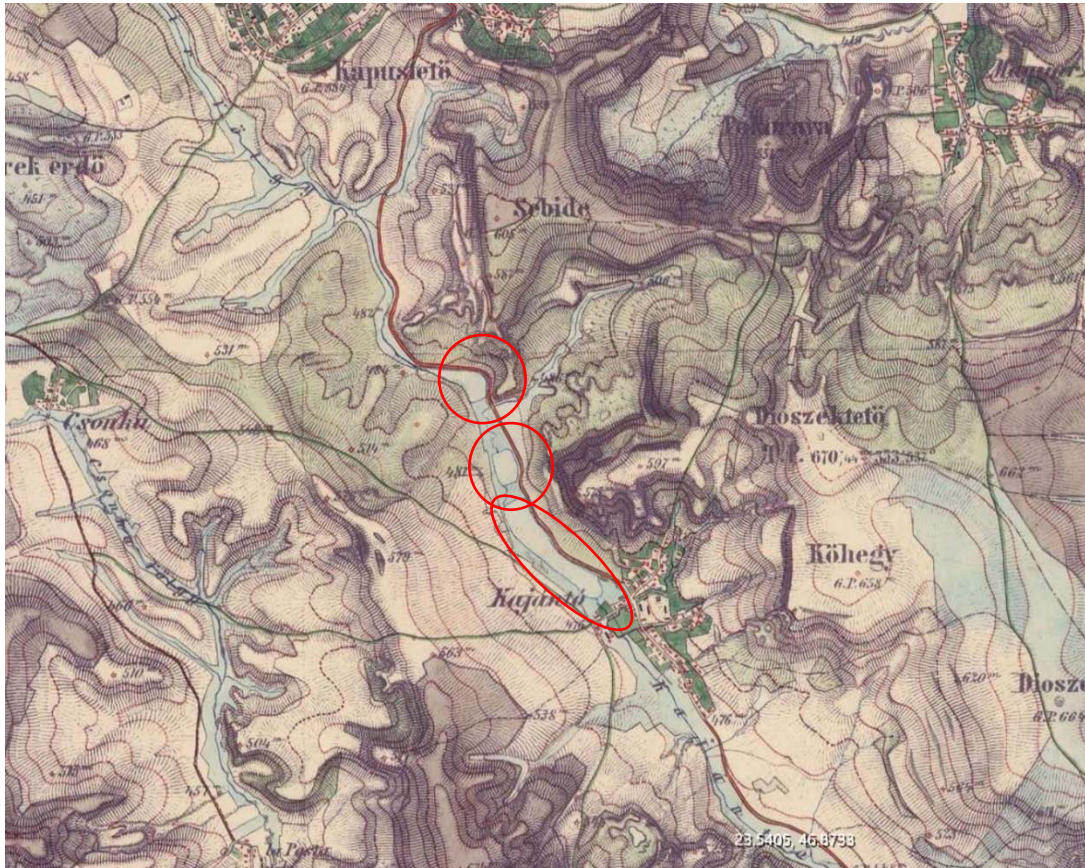


Fig. 25. Three successive fishponds between *Tiburcztelke* and *Kajántó* (Second Military Survey)

Fishponds are, however, documented by modern sources. The *urbarium* from 1590-1594 listed ponds, two in *Kajántó* (a fishpond and a pond with *csík* - European loach/weatherfish - without a dam), and one in *Tiburc*. Even today the remains of two fishponds can be seen, now they are filled up with mud (see pictures below Fig. 26). A source from 1676 attested a pond with a dam and a mill under the village, and another pond, without a dam, above the village called *Csíkos Tó* (lake with European loach/weatherfish), which supplied fish mainly during the rainy periods.³¹² Additionally a pond is attested outside the settlement of *Tiburcz*.³¹³ Probably the same ponds outside *Kajántó* were mentioned in 1732, one under the name *Csikásztó*³¹⁴ (with the same fish: loach), in the upper part of the village, which then was mainly filled up and reedy. Also, a second pond appears, which was larger and its dam was affected by the mill of the estate. This pond had a greater variety of fishes, such as: bleak (*Alburnus alburnus*); pike (*Esox lusius*), and a third kind, which was probably the European

³¹² Szabó, *Erdélyi helynévgyűjtése*, Kolozs megye, 10/A, 309-310.

³¹³ Szabó, *Erdélyi helynévgyűjtése*, Kolozs megye, 10/C, 930.

³¹⁴ On the topic of the habitat of the European weatherfish and the type of fishing called *cikászat* connected to the use of marshlands and seasonal fishponds, see: Ottó Hermann, *A magyar halászat könyve* [The book of fishing in Hungary] (Budapest, 1887), 727-729, 476-485.

weatherfish.³¹⁵ The estate registers of Kolozsmonostor from 1787 suggest that only one domanical pond existed within the territory of Kajántó, commonly named *Malomgát* (mill dam), with a flour mill (*mola farinacea*).³¹⁶ Yet, the same document, when it describes the *praedium* of *Tiburcz* indicates a lake called *Tiburtzi Tó* and a *Kajántó-i Tó*.³¹⁷ A different pond called *Mária Tója* (Mary's lake) on the other side of the road leading to *Tiburcztelke* was mentioned as well in the same document.



Fig. 26. The fishpond upstream (left) and around the site of *Tiburcztelke* (right)

One single marshland is mentioned by the charters in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries³¹⁸, west of Kajántó, on the western border of *Máriatelke*, south of Bodonkút, and to the north-east from Szomordok (see Fig. 14-16, 21). This today lies in the Szellőcske Valley which is separated by grassland hills from the Kajántó and Papfalvi Valleys (to the south). The very first authentic mentioning under the name *Doruosto* (Crane lake/lake with cranes) comes from 1367, in a charter that described the boundaries of *Máriatelke*.³¹⁹ The charter calls it a “*terra paludosa*” which means marshland, and that time on its territory three old bounds could be seen separating the three aforementioned lands. The perambulation was needed because the nobles from Szomordok and Bodonkút quarreled for a part of the boundary. In 1369 a charter testified that the nobles were able to reach an agreement by dividing the part in question into two. Here, the marshland appears as a “*lacus arundineus*” a reedy lake. The toponym *Darwastho* does not exist today, its last appearance as a lake comes from 1452, when lands around it were given in pledge.³²⁰ From 1461 additional place names connected to the lake or surrounding areas of it appear such as: *Darwasthoalya* (the bottom of

³¹⁵ I thank Kyra Lyublyanovics for her help and advice in identifying the fish species from the sources.

³¹⁶ Szabó, *Erdélyi helynévgyűjtése*, Kolozs megye, 10/A, 312.

³¹⁷ Szabó, *Erdélyi helynévgyűjtése*, Kolozs megye, 10/C, 931.

³¹⁸ Its earliest mentioning comes from a forgery (made between 1406 and 1414) from 1283, see: EO I, 259/400; MNL OL, DL 37227.

³¹⁹ EO III, 260/639; MNL OL, DL 28919.

³²⁰ KmJkv I, 467/1069; MNL OL, DL 36403 p. 81, nr. 3.

the Darvas Lake)³²¹ and *Darwasthowelgye* (Valley of Darvas Lake).³²² Even though the documents are few and sketchy the drying out and filling up of the lake is well-illustrated, it already started when it was mentioned for the first time in charters. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Valley of the Darvas Lake was covered largely by hay meadows. If one looks at the maps and places the different meadows and boundaries on it, it becomes clear that this lake must have covered quite a large area. It is not known whether the lake was ever used for fishing or not, maybe only in rainy seasons, when the area was flooded by waters. It seems that its upkeep was not undertaken by any of the neighbors, since it was an area where three boundaries met. Most likely it was a naturally formed lake/marshy area not man-made. Up until the early twentieth century the territory of the Darvas Lake remained a marshy hay meadow, only then was the place drained.³²³ However, even today, in rainy seasons the valley remains boggy in its south-eastern end. It can be presumed that during the Middle Ages the Kajántó Valley was also quite marshy. The upper part of the valley and the Nyír Valley, to the west, remain boggy to this day with smaller natural and man-made ponds. Concerning the shallow waters another use can also be hypothesized. Their presence corroborated with the mentioning by written sources the flax tax (1418) indicates that the shallow ponds could be used for soaking the flax (in the process of linen making). Even though the documentary sources are silent on the use of ponds for this purpose their presence and use should be taken into consideration by future research.

3.5.1.2.d. Forests and Woodland

Medieval sources and especially later demesne descriptions provide surprisingly numerous details and valuable information on woodlands and forests. First, the forests shall be discussed which appear the earliest in sources and then, I will look into the modern sources, where actual forest descriptions can be found and what do they relate. The discussion will evolve chronologically following through the centuries the changes in the woodland in this region.³²⁴ Here, I use the information supplied mainly by authentic documents, the forgeries will be treated with reservation, however in few cases the data provided by these can be useful for the time when the forgeries were made.

³²¹ KmJkv I, 606/1604; MNL OL, DL 27906.

³²² In 1538: KmJkv II, 605/4635; MNL OL, DL 36404 fol. 138-139, nr. 1.

³²³ Most of the inhabitants of the region do not know the old toponyms. Based on the information supplied by the oldest living person in Szellőcskevölgy/Sălișteea Veche (2017 spring). The name Darvas Lake was not preserved in oral memory. According to the people living in that area, the few, who remembered the old names the lake's name was Tăul Ciudoaiei most probably because of its vicinity of the Ciudoaiei Hill located to the south-west from it.

³²⁴ The forests were studied successfully in Britain with interesting results, see: Oliver Rackham, *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape* (London: Revised edition, 1996).

Probably the earliest-mentioned forest, in 1339, was the one located on the northern border of Kajántó with Magyarmacskás called *Zyluastelkeberke* (the grove of *Zyluastelek*) or *Jospheberke* (the grove of Joseph), next to the hay meadow called *KayanthoPada*, which as I have shown above generated a number of disputes between the neighbors.³²⁵ This is the only mentioning of this forest. It is important to pinpoint that the word “*zyl*” in Hungarian (*szilfa*) means elm tree in English, thus one can suspect that this was an elm grove/forest.³²⁶ However, in the *Erdélyi Okmánytár* the name was interpreted by Zs. Jakó as *Szilvástelek* meaning “land plot with plums”. Later documents refer to it also in this latter form. Therefore, in the dissertation it shall be used in this form.

In 1367, within the bounds of Kajántó, mentioned in a perambulation was a *silva* (forest) called *Mariatelekfew* (the end of *Mariatelek*) located on the north-western border with Szomordok, and right in its vicinity, under it (to the south) was a grove (*nemus*) called *Kyralkutafeu* (the end of the road/well of the king).³²⁷ In 1502 the same forest appeared under the name *Kyralkwthaerdwye* (the forest of the king’s well/road) in a land division. These toponyms did not survive until nowadays; however, it seems likely that these names changed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when new settlements were formed in the area. Historic maps do not contain too much data on the names of the forests, it is lucky enough if one can find the names of larger forests. Probably the Third Military Survey contains the largest amount of toponyms but still it offers only partial data on the research area. In the place, where *Mariatelek* existed, a new settlement was formed quite late, around 1850 (the village was not represented on the First Military Survey, only a tavern stood in that place), which was named Csonkatelep-Szelistye. After *Mariatelek* ceased to exist and before the new settlement was formed the territory belonged to *Tiburctelek*. Curiously, the Third Military Survey (Fig. 27) marks a forest named *Király erdő* (king’s forest), exactly in the part, where the location of the medieval *Kyralkwthaerdwye* could have been located just opposite to the forest named *Csonka* (truncated).³²⁸

³²⁵ MNL OL, DL 289168, 28725.

³²⁶ For the research of medieval forests in the Kingdom of Hungary based on the concept elaborated by Rackham, see: Péter Szabó, *Woodland and Forests in Medieval Hungary* (BAR International Series 1348) (Archaeopress, 2005).

³²⁷ EO IV, 260-261/639; MNL OL, DL 28919.

³²⁸ The forest called *Csonka/Csonkás* was mentioned for the first time in 1787 (see: Szabó, *Erdélyi helynévgyűjtése*, Kolozs megye, 10/A, 312) as an allodial forest. Allodium or allodial land was a form of medieval ownership which meant that the landowner owed no feudal duties to any other person. Its meaning changed over the centuries. For the interpretation of “*bárdos erdő*” or other latin terminology etc, see Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 62-63, 57-71.

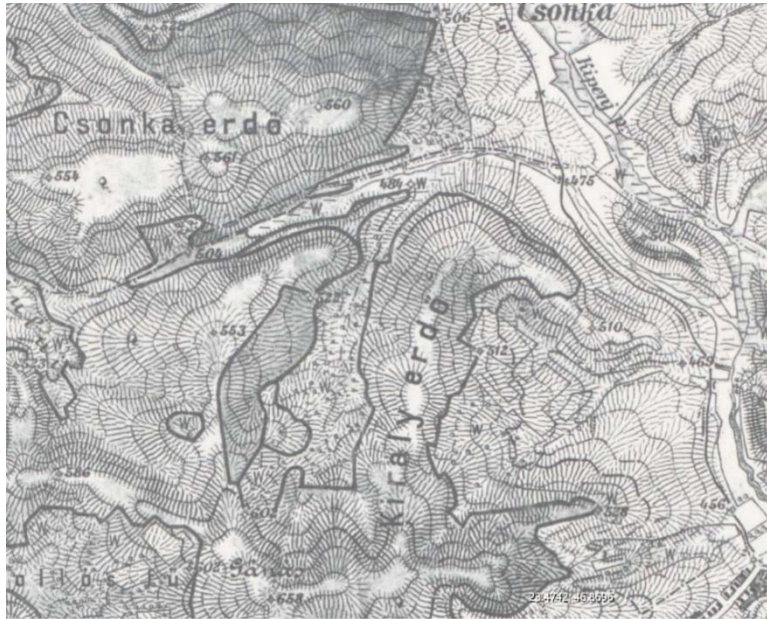


Fig. 27. Csonka and Király forests with the Kipenj stream (Third Military Survey)

The location of the *Csonka* forest is again interesting because it lays right in the place where *Mariatelekfew* must have existed. North of *Csonka* another forest was mentioned called *Kép erdeje* formed entirely from oak trees (“*tota quercus glandulifera*” – acorn-bearing).³²⁹ At a certain point (1732, 1787, 1850) also the valley of the stream which stemmed from this forest was called the *Kép Valley/Kipenj*(Fig. 27).

In a fourteenth-century forgery (earlier believed to be authentic like the one from 1283), in the perambulations of Kajántó, on its northern border a hill called *Fashalom* (hill with trees) had on its peak two boundary signs.³³⁰ The same hill, with a slightly changed name *Hashalyom* was mentioned on the boundary of *Obuda*, one of the medieval settlements which is now today part of Bodonkút.³³¹ It was mentioned for the last time around 1452.³³²

In 1377 a grove in Kajántó was mentioned from which a larger stream stemmed.³³³ A perambulation from 1430 contains the same boundary elements as the one from 1377 (on the southern border of Kajántó with Kolozsvár) but the name or a more exact location of the grove is not mentioned. The Kajántó stream feeds from four watercourses: one coming from the Nyír Valley (Birch Valley), another from behind the *Zebedey* hill, a third from the Tiburc Valley, and a fourth from the *Diószegtető* (Walnut Hill).

³²⁹ See: Szabó, *Erdélyi helynévgyűjtése*, Kolozs megye, 10/A, 309-310; the oak forest called *Kép*(meaning image) was mentioned for the first time in 1676.

³³⁰ EO I, 259-260/400; MNL OL, DL 37227.

³³¹ MNL OL, DL 36402 p. 172-173, nr. 1; MNL OL, DF 257629.

³³² KmJkv I, 467/1069.

³³³ UB II, 1075. In Latin: “...magnum meatum aquae similiter Pathak dictum, qui de nemore possessionis *Kayantho* vocata exibat...”.

Perambulations, even though few in number, do mention rarely specific trees which served as boundary signs in forests or groves. For example, when the northern border of Kajántó went along the once forested area of the *Zebedey* Mountain, around the road from Magyarmacskás to Kajántó, two boundary signs existed around a holm oak tree (“*arbore ilicis*”). A part of the same forested area which belonged to Diós was mentioned in a pledge in 1476 under the name *Sebedee*.³³⁴ In 1787, in the same area, towards Magyarmacskás and Fejérd, near a road that went to *Obuda*, an allodial forest called *Tyburciensis berek* appeared.³³⁵ The same document contains information on a forest *Bönye erdeje* (the forest of Bönye), located near a stream that flows into the village Magyarmacskás, which contained various tree species (“*diversae speciei arbores*”). This forest is highlighted also on the Third Military Survey (Fig. 28).

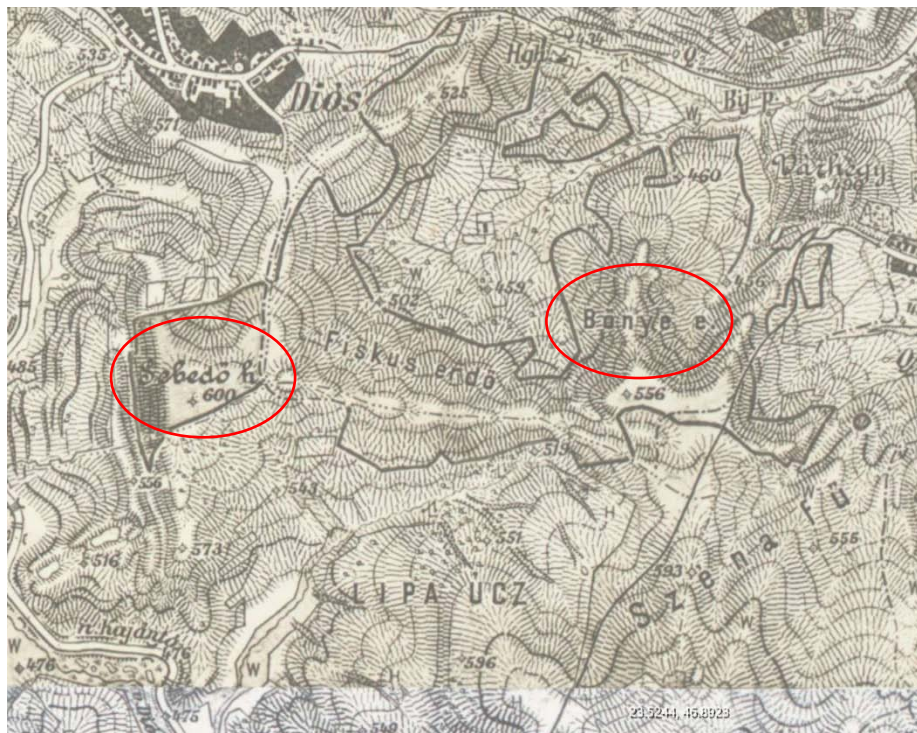


Fig. 28. The *Zebedey/Sebedee/Sebedő* Mountain and the *Bönye* forest (Third Military Survey)

The *urbarium* from 1590-1594 for Kajántó listed a new prohibited forest called *Hanchiokos*, which did not produce acorn, and another forest, called *Maria erdeye* (Mary’s forest), which belonged to the village but the Jesuits prohibited its use. This illustrates well that after the Jesuits took over the monastic properties of Kolozsmonostor they reorganized the earlier Benedictine management of the estates to suit their own needs and serve their interests, issue which shall be addressed in the coming parts.

³³⁴ MNL OL, DL 36403 p. 115, nr. 1.

³³⁵ Szabó, *Erdélyi helynévgyűjtése*, Kolozs megye, 10/A, 312.

3.5.1.2.e. Roads and Road Networks³³⁶

Roads were important means of communication, which connected the neighbouring villages and larger towns, and provided access regionally and country-wide. Roads can be categorized in a number of ways, based on their importance and purpose, location, construction material, type of access it provided (type of transport it sustained etc.) as well as depending on the geographic region, where it was built (passing through marshland or rocky mountains) and the legal aspects under which fell (public, private etc.).³³⁷

Documents frequently mention various roads or road tracks; nevertheless, their dating and identification on the field can be controversial.³³⁸ A number of roads, road tracks, and parts of roads could be identified during the field walking. Sometimes roads were affected by the land erosion and landslides, so parts or entire road tracks were destroyed and their course could not be clearly identified. One of the major official roads was a *via regia* which led from Kolozsvár towards Nádasberend in the Papfalvi Valley, and in Nádasberend connected to another road that took its course towards Hungary in a north-west direction. The remains of this road could not be documented on the field, additional research is needed to clarify its track. Another important, larger road (*magna via*) went along the Kajántó Valley, near the stream, towards Bodonkút and Diós. It was presumed that the Kajántó Valley was quite boggy during the Middle Ages therefore it would be reasonable to assume that the medieval road went along the higher parts/sides of the hill and not right next to the stream, where today's road leads. Additional, regional and local roads could also be identified, which connected the surrounding settlements. Some of these might have had medieval origins; however, their dating is problematic, some are in use even today as dirt roads or hollow ways (Fig. 29).

³³⁶ I appreciate the collaboration and input of Oana Toda who provided help with the interpretation of the roads. See more in: Bencze, Toda, "Tájhasználat," 107-109; Toda, Bencze, "Lay or monastic?," 290-291.

³³⁷ See a thorough presentation and classification of Transylvanian roads: Oana Toda, "Transporturile medievale din nordul Transilvaniei (secolele XII-XVI) [Medieval transportation in northern Transylvania (12th and 16th centuries)]," (PhD diss., Babeş-Bolyai University, 2013), 82-110.

³³⁸ See: Szilágyi, *On the road*, 32-52; Toda, *Transporturile*, 61-80.

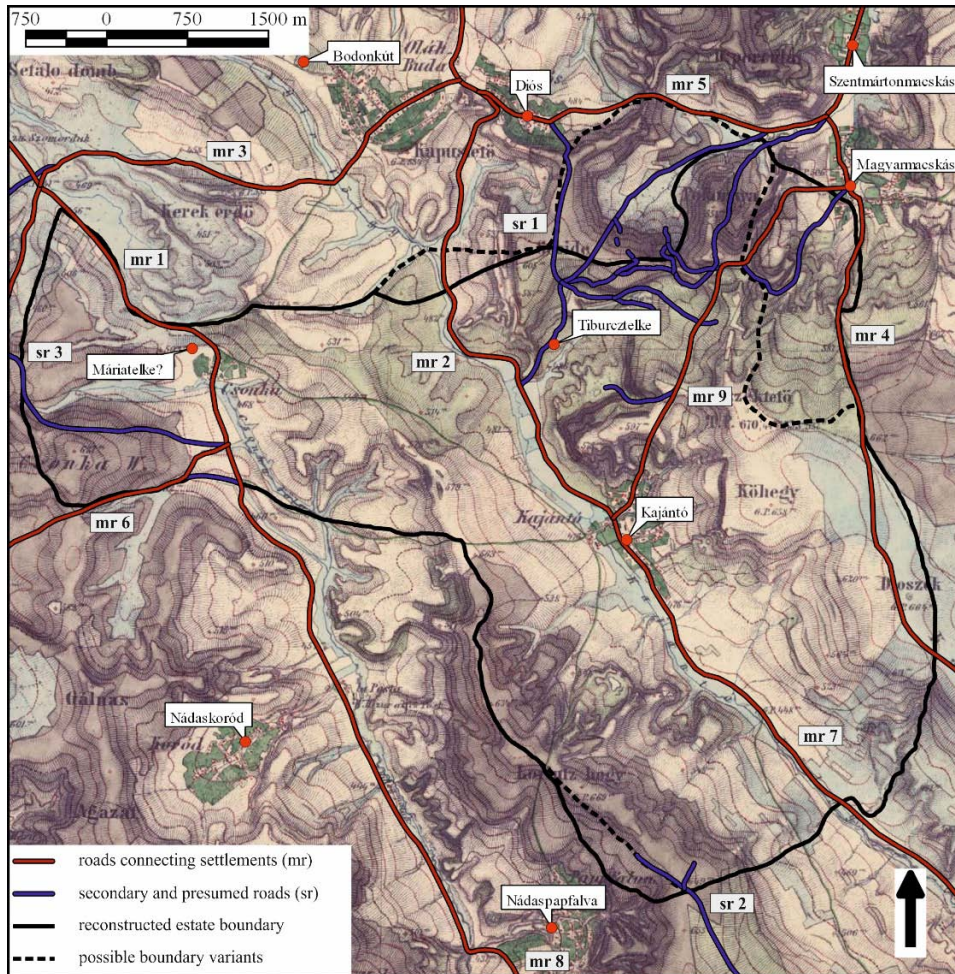


Fig. 29. Medieval roads and settlements in the surroundings of Kajántó
(Bencze, Toda, “Tájhasználat,” 108, Fig. 5)

A few local roads mentioned by documents could be identified relatively well, such as the road leading from Diós to Magyarmáskás, a road from Kajántó to Magyarmáskás and a road that crossed the *Zebedey* Mountain (Fig. 30-33).



Fig. 30. “via Wagaaswth” from Diós to Magyarmáskás (1435)



Fig. 31. “*via de Kayantho ad Machkas*” (1379)



Fig. 32. Road across the *Zebedey* (1379, 1406-1414?)



Fig. 33. “*via Regia*” (*magna*) long distance route (1379)

3.5.1.2.f. Settlements

As discussed in the methodology section the region was researched through an extensive targeted field survey, which focused on the settlements mentioned in written sources. Field investigations undoubtedly brought interesting results concerning boundary reconstruction and land use. Additionally, another neglected research topic resurfaced clearly and that is the settlement pattern of this small region. Although the focus of my dissertation falls only on the monastic settlements³³⁹, unavoidably I had to deal also with the neighboring settlements. Albeit I did not conduct a full, extended settlement analysis in this region, among the first impressions is that the area was quite densely populated and a high number of small villages, landplots (isolated farmsteads or hamlets) or settlements (*telek*) existed scattered around in the Middle Ages. Most of these small lands did not survive until today, and their location vanished along with them as well. As examples the disappeared monastic lands can be mentioned: *Tiburcztelke*, *Bőnye*, and *Mariatelek*. Yet, during field work other neighboring lands could be located which have never been identified so far on the field, such as *Újbuda*, *BalogJánostelke*³⁴⁰, *Kölesmező*, and *Pétertelke*. Further landscape studies might reveal more clearly the whole regional network of deserted medieval settlements; the territory still has high potential of preserved landscape features.

In the following subchapter I shall elaborate on one of the deserted monastic lands of Kolozsmonostor, trying to follow up its development and desertion, and with its case study illustrating the changes in the boundaries of Kajántó.

3.5.1.3. Changes in the Boundary of Kajántó

Disputed areas – a fourteenth century violent trespass of *Tiburcztelke*

As I have shown previously, Kajántó was surrounded by a number of settlements belonging to various local nobles or sometimes even high nobility. Thus, it is not surprising to find smaller or bigger quarrels and litigations concerning certain lands located on the boundaries between the settlements. This was a general fourteenth-century process of acquiring land in medieval Hungary. A number of litigations and disputes concerning various parts of the boundaries frequently took place in the same time and the abbey had to defend its properties on several instances. One of the strongest and most persistent rivals of

³³⁹ For the connections between the monasteries and the settlement patterns, see: Beatrix F. Romhányi, “Kolostorhálózat – településhálózat – népesség [Monastic network – settlement network – population],” *Történelmi Szemle* (2015) 1: 1-49.

³⁴⁰ Even though settlement names formed from a surname and first name (and *-telek*) are rare before the sixteenth century the first mentioning of the settlement comes from 1351 (EO III, 238/626). In 1364 it was already referred to as abandoned by its inhabitants (EO IV, 140/308).

Kolozsmonostor was the town of Kolozsvár, and a few local families, such as the Macskási and the Papfalvi. However, here I shall write about another less-known and discussed family which somehow managed to prove to be one of the persistent rivals of the abbots of Kolozsmonostor. In the coming part I will discuss in detail the case of *Tiburcztelke*, one of the deserted monastic properties.



Fig. 34. View of the Tiburc Valley from southwest (photo by Sz. Pánczél)

The very first authentic appearance of *Tiburcztelek* in written documents comes from 1332, when King Charles I donated to John, son of *Ugrinus*, the uninhabited lands of *Tiburcztelwke* and *Bynne*, in the vicinity of Kajántó.³⁴¹ He received these lands as a compensation for the part of his lost land in Koppánd, which was assigned by the king to the royal people and *hospites* of *Újtorda* (today part of the settlement of Torda). Little is known about the family of *Ugrinus*, between 1336-1338 John was a noble retainer of the Transylvanian voivode but the family became extinct already in the fourteenth century, its last member, John's son Nicholas, was documented for the last time in 1368. Additionally, it seems that they were not involved in the actual use of the newly received, uninhabited lands. Besides the above-presented single mentioning no other data confirms that they were eager to use or populate the two lands. On the other hand, already in 1339, the *ispán* of Kolozs exempted Abbot John and his tenant peasants from Kajántó from paying their part of the fine imposed on them in their litigation with the servant of Stephen Pogány, after the abbot presented the charters which confirmed that the abbey and its people were exempted from the

³⁴¹ EO II, 272/742; MNL OL, DF 292762.

court of the noble court of justice.³⁴² Then in 1340 and 1341 Abbot Jacob prohibited a certain Deme of *Tiburcztelke* and his brothers from the illegal occupation of the part of the land called *Tyburch* located within the boundaries of Kajántó.³⁴³ The document from 1341 relates that Deme and his family had planned to build a chapel there but the abbot clearly underlined that if that would happen he had the right to destroy the chapel. This land was still occupied in 1347, by the same Deme, noble retainer of Stephen Pogány, when King Louis I asked the Transylvanian voivode to investigate the matter of the ownership of *Tyburch*.³⁴⁴ Deme was pawning land from Manus Kályáni, his son, and brother, together with Nicholas Wass (two streets/plots in two streets) in 1353 in the nearby settlement of Diós³⁴⁵ and from 1355 a landplot even in *Bewnye* (a neighboring monastic land).³⁴⁶ In 1357 magister Deme of *Tiburcztelke* appeared again in a prohibition. Nicholas Wass related that Deme's peasants were illegally cutting down the trees and the hay on the border of his land called *BalugJánostelke* (today a disappeared settlement in the vicinity of Bodonkút).³⁴⁷ The litigations and investigations continued until 1360, when Nicholas, the son of the late Deme³⁴⁸ was murdered by the people of Kajántó.³⁴⁹ The investigation in this matter was conducted by the cathedral chapter of Transylvania, and this court found that the people of Kajántó premeditatedly murdered Deme's son. In 1363 the vice-voivode called to trial the seventeen tenant peasants (the document enlists their names as well) and *hospites* from Kajántó, who were involved in the murder.³⁵⁰ The result of the trial is unfortunately unknown. After this event, mainly the wife and daughter of the late Deme will appear in the documents claiming their rights to *Tiburcztelke*. In 1364 the widow of Deme and his daughter held in pledge one third of Diós and *BalugJánostelke* villages.³⁵¹ The litigations for *Tiburcztelke* continued in 1369.³⁵² In 1370 the Transylvanian chapter tried to introduce the abbey into the possession of *Tiburcztelke* but Deme's widow, daughter, and John *de Kyde* opposed it.³⁵³ King Louis I requested an investigation to clarify the situation and asked both parties to present their original documents. The trial was postponed several times until 1393, when after 54 years,

³⁴² EO II, 367-368/1025; once in the archives of Kolozsmonostor, the original document has disappeared between 1898 and 1941 and it's still unknown where it is. AOKl XXIII, 78.

³⁴³ EO III, 41/26 and 58-59/76.

³⁴⁴ EO III, 144/370; MNL OL, DF 275170, DL 26753.

³⁴⁵ EO III, 255/688; MNL OL, DL 26980.

³⁴⁶ EO III, 293-294/802; MNL OL, DF 275288.

³⁴⁷ EO III, 336/950; MNL OL, DF 252767.

³⁴⁸ He also died after January in 1360. The cause is unknown.

³⁴⁹ EO IV, 66/81; MNL OL, DL 73684.

³⁵⁰ EO IV, 106/208.

³⁵¹ EO IV, 146-147/331, MNL OL, DL 28069.

³⁵² EO IV, 315/792; MNL OL, DL 28718.

³⁵³ EO IV, 350/889; MNL OL, DL 26982.

was finally decided in favor of the abbey (because the defendants did not show up five times while the abbot presented the documents).³⁵⁴ Such well-documented cases are quite rare but illustrate how certain land disputes could evolve. The quarrel can be regarded as one of the most aggressive litigation processes of Kolozsmonostor, when also murder was involved and a series of document forgeries took place on both sides. This was the event that launched the long line of forgeries (of allegedly thirteenth-century documents) of Abbot Otto, who was in need of authentic charters to prove his claims not only to *Tiburcztelke* but for other lands as well in Kolozs County.

Still, what can be said about the people, who claimed that *Tiburcztelke* was rightfully owned by them? Documents clarify that Deme was the retainer of Stephen Pogány, who due to a property exchange with Charles I (1308-1342) arrived to Transylvania, after 1320, as the noble retainer of the Transylvanian voivode Thomas Szécsényi (1321-1342). Pogány, from the lineage of Hontpázmány³⁵⁵, managed to build up a demesne composed of approximately twenty or twenty-three settlements, he acquired a large part of the estates that belonged to Ladislaus Kán, and he was appointed castellan of Csicsó (1335), Küküllővár (1332-1335), and Bálványosvárálja (1333-1335).³⁵⁶ Yet, after his death in 1352, his descendants did not remain in Transylvania, and most part of their estates were donated by the king to the Pelsőci Bebek family.³⁵⁷ According to M. Diaconescu, about the character of Stephen Pogány a relevant insight is provided by a source from 1342, when he occupied a part of a forest that belonged to the nobles of Zsuk, whom he threatened: “*extunc omnes alias possessiones ipsorum occupari et alienari ab eisdem procuraret*” in case they opposed.³⁵⁸

Deme probably occupied *Tiburcztelke* with the support of his master Stephen Pogány. Possible links with John, son of *Ugrinus*, are not documented although as we shall see Deme’s family will support their claim and refer to a certain donation made by King Charles I to their ancestor, most likely the one from 1332. Deme is mentioned in documents for the first time along with his three brothers (Antonius, Johannes *dictus Polus*, and Gregorius) in 1340, when Pogány’s power was already stabilized in Transylvania. Otherwise nothing else is known about him. His origins are unclarified but in 1353 he was referred to as a noble of

³⁵⁴ ZsOkI I, 3107; MNL OL, DI 28735

³⁵⁵ János Karácsonyi, *A Magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig* [Hungarian clans until the middle of the fourteenth century], Vol. 2 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1901), 182-239.

³⁵⁶ Diaconescu, *Structura nobilimii*, 339.

³⁵⁷ Diaconescu, *Structura nobilimii*, 33.

³⁵⁸ Diaconescu, *Structura nobilimii*, 339; DIR C IV, 604-605.

Tiburcztelke.³⁵⁹ Whether he was already a noble or not, when he occupied *Tiburcztelke* remains to be verified by further investigations. Sources reflect that he was active in the region, as shown above, he was taking into pledge lands in the neighboring settlements: in 1353³⁶⁰ two streets from Diós, and in 1355³⁶¹ *Bönye* was pawned to him and Nicholas Wass by the Kályáni nobles.³⁶² Deme is documented alive for the last time in 1360 (16th January)³⁶³, he probably died sometime after this date because in October (the same year)³⁶⁴ already his son Nicholas was in the position to start litigations with the abbot of Kolozsmonostor (but managed to reach an agreement out of court). Shortly, on the 6th of December 1360 Nicholas (son of Deme) was murdered by the people of Kajántó. After the unfortunate event, in the litigations for *Tiburcztelke* the family of Deme was represented by his widow Margit and daughter Katalin. However, in 1364 both women were already married: Deme's widow became the wife of John *Rufus*, and his daughter the wife of Peter *de Tyburch*, who will later be called *Nadasi*.³⁶⁵ From 1370 also John, the son of Gerard *de Kyde* appeared among those that claimed their ownership over *Tiburcztelke*.³⁶⁶ In 1374 and 1375 the litigations were upheld by the sons of John *Rufus de Tyburch*, Peter and George.³⁶⁷ By 1377 the two noble ladies had already passed away, when John *de Kyde* was asked to present his documents which would prove his ownership of *Tiburcztelke*.³⁶⁸ The document related that Abbot Otto presented his charters issued earlier by John *Lepes* (1369-1372), Ladislaus, son of *Peteu* (September 1372-February 1373?), and Ladislaus, son of *Ugrinus* (1372-1376). Interestingly, none of these documents survived or more likely these could have been forged for abbot Otto. While the litigations were still ongoing, in 1385 the abbot complained that the nobles of *Tyburch* (John, son of Gregory; Peter, son of Ladislaus, and John *Rufus*) wanted to

³⁵⁹ EO III, 298-299/817; MNL OL, DL 26980.

³⁶⁰ EO III, 255/688.

³⁶¹ EO III, 293-294/802; MNL OL, DF 275288. The Kályáni nobles claimed that *Bewnye* was their hereditary property but lost the trial in 1358 as they failed to appear in court (EO III, 349-350/989, MNL OL, DF 275177).

³⁶² The Kályáni had the same origins with the Budai and Ródi nobles and owned land mainly in Kolozs County. The Kályáni family disappeared through escheat in the fourteenth century, its last member was Jacob, son of Manus. The Budai family acquired most part of their lands. Few lands of the Kályáni family were located in the neighboring areas of Kajántó: Magyarkályán, *BalugJánostelke*, Diós, and *Ondótelke (Tarczaháza)*. In 1351 the Kályáni sold three of their possessions (*Szilágyapaptelek/Paptelek*, *Csernek* and *BalugJánostelke*) to Stephen Pogány. They also entered into disputes over *Bönye* with Kolozsmonostor abbey. See: Diaconescu, *Structura nobilimii*, 99, 104, 266-267, 350.

³⁶³ EO IV, 42/14; MNL OL, DL 26980.

³⁶⁴ EO IV, 60/67; MNL OL, DL 29036.

³⁶⁵ EO IV, 146-147/331; MNL OL, DL 28069.

³⁶⁶ EO IV, 350/889; MNL OL, DL 26982.

³⁶⁷ DRH C XIV, 507 and 58-529; MNL OL, DF 275193. Most likely both sons were from a previous marriage than that with Margaret of *Tiburcztelke* because, otherwise, they could not uphold the litigations due to their young age.

³⁶⁸ MNL OL, DL 26982.

occupy the neighboring monastic land *Benye* as well as to collect the tithes from it. The abbot asked the Transylvanian chapter to send its official delegate in administrative matters and to forestall the events.³⁶⁹ It seems that the nobles of *Tyburch* were more numerous than the litigious documents reflect. In 1393 the Transylvanian vice-voivode ruled in favor of the abbey.³⁷⁰ It is hard to decipher whether the successors of Deme truly had authentic documents (like the charter issued by King Charles I invoked frequently in the sources) which would attest or refute their right to the land. If they had the documents why would they not attend and present these to the vice-voivode? Perhaps, they did not have the actual authentic documents but just copies, or maybe they did not have any legal documents at all to prove their claim? In which case, stalling the time would have benefited them. Thus, the three-generations long lawsuit finally reached an end, and with it Deme's descendants disappeared from the sources. After this episode it seems that the abbey more or less held the land in peace even though details are not known about how the reclaiming of the land went or where did Deme's descendants relocate. The abbot had to oppose the donation of *possessio Thyborcz* again in 1467, when King Matthias wanted to offer it to Valentinus and Ladislaus *de Thewke* for their faithful services.³⁷¹ After the last Benedictines had left Kolozsmonostor in 1556, in the company of their abbot, the properties of the abbey were donated to Francis Forgách in 1569. In 1579 George Blandrata (the doctor of Cristopher Bathory de Somlyo) sold his three properties (Kajántó, Bogártelke, and *Tiburcz*) to Alexander Kendi de Lona and Wolfgang Bánffi Lossonczi for 5200 golden florins.³⁷² However, a document from 1581 attests that Wolfgang Bánffi Lossonczi handed over his parts from the above-mentioned three estates to the Jesuits, who settled at Kolozsmonostor, and was redeemed with other property parts.³⁷³ In 1671 Denis Bánffy solicited from the prince of Transylvania to confirm his possession of Kajántó and *Tiburcz*. Besides the Bánffys' in 1676 also John Polyák, a burgher from Kolozsvár, owned around thirty house plots in *Tiburcz*. In 1815 it was part of the dominion of Kolozsmonostor. In the 1850s the place was a manorial (*praedialis*) pasture which belonged to the royal foundation estate of Kolozsmonostor and a part of it was leased for three years to Francisc *Matskási*.³⁷⁴ The study of the post-monastic changes of the Benedictine estates is still an undeveloped topic with abundant source material and high potential for new data. One

³⁶⁹ DRH C XVI, 640-641/470; MNL OL, DF 275199.

³⁷⁰ ZsOkI I, 3107; MNL OL, DL 28735.

³⁷¹ MNL OL, DL 27183.

³⁷² ANR, CJ-F-00320-1-2-2-ZZ-15 (03.06.1579). The list of the peasants living in the three villages divided between the two owners was published by Jakó, *A gyalui vártartomány*, 1-4, 418-420.

³⁷³ ANR, CJ-F-00320-1-2-2-AA-5 (05.05.1581).

³⁷⁴ Szabó, *Erdélyi helynévgyűjtése*, Kolozs megye, 10/A, 314.

of the main outcomes of the abbey's dissolution was the fragmentation of the monastic estates into smaller parts and their reorganization, which must have impacted the land use and affected the people living on it.

A curious detail was preserved in a document from 1374 which takes us back to the results of field walking. In this document Demetrius the Transylvanian bishop gave his permission to the sons of Ladislaus de *Nadasd* (Peter, Stephen and John *Rufus de Tyburch*), their *familiares* and wives to elect their own confessor priest (at this time *Tiburcztelke* was still in the hands of Deme's descendants and litigations were ongoing).³⁷⁵ This detail suggests that the inhabitants of *Tiburcztelke* were under the authority of the Transylvanian bishop. As presented above, the first attested appearance of a *filia* of the parish church of Kajántó in *Tiburcztelke* comes from 1432.³⁷⁶ Abbot Anthony commissioned Michael Porcsalmi (*Michaeli nato Johannis de Porchalma*) as parish priest for both churches. The first mentioning of a parish priest in Kajántó comes from 1342³⁷⁷, and they appear to be mentioned quite frequently in the sources as the delegates of the convent in various matters. Matthias, the parish priest of *possessio Thyburch* is known from 1499.³⁷⁸ All the enlisted data clearly indicate that a church was erected and had functioned for quite a while on the territory of *Tiburcztelke*, at times seemingly even independently from the parish of Kajántó. Its existence can be hypothesized already starting from 1341, when Deme and his brothers wanted to build a chapel there. The sources do not document what happened in this matter, whether the chapel was built or not. Perhaps, later on this chapel became the *filia* (dedicated to Queen Saint Helena) of the parish of Kajántó. Furthermore, maybe the church in *Tiburcztelke* had nothing to do with the chapel, which might have never been built. It is not documented whether the bishop of Transylvania was involved in any way in acknowledging the parish nor, was it included in the network of tithe collection. Still, the ones who could erect a church or a chapel were the nobles of *Tiburcztelke*, Deme's family or the abbot of Kolozsmonostor. The earliest information on the possibility of building a chapel indicates that the abbot was against it but later on, in 1432, he was the one to donate it to Porcsalmi. So, two scenarios can be advanced, one that at a certain point the church in *Tiburcztelke* was acknowledged by the abbot (after they regained the property) or second, that it was raised after *Tiburcztelke* returned to the abbey. However, when the Jesuit Order reorganized the estate management

³⁷⁵ DRH C XIV, 443/301; MNL OL, DL 73745.

³⁷⁶ MNL OL, DL 37234, p. 8-9.

³⁷⁷ EO III, 71/117; MNL OL, DL 40899.

³⁷⁸ MNL OL, DL 74272.

taken over from the Benedictines besides other concerns they wanted to reclaim the parish network for the Catholic Church.³⁷⁹ A church was recorded in *Tiburcz*. After a visitation a document from 1582 recommended the restoration of several churches on their estates (...*omnia templa nostrorum pagorum indigent reparatione, praesertim in Tiburcz, Kajanto et Bogartelke*). Thus, it is certain that a church existed in *Tiburcztelek* but its location remains unknown.

Another interesting detail is contained in a document from 1435, a revision of the boundaries of *terra Bewnye* (which lay between Kajántó, *Thybwrch*, Bodonkút, Diós, and Magyarmacs-kás), which was held occupied by nobles from Bodonkút. According to the charter the abbot let the peasants of the nobles use the land as they had used it before with the condition to pay the tithe and to transport it to *Thybwrch*.³⁸⁰ This would mean that *Tiburcztelke* at that time was certainly in the hands of the abbey and the place must have had a larger building where the collected crops (tithe) could be stored (perhaps even a grange or a larger barn).

As underlined before, archaeological field work or excavations have not been conducted in the Tiburc Valley. During field walking, even though attentive and intense examination was carried out in the entire Tiburc Valley, no traces of a chapel or church could be identified, nor large storage buildings. Since, the valley is used as pasture perhaps with additional invasive and non-invasive detection methods (aerial photos, LIDAR, or geophysical surveys) such buildings could be pinpointed. Likewise, the identification of the location of the actual *Tiburcztelke* settlement was arduous because the valley is covered by grassland which does not yield any materials on the surface, unlike arable land. Luckily, ravines and animal tracks provided surface materials in certain places. Thus, a number of sites could be identified from at least three different periods in the valley (Bronze-Late Iron Age, Roman Age, and late medieval-modern). The site which can be associated with the settlement of *Tiburcztelke* at the moment (with additional research needed) could be identified at the entrance of the Tiburc Valley, on the first terrace to the right of the Tiburc stream (downstream). Finds could be collected due to a mechanic excavation of the bank of the stream that took place probably in 2011 (based on Google Earth photos) for a public project

³⁷⁹ More in: Toda, Bencze, “Lay or monastic?,” 304.

³⁸⁰ MNL OL, DL 28822.

which was shortly abandoned. Its siting is quite peculiar since it is on a floodplain at an average altitude of 490 m, one would expect a settlement to avoid marshy areas.³⁸¹

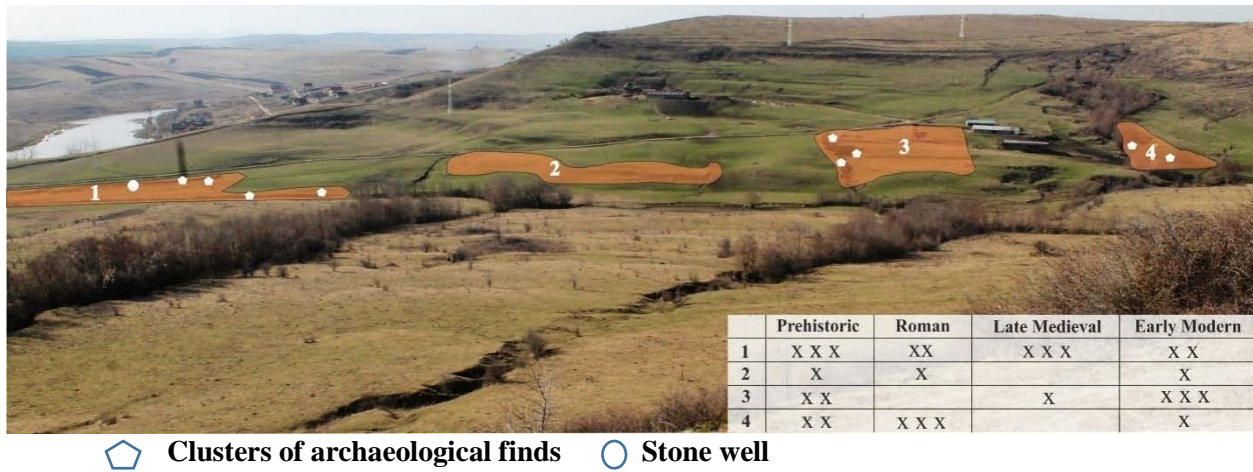


Fig. 35. The location of the identified sites from various periods along the Tiburc Valley (O. Toda)³⁸²

3.5.1.4. The Nádás and Kis-Szamos Valley Clusters

Kolozsmonostor owned at least four if not seven settlements in the Upper Nádás Valley, located northwest of the abbey at a distance of approximately 20 km. Documentary sources provide information only on some of the lands, while others are barely mentioned and their ownership or even their existence cannot be clarified even though historiographical tradition enlists them as monastic lands. Confusions are generated also by the high number of fourteenth-century forgeries allegedly dated to the thirteenth century which generally enlist many of the monastic estates which otherwise are not attested by authentic charters or documents as belonging to the abbey. In this area the abbey met other rivals such as the Transylvanian bishop and his expanding estates, as well as the nobles from Gyerővásárhely, and the lords of the Almás castle district. All three rivals frequently abused the lands of the abbey and kept parts of them occupied for longer or shorter periods, stole products or animals from these properties. As a consequence of the frequent attacks, the abbey's tenant peasants moved away in high numbers thus, causing material loss to the abbey, a problem discussed in charters. In the following I shall analyze the land use, disputes and changes of the boundaries in this region as reflected by written sources, after which I will present the results of field work and the data that can be extracted from today's landscape. Finally, special focus will be

³⁸¹ For more details: Toda, Bencze, "Lay or monastic?," 291-295.

³⁸² Presented in the paper by Oana Toda and Ünige Bencze, "The heritage beyond sites: spatial structures and landscape features of the monastic properties from Chinteni and *Máriatelke* (Cluj County)" at the international conference: Interethnic Relations in Transylvania. Medieval Patrimony and the History of Central and South-Eastern Europe, organized in Sibiu, in 2018.

dedicated to the similarities or differences between the Valley of Nádas and Kajántó based on geographic conditions and local resources, trying to understand the economic framework or “marketing policy” of the abbey, if there was any.

The very first mentioning of monastic lands in this area comes from an authentic charter from 1299³⁸³, when a land exchange was concluded between the Transylvanian bishop and the abbot of Kolozsmonostor, attested also officially by the Transylvanian chapter.³⁸⁴ According to the document, the abbot gave two monastic lands, the *Leske* forest (called also *Apathavasa* meaning the Alps of the abbot) and *Scentgyurgy* in exchange for the bishopric’s lands *Bogártelke* and *Nadasd*. Even though the charter is authentic, certain issues should be addressed. First of all, the *Leske/Apathavasa* forest will not appear anymore in medieval documents (perhaps because of the change in ownership or quarrels and disputes did not survive or the abbey held it all along its existence). A forest which could perhaps be connected to *Apathavasa* is mentioned in an *urbarium* from 1588, called *Apathmesse* and *Apathmesseie*.³⁸⁵ In 1590, a forest “Apad erdeye” (forest of the abbot) was listed among the forests which belonged to the village of Kolozsmonostor.³⁸⁶ Second, the land *Nadasd* cannot be geographically localized with certainty. If one checks the maps it becomes obvious that a number of settlements appear under the common Hungarian name Nádas (literally meaning reedy), such as Kalotanádas, Magyarnádas, and *Nádastelek*, all located in the surroundings of the Nádas River in Kolozs County. After a thorough examination of the available sources it seems probable that the abbey’s land called *Nádastelek*, already a deserted village in the fifteenth century, was located on the border of a larger monastic property called Kisbács, was identical with this Nádas. This was not the same as Kalotanádas, near Jegenyé, as many have thought before. Kalotanádas associated with the *Nadasd* by a forged document from 1263³⁸⁷, during the Middle Ages belonged to the Pelsöczi Bebek family³⁸⁸ and to the Almás castle district³⁸⁹ although the abbey constantly protested against it. On what grounds or documents it is not known. Likewise, Magyarnádas was associated with the abbey in scholarship even though it seems quite clear that in the fourteenth century this was owned by the Nádas family and as I will show below the monastic land *Nadasd* needs to be searched for in another

³⁸³ EO I, 326/583; MNL OL, DL 29104.

³⁸⁴ EO I, 326-327/584; MNL OL, DF 275165.

³⁸⁵ Jakó, *A gyalui vártartomány*, 6.

³⁸⁶ Jakó, *A gyalui vártartomány*, 13.

³⁸⁷ EO I, 206/239; MNL OL, DL 37213.

³⁸⁸ The family owned at least thirty villages in Transylvania.

³⁸⁹ In 1370 the king donated the Almás castle to George Pelsöczi and his family, and with only a short break between 1395 and 1404 (when it became a royal castle again) the family owned it until 1469. See Diaconescu, *Structura nobilimii*, 333-335.

area.³⁹⁰ Given the scarcity of the sources and geographic descriptions of the *Nadasd* village based on which this could be precisely identified, it is hard to say exactly which settlement belonged to the abbey or perhaps which part of it. Still, as M. Diaconescu rightly noted³⁹¹, the land or only part of the land called today András háza was earlier (in the fourteenth until the fifteenth century) named *Nádas* as attested by a charter from 1423 which would actually mean that the *Nadasd/Nádas telek* owned by the abbey at some point in time indeed existed on the western boundary of Kisbács. Part or parts of this *Nadas* could have also belonged to the Nádas family and just as well as to the András házi family. The Mérai and András házi families were formed from a common ancestor in the second half of the fourteenth century.³⁹² The Mérai family ceased to exist in the beginning of the fifteenth century through escheat while the András házi family had descendants. Interestingly, according to the first authentic perambulation of the *Nadas* possession from 1343, the settlement neighbored with two other, now disappeared lands: *terra Orad* and *terra Boch*, and was in the possession of Kolozsmonostor.³⁹³ A perambulation issued by the Transylvanian chapter in 1447 talks about the land (*predium seu possessio*) *Nádas telek* again (which still belonged to the abbey) as located between András háza and *Boch*, and neighbored with Kisbács.³⁹⁴ So, as the above details and perambulations show, this land existed and was a monastic property and apparently did not encompass a large territory. The perambulations contain only few details connected to land use, forested areas appear (such as *silva Boczberche, Ingoberekbercze*) and a lake or a well under the *Ingoberekbercze*. Arable land is mentioned in both perambulations between *Nadas* and *terra Orad* (land which was probably not inhabited). Today, the entire surrounding areas of Kisbács and partly András háza is covered by fruit orchards. The archaeological repertory of Kolozs County contains mainly the prehistoric and Roman sites of

³⁹⁰ Diaconescu, *Structura nobilimii*, 319-321, 461.

³⁹¹ Diaconescu, *Structura nobilimii*, 311 and note 6. See the document from 1423: MNL OL, DL 28182: “*possessionis suae András háza, olym alio nomine Nadas vocate*”.

³⁹² Diaconescu, *Structura nobilimii*, 311, 310, 459. Hungarian genealogical literature had dealt rarely with the Transylvanian noble families. Sporadically information can be found in the works of Györffy and Csánki but there is no work in Hungarian or English that deals with the Transylvanian nobility as a whole. Only very few studies appeared since the comprising publication of Bálint Kiss (in the journal called *Turul*, 100 years ago) on the gentry/lesser nobility, Jakó wrote about the Farnasi Veres, see: Zsigmond Jakó, “A farnasi Veres család [The Veres family from Farnas],” in *Emlékkönyv Imreh István nyolcvanadik születésnapjára* [In honour of István Imreh’s eightieth birthday], ed. András Kiss (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1999), 176-195, and András W. Kovács, *The History of the Wass de Czege Family* (Hamburg: Edmund Siemers-Stiftung, 2005). Also, see chapter 5 on the Ákos kindred in: Szöcs, “Private Monasteries,” 72-87.

³⁹³ EO III, 75-76/130; MNL OL, DL 28726.

³⁹⁴ MNL OL, DL 28833.

the region but not one of the deserted lands can be identified with its help.³⁹⁵ Due to financial and time limitations I could not provide field work for this land.

Chronologically, the next mentioning of monastic lands from the Nádas Valley comes from 1339³⁹⁶, when the first authentic perambulation of Bogártelke and Egeres took place. The two properties appeared in a charter from 1299 but as Zs. Jakó proved this was a document forged in the fourteenth century. Jegenyé, the third monastic land in this cluster, appeared in an authentic charter only in 1341.³⁹⁷ These three settlements formed the core of the abbey's properties in this valley. Additional smaller lands (*telek-terra*-land plot) existed on the boundaries of these settlements which by now have disappeared.

Data concerning these three neighboring settlements became more frequent starting from the first part of the fourteenth century and continued until the sixteenth century. This probably can be ascribed partly to border conflicts and forced land occupations by neighbors against which the abbot started to issue a number of prohibitions and complaints. For Bogártelke only one perambulation survived from the fourteenth century but from the fifteenth century significantly more (approximately five – on the renovation of boundary signs, reambulation etc.). Egeres has three authentic surviving perambulations (two from the fourteenth century, one from the fifteenth century) while Jegenyé only two. Additionally, two smaller short-period settlements or lands had existed in *Anttelke/Onttelke*, a property (perhaps *predium*) which lay between Egeres and Bogártelke (still preserved in toponyms); and *Eperjes* on the border between Jegenyé and Sóllyomtelke or according to a surviving toponym on the northwestern border of Egeres. These two lands were never geographically localized by archaeologists.³⁹⁸ Both monastic lands disappeared quite early, *Eperjes* was mentioned for the last time in a forged document from 1324, which was compiled based on the similarly forged charters from 1263 and 1296.³⁹⁹ The name *Onttelke* appeared for the last time in 1373 without any details on whether it was inhabited or not at that time.

The first, documented land occupation took place in 1341, when the official of Almás castle, Gregory Péchy, occupied, populated and kept under his authority forests and lands that belonged to all three settlements.⁴⁰⁰ In 1347 Andrew, the Transylvanian bishop kept half of

³⁹⁵ See Crişan et al., *Repertoriul arheologic*. At the time, when the repertory was compiled the medieval, late medieval or modern sites were not considered of high importance.

³⁹⁶ EO II, 374-375/1043; MNL OL, DL 26859.

³⁹⁷ EO III, 59/77; MNL OL, DL 28901, 38761.

³⁹⁸ See: Crişan et al., *Repertoriul arheologic*, 18-21, 50-51, 252-253.

³⁹⁹ EO II, 192/509, in a sixteenth century charter MNL OL, DL 37213.

⁴⁰⁰ EO III, 59/77; MNL OL, DL 28901, DL 38761.

Bogártelke occupied.⁴⁰¹ Still in 1355 large part of Bogártelke was occupied by the bishop while others took into their possession parts of Egeres.⁴⁰² In 1360, at the abbot's request, King Louis I decreed that the chapter of Nagyvárad and the king's representative (*homo regius*) should perambulate the properties of the abbey (Bogártelke, Egeres, Jegenyé and others).⁴⁰³ The estate manager of the Almás castle again occupied the forests and arable lands of the three properties in 1363 and annexed them to the royal estate.⁴⁰⁴ The documents indicate clearly that even though an official transaction of properties took place as early as the thirteenth century between the Transylvanian bishop and the abbot, the later bishops did not really respect the exchange and tried to occupy by force parts of Bogártelke as many times as they had the chance. The abbot was issuing prohibitions periodically to all his neighbors along the discussed centuries, highlighting especially the people and *hospites* of Kolozsvár, the Transylvanian bishop and the nobles from Gyerővásárhely. This is especially relevant here because it indicates the rise and strengthening of the most important neighbors of the abbey and as the general tendency of the period the expansion of territories through violent occupation.

Charters that contain details on the actual number of peasants or households are quite rare, so it is hard to estimate the number of people living and working on the monastic estates. However, territorially and according to the documents it might be presumed that Bogártelke was the largest property of the abbey in this valley. A document relates that the abbot had already complained to the Transylvanian vice-voivode because of the land occupation made by the estate manager from Almás castle but also his noble retainers took animals from the people living in the settlements. As an outcome of the events from the three monastic lands already a total of 60 *mansio* (household) tenant peasants moved away and others were planning to leave as well.⁴⁰⁵ In 1369 John, son of *Gerew de Wasarhel*, attacked and drove away the peasants from Jegenyé from seven land plots, took the doors from the houses and burned these, thus causing a 200 florins worth damage to the abbot.⁴⁰⁶ The document from 1363 offers also information on animal husbandry in this region since it relates that eight sheep and nine goats were taken from Bogártelke, four oxen from Egeres, and four oxen and 25 pigs from Jegenyé. In 1373, the bishop's people from Türe attacked the peasants of the

⁴⁰¹ EO III, 145/375; MNL OL, DF 275164, DF 275165.

⁴⁰² EO III, 289/789; 289-290/791; MNL OL, DL 28733, 28070.

⁴⁰³ EO IV, 50/37; MNL OL, DL 28738, DL 37231.

⁴⁰⁴ EO IV, 101/194, 102/194; MNL OL, DL 28914.

⁴⁰⁵ EO IV, 101-102/192 and 194; MNL OL, DL 28914.

⁴⁰⁶ EO IV, 300/755; MNL OL, DL 38761.

abbot from Bogártelke in the woods on the boundary of Egeres and *Ontelke* and took their pigs.⁴⁰⁷ From these scattered data on animals one can presume that the peasants of the abbot dealt with animal husbandry so parts of the lands were probably used as pastures or wood-pastures.⁴⁰⁸ The frequent occupation of the forests and the appearance of pigs in larger numbers might indicate pannage activity (which according to ethnographic parallels could take place in October and November or early spring).

Starting from the fifteenth century vineyards and an increasing number of water mills appear. In 1418 and 1444 mills (*diversa molendina*) are documented at Jegenyé, where the road from Jegenyé to Inaktelke met the road to Egeres.⁴⁰⁹ Bogártelke had at least three functioning mills during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which suggest an increase in cereal production. An important document was preserved from 1418⁴¹⁰ in which the abbot (with eternal rights) gave the income of a vineyard (called *Bethlem*), the tithes from flax and hemp, and the income of the mills from Bogártelke, Egeres, and Jegenyé to the *custos* for the upkeep of the burning of the eternal light and other equipment in which the abbey was short. This again attests the intensification of land use just as it could be seen in the case of the Kajántó Valley. The presence of mills are indicators of intensive arable farming while the appearance of vineyards is proof of a continuous settlement and long-term “agricultural” investment. In other words, this meant a new phase of land colonization. Generally, vineyards were located outside the village’s plot system (arable fields), they required much labor and provided income only in the long-term.⁴¹¹ Going through the documents that discuss the mills it seems that in the fifteenth century the abbey leased its mills or mill places to local peasants. This way of managing mills was well-observed also by N. Szabó.⁴¹² In a number of cases the incomes from the mills or parts of the incomes were given to the upkeep or construction of local parishes, which were under the authority and ownership of the abbey. The parish church in Egeres, dedicated to Saint Martin, is attested from 1360, while the parish from Jegenyé, dedicated to Archangel Michael is mentioned in 1372. The parish church in Bogártelke, dedicated to Saint Ladislaus, was mentioned for the first time as late as 1509, but its parish priests appear in documents from 1450. However, in this instance it must be hypothesized that the parish church could have existed from an earlier date.

⁴⁰⁷ DRH CXIV, 431-433/ 288; MNL OL, DF 275192.

⁴⁰⁸ See more on the subject: Szabó, *Woodland*, 57-67.

⁴⁰⁹ MNL OL, DL 28980, p. 6-7.

⁴¹⁰ ZsOkI VI, 443/1679; MNL OL, DL 28166.

⁴¹¹ Laszlovszky, “Agriculture”, 109.

⁴¹² Szabó, “A kolozsmonostori bencés apátság”, 85-91.

Forests are documented relatively well in perambulations even though not exhaustively. In 1339 a larger forest is mentioned on the border of Türe and Bogártelke. Around Jegenyé from a charter from 1444 we know the forests *Jegenyébykefeu* (poplar and beech) and *Nyáras* (poplar). In the same perambulation, between Inaktelke and Egeres a large oak forest existed with a boundary sign. Today however, the forest does not exist anymore. When in 1373, the peasants of the Transylvanian bishop attacked the peasants of the abbey on the boundary of Egeres and *Onttelke*, the event took place in the woods. It needs to be highlighted that seemingly this region was poorer in forests than the Kajántó Valley. However, as an outcome of an extensive and intensive exploitation of gypsum in the region which started in 1880 and with it the formation of a new settlement Egeres-Bányatelep the region suffered great alterations. The possibilities and results of comparing the properties from the two valleys concerning land use patterns will be discussed in the conclusions.

One single register entry from 1427 indicates that a market was held in Egeres, which was attested by a permission from King Louis I in 1370.⁴¹³ Unfortunately the document did not survive so the details remain unknown. It seems, that in 1427, King Sigismund gave a new permission, at the request of Abbot Antal, to hold every Saturday a weekly market and in every year, on the day of St. Gall (the 16th October), an annual fair.⁴¹⁴ It was observed that a road was used by the merchants, who after the custom point in Kisbács, passed through Egeres, towards Almás (on the route Méra-Egeres-Almás/Középlak).⁴¹⁵ However, the road must have had even more importance in the region connecting Kolozsvár to Almás, and further to the west. Thus, the weekly and yearly market probably increased the traffic of merchants in the Nádas Valley and offered a place to market the region's products. Also, future research can look more carefully into the question of the region's (meaning the extended area around Kolozsvár) communication network, market places and their connection to Kolozsvár and other settlements. Perhaps, a distance analysis could shed more light on the possible favorable market places in this region.

Advancing towards the central properties of Kolozsmonostor, descending on the Nádas River, the next important monastic land was Bács, today called Kisbács. Kisbács appears in all the thirteenth-century forged lists of estates (1263, 1296, 1297), yet its earliest authentic existence is documented in a 1343 perambulation of one of the neighboring

⁴¹³ EO IV, 326/828, only in excerpt: MNL OL, DL 36403 p. 9.

⁴¹⁴ 1427 nov. 5, see in: KmLt, nr. 118; Szabó, "A kolozsmonostori bencés apátság", 100.

⁴¹⁵ Toda, *Transporturile*, 125-126.

monastic lands called *Nádas*, discussed above.⁴¹⁶ The abbey here also encountered a number of attacks and land occupations by its neighbors. Probably the first documented damage in Kisbács was done by the Wallachian (*Olachi*) peasants (*iobagio*) of *Gerew de Zamartelke*, who entered the land with their sheep (300 in number) illegally and burned down the (forbidden/prohibited, always guarded – *silvam...Auas vocatam, semper in custodia retentam...*) forest called *Auas* (meaning musty).⁴¹⁷ Even after the investigation had shown that the event was true, *Gerew* did not send his subjects to trial and the abbot suffered a loss of fifty marks. Its stone parish church dedicated to Saint Agnes was mentioned in 1413 and 1417.⁴¹⁸ Kisbács was also a customs point, although not much is known about it. In 1371⁴¹⁹ and 1374⁴²⁰ it was in the hands of George Bebek, and in 1391 his sons owned it by the donation of King Louis I.⁴²¹ The handling of the custom is not documented in connection to the abbey.

Litigations between 1413 and 1417, and a number of land occupations and attacks (on the peasants of the abbey) are documented between the abbey and the Papfalvi family concerning the borders of Kisbács and *Szentiván*, a now deserted land of the abbey. However, the quarrels started earlier when the family occupied Kisbács for the first time in 1363.⁴²² Then several other forced land occupations took place, which resulted in an agreement between the family and the abbey but because of its unfavorable resolutions on the abbey in 1417 King Sigismund annulled it.⁴²³ He ordered that the abbey should be reintroduced into the possession of the disputed arable lands and forests. Sigismund's letter is a valuable source because it contains details on the value of the forest and attests the fact that the abbey sold wood from the forest to the people from Kolozsvár. In 1417, the Papfalvi family attacked a peasant of the abbey on the open road, who was transporting wood.⁴²⁴ The charter issued by King Sigismund and addressed to the the Transylvanian voivode contains a whole list of the damage suffered by the abbey because of the attacks of the Papfalvi and the Bocsi families. The attacks were aimed mainly at the peasants working for the abbey (transporting wood and working in the forest, procuring food etc.). The total damage caused for the abbey raised to 1000 golden florins, which meant also that the tenant peasants were constantly leaving the

⁴¹⁶ EO III, 73/122, 75/130; MNL OL, DL 28726.

⁴¹⁷ EO IV, 257/627; MNL OL, DL 28083.

⁴¹⁸ MNL OL, DL 28151.

⁴¹⁹ EO IV, 361/927; MNL OL, DF 281132.

⁴²⁰ DRH C XIV, 445-446/305.

⁴²¹ UB III, 1276.

⁴²² DRH C XII, 183.

⁴²³ MNL OL, DF 275230.

⁴²⁴ MNL OL, DF 275231.

monastic property. Finally, the matter was solved through an agreement in 1418.⁴²⁵ In 1426 the people of the Transylvanian bishop drove away eight hundred sheep from the abbot's property of Kisbács, most probably part of the sheep belonged directly to the abbey. The next year the issue wasn't solved, the abbey did not receive any compensation from the bishop for its loss. Moreover, additional animals were driven away (oxen, cows, and pigs) from which fourteen were slaughtered. The outcome of the events is not documented. In 1451 the issues restarted with the Papfalvi family because they occupied arable lands in *Szentiván* and harassed the peasants in Kisbács.⁴²⁶ In 1588 prohibited forests were enlisted, which belonged to the village and the Jesuits: *Hedzmege erdu, Okep erdu, Iuanka bérce, Nadoldala, Popemezeefeli usquae ad metas pagi Mera, Nires* (birch) *uult, Nagthelekoldala*. Among these one was glandiferous and the others were mentioned as for everyday use and for buildings but not emphasized which exactly.⁴²⁷

Kisbács comprised two additional lands that belonged to the abbey as well, the above-discussed *Nadas/Nádastelek* (*predium seu possessio*) and *Szentiván* (*predium*) about which a source from 1415 stated that a church dedicated to Saint John was constructed there.⁴²⁸ Interestingly, during a witness hearing from 1444, a shrine was mentioned, as located outside the Saint Egidius church (*ad oraculum...extra ecclesiam sancti Egidii habitum*).⁴²⁹ However, additional details concerning the church in *Szentiván* and the shrine are not known. The perambulations mention also other now-deserted lands in the vicinity of Kisbács, the *terra Orad, Boch, and Saság* (also a monastic land).

The closest property which developed right next to the abbey was the village called *Monustur* (meaning monastery) and in the thirteenth century and early fourteenth century sources it appears only in forgeries (1263, 1296, 1297, and 1313). Its first presence in an authentic charter dates back to around 1341, when the Transylvanian bishop excommunicated Stephen Pogány and Andrew Junhus because they dragged “per villam monasterii sancte Marie” the *custos* on a bad horse.⁴³⁰ Nothing else is known about this incident. In 1342 King Charles I was inquiring into the privileges and rights of the people of the village *Kolusmonustura* and found out that they enjoyed the same exemptions as the *hospites* of

⁴²⁵ MNL OL, DL 28165.

⁴²⁶ KmJkv I, 440/971.

⁴²⁷ Jakó, *A gyalui vártartomány*, 6-7.

⁴²⁸ KmLt, nr. 96 (in abstract).

⁴²⁹ KmJkv I, 317-318/522; MNL OL, DL 36406, p. 33-38, nr. 1 (faded in many places).

⁴³⁰ Jakó identified the village with *Monustur* even though this could perhaps allude to the above discussed *Máriatelke* as well, see: EO III, 53-54/71; MNL OL, DF 277317.

Kolozsvár.⁴³¹ In the same year, the king granted the right of the abbey to collect tolls in *Monustur* even from the burghers of Kolozsvár.⁴³² These rights were also confirmed in 1356 by the Transylvanian voivode, when he prohibited all people to judge in the matters of the abbey's peasants and *hospites*.⁴³³ In 1355 the Transylvanian bishop occupied a large part of *Monustur*. Several documents indicate that the abbot's palace was in this village. First, a document from 1362 which relates one of the disturbing events of that year, when the people and *hospites* of *Fenes* (Szászfenes) and Kolozsvár attacked the abbey, broke the door of the abbot's residence (house), dragged out Paul, the son of *Chuey*, and without any court judgment cut off his head.⁴³⁴ A second document, from 1370, mentioned that negotiations took place between several nobles at the abbot's house in *Monustur*.⁴³⁵ Data on the medieval land use in the village of *Monustur* is fragmentary. The two largest vine regions of the abbey were located in *Monustur* and in the town of Kolozsvár, a part of which was cultivated by the abbey's peasants and another part by the townsmen. After the vineyards the abbey received the tithe but also the *terragium* or the *bergrecht* (the tax paid after the vine). Due to its vines the abbey had numerous conflicts with the burghers of Kolozsvár, who under the administration of weaker abbots managed to get royal exemptions from paying the tithe or the *terragium*.⁴³⁶ Also, the people of Kolozsvár were keen on acquiring parts of the abbey's vines whenever they had the chance. A lengthy litigation was generated by the forced occupation of a large part of the monastic vines by the town of Kolozsvár in 1429.⁴³⁷ A curious situation was created because the abbey demanded its benefits as a landlord but the town could refuse it based on its privileged status. Data on selling parts of the monastic vineyards becomes available from the second half of the fifteenth century and with it a few toponyms of vineyards are mentioned. Such was the *Kőmál*⁴³⁸ Mountain⁴³⁹ (situated on the other side of the Szamos), the boundary part of *Monustur* called *Herman*⁴⁴⁰, and the *Bethlen* Mountain.⁴⁴¹ Parts of vineyards were also donated to the abbey to fund mass foundations, from which additional names of vineyards can be extracted, as *Alsobab*, *Mekencze*, *Gabo*, and *Pethend*.

⁴³¹ EO III, 65/93, MNL OL, DL 28061.

⁴³² EO III, 67/99, MNL OL, DL 36403.

⁴³³ EO III, 313/865, MNL OL, DF 275175.

⁴³⁴ EO IV, 97-98/180, MNL OL, DL 29069. Concerning the terminology for the abbot's lodging: "...domus et pallacy ipsius domini abbatis...".

⁴³⁵ "...ad locum habitationis ipsius domini abbatis in Monustur" in EO IV, 318/801; MNL OL, DL 26756.

⁴³⁶ For instance, in 1409, when the burghers from Kolozsvár managed to received exemptions from King Sigismund.

⁴³⁷ KvOkl, nr. 97.

⁴³⁸ *Kőmál* in Hungarian means a hill side facing south, an ideal location for vineyards.

⁴³⁹ KmJkv I, 445/987; MNL OL, DL 36403 p. 59 nr. 4.

⁴⁴⁰ KmJkv II, 344/3684; MNL OL, DL 36402 p. 90 nr. 1. This vineyard contained also fruit trees.

⁴⁴¹ ZsOkl VI,1679; MNL OL, DL 28166.

The identification of the sites of the enumerated vineyards is quite problematic. For now, only, some of the following vineyard names can be more-or-less hypothetically localized: it seems that the *Kőmal* Mountain was a larger hill, situated on the other side of the Szamos River (to the north), and the *Pethend* lay probably to the south from this.

A valuable source was preserved from 1581, when the abbey was given to the Jesuits by Stephen Báthory, which offers a detailed description of the surroundings of the monastic buildings. It is a letter written by Stephen Szántó to the general of the Jesuits.⁴⁴² He described the state of the abbey buildings and economic aspects at the time, when they took over the monastery. The source is highly important because it still reflects the Benedictine conditions. Thus, here I shall summarize the main points of the letter which are essential from a land use and landscape point of view especially outlining the home grange economy of Kolozsmonostor.

First, Szántó described that the village of *Monustur* was located between the monastic buildings and the town of Kolozsvár. To the north, a higher hill was visible which was planted with vines and the tithe from it was the income of the abbey (this could have been perhaps the above-discussed *Kőmal* Mountain). Under and next to the vineyard, arable lands were situated. The arable lands and the hill where the monastery was located was separated by the Kis-Szamos River. From the Friday catch they could supply the community with enough fish and a three-wheeled mill (which worked all year continuously) provided enough flour for a whole-year consumption. Also, close-by, on one of the riverbanks, on a hill, the grange of the monastery could be found, where the products were stored and the animals were kept, it was a production place as well (for cheese and other products). A long and wide vegetable garden was connected to the grange from the west. An extended orchard and another garden appropriate for pumpkin, kale and flax was located on the other bank of the river. A fourth garden was connected to the monastery from the east, surrounded by roses with some fruit trees and vines. The fifth garden was in the town, surrounded by fruit trees and a ploughland in the middle. Formerly, in that garden muscatel grapes were grown by the Benedictines but after they had left, the burghers of Kolozsvár took them over. At a larger distance, to the west, were the arable lands and meadows of the peasants of the monastery (*nostrorum colonorum*) situated. To the south a large forest belonged to the abbey with a high number of fruit trees and walnut (perhaps this was the earlier mentioned *Leske* or *Apathavasa*). About the monastic buildings he wrote only succinctly. During the Reformation the monastery was transformed

⁴⁴² The letter was published in: FontRTr I, nr. 59.

into a castle and the cells of the monks were demolished. The coat-of-arms of George Martinuzzi were still visible above the entrance gate. The church was connected with the monastery but was deprived of all its decorations.

Besides the Jesuit letter the survived *urbaria* (from 1580,1588, 1590-1594)⁴⁴³ offer additional details on the incomes and land use of several monastic lands which were held by the Jesuits, other lay owners or the royal treasury. In Monostor/Kolozsmonostor, in 1588, 207 *coloni* were documented (in addition to the freemen and the judges). The wheat mill produced an annual income of around 200 florins. Two stone quarries functioned in Monostor. The settlement had forests, from which wood was provided for the kitchen and the hypocaust of the buildings. The *coloni* could use the *Apathmesse* forest. Other forests were listed: *Zodos Cereie*, *Byk* (beech), *Apathmesseie*, *Birc*, *Gad Cereie*, *Agiagos Cereie*, which were prohibited. All the other incomes were also listed: the census given on St. Martin and St. George's day, the income from the toll/customs post, the tax called *Sinath* (probably originated in the Middle Ages, a type of church service), the tithes from cereals, animals, vineyards, bees, hemp seeds, pigs. Few years later, in 1590-1594 (when the village was a princely property), another conscription enlists the names of the inhabitants of Monostor and at the end the tithes and obligations of the people. The *urbarium* mentions again the three-wheeled mill on the Szamos. Among the princely lands the following were listed: arable lands, hay meadows (in Also Rúdas and in Omlás, a third one near the Szamos, next to Fenes), an oak forest called *Bercz* (prohibited), other forests: *Gatt chereye* (for the upkeep of the mill), *Byk* (Beech), *Nyers Bik* (prohibited), *Apad erdeye* (belonged to the village), another forest was located in the direction of Kisbács towards Hoia but its name was not mentioned. Around 1638 another *urbarium* was compiled which contained the names of the inhabitants according to the streets but this source is fragmentary, its first part is missing. All these accounts indicate that the area was indeed rich in forests and it is no surprise that the Benedictines were involved in wood trade.

Even though the sources do not mention directly any salt donation, we know that the Benedictines received salt at some point in time, perhaps even in their early years. The 1590-1594 *urbarium* mentions exactly how much salt had to be given (e.g. the tenth of the salt to the tollkeeper, if 100 salt was transported on a carriage then 1 salt and 4 denars were to be paid, if only half a carriage of salt then only 1 salt had to be paid), when tradesmen or others passed through the monastic estate of Kolozsmonostor, which was also a customs post. It is a

⁴⁴³ See all the discussed *urbaria* in Jakó, *A gyalui vártartomány*, 3-31.

late information but it can be hypothesized that since the Benedictines owned at least two custom points near Kolozsvár (in Apahida and Monostor/Kolozsmonostor) the salt they received in this way was enough for their needs and that is why archival sources do not contain salt donations (or perhaps the sources simply were not preserved).

Another close-by property was in *Szentbenedek* (Saint Benedict) about which little is known from the written sources. The property was mentioned as a *terra* or a *predium* and lay on the border of Kolozs and Torda counties, somewhere near Szelicse. A perambulation attested a chapel dedicated to Saint Benedict in 1367.⁴⁴⁴ Thirty years later, in 1397 the abbot of Kolozsmonostor protested against the Transylvanian bishop because he had destroyed the Saint Benedict church.⁴⁴⁵ The location of this land is not known today and was probably depopulated after the violent events.

The last but probably one of the most important monastic properties in Kolozs County was *Apáthida* (meaning abbot's bridge), today Apahida, located to the northeast at a distance of 4 km from Kolozsvár, on the right bank of the Kis-Szamos River. Its first appearance in an authentic document dates back to 1326⁴⁴⁶, a perambulation of a neighboring land of the Zsuki noble family.⁴⁴⁷ The settlement's name in Latin – *Pons Abbatis* and Hungarian – *Apáthida* means the bridge of the abbot, which is actually connected to the existence of a bridge that crossed the Kis-Szamos River and served as a customs point for the abbey. The first documented issue with one of its neighbors was recorded in 1360, when one of the abbot's tenant peasants from *Apáthida* was killed.⁴⁴⁸ In the same year, the eastern part of the boundary of *Apáthida*, towards Kolozskorpád was perambulated.⁴⁴⁹ A lengthy litigation started with the Zamosfalvi nobles of a neighboring village, today Szamosszentmiklós, in archival documents *Zenthmiklos* (St. Nicholas), when the abbot wanted to renew the boundary signs of *Apáthida*.⁴⁵⁰ The nobles stated that the abbot wanted to cut out a part of their property, which was quickly clarified by investigations that the disputed territory comprised *I ekealja* (approximately 1 *jugerum* which again could have had regional variations) meaning

⁴⁴⁴ EO IV, 249-250/606; MNL OL, DL 28744.

⁴⁴⁵ MNL OL, DL 28764, 28765.

⁴⁴⁶ EO II, 211-213/569; MNL OL, DL 28719 and 28721.

⁴⁴⁷ Based on the coat of arms of the family it was presumed that they were a branch of the Ágmánd kindred which would mean that the ancestors of the Suk family settled in Kolozs County as early as 1213. The properties of the Suk family formed a homogenous estate of 12 villages in the central area of Kolozs County. See more on the family: Diaconescu, *Structura nobilimii*, 357-360.

⁴⁴⁸ EO IV, 39/2; MNL OL, DL 28076.

⁴⁴⁹ EO IV, 53/45; MNL OL, DL 28738.

⁴⁵⁰ EO IV, 107-108/214; MNL OL, DF 277363.

generally the quantity of land which could be plowed with a yoke in one day's time.⁴⁵¹ In 1364 the abbot requested that the nobles swore on the land that it always belonged to them but they refused, so consequently the disputed land part was allotted to the abbey.⁴⁵² A fishpond of the abbey was documented in 1381, called *Holthzamus* (dead/dried out Szamos), when the peasants of the nobles of Zsuk fished out all the fish illegally.⁴⁵³ Another abuse was recorded in 1410, when the royal salt transporters (“...*portatores salium Regalium...*”) grazed with their animals the hayland of the abbey in *Apáthida* which was long ago in prohibition (“*ad prata et foenilia a longo tempore prohibita*”).⁴⁵⁴ In 1423 peasants from *Zenthmyklos* appropriated and plowed a larger part of arable land between *Apáthida* and *Zenthmyklos* which belonged to the abbey and together with it an old boundary sign called *Lykashalm* (earth pile with a hole), on this occasion already for the second time.⁴⁵⁵ Here as well, the existence of mills based on documentary evidence can be proven beginning with 1469, when Abbot Peter gave the abbey's mill located on the boundary on *Apáthida*, on the Szamos, in pledge to a burgher from Kolozsvár.⁴⁵⁶ A charter from 1496 attests that Abbot Gabriel Polnar confirmed a former donation (made by Abbot Peter Polnar sometime between 1490-1495) to the son and grandchildren of the late Peter *Soldos* (all were the tenant peasants of the abbey) for their services that comprised a fishpond called *Hathyos*, and another fishpond situated under the abbey's pond (near a public road); a forest named *Soldoschereye*, and the *Holthwyzzege* meadow.⁴⁵⁷ It is not known exactly what type of services did the family provide for the abbey but the abundant donation alludes probably to important tasks. Members of the family are attested already in 1439 and 1468. John and Peter *Soldos* appeared in 1441 as *familiares* of Kolozsmonostor abbey.⁴⁵⁸ From the late fourteenth roughly until the end of the fifteenth century the court of justice of Kolozs County was held in *Apáthida*.⁴⁵⁹ Near today's

⁴⁵¹ Since this land measurement developed from the practice of plowing besides the general example cited here a number of regional variations existed which developed from the early Middle Ages up until modern times. Therefore, it is impossible to determine its exact equivalent in today's measurements. See: László Bendeffy, *Középkori magyar hossz- és területmértékek* [Medieval Hungarian length and territory measures] (Budapest, 1959); Ferenc Maksay, *A magyar falu középkori településrendje* [The settlement order of the medieval Hungarian village] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó 1971).

⁴⁵² EO IV, 128-129/272; MNL OL, DL 28740; 137/302, MNL OL, DF 277363, DL 36908, 36403; 141-142/315, MNL OL, DL 36908, DF 275361.

⁴⁵³ DRH C XVI, 64/39; MNL OL, DL 28928.

⁴⁵⁴ MNL OL, DL 28141.

⁴⁵⁵ MNL OL, DL 26770.

⁴⁵⁶ KmJkv I, 693/1929.

⁴⁵⁷ KmJkv II, 149-150/2997. The word might mean “szégye” which could refer to a tool used in “rekesztés” (dam fishing or fishing weir) fishing, frequently applied in backwaters.

⁴⁵⁸ KmJkv I, 283/379.

⁴⁵⁹ András W. Kovács, “Megyeszékhelyek a középkori Erdélyben [County seats in medieval Transylvania],” in *Emlékkönyv Egyed Ákos születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* [In honour of Ákos Egyed's eightieth birthday] (Kolozsvár: EME, 2010), 177-187.

Szamoszentmiklós, towards Kolozskara, another fishpond, called *Bozostho* (or *Sostho*) existed, which in 1519 was pawned for twelve florins to the abbey.⁴⁶⁰ Later, the same fishpond was redeemed by the owners (Stephen and Ladislaus Mikola Szamosfalvi). The charter indicates that this pond was located right at the end of the monastery's fishpond (it might be the fishpond mentioned in 1496).⁴⁶¹

As the preserved documents illustrate *Apáthida* property comprised a number of fishponds, the first property on which they are mentioned in documents as early as the fourteenth century. Even though the physical traces of the fishponds are hard to find due to modern water management works and expansion of residential quarters, the survival of medieval place names can be observed until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During these two centuries the toponyms changed, most of them received new Romanian names while others disappeared.⁴⁶² Most likely a higher number of fishponds existed than the documents reflect and besides the abbey, other lay owners must have cultivated fishponds here.

In comparison to the other regions where the abbey held properties, on the boundary and territory of *Apáthida* only three forests are attested, nowadays the territory barely has a few remaining patches of forest. Arable lands were fairly extended but also meadows and hayland was available.

3.5.2. Torda County and Maros Seat

Kolozsmonostor owned few villages in Torda County⁴⁶³ a certain unidentified *Kereztwr* (possibly Gerendkeresztúr), Marosdátos (Dátos) and Lekence (Maroslekenye). In Maros Seat⁴⁶⁴: Abafája-*Apáti*, Szentpéter and Péterlaka. However, the properties in Maros Seat are highly problematic, they cannot be identified accurately, even though most researchers associated them with several modern-day settlements. Documents and sources do not offer a clear solution in this matter, they give space to a rather broad interpretation. For example, the village called *Péterlaka* can be associated with at least two existing settlements (Magyarpéterlaka and Péterfalva) while the name *Szentpéter* with at least three. In the four-

⁴⁶⁰ Csomor, *A kolozsmonostori bencés apátság*, 89-90; PRT XII/b, 90.

⁴⁶¹ KmJkv II, 381/3812;

⁴⁶² Szabó, *Erdélyi helynévgyűjtése*, Kolozs megye, 10/A, 32-38.

⁴⁶³ The County of Torda is among the earliest historic counties of the Hungarian Kingdom with its seat in Torda.

⁴⁶⁴ Maros Seat was one of the historic Székely Seats which formed the Székely Land. It lay in the central and northeastern part of the Transylvanian Basin, in the northwestern corner of the Székely Land. It comprised several distinct landscapes, such as the Mezőség, the Maros Valley, the Nyárad Valley, the western part of the Salt region and the southwestern part of the Görgény Mountains. Maros Seat ceased to exist after the large-scale reorganization of the counties in 1876, and was incorporated into the county of Torda-Maros.

volume source publication *Erdélyi Okmánytár*, the editors identified *Szentpéter* with Uzdiszentpéter. *Szentpéter* appears only in the thirteenth-century forged documents, and later documents refer to it and parts of it as in the property of the Agmánd (*Ogmand* in sources) nobles.⁴⁶⁵ In this way no direct evidence links it to Kolozsmonostor abbey. Concerning Péterlaka, if one associates it with the settlement located in Fehér County, sixteenth-century documents attest several owners (such as the Somkereki and Gerendy families) but the abbey does not appear among them. Also, if one checks the written sources it seems that the abbey did not lay any claim on these lands or at least no documents survived on it. Still these might have belonged to the early lands of the abbey, which were lost.

The only certain connection with Kolozsmonostor can be proven in the case of *Apáti-Abafája* (at a distance of 80 – 90 km from Kolozsvár) as the surviving court records indicate. The Hungarian name of the place is also indicative (*Apáti* meaning “the abbot’s”), especially that there was no other abbey in the vicinity. *Apáti* is attested for the first time by documents in 1348, when in Torda, on the occasion of a general assembly, Abbot Jordanus stated and the participants (the magistrates of the 7 counties and all the nobles from Transylvania) attested that certain properties of the abbey (located between the Saxons and Székelys) were occupied by others.⁴⁶⁶ According to the document these lands were the following: *Hoodvylagh*, *Scewlews*, [*Zenthlazlo*]w, *Danus*, *Prod*, *Ketheremi*, and *Apaty*. An important detail was mentioned in 1355, when the Transylvanian vice-voivode requested the Transylvanian chapter to perambulate and reintroduce the abbot of Kolozsmonostor into the possession of *Apáti*. In this, the abbot highlighted that the land had long been uninhabited.⁴⁶⁷ Even though a few litigations went on between the abbot and John, son of Peter de *Georgyn*, in 1359 King Louis I decreed that the Kolozsmonostor abbey should be introduced into the land *Apáti*, since the abbot had already retrieved it legally three times.⁴⁶⁸ The litigations did not end so easily, in 1363 and 1364 a series of inquiries and investigations documented how John de *Gurgen* expelled by force the official of the abbot from *Apáti* and annexed the property to his land *Abafaya* and enjoyed its incomes.⁴⁶⁹ It seems that all the claims induced a confusion, since in 1364 the Transylvanian voivode requested the vice-voivode to clarify whether *Apáti* and

⁴⁶⁵ Diaconescu, *Structura nobilimii*, 382. EO II, 42-43/24; MNL OL, DL 30591; EO III, 183/463, MNL OL, DL 37078.

⁴⁶⁶ EO III, 183/464; MNL OL, DF 275171.

⁴⁶⁷ EO III, 301/824; MNL OL, DL 28734.

⁴⁶⁸ EO III, 384/1101, 387/1110; MNL OL, DF 275178, 275179.

⁴⁶⁹ EO IV, 111/225, 114-115/238, 115/239, 117/248; MNL OL, DL 28741.

Abafaya was one and the same settlement or two distinct lands.⁴⁷⁰ In 1402 the Transylvanian vice-voivodes granted *Apáti* to the abbot and the convent. However, already in 1404 an investigation targeted the judges of the nobles from Kolozs County. According to the complaint of the abbot, the sons of John de *Jára*, Peter and George, attacked and killed the nobleman Luke de *Indal*, the estate manager of the abbey employed in *Apáti* called also *Abafaya*, in the middle of the night, and dragged his body to the border of the neighboring land. Then, after a few days, they captured the *villicus* and one of the old jurors, robbed and decapitated them for reporting to the abbot on the murder of his official.⁴⁷¹ Thus, they occupied the land and enjoyed its incomes. These examples indicate quite clearly how hard it was for the abbey to effectively protect its people and lands against the violent trespass of the neighbors especially at such a distance. In such cases it was probably easier for the abbots to exchange distant properties for closer ones. In 1475 a mill and its income were mentioned in the registers of the abbey but no additional details can be extracted from the short entry.⁴⁷²

Concerning the monastic properties in Torda County clear data does not exist to ascertain which *Kereztwr* was supposed to have once belonged to the abbey. Once again, the documents do not offer any tangible evidence on its localization or on its ownership. Most of the settlements from Torda County which could perhaps be identified with *Kereztwr* were owned by others and Kolozsmonostor's claim to it does not appear in any of the later documents except the land enumerations forged to the thirteenth century. About the other two neighboring settlements, Marosdátos and Maroslekence, besides the three forged documents, the very first claim on the part of Kolozsmonostor comes from 1366, when abbot Otto requested an investigation into the matter of ownership because Thomas, the Transylvanian voivode held these lands occupied by force. The investigation resulted in the confirmation that the rightful owner was the abbey.⁴⁷³ Yet, in the same year, King Louis I on the title of new donation gave Marosdátos and Maroslekence to his noble retainer, Ladislaus *dictus Bulgar de Tusund* (from the Tuzsoni family) and his relatives, ignoring the contradiction of the abbey.⁴⁷⁴ Ladislaus was introduced into the possession of the two lands.⁴⁷⁵ The last information we have about these lands is dated to 1371, when the abbey protested against the royal donation and the inheritance of the lands by the son-in-law of the aforementioned

⁴⁷⁰ EO IV, 133/290; MNL OL, DF 275183.

⁴⁷¹ ZsOkI II, 384; MNL OL, DL 28131.

⁴⁷² KmJkv I, 759/2172; MNL OL, DL 36404 fol. 125r, nr. 1: "Item de proventu molendini de Abafaya...flor. auri pro oleo olive dedimus pro sustentatione mense dominorum circa festum...domini".

⁴⁷³ EO IV, 182/425; MNL OL, DF 275184, DF 275185.

⁴⁷⁴ EO IV, 213/507; MNL OL, DL 30125.

⁴⁷⁵ EO IV, 220/525; MNL OL, DL 73714.

Ladislaus.⁴⁷⁶ It seems that after this the abbey did not renew its claim to these lands, since they appear in the hands of various lay owners during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (such as the Tuzsoni family (1366-1429); Torockói (1467); partly Veres of Farnas (1467-1518) and partly Ungor (1467-1506) etc.).⁴⁷⁷

As the data shows the abbey could manage for a while only one of its distant lands (Abafája-*Apáti*) from Torda County and Maros Seat. For the rest of the settlements it can be presumed that Kolozsmonostor did not take part in the active management or any landscape shaping activities (perhaps only earlier, before these ended up in the hands of local nobles or others). Even if all the earlier presented properties were owned by the abbey at a certain point (in the early periods of the abbey), the Benedictines lost them quite early. The explanations for an early loss could include a variety of reasons, such as the Mongol attack, which could have led to a massive depopulation of the eleventh-twelfth-century monastic properties, leaving villages and regions deserted. Additionally, the personal donations of these lands made by the kings to their retainers as reward to their services; or perhaps even illegitimate land occupation by influential leaders (like the Transylvanian voivode) which later acquired a legal form. In some instances, it is clear that the abbey lacked the authentic documents that could prove its rightful ownership even if the abbey was the true owner, and in few cases as it was proved later, they did not hesitate to resort to forgeries. It is a different issue whether their contemporaries recognized the forgeries or not. There are examples when the forgeries were not identified and were later transcribed in a legal, authentic form.

3.5.3. Küküllő County

The forged document from 1263, which enlists all the properties of the abbey, enumerates at least seven properties or lands in the historic county of Küküllő⁴⁷⁸, the second largest group of estates after Kolozs County. Again, it is possible that the enlisted properties belonged to the monastery at a certain point in time; however, one needs to double-check whether they indeed were in the possession of the abbey or not. As I have shown above, for the lands and villages in Kolozs County, it is quite clear that the abbey held them for a long time and managed them through its own estate managers. Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier,

⁴⁷⁶ EO IV, 370/958; MNL OL, DF 275189.

⁴⁷⁷ See KmJkv I, 38.

⁴⁷⁸ The historic Küküllő County was formed in the early medieval period, already in the time of King Stephen I. It was situated in the middle of the southern part of the Transylvanian Basin, between the lower parts of the two Küküllő Rivers, along the northern bank of the Kis-Küküllő River, on the north it extended until the Maros River, more precisely, where the Nyárad joined the Maros River. Read more details about its history in Györfy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország*, vol. III, 535-547.

properties situated at a larger distance from the central administration of the abbey were most probably harder to manage and to keep. After the fourteenth century loosing or exchanging properties located at a larger distance from abbeys became a general tendency. The properties enlisted in the 1263 document are the following: *Nagy Bene*, *Kis Bene*, two *Theremy* (possibly Nagy Teremi and Kis Teremi), *Hollos*, *Cherged*, and *Kerelw*.

As promising as the numbers may sound unfortunately not much can be said about the land use of the abbey on these properties. This is largely due to the extremely low number of preserved written sources. Additionally, the place names are hard to identify and place on a map without sources describing their actual environment or neighbors especially when most of them did not survive to this day. It can be easily observed that all these properties appear mentioned for the first time in the two frequently invoked forgeries from the thirteenth century (1263 and 1296). Most of these properties (such as *Hollós*, *Cserged*, *Nagy Bene* and *Kis Bene*) do not appear in any other documents later. These might have even become deserted at an early stage. It could perhaps be interesting to investigate why and how did the abbey include these in the list of its properties? Or which could have been the original document containing the list of names? Exceptions are perhaps Kereló and Teremi. However, from these two, Kereló identified as today's Chirileu appears for the first time in an authentic document in the papal tithes from 1332.⁴⁷⁹ Nevertheless, the village was in lay hands in 1356.⁴⁸⁰ Thus, the only property about which evidence attests the connection to Kolozsmonostor remains Teremi or the two settlements named Teremi. As I have discussed it as an example above, this property was again lost already in 1264, when King Stephen as younger king (the later Stephen V) took it out from the jurisdiction of the abbey and donated to *Meggyes* and *Fyoch* (probably Székelys) for their loyal services.⁴⁸¹ The donation was confirmed by Ladislaus IV in 1285⁴⁸² for their courage presented in the fights against the Mongols, and by King Charles I in 1317.⁴⁸³ In 1348, during the general assembly at Torda, it was promulgated and confirmed by those present that the properties of Kolozsmonostor which lay between the Saxons and Székelys were occupied by others.⁴⁸⁴ Among the properties enlisted Nagy Teremi and Kis Teremi (located in today's Maros County) were present as well. The follow up of this is not known. In the fifteenth century only one branch of the family is

⁴⁷⁹ EO II, 404/1117.

⁴⁸⁰ EO III, 310/855.

⁴⁸¹ EO I, 209/251; MNL OL, DL 28572.

⁴⁸² EO I, 264/408; MNL OL, DL 28572.

⁴⁸³ EO II, 120/267; MNL OL, DL 28572. Diaconescu, *Structura nobilimii*, 487.

⁴⁸⁴ EO III, 183/464; MNL OL, DF 275171.

known, that of *magister* Michael, son of *Ponya de Terem*. The sources do not offer a clear filiation between this Ponya and the preceding generation. The lineage is proven by a transcription made in 1379 by the chapter of Buda of the privilege issued by Charles I.⁴⁸⁵ As a letter of deferment of the lawsuit between the abbot and Michael issued in the same year suggests, the conflicts with Kolozsmonostor for the ownership of the two Teremi villages resurfaced.⁴⁸⁶ Yet, the outcome remains unknown. To the west and southwest of Nagy Teremi, in the Cserged River Valley two settlements named Cserged exist today, Kiscserged and Nagycserged. Perhaps one of these two (more likely Nagycserged since it is older) could hide the Cserged named in the sources but due to the scarce sources not much is known about their formation.

3.5.4. Segesvár Seat and Szeben County

After browsing through all the available sources it is striking how little information can be found concerning these properties. The thirteenth-century forgeries which mention these properties as owned by the abbey enlist the following: *Nagyzewles* (Keménynagyszöllős), *Brod* (Prod), *Nagyholdwilag* (Nagyholdvilág), *Danus* (Dános), and *Zentlazlow* (Szászszentlászló) located in the historic Seat of Segesvár, today part of Szeben and Maros Counties. All five properties can be found next to each other, as a small group, around the Nagy-Küküllő River. However, besides a few claims on behalf of some of the abbots (first in 1348⁴⁸⁷, then in 1411⁴⁸⁸) nothing else could attest their actual use and management by Kolozsmonostor abbey. In the historic Szeben County presumably other two (based on the forgeries) properties existed at a certain point: *Barumlak* (Nagybaromlak, meaning place/building for animals) and a *Kapus* identified by most of the researchers who edited the sources with Kiskapus. The situation is the same as above, the villages do not have authentic attestable connection with the abbey.

Additionally, three properties or lands are enumerated in the thirteenth-century forgeries which could not even be identified with any of the existing or deserted settlements, these are: two settlements named *Zaz* and *Appathowa* (abbot's lake). Zs. Jakó only indicated that these could have existed somewhere in the Mezőség.

⁴⁸⁵ DRH C 15, 602/391.

⁴⁸⁶ DRH C 15, 653/430; MNL OL, DL 28927.

⁴⁸⁷ EO III, 183/464; MNL OL, DF 275171.

⁴⁸⁸ UB III, 1665.

3.6. CONCLUSIONS

3.6.1. The Abbey's Power Relations and Its Impact on the Landed Property

In conclusion it can be said that the analysis of all the available sources through a holistic approach unveiled a complex and ever-changing structure of power relations that had existed between the abbey and its neighboring land owners, most of them influential leaders or strong communities. The gathered data provided insight into various land use patterns of the abbey in different geographic regions although without any possibility for a generalization.

The earliest conflicts of the abbey due to its rising influence and power were documented with the Transylvanian bishop, one of the eminent religious figures and wealthy landowners in Transylvania (and in Kolozs County). The collisions between the two ecclesiastic powers took place already in the thirteenth century and ended up with the destruction of monastic buildings (however, the scale of the destruction of the monastic buildings is not known) and relevant charters of privilege as well as ownership documents. By the time the abbey was rebuilt (after the Mongol invasion) and the community returned to the site, the power of the Transylvanian bishop surpassed that of the abbey, and from then on the bishops proved to be more influential than the abbots. This power relation left its marks on the property structure of the abbey as well. Presumably, the abbey held large properties by royal donation in its early period of its existence, as it is known from other cases (Pannonhalma etc.), however, after the conflicts with the bishops and the Mongol destructions the abbey had to revise its property management. That is how the property exchange in 1299 with the Transylvanian bishop can be explained. Later on, the Transylvanian bishops still occupied territories from the monastic lands, especially in those areas which were close to their own estate clusters or even on those lands which were exchanged under peaceful circumstances (see the example of Bogártelke). The land occupations led to a series of litigations which were won by the abbey and did not result in property loss, at least in Kolozs County.

Chronologically, the next group of rivals about whom the documentary sources attest open conflicts or lengthy litigations with the abbey were the local noble families. Starting in the middle of the thirteenth century, after gaining influence and power (especially after the Mongol invasion had left the monastic lands without maintenance and monastic management) neighboring families wanted to expand their lands at the cost of the abbey. Here some of the above-discussed examples could be highlighted such as the case of the nobles from *Tiburcztelek* or the Papfalvi, and Macskási nobles. Some of these conflicts lead to lengthy litigations that lasted several generations (see the case of *Tiburcztelek*) or were re-opened

from time to time (Papfalvi). There is also one early, thirteenth-century example of a property being removed from the authority of the abbey by the king himself and donated to two Székelys as a title for nobility (see Teremi) although this practice cannot be considered a general tendency. Another example illustrates how the abbey eventually lost one of its further-located properties to the *Gurgen/Görgény* nobles (see above *Apáti*). However, in many cases the abbey was successful in defending and keeping its properties, in particular those that lay in Kolozs County and constituted the central estates.

The last and clearly one of the strongest rivals was the town of Kolozsvár, whose power rose significantly after 1405 and started expanding its territory with success, with the help of the kings. One of the territories of the abbey of which the town of Kolozsvár was keen to acquire or at least partially incorporate was Kajántó, more precisely its southern part (with extensive hayland and pasture). According to documentary accounts, the southern part of Kajántó was attacked by the people of Kolozsvár at least two times (in 1429, 1430), who destroyed the boundary signs, took the crops and occupied a large portion of the monastic land. Finally, the dispute was somehow settled by king Matthias, but the details remain unknown. What is sure that the litigation ended up in the royal court of justice, the king ruled in the matter and after this the discord subsided, documentary sources do not discuss it anymore. Another disputed part was located on the western boundary of the town of Kolozsvár with Kolozsmonostor and targeted the vineyards of the abbey and the taxes that had to be paid after them to the abbot. In this matter again the abbey had come in short, because the people of Kolozsvár managed to acquire a number of privileges (in 1377⁴⁸⁹, 1409⁴⁹⁰, 1419⁴⁹¹, 1429⁴⁹²) which continuously decreased the amount of taxes. As a document from 1460 shows the protracted boundary conflicts with the people of Kolozsvár left its marks on the viticulture of the abbey. This means that certain parts of the vineyards were neglected, the part called *Gorbo* perished, the *Kömál* and *Pethlend* were already in the process of desertion.⁴⁹³

3.6.2. Land Use and Exploitation of Revenues over Time

The abbey's earliest period of existence is barely documented and thus no analysis of its land use up to the thirteenth century can be conducted. Data concerning monastic land use

⁴⁸⁹ Louis I forbade the abbot to collect the *terragium/bergrecht* besides the tithe from the civilians from Kolozsvár. UB II, 462-463.

⁴⁹⁰ The people of Kolozsvár managed to acquire a charter from King Sigismund according to which they were exempted from paying the *terragium* and the wine ninth. UB III, 475-476.

⁴⁹¹ Conflicts because of the tenth owed to the abbey. ZsOkl VII, 881.

⁴⁹² Kolozsvár occupied a large part of the monastic vineyards in *Monostor*.

⁴⁹³ KmJkv I, 566/1455.

can be extracted from archival sources starting mainly from the fourteenth century onwards. As specific to monastic orders the main income for the Benedictines of Kolozsmonostor was represented by their landed properties. Their properties were generally divided into smaller groups and managed by estate managers employed by the abbey. The production and animal keeping on the monastic lands were done by the tenant peasants as well as *hospites*, who often appear as victims of the attacks coming from the neighbors of the abbey. Probably, this can be highlighted as one of the characteristics of Kolozsmonostor which persisted throughout almost all the Middle Ages, while other large Benedictine houses leased out most of their territories (for example Garamszentbenedek, Pannonhalma, Tihany etc.).⁴⁹⁴ Lease contracts for Kolozsmonostor appear quite late and rarely. As it was discussed the lease contracts appeared first connected to the mills which are attested as late as the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Concerning the changes in land use, probably the least-known area is the exploitation of the arable lands, since products and their exact place of production are seldom mentioned. However, data concerning land clearance and other indicators such as the appearance of mills and animal husbandry (to a certain degree) all show a gradual rise of the arable lands. Given the abundant data on hay meadows and grasslands especially on the central properties of the abbey (in Co. Kolozs) as well as the frequent ransacking of the animals of the monastery. The animal husbandry of Kolozsmonostor can be explored to some extent. The following animals appear attested by documents: horses, oxen, sheep, goat, and pigs (some of these in high numbers). Yet, it cannot be specified how much of the animals did the peasants own and how much belonged to the abbey. The documents are silent also on the issue of animal trade, it is not known whether the abbey took part in animal trade or not but if the numbers of animals from the few preserved sources are correct then they surpassed the need of the monastic community and could easily be traded. Also, the existence of large hay lands and pastures suggests that a variety of animals were kept by the locals as well as for the abbey. Several *urbaria* enlist the animals which belonged to the peasants and what the people had to provide for the abbey as tithes. Among the enlisted animals one finds: lambs, sheep, oxen, cattle, pigs, hen, and bees, from which the locals provided for the need of the abbey.

Kolozsmonostor owned extended woodlands, again highlighted by the documents but their exact use is rarely specified. In some cases, it is clear that the peasants used these for pannage (in Kisbács or Jegenyé) and in other instances that the abbey sold the timber. Later

⁴⁹⁴ See a more detailed discussion on this in: Szabó, “A kolozsmonostori bencés apátság,” 118-121.

urbaria enforce the fact that some of the forests were kept only for pannage and a certain amount of pigs had to be paid after the use of the forest. In the sixteenth century not all former monastic estates were used for pannage, only a few: in Monostor, Bács, and Jegenye. This practice was probably the same under Benedictine management, not all forests were pannaged. Timber was used for buildings as well as firewood for everyday use, for cooking and heating. It should be highlighted here that in the 1588 *urbarium* for Kolozsmonostor village it was mentioned that wood was enough for the kitchen and the hypocaust, and even the *coloni* could use the *Apathmesse* forest for building material.⁴⁹⁵ Hunting in the monastic woods appears only in the Jesuit monks' letter from 1581, earlier sources are silent on the topic. Fishponds and mills on the monastic properties appear generally in the fifteenth century. Fishponds mentioned by documents by name are known only from Apahida and given their high number one can assume that the abbey was also involved in some sort of local fish trade even though we do not know the amount of fish the ponds provided. The Jesuit description relates that fish was caught in the Szamos River as well. The 1590-1594 *urbarium* documents a fishpond in Kajántó and one in *Tiburcz* while a higher number was identified through field surveys. The mills were generally all leased out in order to provide a direct income, except the ones close to the abbey, while the fishponds were generally retained.

It could be observed, although additional research is needed to gather more data, that several monastic lands gradually became deserted/uninhabited especially during the late Middle Ages and most of these lands were never again populated (such as Mariatelek, Bewnye). Concerning the medieval village system around Kolozsvár not much is known therefore it would be essential to research this topic more thoroughly through case studies. Also, the early medieval or even the late medieval settlement forms of the region are generally unknown. The number of reasons behind the desertion of the smaller villages or settlements can be manifold, just to name a few: unfavorable geographical location, insufficient resources to sustain the inhabitants, violent occupations or attacks, relationship with the landlord etc. Such topics should be addressed by future scholarship in order to get a better understanding of the dynamics behind the medieval settlement system of the area.

3.6.3. Comparison between Different Estates of the Abbey

The abbey owned a variety of properties in different historic counties, which were defined by their geographic characteristics and available raw materials. From this point of view, the monastic properties were generally located along smaller or larger river valleys (on

⁴⁹⁵ Jakó, *A gyalui vártartomány*, 5.

the floodplain), some grouped at the end of the valleys while others at important crossing points on large rivers. The structure of the monastic lands was firstly defined by the royal donations but later on, local social networks and power relations shaped their fate as well.

The closely examined groups of properties from Kolozs County offer an insight on the differences and similarities of these defining factors. As it was shown, the Kajántó Valley comprised mainly grazing fields and hay lands, forests and marshy areas, where fishponds existed but also arable land could be identified through field walking. The Nádas Valley properties encompassed also extended woodland areas, arable lands, and hay meadows with the addition that from the fourteenth century several mills appeared but mainly without fishponds attached to them. The central properties grouped around the abbey buildings included again forests, hay meadows and arable lands, but more importantly larger orchards, gardens, and vineyards are documented in this area. As the Jesuit source (1581), described the home grange of the abbey was right in the vicinity of the monastic buildings, where the storage and production buildings as well as the animal sheds were installed. The home grange was the place where a variety of gardens with fruit trees and vegetables were established. Thus, the products for the everyday needs were within the reach of the community (which is natural because they had to be close to the place of consumption as well as for upkeep and processing). However, on more distant places additional granges or barns must have existed (where the crops and tithes were gathered and kept until transported to the home grange) even though the sources allude to only one such case at *Tiburcztelek*. In this respect, field work provided significant details which could complement the information extracted from the written sources, moreover it provided additional data which was not contained in the sources, such as traces of fishponds and agricultural terraces from various periods. On the other part, certain elements and features which were attested by the written sources could not be identified on the field, for example the grange building and the church in *Tiburcztelek* which appear in the written record.

Thus, as it was earlier observed by N. Szabó and as my own inquiries show Kolozsmonostor abbey had lead a different, particular estate management from the other Benedictine abbeys of the kingdom, which conformed to the local resources, social environment, and the property structure which they managed to establish. Since the number of preserved lease agreements are low and quite late, it can be concluded that most of the incomes of the abbey were in crops or products which were marketed or consumed. Opportunities were enough, since fairs and markets were regularly held in Kolozsvár but also in the monastic property Egeres. The cash income was more likely lower than in the case of

abbeys which leased the majority of their land, but the documents are silent on additional details for Kolozsmonostor.

Concerning animal husbandry and local consumption, since the excavated bone material from the abbey is not researched at all we can rely only on the data provided by the documentary sources and field observations. The documents mention oxen, cows, pigs, sheep, goats, and horses, the keeping of which can be corroborated also with the extended hay lands the abbey owned. Sixteenth-century sources already list other animals as well, such as lambs, hens, and bees. It seems that pannage was practiced only on few monastic lands in Jegénye, Kisbács, and Monostor, where extended forests produced acorn.

The lack of reliable authentic written sources from the early life of the abbey makes it impossible to form a picture about its twelfth and early thirteenth century property structure. Based on later documents but also several forgeries one can still presume which lands could have belonged to the abbey. However, a clearer picture is provided starting with the end of the thirteenth and fourteenth century documentary evidence. In the fifteenth century the property structure was already stabilized and a variety of sources testify the increase of agricultural production which was most likely marketed on a local level. The main construction phases of the abbey (e.g. around 1280, during the time of abbot Anthony, in 1465, on the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth century etc.) also show that in the period the economic background was stable which means that the monastic estates were managed properly. Various construction phases are indicated by the written sources, the archaeological data and the architectural elements unearthed during excavations or still preserved in today's church. However, only rarely do all these overlap. Sources indicate that during the time of abbot Anthony (1424-1451) the abbey enjoyed one of its most prosperous periods, which is reflected in the management of the monastic estates, in the constructions that took place at the monastery (a sun-dial with the name of Anthony on the southern wall of the church) as well as in the written sources (the inventory compiled at his initiative).

As the later sources testify after the Jesuits took over the monastic properties of Kolozsmonostor they reorganized the earlier Benedictine management of the estates to suit their own needs and serve their interests. The estate management of the Jesuits is well documented. They focused on productivity, taxation, census, as shown by the *urbaria*, letters, and reports. Reclaiming the parish network for the Catholic Church on their estates was also among their objectives. Additional construction works can also be connected to them.

CHAPTER 4. KERC ABBEY AND ITS LANDS

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The focus of the chapter is to explore the effects of the settlement of a Cistercian community on the territory of the southern border region of medieval Transylvania and to examine whether a monastic landscape shaped by the monks ever existed in this territory and how did this monastic management fit into the larger picture of a Transylvanian monastic region. Here, I study and analyze the easternmost Cistercian abbey in Europe⁴⁹⁶, located in today's village called Kerc, through the prism of a variety of sources, exploring its local context, the abbey's relationship with its surroundings, and other religious and lay institutions in the region. Another focus point of the chapter falls on the importance of the abbey in this region as well as the placement of this monastery in the context of the order itself as one of the most successful trans-European organizations of the Middle Ages.⁴⁹⁷ Finally, in the discussion part I shall approach the history of the monastic lands from a comparative perspective, drawing on the results provided by the landscape analysis of abbeys administered by other orders (mainly the Benedictine abbey of Kolozsmonostor and the Pauline monasteries). It should be emphasized here that the monastery lay at a significant distance from its mother house in Egres (approximately 360 km), not to mention Pontigny (around 2000 km).

4.2. HISTORIC SETTING

I do not intend to elaborate on this topic in detail since in Chapter 2 I discussed thoroughly the history of the Cistercians in Transylvania; however, I wish to draw attention to the

⁴⁹⁶ Except the Cistercian nunnery in Brassó which will be treated later in the discussion, when the conflicts between the male and the female community are documented by the sources.

⁴⁹⁷ Read more in: Constance Hoffman Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia, Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); Janet Burton and Julie Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Rochester: Boydell Press, 2011); Mette Birkedal Bruun, *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Emilia Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order in Medieval Europe: 1090-1500* (New York, London: Routledge, 2013); Hugh Lawrence Clifford, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London, New York: Routledge, 2013); Emilia Jamroziak and Karen Stöber, *Monasteries on the Borders of Medieval Europe: Conflict and Cultural Interaction* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014); Gert Melville, *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life* (Collegeville: Cistercian Publications, 2016).

possibilities of the political and dynastic relations of the period, when the Cistercian monastery of Kerc was founded.⁴⁹⁸

Contacts with the West, especially with France and the papacy, strengthened in the time of King Béla III. His first wife Anna of Châtillon (c. 1154 – c.1184) was the daughter of Raynald of Châtillon and Constance, Princess of Aragon. Researchers attribute the spread of French cultural patterns⁴⁹⁹ and the presence of the Cistercians in Hungary partly to the queen and partly to a strong ecclesiastical connection which existed through the Hungarian students, who were attending the schools in Paris (for example Luke, the archbishop of Esztergom).⁵⁰⁰ As M. M. de Cevins showed, the first Cistercian abbey in Hungary was closely related with Cistercian abbeys located near Pontigny and the surrounding estates belonged to the Donzy family, from which Anna descended.⁵⁰¹ Shortly after Anna's death Béla III married his second wife, Margaret of France (1157–1197), the daughter of Louis VII of France and Constance of Castile. His second marriage further strengthened the Cistercian influence, Margaret had left to the Cistercians a significant donation just before her departure to Hungary.⁵⁰² Béla's son, Emeric, who was crowned king of Hungary after the death of his father, also married a bride from far-away lands, Constance of Aragon (1179–1222), the daughter of Alfonso II of Aragon and Sancha of Castile. As part of the queen's escort Aragonian families arrived in Hungary.⁵⁰³ After the death of Emeric, his son, the child king

⁴⁹⁸ On this topic I have published an extended paper, see: Ünige Bencze, "Das Zisterzienserklöster Kerz. Neue Betrachtungen zu Gründung, dynastischen Verbindungen und Zisterzienserideal" *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 35/2 (2012): 121-133.

⁴⁹⁹ See the chapter "The chaste prince and the athleta patriae" in Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 184; Dániel Bácsatyai, "A 13. századi francia-magyar kapcsolatok néhány kérdése [France and Hungary in the 13th century: Contacts, Questions and Observations]," *Századok* 151, no. 2 (2017): 237-278.

⁵⁰⁰ József Laszlovszky, "Angol-magyar kapcsolatok a 12. században [English-Hungarian contacts in the twelfth century]," *Századok* 128 (1994): 223-253; 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*, eds. Gerhard Jaritz and Katalin Szende (New York: Routledge, 2016), 81-98.

⁵⁰¹ Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, "Les implantations cisterciennes en Hongrie médiévale," in *Unanimité et diversité cisterciennes*, ed. Nicole Bouter (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2000), 458-459.

⁵⁰² József Laszlovszky, "Angol-magyar kapcsolatok a 12. században [English-Hungarian contacts in the twelfth century]," in *Angol-magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban* [English-Hungarian contacts in the Middle Ages], eds. Attila Bárány, József Laszlovszky and Zsuzsanna Papp (Máriásbesnyő: Attraktor Kiadó, 2012), 143-171.

⁵⁰³ To illustrate the transfer of people written sources documented well such a case: A lady called *Tota* served Queen Constance and married Benedict, son of *Korlath*. As dowry, they received from the king and queen the village of Martinsdorf (Martonfalva or Nagymarton, today: Mattersdorf, Austria), after which the kindred received its name. It is known that the family of *Tota* owned a number of castles in Hispania as well and they mostly came to Hungary during the rule of Emeric or Andrew II (e.g. Simon – *Symeon Hispanus*). It is not determined exactly when Simon's younger brother Bertrand came to Hungary although it is known that both brothers fought on the side of Béla IV in 1241 at the battle of Muhi. See: Attila Zsoldos, "A Nagymartoniak: egy aragóniai család Magyarországon [The Nagymartons: a family from Aragon in Hungary]," in *Királylányok messzi földről: Magyarország és Katalónia a középkorban* [Princesses from Far Away: Hungary and Catalonia in

Ladislaus III ruled for six months but his sudden death gave way for the brother of the late Emeric, Andrew II to ascend to the throne. Andrew's first marriage to Gertrude of Merania (1185–1213) ended suddenly, when the queen was murdered in 1213. Important connections with the Cistercians existed also through Gertrude which affected the order's evolution in Hungary under the rule of Andrew II.⁵⁰⁴ However, his second wife Yolanda de Courtenay (c. 1200–1233) had even stronger connections to the Cistercians, especially with the community in Pontigny. The monastery served as a final resting place for several family members of the Courtenays.⁵⁰⁵ Andrew II and Yolanda had one daughter, Yolanda of Hungary (c. 1215–c. 1251), who married James I of Aragon (1213–1276).

As shown above, dynastic marriage contracts were frequently aimed at French houses and Aragon dynasties which were perpetuated by the Árpád dynasty. Dynastic marriages underwent important changes in the thirteenth century, when as a result of the Fourth Lateran Council, the Church banned marriages between close relatives, so it became harder to find a suitable partner for rulers. If one takes a closer look at Yolanda's marriage to James I, their case illustrates well the dynastic marriage contracts of their time. A detailed description of the marriage can be found in the *Libre dels Feys*, an autobiographical chronicle of James I. From this, it appears that after his marriage to Eleanor, daughter of Alfonso VIII (1155-1214) was dissolved on grounds of consanguinity in 1229, two offers became available to James, the hand of the daughter of the Hungarian king and the daughter of the Austrian prince. James chose Yolanda, who was from a far-away country and in no danger of being a close relative. But was Yolanda really a "far-away" princess? She arrived in Barcelona in September 1235 to marry James I, as the only child of Andrew II and Yolanda de Courtenay, niece of Henry of Flanders, second emperor of the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1174-1216). Henry of Flanders, by giving his niece to Andrew wanted to assure the safety of his empire along the Danube, but Andrew did not want to become heir to the throne of the eastern Latin Empire. After this unfavorable political decision, he tried to follow his stepmother's, Margaret of France, advice. The marriage of Béla III and his second wife, Margaret of France was decided by the interests of his country, with the French king thus becoming his father-in-law. In this way, he could strengthen his power in Hungary.

the Middle Ages]. Exhibition catalogue (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2009), 177-181. On page 184 see the genealogical table of the family.

⁵⁰⁴ Laszlovszky, "Local Tradition or European Patterns?," 83-85.

⁵⁰⁵ Dániel Bácsatyai, "Az egresi ciszterci monostor korai történetének kérdései [Problems of the Early History of the Cistercian Monastery of Egres]," *Századok* 149, no. 2 (2015): 274-281.

Through the marriage of his son Emeric with Constance of Aragon, the Árpád house ended up immersed in the disputes between the Templars and Hospitallers of the Near East, when the troops of the Capetian house of France occupied the Cathar south. When Yolanda arrived in Barcelona, she revived the political activity of Margaret, her grandmother from her father's side. Yolanda's great-grandmother was Constance of Castile (1138-1160), while Constance's mother, Berengaria of Barcelona (1116-1149), was the wife of Alfonso VII (1127-1157) and the daughter of Ramon Berenguer II. Thus, Yolanda was a distant relative of the second wife of Alfonso VII and actually not such a far-away princess.⁵⁰⁶ Yolanda died in 1251. Based on her last will and testament, she was buried in the Cistercian nunnery of Vallbona de les Monges.

From this short account of the intertwined political and dynastic relations it becomes clear how the contacts between the two regions developed during the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Cistercians arrived to Transylvania clearly in the framework of royal support, being the very first monastic order to settle in this region (in the land of Fogaras), followed by the Teutonic knights in 1211 (further to the east in Barcaföldvár), invited by King Andrew II, to defend the southeastern corner of the kingdom from the Cumans.⁵⁰⁷ Then, around the 1220s the Dominicans arrived to Nagyszeben, as the first Mendicants in the region.

If one looks at the events and changes which took place around the arrival of the Cistercians in Transylvania it becomes clear that their appearance happened when the kings of Hungary were engaged in the colonization and the defense of the borders of the kingdom. Thus, it is not surprising that the fate of the Cistercians was closely linked to the Germans, also representatives of Latin Christianity, invited to settle in this region. The earliest account on the presence of German colonists comes from 1191 when the Provostry of Nagyszeben (*praepositura Cibiniensis*) was first attested.⁵⁰⁸ Then, the earliest to colonize the land called *Bozza* or *Borza* (known as Barcaság, Burzenland, Țara Bârsei) in 1211 were the Teutonic knights.⁵⁰⁹ Excavations carried out in Barcaföldvár (Marienburg), the seat of the Teutonic knights in Transylvania, have raised the idea that possibly an earlier colonization already took place before the knights' arrival. Based on the presence of graves with head niches (identified

⁵⁰⁶ For a more detailed description and family trees, see: José Enrique Ruiz-Domènec, "Királyi házasság történelmi kontextusban: Az Árpád-ház és az Aragón-dinasztia szövetsége [A royal marriage in historical context: the alliance of the Árpád house and the Aragon dynasty]," in *Királylányok messzi földről: Magyarország és Katalónia aközépkorban* [Princesses from Far Away: Hungary and Catalonia in the Middle Ages]. Exhibition catalogue (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2009), 199-213.

⁵⁰⁷ EO I, 134/38; MNL OL, DF 291416.

⁵⁰⁸ EO I, 129/21; MNL, OL, DF 237405.

⁵⁰⁹ EO I, 134/38; MNL OL, DF 291416.

around the parish church) it seems that those earlier colonists were also of German origin although the ethnic appropriation can be debated.⁵¹⁰ Possibly, in 1202 (perhaps even earlier as some researchers claim) the Cistercians arrived to Kerc to establish a third-generation monastery (the daughter house of Egres of the line of Pontigny).

Scholars agree that each genealogical line shows evidence of distinct regional priorities, so in the case of Pontigny it has been observed that it expanded mainly towards the west and southwest of Europe, in north-central France, in Burgundy and then mainly in south-central Spain and with two monasteries in Italy.⁵¹¹ What one finds in Transylvania seems to be a later chronological development which displays an expansion of the Pontigny filiation system in a very different direction, into the main expansion territory of the Morimond line. Could this have been connected to the dynastic marriages of the Árpáds with a political background or perhaps was rooted in the “original” target area of Pontigny? Was this act a sole decision of Pontigny, the papacy or the king, perhaps a combination of all the three factors, we might never shed light on the forces acting behind the arrangement.

In this respect, the political and historical background of the foundation has not been fully explored. Only two dynastic marriages took place between the house of Árpád and the crown of Aragon. First, when king Emeric married Constance of Aragon, the second between Yolanda of Hungary, the daughter of Andrew II, and James I the Conqueror of Aragon in 1235.⁵¹² Could perhaps these or other dynastic marriages have influenced the choice of the Pontigny line of the Cistercian order? Or perhaps the two marriages just strengthened the connections? Béla III was the one who revived the process of founding new Cistercian monasteries through his favorable French connections. During the Árpád dynasty the connection between Cistercian foundations and royal power was strongly connected.⁵¹³ The

⁵¹⁰ Daniela Marcu Istrate, *The fortress in Feldioara/Marienburg from the Teutonic knights to the Modern Age* (Feldioara, 2017).

⁵¹¹ Frédéric Van der Meer, *Atlas De L'ordre Cistercien* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1965), maps: V, IX and tables: I, VI; Parker Snyder, “A network analysis – spatial and temporal patterns of the Cistercian reform from 1098-1400,” *Annual of Medieval Studies* 15 (2009): 43-63.

⁵¹² György Szabados, “Aragóniai Konstancia magyar királyné [Constance of Aragon Hungarian Queen],” in *Királylányok messzi földről: Magyarország és Katalónia a középkorban. Kiállítási katalógus* [Princesses from Far Away: Hungary and Catalonia in the Middle Ages. Exhibition catalogue], eds. Csaba Tóth and Ramon Sarone (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2009), 163-173; Tünde Mikes, “Katalónia és Magyarország: történelem, politika, dinasztikus kapcsolatok [Catalonia and Hungary: history, politics, dynastic connections],” in *Királylányok messzi földről: Magyarország és Katalónia a középkorban. Kiállítási katalógus* [Princesses from Far Away: Hungary and Catalonia in the Middle Ages. Exhibition catalogue], eds. Csaba Tóth and Ramon Sarone (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2009), 27-45.

⁵¹³ Laszlovszky, “Local Tradition or European Patterns?,” 81-98; Attila Bárány, “III Béla (1172-1196) nyugati kapcsolatai [The Western connections of Béla III (1172-1196)],” in *Pilisi Gótika. II András francia kapcsolatai. Kiállítási katalógus* [Gothic art in the Pilis. The French connections of Andrew II. Exhibition catalogue], eds. Attila Bárány, Elek Benkő, and Zoltán Kárpáti (Debrecen-Szentendre: Ferenczy Múzeum, 2016), 11, see on page 56-57 the family tree of the Árpáds in the thirteenth century.

order soon played an essential role in the foreign policy and diplomacy of the king. Hungarian clerics went to the west for ecclesiastical training, especially to Paris. Thus, the presence of Hungarian clerics in French schools and the relations of Béla III with France indicate a growing interaction which continued and expanded in the time of Emeric and Andrew II.⁵¹⁴

4.3. LITERATURE – THE FOUNDATION OF KERC

Given the importance of this abbey for the historic and art historic research of the region, one can easily observe that the multi-ethnic background of Transylvania supplied various historiographies of this monastery. These are reflected in the way that the research had evolved and each of the three cohabiting populations from Transylvania treated the abbey in a distinct manner, approaching it from various scholarly backgrounds, displaying different points of views, which in general, rarely overlapped. Since a comprehensive synthesis of the different historiographies does not exist in English and in order to understand the complex web of trends and arguments present in Hungarian, German and Romanian historiography, in the following I shall sum up the main ideas and authors who have dealt with Kerc from the perspective of the possible founder.

The first attempts to date the foundation of the monastery started as early as the seventeenth century when Péter Pázmány, archbishop of Esztergom and an important figure of the counter-Reformation in Hungary, set the foundation of the monastery of Kerc to the year 1216.⁵¹⁵ Almost the same date was chosen at the middle of the eighteenth century by Fridvalszky, who set this event to the year 1218.⁵¹⁶ In the nineteenth century, scholars such as V. Kästner, E. Jakab and F. Rómer thought to place the date of foundation to the reign of Andrew II, connecting it to its mother house at Egres.⁵¹⁷ For a long time, this view was considered quite outdated and no longer valid, thus excluded from the possible scenarios.

⁵¹⁴ Attila Bárány, “II. András az európai uralkodó [Andrew II the European ruler],” in *Pilisi Gótika. II András francia kapcsolatai. Kiállítási katalógus* [Gothic art in the Pilis. The French connections of Andrew II. Exhibition catalogue], eds. Attila Bárány, Elek Benkő and Zoltán Kárpáti (Debrecen-Szentendre: Ferenczy Múzeum, 2016), 12-13.

⁵¹⁵ Baumgartner, *A kerzi apátság*, 22.

⁵¹⁶ Leopold Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium Liber Primus* (Vindobonae/Vienna, 1877), 209.

⁵¹⁷ Elek Jakab, “Apátságok Erdélyben [Abbeys in Transylvania],” *Magyar Történelmi Társulat Tár* 13 (1867): 20; Victor Kästner, “Die Sage von der Gründung und Zerstörung der Kerzer Abtei,” *Blätter für Geist, Gemüth und Vaterlandskunde*, Neue Folge 1 (1851): 129, 137; Flóris Rómer, “Kirándulás a kertzi apátsághoz Erdélyben [Trip to the abbey of Kertz in Transylvania],” *Archaeológiai Közlemények* XI (1877): 4. For further details about Egres, see: Suzana Moré Heitel, *Începuturile artei medievale în bazinul inferior al Mureşului* [The beginnings of medieval art in the Lower Basin of the Mureş River] (Timişoara: Excelsior Art, 2010), 49-61.

However, more recently, Andrew II resurfaced once again in the study of Busuioc von Hasselbach as founder of Kerc.⁵¹⁸

Among the first endeavors to settle the founder and the date of the foundation, another trend was set in the nineteenth century with the work of J. K. Schuller, local historian and publicist, one of the leading figures of Transylvanian Saxon historiography born in Nagyszeben. He thought that the foundation took place in the second half of the twelfth century during the reign of Béla III, a period in which the king gave numerous rights and privileges to the Cistercian order in Hungary.⁵¹⁹ Decades later, poet and writer Ch. Boner and then, historian L. Kővári dated the foundation to the same period.⁵²⁰ Historian and Lutheran bishop, G. D. Teutsch approaching the same issue, based on the fact that Béla III was a keen supporter of the Cistercians, concluded that the king founded first the monastery at Egres and only later the monastery at Kerc.⁵²¹ After a break, the twelfth-century foundation issue was re-opened, in the first decades of the twentieth century by architect J. Makoldy, when he took part in the restoration and conservation works of the monastery between 1911 and 1913. He was impressed by the building remains and architectural work that the Cistercians, invited in his view by Béla III directly from France, were able to produce.⁵²² After a period of silence, the question of the foundation was brought back into discussion again by M. Thalgott in 1990 but from a different point of view.⁵²³ The author believed that it would be more appropriate to set the foundation date between 1180 and 1190, again during the reign of Béla III. In his opinion, the monks from the mother-house of Egres had enough time to train the first generation of novices, which together with older French monks arriving from Pontigny to Egres in 1179, were then sent out to populate the monastery of Kerc.

Among the possible founders one can also find King Emeric, son and successor of Béla III. Theologian Fr. Winter, dealing with the Cistercian order in his large, three-volume work, proposed as a date for the foundation of the monastery the years 1202-1203 based on

⁵¹⁸ Busuioc von Hasselbach, *Țara Făgărașului*, vol. 1, 32-117.

⁵¹⁹ Georg Adolf Schuller, "Die Kerzer Abtei," in *Bilder aus der Kulturgeschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen* ed., Fr. Teutsch (Hermannstadt: Krafft & Drotleff, 1928), vol. 1, 100-101.

⁵²⁰ Charles Boner, *Siebenbürgen: Land und Leute* (Liepzig: Weber, 1868), 561; László Kővári, *Erdély régiségei* [The antiquities of Transylvania] (Pest: Beimel és Kozma, 1852), 238.

⁵²¹ Georg Daniel Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk* (3 vols., Leipzig, Hermannstadt: 1874-1899), vol. 1, 20.

⁵²² Josef Makoldy, "Ueber die Kerzer Abtei," *Die Karpathen. Halbmonatsschrift für Kultur und Leben* 5/19 (1911): 123.

⁵²³ Michael Thalgott, "Die Zisterzienser von Kerz in ihre Zeit," *Südostdeutsche Vierteljahresblätter* 39/2 (1990): 19.

the chronological registers of the abbeys of the order.⁵²⁴ Nonetheless, this hypothesis entered the European historical discussion only a decade later when, priest and professor of history, L. Janauschek, the author of the *Originum Cisterciensium Liber Primus* also reached the conclusion that the monastery was likely to have been founded in 1202.⁵²⁵ He based his dating on the information gathered from extant Cistercian registers (known and used in literature as the registers from London, Paris and Vienna). His work remained fundamental to this day for the research of Cistercian houses although, in the case of Kerc he did not explain the differences concerning the foundation dates provided by the registers written between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries.

F. L. Hervay, who compiled the first repertoire of the Cistercian monasteries of medieval Hungary, opted for King Emeric as the founder of Kerc.⁵²⁶ Others, such as O. Mittelstrass, G. A. Schuller, V. Roth and H. Rosemann dated the foundation to the turn of the twelfth century, but most of them also failed to provide any detailed evidence.⁵²⁷ M. Untermann, in his huge work on the medieval architecture of the Cistercians, used 1202 as the foundation date of Kerc abbey, while he rightfully questioned the results of the excavations. He concluded that the eastern part of Kerc abbey remains the best dated part of the abbey to the period between 1225 and 1230, based on the characteristics of the decoration.⁵²⁸ It is important to mention that the year 1202 became a generally accepted foundation date in Hungarian and international historiography and the founder was identified as King Emeric. M. Tănase observed that some of the researchers were not aware that the *Statute* of the order existed, where 1208 was mentioned as the year the Chapter General of the order inquired about the abbot from Transylvania, who had not visited Cîteaux for ten years.⁵²⁹ Based on the

⁵²⁴ Franz Winter, *Die Cistercienser des nordöstlichen Deutschlands bis zum Auftreten der Bettelorden. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Mittelalters* (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Berthes, 1868-1871), vol. 3, 92.

⁵²⁵ Janauschek, *Originum*, 208-209.

⁵²⁶ Hervay, *Repertorium*, 112-119.

⁵²⁷ Otto Mittelstrass, *Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte Siebenbürgens im Mittelalter. Buchreihe der Südostdeutschen Historischen Kommission* (München: Oldenburg, 1961), 58; Schuller, "Die Kerzer Abtei," 138; Victor Roth, "Raport despre săpăturile făcute la mănăstirea din Cârța Săsească [Report about the excavations carried out at Cârța Săsească]," *Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice. Secția pentru Transilvania* (1929): 225-227; Heinz Rosemann, "Die überlieferten Kunstdenkmäler. Die Bauten," in *Die Deutsche Kunst in Siebenbürgen*, eds. V. Roth and C. T. Müller (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1934), 82.

⁵²⁸ Matthias Untermann, *Forma Ordinis: die mittelalterliche Baukunst der Zisterzienser* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2001), 511-512.

⁵²⁹ Michel Tănase, "L'expansion de Cîteaux vers le sud-est européen: essai de localisation des possessions cisterciennes de Transylvanie," in *Crises et réformes dans l'Église de la Réforme grégorienne à la Pré-réforme, Actes des congrès nationaux des sociétés historiques et scientifiques*, ed. CTHS (Paris: CTHS, 1991), 10; Joseph-Marie Canivez, ed., *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis* (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1933), vol. 1, 349. Although Canivez is not the most reliable I did not have access to other edited statutes of the Cistercian Chapter General.

same document, historian Ș. Papacostea inferred that the foundation of the Transylvanian *filia* happened before the year 1200.⁵³⁰ A new element was introduced by A. Baumgartner, based on a confirmation charter issued in 1223 by Andrew II. The charter concerned the donation of a piece of land from magister Gocelinus to the monastery of Kerc. He recognized that an earlier donation was confirmed in this document as well, one made in the time of voivode Benedict. Based on this observation, he fixed the donation date between the years 1202 and 1206 or 1208 and 1209, when Benedict was voivode of Transylvania.⁵³¹ Among scholars who are of the opinion that the monastery was founded in the last years of King Emeric's reign, one can list historians, art historians and archaeologists such as: L. Szabó, G. Oprescu, V. Vătășianu, G. Entz, V. Drăguț, E. Marosi, Gy. Györffy, H. and A. Fabini, and M. Rill.⁵³² More recently, Busuioc von Hasselbach tried to dismantle the above mentioned donation document and reconstruct in more details the process of the foundation.⁵³³ In his opinion, the foundation took place between 1205, after the coronation of Andrew II, and 1209, but more exactly sometime between 1205 and 1206.⁵³⁴ He supported his opinion with a line from the charter from 1223 in which Andrew stated that he donated the mentioned land “for the salvation of our soul”⁵³⁵ and because the document does not contain any reference to the king's brother or father, Busuioc von Hasselbach argued that most probably Andrew was the founder. Furthermore, the fact that in 1206 the Chapter General mentioned a certain Transylvanian abbot from Hungary, a so-called “son of the abbot of Egres”, the author interpreted it as a sign that the abbey already existed by then.⁵³⁶

⁵³⁰ Șerban Papacostea, *Românii în secolul al XIII-lea. Între cruciată și Imperiul mongol* [Romanians in the 13th century. Between Crusades and the Mongol Empire] (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 1993), 177.

⁵³¹ Baumgartner, *A kerci apátság*, 22-23. For a detailed gazetteer on the office holdings of voivodes, prelates, barons, and *ispáns* (*comites*), see: Attila Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301* [The secular archontology of Hungary, between 1000 and 1301] (Budapest: História, 2011), 37.

⁵³² Drăguț, *Arta gotică*, 10; Géza Entz, “Le chantier cistercien de Kerc,” *Acta Historicae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 9/1-2 (1963): 11; Hermann Fabini and Alida Fabini, *Kirchenburgen in Siebenbürgen* (Wien, Köln, and Graz, 1986), 63; Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország*, vol. II, 451-452; Ernő Marosi, *Die Anfänge der Gotik in Ungarn. Esztergom in der Kunst des 12.-13. Jahrhunderts* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 126; George Oprescu, *Bisericile cetăți ale sașilor din Ardeal* [Castle churches of the Saxons from Transylvania] (București: Editura Academiei R. P. R., 1957), 144-146; László Szabó, *Árpád-kori magyar építőművészet* [Hungarian construction art in the Árpád Age] (Budapest: Németh József Műszaki Könyvkiadó, 1913), 262-263; Martin Rill, “Die Zisterzienserabtei in Kerz am Alt im Lichte neuer Grabungen,” *Südostdeutsche Vierteljahresblätter*, 39/2 (1990): 148-152. Virgil Vătășianu, “Arta în Transilvania în sec. XI-XIII [Art in Transylvania in the 11th and 13th centuries],” in *Istoria artelor plastice în România* [The history of plastic arts in Romania] ed. George Oprescu, (București: Editura Meridiane, 1968), vol. 1, 98-99.

⁵³³ Busuioc von Hasselbach, *Țara Făgărașului*, vol. 1, 50-56.

⁵³⁴ Busuioc von Hasselbach, *Țara Făgărașului*, vol. 1, 54-55.

⁵³⁵ UB I, 27-28: ‘*pro remedio animae nostrae*’.

⁵³⁶ Canivez, *Statuta*, I, 323: “*Abbas ultra Sylvas in Hungaria, filius abbatis de Egris, in sequenti generali Capitulo, omni occasione postposita, Cistercio se praesentet, veniam quare nunquam venerit petiturus. Abbas de Egris hoc ei denuntiet*”.

Recently, a study on the mother house of Kerc, besides other issues touched upon the problem of the foundation and filiation of Egres as well as Kerc.⁵³⁷ In this article, the author brought forward several catalogues and *tabula* which had registered the foundation dates of the Cistercian abbeys in Hungary, among these Kerc appeared with the year 1202.

In conclusion, after discussing the main ideas and founding dates proposed by scholarship what one can say with certainty at this stage of research (based especially on art historical studies⁵³⁸, archaeological excavations⁵³⁹ and written evidence to a limited extent) is that the monastery was founded sometime at the beginning of the thirteenth century but according to two earliest surviving lists the date was most probably 1202.⁵⁴⁰ In this matter it is important to emphasize that the foundation of a monastery was a lengthy process which required time and negotiations between the founder and the Chapter General. Thus, if the date 1202 was the point when the community actually moved into the monastic buildings (*dies ingressus/introitus* etc.) then one can safely presume that the process started even earlier. Although several other dates connected to the beginnings of a monastery could be recorded by the registers (e.g. leaving the mother house – *dies egressus*, the date of the foundation charter – *dies publicae foundationis/donationis*, or the consecration date of a monastery – *inauguratio*). In this case, it is not known which date was recorded.

4.4. ESTATE STRUCTURE AND THE MONASTIC PRECINCTS

The history and evolution of the abbey was reconstructed several times by historians and art historians who based their discussion primarily on written sources or architectural remains still visible today, but did not approach it from a multidisciplinary view nor tried to set it in a larger historical context. Archaeologists contributed least to its history even though numerous systematic excavations took place at the site of the monastery (starting from 1889 until 1985). The publication and interpretation of the unearthed artifacts and collected data were never more than short schematic archaeological reports without publishing the finds and contexts.⁵⁴¹ The details of the excavations and their evaluation shall be discussed in the following, in the subchapter where the landscape analysis will be presented. Thus, details and even generalities about the Cistercian site selection, estate system, land-use and everyday as well as spiritual life in this region still remain largely unknown. In the following, I pursue a

⁵³⁷ Bácsatyai, “Az egresi ciszterci monostor,” 263-299.

⁵³⁸ Latest work on the dating of the different construction phases from an architectural perspective, see: Untermann, *Forma Ordinis*, 511-512.

⁵³⁹ See excavation report by Rill, “Die Zisterzienserabtei,” 143-147.

⁵⁴⁰ Bácsatyai, “Az egresi ciszterci monostor,” 266-267.

⁵⁴¹ Beşliu-Munteanu, “Mănăstirea cisterciană,” 15-16.

reconstruction and analysis of the estate structure and monastic landscape of Kerc along the lines of the latest research trends.

The systematic overview of the charter evidence was undertaken mainly for the reconstruction of the abbey's history but has not been used for the study of the landscape or estate evolution and management. Neither have the identification and survey of different landscape features on the field had a primary importance for researchers. In consequence, from the vast specialized literature devoted to Kerc, I was able to gather only a handful of scattered partial and schematic observations which can be used for a landscape analysis. The only scholar known to me, who has recognized the importance and the need to look at (and analyze) a wider area around the monastery and ventured into the identification and mapping of the remaining earthworks of the abbey was W. Horvath, at the beginning of the twentieth century. Given this context, the research of the monastic landscape of Kerc is long overdue. I followed the methodology elaborated by English scholarship as discussed above, which can provide significant results even in cases, where scarce written information is available for a monastery through the corroboration of the results coming from a variety of different sources (written, archaeological, art historical, architectural, cartographic, petrographic, and geophysical).⁵⁴²

4.4.1. The Lands of the Abbey: A Chronological Perspective

I traced chronologically all the known properties of the abbey thus outlining the evolution and the expansion of the monastic estates, or better said the blocks of estates, during the functioning of the abbey. The starting point for an estate reconstruction was the documentary evidence, mainly royal charters. It is not a novelty that in this part of Europe the written evidence is scarce and scanty. That is why I worked with the available fragmentary data with due caution and turned to other sources as well in order to verify the existing data. I created maps on which I marked the villages or the boundaries of lands for which I had data gathered from charters and earlier historical-geographical studies.⁵⁴³ Thus, the geographical dispersion of clusters of lands can be easily perceived and understood. Even though the villages of the abbey were formerly gathered and listed by other scholars, a closer examination of these has not been pursued systematically nor have the data been regionally contextualized in detail

⁵⁴² An impressive research was done through a “holistic” landscape approach for Stanley Abbey in England which perfectly showed the amount of information that can be extracted from different preserved landscape features. See: Graham Brown, *Stanley Abbey and its Estates 1151-c1640*, British Archaeological Reports 566 (2012).

⁵⁴³ Györfy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország* and Engel, *Magyarország a középkor végén*.

which I think could bring new information, and at the same time, offer a better understanding of the estate management and land use of the Cistercians. After the chronological presentation and discussion of issues which resurfaced with almost every estate, I continue with the analysis of the different landscape features identified during fieldwork in the surrounding area of the abbey in order to settle, whether an inner and outer precinct ever existed with farm and storage buildings as well as other additional establishments.

The earliest known lands that belonged to the monastery are mentioned in a charter issued by Andrew II in 1223.⁵⁴⁴ According to this, the monastery received a land donation and the possession of an earlier donated land was confirmed. The charter contains the perambulations of the two lands. The firstly mentioned land is a donation made by *magister Gocelinus*, who gave *Mons sancti Michaelis* (identified with today's Kisdisznód) together with its churches and lands to the monastery. The perambulation of this territory reads as following: “*Prima meta terre Montis sancti Michaelis incipit ab oriente in pede alpium et descendit per torrentem descendente ab ipsis alpibus versus villam Ruetel metis assignatis secus rivulum usque ad viam que ducit de ipso monte ad villam Ruetel. Inde transit ipsam viam et ascendit per quandam viam usque ad metam, que dividit territoria de villa Hermani et de villa Ruetel. Inde tendit sub pede montis vinearum de villa Hermani et per quandam semitam, que ducit ad Insulam Christiani usque verticem montis nemorosi et per ipsum verticem ascendit iterum in alpes versus occidentem et ibi terminatur*”.

In the same charter the second land was confirmed by the king as belonging to the monastery and taken *de Blaccis* which would suggest also the taking over of those villages which would have existed at that time in that part of the land.⁵⁴⁵ The perambulation described the following territory: “*Meta vero huius terre incipiens a fluvio Alt, ubi finis est cuiusdam insule, ascendit per paludem, que vocatur Eguerpotak/Egwrpothak usque fagos, que dicuntur Nogebik/Naghbyk et in fine dictarum fagorum cadit in rivulum, qui dicitur Arpas. Et exinde per eundem rivulum ascendit usque alpes et per alpes veniens versus australem plagam descendit in rivum, qui dicitur Kurchz et per eundem rivum venit in fluvium Alt et sic terminatur*”. These two lands were of considerable size, the first measuring approximately 30-40 km² and the second about 90 km². The approximate dimensions seem to be in line with the

⁵⁴⁴ The charter was preserved in a transcription from Louis I from the 25th April 1359 – full transcription, see in: UB I, 12; the original MNL OL, DF 244577, and in the charter of judge royal László Pálóczi from the 2nd of July 1469 – see full transcription in UB II, 339; the original under MNL OL, DF 244980, and excerpt in EO I, 158-125.

⁵⁴⁵ It is generally interpreted as taken from the Romanians. Written sources connected to Kerc indicate the Romanian population under various names: *Blachus*, *Vlachus/Vlachs*, *Voloch/Wallach*; in Hungarian *Oláh*.

meaning of the term *terra* in the period, which in many cases meant large coherent estates that could have encompassed settlements as well but the population was not necessarily large. In the same time, these two lands are much larger than the average would have been in the period thus, alluding to the fact that in this part of Transylvania there was still possibility to donate such extended estates. This can be partly explained with the reduced level of colonization and a different social evolution in the region.

The perambulations contain important data about the region, which was only partially studied by researchers. As one can see, the bounds of these two territories consist mainly of natural geographic features, such as mountains, hills, rivers, islands, streams, trees and a swamp as well as artificial features of the landscape like villages, roads, vines, and a footpath. The two boundary descriptions differ in their way of naming the boundary. These general assignments of the bounds indicate that probably these did not have to be specified in a more detailed way. While the first description contains village names the second only assigns natural features as boundary. Presumably, the perambulations were determined largely by the terrain, the geographic features of the area as well as the existing man-made features, which were easily recognizable and known to the locals. Not many have dealt with the issue of boundaries and boundary descriptions in this part of Europe. However, we know that different types of boundaries existed, just as discussed for Kolozsmonostor, such as: linear or point-specific, permanent or temporary, natural or man-made etc.⁵⁴⁶ On the other side, the very general description of the boundaries is a drawback for a detailed reconstruction, that is why for the other villages of Kerc, as we shall see in the coming part, exact descriptions were not preserved thus, their precise medieval boundaries cannot be reconstructed at this point. So the extent of the villages and the land assigned to them is not known and that is why on the maps only points will indicate the property. The extent of the village or land shall be illustrated where details could be extracted from the archival sources based on which elements or landscape features could be identified. A starting point for a retrospective reconstruction could be to work from the modern boundaries and maps back to the early modern times and then to try to identify possible medieval landscape elements. However, given the large territories which have to be field walked this quest shall be the subject of a longer future research project.

As mentioned above, it can be observed that in the case of the first land the existing villages were mentioned by name (*Mons sancti Michaelis, villa Ruetel, villa Hermani, Insula*

⁵⁴⁶ See in more detail: Takács, *Határjelek*.

Christiani) as well as the roads connecting these. However, in the case of the second land the river Olt (*Alt*), a swamp (*Eguerpotak/Egwrpothak*), and a woodland (*Nogebik/Naghbyk*) were mentioned by name, and there appear no villages nor roads, which can allude to the fact that at that time villages in that area did not exist, or it was still a scarcely populated area without any major settlements, or just simply were not mentioned. Others argue that this very general description of the boundary without including the names of the villages is due to the fact that Romanian villages⁵⁴⁷ were located to the east, beyond the Árpás River. As a result of this the abbey never extended its boundaries in this direction, while during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries its domains expanded westwards, until the Opat Valley (in Hungarian Apátvölgy meaning abbot's valley), located just before the village named Skorei.⁵⁴⁸ Although, such explanations sometimes seem plausible the three-century silence of the written sources seems odd, the first reliable documentary evidence of the village Alsóárpás coming from the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁵⁴⁹

Some of the toponyms appear in their Latin form, like *Mons sancti Michaelis*, *villa Ruettel* (Nagydisznód), *villa Hermani* (this will become Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt), *Insula Christiani* (Kereszténysziget) inspired by personal names, and some for the natural features appear in their Hungarian form, such as *Arpas* (barley), *Eguerpotak/Egwrpothak* (alder brook) and *Nogebik/Naghbyk* (big beech), which could even allude to land use practices. Earlier works tried to examine the etymology of the place names in this region and tried to deduce their origin and dating. Among others, one can also find the hypothesis that some of these place names had Pecheneg (in Latin: *Bisseni* or *Bessi*; Hungarian: Besenyő; Romanian: Peceneg) origins.⁵⁵⁰ Two toponyms which could suggest a Pecheneg influence would be the word Árpás and the name of the village Besimbák (came from the German *Bessenbach* meaning Pecheneg stream). However, according to the Hungarian research the word “árpa” has Turkish origins.⁵⁵¹ The word was in use in Hungarian in the period (e.g. Árpád) and there

⁵⁴⁷ However, it is not known whether the Romanian population lived in nucleated villages or other at that time. Here, it seems rather likely that the area was colonized to a lesser degree than in the case of the first land, where the German/Saxon colonization was already in process as a result of which settlements are already mentioned. To the east the Teutonic knights also started a colonization. Perhaps this donation can be perceived as a starting point for the colonization of the lands around Árpás which does not mean that the lands were desolate/uninhabited, sporadic settlements must have existed (even with Romanian population) but one cannot presume a large population living for example in nucleated villages.

⁵⁴⁸ Antal Lukács, *Țara Făgărașului în evul mediu (Secolele XIII-XVI)* [The land of Făgăraș in the Middle Ages (13th and 16th centuries)] (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 1999), 108.

⁵⁴⁹ Lukács, *Țara Făgărașului*, 51.

⁵⁵⁰ Lukács, *Țara Făgărașului*, 103; Busuioc von Hasselbach, *Țara Făgărașului*, vol.1, 47-48.

⁵⁵¹ Lajos Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban* [The Turkish connections of the Hungarian language before the Hungarian conquest and in the Árpád period] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986).

was no need to derive it from Pecheneg. The Pechenegs were attested in this region together with the Romanians in 1224 in the *Diploma Andreanum*.⁵⁵² The presence of the Pechenegs in Transylvania, somewhere near the Land of Fogaras is indicated in another document issued by Béla IV, in 1250, for the *comes* of Nagyszeben.⁵⁵³ In this he related that Andrew II donated a royal land to the *ispán* of Nagyszeben, who sent an army around 1210 to help the Bulgarian tsar (Boril Assen; 1207-1218), and this army was formed by Saxons, *Olachus*, Székelys, and Pechenegs (*associatis sibi Saxonibus, Olacis, Siculis et Bissenis*).⁵⁵⁴ Other opinions link some of the names to the Romanian population and many may have Slavic origin.⁵⁵⁵

The charter clearly mentions that the second land was an earlier donation, which according to Busuioc von Hasselbach, was the initial *dotatio* (foundation domain) of the abbey.⁵⁵⁶ On the ground this strip of land stretches from the Fogaras Mountains until the Olt River. It is a fairly large and diverse land portion, from alpine flora to marshy areas and a beech forest, where the 400-500 m high plains could already have been used for agriculture. Traces of agricultural land use can be noticed up until the foot of the mountains but the historic land use has not been studied at all previously so we do not know to what extent did medieval land use cover this area or how much did the Cistercians indeed use from this block of land, not to mention the difficulties raised by dating such activities (agriculture, animal husbandry, water and woodland management etc.) for which we do not possess direct written evidence.

⁵⁵² The original text was not preserved but it is known from a confirmation of the *Diploma Andreanum* by King Charles I issued in 1317. The document mentions that a certain ‘*silva Blacorum et Bissenorum*’ together with its waters was given to the Saxons to use it together with the Blachs and the Pechenegs, see in UB I, 33-35/43 or the original MNL OL, DF 244568.

⁵⁵³ DRH D I, 28-29: ‘...*comitem Iwachinum, associatis sibi Saxonibus, Olacis, Siculis et Bissenis*’. An eighteenth century copy: MNL OL, DL 36224.

⁵⁵⁴ UB I, 35; DIR C I, 209; EO I, 133-134/37; MNL OL, DL 36224. Pechenegs were present in several places in the Hungarian Kingdom, living in smaller regions and serving as military auxiliary. Based on this and the mentioned source it is likely that a smaller region, where Pechenegs lived existed here as well but it cannot be presumed that a larger group of unified Pecheneg population had inhabited the whole region.

⁵⁵⁵ See discussion in: Lukács, *Țara Făgărașului*, 46.

⁵⁵⁶ Busuioc von Hasselbach, *Țara Făgărașului*, vol. 1, 52.

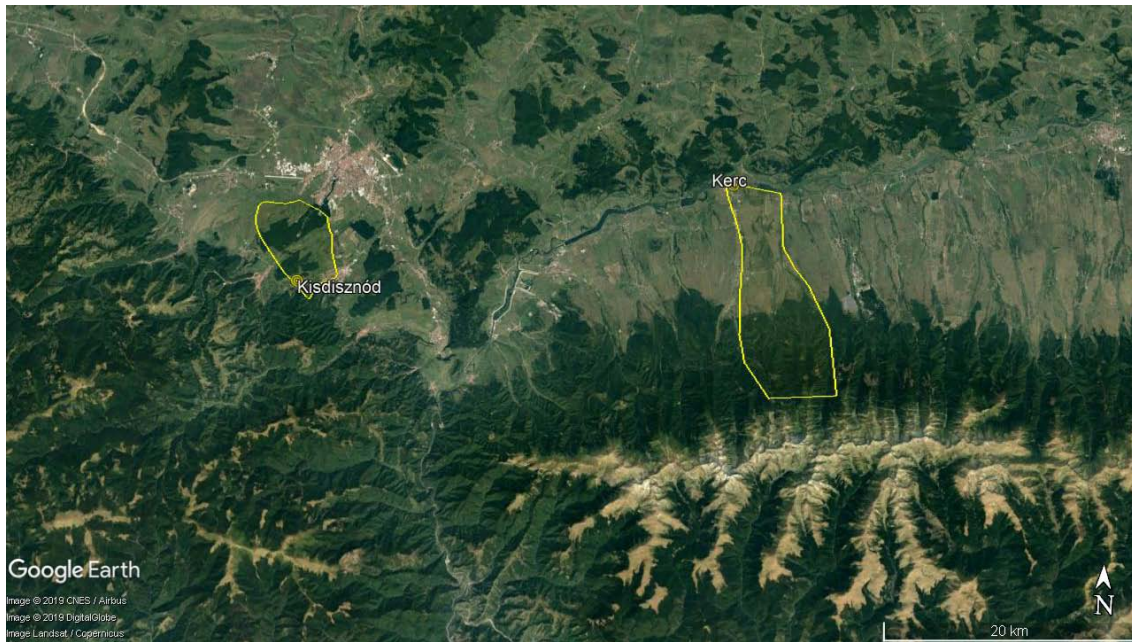


Fig. 36. Tentative outline of the two lands that appear in the 1223 charter (following roughly the course of the boundaries) with the site of the abbey

Connected to this document it is important to shortly mention another document, from 1224, in which Pope Honorius III confirmed a land exchange between Andrew II and Egres, the mother house of Kerc. The lands are not mentioned by name but as D. Bácsatyai suggested these might have been the ones located near the Nagyküküllő River (Apátfalva/Csicsóholdvilág⁵⁵⁷, Szászcsanád, Sorostély, and a part of Kisselyk), which are mentioned for the first time in a document from 1315.⁵⁵⁸ The document indicates that these four villages were given back to Egres. However, according to a transcription from 1367, another close-by land called Monora belonged to Egres even earlier in 1205.⁵⁵⁹ Several litigious documents from the beginning of the fourteenth century point to the fact that Egres could have owned even more villages in this region (e.g. Farkastelke and Véza) but had lost these. The early date (1205) can allude to the possibility that Egres owned a property cluster in this region already in the time of Béla III or Emeric.⁵⁶⁰ Thus, a significant part of the lands of Egres were in the vicinity of Kerc and a strong connection must have existed between the two monasteries which would be normal.

⁵⁵⁷ In 1322 Apátfalva/*villa Abbatís* was enlisted among the estates of Kerc. However, one has to draw attention to the fact that two Apátfalva exist, one under the name Csicsóholdvilág and the other Szászapátfalva.

⁵⁵⁸ EO II, 108/228.

⁵⁵⁹ EO I, 131/31; MNL OL, DL 28894.

⁵⁶⁰ Bácsatyai, "Az egresi ciszterci monostor," 280-281.

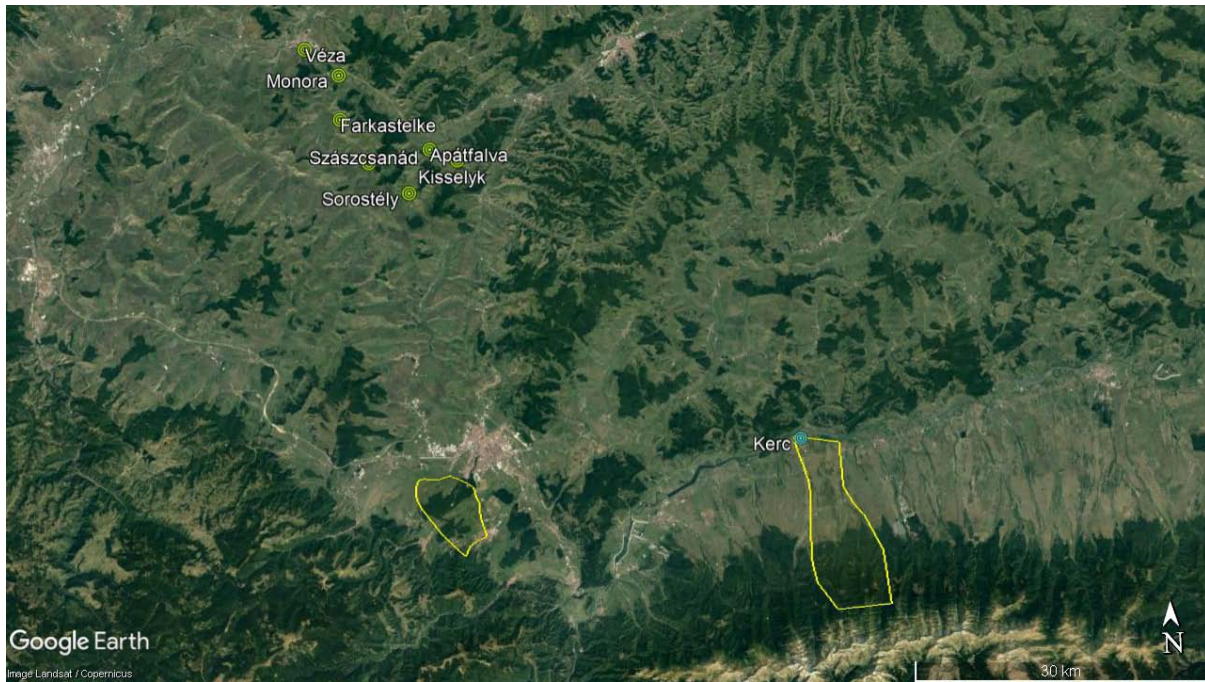


Fig. 37. The two perambulated lands of Kerc (1223) and the presumed monastic estates of Egres (1205, 1315)

Another land is mentioned indirectly, quite early, in a donation from 1252, issued by King Béla IV to a certain *Vincencius comes filius Akadas Siculus de Sebus*, in which he gave the land called *Zek* (deserted since the Mongol attack) which was situated between the territory of the Romanians from Kerc, the Saxons of Brassó and the Székelys from Sebes, later Szászsebes.⁵⁶¹ The boundary description contains specific details and enlists all natural boundary markers: “*Prima meta incipit ab oriente super quodam monte nomine Vecul et venit ad flumen Olth usque partem meridionalem et per memoratum flumen Olth descendit ad indagines usque septentrionem et per quendam rivulum vadit diu usque ad caput ipsius rivuli, et inde ascendit ad monticulum, qui vulgariter Berch dicitur, a quo contiguatur praedicto monti Vecul versus orientem et sic terminatur*”, and reveals that the boundary of the Romanians of Kerc was situated along the Olt River. The only problem with this document is that the original was destroyed and the text survived in a late transcription. This would not be a problem in itself but the text is gappy in few places thus, it was later complemented, and one of the supplemented parts is exactly, where the land in question was named: “*terram Zek, quae quondam Fulkun Saxonis fuerat sed per devastationem Tartarorum vacua et - habitatoribus carens remanserat inter [terras Olacorum de Kyrch, Saxonum] de Barasu et terras Siculorum de Sebus existentem*”. Since, the original cannot be double-checked and the key expressions were complemented at an unknown date and circumstances, the text must be

⁵⁶¹ Preserved only in an authenticated copy from 1758 in the library of the Brukenthal Museum in Nagyszében, now in the Saxon State Archives in the Soterius collection (vol. 12, p. 201-204). UB I, 78-79; EO I, 196/216.

treated with due caution. However, this would mean that the land of the Romanians under Kerc already existed in 1252.

An economic aspect of Kerc is provided by a charter from 1240. We know that all Cistercian abbeys were to pay yearly a certain amount for the cost of the Chapter General. In 1279 a decree of the Chapter General dismissed the abbot of Kerc for not attending the Chapter and for not paying the yearly contribution of his abbey. Besides the yearly taxes, the activity of the Chapter General was funded largely by royal donations. In 1240 a charter was issued by Béla IV in which he gave for the expenses of the Chapter General of the Cistercian order the patronage with all rights and incomes of the following four churches from *Burcia* (Barcaság): *Castrum Sanctae Mariae* (Barcaföldvár)⁵⁶², *Mons Sancti Petri* (Barcaszentpéter), *Mons Mellis* (Szászhermány), and *Tartilleri* (Prázsmár).⁵⁶³ These four appropriated churches (Fig. 38) were exempted from the authority of the Transylvanian bishop and were dependent only by the king, and had to pay 1 silver mark yearly to the Cistercians. After their patrons' death the Cistercians received the right of patronage. The king promised to pay 100 marks on a yearly basis to the order until they received the patronage of these four churches, which were formerly under the jurisdiction of the Teutonic knights, who were expelled from the Barcaság by Andrew II in 1225. It is not known why exactly these four churches were given to the Cistercians, but what the charter alludes to is that at that time these churches were vacant. It is not clear either whether the Cistercians had to fulfill the role of parish priests or not. Perhaps, the Cistercians took over some of the duties or appointments of the Teutonic knights. This seems probable also because the Teutonic knights and the Cistercians had similar tasks, mission and colonization, topics elaborated in the coming parts. The exception was that the Cistercians did not have to defend the region with armed forces otherwise the two phenomena are quite similar. More probably, due to their patronage rights they were the ones responsible for appointing the priests. Today, these villages are situated at a distance of minimum 80 km from the abbey in Brassó County. From the text of the charter it is clear that the income of these churches went to the Cistercians so that they could use it to attend the meetings of the Chapter General, since already in 1206 serious complaints were put forward to the abbot of Kerc for not attending annually these meetings.⁵⁶⁴ The Cistercians needed additional income because what they had was not enough. Other Cistercian monasteries had also received additional incomes already in the thirteenth century because they could not

⁵⁶² Marienburg, former Teutonic castle.

⁵⁶³ UB I, 68-69.

⁵⁶⁴ Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum*, I, 323.

sustain themselves from their estates.⁵⁶⁵ Most probably besides the income (money) from these churches the monks from Kerc did not receive any other donations (such as lands, forests, mills or fishponds) in this area. Since this document has not been published in the context of Kerc before, it is worth quoting the entire text in the following: “...*sancto ac venerabili conventui monasterii Cistercii in subsidium expensarum, quas annis singulis ad usum generalis capituli totius ordinis sunt facturi, quasdam ecclesias in Burcia in partibus Transiluanis videlicet castrum sanctae Mariae, montem sancti Petri, montem Mellis et Tartilleri, in quibus diocesanus episcopus nihil iurisdictionis obtinet, sed ad nos specialiter et immediate pertinet, cum proventibus, iuribus ac omnibus suis pertinentiis duximus conferendas, statuentes futuris temporibus inviolabiliter observari, ut infra parochias seu territorium dictarum ecclesiarum nulla deinceps absque ipsorum consensu ecclesia vel capella de novo construatur nec altaria erigantur nec coemeteria consecrentur. Si vero ipsorum permissione et consensu aedificata fuerit, ad eosdem fratres pleno iure devolvatur. Verum quia tempore nostrae collationis, ecclesiae praenominatae nondum vacabant, et ideo Cistercienses earum proventus ad plenum adipisci non poterant, ordinavimus et inviolabiliter volumus observari, ut hi, qui earundem ecclesiarum proventus ad praesens percipiunt, fratribus Cisterciensibus vel eorum nuncio unam marcam argenti de qualibet ecclesia singulis annis in assumptione beatae Mariae solvere teneantur, omni contradictione et dilatione cessante, ut ex hoc evidenter appareat, easdem ecclesias nomine Cisterciensium quoad vixerint detineri et ius patronatus ad ipsos Cistercienses in perpetuum pertinere. Interim autem, quod praefatis ecclesiis vacantibus Cistercienses earum proventus ad plenum valeant possidere, singulis annis in assumptione beatae Mariae de camera nostra apud Strigonium centum marcas argenti eisdem Cisterciensibus integraliter persolvi faciemus. Sed postquam praedictas ecclesias libere possederint, nos a solutione centum marcarum erimus expediti. Ut igitur haec nostrae concessionis pagina inviolabilis in posterum perseveret, eam duplicis sigilli nostri munimine fecimus roborari”.*⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶⁵ Romhányi, “The role of the Cistercians,” 180-204.

⁵⁶⁶ The original is kept in Dijon, Archives départementales de la Côte-d’Or, under H 408.

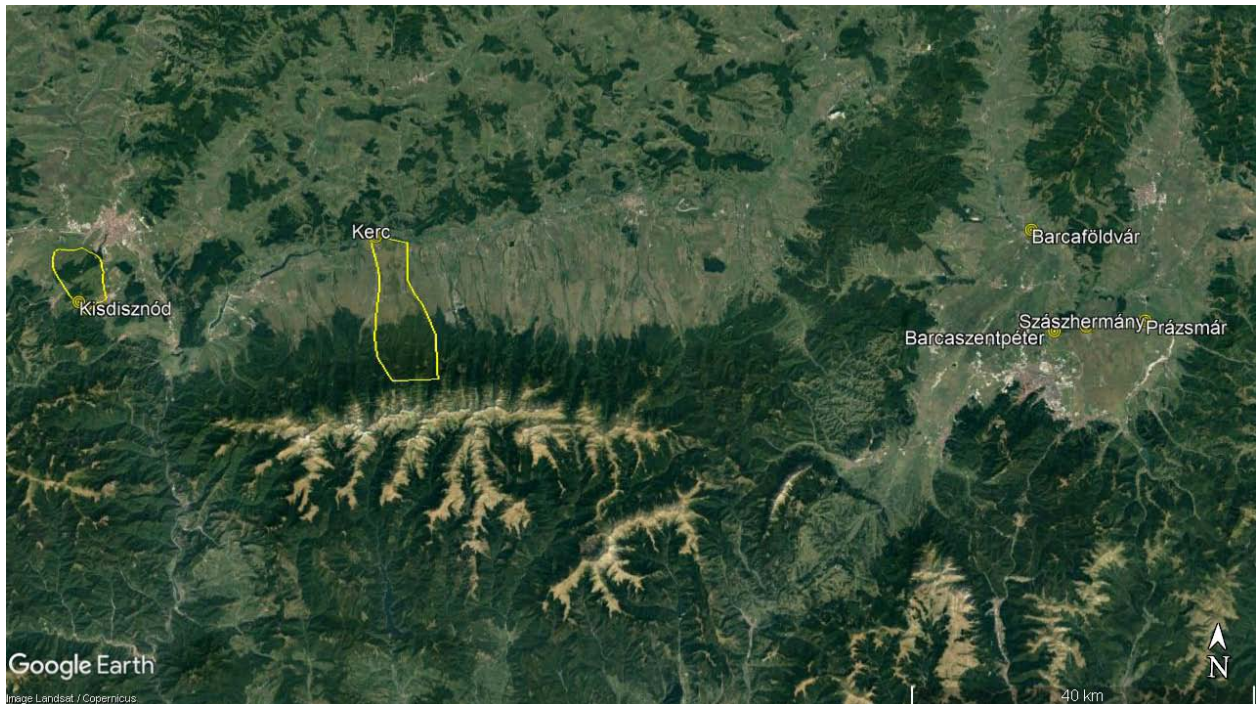


Fig. 38. The location of the four churches (to the east) mentioned in the 1240 charter

Moreover, this text is important in the light of the recently published brochure concerning the problematic existence of a Cistercian monastery (between 1225 and the erection of the medieval fortress around 1300) in the former Teutonic castle in Barcaföldvár.⁵⁶⁷ The castle was excavated between 1990-1995⁵⁶⁸ and more recently between 2013-2017 in the framework of a large-scale restoration work. The hypothesis of a Cistercian monastery is quite problematic, first of all none of the written sources mention an actual functioning Cistercian monastery, which naturally does not exclude the possibility but it is very unlikely that a foundation took place without the knowledge of the Chapter General or royal authorities not to mention the motherhouse (given the lengthy process of negotiations of establishing a new abbey). Relying solely on this document from 1240 which gave the patronage right of the church in Barcaföldvár to the Cistercians for dating the presumed monastery seems unfounded. Second, the excavated features and buildings do not necessarily belong to a monastery. The unearthed materials were not published so it is not known what types of objects could be connected to the functioning of a Cistercian monastery. Third, the researchers do not discuss the existence of burials related to a monastery, as the published works show, inhumations did not take place inside the castle, only around the parish church, located in the village. The brochure does not offer convincing or enough data to confirm the

⁵⁶⁷ Marcu Istrate, *The Fortress*, 12-14.

⁵⁶⁸ Adrian Ioniță et al., *Feldioara-Marienburg. Contribuții arheologice la istoria Țării Bârsei. Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Burzenlandes* (București: Editura Academiei Române, 2004).

existence of a functioning Cistercian monastery on the territory of the fortress, additional details need to be published in order to support such a presumption. The excavations from 1990-1995 uncovered the whole church located inside the fortress but could not reveal a stratigraphic connection between the fortification and church, due to earlier interventions. Based on the ground plan and traces of wall-painting the church was dated to the fifteenth century.⁵⁶⁹ Compared to this the newest research dates the church earliest during the Teutonic presence⁵⁷⁰ and emphasizes that in the late Middle Ages it was re-purposed as a residential building with a cellar.⁵⁷¹

After fifty years of silence, the next indirect mentioning of a land of the monastery comes from 1290, when *ban Johannes* sold for 40 marks the land called *Panad* (Pánád) to *comes* Nicholas and voivode Andrew, sons of *Andreas Gyogh*. This land, rich in salt springs, neighbored with the land of the monastery of Kerc, from the south called *Apathwlge*. The part of the text discussing this, reads as follows: “*Quod Johannes banus filius Magnus coram ipso capitulo constitutus quandam terram suam Panad vocatam, in comitatu de Kykwllw existentem et iuxta fluvium Kykwllw a septentrione adiacentem, in eodem fluvio a parte inferiori, [scilicet a parte?] meridiei terre monasterii de Kere Apathwlge vocate, ab oriente*⁵⁷² *terre comitis Nicolai et Andree vayvode filiorum Andree de Gyogh Panka nominate, ab aquilone terre eorundem filiorum comitis Andree Merkaknaya vocate, ab oriente iuxta inferiores metas cuiusdam terre Sospathak ad memoratum fluvium Kykwllw vertentem et vicinam, ut idem dixisset, cum omnibus utilitatibus et pertinentiis suis dedisset et vendidisset comiti Nicolao et Andree vayvode predictis et eorum successoribus perpetuo pro quadraginta marcis...*”⁵⁷³ This was a distant land of the Cistercian monastery, located at c. 70 km from Kerc. *Apathwlge* which in Hungarian means the valley of the abbot was identified with today’s Küküllőklód, situated on the right bank of the Kis-Küküllő River between Pánád and Magyarpéterfalva. The land was situated on the border of the historical Fehér County, in the western corner of Küküllő County, and at the time of its mentioning it already belonged to the abbey, but we do not know from when exactly. In the light of the charter, one can see that this land was mainly surrounded from the west and north by two lands (named in charters

⁵⁶⁹ Ioniță et al., *Feldioara-Marienburg*, 61.

⁵⁷⁰ An important study on the churches which can be connected to the military orders: Béla Zsolt Szakács, “A lovagrendek művészete a középkori Magyarországon [The art of the Chivalric Orders in Hungary],” in *Magyarország és a keresztes háborúk* [Hungary and the Crusades], eds. József Laszlovszky, Judit Majorossy, and József Zsengellér (Máriabesnyő-Gödöllő: Attraktor, 2006), 239-249.

⁵⁷¹ Marcu Istrate, *The Fortress*, 14.

⁵⁷² Correctly: on the west.

⁵⁷³ Transcript of the content in a charter of the Transylvanian chapter issued in 1408, see: MNL OL, DF 255292.

Panka and *Merkaknaya*) which already were in the possession of the buyers. Thus, with the acquisition of the *Panad* land the sons of *Andreas Gyogh* expanded their property towards southeast. In 1351, this land already appeared among the estates of the former Székely *comes* (ispán) Lack of the Herman clan⁵⁷⁴ so one cannot know exactly for how long had the abbey owned it. It is possible that the Cistercians tried to acquire a land closer to the abbey in exchange of this one or they might have just simply lost it to lay owners. The charter indicates two other details. In comparison to the land around the Olt River and the land around Kisdisznód the colonization of this region was in an advanced state since the owners are mentioned by name when the boundary is described (also more details are given). On the other hand, the end of the Cistercian ownership fits into the general trend of the fourteenth century as discussed in the case of the Benedictines in Kolozsmonostor.

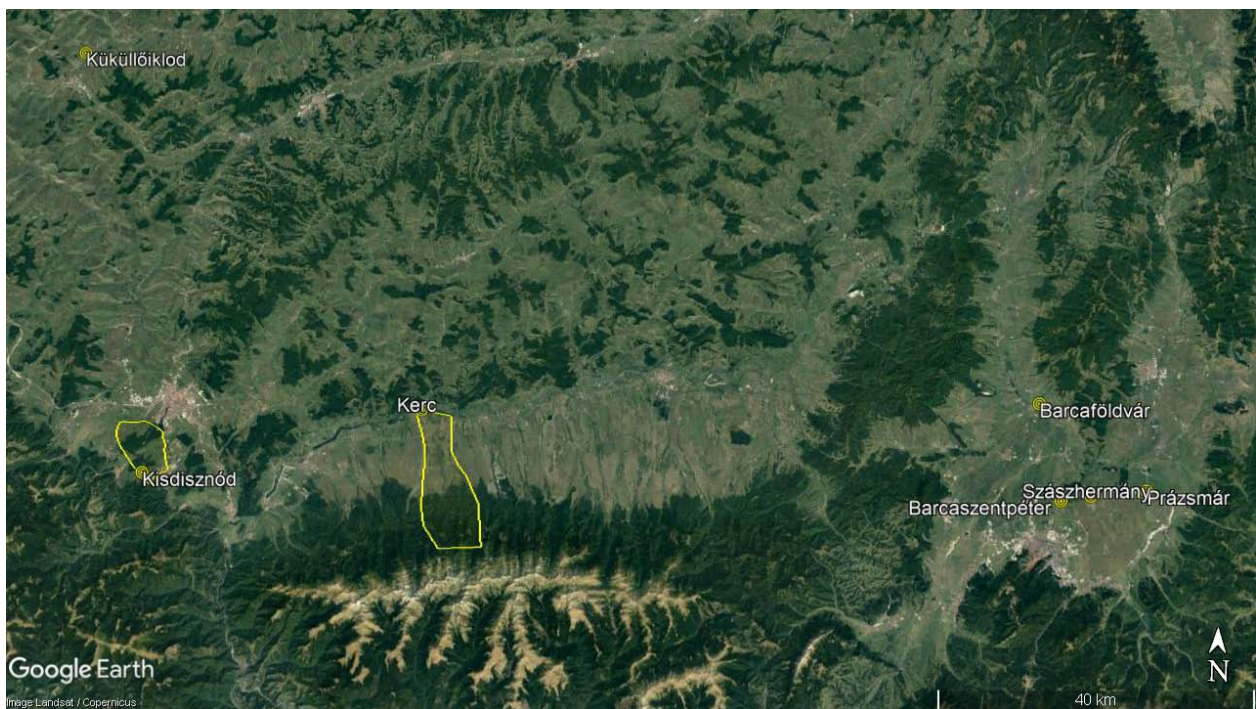


Fig. 39. Küküllőklód (1290) added to the previously mapped lands

After a gap of more than thirty years, an extended list of properties of Kerc gets mentioned in 1322, in the charter of Charles I (1310-1342)⁵⁷⁵, containing villages which formerly did not appear in the possession of the abbey. In the charter the king took into his special protection the Cistercian monastery of Kerc, to which he gave a number of privileges and enumerated the names of ten villages which at that time belonged to the monastery, these were the following: *Kerch* (Kerc), *Cruz* (Szászkeresztúr), *Messendorf* (Mese), *villa Nicholai*

⁵⁷⁴ According to the charter part of the land Magyarpéterfalva was occupied and annexed unjustly by Lack to his land Küküllőklód, see: AOkm V, 439/273.

⁵⁷⁵ The founder of the Hungarian branch of the Anjou house.

(Miklóstelke), *villa Abbatis* (Apátfalva), *Mons Sancti Michaelis*, *Feldvar* (Földvár), *Colonia* (Kolun), *Honrabach* (Glimboka), and *Kerch Olacorum* (most probably today's Kercisóra and not Oláhújfalú). In this enumeration the churches specified in 1240 and the land from 1290 do not appear anymore, these were probably lost or exchanged (we do not know exactly) by this time. However, it is not known whether the enumeration was meant to comprise a full list or not. In the history of early monasteries but not exclusively, the grouping of lands into a larger block was a general tendency, especially in the case of the great Benedictine abbeys.⁵⁷⁶ In the first half of the fourteenth century monasteries could not keep their distant, smaller estates against lay proprietors so these were lost or in more fortunate cases swapped with lands closer to the larger estate bodies of the monastery. Although the lands of Kerc were not scattered on a large territory, a similar scenario can be imagined for the land called *Apathwlge* located in today's Küküllőiklód. Since we are not aware of the extent of this land we cannot estimate its importance and economic value for the abbey. However, given its proximity to Pánád, a land with salt springs, one could presume a connection or maybe even an involvement of the Cistercians in the salt trade. The income from the churches from *Burzenland* is slightly different, since the purpose of the royal donation was clearly specified. It is likely that this income ceased as the legal status of the *Burzenland* was settled (after the Teutonic knights were banished) or as soon as the abbey gained strength and its economic status stabilized. Also, as the Saxon settlements strengthened they aimed to free themselves from the authority of a distant monastery, the process was also facilitated by the rise of Brassó and the *Burzenland*.

It should be highlighted that it is quite a late date (1322), and the first time, when some of the close-by villages of the monastery are specified, such as *Kerch*, *Colonia*, *Honrabach*, *Feldvar*⁵⁷⁷ and *Kerch Olacorum*, which can indicate a late foundation date of these settlements, situated mostly on the bank of the Olt River, or perhaps even a taking over of earlier settlements. However, if we look closely at the charters and consider the data provided by the donation from 1252 as accurate (as discussed above, mentioning the territory of the

⁵⁷⁶ For example: Kolozsmonostor, Pannonhalma.

⁵⁷⁷ Some scholars associated this Földvár with Marienburg but presumably here, we have to think of another Földvár, the one which lies on the other side (left) of the Olt River not far from the abbey. These two are not the same, otherwise the charter probably would have used its Latin (*Castrum Sancte Mariae*), more popular form, or that of Marienburg. The Földvár, near the Olt River, still exists today, under the name Földvár, near Alsóucsá, from the direction of Brassó, just after Rukkor. The first mentioning of this *Feöldvar* could come from 1302 but Jakó argued that the text is a seventeenth-century forgery. The document indicates a neighboring settlement called *Szentmártonhegy* (*Mons Sancti Martini*, today Şomartin) and the people of another surrounding village *Gerdal*, today Gherdeal, see EO II, 37-38/11. Therefore, the first attestation of this Feldvar remains the charter from 1322.

Romanians from Kerc, which lay in the vicinity of the abbey) this other land could have been among the first settlements subordinated to abbey.⁵⁷⁸ The appearance of the monastic villages was discussed in more detail by Lukács and Busuioc von Hasselbach, drawing on written and linguistic sources.⁵⁷⁹ In theory these could have existed even earlier, yet evidence which would prove this does not exist. Even though Lukács tried to incorporate the very few available archaeological data, he still had to rely greatly on the written evidence.⁵⁸⁰ According to these, most of the settlements appeared mainly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with very few exceptions.

The establishment of the settlements in the Land of Fogaras enjoyed great attention from the part of the Romanian scholarship since this territory is one of the oldest in Transylvania, where Romanian population appeared.⁵⁸¹ Unfortunately, the debate concerning the dating of these settlements remains open until more evidence, such as archaeological data, can prove the early dating of the villages in question. The documents indeed mention Romanian population on this territory, as early as 1223, in the charter that specified a land given to Kerc, taken *de Blaccis*. It can be observed that earlier documents referred to them as Blachs, while this document from 1322⁵⁸² already mentioned *Kerch Olacorum* as a distinct monastic village with Romanian population.

The Cistercian colonization of the monastic lands with German population was discussed in the work of Busuioc von Hasselbach.⁵⁸³ Several others had already presumed that the monastery was involved in the colonization of its lands just as in other known cases, where Cistercians settled in border regions.⁵⁸⁴ Indeed, it seems that the abbey was involved in colonization of certain villages which belonged to it, and apparently not all were new foundations. For now, the place names can provide help to a certain extent. One of the listed villages was called *Colonia* meaning colony/colonized settlement, which can clearly be

⁵⁷⁸ The original was destroyed. UB I, 78-79/86; EO I, 196/216: “*terram Zek, quae quondam Fulkun Saxonis fuerat sed per devastationem Tartarorum vacua et -habitoribus carens remanserat inter t[erras Olacorum de Kyrch, Saxonum] de Barasu et terras Siculorum de Sebus existentem*”.

⁵⁷⁹ Lukács, *Țara Făgărașului*, 50-104.

⁵⁸⁰ From the point of view of archaeological research, the Land of Fogaras is one of the most neglected regions of Romania even though scholars frequently emphasize its importance and the early medieval presence of Romanians in this land. Nonetheless, the material culture or the religious architecture of the medieval Romanian community remains unknown. According to Lukács, due to the scarcity of archaeological research early medieval pottery (which can be dated to the ninth up to the twelfth century) was discovered in one single place, in Ungra (see Lukács, *Țara Făgărașului*, 46-47).

⁵⁸¹ For further readings on this topic see: Ioan-Aurel Pop and Thomas Nögler, eds. *Istoria Transilvaniei* [The history of Transylvania], vol. 1 (Cluj-Napoca: Institutul Cultural Român, 2003), 214- 216, 229-230.

⁵⁸² EO II, 165-166/420; MNL OL, DF 244571.

⁵⁸³ Busuioc von Hasselbach, *Țara Făgărașului*, vol. 2, 178-184.

⁵⁸⁴ See a comprehensive collection of studies on the issue in: Jamroziak and Stöber, *Monasteries on the borders*.

connected to the colonizing activity of the Cistercians. Also, *villa Abbatis* can allude to a new settlement promoted by the Cistercians. Earlier, around 1315, *villa Abbatis* was mentioned in the company of three other villages as properties returned to the abbey of Egres.⁵⁸⁵ Most likely the village near the monastery, called *Kerch*, was also formed due to abbey but the beginnings of this colonization cannot be dated with certainty. However, one can presume an early formation even though the Mongol invasion probably destroyed the village as well. The extent of the destruction caused by the Mongols in Transylvania is not known, therefore researchers generally presume massive depopulation and destruction. It seems correct to look at the first mentioning of the villages but in many cases, these could have existed and developed even before (given the poor state of the preserved documentary evidence for this region). The only fact that can be stated with certainty that at the time when these were attested, the villages were already formed, populated and produced certain incomes.

Additionally, Busuioc von Hasselbach's list can be complemented with other settlements that could have been colonized by the Cistercians, such as Messendorf, its name indicating a market place and the presence of German colonists. Also *villa Nicholai* can be added to this group, since its Hungarian name, Miklóstelke, belongs to the place names formed with the suffix *-telke* (discussed extensively in the previous chapter), in the group where individual colonization could have been the starting point for the settlement (*-telke*, *-laka*, *-háza* etc.). In the same time, when the charter was compiled (1322) the settlement's Latin name *villa Nicholai* alludes to the fact that the place was already a village by then. A similar situation can be presumed for the formation of village *Kerch Olacorum*. In the early charters only the land of the Vlachs (*Blacci*) was mentioned which does not indicate the type of settlements these people could have lived in but in 1322 the village was already formed. All these connected with the above discussed colonized villages (e.g. *Colonia*) means that a process of conscious colonization existed, where villages were formed on the monastic estates in order to provide a secure income for the abbey. These could have played a significant role in the strengthening of the abbey in the fourteenth century.

From the point of view of the estates their accessibility was an important factor. How to reach the monastic lands the shortest and safest way as well as if goods needed to be transported to the abbey how could these arrive the fastest. Given that the monastery lay on the left side of the Olt River but several monastic lands could be found on the other side river

⁵⁸⁵ EO II, 108/228; MNL OL, DF 244769.

crossing points played an essential role in the local and regional transportation of the studied period.

A detailed study of the river crossing points located along the River Olt had not been undertaken yet. However, their identification could provide important insight into the medieval communication networks and roads that passed through the Land of Fogaras. Rivers could be crossed through a bridge or ford/wading places. Using fords were less costly than the building of a bridge. Fords could stretch along kilometers and had certain physical characteristics, which made them appropriate for a river crossing point (the banks of the river and the flow of water was suitable for crossing on foot, by raft or by ferry/float bridge).⁵⁸⁶

Documentary sources are quite vague in naming fords or bridges connected to the Land of Fogaras and especially, in the surroundings of Kerc. Given that the River Olt is one of the largest in Transylvania, crossing it must have been a challenge for the locals. In the sixteenth century, a floating bridge/ferry boat was seen by Francesco Sivoli on the Olt, in the area of Fogaras, on which carriages could cross the river.⁵⁸⁷ From this point of view, even though it is a late source, the First Military Survey may provide a starting point for a retrospective identification of crossing points on the Olt. Yet, it is not known when and how did the river change its course or how stable were these crossings. Studies on the history and change of the Olt River do not exist. Today, the river shows a totally different picture than the one illustrated on the three Military Surveys, with numerous modern dams, storage lakes, backwaters and dried-out river branches.

The First Military Survey shows, on the section of the Olt from Fogaras until Felek, at least six crossing points, most of which are illustrated with a boat, meaning that it was a wading place or ferry crossing. Points of interest for my research are the wading places between Alsóucsa and Földvár, Kerc and Oláhtyúkos, Szarata or Skorei and Kolun, Alsóporumbák and Glimboka, Alsóporumbák and Oltszakadát (Fig. 40 and Fig. 41). Most of these wading places exist even today, few were transformed into dams. For some of these, illustration does not suggest what type of crossing points were, just the roads suggest a connection with the other side (perhaps these were seasonal). Nonetheless, crossing points must have existed in the Middle Ages, even if one relied only on the geographic spread of the monastic properties. As the document from 1322 showed, Cistercians owned a number of

⁵⁸⁶ See more on the subject: Toda, “Transporturile”, 302.

⁵⁸⁷ *Călători străini*, III, 48.

properties situated on the other side of the Olt River (along its right bank). These properties had to be reached somehow by the community and the locals.



Fig. 40. River crossings between Alsóporumbák–Oltszakadát and Glimboka (left); Skorei–Kolun (right) (First Military Survey)



Fig. 41. River crossings between Kerc–Oláhtyúkos (left); Alsócsa–Földvár (right) (First Military Survey)

The document from 1322 is important not only because of the list of settlements but also because of the privileges granted by it to the abbey. Basically, the king (at the request of the abbot) gave the monastery, its villages and people the same privileges as the Saxons of the Seat of Nagyszében (*provincialium de Cybinio*) enjoyed (probably *hospes* privileges formulated in the *Andreanum*).⁵⁸⁸ In this way, he connected the monastery to the town in a jurisdictional manner but at the same time offered it a more independent status. Despite the initial hardship after Charles I gained control over Hungary he initiated several financial reforms with which he managed to increase the income of the treasury and gradually

⁵⁸⁸ See the full transcription of the Latin text: UB I, 388.

strengthened the power of Hungary and the degree of stability.⁵⁸⁹ A high number of confirmations of privileges and donations of new privileges are connected to his name.⁵⁹⁰ However, interestingly, none of the existing Transylvanian towns had received a royal town privilege from Charles I (although the 1316 charter of privilege for Kolozsvár was issued by him).⁵⁹¹ Zsoldos argued that Transylvania, Slavonia and northeastern Hungary were the three largest territories where Charles I was in the position of offering *honor* properties to his loyal followers and probably he did not want them to become independent. The one who held the *honor* disposed of all the royal incomes from the territory under administration except those that the king kept for himself.⁵⁹²

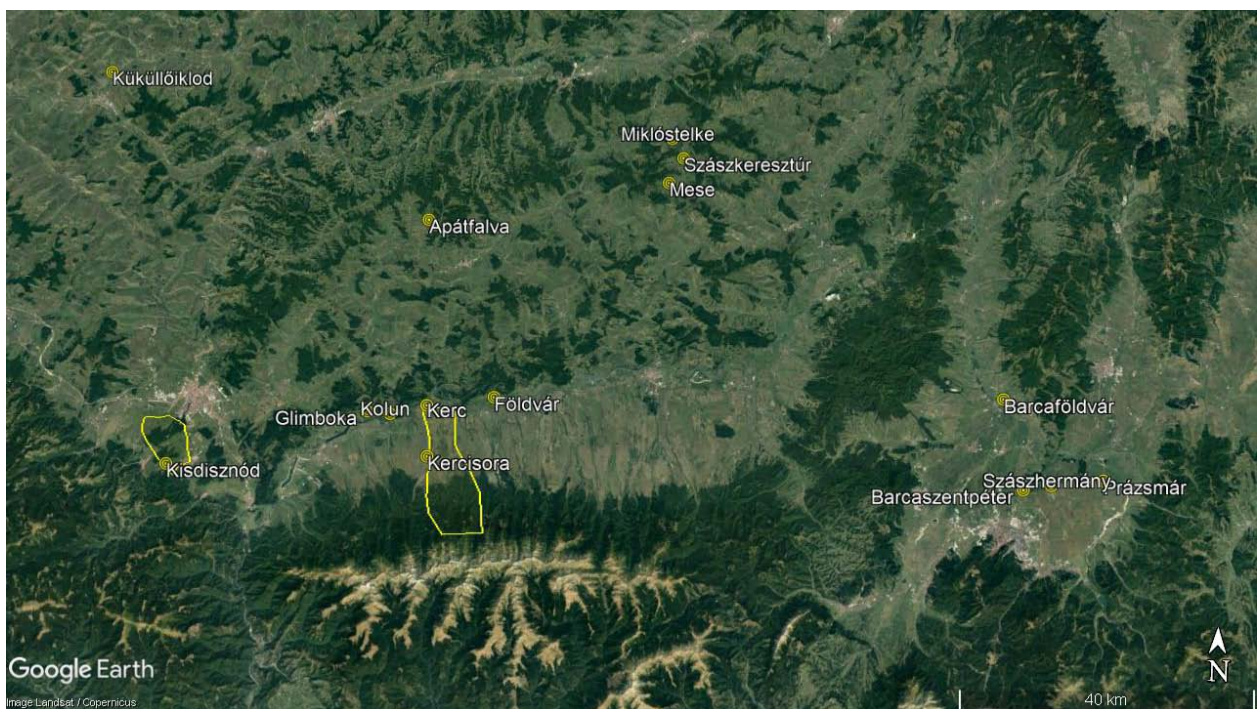


Fig. 42. The villages mentioned in 1322 added to the previous lands

The charter clearly indicates that in the fourteenth century the monastery's main income came from these villages and the main cluster (of five villages) was situated around the monastery. Today, on the left side of the Olt River cereals, vegetables, and fruits are cultivated on

⁵⁸⁹ Pál Engel, "Az ország újraegyesítése. I Károly küzdelmei az oligarchák ellen (1310-1323) [The re-unification of the country. The struggles of Charles I against the oligarchs (1310-1323)]," *Századok* 122 (1988): 89-146; Katalin Szende, "Mennyit ér a kiváltság? Városprivilegiumok kibocsátása és rendelkezéseik betartása I. Károly alatt [How much does the privilege worth? The issuing of town privileges and keeping their provisions under Charles I]," in *Pénz, posztó, piac* [Money, cloth, market], ed. Boglárka Weisz (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2016), 285-339.

⁵⁹⁰ Attila Zsoldos, "Károly és a városok [Charles and the towns]," in *Pénz, posztó, piac* [Money, cloth, market], ed. Boglárka Weisz (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2016), 267-283.

⁵⁹¹ Szende, "Mennyit ér a kiváltság?," 295-296.

⁵⁹² Pál Engel, *Honor, vár, ispánság* [Honor, castle, county] (Budapest: Osiris, 2003) 880-922.

extensive arable lands. However, written sources do not tell us what kind of crops were produced in the area in the Middle Ages. Archaeological research did not focus on such matters so we do not possess any data concerning agricultural activity or production which surely must have existed. Anyhow, the medieval landscape of the Olt River Valley must have had a very different appearance/composition with larger forested territories on both sides. The right side of the Olt River shows differences even today on the level of geographic characteristics and natural resources. At a first glance, it is obvious that the right bank is hilly with steep parts and narrow valleys. Most of the hills surrounding the villages show intensive traces of agricultural terraces, abandoned vineyards (e.g. see the surroundings of Oláhtyúkos and Kolun), and the signs of deforestation, where the forest had already started to reconquer the unused land. From a land use perspective, extensive forested areas, hill sides (oriented to the south) favorable for vineyards and less arable lands are and were available.

In a charter from 1353, one finds abbot *Marsilius* of Kerc as a witness in a lawsuit, in his quality as patron of the village, in a quarrel between the parish priests from Miklóstelke (in sources *villa Nicolai*).⁵⁹³ Three years later, in 1356 three villages of the abbey (*Kereztur* (Szászkeresztúr), *Mesche* (Mese) and *Zentmiclostelke* (Miklóstelke)) were mentioned in a charter of *Andreas*⁵⁹⁴, voivode of Transylvania. On the 19th of June, the Saxons (*universi saxones*) from the listed three villages together with the Saxons from *Kyzd* (Szászkezd), *Erkud* (Erked) and *Radus* (Rádos) attacked and burnt down the houses, and took the goods of *Jacobus* son of *Geubul* from his village called *Haasfalua* (Héjjasfalva). Then, they went on to other two of his villages, to *Saard* (Küküllőszárd), where they took everything from the church (*universas res et alia clenodia*). The same way, on the 21st of June they arrived to *villa Boda* (Szászbuda), where they broke into the church and archive (*ostium conservatorii eiusdem ecclesie refregissent*), and took the documents on his properties (*instrumenta et literarum munimenta*).⁵⁹⁵ The voivode instructed the Transylvanian chapter to examine the complaint of *Jacobus* and report back the results. Further details about the results of the examinations are unknown. However, this event may signal an earlier, unknown conflict that might have been connected to property issues between *Jacobus* and the Saxons from the above enumerated villages (which might have formed a compact community, or served mutual interests) or perhaps, even with the Cistercians (Fig. 43). Earlier quarrels are not documented thus, one gets this single glimpse into the unfolding events and violent outburst of the villagers. As it

⁵⁹³ UB II, 100.

⁵⁹⁴ Andrew Lackfi, Transylvanian voivode between 1356 and 1359.

⁵⁹⁵ UB II, 121-122; EO III, 306/840; MNL OL, DL 29429.

will be shown below, after this year, these three monastic villages will appear quite frequently in disputes with the Cistercians, which might indicate a starting point for their wish to free themselves from the monastic administration.

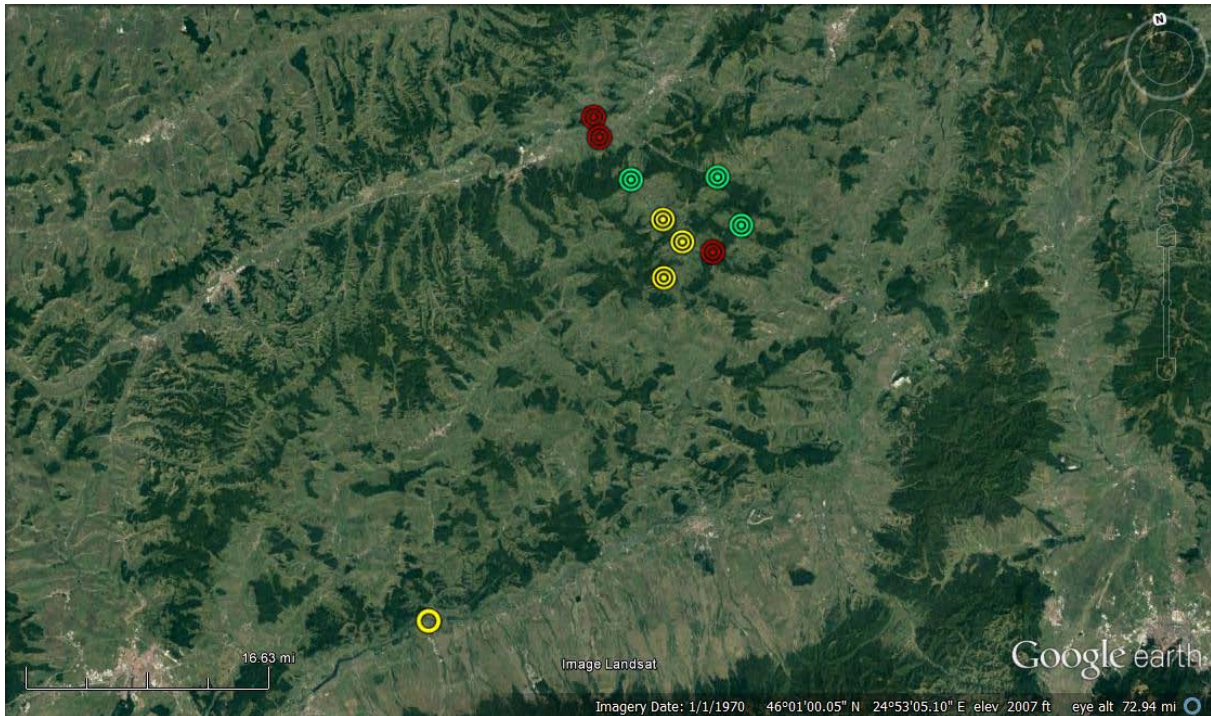


Fig. 43. The villages involved in the attack from 1356 (yellow hollow circle: Kerc abbey; yellow filled circle: the villages of the abbey; green filled circle: Saxon villages; red filled circle: the attacked villages of comes Jacobus)

The first reliable information about the economic state of the abbey comes from the middle of the fourteenth century, from the accounts of the abbot of Rein, Seyfried de Waldstein (1349-1367), who visited a number of Cistercian monasteries from Hungary between 1356 and 1357.⁵⁹⁶ During his visitation Abbot Seyfried collected the annual taxes as well, and in 1358 he accounted for these before the Chapter General and received a receipt. The receipt shows that the abbot of Kerc paid retroactively for six years 42 golden florins which was a considerable amount of money that indicates the well-being of the abbey. He did not visit Kerc personally but he met with the abbot of its mother house Egres, who reported on the state of the abbey. Seyfried learned from him that thirteen monks lived in Kerc which again can be interpreted as a favorable situation given the low number of monks living in other Cistercian abbeys in Hungary in that time.

In 1359 another interesting segment is unveiled through an event in which the abbey was involved. It is a trial in which the people from *Zeckat* (Szakadát) were absolved from the

⁵⁹⁶ Baumgartner, *A kerci apátság*, 50-51.

requests of the abbot. The documents attested that abbot John had claimed that a territory from *Zeckat* belonged to the abbey, but then he was requested to present the charters to prove his claim. Since he was unable to present the documents, he lost the trial.⁵⁹⁷ In another charter issued in the same year the bounds of the land in question were described: “*Terminos autem praedicti territorii incipere recognovimus a rivulo fluente a loco qui dicitur Cranemar et pertransit usque in rivulum qui Hunnerbach nuncupatur, et tunc protenditur a loco qui dicitur Cranemar ultra montem usque in parvum rivulum, et sic per rivulum descendendo usque ad aquam magnam, quae aqua Alt nuncupatur*”.⁵⁹⁸

On the 7th of January 1375 a land was bought by abbot John and prior *Gerlacus* from comes *Nicolaus*, son of Nicolaus de Eulenbach, then also from Michael de Affrica⁵⁹⁹, Salomon de Magria, Georgius de Scharz, Salomon de Raboz and Symon de Schellenberg in the village called in the charters *Konradsdorf* (Oláhtyúkos).⁶⁰⁰ These men sold their lands to the abbey altogether twenty plots (*curia*) which probably included arable land, meadows, pastures, woods, woodland pastures/groves, and waters as the general formula illustrates (“...*cum terris arabilibus, cultis et incultis, pratis, fenetis, silvis, nemoribus, aquis et aliis* ...”). This is the only known document about land plots that the monastery bought, and in the same time, to some extent, allude to the use of these. However, the lands could be exploited in a variety of ways and not necessarily as the documents enlisted them. About the abbey’s agricultural activities in this village we do not have any data and it is still unknown how the abbey utilized these plots of land. Nonetheless, since, the woods, pastures, meadows and woodland pastures are the most numerous perhaps, the abbey used these plots for animal husbandry which would have been feasible given the proximity of this village to the abbey. Concerning the arable lands, the phrase “*cultis et incultis*” implies rotation of crops. Also, this land transaction shows the interest of the abbot to extend the monastic lands in the close-by villages.

⁵⁹⁷ UB II, 172-173.

⁵⁹⁸ UB II, 173-174; Ludwig Reissenberger, *Die Kerzer Abtei* (Hermannstadt, 1894), 18.

⁵⁹⁹ Here *Affrika* refers to a settlement in Transylvania, today Felek in Szeben County, mentioned for the first time in 1364, see: Gernot Nussbächer, “Zweyerlai Nationes’ in ...’Affrica’. Ein sprechendes Zeugnis jahrhundertalter Zusammenarbeit,” *Volkszeitung* 768, year 11 (01.08. 1967): 3.

⁶⁰⁰ UB II, 435-436.

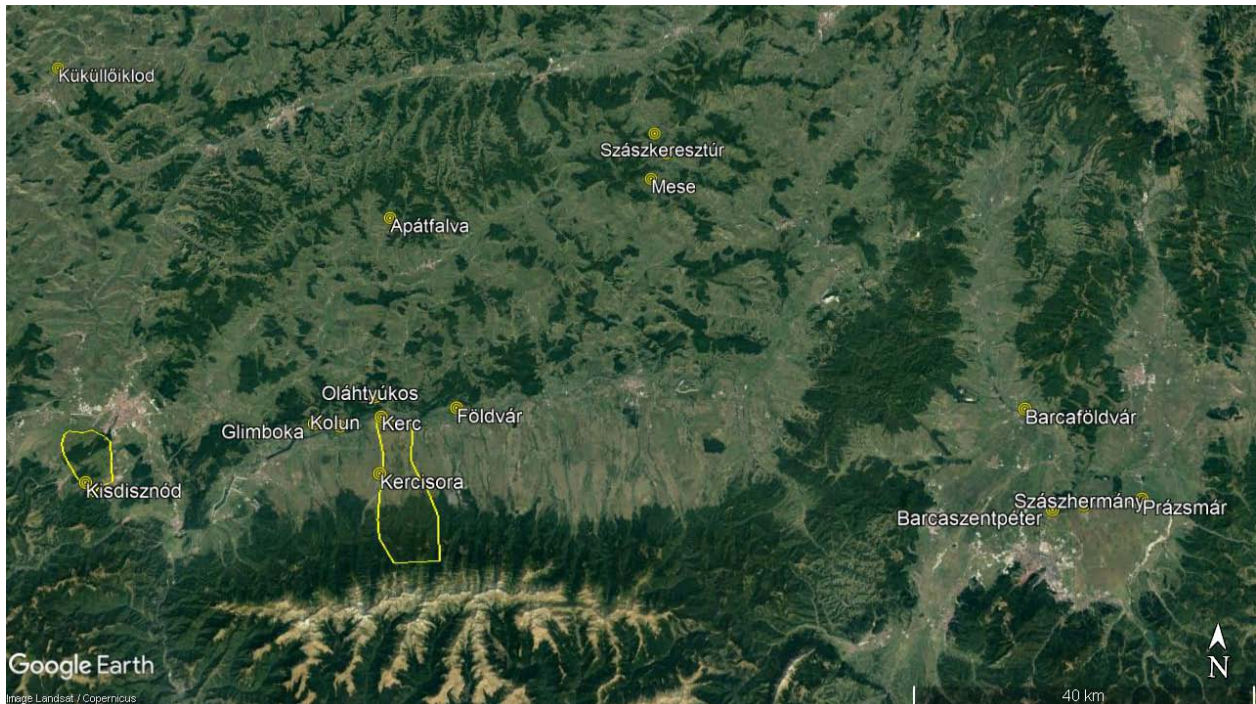


Fig. 44. The addition in Oláhtyúkos acquired in 1375

Seven years later, in a charter from the 7th of February 1382, *Joannes*⁶⁰¹, vice-voivode of Transylvania requested the Transylvanian chapter to compile a perambulation for a territory in Oláhtyúkos (*Korlatthelke*, earlier *Konradsdorf*, *villa Conradi*) – where the abbey had bought twenty land plots earlier, in 1375 – which belonged to the family of *Goblinus*, bishop of Transylvania (between 1376 and 1386). In the same year, Bishop *Goblinus* founded and built a Pauline monastery in Tótfalud and in 1383, received from Queen Mary (1382-1385; 1386-1395) the estate of Omlás. Apparently, the bishop’s territory in Oláhtyúkos had not been perambulated for quite a while and the erection of new bounds along the old ones was needed. Then, on the 28th of February, parish priests *Petrus de Karko* and *Bako de Mihalczffalwa* were sent out to walk the boundaries and erect new bounds, on a Sunday.⁶⁰² Since the entire perambulation of the land in question is published here only the part which connects to Kerc shall be cited: “[...] *Inde transit per silvam quandam usque ad verticem montis ubi extra silvam quarta meta est erecta, quae separat territoria villae Conradi praedictae et villae domini abbatis de Kercz, inde progreditur versus orientem descendendo in dorso montis, ubi successive erectae sunt de novo septem metae usque ultra viam quae ducit in Kercz, usque ad rivulum, ubi est erecta nova meta, quae separat et distinguit*

⁶⁰¹ Most probably John Temes, who was vice-voivode between 1376-1385 and 1386-1389, see in: Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457* [Secular archontology of Hungary 1301-1457]. *Volume 1* (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1996).

⁶⁰² Enikő Csukovits, “A középkori írástudók munkaideje [The ‘work schedule’ of medieval scribes],” *Levéltári Közlemények* 63 (1992): 4-14.

territoria villae Conradi, villae Kercz et Nouae villae. [...].⁶⁰³ On the 7th of March, the Seven Seats confirmed that the perambulation took place and was registered to the family of *Gocelinus* according to the rights and customs of the Seven Seats.⁶⁰⁴

Even though it is not directly connected to a monastic land, the perambulation contains interesting details on land use. However, the perambulation does not discuss any land plots which could have belonged to the abbey (bought in 1375). The document mentions the abbey's village Kerc, which was in the vicinity of this land, more exactly south of it and a road that lead to Kerc, which went in the direction of the Olt River, and probably crossed it arriving to the north-western tip of the settlement. Thus, the village of Kerc extended to the other side of the Olt River, until the hill, where one boundary sign was raised between the three villages (*villa Conradi, Kercz* and *Nouae villa*). The perambulation documents an extensive forest between Fóföld and Oláhtyúkos, and the boundary between the two settlements stretched along the ridge of this forested mountain. A large part of this forest still exists even today. The mentioning of *Noua villa* (new village) indicates a new settlement, which might be connected to the colonizing activity of the Cistercians, however the sources are silent about it. The old names of Oláhtyúkos (*Korlatthelke, Konradsdorf, villa Conradi* – the land of Korlat, the village of Konrad) can be connected to the region's colonization, documenting an individual land occupation rather than a development into a village.

In 1406 a dispute broke out between the abbey and the female residents, altogether five women (*seculares mulieres/soror*) of the house next to the Catherine Chapel in Brassó *sub obedientia abbatis monasterii sancte Marie in Candelis*. Pope Innocent VII decided in favor of the women. From the pope's account to the bishop of Esztergom we find out that the dispute emerged from the fact that the abbot expelled them from their house, took the nuns' monastic garments, their *scapulare* and the *regula* because they refused to cook for some of the monks, to dig up their gardens, and clean their houses. So the women joined the Benedictines. The quarrel was sorted out by *Siffridus* son of *Siffridus*, Transylvanian canon, as judge seconded by the Holy See. He decided that the women could return to the house, which belonged to them, and the abbey should send out a monk for their protection and for the service of sacraments.⁶⁰⁵ In 1388 only a chapel was mentioned⁶⁰⁶ and the first and single

⁶⁰³ UB II, 552.

⁶⁰⁴ UB II, 552-554.

⁶⁰⁵ ZsOkI II/1, 576/4698.

⁶⁰⁶ Hervay, *Repertorium*, 80: "rector capelle Sancte Katherine in ... Corona". Hervay suggested that additional buildings connected to the nuns could have already existed in 1388 and even before.

documentary evidence of a “domus sororum” comes from 1406. Otherwise, not much is known about the relationship of the abbey and its female residents, however this single glance into the gist of events does not shed a favorable light on the monastic guidance of the Cistercian monks. We do not know, who these few monks were nor can it be discerned whether they owned houses and gardens in Brassó, or the work referred to Kerc abbey. It is not clear either whether they were ordained monks or lay brothers living outside the monastic buildings, in the town of Brassó, meant to provide help or perhaps even the sacraments for the nuns.⁶⁰⁷ After Kerc was united with the provostry of Nagyszeben, in 1474 King Matthias requested a caretaker (*vitricus*) for this property.⁶⁰⁸

A document from 1411 (10th July) informs us that the seven Saxon seats decided in favor of the abbey of Kerc in a trial between the abbey and the people and *hospites* of Nagydisznód.⁶⁰⁹ As a result, the abbey could keep in its possession the church of St. Michael in Kisdisznód with a certain land and a forest. The trial indicates that as other settlements gained power in the region, they tried to claim lands of the abbey and most likely the earlier owned land or lands in Kisdisznód decreased in their size and number.

In 1418 (Apr. 4), the abbey received from King Sigismund a new confirmation of the charter from 1322, where the same villages were mentioned with the abbot’s right of patronage over these: *Kercz, Cruz, villa Nicolai, Meschendorf, villa Abbatis, mons sancti Michaelis, Feldwar, Colonia, Honnerbach, and Kercz Olachorum*.⁶¹⁰ This document means that the Cistercians managed to keep their villages or at least parts of these. Few days later, on the 9th of April 1418, King Sigismund issued another document in which he instructed the chapter and the royal judge of Nagyszeben to sum up the duties of the following three villages of Kerc abbey: Szászkeresztúr, Miklóstelke, and Mese, since they did not pay the census and *collecta* for 5 years nor fulfilled their duties towards the abbey.⁶¹¹ On the 17th of April 1418 the king wrote to Nicholas, Transylvanian voivode as well as to the Transylvanian bishop and to the province of Nagyszeben to protect the three villages of the abbey against the encroachments of the castellans of Nagytalmács.⁶¹² The charter contains an important detail concerning royal burials, when Sigismund related that the foundation of the monastery and the rich donations can be connected to the royal ancestors he mentioned “quorum etiam

⁶⁰⁷ The same details were collected in Ferenczi, “Management of Monastic Landscapes,” 283.

⁶⁰⁸ UB VII, 128; MNL OL, DF 286775.

⁶⁰⁹ UB III, 510-511.

⁶¹⁰ UB IV, 68-70.

⁶¹¹ MNL OL, DF 244671, ZsOkI VI, 455/1736; UB IV, 70-72.

⁶¹² UB IV, 72-75, 75-77;

corpora ibidem existent tumulata”. It is not known who could the royal persons be. Nonetheless, Sigismund visited Kerc in 1398 so most probably he knew the situation first hand.⁶¹³ In 1419 (1st of May) King Sigismund prohibited the abbot of Kerc to unjustly demand the taxes and services from the inhabitants of Szászkeresztúr, Miklóstelke, and Mese.⁶¹⁴ The case of these three villages is intriguing because we know that in 1427 King Sigismund freed the inhabitants of the three villages from all duties, charges and taxes imposed on them by the castellan of Nagytalmács.⁶¹⁵ Even though the sources create a confusion on the state of these three villages this event might be in line with Sigismund’s emphasis on the prevention of Ottoman invasion which meant the initiation of a new defense system that aimed to protect the passes that lead to Transylvania. In this defense system, which meant the ensurance of additional incomes, Nagytalmács was included as well. Thus, if before Nagytalmács was meant to protect the monastic estates of Kerc (hypothetically, Kerc being a royal foundation) by the end of the 1420s the protection of the borders became more important. However, we are unable to trace how these ended up under the castellan’s influence or how the properties of the abbey could be subordinated to Nagytalmács, when they enjoyed a privileged status. Still, the struggle of these villages to free themselves from the authority of the abbey are quite clear.

Sources attest that in 1421 the Ottomans destroyed the church and the abbey⁶¹⁶ and its rebuilding was initiated only six years later, in 1427 by King Sigismund.⁶¹⁷ Three years later, according to a document from 1430 (31st October) the monastery was still not entirely rebuilt. A charter relates that Abbot Michael sold a plot with a house (*curia cum suis edificiiis*) to a butcher called *Petrus Czop* located in the *platea Sporergasse* (today General Gheorghe Magheru Street) close to the *Salztor* (Salt Gate), next to the city walls, leading to the Large Square of the Upper Town, owned by the monastery in the town of Nagyszeben.⁶¹⁸ The charter relates that the plot was sold for an annual supply of forty pounds of linseed oil to finance the rebuilding of the destroyed monastery. As it was suggested by L. Ferenczi⁶¹⁹ the existence of this house in Nagyszeben could perhaps allude to the involvement of the Cistercians in salt production by operating salt evaporation pans. However, it is known that

⁶¹³ An excavation took place in 1927 lead by Victor Roth with the purpose to uncover the royal burials but according to the report none was identified.

⁶¹⁴ UB IV, 82-83.

⁶¹⁵ Built as a royal castle and later given to the Saxons of Sibiu.

⁶¹⁶ *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Brassó* (Brassó: Druck von A. Gust, 1903), vol. IV, 74; Georg Daniel Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1874), 123.

⁶¹⁷ UB IV, 323.

⁶¹⁸ MNL OL, DF 244703.

⁶¹⁹ Ferenczi, “Management of Monastic Landscapes,” 282.

the Cistercians had access to salt blocks, in the early years of their settlement. Later written sources do not document any salt income nor trade. Besides this hypothesis the town house could serve additional economic interests of the abbey but also used as storage or lodging, when needed. In this matter, it can be presumed that the abbot of the motherhouse who probably visited Kerc from time-to-time stayed in Nagyszeben or in Kerc.

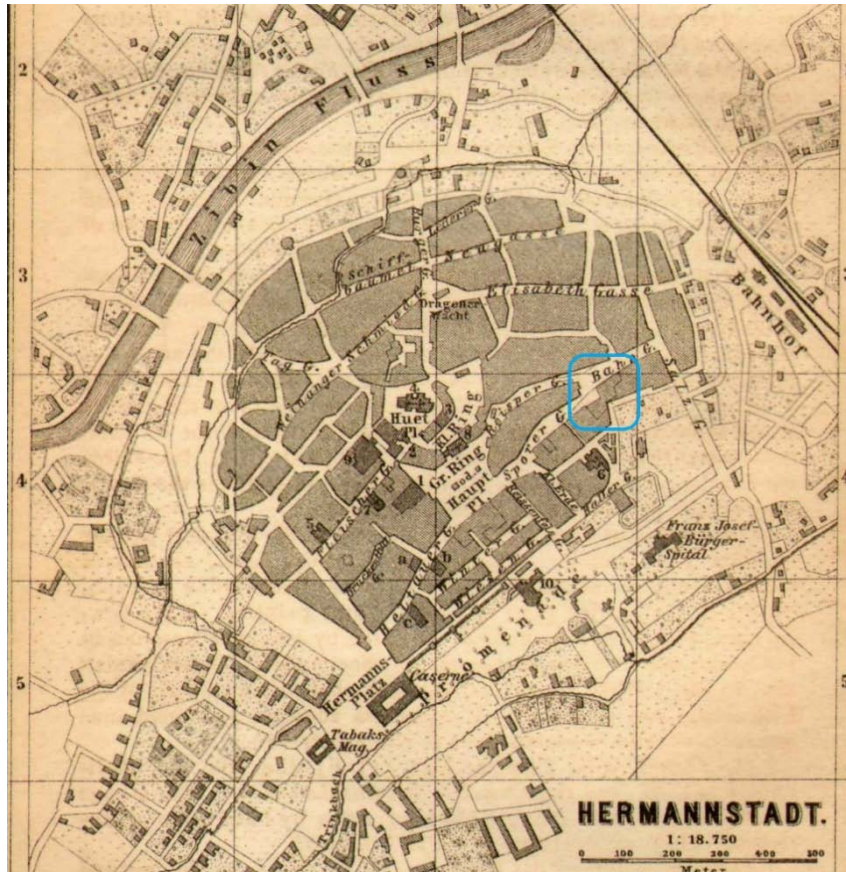


Fig. 45. Map of Nagyszeben with the *Sporergasse* and the possible location of the *curia* (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hermannstadt_1880_10_x_15.jpg)

Another Ottoman attack was documented in 1432⁶²⁰ which in 1439 led to the resignation of abbot Michael, who argued for his retirement with the numerous attacks of the Ottomans and Wallachians as well as with his old age.⁶²¹ Michael fulfilled the function of abbot of the monastery for more than twenty years (1416-1439) and he is the only one about whom we know that he studied in Vienna in 1432 (14 April), when the attack took place: “*venerabilis pater dominus Michael abbas monasterii de Candelis ordinis Cisterciensis, diocesis Strigoniensis in Vogaras (Fogarasch) in Septemcastris studium generale Viennense*

⁶²⁰ Reissenberger, *Die Kerzer Abtei*, 26.

⁶²¹ UB V, 28, 30, 56.

frequentavit".⁶²² In 1440 the abbot of the motherhouse in Egres, Ladislaus Woski, traveled to Nagyszeben in this matter and met with John, the new abbot to be. He confirmed John *de Bornequel* (1439/40-1448) as the new abbot of Kerc, priest and Cistercian monk, doctor of theology, in front of a public notary and instructed him to rebuild the monastery.⁶²³ Little is known about the events which took place under the abbacy of John Bornequel.

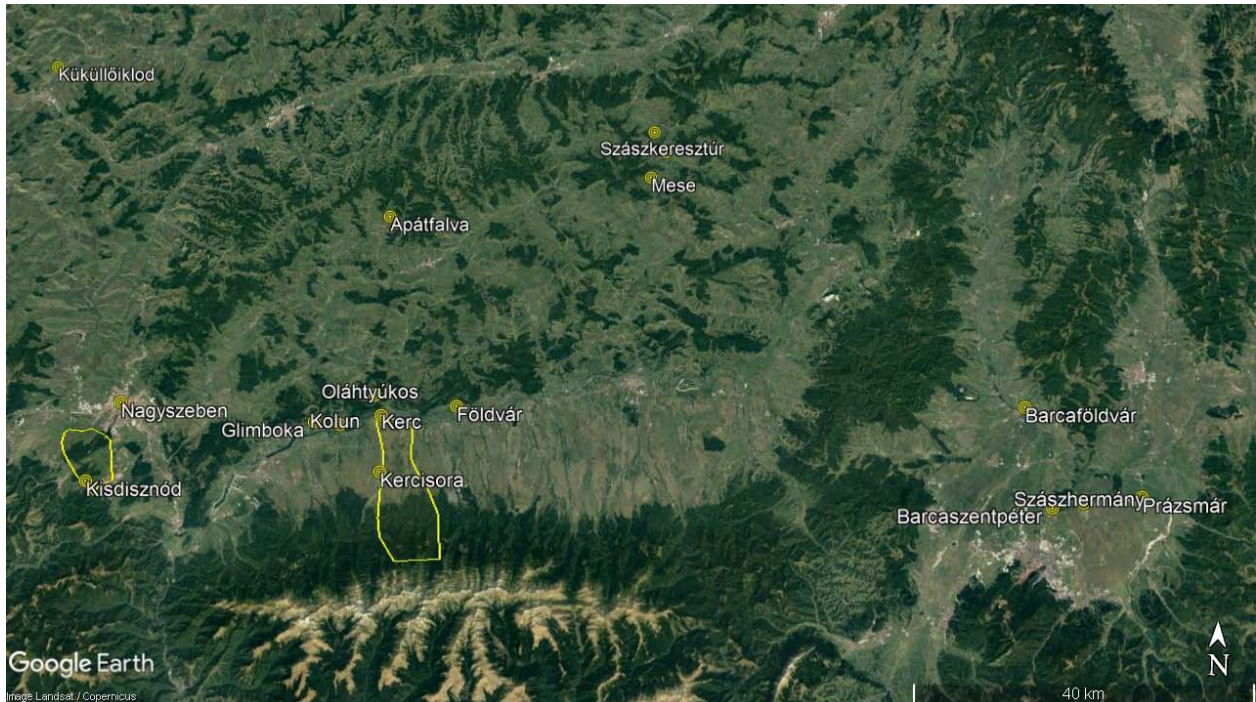


Fig. 46. The house and plot in Nagyszeben from 1430 (marked with a dot) added to the former lands

Years later, in 1463 *Raimund Bärenfuss*, Bishop of *Argesch* (Argeș) was the new abbot, who wrote to the mayor of Nagyszeben asking him to persuade the people from Kisdisznód to pay their taxes to the abbey in full.⁶²⁴ In April 1469 the abbot requested the help of the mayor of Nagyszeben against the judges from Fogaras, because a *Wallachus* broke a mill stone which belonged to the abbey and a quarrel broke out between this man and the monks.⁶²⁵ In October, the same year, King Matthias urged and instructed *Raimund*, the gubernator of Kerc, to follow the instructions offered by the Seven Saxon Seats (*septem sedium Saxonicalum*), who were said to be the true patrons of the monastery, in the

⁶²² Károly Scharuf, *Magyarországi tanulók a bécsi egyetemen* [Hungarian students at the University of Vienna] (Budapest, 1892), 75.

⁶²³ MNL OL, DF 244740; UB V, 56. Interestingly the document mentions that it was issued in the back of the small house/home (“in posteriori parva domo habitationis nobilis viri Johannis Poschauser”) of the nobleman John Poschauser in Nagyszeben. The presence of the abbot in the house of John Poschauser might indicate some kind of personal contact between the two, especially if one knows that the abbot of Kerc sold the house of the Cistercians in Nagyszeben in 1430 thus, probably a new location had to be found, where Ladislaus Woski could meet with John Bornequel in order to name him the new abbot of Kerc.

⁶²⁴ UB VI, 158.

⁶²⁵ UB VI, 389.

management of their estates and keeping the divine responsibilities of the abbey.⁶²⁶ In another document dating from 1469 (27th December) three villages of the monastery (Szászkeresztúr, Mese, and Miklóstelke) were again warned for not paying the special royal tax.⁶²⁷

On the 27th of February 1474 King Matthias transferred the monastery with its properties and incomes to the Provostry of St. Mary's Church in Nagyszeben.⁶²⁸ His action was preceded by a warning⁶²⁹ (perhaps even more) addressed to the commandatory abbot of the monastery *Raimund*, who despite the king's request, still apparently neglected the abbey: "*...ex dissoluta vita et pravis actibus abbatum de Kercz hactenus provenerint incommoda, novissime vero reverendus pater dominus Raymundus episcopus, qui ipsam abbatiam tenebat in commendam, qualem contra illos excitaverit factionem, quae nisi maturo a nobis tempore congrua provisione restingui potuisset, levis occasio particulare malum in communem partium Transsilvanarum calamitatem facile convertisset [...] Praecipue vero supplicationibus pro parte fidelium nostrorum praefatorum magistri civium, iudicis et iuratuim civium dictae civitatis nostrae Cibiniensis annuentes eo potissimum respectu, ut divinus cultus in memorata abbatia non negligatur. sed potius augeatur, eandem abbatiam de Kercz simul cum omnibus bonis et possessionibus suis ad praeposituram ecclesiae beatae Mariae virginis in civitate nostra Cibiniensis praefata constructam in perpetuum duximus annectendam et adiungendam annectimusque et adiungimus per praesentes. Ita tamen, quod super hoc ipsi cives civitatis nostrae Cibiniensis sedis apostolicae consensum obtinere debeant et teneantur. Tali etiam conditione apposita, ut ipsi cives provideant, quatenus tres presbiteri vita et conversatione probabiles per eos eligendi in praefatam abbatiam de Kercz collocentur, per quos diebus singulis tres missae bono modo et ordine celebrentur et in praefata ecclesia Cibiniensi perpetuis semper temporibus in quibuslibet feriis quintis missa de sacratissimo corpore Christi pro salute animae nostrae et nostrorum omnium celebranda disponatur...*"⁶³⁰

This is the official decree on the abolishment of the abbey. It can be debated whether the details and reasons enlisted by the king were entirely or only partially true. Yet, king Matthias supported other Cistercian abbeys from the Hungarian kingdom and revitalized many of them. Then, why did he give up on Kerc? The most likely explanation would be that he wanted to build and maintain a favorable relationship with the Saxons of Transylvania, so

⁶²⁶ UB VI, 422.

⁶²⁷ MNL OL, DF 245331.

⁶²⁸ UB VII, 5-6/3986; MNL OL, DF 244991.

⁶²⁹ UB VI, 422.

⁶³⁰ UB VII, 3986.

he decided to donate the abbey and its properties (“*cum omnibus bonis et possessionibus suis*”) to them, or perhaps he simply did not see a chance for revitalization given the great distance of the abbey from royal power as well as the more frequent Ottoman and Wallachian attacks made the upkeep of the abbey difficult. Naturally, he tied his donation to certain conditions: to keep three priests of exceptional life in the abbey, on every Thursday the church which received the donation should hold a mass, and a custodian was appointed to manage the estates of the former abbey. The king repeated his decision in 1477.⁶³¹

The vast majority of the scholars who dealt with the history of Kerc, generally ended their research on the abbey at this point, when the dissolution of the monastery took place. However, the history of the abbey did not end this suddenly, since its estates as a coherent unit continued to live on in their physical state as well as in the memory of those who held them over the coming centuries. This event clearly marked the end of a long process of depopulation and loss of influence of the abbey in the region which apparently could not keep up with the social changes and could not regenerate fast enough after the continuous attacks. The decline of the abbey accelerated after the high number of attacks and the abbey was unable to regain its regional power. After its dissolution gradually only the church remained in function in the village that would keep the memory of the abbey.

The later history and fate of the monastic properties can give interesting insights into various details concerning the main block of estates, the financial interests of different social groups in acquiring the lands of the former abbey as well as slight allusions to the value and income from these estates. The fate of the lands of Kerc after the dissolution of the monastery has been analyzed and followed through in details by Elek Jakab, who compiled the most coherent and chronologically the farthest-reaching study, and tried to trace the fate of the monastic properties up until his time, the late nineteenth century.⁶³² As one could see, the earlier documentary sources mention a significant block of estates centered around the monastery.

In the following I shall briefly illustrate how rewarding and exciting can such a research be, not to mention the richness of written evidence. In this respect a document issued just a few months after the dissolution of the abbey, in 1474 (29th June) is quite telling.⁶³³ It is a twelve-point income provision of Kerc compiled by John, priest of Nagyszeben. In this document, John listed the terms and conditions of the estates of the monastery of Kerc which

⁶³¹ UB VII, 138-139; MNL OL, DF 245022, DL 37056.

⁶³² Jakab, “Erdély egyháztörténelméhez,” 20-32.

⁶³³ UB VII, 17-19; MNL OL, DF 244995.

were acquired as a royal donation. It also contained the conditions put forward by King Matthias Corvinus that three chaplains which were to remain in the village, to continue the service in Kerc, and to celebrate a mass every day and on Thursdays for the veneration of the Eucharist (*Corpus Christi*).

Twenty years later, in 1494 the estates of the abbey were already handled by the city council of Nagyszeben. However, the Saxon community almost lost the possession of the abbey in 1494 because King Vladislaus II (1490-1516) wanted to donate the abbey to Bishop Mihály Nápolyi.⁶³⁴ Naturally, they protested against it, and their interventions were successful in the end, because Vladislaus II (8th September 1494) confirmed King Matthias's earlier donations (1474, 1477).⁶³⁵ From 1495 on, only one priest will appear in the accounts of Nagyszeben (paid by the town) which means that the original plan to keep three chaplains failed quite early.⁶³⁶ As previously, the abbey was again in a bad state after a number of attacks.⁶³⁷ The 1495 mayor's account from Nagyszeben indicated a large sum of money (40 golden florins) spent on construction works on the abbey. The list mentioned a certain stonemason, called *Andreas*, a bricklayer and carpenters who worked there.⁶³⁸ In the list of expenses from 1495 further constructions at the monastery in Kerc were enlisted under the leadership of *Andreas lapicida*.⁶³⁹ The first account of a priest based in Kerc, known by name comes from 1497, a certain Peter, who received an annual salary of 12 florins (gulden at Reissenberger) from the mayor of Nagyszeben.⁶⁴⁰ In the same year the chaplain from the St. Catherine chapel in Brassó was paid with the same amount.⁶⁴¹ The Saxon Universitas pledged

⁶³⁴ Jakab, "Erdély egyháztörténelméhez," 24. According to the archontology: Norbert C. Tóth, Richárd Horváth, Tibor Neumann, and Tamás Pálosfalvi, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1458-1526. I. Főpapok és bárók* [Secular Archontology of Hungary 1458-1526. Prelates and Barons] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 2016), three persons can be considered: Mihály Gibárti Keserű (Bosnian bishop, between 1502 and 1524), Mihály (scribe, the captain of the castles of the bishopric of Szerém, from 1494) and Mihály Raguzai (Bishop of Zengg, between 1487 and 1501). None of them have direct connections to Naples.

⁶³⁵ UB VIII, Nr. 5417.

⁶³⁶ Reissenberger, *Die Kerzer Abtei*, 33.

⁶³⁷ Reissenberger, *Die Kerzer Abtei*, 16/note 1; Quellen I, 162-174.

⁶³⁸ Reissenberger, *Die Kerzer Abtei*, 34/note 5.

⁶³⁹ Quellen I, 184 (1495 March 4 – magister Johannes Wall, *Andreas lapicida* and *Symon carpentarius* checked the state of the monastery and calculated the expenses – received 2 florins), 185 (1495 March 17 – *Blasius labore tegularium* – 5 flor.), 186 (11 September – *tegulis pro ecclesia* – 8 flor.), 189 (4 September – *Andreas lapicida super labore ad structuram in Kercz* – 6 flor.), 190 (31 July - *Andreas lapicida* – 12 flor.; 3 August – *tegulatori* – 6 flor.; 5 August – *Andreas lapicida* – 4 flor.; 7 August – *Andreas lapicida* – 6 flor. and *unum lardonem pro laboratoribus*; 26 August – *tegulatori* – 6 flor.), 192 (15 September – *Andreas lapicida* – 12 flor.), 194 (21 October – *tegulis* – 1 flor., *Kercz plebanum* 0 flor. 32 den.), 195 (30 November - *magister Symon carpentarius* and his associates – 10 flor. and *tegulatori super teguli* – 15 flor.), 196 (9 December - *magister Henricus* and *Martinus muratoribus* – 6 flor.)

⁶⁴⁰ Reissenberger, *Die Kerzer Abtei*, 33/note 4.; Quellen I, 240 (1497 – 6 May – *Petro plebano in Khercz ex parte sui stipendii* – 12 flor.)

⁶⁴¹ Quellen I, 237 (1497- 18 February - *capellano sanctam Katherinam Brassowiae ex parte abbatiae Kercz* – 12 flor.)

allegiance to John Zápolya, in 1534, only on the condition to regain the ownership of Kerc abbey.⁶⁴² However, the triumph of the Reformation especially on Saxon territories reshaped the power relations between the church and the rulers. Also, the turmoil and tension caused by the double claim to the Hungarian throne, which in the end brought the birth of the Transylvanian Principality affected the fate of the block of monastic lands left behind by Kerc just as in the case of Kolozsmonostor. As an outcome of the decisions of the national assembly of Transylvania in 1556, the properties of the abbey were confiscated and entered the treasury.⁶⁴³ These did not stay long in the treasury since, in 1576, Stephen Báthori donated the tithe coming from three villages of the abbey (Mese, Szászkeresztúr, and Miklóstelke) to the people of Nagyszeben for the upkeep of the monastery in Kerc. Then in 1589, Transylvanian prince, Sigismund Báthori donated to his cousin *Bodizsar Bátori* from *Somlio* the market town (*oppidum*) of Kerc with its incomes, belongings and royal right as well as *Kereztur, Miklostelke, Mesche, Apátfalva, Kolon, Feoldvar, and Mihalifalva* (probably Mihályfalva, close to Nagyselyk) entire estates, which belonged to the once existing monastery, and going against the will of the Saxons of Nagyszeben he installed his cousin in 1590.⁶⁴⁴ In this enumeration the village Mihályfalva appears for the first time mentioned as a former monastic property. It is not known when exactly did Kerc become a market town but in 1556 it was already mentioned as such.

Two inventories and land records survived from 1646 and 1648 which offer a description of the state of the monastic ruins and other annexed buildings and features, all which will be examined in the following.⁶⁴⁵ A turbulent period followed, when the monastic estates switched owners rapidly, among others George Rákoczi II (Prince of Transylvania, 1648-1660) held the estates, then again the town of Nagyszeben, and in 1663 Michael Apafi I (Prince of Transylvania, 1661-1690) donated these to his wife. Consequently, in 1731 a long period of litigations started between the royal treasury and the town of Nagyszeben concerning the monastic properties and the abbey buildings which continued until 1826, when these were adjudicated to the royal treasury but the verdict was never officially promulgated.

⁶⁴² Jakab, "Erdély egyháztörténelméhez," 24; Baumgartner, *A kerci apátság*, 90.

⁶⁴³ Rusu, *Dicționarul*, 97; *Az erdélyi káptalan jegyzőkönyvei 1222-1599* (Protocols of the Transylvanian chapter 1222-1599), eds. Zsolt Bogdándi and Emőke Gálfi (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2006), 249/663 and 665 – here Kerc is mentioned as a market town. In the coming parts used as EKJkv.

⁶⁴⁴ Jakab, "Erdély egyháztörténelméhez," 25; EKJkv, 246/663 and 665.

⁶⁴⁵ Rusu, *Dicționarul*, 97; *Urbariile Țării Făgărașului* [Urbaria of the Land of Fogaras], vol 1 (1601-1650), eds. David Prodan, Liviu Ursuțiu, and Maria Ursuțiu (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1970), 847-855. Henceforth Urbariile.

However, the verdict had expired and earlier litigations had been abrogated so the Saxon community became the rightful owner of the monastic estates.⁶⁴⁶

As opposed to earlier research, a detailed examination of the properties of the abbey underline that these provided a significant income and raised the abbey, besides the privileged German community, among the powerful landowners of this region.⁶⁴⁷ The heyday of the monastery fell to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the abbey possessed at least ten documented villages and additional plots of land, and even a town house with a land plot. The power of the abbey is reflected not only by the number of its estates but also by the fact that the abbot of Kerc appeared in the early years as an envoy in papal investigations (e.g. when the Teutonic knights surpassed their prescribed limits in 1220s) or as witnesses in lawsuits.⁶⁴⁸ In certain periods the abbey fulfilled the duties of an authentication place.⁶⁴⁹ Above all these, during its entire existence Kerc enjoyed the support of the Hungarian kings, which were reflected in the privileges and exemptions in addition to the landed estates.

4.4.2. The Abbey Precincts and their Water Systems⁶⁵⁰

As my research goes along the lines of applying non-destructive methods for the understanding of the environment, the most widely used research tool for a landscape analysis was field walking. However, field walking was initiated but restricted only to the territory of the abbey and its precincts after a detailed study and longer process of data collection from charters complemented by eighteenth- and twentieth-century cartographic sources.⁶⁵¹ Unfortunately, detailed medieval maps which could be used for this region did not survive. Nevertheless, extremely helpful were the already used three Military Surveys (1763-1787, 1806-1869, 1869-1887). The maps were used as guidelines for a regressive analysis of the features which were illustrated on them and were identified during field walking as well as for reconstructing estate boundaries. Since, actual data and information concerning the economic management of the estates, villages and other connected activities or existing additional buildings do not appear in the documents, it was hard to tell what may still exist in the landscape. Also, due to the considerable extent of the Cistercian landed estates field survey

⁶⁴⁶ Jakab, "Erdély egyháztörténelméhez," 27-31.

⁶⁴⁷ Even though it can be considered one of the richest monasteries in this region, its wealth cannot be compared for example to the Benedictine abbey of Kolozsmonostor, which owned more than forty villages or estates. For details see the chapter on Kolozsmonostor.

⁶⁴⁸ The abbot of Kerc in papal investigation: UB I, 36-38; as a witness: UB I, 111-112.

⁶⁴⁹ A charter issued at Kerc, see: UB II, 100.

⁶⁵⁰ I published a study on the topic with partial results: Ünige Bencze, "Reconstructing a Monastic Landscape: The example of the Cistercian Abbey Cârța (Kerz, Kerc)," in *Monastic Life, Art and Technology in the 11th -16th centuries*, ed. Ileana Burnichioiu (Alba Iulia: Mega Publishing House, 2015), 29-45.

⁶⁵¹ I am grateful for the tireless help and support which I received from my professor József Laszlovszky during field works, and colleagues Csilla Siklódi, Dóra Mérai, and Koppány Ötvös.

and field walking could not be done for all the estates by one person, thus a future investigation should focus on the continuation of the work.

The aim of the field walking and survey was to identify all the preserved landscape features around the abbey ruins which could have had a connection to the activity of the abbey (or even later interventions) and to check whether an inner and outer precinct existed during the functioning of the abbey, which seemed to be outlined nicely on the historic maps and was somewhat indicated by the layout of some of the still standing rebuilt buildings, such as the village school (situated right next to the abbey, to the southwest) and modern farm buildings (to the south). Based on analogies such as spatial arrangement of inner and outer precincts surrounded by precinct walls (or in our case a palisade) was quite frequent especially in rural monasteries.⁶⁵² The inner precinct would comprise the monastic buildings while the outer precinct would house the agricultural or industrial buildings. Besides identifying and mapping the existing features the focus was on the observation of traces of agricultural and economic activity or the existence of storage buildings and other features that could relate to the economic life of the Cistercians. Since the archaeological reports of previous excavations have not discussed this aspect of the Cistercian life I decided to take another look from the perspective of a holistic approach.

The earliest investigations at the site of the abbey were carried out by architect H. Eder in 1889 and in 1911 by O. Fritz-Lászay. Their interventions consisted mainly of restoration works, clearance of the rubble heap and an elaboration of a ground-plan. Later on, systematic archaeological research continued in 1927⁶⁵³ and 1961⁶⁵⁴, then between 1981 and 1985.⁶⁵⁵ Archaeological supervision was executed by P. Beșliu in 2009 and 2011.⁶⁵⁶ The published archaeological reports indicate that research was restricted exclusively to certain areas of the monastic complex such as the church (the choir, nave and northern transept) and small areas on the south-eastern corner of the cloister. The archaeological reports offer a very schematic presentation of the finds, but they do outline the general results of the excavations. One of the significant outcomes was that a semicircular apse was identified during the excavation in 1982 under the northern rectangular transept of the church. Through this discovery, researchers assumed that this was probably the northern side aisle of an earlier Romanesque

⁶⁵² See for example Strata Florida, Rievaulx, Fountain, or Eberbach.

⁶⁵³ Roth, "Raport despre săpăturile", 224-227.

⁶⁵⁴ In September 1961 a test excavation was done by Radu Heitel which was never published. I am grateful for Daniela Marcu Istrate for sending me his two-page report.

⁶⁵⁵ Thomas Nägler and Martin Rill, "Monumentul Cistercian de la Cârța, jud. Sibiu [The Cistercian monument from Cârța, county Sibiu]," *Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice* (1983): 489-493.

⁶⁵⁶ Beșliu-Munteanu, "Mănăstirea cisterciană," 11-28.

basilica from the first decade of the thirteenth century, before the Cistercian construction, although it might even be part of the first Cistercian church⁶⁵⁷ or perhaps a chapel.⁶⁵⁸ However, since the unearthed materials were never entirely published and interpreted, it is therefore difficult to get a full picture of the excavated areas as a whole, not to mention the data related to material culture which could serve as the main source for reconstructing the daily life of the monastery. The broader environment of the abbey was not researched at all archaeologically, so records about the stone wall, earthworks and mill house (or any other storage buildings) which most probably were built in the vicinity of the abbey, do not exist.

The Fogaras Land has the densest hydrographic network in Transylvania. Due to high humidity and the massive alluvial deposits the soil is not that fertile. However, the most fertile part of it is probably the flood plain where the abbey is situated. According to geographers the Fogaras basin was once covered by extensive oak forests and a mixture of oak, beech and hornbeam as well as pure beech forests.⁶⁵⁹ The setting was very much characteristic for the Cistercians if one looks at it from the point of view of the frequently used *topos* of ideal locations “in places removed from the conversation of men”.⁶⁶⁰ The rural setting⁶⁶¹ contributed to a better preservation of landscape features but also influenced the needs and opportunities of the community. Despite the aim of avoiding human interaction, Cistercian monasteries could never entirely isolate themselves from major roadways. Kerc lay in a region with valuable woodland and in the vicinity of a major trade road which connected Transylvania to the south, to the Balkans and Constantinople. One of the most important merchant towns of Transylvania, Nagyszeben, was located quite close to the abbey. Also, two market towns Nagytalmács and Felsőszombatfalva could be found in close proximity. Based on the juxtaposition of the abbey to the merchant town of Nagyszeben, the trade route and the market towns, the participation of the monks in long-distance trade has already been

⁶⁵⁷ On the architectural questions of the early Cistercian churches, see: Béla Zsolt Szakács, “Megjegyzések korai ciszterci templomaink szentélyformáihoz [Notes on the arrangement of the sanctuaries of the early Hungarian Cistercian churches],” in *A Ciszterci Rend Magyarországon és Közép-Európába [The Cistercian Order in Hungary and Central Europe]*, ed. Barnabás Guitman (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 2009), 146-161.

⁶⁵⁸ Nägler and Rill, “Monumental Cistercian”, 493; Rill, “Die Zisterzienserabtei in Kerz,” 143-152; Martin Rill, “Zur datierung der Zisterzienserklöster Kerz,” in *Kulturdenkmäler Siebenbürgens*, ed. Annemarie Schenk (Thaur bei Innsbruck: Wort und Welt, 1995), vol. 3, 86-95. Probably a re-evaluation is needed in this matter since the written documents do not mention such a building and the published archaeological reports supply scarce evidence on this feature.

⁶⁵⁹ Lukács, *Țara Făgărașului*, 37.

⁶⁶⁰ Bond, “The location and sitting,” 53.

⁶⁶¹ On these *topos* and their interpretation in a European context, see: Máté Urbán, “Pusztasivatag és Paradicsomkert. Táj és természet a remeterendek és ciszterciek középkori felfogásában [Waste desert and Garden of Eden. Landscape and nature in the medieval perception of the hermit orders and the Cistercians],” *Vigilia* 75 (2010): 2-9.

hypothesized.⁶⁶² In any case, since written sources are silent about such endeavours, this assumption could be accepted or rejected only in the light of new and detailed analysis of surviving material culture or new extensive archaeological research at the site of the abbey with special focus on the economy and farming of the Cistercian community. Taking into account the data discussed above concerning the early colonization of the territory it is likely that between Nagyszeben and Brassó an important road must have existed even before the settlement of the Cistercians and even before the Saxons and the Teutonic knights since, as the sources show the area was inhabited.

Based on earlier literature, the site of the abbey and cloister was intensely researched; but the wider environment of the abbey, the economic or farming activities and land use of the monks has not been investigated. The most attention was given to the existing ruins of the abbey church and a still-standing wall of the eastern wing, which dominates the research connected to it. It has to be emphasized that few scholars have tried to understand the close-by environment and water use of the abbey and its impact on the surrounding landscape. Changes to the environment made by the Cistercians, such as agricultural buildings, earthworks, draining marshes, water control, agricultural production or the foundation of new settlements were rarely the subject of studies in spite of their significant impact. In a study from 1877, F. Rómer briefly mentioned that a brook passed through the territory of the abbey which supplied the water for the abbey's mill and wash house. He also pondered that if he had made more trips to the site he would have liked to search for and survey the abbey's mill and the foundations of the enclosure surrounding the monastery.⁶⁶³ This is the first documentation of such features connected to the close-by area of the abbey. Later, L. Reissenberger's work contained a short entry about scattered wall remains around the abbey, with the note that nothing particular could be deduced from them since the ruins were too insignificant.⁶⁶⁴ Chronologically, the next person who provided details and a drawing of a stone wall surrounding the abbey was W. Horwath⁶⁶⁵, and likely he was also able to see the ruins in person. The wall and the palisade was mentioned by G. Entz⁶⁶⁶ as well. Horwath's drawing

⁶⁶² Romhányi, "The role of the Cistercians," 180-204.

⁶⁶³ Rómer, "Kirándulás a kertzi apátságához," 10.

⁶⁶⁴ Reissenberger, *Die Kerzer Abtei*, 56.

⁶⁶⁵ Unfortunately, I was unable to locate W. Horwath's original drawing at present due to the lack of exact references on the part of those who re-used his drawing. None of those, who cited his work and drawing gave a valid reference, so it is hard to clearly decide, who saw the work in original and where can it be found today. To a certain extent, his drawing can be reconstructed and deduced from the ones published by G. Treiber and M. Thalgott.

⁶⁶⁶ Géza Entz, "A kerzi (Cîrțai) cisztercita építőműhely [The Cistercian workshop from Kerc]," *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 12 (1963): 139, note 35.

was later taken over by G. Treiber⁶⁶⁷ and M. Thalgott.⁶⁶⁸ (see Fig. 51 and Fig. 52) G. Treiber briefly mentioned that the foundations of an oval stone wall, which surrounded the monastery, were still approachable and connected the monastery to the Olt River through a passageway that had a dock at its end. He also mentioned that the lay settlement was protected by a palisade wall encircled by wild streams and high groundwater.⁶⁶⁹ M. Thalgott provided only a short, few line description, in which he talked about the water system in general and described the features that can be seen also on W. Horwath's sketch.⁶⁷⁰ Even though the drawing illustrates an interesting and complex plan of the inner and outer precinct of the abbey as well as other extinct features, none of the authors offered any further details about the actual, up-to-date situation of the surrounding landscape. As one can see, not many had actually seen the remains of the wall and the palisade. The question quickly emerged whether these really existed or not, and if so, could they still be recognized in the terrain?

Even though the study of this abbey attracted a great number of researchers the way that the monks used their land and the available water supply was not researched at all. In some cases, the complexities of water management and land use can be appreciated even on unexcavated sites. One of the fundamental needs for monasteries was access to water, which was used for a great variety of purposes (cooking, washing, sanitation, transport, driving mills, fishing etc.). James Bond listed three principal aspects of monastic water management which can be applied to every monastery: "1. Bringing water to a site where it was required 2. Making use of it for a variety of purposes once it was there 3. Removing water from places where it was not wanted".⁶⁷¹ Once water had been brought into the precinct, it had to be distributed to the various elements requiring it. Sometimes the requirements could not all be satisfied from a single water source, so the quality and volume of water had to be taken into consideration. Since water was one of the fundamental necessities, sites adjoining rivers or streams were almost universal. Sites located near larger rivers opted for a position out of reach of floodwaters if possible.⁶⁷² The ideal site, just like in the case of the towns⁶⁷³ was at a confluence of rivers, where a rapidly-flowing tributary joined a gentler main stream, much the same as in Kerc; surrounded by the River Olt (to the north) and the stream Kercisóra (to the

⁶⁶⁷ Gustav Treiber, *Mittelalterliche Kirchen in Siebenbürgen* (München: 1971), 123.

⁶⁶⁸ Michael Thalgott, *Die Zisterzienser von Kerz* (München: Verlag Südostdeutsches Kulturwerk, 1990) Abb. 10 and 11.

⁶⁶⁹ Treiber, *Mittelalterliche Kirchen*, 123.

⁶⁷⁰ Thalgott, *Die Zisterzienser*, 50.

⁶⁷¹ Bond, "Water management," 85.

⁶⁷² Bond, "The location and siting," 66.

⁶⁷³ Katalin Szende, "How far back?," 153-190.

west). The abbey was well supplied with water, a setting which probably required a sophisticated water management system, both to control the flow of water (through mills and fishponds) and to reduce the risk of flooding. The monastic buildings were situated on a flood plain next to the Kercisóra stream, from which water could be diverted and used for a variety of purposes. However, as it emerges from earlier research, one of the unidentified elements at Kerc is the *lavatoria*, where washing at the beginning of each day and before meals took place and was strictly enforced by monastic regulations.⁶⁷⁴ The structures erected for this purpose were of two main types: either a free-standing fountain house or a long, shallow trough set within a wide arched recess in the wall of one of the cloister buildings.⁶⁷⁵ For example the second type of *lavatorium* was much more common in Britain, where some argue that since the water freezes in the colder winters, it could crack and ruin a free-standing basin. Taking into consideration the colder climate of the Fogaras Land one might argue that the second type of *lavatorium* was used at Kerc as well, even though the existing hypothetical reconstructions illustrate its presence with a fountain house.⁶⁷⁶ However, L. Reissenberger explained the lack of a fountain house with the use of a high-yield brook instead which passed next to the southern cloister wall.⁶⁷⁷ However, he did not argue on how exactly was the water from the brook used. Perhaps future archaeological research on the territory of the ruins can shed more light on this question. The other water-related installations inside the monastery were the kitchen and the reredorters, probably situated in the southern range of buildings at Kerc, just as the *lavatorium* because it is most likely that water was brought into the monastic precinct from the south. The drainage arrangements were planned as part of the original monastic layout, but sometimes later modification to the plans involved changes even in the pattern of the used watercourse. The simplest method of removing sewage would have been aligning the reredorters over a river or stream. The latrine buildings followed a variety of types and arrangements, and their size generally reflected the size of the community which it served, while its precise position and alignment was dictated by the direction from which running water could be drawn as well as the course of the main drain.⁶⁷⁸ For the water supplied premises in the cloister building in Kerc only presumptions can be put forward since archaeological data does not exist.

⁶⁷⁴ Bond, "Water management," 89.

⁶⁷⁵ Bond, "Water management," 89.

⁶⁷⁶ Thalgott, *Die Zisterzienser*, Abb. 12. Vladimir Agrigoraoui and Ana Maria Gruia, "Abația cisterciană de la Cârța [The Cistercian abbey from Cârța]," in *12 Monumente din istoria românilor* [12 monuments from the history of Romanians], ed. Valentin Sălăgeanu (București – Cluj-Napoca: Grupul Român pentru o istorie alternativă, 2008): 96-105.

⁶⁷⁷ Reissenberger, *Die Kerzer Abtei*, 56.

⁶⁷⁸ Bond, "Water management," 93.

4.4.2.1. Identification, Survey, and Interpretation of the Landscape Features

In light of the information presented above, the need to complement the gathered information with additional field walking and geophysical survey was vital in order to identify the preserved landscape features in the surroundings of the monastic buildings. It must be highlighted that – completely unexpectedly and scandalously – this fragment of monastic landscape (the immediate environs of the abbey) was totally destroyed in 2014 and the survey of the entire landscape could not be finished. Therefore, I shall work only with the data that I have from partial preliminary surveys and field work.⁶⁷⁹ Several field walks and surveys were initiated with a group of colleagues in order to study and map the layout of the abbey and its precincts⁶⁸⁰ focusing especially on its water system. During field work a number of landscape features could be identified, most of them connected to water management, as it was expected. In the following I shall present in detail the results of the field walks and surveys which focused on the inner and outer precinct of the abbey.

The constructions at Kerc were planned, taking into account the aforementioned drainage arrangements and water management. During a field walk in 2012, to the south-east from the abbey, two underground springs were located; from one of these, a main artificial water canal took the water (in a straight line) to another bigger brook that ran to the south-east of the monastery.⁶⁸¹ At the time of this survey, the water from this canal passed through an iron tube cutting through the brook and entered the inner precinct of the monastery from the south-east, under the modern fence which today surrounds the abbey. Then, the brook continued until the southern range of buildings, where it took a turn to the left and ran next to the parish house from where it flowed towards the village centre to the north and continued until the Olt River (see Fig. 47-49, Fig. 59).

⁶⁷⁹ On the 30th of October 2014 our last fieldwalk took place in order to survey the earthworks and channels. We witnessed that the entire site was already destroyed, excavated and leveled for the building of a new large fishing place, while the monument protection service was not aware of this construction.

⁶⁸⁰ In total three field walks took place: in the autumn of 2011, the spring of 2012 and the autumn of 2014.

⁶⁸¹ Probably a mill leat.



Fig. 47. The spring (left, from NW) and the junction of two canals (right, from SE) leading to the monastery



Fig. 48. The canal leading to the monastery (left: from S; right: from NW)



Fig. 49. The water from the canal entering the iron tube (left) water flowing through the iron tube above the mill leat towards the mill site and the abbey (right)

This canal was man-made, in a very straight line and with a V-shaped cut. This immediately raised a number of questions: was the canal made by the Cistercians or a later arrangement? Is it possible to date it accurately? Was its course altered or maybe only

partially altered later, in case if any changes happened in the building arrangement? Since pollen samples could not be taken nor could the entire survey be finished, one can presume that its course was most probably slightly altered when the parish house was built (on the place of the southern range of conventual buildings). Originally, it must have led to the kitchen, *refectorium* and well-house. Even though water use does not appear mentioned in the preserved written documents, presumably, this brook was used already by the Cistercian community as well and not only in the modern period. However, it could not be dated exactly. Nevertheless, as no other water is available on the site of the abbey today one could hypothesize that this water channel was most probably used as the main drain and provided the necessary water supply for the abbey as early as the settlement of the Cistercians. Unfortunately, archaeological research only covered the south-eastern corner and another small part of this building, so only scarce information exists, based on which the functionality of the southern range can be outlined. In an article published online, P. Beşliu supplied an image of three pipe fragments found during excavations in 1985 in one of the trenches placed around the south-eastern corner of monastic buildings.⁶⁸² The existence of such fragments reinforce the assumption discussed above and allude to the existence of a complex drainage system used in the abbey which has thus far, remained mostly unknown.

A bigger brook, the so-called mill leat⁶⁸³, which deviates from the Kercisóra stream, passed on the outside of the monastic buildings (to the southeast) in a straight line and then joined the Olt River. Since, a good part of this brook was unusually straight, in comparison to the region's winding/tortuous streams and brooks, its formation raised the question whether it was artificially formed or not. This brook led to a small plateau-like elevation which could be identified as a mill place, so this brook could have been indeed a mill leat, just as earlier literature refers to it (Mühlbach, Iazul Morii).⁶⁸⁴ The hypothesis can be supported by a number of other observations. First, on the same water channel, another mill (on the other side of the village's main road, north of the abbey) can be found at present which is a modern establishment, since in the time of the First Military Survey⁶⁸⁵ the mill did not yet exist in that place. In contrast, the First Military Survey shows a mill to the east of the monastic buildings which largely coincides with the location identified by us (Fig. 50).

⁶⁸² Beşliu-Munteanu, "Mănăstirea cisterciană," 16.

⁶⁸³ Busuioc von Hasselbach, *Țara Făgăraşului*, vol. 2, 146.

⁶⁸⁴ Busuioc von Hasselbach, *Țara Făgăraşului*, vol. 1, 183.

⁶⁸⁵ See: <http://mapire.eu/en/map/collection/firstsurvey/?zoom=6&lat=47.89034&lon=14.76556>

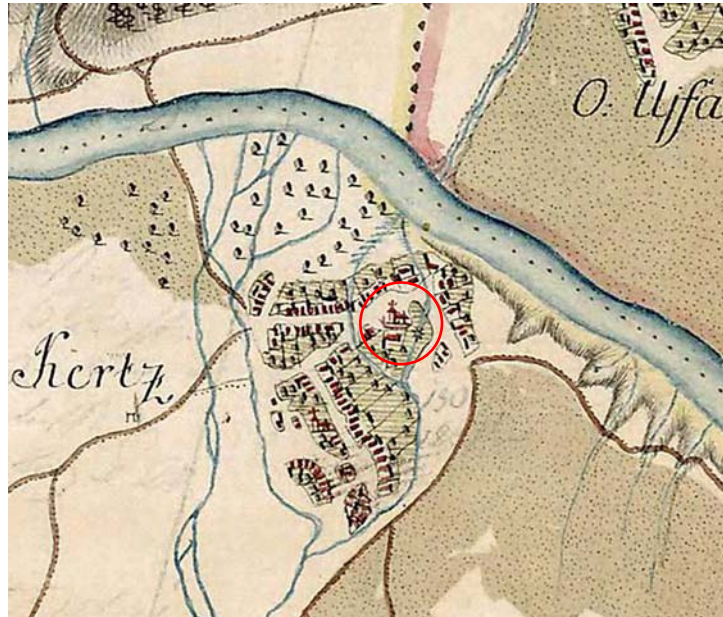


Fig. 50. The abbey with the mill and mill leat (First Military Survey)

Second, after the “mill plateau” the watercourse breaks into two branches creating a small island, then with a few light curves proceeds to the modern mill and then flows into the Olt. This can also indicate that the part of the channel in front of the mill was artificially created and regulated. Third, written documents mention a broken mill stone (from 1469)⁶⁸⁶ which clearly testifies that a mill was functioning near the abbey in the second half of the fifteenth century. A much later information concerning the existence of a mill can be found in the inventory and land record of Kerc compiled in 1648 (21-22 January)⁶⁸⁷ which describes briefly the ruins of the monastery, a mill and a new fishpond. This relates that it was a two wheeled mill which produced flour, and that a part of it was made from stone and the rest from wooden beams, covered with shingle roof. According to the description it was in a good state, still functional. It has to be highlighted here that due to the abundant vegetation and large marshy areas surface finds (pottery etc.) could not be found during the field walks.

⁶⁸⁶ See charter in: UB VI, 389.

⁶⁸⁷ Urbariile 1, 847-855. Another land record existed from 1646 (31st March).

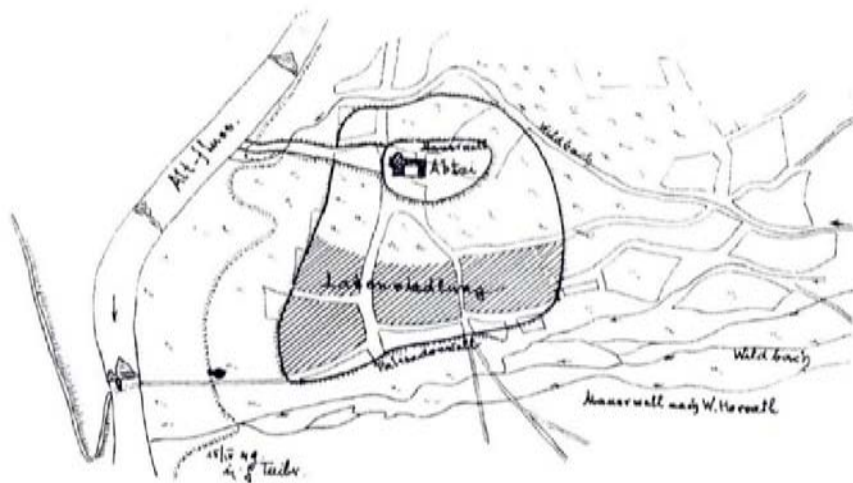


Fig. 51. G. Treiber's drawing illustrating the inner and outer precinct of the abbey (1971)

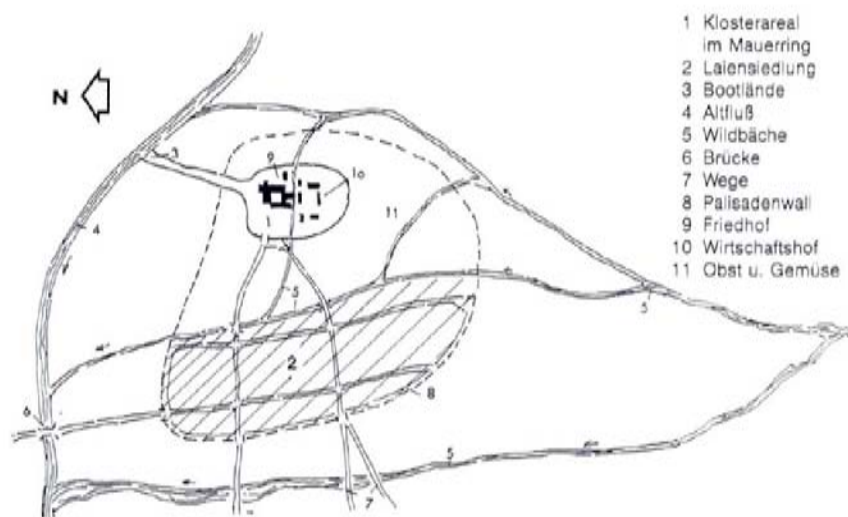


Abb. 10. Situationsplan der Zisterzienserabtei von Kerz (n. Horvath)

Fig. 52. M. Thalgott's drawing illustrating the same inner and outer precinct (1990)

Even though the drawings of M. Thalgott and G. Treiber (Fig. 51 and Fig. 52) illustrate the same brook entering the cloistral buildings from a slightly different angle, one cannot fully rely on their precision due to the lack of scale and exact positioning on a larger map which would offer a wider context for identification and interpretation. Their schematic and generalized descriptions do not provide any details concerning the wider area of the abbey, such as the exact orientation of brooks (the maps do not have a north sign), their preservation, possible alterations or use, nor the existence of a mill. M. Thalgott supplies a reconstruction as well, on which the above-mentioned brook (identified as a mill leat) entered

the monastic complex from the east, right next to the cemetery and not from the southeast as we identified on the terrain. However, we did not find traces indicating such a direction, which of course could have been altered by later landscaping works, about which nothing is known at present. On the other hand, the Second Military Survey (Fig. 53) seems to justify M. Thalgott's reconstruction since the mill leat does not appear on the map nor does the water channel that directed water from the spring; instead the south-eastern branch of the mill leat is highlighted as a watercourse. This watercourse approached the site of the abbey from the east just before crossing the village road. In that spot a mill could have been positioned as well if we disregard the former site of a possible mill and take into consideration the great fall on the brook. Such a different interpretation of the water management should not be rejected at first glance. Given the scarcity and fragmentary state of the data this interpretation should remain among the possible hypotheses until further evidence can clarify its validity.

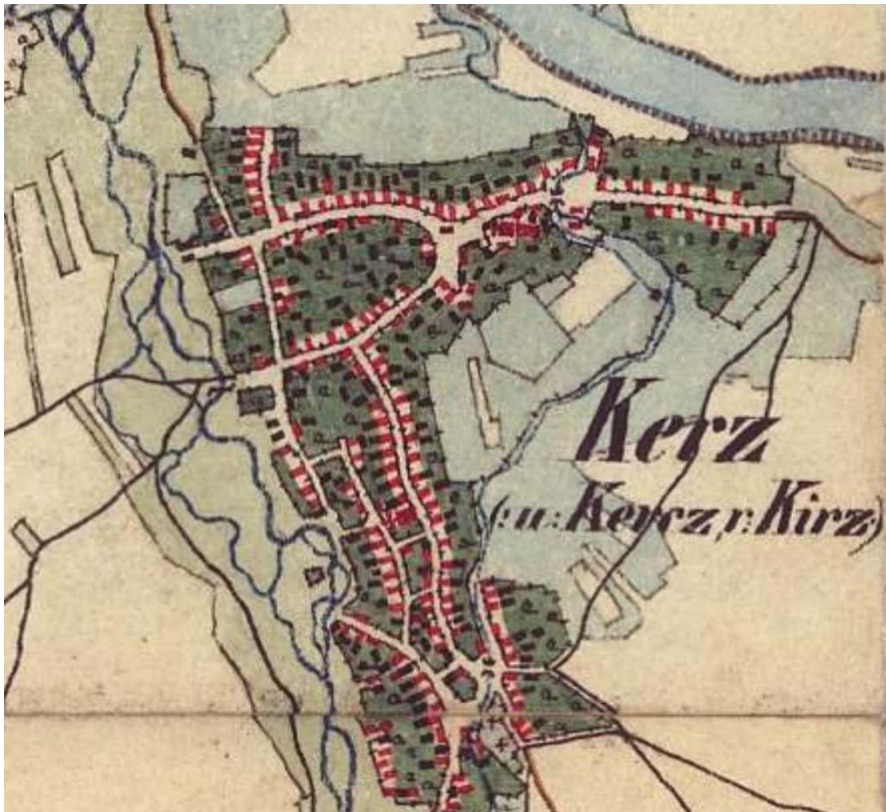


Fig. 53. The abbey with the stream entering from the east (Second Military Survey)

Generally, fish would be obtained from a variety of sources: the sea, the shore, lakes and marshlands, rivers, millponds, millstreams and artificial fishponds which generally lay close-by the abbey buildings, within the main precinct or on other monastic estates. Fishponds varied greatly in form and size, and started appearing on monastic sites after the second half

of the twelfth century.⁶⁸⁸ In the case of Kerc, historic maps contain no data about such a fishpond and neither do the earlier written sources, except a later mentioning from the 1648 inventory.⁶⁸⁹ The inventory described that a new fishpond existed under the village to which the water was flowing through a drain from a spring and water ran out from it through another drain made from oak planks. Even though the inventory described the new fishpond, our aim was to examine whether earlier fishponds existed or not, or if the traces of this fishpond were visible. Although additional field-walking and sampling would have been necessary, we identified one possible fishpond. An orthophoto from 2005 (see below Fig. 54) and the vegetation in this place served as an indicator, a soggy muddy area with dense reed, which could be found only in this part in the surroundings of the abbey.

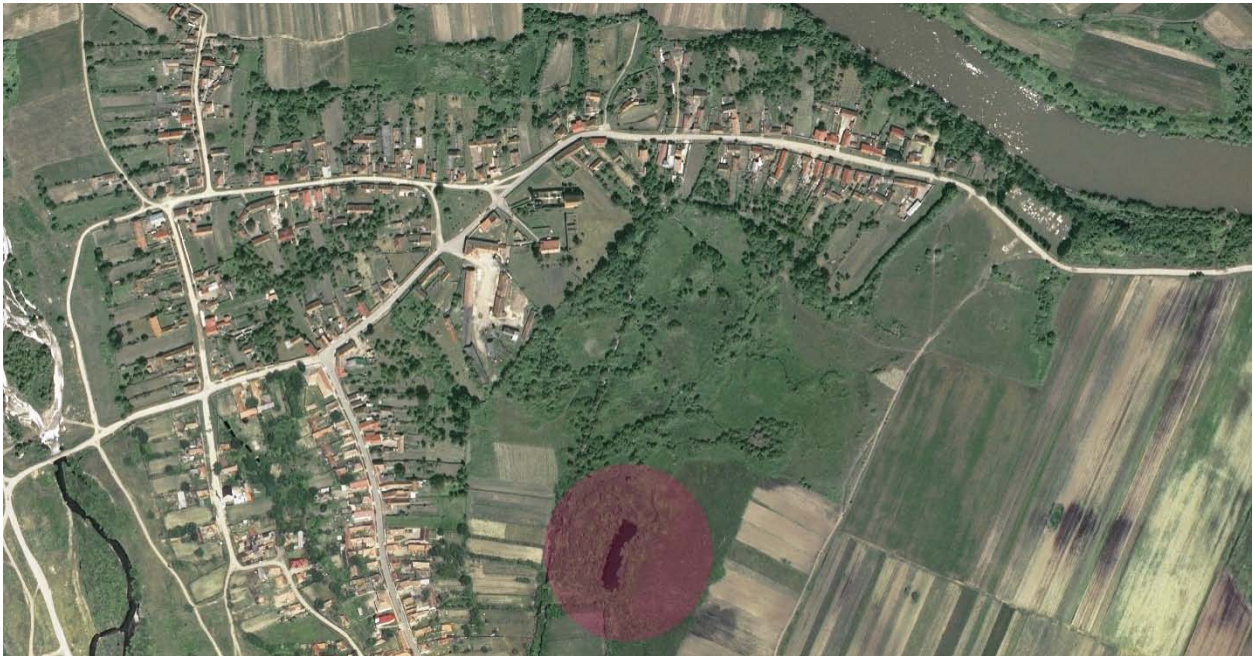


Fig. 54. The fishpond (red circle) with possible medieval origins

To clarify the issues of the hypothetical fishpond, pollen sampling would have been the next step but since this partially preserved pond was extended and dug out for a new, modern fishpond we could not finalize the research. This was probably the fishpond mentioned in the document from 1648. From the millstream another branch diverged towards the southeast, which could have led to the fishponds situated on the southern part of the territory. However, the exact track of this branch is not known today, but a curved brook towards the east is visible on the Second Military Survey which might well signal the track of this branch (Fig. 53). It can be assumed that maybe even more than one fishpond (next to each other or one

⁶⁸⁸ Bond, "Water management," 100.

⁶⁸⁹ Urbariile 1, 851.

above the other) would be located in this southern area. The water channel branching out from the mill leat could have been cut in several parts and then dammed in such a manner as to provide sufficient water for several smaller fishponds. However, it remains unsolved whether there was one large fishpond or several smaller ones, since the original track of the brook and the identified fishpond were all destroyed by the construction of the new fishery. Besides these, one should also bear in mind that most probably also the Olt River was used for fishing. Further evidence on the diet and consumption of fish and its different types could be supplied only by the analysis of animal bones found during excavations, if these were ever collected.⁶⁹⁰ Additional buildings associated with the abbey in the village or its surroundings are not known and were not researched archaeologically. Perhaps future investigations could focus on this question.



Fig. 55. The destroyed site of Kerc abbey with the newly built fishponds

Monastic houses situated alongside rivers were often located near pre-existing crossing-points, and their presence would further enhance the intersection's importance. Furthermore, the potential for waterway transport was clearly itself an advantage on some sites.⁶⁹¹ W. Horwath's drawing illustrated a crossing-point on the Olt, located to the northwest of the abbey in the direction of the abbey's villages such as Kolun, Glimboka to the west and Szászapátfalva, Szászkeresztúr, Miklóstelke, and Mese to the north and northeast. M.

⁶⁹⁰ Among the shortcomings of older excavations is the tendency to throw out the bone material if it was not worked, these were rarely gathered and preserved by archaeologists since not much significance was given to them.

⁶⁹¹ Bond, "The location and siting," 59-60.

Thalgott's drawing indicated this crossing-point with a bridge, while G. Treiber's drawing and the Three Military Surveys illustrate it as a ferry crossing point, just as it is today. W. Horwath's drawing must have contained a landing stage which also appears on M. Thalgott's and G. Treiber's drawings, situated on the north, not far from the abbey. This landing stage does not appear on any of the Military Surveys. However, indirect indication exists that the Cistercians at Kerc used the Olt for transportation of different construction materials and possibly even merchandise. According to the Bereg agreement⁶⁹², Kerc received 1000 *zuan* (medieval unit) of salt from Andrew II, in 1233, while other monasteries various amounts (e.g. Egres 7500 *zuan*, Bulcs 5000 *zuan*, Zirc 2000 *zuan*, Gyulafehérvár – the bishop: 2000 *zuan*). Due to its weight this was likely transported on the Olt River.⁶⁹³ A charter from 1222 attested that the Teutonic knights received six-six boats of salt on the Maros and Olt Rivers.⁶⁹⁴ This indicates that also the Olt River was used for salt transportation. Unfortunately, no other data exists about the monastery's connection or involvement in salt transportation or marketing even though few researchers have already presumed it.⁶⁹⁵ Yet, another source for the abbey to acquire salt (in smaller quantities) can be proposed based on a land transaction (discussed earlier) from 1290 in which the land Pánád was sold. This land neighbored with one of the abbey's lands called *Apathwlge* (Valley of the Abbot, today Küküllőiklód). Its vicinity to the land in question is interesting because we know that Pánád lies on a salt deposit and was rich in salt springs which could have been exploited as early as the Middle Ages (salt evaporation pans).⁶⁹⁶ The nineteenth-century maps indicate the existence of salt springs with the name *Salzbrunnen* (salt well) in this area. The transportation

⁶⁹² Nándor Knauz, "A fogarasföldi kertzi apátság [The abbey of Kertz in the Land of Fogaras]," *Magyar Sion* (1868): 409. CD I, 321-322. EO I, 176-177/168; MNL OL, DF 248771. According to István Bogdán, the *zuan* meant salt rock, yet as it was shown by Romhányi (see the citation of the article in the subsequent footnote) it could have had different meanings.

⁶⁹³ Beatrix F. Romhányi, "Church and Salt. Monasteries and the Salt in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary (11th – 13th century)," in *Monastic Life, Art and Technologies in the 11th -16th centuries*, ed. Ileana Burnichioiu (Alba Iulia: Mega Publishing House, 2015), 147-160. Also, Beatrix F. Romhányi, "A beregi egyezmény és a magyarországi sókeresedelem az Árpád-korban [The agreement of Bereg and the Hungarian salt trade in the Árpád period]," in *Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Évkönyv* [Yearbook of Hungarian Economic History], eds. György Kövér, Ágnes Pogány, and Boglárka Weisz (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2016), 265-302.

⁶⁹⁴ UB I, 18-20/31. The authenticity of the charter is debated.

⁶⁹⁵ See the PhD dissertation of László Ferenczi, the chapter on "Urban properties and trade", and: Horst Schuller, "Zisterzienserspuren in Siebenbürgen," in *Zisterziensisches Schreiben im Mittelalter. Das Skriptorium der Reiner Mönche* (Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik Reihe A – Band 71), eds. Anton Schwob and Karin Kranich-Hofbauer (Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2005), 267-292, 278.

⁶⁹⁶ István Draskóczy, "Sóbányászat és kereskedelem Magyarországon a középkorban [Mining and trade of salt in medieval Hungary]," *Valóság: Társadalomtudományi Közlöny* 57 (2014/4): 57; Liviu Drăgănescu, "Sarea gemă din extra- și intracarpaticul României [Rock salt from the Carpathians of Romania]," in *Sarea, timpul și omul* [Salt, time and man], eds. Valeriu Căvruc and Andrea Chiricescu (Sfântu Gheorghe: Editura Angustia, 2006), 13-17.

of building materials, especially stone, could be another indicator for the use of the Olt River. A few years ago, a study was published on the stone material used for the building of the abbey.⁶⁹⁷ The study analysed the sandstones from two parts of the buildings, from the main portal on the western façade, and from the geminate window from the chapter hall. These two buildings components were dated by art historians to two different construction phases. The authors tried to verify the actual construction periods and to identify the provenance of raw materials through petro-archaeometric analysis. They concluded that both types of sandstones from the abbey and the source area are feldspathic litharenites with carbonate cement and bioclasts.⁶⁹⁸ In addition, they confirmed that the wall of the chapter hall and the portal were built in two different stages, the latter most probably was built after the Mongol destruction. The samples taken from the monastery were compared to samples taken from the presumed source area, Kolun a monastic village at a distance of 5 km from Kerc on the other side of the Olt River, where Sarmatian deposits with calcareous sandstones occurred. The samples were found compatible in their mineralogical composition, including the heavy minerals.⁶⁹⁹ Kolun, was enlisted among the abbey's properties in 1322. Earlier L. Reissenberger highlighted the village as a possible source area for the stone material used for the construction of the abbey.⁷⁰⁰ His presumption was confirmed by the petro-archaeometric analysis, at least for the investigated parts of the abbey.

The enclosure of monastic precincts could be achieved in part or in whole by a water-filled ditch or moat instead of (or in addition to) a wall. Moats were particularly favoured on flat clay sites where they could be filled by ground-water seepage. In some cases, moats are found enclosing particular features within the monastery (such as the abbot's lodging or the fishpond) rather than surrounding the whole precinct. Precinct moats may often have been used as fishponds themselves.⁷⁰¹

Based on present-day location and orientation of buildings, landscape features and estate boundaries from the three Military Surveys (especially the Second Survey), the inner and outer precinct of Kerc abbey can be delimited fairly accurately. The farm buildings situated to the southwest of the monastery indicate a curved boundary towards the village,

⁶⁹⁷ Anamaria Mihăilă and Marcel Benea, "Gresii utilizate ca materii prime la mănăstirea cisterciană Cârța [Sandstones used as raw materials at Cârța Cistercian monastery]," *Romanian Journal of Materials* 2011, no. 41 (4): 352-361.

⁶⁹⁸ Mihăilă and Benea, "Gresii utilizate," 360.

⁶⁹⁹ Mihăilă and Benea, "Gresii utilizate," 361.

⁷⁰⁰ Reissenberger, *Die Kerzer Abtei*, 37.

⁷⁰¹ Bond, "Water management," 99.

which until recently was still traceable even in our days in the form of a ditch and a fence near the territory of the parish (to the south and southeast). This could have enclosed the inner precinct of the monastery (Fig. 56).



Fig. 56. The ditch enclosing the inner precinct, left: from NE, right: from SW

In contrast, the outer precinct can only roughly be appreciated to the south and south-east, close to the underground springs and along the line of the south-eastern branch of the mill leat. During the field walking, faint traces of a second moat continued to the east with a turn to north-east going until the end of the village gardens; this moat was cut by a water canal which took the spring water to the monastic buildings and disappeared when it reached the mill leat. Also, the line of trees and vegetation marked its course (Fig. 57-59).



Fig. 57. Traces of the moat outlining the presumed outer precinct (from NW) with a water canal cutting through it



Fig. 58. Track of the moat towards northeast with a water canal cutting through it (from S)

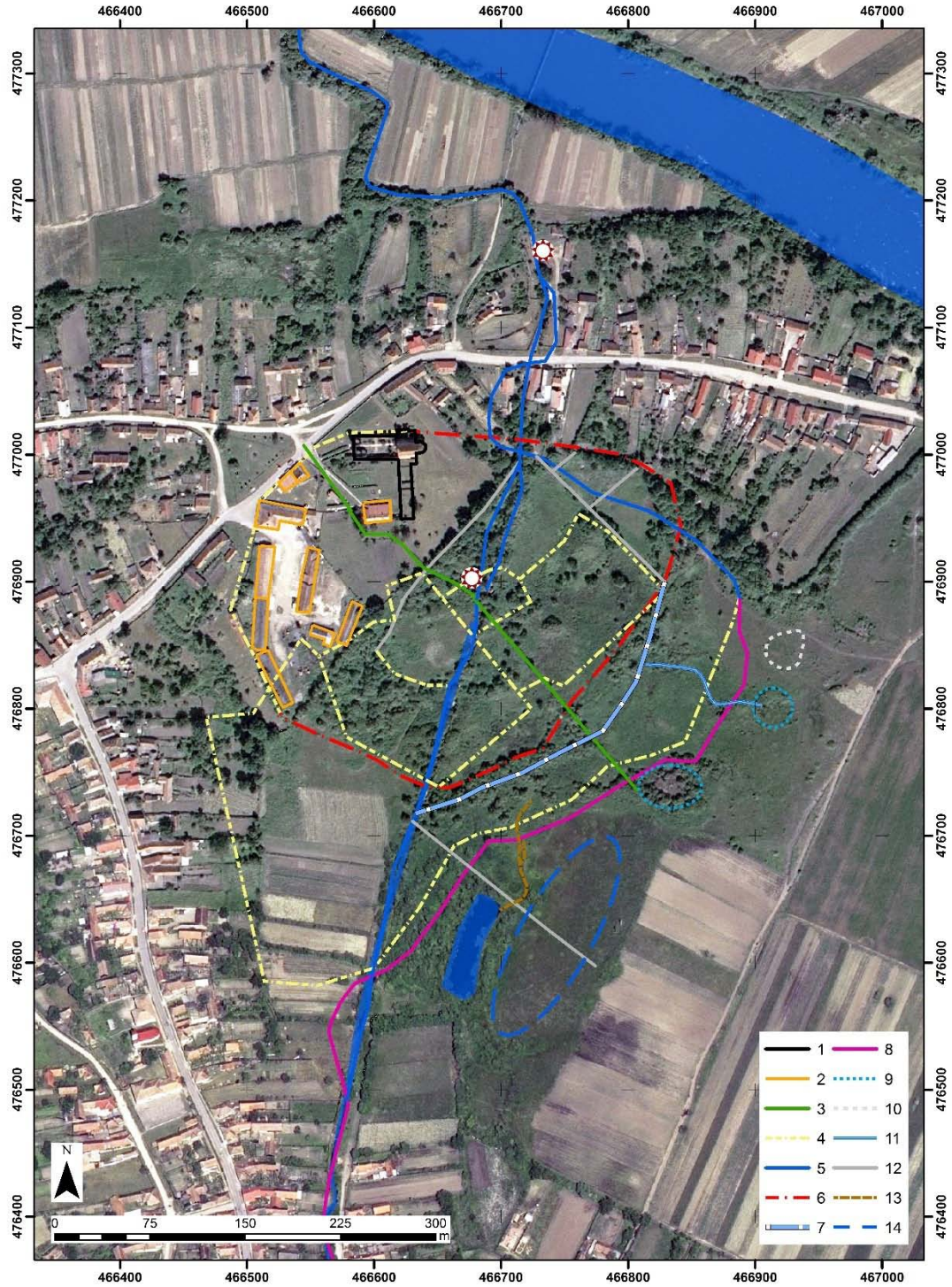


Fig. 59. Interpretation map: 1. monastic buildings 2. modern buildings 3. water channel 4. land plot boundaries from historic maps 5. mill leat and stream 6. earthwork 7. moat 8. former stream branch 9. underground springs 10. small elevation 11. ditch connecting the spring with the moat 12. canals and ditches 13. canal possibly leading to the moat 14. presumed fishpond ★ mills (Bencze, “Reconstructing a Monastic Landscape,” 35, Map 3)

4.4.2.2. Geophysical Survey

In March 2013, a small team of specialists from the Department of Geophysics and Space Science of Eötvös Loránd University-Budapest led by László Lenkey, carried out a geophysical survey (Fig. 61) on the southern and south-eastern part of the church and cloister (in areas where larger free space was available).⁷⁰² The aim was to map the surrounding area of the monastery in order to identify invisible structures beneath the earth and thus, aid further research of the monastery through non-invasive methods.⁷⁰³ Magnetic survey and geo-electric profiling was made along 8 sections. The geoelectrical profiles reveal the electrical resistivity distribution along vertical sections. They show the vertical resistivity stratigraphy which has a lower resolution than the real stratigraphy of an archeological section. Stone has a higher resistivity than the surrounding soil so mainly built or disturbed structures can be identified with this method.⁷⁰⁴ In the surveyed area both methods, the magnetic and electric measurements (Fig. 61), revealed the existence of two walls underground (indicated with continuous green lines). A 20 m long wall runs in a west-southwest and east-northeast direction, located to the south and southeast from the present day south-eastern corner of the monastic complex. According to the magnetic picture, this wall might continue in an east-northeast direction with a little turn, and it may have junctions with other walls coming from the south and the north. However, these latter wall sections are only suspected in the magnetic picture and not supported by electric measurements; they are shown with dashed green lines. Another small piece of wall, indicated by both measurements, was found parallel to the southern wall of the parish house and runs a few meters from it. A significant amount of debris and demolished material could be identified in the eastern and south-eastern side of the inner courtyard and the outside of the monastic buildings which is not surprising given the ruined state of the abbey as well as the presence of excavation trenches in those areas. These surfaces, indicated with purple ellipses, are characterized by a great number of small densely stuffed black and white dipoles probably caused by the mixture of tiles, bricks and stones. The area of the cemetery, outlined in orange, is characterized by separate black and white dipoles caused by iron objects which might be coffin nails or other funerary items. The still existing

⁷⁰² I am grateful for Prof. László Lenkey, Koppány Ötvös, Mihály Pethe, and Péter Filipzski for their work. I thank Petre Beşliu for his help in the measurements.

⁷⁰³ Similar surveys were done for the Pilis Abbey which provided important results.

⁷⁰⁴ The measurements were taken in Stereo 70 according to the local coordinate system. The magnetic survey was done with an Overhauser magnetometer GSM-19. Both the total magnetic field and its vertical gradient were measured. The measurement density was 8 points/m². Anomalies larger than 7.5 m were filtered by a high pass filter.

water channel is highlighted with a blue line, and the yellow lines indicate the cable that had been laid in the ground for the illumination of the building remains just one month before our survey (which disturbed the measurements to some extent). The light blue lines denote possible earlier trenches or maybe even wall remains. The result of the geophysical survey provided new data on the southern and eastern parts of monastic buildings and confirmed the existence of unknown walls. In the future a wider territory should be analysed and researched preferably through large surface, open-area excavations, outside the disturbed area. Perhaps even the reopening of older excavation surfaces could provide useful information which was not documented thoroughly or was overlooked.



Fig. 60. The geophysical measurements

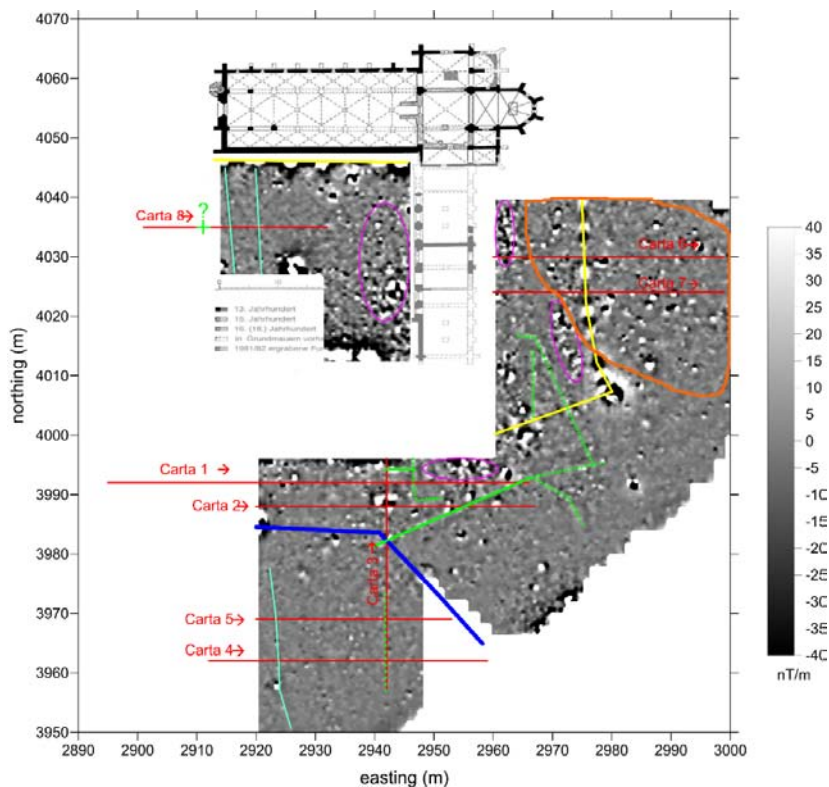


Fig. 61. The results of the geophysical survey (Bencze, “Reconstructing a Monastic Landscape,” 43, Fig. 8)

4.5. CONCLUSIONS

The re-examination of earlier literature and research clearly indicates that the abbey of Kerc was not founded in a total wilderness, far away from emerging towns and villages in general, as it has been proposed by previous research. Just as it has been showed by Beatrix Romhányi for the other parts of the Hungarian Kingdom, Kerc was founded near emerging settlements which later evolved into market towns, navigable river and along trade routes, which could facilitate easy access for the community as well as the possibility to market their goods. At the time of the Cistercian foundation a settlement and road network hypothetically must have already existed (about which not much is known). It seems that in the period this was a target area for colonization even though it is clear that the region was inhabited and was not desolate as the sources emphasized.⁷⁰⁵ In this respect, one might look at the Cistercians as a step in the expansion of royal authority and religious network towards the east combined with colonization activities, the Germans of Nagyszeben (from 1191) being a first wave, then the Cistercians a second (from 1202) and a third the Teutonic knights (from 1211). Even though the founder of the abbey cannot be named with full certainty, it is quite clear that it was a royal foundation, supported by the kings of medieval Hungary through numerous privileges, just as it is indicated by the fact that it was placed under the authority of the archbishop of Esztergom and the Holy See, similarly as the entire region under the provostry of Nagyszeben.

The originality of my work was to approach the sources from a new and fresh perspective and to apply multiple methodologies in understanding these. Since, the abbey has drawn much attention and a huge literature was written on its history it is hard to dispose of outdated theories and ideas which still dominate the research. I wanted to form an objective opinion of my own without being influenced by the great theories built along the centuries. I have found that the history of Kerc is sometimes haunted by unsubstantiated assumptions which due to the lack of sources should not be further nurtured.⁷⁰⁶

⁷⁰⁵ For similar cases, see the region donated to the Teutonic knights, or the other important regions of eastern Transylvania, such as Csík (István Botár, "Village and church. The relation between the ecclesiastical topography and the medieval settlement system in Csík-Seat (East-Transylvania, Romania)," *Dacia, New Series* LXI (2017): 155-182) or the Sóvidék (András Sófalvi, *Sóvidék a középkorban. Fejezetek a székelység középkori történelméből* [Sóvidék in the Middle Ages. Chapters from the medieval history of the Székelys] (Székelyudvarhely: Haáz Rezső Alapítvány, 2005), 55-93).

⁷⁰⁶ I am grateful for Christopher Schabel (University of Cyprus) for his help in reading, transcribing and translating relevant documentary sources for Kerc as well as for the enlightening discussions we had on the topic of missionary activity of the Cistercians and Kerc.

The tendency to see in the presence of the Cistercians in this far-away border region, where the east meets the west, a hidden missionary agenda is enticing and has gained increasing attention. Ş. Turcuş sees the foundation and purpose of the Cistercian houses in Egres and Kerc as instruments of missionary activity of the Holy See aimed at the greek orthodox population in Csanád County and the Fogaras Land (to expand the *Christianitas*).⁷⁰⁷ However, in the early years of the Hungarian Kingdom, under Stephen I the Benedictines were also involved in missionary activity but the preserved sources do not discuss this issue concerning the monasteries in Transylvania. So, we might ask was one Cistercian monastery enough in southern Transylvania to do high impact missionary work? Perhaps in the early years it was if they collaborated with the Teutonic knights in the Barcaság but after the latter were banished by Andrew II it is hard to imagine how the Cistercians managed. However, the sources do not offer any direct evidence on such activities. Papal letters never mention mission, nor do any other documents. So how could one Cistercian monastery lead missionary activity without the support of the pope, the king or the prelates? It is true, that a number of charters issued by the pope mention the cohabiting populations through different markers: pagans, heretics, and Schismatics. Yet, these in themselves do not mean a missionary activity on behalf of the Cistercians, they are more likely just the general *topoi* or formula used by the official standpoint of the Church. Perhaps another research could focus on the activity of the papal legates, to analyse the instructions they have received from this point of view, new data could be extracted from these.⁷⁰⁸ Also, it seems likely that the Cistercians did not employ lay brothers (they do not appear in written sources either) just as was suggested by earlier scholarship, but relied on the workforce provided by their tenant peasants and the incomes from their villages. However, another interpretation can also be put forward concerning the missionary activity of Kerc. In the early years of the 1200s perhaps a vision for mission truly existed, possibly towards the Cumans. The Teutonic knights must have been placed in the area most exposed to danger, who also tried to secure the area through colonization. A second area could have been the one under the Cistercians, where the intention for colonization existed which could have been associated with mission as well. As a third region, the one donated to the German colonists where the colonization focused on economic evolution. This could have been perhaps one of the early royal continuously changing concepts. By the 1220s the situation had changed, the Teutonic knights did not live up to the hopes of the king, thus

⁷⁰⁷ Şerban Turcuş, “Le deux faces d’une même médaille. Les filiations de Clairvaux et de Pontigny dans le royaume de Hongrie et en Transylvanie,” in *Le Temps Long de Clairvaux. Nouvelles recherches, nouvelles perspectives* eds. Arnaud Baudin and Alexis Grémois (Paris: Somogy Editions d’Art, 2017), 49-62.

⁷⁰⁸ A project concerning the papal legates is directed by Márta Font and Gábor Barabás in Pécs.

they were banished. In the meantime, however, the constant Cuman threat must have diminished. Also, the Dominicans appeared in this period, who took over the missionary activity of the Cumans so everything was reshaped in a new framework. Most probably this was the point, when the Cistercians lost their missionary task. Also the character and estate structure of the Cistercians did not support a missionary activity unlike the much more agile Dominicans. Then with the Mongol invasion of 1241 everything was completely reshaped. After the repopulation of Kerc one finds a truly monastic community which relied economically on its estates and the additional provided incomes.⁷⁰⁹

The participation of the Cistercians in the colonization of a sparsely populated land is better supported by source evidence, both by documents, place names and the appearance of new settlements, given the abbey's privileged status which extended to its villages and people, enjoying the same rights as the Saxons of the Szeben district. Such a hypothesis has at least certain elements which fit into the picture, for example in the case of the earliest land received by abbey, a land portion "taken from the Walachians" as formulated in the sources, a population which is present continuously in the charters connected to the abbey. In the fourteenth century a village *Kerc Olacorum* comprising Romanian population appeared among the monastic properties, and we know about a few conflicts with the Romanians which sometimes meant attacks on the monastic buildings (e.g. in 1343). Sometimes, even the names of monastic villages allude to a newly populated settlement, just as in the case of *Colonia*, first mentioned in 1322. Written evidence does not mention specifically the colonisation activity of the Cistercians either, these presumptions are based only on the indirect information retrieved and interpreted from the sources. However, in certain aspects, colonization and mission are linked, since the colonists that settled in the region represented mainly Western Christianity. One of the region's greatest hiatus concerns the existence and research of early medieval settlements, their pre-monastic and post-monastic afterlife. Since, almost no written data exists about them for the early medieval a thorough archaeological and field investigation of the region would be essential in discussing settlement evolution, everyday life, and colonisation issues of the Saxons or even the Cistercians.

On the other hand, what clearly emerged from the results of field work and other non-invasive approaches applied for the inner and outer precinct of the abbey was that the Cistercian abbey in Kerc was one of a kind on the territory of medieval Transylvania. The other orders that settled in Transylvania were rarely involved in water- and landscape

⁷⁰⁹ I thank József Laszlovszky for his suggestions regarding this interpretation.

management of such scale as did the Cistercians. Also, as the gathered data suggests several monastic properties can be further studied through a historic landscape and land use perspective. This issue shall be discussed more thoroughly in the last chapter, where the Cistercian activity will be compared to the Benedictines from Kolozsmonostor. The landscape analysis outlined the impact of their settlement into that specific environment and involvement in the management of the hydrographic structure, the management of streams, digging up canals, the upkeep of a mill, and at least one fishpond. The estate and water system had its own development over time in accordance with the evolution, the needs, and possibilities of the monastic community. However, certain elements must have been planned and developed already during the constructions of the monastic buildings (the very beginning of the thirteenth century) in order to ensure the water supply to the community. The importance of the Olt River as a waterway arose through the questions concerning the transportation of resources such as stone and other building materials, salt and possibly other kinds of goods. Also, it should not be forgotten that it supplied at least part of the food sources of the abbey since fishing could be done in rivers also. Field work clarified also the existence of an inner and outer precinct, which was a general feature of most monasteries but in the case of Kerc this was never proved to exist out on the field. In this case traces of a moat and several ditches, some filled with water some dried out, indicated the limits of the two precincts. The presented data confirms that the monastic community at Kerc played an important and active role in the region's life, and it had created its own specific landscape, based on the needs of the community, yet following certain features of the Cistercian order (such as the development of a home grange close to the coister or their interventions in water regulation). Despite the great distances at which the abbey was sited from other Cistercian houses the abbey of Kerc stayed connected to the Chapter General, at least in their early period, from when sources attest the first problems of the abbots in attending the yearly meetings. As shown above this issue was solved with the attendance of the abbot in every five years. However, the abbot of Kerc stayed in close connections with its motherhouse in Egres too. A further link in this relationship is outlined by the monastic lands of Egres around the Nagyküküllő (close to Nagyszeben and Kerc). Even though of a later date, the fact that in 1440 the abbot of the motherhouse travelled to Nagyszeben to deal with the resignation of abbot Michael and to name a new abbot for Kerc strengthens the connection between the two abbeys. The sources indicate that the abbot of the motherhouse kept in touch with Kerc, since he was well-informed with the situation and the events that took place in Kerc, and most probably travelled regularly to Nagyszeben (or perhaps even to Kerc), where he could stay in

the town house of the Cistercians. This connection can be accounted for as natural but the written sources are generally silent on the relationship between the motherhouse and Kerc.

The fate of the monastery and its properties after 1474 shows that besides the attacks and misfortunes the town of Nagyszeben and the Saxon community played an important role in precipitating the dissolution of the community and keeping together (by appropriating) its property. This might also be connected to the general crisis of the Cistercians, to the decrease of their popularity and to a tendency to restructure the economy of the abbeys. The main reasons behind King Matthias' decision remain hidden, most probably multiple factors influenced it, which might have originated from the local circumstances, the frequent attacks, the great distance, the lack of religious personnel who would actually populate the abbey or simply the fact that the upkeep of Kerc was too expensive. The same tendency as in Kolozsmonstor can be observed in Kerc, the secularization of the abbot's function and the abbey acting more like a benefice.

Chapter 5. The Pauline micro landscapes⁷¹⁰

5.1. INTRODUCTION

One would wonder why the Paulines appear in this dissertation since they do not belong to a monastic order in the classical sense of the term, they are frequently called pseudo-monastic or half-mendicant. Their presence in this work can be ascribed to their landscape shaping activities which lie at the heart of the dissertation. As it was argued in the introduction, analyzing their land use and property management can help to unravel the variety of the monastic landscapes of medieval Transylvania. Even though they cannot be compared in terms of wealth and support to the large Benedictine abbeys of the Hungarian Kingdom, their presence and activity also shaped the surrounding environment. Traditionally, in scholarship the study of the Paulines is associated in various ways, in some cases with the monastic orders based on their economy (e.g. Budaszentlőrinc, monetary based), in other studies they are compared to hermits or mendicants (the smaller communities, which were self-sufficient). The late medieval state of the Paulines resembled more that of the mendicant orders. Yet, the Pauline monasteries differ from the mendicants exactly in terms of site selection, siting and landscape-shaping activities. While the Franciscans or Dominicans settled in urban environments (towns, market towns, or right next to these), relying on the support of others, the Paulines chose sites which were situated in more secluded places, sometimes woodland, hilly areas or at a larger distance from towns, major towns or roads (just as the monastic orders), where they strived to self-sufficiency. Also, from the point of view of monastic landscape or landscape archaeology their monasteries fit the patterns of monastic orders much better, in terms of using and developing fishponds, mills or water systems.

It is important to underline that out of the four presumed Pauline monasteries which existed on the territory of medieval Transylvania (in today's Marosszentkirály⁷¹¹, Pókafalva⁷¹², Gyulafehérvár⁷¹³, and Tótfalud⁷¹⁴) for now, only two are physically accessible

⁷¹⁰ I published a work in progress article on the Pauline monastery from Marosszentkirály, see: Ünige Bencze, "A Medieval Pauline Monastic Landscape in the Szekler Land," *Transylvania Nostra* 9/2 (2015): 10-17. However, the present chapter is an extended version which contains new interpretations and fresh data.

⁷¹¹ Today in Maros County, Marosszentkirály. In the sources the village and the Pauline monastery appears both in the form of *Zenthkyral/Szentkirály* (meaning Holy King) or *Zekelhaza/Székelyháza* (Székely house). Throughout the dissertation the monastery's name will be used as Szentkirály, as it was called during the time frame of the research.

⁷¹² In Szeben Seat.

for research (meaning that the site of the monastic buildings are more-or-less known and the territory is free and accessible, not built on). However, if one looks at the network of Pauline monasteries within the medieval Kingdom of Hungary the territory of Transylvania with such a small number of Pauline houses is heavily underrepresented both in terms of territory and population. In a larger context such as modern-day Transylvania (which includes Bánság and Partium, see table below Fig. 62), the number of Pauline houses rises significantly, and the amount of available information becomes overwhelming. Their study as a whole would require a separate dissertation. It seems that the small number of Pauline monasteries (just as in the case of the above discussed ones) is characteristic for medieval Transylvania.

Name of the monastery	Historic County	Modern County	Existence	Dedicated to	Foundation
Gyulafehérvár?	Fehér	Alba	1376-1388/1486?	Saint Ana and Elisabeth	Ecclesiastic
Jofa	Bihar	Bihar (between Oradea and Fughiu)	Before 1325-1566	Saint Jerome	Noble
Kalodva	Arad	Arad	Cca. 1272/1290-1541	Holy Virgin	Royal Ladislaus Kán?
Nagyfalu (Szilágy-)	Kraszna	Sălaj	Cca. 1400-1602	Holy Virgin	Aristocratic?
Nagyvárad-Kápolna	Bihar	Bihar	1280/1294-1552	Holy Virgin	Ecclesiastic
Pókafalva	Fehér	Sibiu	1416 – cca. 1448	Holy Virgin	Ecclesiastic
Szentkirály/Marosszentkirály	Maros	Mureş	1350/1370-1566	Saint Stephen and Holy Virgin	Noble
Szentjobb	Bihar	Bihar	1498-1556	Holy Virgin?	Royal
Szentmihályköve	Fehér	Alba	1363-1551	Holy Virgin	Ecclesiastic
Váradhegyfok	Bihar	Bihar	1494-1560	?	Royal

Fig. 62. List of Pauline monasteries on the territory of modern-day Transylvania

5.2. RELEVANT SOURCES

Although it seems that the popularity of the Paulines in the Middle Ages and the rising interest towards their monasteries in modern Hungary would suggest an abundance of sources, it is rarely the case for medieval Transylvania. The sources are sketchy and unevenly preserved. Additionally, none of Pauline monasteries was researched archaeologically which

⁷¹³ In Fehér County, it is presumed that an earlier monastery was given to the Paulines. However, the sources are inconclusive, and it is not known whether it was a separate monastery or it was the same as the house at Szentmihálykö.

⁷¹⁴ The location of the monastery is not identified, it is presumed to have existed somewhere on the boundary of today's village of Tótfalud, Fehér County. The sources mention the monastery under the name *Szentmihálykő*, in one late source Tótfalud.

means that data concerning their material culture and everyday life in medieval Transylvania is totally unknown. Excavations were undertaken at Pókafalva but they concentrated on the question of the Pauline monastery only for a short period, after which the focus of the research shifted towards an eighth-ninth-century cremation cemetery.⁷¹⁵ Thus, comparative studies with the Pauline houses (layout, buildings, burials, material culture, food consumption etc.) from other regions of Hungary cannot be carried out from this point view.⁷¹⁶ Besides the fact that Pauline houses in medieval Transylvania are so few in number, they are also barely researched, which again justifies the need to be discussed in this dissertation. Research had already indicated that because of the large-scale destruction of the Pauline monasteries (used as quarries for later constructions, just as in the case of a large number of Roman-period stone buildings; for e.g. in Somogy, Pilis, Zemplén, especially in regions, where stone material was scarce) precisely the surviving landscape features were the most helpful in locating the site of the monastery and its environs.⁷¹⁷ This aspect is essential for the few unidentified Transylvanian Pauline houses as well. For now, probably the landscape features are those that can be used for a comparative study between Transylvania and other regions of Hungary.

For the study of Pauline monastic landscapes in Transylvania the relevant sources start again with the preserved written documents. Here, one should highlight four documents of primary importance; the first two are works by Prior General Gregory Gyöngyösi (1520-1522), the *Vitae Fratrum* and an inventory of medieval charters compiled around 1520 (*Liber viridis*, named after the colour of its cover). The other two were compiled around 1530, the *Miracula* by Prior General Valentinus Hadnagy (1532-1536) and the *Formularium Maius*.⁷¹⁸ Based on these texts as well as on the high number of archaeological excavations that took place at Pauline monasteries in other parts of the Hungarian Kingdom, the activities and everyday life of the Paulines have been reconstructed, notably the monasteries which existed in the “medium regni”.⁷¹⁹ However, the eastern part of the kingdom (apart from County Zemplén) is only sparsely represented in this research and the histories of the monasteries

⁷¹⁵ See: Ioan Marian Țiplic and George Tomegea, *Păuca. Necropola de incinerare (secolele VIII-IX). Catalog de expoziție* [Păuca: The incineration necropolis (8-9th centuries). Exhibition catalogue] (Sibiu: Editura Astra Museum, 2016).

⁷¹⁶ Only few monasteries are excavated, exceptions are Bükkzentlélek, Pilisszentlélek, Salföld.

⁷¹⁷ For example, in Pilis or Zemplén; see Laszlovszky, “Középkori kolostorok a tájban”; Károly Belényesy, *Pálos kolostorok az Abaúji-hegylján* [Pauline friaries in the Abaúj Hegyalja Region]. Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén megye régészeti emlékei, vol. 3 (Miskolc: Hermann Ottó Múzeum, 2004).

⁷¹⁸ Beatrix F. Romhányi and Gábor Sarbak, *Formularium maius Ordinis Sancti Pauli primi heremite: Texteditio des Pauliner-Formulariums aus der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts (Cod. Lat. 131. der Universitätsbibliothek zu Budapest). Mit einem Anhang: Fragmentum formularum Strigoniense Paulinorum* (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2013).

⁷¹⁹ See the book: Pető, *Hermits*.

were reconstructed merely based on the written evidence. Even so, these texts contain valuable data for my inquiries, especially the texts elaborated by Gyöngyösi, encompassing mainly a list of charters that document the donations and other transactions of a certain monastery. From these, particular types of information on land use and management can be extracted which can be compared and verified through other sources. Yet, these are sometimes quite schematic and limited to the information considered important by Gyöngyösi and reflect the state of the end of the fifteenth century. In all instances using the full text of the originals of the inventoried charters would be essential but most of these do not exist anymore or are still unidentified.

Here, one can emphasize the usefulness of the historic maps which in certain cases, as it was already presented in the earlier chapters, offer details of the landscape, on fishponds or mills, roads or even forests and vineyards. In the case of the Paulines the data offered by the maps are perhaps less telling. The majority of the maps contain very few useable details (only the names of the major rivers, larger streams and forests appear; mills and roads are generally indicated, the site of ruins only rarely). Also, one must keep in mind that these surveys were made with a military purpose. Although, for the monastery of *Szentkirály* the fishponds and mills represented on the maps offer valuable starting points from where one can work retrospectively to a certain point, where the data can still be verified.

However, the features shown on the maps are not detailed enough. Probably the last unexploited but most useful source is the landscape of these monasteries which in several cases preserves features that can be linked to the activity of the Paulines. Systematic data collection of the landscape features for the Pauline monasteries has not been done before in Transylvania. Generally, the research possibilities, just as in other areas, depend on the geographic location, the extent of inhabited lands and the expansion of larger towns, modern water management as well as the agricultural exploitation of the lands. I can say in advance that at least for two Pauline monasteries (*Szenmihálykő* and *Szentkirály*, perhaps even *Pókafalva*) the chances to identify landscape features that can be connected to their activity are quite fair, since most of their properties are rural settlements to this day, a fact which provides a higher chance for the preservation of landscape features.

5.3. THE PAULINES AT MAROSSZENTKIRÁLY– A CASE STUDY

5.3.1. Historic Overview

According to recent scholarship the monastery at *Szentkirály*⁷²⁰ was founded in 1370 (maybe already in 1350?) by the members of two noble Székely families, the Bolgár and Tóth⁷²¹, in agreement with their relatives, through the donation of a former stone church with its arable lands and forests.⁷²² As Elek Benkő has highlighted previously, the two families formed a larger influential kindred in the region and owned properties also in the historic Kolozs County, in Tuson⁷²³ (now in Maros County), this is from where the prename of the Bolgár family comes from.⁷²⁴ However, another hypothesis proposes that perhaps even an earlier foundation date could have existed, because in the papal tithe records from 1335 a “*custos de Sancto Paulo*” appears, who paid “4 *garas*”. Zsigmond Jakó associated this *custos* with the Pauline monastery from *Szentkirály*.⁷²⁵ If so, this would bring an interesting turn to historiography. Still, it is the only entry which is dated so early, an unambiguous reference to a Pauline monastery is dated only 35 years later.

The foundation of a Pauline monastery through the donation and transformation of an already existing church or chapel cannot be regarded as exceptional. E. Benkő already drew attention to the existence of other examples of such foundations.⁷²⁶ Along the ones enlisted by him, Budaszentlőrinc and Pogányszentpéter can be added to the list.⁷²⁷ Similar cases are documented for medieval Croatia as well.⁷²⁸ In our case, since archaeological excavation never took place, it is not known whether an earlier church indeed existed or how long was it

⁷²⁰ Today the settlement incorporates the once existing settlements of *Egerszeg* and the deserted *Zekelháza* so it does not mirror the settlement’s medieval state nor the medieval settlement structure of the area. Hídvég did not exist until the end of the seventeenth century, and its formation can be connected to the building of a bridge across the Maros River in 1607, on the place of a former crossing point/wading place.

⁷²¹ It is interesting that both names derive from population names, Bolgár (from Bulgarian) and Tót (from Slovenian or Slovakian).

⁷²² *Documenta Artis Paulinorum. A magyar rendtartomány kolostorai*, vol. II (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1976), 447. Henceforth DAP.

⁷²³ The Tuzsoni family was of Székely origin. Two members of the family had promising careers, the ones that founded the Pauline monastery, Ladislaus *Bolgár* and John *Tót*, were members of the royal court, the last one was part of the queen’s court as well. See in Diaconescu, *Structura nobilimii*, 404-406.

⁷²⁴ Benkő, *A középkori Székelyföld*, vol. 1, 259.

⁷²⁵ Today’s settlement incorporates a much larger area than it was in the Middle Ages. See Jakó’s reference in: EO II 415/1146.

⁷²⁶ Benkő, *A középkori Székelyföld*, vol.1, 261.

⁷²⁷ Here I thank József Laszlovszky and Zsuzsa E. Pető for their suggestions.

⁷²⁸ See: Kristian Bertović, “The Pauline pattern of monastery site selection in medieval Croatia under Frankapan patronage,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 21 (2015): 271-272.

used, nor can it be decided whether it was a private chapel of the family or perhaps a parish church of the frequently mentioned, nearby village of Székelyfalva.⁷²⁹

The most plausible hypothesis, at this stage, would be to assume that in the first twenty years this donated stone church was used as the monastic church. The sources indicate that the 1390s brought a turning point in the life of the Paulines. In 1391 a significant donation of incomes (in money – the tenth part of a two-wheeled mill) was made by *Semjén*, son of Simon *Tuzsoni*, under the condition that after the construction and renovation of the monastery was finished the incomes should be used to keep the eternal light burning in the new church.⁷³⁰ This source offers an interesting detail concerning the buildings of the monastery about which almost nothing is known, namely that the church to be built was a *basilica*⁷³¹, given that the source described it accurately. Still, it is questionable how specific the description in the source is, how accurately describes the actual form of the church. This data could be confirmed or rejected only through archaeological excavation since standing ruins cannot be found on the site. Maybe the word *basilica* does not explicitly refer to the structure of the building but given the precarious state of research of medieval churches in Maros Seat it is not unimaginable. It can also mean a large church and not a chapel or a small ecclesiastical building. The study of early medieval parish churches on the territory of the Maros Seat was initiated by Keve László but due to the lack of sources and archaeological excavations the topic is still under research.⁷³² Currently the only *basilica* type of church (dated to the thirteenth century) in Maros Seat can be found in Nyárádszentlászló (Co. Maros)⁷³³ which exactly due to this type of church was presumed by some to have been a kindred monastery.

Later documents for *Szentkirály* also illustrate clearly that the site of the monastery was known to the local population and was used for centuries as a quarry. Therefore, the

⁷²⁹ The village depopulated in the beginning of the seventeenth century (the people moved into the town), and its territory was incorporated partly into today's Marosszentkirály and partly into Marosvásárhely. It was mentioned only by written sources in the form of *Zekelffalwa* and was located quite close to the medieval village of *Szentkirály*, where the hermits settled but it was never exactly delimited or no written record survived about it.

⁷³⁰ MNL OL, DL 96641: “tali tamen condicione [...] quod premissas decimas partes [...] post edificacionem et reparacionem dicti claustris [...] fratres [...] pro cultu divino utputa pro emcione et conservacione luminum lampadaliū [...] in eadem basilica beate virginis incendendorum exponere teneantur”.

⁷³¹ The basic plan of basilicas could vary but usually these had a central nave with one aisle on each side. In Transylvania numerous early medieval churches have this type of structure, which could indicate a thirteenth century existence. However, such churches are more representative for the Saxon territories. On the topic of comparative ground-plan analysis in Croatia, see: Tajana Pleše, “Comparative ground-plan analysis of Pauline monasteries in late Medieval Slavonia,” in *Monastic Life, Art, and Technology in the 11th-16th centuries*, ed. Ileana Burnichioiu (Alba Iulia: Mega Publishing House, 2015), 113-130.

⁷³² See the work of Keve László, “Valea Mureşului Superior în secolele X–XIII [The Upper Mureş Valley in the tenth and thirteenth centuries],” (PhD diss., “Lucian Blaga” University, Sibiu, 2013).

⁷³³ László, “Valea Mureşului Superior,” 59-61.

chances of finding integral, undisturbed stone walls is low. Presumably the new monastery was finished already at the beginning of the fifteenth century, even though written documents are silent on this matter. Also, as a result of the monastery's growing importance, a number of significant properties were donated to the Paulines. They acquired properties mostly in the surrounding villages; however, in the fifteenth century they expanded into other historic counties such as Torda and Kolozs.

A second renovation of the ruined buildings (*ruinosa et inveterata monasterii aedificia decenter reformabat*) is documented by written evidence from 1520, when Prior Dennis Gyalui was leading the monastery. Again, any other details concerning this renovation are unknown. The sources tell that Prior Dennis died in the monastery in 1526 and was buried in the crypt.⁷³⁴ After the death of the prior the estates of the hermits suffered a rising number of violent trespasses and expropriations. After the triumph of the Reformation in Marosvásárhely, in 1556, the Paulines were not able to protect their lands and gradually lost their properties (e.g. in 1529 their *primipilatus* (in Hungarian: lófőség⁷³⁵) was occupied in Tófalva as well as their entire property Unoka). One of the sources from 1550 indicate that the Paulines of *Szentkirály* were in contact with one of the highest-ranking Pauline hermits of their time, George Martinuzzi, who then was also the abbot of Kolozsmonostor (between 1539-1551) and the bishop of Várad.⁷³⁶ For unknown reasons the hermits wanted to alienate their entire property Unoka to Martinuzzi but the descendants of the donors prohibited them. This is one of the last data about the life of the monastery. Before 1573, the monastery with all its estates and parts of estates from Maros Seat (approximately ten items of real estate) ended up in the possession of Paul Baky, who already in the same year exchanged these with the properties of Francis Alárd from Fehér County.⁷³⁷ So did, the other properties of the

⁷³⁴ *Vitae Fratrum Eremitarum Ordinis Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae*, ed. Ferenc Hervay (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1988), cap. 21, 85; Orbán, *A Székelyföld*, vol.1, 183, note 4.

⁷³⁵ The title *lófő*, in the sources in Latin: *primipilus*, was used among the Székelys, in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, sources indicate the existence of three social layers among the Székelys ("*universos syculos trium generum*", "*comes trium generum Siculorum*"), however the whole structure is not fully understood, nor is the actual meaning of the *genus* clarified. The *primipilii* were among the higher class and gentry, the equivalent of high nobility in other counties. Yet, the noble title had to be granted separately. The title generally passed on as heritage was called *lófőség* (*primipilatus*) which incorporated military service, exclusively on horseback, and it also encompassed a certain amount of landed estates, although not much is known about the exact size or composition of these properties. See more on the topic of the three Székely *genus*: Bence Péterfi, "A főemberek, a lófők és a közösség [Nobles, primipilii, and the community]," in *Székelyföld története* [The history of the Székely Land] vol. I, eds. Elek Benkő and Teréz Oborni (Székelyudvarhely: MTA BTK-EME-HRM), 192-199, and an earlier summary: Zsigmond Jakó, *Társadalom, egyház, művelődés. Tanulmányok Erdély történelméhez* [Society, church, culture: Studies to the history of Transylvania] (Budapest: METEM, 1997), 37-56.

⁷³⁶ KmJkv II, 701/5005.

⁷³⁷ Benkő, *A középkori Székelyföld*, 270; SzOkl IV, 27-28. According to Balázs Orbán, this happened in 1575, and the exchanged properties included: Remeteszeg, Egerszeg, Szentkirály, Tófalva, Harcó, Bárdos

monastery end up in the hands of lay owners. It is not known exactly when did the hermits leave their monastic buildings or when were they finally estranged. The next documented event shows that the fate of the monastic buildings was decided by the ambitions and defensive plans of the nearby town of Marosvásárhely. After building the walls of the small privileged town the next step was the erection of bastions, and in 1620 the stone material for the Cobbler's Bastion was quarried from the Pauline monastery, which at some point in time had already burned down.⁷³⁸

During its approximate 200 years of existence the monastery accumulated a significant number of landed estates and incomes, thus becoming one of the wealthiest landowners in the Székely Land even though due to the scarcity of the preserved written sources comparable data and studies for Maros Seat are not yet available concerning the spread and size of other landed estates.

5.3.2. Siting, Location

The monastery was situated on the northern fringes of the Székely Land (as it was highlighted in chapter 2, one of the privileged historic regions of Transylvania), in Maros Seat, at a distance of just 3-4 kms from the market town of Marosvásárhely. The siting of the monastery fits into one of the site selection patterns of the later-founded monasteries, that is, to settle near (not too far but not too close) larger villages and market towns but not right next to major roads, in a wooded area. It was situated on a plateau-like hilltop, mentioned frequently in the sources as “*in promontorio de Szentkiraly*”,⁷³⁹ above the village (Fig. 63), close to the Maros River and a major road connecting two significant geo-cultural regions, the region of Mezőség⁷⁴⁰ and the town of Marosvásárhely. According to the Military Maps in the vicinity of the monastery a larger wooded area existed, fragments of which exist even today.

(Marosbárdos) and Szentgyörgy (Marosszentgyörgy). In Orbán's time the letter of exchange was still preserved and was kept by György Hincs.

⁷³⁸ Orbán, *A Székelyföld*, 183-184. The source cited by Orbán, and generally all those that have taken over the information from him, refer to the chronicle of János Nagy Szabó but the actual descriptions were made by his son, Ferenc Nagy Szabó, see: *Marosszéki krónikák* [Chronicles from Maros Seat] vol. 1, ed. Mihály Sebestyén (Marosvásárhely: Mentor Kiadó, 2010), 77 and 127.

⁷³⁹ MNL OL, DL 10766.

⁷⁴⁰ In Romanian called Câmpia Transilvaniei.



Fig. 63. Aerial photo (from SW) of the site of the monastery and its close environs
(photo by Zoltán Czajlik)

It has to be highlighted that at some point in the first half of the fourteenth century the Franciscan friars settled in the market town of then Székelyvásárhely (*Novum Forum Siculorum*), now Marosvásárhely. Their first mention comes presumably from around 1332 but it is not known with certainty when they did settle.⁷⁴¹ Thus, during the fourteenth century two new monasteries were founded in a relatively restricted area, where no other monasteries had been established earlier. In fact, based on documentary sources, the Franciscans and Paulines were the first monastic communities to settle on the territory of the Székely Land. It is quite telling that the Paulines settled on the right bank on the Maros River, on a hilltop further from the town and the Franciscans on the left side of the Maros on another hilltop but right next to the developing market town. This indicates that the population of the region was wealthy enough to support two different religious orders even though the Paulines were probably not a large community.⁷⁴² The situation illustrates well the difference in site selection of the two orders. Examples of Pauline houses, created during the fourteenth century

⁷⁴¹ Beatrix F. Romhányi, “A Ferenc-rendiek Marosvásárhelyen,” in *Marosvásárhely történetéből* [From the history of Târgu Mureș] eds. Sándor Pál-Antal and Miklós Szabó (Marosvásárhely: Mentor Kiadó, 1999), 191-193; Zoltán Soós, *A marosvásárhelyi vártemplom* [The church fortress in Târgu Mureș] (Marosvásárhely: Lector Kiadó, 2016), 6.

⁷⁴² Exact data on the number of the members of Pauline and Franciscan communities is not known, only one scarce and late data shows that in 1525 in the Franciscan friary 24 monks lived. Only estimates can be put forward based on the well-documented analogies from other Pauline houses but most probably the Paulines formed a smaller community than the Franciscans.

expansion of the order, sited near larger towns and roads can be detected in medieval Slavonia and in parts of the Adriatic coast as well.⁷⁴³

In a larger historic context, the reign of Louis I provided the first privileges for the Transylvanian Saxon towns in order for their commercial undertakings to flourish. Also, this was the period, when a growing interest from the part of Central Europe in the Black Sea trade appeared.⁷⁴⁴ King Louis made great efforts to block Venice's access to the Levantine trade and to encourage the Saxon towns to connect the Black Sea to the Adriatic.⁷⁴⁵

However, the settlement of these two orders can be clearly connected to the activity of the market town Marosvásárhely as well. In 1482 the town acquired the right to hold annually three fairs.⁷⁴⁶ Its weekly market was mentioned in a charter of King Matthias Corvinus in 1488, when the merchants and masters from Brassó were prohibited to sell their merchandize in small amounts (*cum vlnis videlicet et vncijs*).⁷⁴⁷ In 1560 the market town enjoyed the liberties comparable to the royal free towns of the medieval Hungarian kingdom.⁷⁴⁸ Thus, the markets and fairs provided opportunity for an intensive flow of goods and people in the region, where even the Paulines could have had access with their merchandize. In the case of the Franciscan friary a strong connection to the market town and even the production of goods was attested by the archaeological finds.⁷⁴⁹

After the Franciscans the Paulines were the second favored order in the Kingdom of Hungary. They were committed to praying, reading, contemplating and manual labor but did not emphasize higher education (just as the Franciscans, unlike the Dominicans) or pastoral care. However, the following examples will show that some of their monasteries in Transylvania cannot be assigned to this general view. Some communities did take part in pastoral work and some did not focus on manual labor. As B. Romhányi earlier emphasized,

⁷⁴³ Bertović, "The Pauline pattern," 265-275; Tajana Pleše, "Pregled pavlinskih samostana kasnosrednjovjekovne Slavonije [Overview of the Pauline monasteries in late medieval Slavonia]," *Cris: časopis Povijesnog društva Križevci* 12, no. 1 (2011): 202-220.

⁷⁴⁴ One of the new routes lead to Transylvania while another lead to Poland. See more on this topic: Mária Pakucs-Willcocks, *Sibiu-Hermannstadt. Oriental trade in sixteenth century Transylvania* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2007), 7-9.

⁷⁴⁵ Pakucs-Willcocks, *Sibiu-Hermannstadt*, 8, note 20. See also: Zsigmond Pál Pach, "Hungary and the Levantine trade in the 14th-17th centuries," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 60/1 (2007): 9-31.

⁷⁴⁶ SzOkl V, 24-25. Additional details on the rights and privileges of the town, see: Elek Benkő et al., *Középkori mezőváros a Székelyföldön* [Medieval market town in the Székely Land] (Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek) (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1997), 11-15.

⁷⁴⁷ SzOkl I, 267-268.

⁷⁴⁸ Sándor Pál-Antal, *Marosvásárhely történetéből* (Marosvásárhely: Mentor Kiadó, 1999), 9-28. See the document: SzOkl II, 156-158.

⁷⁴⁹ See the article: Soós, "Bronze objects," 313-337.

certain monasteries along their existence had functioned as true hermitages, while some became wealthy land owners.⁷⁵⁰

5.3.3. Extending the Properties: Donations

In the above-described framework did the Paulines develop their landed properties, which were acquired largely through pious donations.⁷⁵¹ The first land donations (arable lands and forests) came from the founders, in the close-by area of the monastery, in order to sustain the settlement of the Paulines. In 1372, the founder, Ladislaus Bolgár, supplemented his original donation with a house or a plot (*curia*), a forest called *Kyserdeii* (meaning small woodland) and a fishpond next to the village.⁷⁵² All these were probably located quite close to the monastic buildings, within the reach of the community. In 1376, *nobilis domina Bagycz* left her share of the forest *Gelyen Erdeye* in *Szentkirály* to the Paulines⁷⁵³. In 1378 the place of a vineyard (*locum vinee*) was bequeathed to the monastery in the Székely village (*villa Siculorum*) of Mezőbergenye, today Berghia, with a house plot under the same vineyard, with additional arable and hay land.⁷⁵⁴ Then, in 1379, another forest was given to the hermits (by *Michael filius Ponya de Therenye*), within the bounds of *Zekelffalwa*, at the end of the *Kysbese* Valley, along with arable lands at the entrance of the same valley in the lowland next to the *Bespathaka* stream with the meadow called *Boda Mezeye* (field of Boda).⁷⁵⁵ A year later, the same Michael, gave a mill place or milling-place⁷⁵⁶ (*locus molendini intra metas villae Siculorum Zekelffalwa*) on the River *Moryzii* (Maros) in its inner channel (*fossato interiori*), at the end of the hermits' meadow (*in fine prati heremitarum*) called *Bodamezeye*.⁷⁵⁷ The rector of the church from *Asson falva* (Asszonyfalva) donated his vineyard in Marosvásárhely to the hermits in 1381. Another forest called *Hegthethew* (top of the hill) was left to the Paulines by Martin son of Martin *Siculi de Samsond* (Mezősámsond) in 1382 within the bounds of the village *Szentkirály*.⁷⁵⁸ In the same year the hermits received

⁷⁵⁰ Romhányi, *A lelkiek*, 131-132.

⁷⁵¹ Due to the scarcely preserved written sources not much is known about the properties of the Franciscans although it would have been a great opportunity to compare the two cases. It has been noted that in Hungary, until the end of the Middle Ages, the Observant Franciscans did not accept or keep any landed estates but the Conventuals owned certain smaller estates. See: Beatrix F. Romhányi, "Adalékok a soproni ferences kolostor gazdálkodásához," *Soproni Szemle* 64 nr. 2 (2010): 194-198.

⁷⁵² DAP II, 447.

⁷⁵³ DAP II, 448.

⁷⁵⁴ DAP II, 447.

⁷⁵⁵ DAP II, 447.

⁷⁵⁶ For a detailed discussion on mill places and their meaning, see: András Vadas, "Some Remarks on the Legal Regulations and Practice of Mill Construction in Medieval Hungary," in *Water in Medieval Culture* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 290-314.

⁷⁵⁷ DAP II, 447.

⁷⁵⁸ DAP II, 447, 448.

a part of an income of a mill in *Zekelffalwa*, located in a canal of the Maros River (“*in fossato fluvii Morwsii*”). Also, Michael the son of *Ponya* in exchange for another donated mill gave the part produced by the mill from the Saturday *completorium* until the Sunday morning mass.⁷⁵⁹ The first information on court cases of the Paulines dates back to 1395, when *domina Margaretha* after multiple lawsuits with the monks agreed to donate a part of the mill called *Wyncze molna* located in the ditch of the River Maros (“*Wyncze molnain fluvio fossati Morws Zekelpathaka vocato decurrenti*”) called *Zekelpathaka*.⁷⁶⁰ From the point of view of donations, the fourteenth century was already a prosperous period for the hermits, they acquired significant lands and incomes in the surrounding villages, especially in their immediate vicinity, in *Zekelffalwa* and *Szentkirály*.

The donations spread into the territories of nearby villages: *Náznánfalva*, *Kisfalud*⁷⁶¹, *Mezőbergenye*, *Egerszeg*⁷⁶², *Udvarfalva*, *Marosbárdos*, and *Marosszentanna* as well as to the territory of other counties (Appendix 2). The fifteenth century brought a larger number and greater variety of donations along with the first sources that attest that the Paulines actually bought land.

⁷⁵⁹ DAP II, 448.

⁷⁶⁰ DAP II, 448.

⁷⁶¹ *Kisfalud* merged with *Náznánfalva* between the two World Wars, it was located in the southwest end of *Náznánfalva*.

⁷⁶² The settlement was incorporated into today’s *Marosszentkirály* in 1930 but the sources mention it as a separate village. It was located to the east from *Marosszentkirály*.

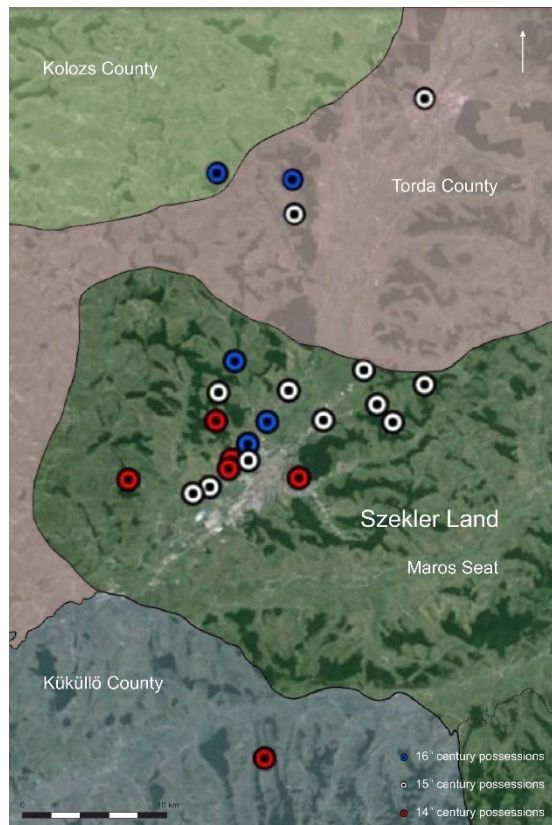


Fig. 64. The lands of the Paulines in Marosszentkirály

Even though the Paulines were studied by B. Romhányi in detail⁷⁶³, her work does not shed light on the estate structure of individual monasteries. It would be engaging to see how these structures changed, whether some of the monasteries received only local properties and some more distant lands, or perhaps a combination of both? Were Pauline monasteries connected through land ownership or not? For now, such individual studies have not been elaborated yet, so a comparative study in this matter must wait. In 1403 *domina Catherina* left her entire “*Siculica haereditas*” that is Székely heritage in Udvarfalva to the hermits.⁷⁶⁴ In the same year, Michael Bako de *Nazanffalwa* left his entire share of forests, meadows, arable lands, vineyards, a land plot and a fishpond in the village of Marosbárdos.⁷⁶⁵ According to E. Benkő, from this detailed enlisting an entire Székely heritage unfolds.⁷⁶⁶ A nobleman from Fűzkút in 1405, Anthony son of Thomas, sold for 25 forints his land (*rubetum cum feneto*) called *Bodmezeye* (field of Bod) located at the estuary of the Bese Valley to *frater Marcus*, the procurator of the monastery. Also, an agreement was reached on a mill situated in the same area but the nature of it and other details remain hidden. The Paulines bought a house with a

⁷⁶³ Romhányi, *A lelkiek*.

⁷⁶⁴ DAP II, 448.

⁷⁶⁵ DAP II, 448.

⁷⁶⁶ Benkő, *A középkori Székelyföld*, 264. On the Székely heritage see: Ákos Egyed, “Egy sajátos földtulajdon: a Székely örökség,” *Korunk* 7 (2007 July), accessed on 27.06.2018: <http://epa.oszk.hu/00400/00458/00127/3640.html>.

plot in *Zekelffalwa* and a mill on the canal of the Maros River in 1408 from Martin, son of Anthony *Barthalyws Siculus*.⁷⁶⁷ Then a series of donations of land plots, parts of forests, arable lands, meadows, and a mill place followed, all on the territory of *Zekelffalwa* (1410, 1413, 1420, 1422, and 1424) (for details on these donations see Appendix 2).⁷⁶⁸ Additionally, a part of a forest in *Mezőbergenye* (1411), a house plot as well as immovable and movable goods of John *Zahalws* in *Mezőpanit* (1419). In 1424 and 1425 the hermits were involved in litigations, one for arable lands, meadows and a forest (*silva Perzberek*) in *Zekelffalwa* and another for a fishpond in *Mezőbergenye*.⁷⁶⁹ Both were decided in favor of the Paulines. In two consequent years (1448 and 1449), two widows of the *Bolgár* family, left each a half of a mill to the hermits, one in *molendinum Eghezegh*, the other on a small brook which flows into the Maros. In 1453 an agreement was made with Benedict de *Kysfalwd* concerning a mill which was newly built by the hermits. The mill was located on a branch of the Maros River called *Zeekes*, and again other details are unknown. In 1482 another arrangement was documented as the results of litigation between the hermits and the people of *Marosvásárhely* (*cives de Wasarhel*) in the matter of a bark mill (*molendinum corticalis*).⁷⁷⁰ Bark mills were used to process the bark, roots and branches of various trees into a fine powder called tanbark, used for tanning leather. The functioning of such a mill clearly implies the existence of a tanner workshop, where animal skins were processed. Likely, this workshop functioned somewhere in the outskirts of the town of *Marosvásárhely* (because of the smell), yet, the document does not supply any details on its location. The presence of cobblers is attested by documents in 1487.⁷⁷¹ Additionally, it remains a mystery whether the Paulines were engaged in some sort of production connected to tanning or perhaps one of the brothers was a tanner craftsman, which would be not unimaginable.⁷⁷² Lay brothers could have also been craftsmen. Gyöngyösi's *Directorium* discussed the importance of craftsmen and manual work, and emphasized especially the work of the cobblers, tailors, and blacksmiths.⁷⁷³ Still, maybe the agreement

⁷⁶⁷ DAP II, 448.

⁷⁶⁸ DAP II, 448.

⁷⁶⁹ DAP II, 449.

⁷⁷⁰ DAP II, 449.

⁷⁷¹ Jenő Zepezaner, "Székelyföldi céhpecsétek," *Acta Siculica* (2011): 409-424. Interestingly, later, in 1620 the Cobbler's Bastion was built from the quarried stone from the ruins of the Pauline monastery. Thus, the Paulines seem to be connected to tanning through various threads.

⁷⁷² See a discussion on the topic: Beatrix F. Romhányi, "Mesteremberek és műhelyek a kolduló rendi és pálos kolostorokban [Craftsmen and workshops in mendicant and Pauline monasteries]," in *Mesterségek és műhelyek a középkori és kora újkor Magyarországon. Tanulmányok Holl Imre emlékére [Crafts and workshops in Hungary during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period]* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2017), 441-449.

⁷⁷³ Romhányi, "Mesteremberek és műhelyek," 441, note 4.

reached on the bark mill involved only money income or a share of products but indicates clearly that the Paulines acquired sources of incomes typical for urban crafts.

As I have suggested above, the fifteenth century brought the geographic expansion of the donations made for the Paulines. They owned valuable properties in Torda County. In 1462, Nicholas *artium baccalaureus* gave a vineyard (*in monte Cerusarum*) and a house in the Holy Virgin Church Street (*unam domum in platea ecclesiae Beatae Virginis jacentem*) in the town of Szászrégen. Also, the patron family of Szászrégen, the Losonci left the wine tithe (*jura montana* or *terragium*) of the vineyards of the town to the hermits in 1472. Other noble families from Torda County gave donations to the Paulines, such as Andrew Bogáti, who in 1504 left in his will two lands (*Zaadtelekwelgye* and *Kendereswelgye*-hemp valley) to the monastery. The widow of George Pisky gave the whole village Unoka as a foundation for masses.⁷⁷⁴

The largest endowment from Torda County came from the part of the Toldalagi family, namely from Andrew Toldalagi (in 1471), who without male heirs left the whole village (except 4 peasant plots kept for his daughters) Toldalag and a newly repaired fishpond with its mill for the hermits for eternal mass. He specified that the Paulines should allocate fish also to the Franciscans from Marosfalu and Marosvásárhely, and to maintain church service in the parish church. It is important to highlight that the will was recorded by a notary before prior Peter Miskei “*in ambitu seu cemeterio claustris Beate Virginis super promontorium possessionis ville de Zentkiraly*”.⁷⁷⁵ Also, this is the only mentioning concerning the community from *Szentkirály* which attests that the Paulines would be involved in keeping religious service in a parish church. This can be connected to the fact that in 1418 pope Martin V allowed the Paulines to preach with the consent of the county bishop and in 1419 the papal legate approved for the Paulines to hold funerals.⁷⁷⁶ In this way, the Paulines could officially take part in pastoral care. The donation was contested in 1474 by the daughter of Andrew Toldalagi, Sofia, and her husband Michael Vajda Várczai (*wayuoda Wolahalis de Kalathazegh*⁷⁷⁷). They lost the trial against the Paulines and reached an agreement. However,

⁷⁷⁴ DAP II, 450. SzOkI VIII, 273-274.

⁷⁷⁵ DAP II, 449; SzOkI III, 91-94.

⁷⁷⁶ András Kubinyi, “Magyarország és a pálosok a XIV-XV. században [Hungary and the Paulines in the fourteenth and fifteenth century],” in *Decus Solitudinis. Pálos évszázadok*, ed. Gábor Sarbak (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007), 44.

⁷⁷⁷ In the protocols of Kolozsmonostor, see: MNL OL, DL 36403, p. 97, nr. 1; KmJkv I, 752/2141. Scholarship did not deal with this title yet, according to Csánki from this family the Vajda/Várczai family evolved but I could not find additional details on what this title could have meant.

years later, the same woman donated a fishpond under the *Dobocz* Mountain to the monastery.⁷⁷⁸

The sources and the toponyms indicate that a large part of the village *Zekelffalwa* was owned by the hermits, which had very likely a positive impact on the settlement's history. As far as it can be deduced from the sources, the evolution of the part of the village that stayed in lay ownership (close to the market town of Marosvásárhely) declined and was gradually deserted⁷⁷⁹, while the monastic territories lived on under the name of *Remeteszeg* (remete-hermit, szeg-a place/space that tightens).⁷⁸⁰ Its location corresponds to a number of smaller properties which lay at the end of the *Bese* Valley (today called Beşa Valley, where the Beşa stream flows), the *Bodamezeye* area, in which the monastery was particularly interested (as the buying of a wood pasture with a hay land in this area in 1405 indicates⁷⁸¹). Balázs Orbán stated that according to the registers of the catholic school from Marosvásárhely the small settlement was established by the “white monks”.⁷⁸² Such a hypothesis is supported also by the name *Remeteszeg*.

The donations (Appendix 2) show a great variety since some of them can be interpreted as direct sources of income (vineyards, town house, tithes), some which fit the traditional Pauline donations (mills and mill places, fishponds), but some are actual land donations (settlement, land plots and parts of estates) which would correspond to the classic endowments of a monastic house.

5.3.4. Land Use – A Pursuit at Reconstruction

Today, the monastic buildings cannot be traced on the surface and architectural studies have not been pursued on the stone material presumably taken from the site of the monastic buildings used for the construction of the leatherworker's bastion in 1620 in Marosvásárhely (see below Fig. 65).⁷⁸³

⁷⁷⁸ MNL OL, DL 67246.

⁷⁷⁹ In 1583 the Polyák family from Szentanna owned a manor house with appurtenances in Székelyfalva.

⁷⁸⁰ SzOkl IV/I, 132, note 52.

⁷⁸¹ DAP II, 448.

⁷⁸² Orbán, *A Székelyföld*, 183.

⁷⁸³ Benkő, *A középkori Székelyföld*, 271.



Fig. 65. The leatherworker's bastion with the reused stone material from the Pauline monastery

Archaeological excavations were not conducted by the local museum, which means that the material culture and everyday life of the Paulines is totally unknown. So, one can only work with the information supplied by written evidence and data collected from historic maps and field work. The probable site of the monastic buildings can be deduced from the Second and Third Military surveys (Fig. 66), where an enclosed area indicates the vineyards. Concerning the existence of building remains that can be connected to the monastery a much clearer indication is provided by the maps under “Lambert-Cholesky” projection system (1916-1959) (Fig. 67). Today the plateau, where the site is located is still largely unbuilt but is in private property which limits the free access to the studied area. Unfortunately, over the years a small house was raised exactly on the site of the monastery (Fig. 68).



Fig. 66. The hill with the site of the monastery on the Second (left) and Third Military Survey (right)

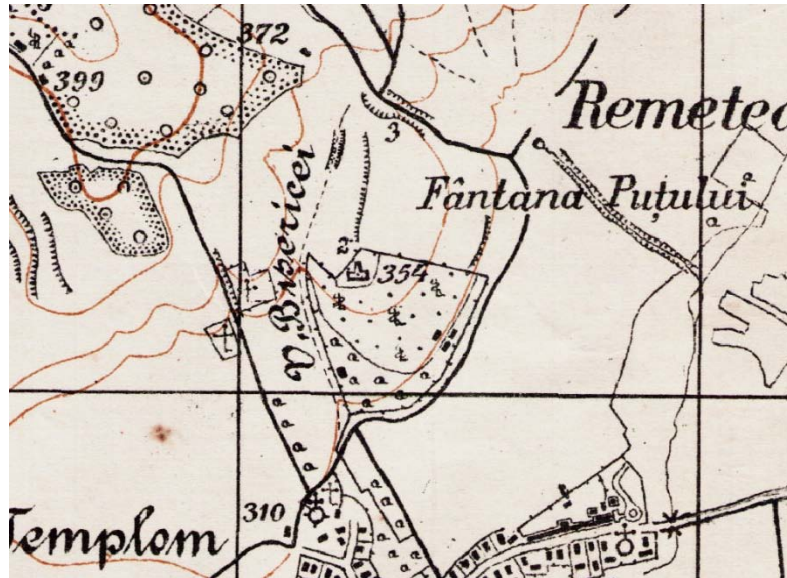


Fig. 67. The hill with an enclosed area and a building in its northwestern tip (<http://www.geo-spatial.org/harti/#/viewer/openlayers/10>)



Fig. 68. Google Earth view of the site of the monastery and a new house (2018)

Several toponyms preserved the memory of the monastery and the Paulines. The plateau's name *Klastromtető* (cloister hilltop) indicates clearly the site of a monastery. According to Balázs Orbán, the royal judge of Maros Seat, in 1842 planted grapes on the former site of the monastery (most probably this is what the historic maps illustrate) but before doing so, he quarried the stones of the buildings and used them to build his own manor house under the hill.⁷⁸⁴ Still, through fieldwork⁷⁸⁵, the area of the ruins could be more or less delimited. The

⁷⁸⁴ Orbán, *A Székelyföld*, 184. In the time of Orbán it was known that later, this house belonged to Joseph Thuri, and then to his son-in-law Rothenthal.

⁷⁸⁵ I organized two field investigations, one in 2012 and another in 2018. In 2012 I was assisted by my supervisor and colleagues, to whom I am grateful.

spread and concentration of pottery, stone, and brick fragments as well as mortar remains indicate the location of the site on the south-western edge of the hill. However, the close-by area of the presumed monastery was not analyzed through a landscape archaeological perspective nor was its wider land use in the closest villages such as *Zekelfallwa* or *Náznánfalva*. The possibilities are becoming limited since the town of Marosvásárhely is rapidly extending into these areas and already a significant part of the lands had been built on.

In the following I wish to discuss the results of a landscape research, which in certain aspects is still a work in progress. Given the abundant written sources and the extended geographic areas which should be meticulously walked through, a systematic survey would be a task for an entire research team not for one person. However, I tried to concentrate on various types of properties of the monastery in the light of the available data, and to follow up the landscape features where it was possible in order to get the most complete picture possible. Therefore, in this part I shall focus on those aspects of the monastery which made this Pauline house exceptional in the region and to highlight the potential of such a study. In the following the data shall be presented along the various groups/types of properties and incomes of the monastery.

Documents nicely outline a particularly high number of mills, mill places or mill incomes (in total 17 or 19) that were donated to the Paulines during the monastery's existence (Fig. 69). The monastery from *Szentkirály* was amongst the wealthiest Pauline monasteries on the territory of medieval Hungary in terms of attested mills, mill places and mill incomes. Nevertheless, only if one presumes that along the centuries they did not lose, exchange or sell any of these.⁷⁸⁶ However, the preserved sources offer only a limited glimpse into this issue. It is generally accepted that the Paulines heavily relied on the incomes provided by mills as those were amongst their most valuable assets. Selling mills can hardly be documented at Pauline monasteries. Owning such a high number of mills and mill places was important especially in the light of the mill right (milling soke) granted to the Paulines which meant that additional/other mills could not be built near the mills of the monks. In this way the monastery could become a major center of milling in the region.⁷⁸⁷ One can presume that they did not grind only for themselves but also for the villagers that took their cereals to these close-by mills. The nearby villages were connected to the market town of Marosvásárhely, with a growing population, where they could sell their products. As sources inform us, the mills were often leased, providing a significant and stable money income for the

⁷⁸⁶ Others also owned a high number of mills, such as the monasteries of Elefánt or Göncruszka.

⁷⁸⁷ Benkő, *A középkori Székelyföld*, 263.

monastery.⁷⁸⁸ In the case of the mills and mill parts donated to the Paulines from *Szentkirály* it is indicated that they partly provided money income and partly the donor's share of the mill, which was only rarely discussed by the sources what it was (money or actual ground cereal). A number of mills were located quite close to the monastery, in several ditches of the Maros River, mentioned by sources as "Marosárok",⁷⁸⁹ (in the area of *Zekelffalwa*) but called also Kis-Maros (*minori fluvio Marosii* – in the area of *Náznánfalva* and *Szentkirály*), which due to modern river regulations do not exist any longer, but their course is recognizable even today, and are also visible on the three Habsburg Military Surveys.⁷⁹⁰ Most of the mills were located on such mill leats since the Maros River would have been too large and fast for standing mills (maybe only for floating mills), and the flow of water could be regulated more easily. Also, this was the most frequent form of artificial development of mills leats, especially in regions where a river crossed a relatively flat land. The sources connected to the Maros River and its tributaries clearly suggest that it was a prolific area for mill construction and that leats could be formed relatively easily. Some of the major leats were used for centuries.

Year	Type	Donation	Acquisition	Inheritance	Amount	Location
1378	Mill place with a house plot			X	-	Bergenye/ in fluvio seu fossato Marwsyo decurrente
1380	Mill place	X			-	Zekelffalwa/ in fluvio Moryzii in fossato interior, in fine prati heremitarum Bodamezeye
1382	Income of a mill	X			-	Zekelffalwa/ in fossato Morwsii
1391	Income of a two-wheeled mill	X			Tenth part (<i>decima pars</i>)	Zent Laslo/ in fluvio Kykylle
1395	Wyncze mill	X			The donator's entire share	In fluvio fossati Morws Zekelpathaka vocato decurrenti
1405	Agreement on a mill				?	?
1408	Mill place		X		-	Zekelffalwa
1420	Mill place	X			-	Super fluvio Marosarka in facie poss. Zekelfallwa
1448	Half of the mill called <i>Egherzagh</i>	X			The donator's share of half of the mill	Zenthkyral?

⁷⁸⁸ Romhányi, *A lelkiek*, 73.

⁷⁸⁹ MNL OL, DF 286489.

⁷⁹⁰ See: <http://mapire.eu/en/maps/>.

1449	Half of a mill	X			The donator's share of half of the mill	In minori fluvio Marosii decurrentis
1453	Agreement on a mill				?	In rivulo fluvii Moros vulgo Zeekes nominato
1471	Mill			X		Toldalag/super piscina
1474	Mill - protest			X	2 two-wheeled mills	Toldalag
[1476]	Prohibition to build a mill (by the prior)					On the Maros, at the end of Kysfalwd
1482	Agreement on a mill				?	?
1489	Agreement on a mill				Half of a mill	Zekelffalwa/super fluvio Marosarok
1500	Agreement				The fourth part of a mill	?
1509	Mill			X		Zenth Anna

Fig. 69. List of mills, mill places, and mill incomes owned by *Szentkirály*

Written evidence preserved the names of two watermills. One was mentioned in 1395 as “Wyncze malma”⁷⁹¹ (the mill of Vincent) and the other, in 1448 called *Egherzagh*, just as the close-by village that merged into Marosszentkirály.⁷⁹² As different types of mills were in use, one finds out from charters that mills with one or two wheels functioned in this area. The majority of mills were probably grain mills. Unfortunately, we do not have much data on the prices of mills or exact incomes from milling (only one documented case is known from 1408 when a house with a land plot and a mill place was sold to the hermits for 350 florins). Donated mill incomes mention only generally that a half of a mill or a tenth or fourth part of a mill were given. The dating of these mills also raises a number of questions since none of them was researched archaeologically nor identified in the field. A recent study, however, based on research concerning medieval mills in Hungary argues that a continuity of medieval mill places can be presumed in certain situations and locations. The more variety of different sources mention or illustrate a mill site the more probable its existence is.⁷⁹³ Yet, in this case it is hard to position these mills on the map and to confront them with the eighteenth- and twentieth-century milling-places. The difficulty of such a task comes from the fact that one of the leats of the Maros River (the one called Kis-Maros) stretched over quite a large area (from

⁷⁹¹ “in quodam molendino Wyncze molna in fluvio fossati Morws Zekelpathaka vocato decurrenti” DAP II, 448.

⁷⁹² DAP II, 449.

⁷⁹³ K. Németh András and Máté Gábor, “Szempontok és példák a középkori eredetű malmok és malomhelyek folytonosságának vizsgálatához,” in *Tanulmányok a Kárpát-medence anyagi kultúrájának köréből. Középkori elemek a mai magyar anyagi kultúrában*, vol. I (Budapest: Agroinform Kiadó, 2014), 48.

Kisfalud until *Szentkirály*), being a prolific area for mills. Also, the riverbed of the Maros went through significant changes in the modern period.

The Paulines of *Szentkirály* owned mill places in *Mezőbergenye* (1) and *Zekelffalwa* (3), actual attested mills in *Toldalag* (2), *Kisfalud* (1), and *Marosszentanna* (1), and additional parts of mills on the leats of the Maros River, in *Zekelffalwa* and *Szentkirály*. The furthest mill income came from *Küküllő* County, from *Szászszentlászló*.

It had been discussed in scholarship that in Hungary, adding mills to fishponds was a special local feature.⁷⁹⁴ As an important part of the medieval diet, especially in monastic communities, fish was part of fasting and other dietary restrictions. English research has investigated a great number of features of fresh-water fisheries and their results showed that the acquisition of water supply could be achieved in a variety of ways.⁷⁹⁵ One of these types, used in medieval Hungary as well, were the valley ponds, typical for hilly areas⁷⁹⁶, just as in the case of the north-western part of Maros Seat. Even today, the *Mezőség* with its surrounding area is known for its former numerous fishponds. Most opinions agree that the geomorphology of the region was favorable for fishponds, since the low inclinations of valleys facilitated the formation of marshy areas and lakes.⁷⁹⁷ In some cases so-called lake strings were developed on larger watercourses. Such an example, which is still in use today (the ponds were enlarged in the 1970s), can be seen from *Nagyercse* until *Marossárpatak*. The presence of mills attached to a high number of fishponds is explained by G. Makkai with the low surface energy of the region. Thus, in order to produce the necessary energy a constant water flow was needed and the dammed ponds proved to be a good solution. The dams were mainly built of earth and consciously placed in those parts of the valley where the water had the greatest fall.⁷⁹⁸ The hydrographic conditions of the *Mezőség* went through significant changes along the ages. Due to the massive drainage of fishponds in the modern period, today the region has insufficient water resources. In the Middle Ages the landscape ecology was balanced with favorable water management and extensive lake surfaces as well as forested and grassy areas.⁷⁹⁹

⁷⁹⁴ Zsuzsa E. Pető, "The medieval landscape of the Pauline Monasteries in the Pilis Royal Forest" (MA thesis, Central European University, Budapest, 2014), 46.

⁷⁹⁵ James Bond, "Water management," 85.

⁷⁹⁶ Pető, "The medieval landscape," 22.

⁷⁹⁷ Gergely Makkai, *Az erdélyi-mezőség tájékológiaja* [The Landscape ecology of the Transylvanian Plain] (Marosvásárhely: Mentor Kiadó, 2003), 28-29.

⁷⁹⁸ Makkai, *Az erdélyi-mezőség*, 32.

⁷⁹⁹ Makkai, *Az erdélyi-mezőség*, 65, 79-83.

The value or price of fishponds is not known but generally they are considered to be among the low-income possessions.⁸⁰⁰ However, their value could vary based on their location, size or perhaps even on the types of fish they could provide. Given the fact that the fishponds were donations it is likely that they were not built by the monks but were rather used and maintained by them. Ponds built by the Paulines are not documented in Transylvania but this does not explicitly exclude the chances that they did not establish fishponds. Generally, medieval fishponds could be formed in two ways. First, by damming/closing a section of a valley, second, when the backwaters or branches of rivers flowing on flat terrain were transformed into fishponds.⁸⁰¹ Both ways of establishing ponds could be used in the region. Fishponds varied greatly in size and shape. The ones that could be identified through historic maps⁸⁰² and charter evidence in their eighteenth-century state (but had most probably medieval origins) were large elongated ponds frequently with mills at the end of them. These could be observed in two potential cases, at Toldalag and at Mezőbergenye⁸⁰³ (Fig. 70 and Fig. 71).

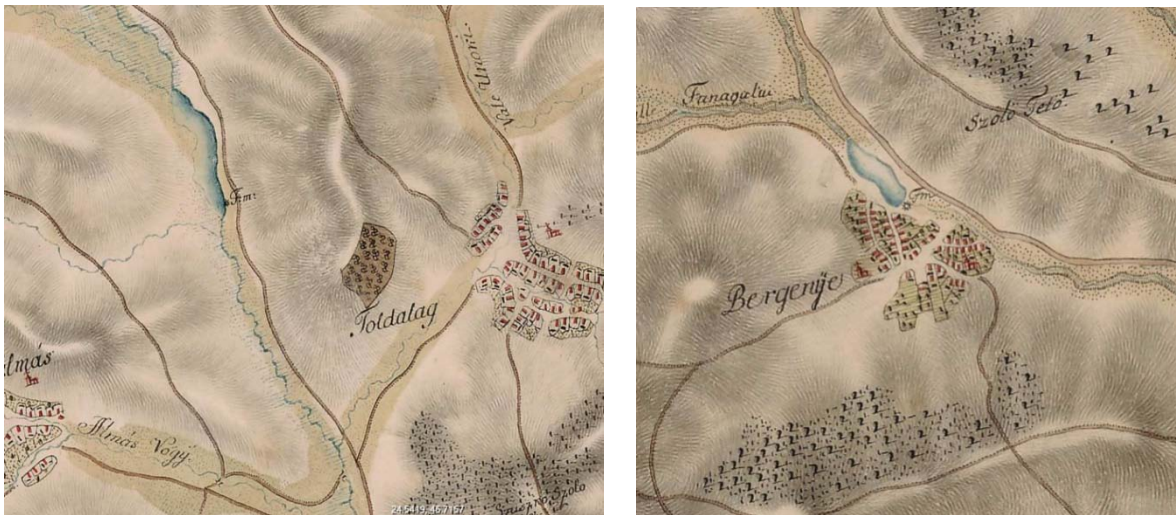


Fig. 70. The fishponds with mills in Toldalag and Mezőbergenye (First Military Survey)

⁸⁰⁰ Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 132.

⁸⁰¹ See the case of Monostorossáp: Miklós Rácz and József Laszlovszky, *Monostorossáp, egy Tisza menti középkori falu* [Monostorossáp, a deserted medieval village and its landscape] (Budapest, 2005), 98-99.

⁸⁰² Here, only the First Military Survey was useful.

⁸⁰³ In 1587 a dried out fishpond (*piscinam desertam*) was mentioned in Mezőbergenye, which belonged to Balázs Kys (EKJkv 184/488).



Fig. 71. Aerial view of the modern fishpond established on the site of the medieval pond in Toldalag (left) and the place of the drained fishpond in Mezőbergenye (right) (photos by Máté Szabó)

Names of the ponds are rarely mentioned. A smaller size fishpond existed in the outskirts of Nagyerse (1535) called *Soostho* (salty lake), which is probably also represented on the First Military Survey. This fishpond was received in exchange of the half of the one in Toldalag, which in 1535 was said to be dried out.⁸⁰⁴ Sometimes the dikes of fishponds can still be recognized on the terrain, which might have been used also as roads in some cases. Results and surveys of the preserved dams in the above-mentioned villages are still incomplete, additional field research is needed. However, in many cases it could be observed that later agricultural land use and water management destroyed the dams, only rarely did these survive as roads or stay in use until the modern day. Generally, their preservation is better if the territory was not used for later earthworks. For most of the cases, these large-size fishponds were drained and their territory was used as arable land. In few instances, the place of earlier, medieval fishponds are still occupied by modern fishponds, just as in the case of Toldalag, where even today the entire valley supports six fishponds.

The Paulines from *Szentkirály* owned at least five fishponds (the size and type⁸⁰⁵ of the ponds is not mentioned by the sources) and certain parts of fishponds as well. Interestingly, they also owned jointly with the Paulines from *Szentmihálykő* a fishpond in *Madaras* (probably *Mezőmadaras*) which they exchanged in 1461 to another pond in *Erche*

⁸⁰⁴ KmJkv II, 576/4524.

⁸⁰⁵ Belényesi examined the function of small ponds, often situated right under the springs, and drew attention to the existence of a special type of pond, called “*vivarium*”. Presumably, the fish was stored in such ponds temporarily, before consumption. See Belényesi, *Pálos kolostorok*, 102-103.

(Nagyercse).⁸⁰⁶ The document abstracts do not discuss the types of fish or the upkeep of the ponds. A number of small-size ponds were documented in the vicinity of monasteries, which could have fulfilled several functions (such as storage lakes or fishponds). The monastery from *Szentkirály* could have owned such a small pond, in the vicinity of the monastic buildings, at the foot of the hill, to the northeast, where the historic maps indicate a fountain/spring under changing names such as “funtina la puturoi” (stinky well) or “fântâna puțului” (the well) (see the Second and Third Military Surveys above with the site of the monastery Fig. 66). Today the traces of this well or fountain cannot be identified, the area is densely inhabited. This fishpond could be the one earliest confirmed by the sources, in the donation of Ladislaus Bolgar in 1372, as being located right next to the village (keeping in mind that the medieval village of *Szentkirály* most probably did not extend beyond the end of the hill where the Paulines settled). Written evidence attested three fountains/wells in 1609 on the territory of *Szentkirály* (Poklos kút/Leper well, Nyáras kút/Poplar well, and a well under the *Klastrom*/cloister).⁸⁰⁷ Also, a “Klastrom patak” (cloister stream) was still known in the time of Balázs Orbán, which separated *Szentkirály* from Egerszeg.⁸⁰⁸ Maybe the earliest mentioned, close-by fishpond could have been established on this stream. The traces of this stream are still visible today, it functions as a canal, and stems from the close-by forest, although it seems that its original track was later altered. On the historic maps the stream does not have a name (nor does it have a name today) but its track is illustrated as surrounding the monastic hill from the northeast and the southeast.

The issue of the existence of a close-by fishpond raises one of the important questions connected to water management. If one thinks of the water supply of the monastery, the first question that arises is from where did the monks get their water for everyday use? How did they supply the buildings with water given that these were located on a hilltop? The Maros River was quite far away (around 1.5 kilometers) from the monastic buildings and other flowing water bodies were located a bit further (within 1 to 1.5 kilometers distance), to the west the stream of the *Avas* and *Hangyas*, to the east (near *Remeteszeg*) the Bese stream. First, the neighboring fountain/spring can offer a possible alternative, however, its historic use and water volume is not known. The other possibility would have been the use of the cloister stream, mentioned by later sources, which based on its name must have had some connection

⁸⁰⁶ DAP II, 178; MNL OL, DF 286489 p. 109-111.

⁸⁰⁷ Szabó, *Erdélyi helynévgyűjtése*, Maros-Torda, 7/A, 339.

⁸⁰⁸ Orbán, *A Székelyföld*, 184, note 2.

to the monastery. Presumably, the monks also had access to a well or fountain which was located inside the monastic precinct.

The donation of woods (altogether 13 references to forests in the preserved documents, see Appendix 2) for the Paulines is considered typical by scholarship for the first few decades of their history. In the case of *Szentkirály*, even though it was a later foundation, following mills, the largest number of donations consisted of forests. As B. Romhányi's analysis of sources shows, a regular activity, besides wood cutting (using wood for construction, heating or cooking), connected to the use of forests was pannage.⁸⁰⁹ Even though sources do not specifically mention it, as pig was part of the monastic diet in late Middle Ages (it was observed by B. Romhányi that pig was especially important in Slavonia), the presumption that our monks were involved in pig rearing is not unimaginable. The Paulines owned forests and parts of forests in *Szentkirály*, *Zekelffalwa*, Marosbárdos, Mezőbergenye, and Udvarfalva. Some of the forests are also known by their names, such as silva *Kyreserdeii*, *Gelyen Erdeye*, *Heghetew* (in *Szentkirály*), and *Perzberek* and *Kewzberk* (in *Zekelffalwa*) but based on the preserved scarce toponyms of the region they cannot be identified. Additional details about the forests remain hidden, such as what types of trees was the forest made of or for what purpose was the forest used for. One single reference, from 1405 alludes to the use of woodland, when the prior of the monastery bought for 52 florins a "*rubeta cum fenetis Bodamezeye*" located between the Maros River and its channel. P. Szabó, after surveying a great variety of sources, concluded that "*virgulta* and *rubeta* were medieval Latin technical terms for wood-pasture".⁸¹⁰ Wood-pastures were formed through grazing either in woodland or on land that had been cleared of trees and used for some other purpose. Although, in another article that concentrated on the territory of Moravia, P. Szabó argued that the *rubetum* was a stable type of woodland with a shrubby appearance that provided firewood, that is coppices.⁸¹¹ He also underlined that the most common use of wood was for heating, and generally the most important management form to produce firewood was coppicing.⁸¹² Thus, in the case of *Szentkirály* it is hard to decipher the exact function of this *rubetum*, indeed it might have been coppice wood as well since it was bought together with a hay land. Maybe for the territory of medieval Hungary and Moravia the same word denoted different types of woodland. The marketing of wood is not documented for *Szentkirály* unlike in the case of the

⁸⁰⁹ Romhányi, *A lelkiek*, 90-96, 130-142.

⁸¹⁰ Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 64.

⁸¹¹ Péter Szabó, "Intensive woodland management in the Middle Ages: spatial modelling based on archival data," *Journal of Historical Geography* 48 (2015): 1-10.

⁸¹² See Szabó, "Intensive woodland management," 4. In Hungary the word *eresztvény* and its Latin form *permissorium* referred to coppice wood in the Middle Ages, but later fell into disuse.

Benedictines of Kolozsmonostor, and given the smaller size forests of this region even if the Paulines were selling wood they did it on a smaller scale (maybe only locally). Yet, the wood supplied by the forests would also be needed for the upkeep of the mills, dams and the monastic buildings.

Vineyards had a prominent role in the Pauline economy. One of their earliest privileges, received from Pope John XXII, exempted the Pauline monasteries from the vine tithe on those vineyards which were cultivated by them.⁸¹³ Even though vineyards required larger investment and active upkeep they were among the basic properties of the monastery and provided money income or vine for the monks. In the same time, vineyards in general were regarded the most valuable land in medieval Hungary, especially if these were close to towns or market towns. Vineyards were useful also for landed property transactions. The monastery at *Szentkirály* owned a moderate number of vineyards. Some of them were definitely valuable, like the one received in 1381, located in the market town of Marosvásárhely⁸¹⁴ or the vineyard in Szászrégen received in 1462.⁸¹⁵ Later, in 1472, the Losonci family donated the *jura montana*⁸¹⁶ (the mountain custom paid after vines) from the vines of Szászrégen to the monastery, which again probably provided a nice income. In the matter of selling vine, it would seem plausible to presume that the monks used it firstly for their needs and then perhaps sold the remaining part. The extent, size or the amount produced on the donated vineyards is not known, so if these were smaller, the monks probably kept it for themselves. The aforementioned 1462 donation of a town house in the company of the vineyard could have provided a possibility for the Paulines to get involved even in wine trade. The vineyard donation in Marosvásárhely did not comprise a house, maybe because of its closeness to *Szentkirály*. The earliest such combination was an inheritance from 1378, when in the Székely village of Mezőbergenye a house plot and a vineyard above it was given to the Paulines. The connection of vineyards with houses was observed also by B. Romhányi. These houses were sometimes leased or used as a benefice, just as in our case, when the property was tied to a vineyard.⁸¹⁷ The Pauline monastery of *Szentkirály* owned vineyards in: Mezőbergenye (1378), Marosvásárhely (1381), Marosbárdos (1403), Szászrégen – *mons Cerusarum* (1462), and the income of wine in Szászrégen – *jura montana* (1472). It is not

⁸¹³ *Vitae*, c. 21.

⁸¹⁴ “intra metas Zekelwasarhel”: DAP II, 448.

⁸¹⁵ “in monte Cerusarum”: DAP II, 449.

⁸¹⁶ DAP II, 449.

⁸¹⁷ Romhányi, *A lelkiek*, 42.

documented whether the monks purchased additional vineyards or not, and neither did they sell them.

Other donations consisted of arable lands, meadows, land plots (probably empty), country houses, and even entire villages.⁸¹⁸ The identification of arable lands, land plots and country houses on terrain is the most challenging, since the sources give very few details on their exact layout, and the medieval toponyms rarely survive nowadays. Additionally, perambulations and other litigious documents of court cases which would offer a more detailed positioning of these lands are not known to me for now. It is not documented how the land plots or country houses were used. One can rely to some extent on the parallels provided by other Pauline monasteries so it can be assumed that they leased the majority of their houses and land plots just as they did with their mills. The Paulines of *Szentkirály* utilized their lands as any other landlord. They might have had peasant workforce involved in production or animal husbandry, but the sources are silent on such issues for *Szentkirály*, not as in the case of the Benedictines, where a whole network of people were involved in land use and its management. The extent of a donated land is mentioned only in a will, in 1493, a total of six acres (*jugera*) of land were given to the Paulines.⁸¹⁹ Sometimes the donation of meadows and hay land can allude to animal husbandry to some extent; yet, in our case it is more probable that the Paulines kept animals only for their own consumption or as workforce. Perhaps only the high number of fishponds and parts of fishponds indicates an involvement in fish marketing (one or two ponds could have provided enough fish for their small community), knowing that generally the Paulines had one or two fishponds.⁸²⁰ Officials entrusted with land or production management are not attested, nor do lay brothers appear mentioned in the sources for *Szentkirály*.

The existence of tenant peasants on Pauline lands is barely documented. Only on two occasions were tenant peasants included in a donation. First, in 1471, when the entire village of Toldalag (except 4 peasant plots) was left to the Paulines, and in 1529, when it is mentioned that earlier the entire village of Unoka was donated to the monastery.⁸²¹ Also, in 1535, when the exchange of properties between the prior Antal Wechey and Michael and

⁸¹⁸ The problematic of the other properties and their identification on terrain will be discussed in a separate study.

⁸¹⁹ DAP II, 449.

⁸²⁰ According to Romhányi a significant income could be provided by fishponds if at least 3 or 4 were in the property of a monastery, see: Romhányi, *A lelkiek*, 84.

⁸²¹ SzOkI VIII, 273-274.

Sofia Toldalagi took place, the Toldalagis committed themselves to protect the monastery's property Unoka and its peasants (*jobagiones de Vnoka*).⁸²²

5.4. PAULINE LANDSCAPES IN TRANSYLVANIA

The monastic landscapes of the other Pauline monasteries can be reconstructed less fully, as it was discussed previously, firstly, because the identification of the site of certain Pauline monasteries is problematic, secondly, their exact number is still unknown. Concerning the written sources, for a few monasteries these are unevenly preserved in order to be enough for a landscape or land use reconstruction. Another issue with the written data is that the main source for the Transylvanian monasteries is the charter compilation of Gyöngyösi, who enlisted the existing documents (donations, litigations, agreements etc.) of a monastery and gave the reference to the original charter that he had used at the time of the compilation, yet in most of the cases the original charters do not exist anymore. Thus, important details, which could aid landscape or land use reconstruction remain missing.

5.4.1. Szentmihálykő

From the perspective of written evidence, the Pauline monastery of *Szentmihálykő* (presumed to have existed on the boundary of today's Tótfalud village (Co. Fehér) in the Ompoly Valley, under the bishop's castle⁸²³) is fairly well provided, one can roughly reconstruct what types of donations and lands it owned (Appendix 3), for example: mill incomes (from a mill on the Sebes River between Szászsebes and Péterfalva, on the *Enyed-Pathaka* in Nagyenyed) and one mill (Péterfalva), vineyards (Sárd, Magyarigen-*Barátságölő*, Ompolykisfalud), two fishponds (Kolozs, Nagycse), and additional houses (Nagyholdvilág, Vingárd), land plots (Vingárd, Székásverese gyháza), deserted and inhabited peasant plots (Vingárd-deserted, Szarakszó, Alsóvárads), salt income (in 1532 from the salt chamber in Torda)⁸²⁴, and other incomes (wine and cereal tithe – Vingárd, money donations).

⁸²² SzOkI III, 256-257. If the family did not have heirs, the exchanged half part of the fishpond from Toldalag would return to the Paulines. It seems that in this case the fishpond must have been quite valuable, since the Paulines received peasant land plots (four were inhabited, the others were desolate) and a fishpond in Nagycse for half of a fishpond (with mill places and waters). According to the Latin text the fishpond must have been quite extensive because a number of mills and mill places are mentioned, some of them probably already existed but others could be built. Another possibility could have been that a number of fishponds existed not just one. Today four large fishponds are still in use near Toldalag.

⁸²³ In 1276 the site for the castle was chosen, in the forest called *Fylesd* (Fülesd, later Fenes?), which belonged to the chapter of Gyulafehérvár. The chapter conceded the territory needed for the raising of the castle to the bishop. See: EO I, 238/341; MNL OL, DF 277348.

⁸²⁴ Jakab Rupp, *Magyarország helyrajzi története fő tekintettel az egyházi intézményekre* [Topographical history of Hungary with main view on the religious institutions] vol. 3 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvkiadó Hivatala, 1876), 236.

Concerning the foundation of this Pauline monastery, at least two opinions can be found in the literature. Some claim that it was established by Dominic Szécsi, while others claim that it was founded by bishop Goblin in 1384.⁸²⁵ It was also argued that the founder was Szécsi in 1363 but Goblin united the Pauline house with the St. Anna and Elisabeth monastery from Gyulafehérvár.⁸²⁶ Furthermore, in Gyöngyösi's *Inventarium* the monastery is mentioned under the name "Erdeel" and is considered to be the same monastery as the one founded near Gyulafehérvár. According to his description the new foundation took place in a former, abandoned monastery dedicated to Saint Elisabeth, but later was devoted to the Blessed Virgin. All this provokes serious confusions in deciding whether there were actually two or three Pauline monasteries or only one, knowing that none of them had ever been identified on the terrain (perhaps except the ruins seen by Béla Cserni). However, the Paulines from *Szentmihálykő* are mentioned in a perambulation from 1299/1369, when the boundaries between Borbánd, Ompolykisfalud, and Sárd were described (the hermits appear mentioned in the boundary of Ompolykisfalud).⁸²⁷ It was inferred that the monastery became deserted after the murder of George Martinuzzi, in 1551, and around 1556 entered into lay ownership.⁸²⁸ Yet, in 1579 the return of the Paulines was urged by Cristopher Báthory⁸²⁹ but a year later the monastery was mentioned as turned into a deposit.⁸³⁰ The building was deserted in 1586 and was donated to the Jesuit college from Gyulafehérvár. Lastly, the remains were seen by Béla Cserni in the 1890s.⁸³¹ In a short assessment he described the ruins he identified with the remains of the Pauline monastery. However, the site of the monastery is unknown today, most likely it was incorporated into modern buildings because in the time of B. Cserni the foundations were already uncovered by locals and treasure hunters. Additionally, the ruins were spread in two courtyards with different owners. Traces of buildings that could be connected to the Paulines could not be identified on historic maps either.

Written evidence illustrates a prosperous monastery with a great variety of donations. This is the only Pauline monastery in Transylvania which received salt income attested by documentary evidence. An entry of the protocols from Kolozsmonostor, from around 1460, recorded that Benedict and Anthony, residents of the Holy Virgin monastery constructed

⁸²⁵ DAP II, 433.

⁸²⁶ Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 64.

⁸²⁷ DRH C XIII, 568-569/368; EO I, 335-336 – preserved in a partial copy, which can possibly be dated as early as 1299, the Latin text records the "heremitarum sancti Pauli"; MNL OL, DL 3039. Also a place called *Zenthmyhal Kw* is mentioned.

⁸²⁸ DAP II, 177; Rusu, *Dicționarul*, 260.

⁸²⁹ DAP II, 433.

⁸³⁰ DAP II, 434.

⁸³¹ Béla, "A Szentmihálykői zárdának felfedezéséről," *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 19 (1899): 438-440.

under the castle of *Szentmihálykő* (*ordinis sancti Pauli primi heremithe in claustro beate Marie virginis sub castro sancti Michaelis fundato commorantes*) protested against the widow and three sons of Michael *Gerewasarheli*, because they had ransacked (on open road) their lay brother (*fratrum conversum*).⁸³² Michael, the lay brother⁸³³, was transporting carts of salt from the Transylvanian parts (*cum quibusdam curribus ad exportandos sales de partibus Transsilvanis*). So, it seems that the Paulines received salt already before the donation of 1532. The amount and the exact destination are not documented, so one cannot tell if they were transporting the salt for their own use or for trading purposes, most likely the latter. The preserved documents nicely outline the consistent support from the part of the Transylvanian bishops, and sometimes even from the part of the Transylvanian voivode and the king. Also, a connection can be detected with the Paulines from *Szentkirály* in 1461, when the two Pauline houses exchanged a fishpond from *Madaras* (they owned it jointly) for another fishpond in *Nagyercse*, which could be used more efficiently.

Provided relatively well with written sources, a landscape or land use reconstruction could be attempted. However, due to time and financial restrictions further field investigations are needed in this region to identify the location of the monastic buildings.

Another important detail concerning *Szentmihálykő* comes from M. Urbán that in 1402 the monastery was a pilgrimage place.⁸³⁴ This was known from earlier⁸³⁵ but without additional details much else cannot be said about it.

5.4.2. Pókafalva

The Pauline monastery from *Pókafalva* has probably the least documentary sources thus, its landscape cannot be reconstructed. Recently, a study has been written on its short and troubled history.⁸³⁶ The now deserted Pauline church is situated on a small hill opposite the village's parish church, on the southern edge of the village of *Pókafalva*, on the fringes of Co. *Szeben*, during Middle Ages in the historic Co. *Fehér*, later Lower *Fehér*. The few surviving sources about the monastery reveal that the foundation of a Pauline house in *Pókafalva* was not successful. This is one of those cases, when due to unclarified reasons the foundation failed. Yet, in this matter presumably the closeness of the privileged Saxon lands and the property structure of the surrounding territories played a decisive role. For instance, one of the largest landowners in the region was the provostry of *Nagyszeben*, which existed from the end

⁸³² KmJkv I, 565/1449; MNL OL, DL 36392 p. 91 nr. 1.

⁸³³ Other two lay brothers are known by name (Francis and Demetrius) from 1520, see Rusu, *Dicționarul*, 259.

⁸³⁴ Urbán, "Pálos zarándokhelyek," 66.

⁸³⁵ Entz, *Erdély építészete a 14-16. században*, 472; Rusu, *Dicționarul*, 259.

⁸³⁶ Hopârtean, "The Order of St. Paul the Hermit," 163-168.

of the twelfth century until the fifteenth century, and its territories stretched to the southwest and southeast of Pókafalva. Later, the properties were taken over by the town of Nagyszeben. Quite close-by were the territories owned by the Transylvanian bishop and the cathedral chapter (*capitulum*), to the northwest. Towards the northeast a group of four settlements belonged to the Cistercian abbey of Egres (Monora⁸³⁷ - from 1205⁸³⁸, Nagyholdvilág, Sorostély, and Szászcsanád⁸³⁹), which later passed on to the Seat of Szeben. Additionally, local noble families (like the Pókafalvi and Keréki⁸⁴⁰ or the Hosszúteleki), the demesne of Vingárd and the Transylvanian chapter (Oláhbogát, Buzd and Székásgyepü) owned lands in the surroundings of Pókafalva.⁸⁴¹ In this respect, unless endowed by the neighboring landlords (Transylvanian bishop and the Saxons) the monastery had faint chances to survive.

The Pauline monastery was established around 1416-1418 by Ladislaus, priest and canon of Doborka, member of a local noble family, and dedicated to St. Mary.⁸⁴² According to C. Hopârtean⁸⁴³ and M. Urbán⁸⁴⁴ in 1418 the monastery received an indulgence which attests that the monastery was newly built.⁸⁴⁵ Around the middle of the fifteenth century it was destroyed by an Ottoman raid. Then, the vice-voivode of Transylvania tried to repopulate the monastery with Franciscan friars, in 1448.⁸⁴⁶ However, it seems that this remained only at the level of a plan, the friars did not settle in the end. Curiously, a document from 1475 (described in detail in the next paragraph) mentioned a forest of the Paulines and a member of the community, who was robbed.⁸⁴⁷ Due to the scarcity of the sources it is hard to contextualize this event but it seems that at that date monks lived in the monastery. In 1496 a descendant of the founders, Balthasar de Pókafalva was looking for an order to settle in the monastery.⁸⁴⁸ In line with some of the sources, he tried to invite monks from Budaszentlőrinc but his offer was rejected. In 1516 the monastery was empty⁸⁴⁹, and on the general meeting of the order from 1533 it was specified that they did not have a monastery in Pókafalva.⁸⁵⁰ This is all that is known about its history. However, the church built in the fifteenth century still

⁸³⁷ The settlement lies on a salt massiv, with additional salt springs.

⁸³⁸ Mittelstrass, *Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte*, 93.

⁸³⁹ Salt springs.

⁸⁴⁰ Diaconescu, *Structura nobilimii*, 340-342.

⁸⁴¹ Based on the estate map compiled by Engel.

⁸⁴² Rusu, *Dicționarul*, 203; UB IV, 1844.

⁸⁴³ Hopârtean, "The Order of St. Paul," 167/note 25.

⁸⁴⁴ Urbán, "Pálos zárándokhelyek," 66.

⁸⁴⁵ UB IV, 1844.

⁸⁴⁶ Pál Lukcsics, *XV. századi pápák oklevelei* [Charters issued by fifteenth century popes], vol. 2 (Budapest: Római Magyar Történelmi Intézet, 1938), 260-261; UB V, 2644.

⁸⁴⁷ UB VII, 4023. MNL OL, DF 275420.

⁸⁴⁸ Rusu, *Dicționarul*, 203.

⁸⁴⁹ Entz, *Erdély építészete a 14-16. században*, 424.

⁸⁵⁰ Rusu, *Dicționarul*, 204.

stands today. It is not used by the community (it is in the ownership of the Hungarian Calvinist Church) therefore the building can be seen in an advanced state of degradation. The church is quite small with a polygonal sanctuary. The main portal is on the western side and additional entrances can be seen of the southern and northern walls of the church.

Concerning its landed properties only one or two details can be inferred. In 1475 a forest of the hermits in Pókafalva was mentioned in an illegal trespassing of the Kereki family during which a monk was attacked, trees were cut down, and their pigs destroyed the pasture.⁸⁵¹ The monastery was specified in a perambulation in 1515.⁸⁵² Then, in a litigation from 1516, it was mentioned: “piscina ad clastrum beate virginis pro nunc desolatum de Pokafalwa”. Thus, from a landscape point of view we know that at a certain point the monastery owned a forest/woodpasture and a fishpond in the village of Pókafalva. It seems that the collective memory preserved the presence of the Paulines and the monastery for quite a while. Even in 1593 and 1616 a place called “Clastrom föld” (land of the cloister) and the “Barátok oldala” (slope of the brothers) were known.⁸⁵³ However, the still standing, modest-sized church which was later used by the protestants indicates that the community which inhabited it in the beginning must have been quite small. Since excavations did not reveal additional monastic buildings nor towers, it is unclear where the monks could have lived.⁸⁵⁴ Perhaps geophysical survey of a larger neighboring area could provide some clues on monastic annexes.

Regarding the preserved landscape features, in 2012, a brief field walk was organized⁸⁵⁵ to investigate the surroundings of the monastery. A large fishpond could be identified right in the valley under the monastic church (between the two hills with the two churches). The remains of dams were still well-preserved and the area was marshy even though it had been filled up. The only map that represents this fishpond is the Second Military Survey (Fig. 72) but its outline can be distinguished even in Google Earth (Fig. 73). In my opinion, this can be most likely associated with the fishpond mentioned in 1516; however, later sources (from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) indicate that at least two ponds were located in this valley and belonged to local people.

⁸⁵¹ UB VII, 4023.

⁸⁵² “monasterium heremitarum” in MNL OL, DL 36531.

⁸⁵³ Szabó, *Erdélyi helynévgyűjtése*, Alsófehér, 160.

⁸⁵⁴ Maybe the first buildings were built from wood, but excavations did not identify any traces.

⁸⁵⁵ The team was composed mostly of the same members as previously in 2011: József Laszlovszky, Csilla Siklódi, and Dóra Mérai.

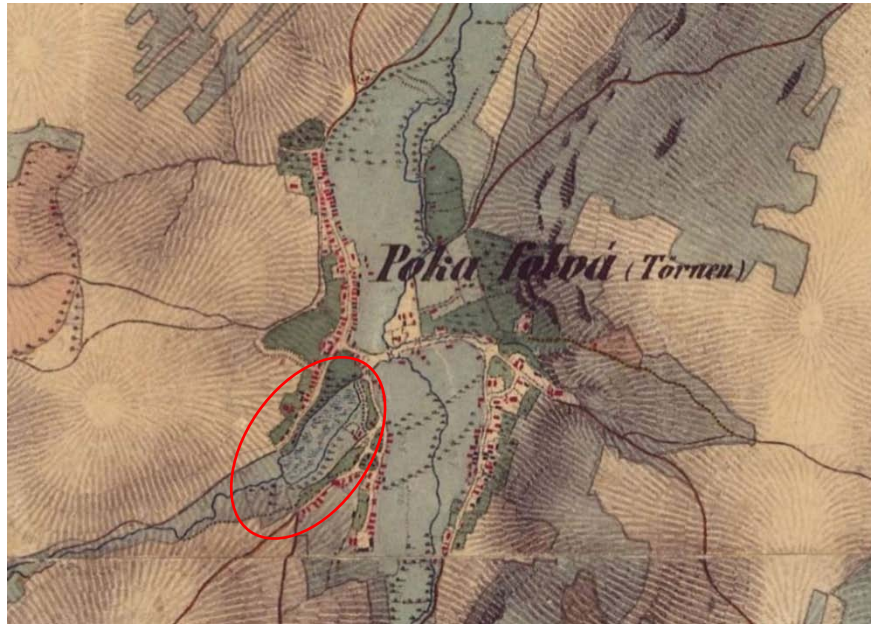


Fig. 72. The valley pond on the Second Military Survey



Fig. 73. Traces of the valley pond from Google Earth (2018)

5.5. CONCLUSIONS

As seen above, the best chronological and land use reconstruction could be elaborated for the Pauline house in *Szentkirály*. The sources clearly outline how the monastic properties of *Szentkirály* started expanding from the close-by area of the monastic buildings reaching out to the territories of different surrounding medieval counties (Kolozs and Torda). In concordance with the expansion of monastic estates, the evolution of the monastery had also met several milestones. This expansion can be partly attributed to the donors, but later on, when the monastery had sufficient funds (regular money income), the monks could afford to buy new land and supplement their estates but also to work their lands with wagers. In addition, the location of the monastery, close to a major road and river, as well as a

developing regional market town could allude to an involvement of the monks in trade or even production, on a regional level. Due to the lack of archaeological excavations and the silence of written evidence this statement can remain only a hypothesis. However, the success of this Pauline house can be attributed to the favorable synchronization of the above-mentioned factors. In this respect the settlement of the Franciscans is important as well since it shows that the developing market town could support two monasteries. Even though still many details are missing from a complete landscape reconstruction it seems that their economy and land management was quite efficient and long-lived in comparison to the other two orders. The great Cistercian abbey in Kerc was the first monastic house to be dissolved by King Matthias because of the poor management of its incomes and properties. If one looks at the Benedictines in Kolozsmonostor, all along the centuries the maximum potential of their properties could not be exploited because of the abbey's powerful neighbors and rivals, who always tried to hinder the activities of the abbey. In this respect, throughout the abbey's existence, the Benedictines were in a continuous fight to keep the monastic lands. On the other hand, the Paulines in *Szentkirály* did not face such strong, ever-expanding neighbors. The only strong rival was the market town of Marosvásárhely, which had a slower development than that of Kolozsvár, and could annex new territories only in a later period. Thus, the Paulines could keep their properties easier than the large monasteries which can at least be partly ascribed to the smaller size of the land donations but perhaps also to a more flexible property management. It is not known whether the customary laws and traditions of the Székely Land had any influence on the Pauline land management or to what degree. The smaller extent and scattered nature of the land donations in comparison to the Benedictine or Cistercian estates needed a different type of management but probably facilitated a more stable ownership. The written sources document fewer cases, when Pauline properties were forcefully occupied, or the neighbors illegally took crops or stole wood; although, this relatively favourable account may be due to the scarcity of sources.

On the other hand, the research of the other Pauline monasteries is blurred by uncertainties. Even though the monastery of *Szentmihálykő* was probably as wealthy as the one at *Szentkirály* (if not wealthier) its land use can be reconstructed less fully. One of the key factors for its survival was its closeness to the bishopric seat of Gyulafehérvár and the fact that generally, the Transylvanian bishops and other religious personalities saw to its endowment (even the king confirmed a salt donation). Sadly, the monastic ruins were never again identified. As discussed above, the only site identification comes from 1899, based on

the observations of Béla Cserni, who visited a number of times the site of the castle and the monastery.⁸⁵⁶

On a general level, a change and development of the economic management of the Pauline properties can be noted. As the examples show, the basic forms of economy were established by the fourteenth century (donation of arable lands, vineyards, mills etc.), later they managed to evolve or change to a more stable monetary economy.⁸⁵⁷ From the point of view of land use, the Paulines managed successfully a great variety of different resources, many of them small-scale as well, even though the sources do not offer insight into the entire social structure of people involved in the monastic land management. In contrast, the group of donors and their social status is well represented. All the analyzed Pauline monasteries were dedicated to the Holy Virgin. The social background of the donors can be fairly identified and largely correlate to the other regions of the Hungarian Kingdom. Mainly three groups supported the Paulines: local noble families, townsmen and occasionally magnates, and quite frequently for Transylvania ecclesiastic leaders or local priests.

The above-presented cases illustrate well how the Paulines concentrated or specialized on certain incomes in certain geographic areas. For example, in *Szentkirály*, where due to the high discharge of the Maros River numerous leats could be formed and a large number of mills could be set up. Thus, by owning mills and mill incomes the Paulines could maximize their profit and influence in the region or perhaps even form a monopoly. As for the Paulines of *Szentmihálykő*, they owned a particularly high number of vineyards or parts of vineyards in the context of Transylvania, but did not own forests, at least that's what the documents infer. This might be ascribed to the fact that their monastery lay under the bishop's castle, in the Transylvanian chapter's forest, from where they received wood for their daily needs and for constructions. For the monastery in *Szentmihálykő* it is quite obvious (as the sources reflect) that they relied on money income and did not deal with farming and animal husbandry.

Comparing Transylvania to the other regions of the Hungarian kingdom inhabited by Paulines, a few characteristics arise. Firstly, their settlement in the privileged region of the Székely Land, in Maros Seat, where different customary laws and social organization were in effect than in the Saxon lands or in the royal counties. Here it must be highlighted that, as seen above, the Paulines received as donation, amongst others, also the noble title of *primipilus*. This title was in fact a Székely heritage that meant inherited rights and properties, and offices held in the Seat as well as obligation to military service. According to the

⁸⁵⁶ Cserni, "A Szentmihálykői," 438-440.

⁸⁵⁷ Romhányi, *A lelkiek*, 130-132.

documents, these inherited properties were sometimes quite extensive, comprising several villages with lands (forests, meadows etc.) mills and mill rights.⁸⁵⁸ Occasionally, even more than one title of *primipilatus* could be held by a person, but in this case also by the Paulines (they owned in total six). Yet, it is not known whether the Paulines actually equipped soldiers or fulfilled any offices while holding the titles of *primipilatus*.

As B. Romhányi observed, the higher revenues came especially from vineyards, mills, town houses, tolls or even salt incomes.⁸⁵⁹ The Transylvanian Pauline monasteries were not in shortage of any of these. For example, the Paulines from *Szentmihálykő* owned only mills, vineyards, fishponds, peasant plots and houses (plus salt income) but no arable land, forest or meadow (the sources do not mention these). The house in *Szentkirály* owned mainly mills/mill places, forests, fishponds/share of fishponds, arable lands, meadows, vineyards but only two village houses and one town house (and an entire peasant village before 1529). In terms of attested acquisitions made by the Paulines in Transylvania, it can be concluded that the house at *Szentmihálykő* bought parts of two mills (the eighth part of a three-wheeled mill on Enyed-Pathaka for 64 gold florins and the third part of half of a mill on the Sebes River for 110 florins) and all property parts of *Caspar Horváth de Vingart* for 150 gold florins (in Váradya, Gaáld, and Fahyd). The Paulines of *Szentkirály* spent 25 florins on a wood pasture and a hay land, and 350 florins on a house with a plot and a mill place but also on the acquisition of five Székely hereditary rights (*Siculicales*). Based on the territorial differences, it was already discussed that the Paulines in Slavonia owned a higher number of peasant villages and forests (pig keeping), but very few town houses and mills. The monasteries in northeastern Hungary had a higher number of vineyards while the ones in the North Hungarian Mountains more mills than the rest of the houses.⁸⁶⁰ A special tendency, in this respect, for medieval Transylvania cannot be observed. It seems that the Transylvanian Pauline houses owned a varied set of lands and incomes and mostly those which provided higher revenues. Also, amongst the Transylvanian Pauline foundations a rare example of a failed monastic foundation can be seen in the case of Pókafalva. The reasons behind an unsuccessful foundation or re-settlement could be multiple, starting from poor site selection to the insufficient wealth of the endowments or the insecurity of a region. In this case the exact reasons are not known, only a hypothesis can be put forward. Perhaps the monastery was too close to the border and exposed to Ottoman attacks (just as Kerc was), since it was primarily

⁸⁵⁸ Elek Benkő and Attila Székely, *Középkori udvarház és nemesség a Székelyföldön* (Nap Kiadó, 2008), 11-30.

⁸⁵⁹ Romhányi, *A lelkiek*, 132.

⁸⁶⁰ See data on this in Romhányi, *A lelkiek*, 130-142.

destroyed by an Ottoman raid, and in the coming years the imminent Ottoman attacks just accentuated. Also, as it was highlighted earlier, the territory was surrounded by larger (e.g. Saxons) and smaller noble domains, it was an area where only the mendicants could prosper.

A cluster of Pauline monasteries can be found in the region of Nagyvárd as well, in the extended, modern-day Transylvania (Fig. 62) and one early foundation (1272/1290) along the Lower Maros River, in Kalodva, in Bánság. Their detailed case study was never done but it would be highly interesting to see how these evolved and how they shaped their surrounding landscape, compared to the houses from medieval Transylvania. Also, it would be engaging to see comparative studies on how characteristic or not was to donate not only local properties for the Paulines but lands, which were situated in other counties or more distant places.

This chapter showed that the Transylvanian Paulines enforce the earlier observations according to which this Hungarian-founded order could well adapt to the local changing circumstances all along its medieval history. This is why their monasteries survived and flourished even in the late Middle Ages, when they were able to take over monasteries from other orders as well. Even though in Transylvania this did not happen given the small number of monasteries but their flexibility is still well-illustrated.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this dissertation has been to assess the impact of three monastic orders (Benedictines, Cistercians, and Paulines) on the landscape through the detailed analysis of three large, representative monasteries from each order (in the form of case studies). Three key topics emerge from the study. First, the methodology, which was an attempt at a holistic landscape approach in order to identify potential monastic landscapes that can be studied in detail in the future. Why was this approach applied and what were its advantages and potential difficulties? Could this approach serve as a model for future investigations? Second, the appearance and survival of the studied monastic orders in Transylvania and their scarcity compared to the other historic regions of the Hungarian Kingdom, highlighting the characteristics of Transylvania. Finally, to investigate whether different monastic regions existed in Transylvania or whether Transylvania as a historic region formed a distinct monastic region as well, and how could these be recognized or defined. Can Transylvania be characterized as one monastic region or not? It raises the issue of patterns or differences observed in these monastic regions as well as the varying land use and management of the analyzed abbeys.

METHODOLOGY

The attempt at a holistic landscape approach employed in this thesis is unique and distinctive for medieval Transylvania and the territory of modern-day Romania. Previously, no other monastic study had concentrated and adopted such methodology for the analysis of monasteries and to the depth that has been done here. I have combined the data extraction from the documents with field surveys and other available sources. In all instances the area beyond the monastic complex received great attention which has not been pursued by earlier studies or only rarely. Furthermore, the monastic landscape approach was in the same time an interpretational model, where the spiritual and material aspects of a monastery were discussed (more or less depending on the sources) in one interpretational framework, and how these aspects were inprinted into the landscape. The work is also different in the sense that a monastery is interpreted in the context of the whole monastic complex (including the estates) in the framework of a monastic landscape and not of a monastic site (building or archaeological site). However, it needs to be highlighted that a full holistic landscape approach could not be undertaken for all the monastic houses and their estates (due to

financial, timely and human resource limitations), only potential areas could be identified which in the future can be explored in-depth.

Generally, the Transylvanian abbeys are poorly documented, although a few exceptions do exist (like Kolozsmonostor). This state of sources underlines even more the need of a new approach. The landscape archaeological approach combined with the study of the monastic estates offers a better understanding when relevant written sources are absent. The case studies presented in this dissertation clearly outline the source availabilities for each monastery. Nonetheless, by combining the documentary evidence with landscape data, a more complete and realistic picture can be reconstructed. Previous land use and the geomorphology of an area influence its later land use and thus, may provide insights into the site selection and land exploitation of the monastic orders. The post-monastic landscapes (just as the pre-monastic), even though a subject only partially but frequently touched in this dissertation, reflect that most of the monastic sites (along with their properties), especially those of larger abbeys remained or returned in ecclesiastic property, while some of the smaller houses ended up in lay ownership.

The dissertation includes the results of excavations and non-invasive surveys, where these were available. They primarily provided insight into the layout of the monastic buildings and unidentified annexes, and allowed further observations in cases, where the ruins are still underground (which is characteristic for Transylvania). Through field walking the landscape features and surviving toponyms were mapped and interpreted in comparison with historic maps, something that has not been done previously (even though only for a small part of all the monastic properties). These unveiled valuable details on land use and the changes that occurred in the landscape but also on the survival of toponyms and a community's collective memory on monastic sites and properties. For a smaller part of landscape features (fishponds) the aerial photos were useful since they provided a view of a larger area around the feature.

Some of the landscape elements could be more easily identified than others, such as the water-related features (few remained in the same place for hundreds of years) or historic roads which survived for a longer period due to their longer use and geographic positioning. For example, those roads which passed through hills or on a hill ridge, or even those that went through woodland were preserved much better than those located on the floodplain or hill sides. Most of the local roads are in use even today as road track or footpath, or lay under the modern road pavement. Sometimes the isolated positioning of the road aided its preservation. The terrain coverage and the traces of cultivation can be less easily identified on the field, and

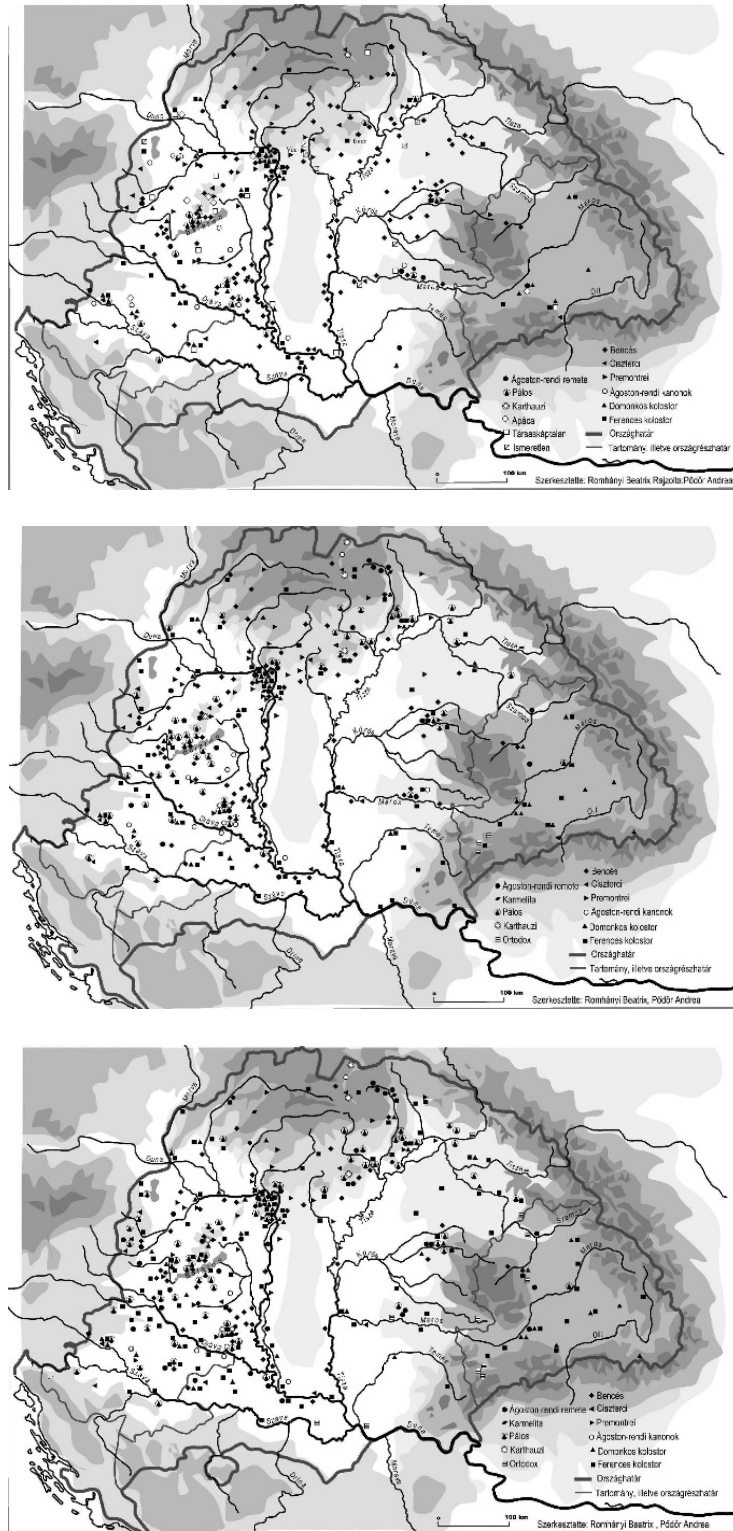


Fig. 74. The monastic network of medieval Hungary from 1200 until around 1500, from the top down (maps by Romhányi, “Kolostorhálózat,” 14-27)

Some religious communities never settled in Transylvania, such as the Augustinian canons, Carthusians, and Carmelites. The earliest monastic communities can be attributed to the Benedictines who were already present in the eleventh century. After the Mongol invasion the number of Benedictine houses rose significantly in several parts of the medieval kingdom

of Hungary but not in Transylvania, here only Kolozsmonostor was revived from all the Benedictine abbeys. The Cistercians arrived as late as the beginning of the thirteenth century to Transylvania, when the lands were already allotted to the incoming populations. The Paulines appeared even later, in the second half of the fourteenth century with the support of local nobles and the Transylvanian bishop. This falls into the second large expansion of the Paulines, when they established monasteries outside the borders of Hungary (e.g. Poland, Croatia). It seems that only one foundation was unsuccessful, in Pókafalva, the rest of the monasteries received enough endowment to survive until their dissolution. The mendicant orders were more successful than the monastic communities (with much more houses), they were present in Transylvania in almost all the large towns and market towns.

It is still a question whether to some extent, a delayed appearance can be attributed to a possible later colonization of the region although the organization into royal counties of Transylvania started already in the time of King Stephen I. Also, the Christianization of the territory just as in the whole Hungarian Kingdom took place later than in Western Europe. The process of Christianization in Hungary is still not fully clarified and understood in the scholarship however, it is interesting that in Hungary the process of Christianization went hand-in-hand with the foundation of monasteries. Moreover, as it was mentioned the Benedictines played an important role in mission in their early years.⁸⁶³ From this perspective it is not known exactly what function did the early Benedictines have in Kolozsmonostor. By the time some of the largest monastic orders reached medieval Hungary and within it Transylvania, their intensive expansion had already subsided in other regions except for e.g. in central-eastern Europe. In contrast the Benedictines were present at an earlier date. With a less-well established network of monasteries and fewer supporters even the most significant monastic orders needed royal support (especially after the Mongol destruction, when even the largest abbeys could barely recover) in Transylvania. Also, generally, the significant distance of the Hungarian monasteries from the mother houses (in some cases) made the flow of information and people more difficult in some cases. However, as it was discussed the Cistercians from Kerc were in close connection with their motherhouse and through them with the Chapter General and so on. Based on the very few details from the written sources local connections can be hypothesized for Kolozsmonostor and Szentkirály (e.g. in the time of George Martinuzzi) as well as for Szentmihálykő and Szentkirály (e.g. a common fishpond). I

⁸⁶³ Nora Berend, József Laszlovszky and Béla Zsolt Szakács, "The Kingdom of Hungary," in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy. Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus*, ed. Nora Berend (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 319-368.

would argue that all the leaders of the religious institutions in Transylvania must have had some kind of relationship and probably knew each other (just as they would with the lay leaders etc.) even though the sources do not discuss these details.

Medieval Transylvania was different from Western Europe in many ways. First of all, during the Middle Ages it was frequently a border area, a battle ground, and a transition zone. Probably most of the monastic orders were not too keen on settling in unsafe/unstable regions unless they were urged by the Pope or the order's missionary activity, or received substantial support from the king. Even though the sources are silent the missionary activity has to be highlighted since it was presumably present in the early phase of monastic foundations such as Kolozsmonostor or Kerc and it was most certainly present in the activity of the mendicants. Second, it was a buffer zone between western and eastern Christianity, the western culture and the new migrating populations coming from the east and the south, who sometimes settled in Hungary (like the Cumans and the Romanians/Vlachs) or those who just swept through the territory (Mongols, Ottoman Turks). As the eastern border region of the Kingdom of Hungary, it was mainly colonized by communities, who were employed by the kings as border guards, and in exchange for a variety of privileges and exemptions owed military service. These communities brought their own culture and different needs with them, which had to be secured by the king. Thus, already from the outset the inhabitants of Transylvania enjoyed different privileges in different regions. Besides these populations, the kings and the church owned extensive lands, where again different rules and sets of privileges were in effect. From this point of view, the following territories can be highlighted (with differing privileges): the counties (vármegye), the districts, and the seats. Transylvania was appealing also for the Holy See, as it has been observed by Ş. Turcuş. Throughout the Middle Ages the Popes tried to extend their influence to certain areas of Transylvania and they successfully managed to acquire landed estates, the incomes of which entitled the Holy See. Innocent III was the most successful in this respect. One such territory was the Barcaság, the land received by the Teutonic knights, which even after their expulsion remained under the authority of the Holy See or at least the Holy See kept its claim to the tax and did not recognize Andrew II's action of expulsion of the Teutonic knights.⁸⁶⁴

The Transylvanian nobility is one of the less researched topics of history, although it fits into the evolution of the Hungarian nobility in general with its characteristics defined by

⁸⁶⁴ More on this subject: Şerban Turcuş, "Papa Grigore al XI-lea și revendicarea fiscală a teritoriului Teuton al Țării Bârsei la 1373 [Pope Gregory XI and the tax claim for the Teutonic territory of Țara Bârsei in 1373]," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie 'George Barițiu' din Cluj-Napoca* 56 (2017): 155-164.

regional isolation as well as the administrative and judicial autonomy of the Transylvanian viovodeship. Most of the ancestors of the Transylvanian noble families can be traced back until the middle of the thirteenth and rarely to the twelfth century but their social and judicial status remain unknown.⁸⁶⁵ Thus, also their formation and property structures have not been clarified, and because of their reduced numbers compared to the western European medieval kingdoms, they comprised a thinner layer that could found and endow large monasteries. As it was discussed above, at a later phase the Saxons and the Székelys preferred the mendicant communities, so the monastic orders were less supported, at least this is what the sources indicate. Perhaps this “preference” can be connected to the endowments that needed to be provided for the foundations of the monasteries (e.g. for the monastic orders extended landed estates could not be torn out from the privileged lands). In this respect the mendicants could be sustained through various donations and had a higher chance for sustainability in the developing towns. However, a general significant break (if not the end) in the settlement of monastic orders in Transylvania (perhaps it can be better described as a cut) was caused by the Mongol invasion. Even the major monasteries needed time and royal support to recover. Many of the smaller monasteries and nunneries never recovered. The most significant monasteries which would survive until the Reformation were the royal foundations, or in the case of the Paulines (they also enjoyed the support of the kings), those houses which were founded by the bishops or wealthier noble families.

The property structures evolved separately and particularly for each abbey based on the endowments, local circumstances, and social relations. The land use patterns identified in this dissertation also influenced greatly the stability and survival of the abbeys. In some cases, like for Kolozsmonostor or Kerc the central property blocks developed by the fourteenth century and provided constant income for the communities. Although Kolozsmonostor lost a significant part of its distant lands to lay landowners, its main properties (some of which were extensive) remained in the abbey’s possession until its dissolution. Kerc also managed to keep and to develop the monastic villages around the abbey.

In the case of the Pauline monasteries cash income was higher while apparently they owned less landed property than Kolozsmonostor or Kerc. However, Szentkirály received a large number of land donations but their extent is not known thus, it cannot be compared to the Benedictine or Cistercian lands. What is sure is that the Paulines were the most involved in lease agreements, as it is nicely outlined by the high number of mills and mill places.

⁸⁶⁵ Diaconescu, *Structura nobilimii*, 18. Also, this is the only comprehensive study on Transylvanian nobility of the Angevin period.

Concerning the land donations, the Paulines received the highest number of small, scattered lands in several villages (usually land plot with or without houses), so they did not really own entire villages (with few exceptions, see Unoka, Toldalag) like the Benedictines or Cistercians. The Paulines in Szentkirály received so many donations in *Zekelfalva* that at least half of the village ended up in their possession, so they too managed to form a stable base close to the monastic buildings.

Transylvania: one monastic region or several monastic regions?

The last and the most important issue that the dissertation addressed was the question of monastic landscapes or regions. I think that the analyzed sources and the gathered data illustrates how the main monasteries had built up their landed estates and how they managed them. Therefore, I would argue that various monastic landscapes co-existed with other religious and secular landscapes which together made Transylvania a distinct region within the Kingdom of Hungary, with a particular development for each large abbey. As the maps illustrate, the earliest Benedictine communities were concentrated in northwestern Transylvania, in the royal counties and the situation remained the same after the Mongol invasion, with the change that only Kolozsmonostor survived. The easternmost male Cistercian abbey in Europe was royally founded in Kerc, in southern Transylvania (in Fogaras Land) in the early thirteenth century, while the Pauline monasteries lined up along the Upper Maros River and its close environment in the fourteenth century, with a cluster around Gyulafehérvár. Chronologically, in very general terms, the first were the Benedictines in northwestern (and the nunneries in southern) Transylvania, then the Cistercians in southern Transylvania, and lastly the Paulines in the middle, along the Maros River. It seems that all three religious communities (Benedictines, Cistercians, and Paulines) settled and maintained their presence in three distinct parts of medieval Transylvania with at least two large free spaces, one in the Mezőség, the other around the Kis and Nagy Küküllő. All monasteries were situated on smaller hilltops close to significant roads or trade routes, larger towns or market towns as well as rivers. However, at the same time, one might interpret medieval Transylvania as a particular region within the Hungarian Kingdom, where the monastic orders adjusted to the local characteristics and privileged communities, and formed their property clusters close to the abbey buildings. Thus, the small number of monastic houses (in contrast to the higher number of mendicants) can be regarded a characteristic feature of medieval Transylvania. Perhaps it would bring new results if a similar analysis of the mendicants would be added to the monastic orders.

The management of monastic estates could be studied only for Kolozsmonostor, where the archival sources preserved the names of some of the estate managers employed by the abbey from local noble families. They were also in charge of collecting the tithes and products. How many estates were assigned to an estate manager it is not known. Still, as the few written sources show, for Abafája-Apáti one single estate manager was assigned just as for Bönye. The monastic estates of Kerc and Kolozsmonostor were inhabited mainly by tenant peasants and *hospites* who provided products for the abbeys. For the Paulines, only the village of Unoka and Toldalag is known to have been donated with its peasants. The tillage of the lands was documented only for Kolozsmonostor, it could be observed that generally the two-field system was in use, and in the late sixteenth century the three-field system was used at the same time with the two-field system (documented for the village Kolozsmonostor in the 1590-1594 *urbarium*). Also, some of the monastic settlements (both for Kerc and Kolozsmonostor) were formed as an outcome of forest clearance, which was a phenomenon observed also in Transdanubia by J. Laszlovszky. In the group of estates of Kolozsmonostor, in Kajántó Valley, the new settlements were formed in side valleys, migrating from the larger valleys. The village of Tiburcztelke is a good example of this process. One of the important features of the three closely studied monasteries is that all of them facilitated the formation of a village close to the monastic buildings (Kolozsmonostor – the village Monostor, later Kolozsmonostor; Kerc – the village Kerc; Szentkirály – the village Remeteszeg). The lodging of the abbots was documented only for Kolozsmonostor in the fourteenth century, when it was mentioned that his house/lodging was in the village of Monostor. For Kerc and Szentkirály presumably the abbots lived with the community in the monastic buildings in their own lodging.

Even certain areas with historic land use could be pinpointed through field surveys. For the single, largest Cistercian monastery, Kerc, the situation was different, it was located in a very different administrative environment, between the territory of the Saxons and the Blach/Romanian population (it owned villages with Saxon and Romanian inhabitants), and quite close to the southern border, which entailed a number of attacks on the monastery. In this perspective, the Cistercians were in a more precarious position than those monasteries which lay in the central parts of Transylvania. They were also involved in land colonization, established at least two villages but based on the analysis of toponyms probably more.

Even though the sources are not entirely clear, they were probably involved in the salt trade and other commercial activities (being so close to one of the main commercial routes and owning a town house in Nagyszeben). Interesting information is provided by the location

of four properties of Egres in Transylvania (Monora, Nagyholdvilág, Sorostély, and Szászcsanád), the motherhouse of Kerc, where in two of the villages salt evaporation pans could be operated and Monora lay on a salt massif. All these small details might be connected to a larger-scale salt production and trade about which the documentary sources are silent. On the other hand, documentary evidence clearly attests the participation of the Paulines at Szentmihálykő in salt transportation and perhaps even trade (which remains to be clarified). It is interesting that Kolozsmonostor does not appear to have had any connection to salt trade or other salt related tasks, even though it lay very close to the larger salt chambers of Transylvania (Dés and Kolozsakna) and the commercial routes on which salt was transported (both continental and river routes). Even though the sources do not mention directly any salt donation, we know that the Benedictines received salt, at least in the final years (see the 1590-1594 *urbarium*) of its existence but most likely also in its earlier periods. Even if salt donation cannot be documented for Kolozsmonostor, the two custom points of the abbey (Apahida and Monostor) would have provided access to salt. The situation is slightly different for Meszes abbey, which benefited of a salt donation as early as 1165, through which an early continental road for salt transportation was recorded that passed through the Meszes Mountains. For its early existence also the fifth part of the toll income of Zilah is known however, the landed properties are mentioned only in the fourteenth century (when it was already deserted) except the land called *Kelewa* (received from Andrew II). Endowed with direct royal incomes as well as with land the abbey did not have a long life.

Differences between the researchability of the abbeys arose firstly due to source availability (while for Kolozsmonostor sources are abundant from the fourteenth century onwards, for Kerc and the Paulines sources are less numerous), and due to the size and number of estates (Kolozsmonostor owned around 44 villages and lands, while Kerc only eleven). Kolozsmonostor enjoyed a longer life and an important role for the Transylvanian society as a place of authentication. As far as we know Kerc and the Pauline monasteries did not engage in such tasks. Sometimes Kerc was mentioned as a place of authentication in historical scholarship but as far as the available data shows, we do not know with certainty. The site of Kerc abbey and its surrounding environment was preserved much better (until it was destroyed in 2014) than that of Kolozsmonostor, where a whole new neighborhood was erected already in the 1960s. Thus, a more or less complete survey of the landscape features around Kerc could be undertaken, whereas Kolozsmonostor's close-by environment was impossible to study, only the more remote monastic villages. So, basically, the two monasteries could be investigated from two different points of view. For Kolozsmonostor the

land use could be analyzed on its central properties while for Kerc its inner and outer precinct preserved valuable details, especially on the use of water. Although the environment of Szentkirály still holds possibilities for research, the lack of detailed land descriptions makes the land use of the monastery hard to grasp.

Concerning elements connected to water management the results show that Kolozsmonostor managed its approximately 13 mills mainly through lease contracts (those which were located at a larger distance) but kept the ones which were close to the monastery under their own administration, just as the Paulines did. For now, it seems that most of the monastic fishponds were located in the close-by village of Apáthida, where at least four ponds existed in various periods. Their identification on the terrain is problematic, because the regulation of the Szamos River and new constructions altered the environment significantly. However, in a few instances the ponds could be identified with the help of historic maps. These fishponds were under the direct administration of the abbey. In Kajántó seasonal fishing may have taken place, in the marshland (*Darwastho*) located in the western part of the property, about which the early modern sources note that during rainy periods the waters were filled with fish. The marshland was documented from the fourteenth century and survived roughly until the twentieth century when it was drained. Based on the field observations it can be presumed that fishponds also existed in the Tiburc Valley and in the northern part of Kajántó starting with the late medieval period. The fishpond near Kajántó is mentioned also by the *urbaria* and it is represented on the Habsburg Military Surveys, so it is highly probable that at least one fishpond was used during the period of Benedictine management. Additional field work will probably add new sites to the fishpond repertory of Kolozsmonostor.

It is not documented how did the Cistercians in Kerc manage their properties. Documents only mention the existence of tenant peasants and their obligations to the abbey to pay the tithe and supply products, but also the settlement of *hospites* of German origins on monastic properties, colonizing the land. On the properties of Kerc additional fishponds or mills were not documented nor identified on the field, only early modern establishments which could not be clearly connected to the activity of the Cistercians. Yet, it has to be mentioned that some of the monastic properties still need further research and the scarcity of sources which would offer details on such water-related features influence the degree to which the landscape features may be identified. In the outer precinct of the abbey at least one fishpond and a mill were identified. Data gathered during field walking indicated that at a certain point in time (it could not be exactly dated) a water canal was diverted from a mountain stream which lead to a mill. Right in front of the mill water was introduced to the

monastic buildings from the mill leat. Two underground springs were identified during field walking from which canals gathered the water and connected it to the mill leat. The mill and the fishpond were used most probably directly by the Cistercians and provided for their daily needs, while the large number of mills and fishponds owned by Kolozsmonostor exceeded the needs of the community and were most likely put to commercial use. However, if one takes into account the Jesuit source from 1581 for Kolozsmonostor, albeit a late one, it becomes obvious that the Benedictine abbey also had an inner and outer precinct, and if one can rely on the description, its outer precinct was likely a rather extended one, with various types of gardens, orchards, vineyards, a mill, fishponds, and storage buildings. As late as 1868, when Count John Eszterházy wrote about the remains of Kolozsmonostor abbey⁸⁶⁶, he mentioned that in his time in the garden of the Jesuits (most probably comprising the outer precinct) a number of dried-out fishpond remains were visible.

The Paulines leased the majority of their lands and mills. Peasants appear only rarely and late in connection with donated villages, while the presence of lay brothers is clearly attested, at least in the case of Szentmihálykő. Estate managers are not documented, which is not strange because they were probably not needed if the majority of the lands and mills were leased. The Paulines most likely kept certain lands, which were tilled by them and the others were leased to locals, so the land management was kept in the monks' own hands. Further details remain hidden in this matter. It is not known whether the customary laws and traditions of the Székely Land influenced the Pauline land management or not. However, it seems that the smaller extent and scattered nature of the land donations in comparison to the Benedictine or Cistercian estates needed a different type of management and facilitated a more stable ownership. Exceptionally, the Paulines in Szentkirály received as donation also the noble title of *primipilus*. This title was a Székely heritage that meant inherited rights and properties, and offices held in the Seat as well as obligation to military service. So, as the documents relate the title could be held also by the Paulines, they held six *primipilatus*, most of which were bought by them. As far as I know no other monastic or religious community held this title. A rare case is represented by the monastery in Pókafalva, where the scattered sources show how the founders struggled to populate the monastery but despite their efforts the monastery was short-lived. Generally, most of the donations came from the local population and comprised also movable goods, which unfortunately are not detailed in the

⁸⁶⁶ János Eszterházy, "A kolozsmonostori apátság és egyházi maradványainak leírása [The description of the conventual and church remains of Kolozsmonostor abbey]," *Archeológiai Közlemények* VII (1868): 89-109.

sources. The donation of movable goods can be documented for the Paulines and Kolozsmonostor, but not for Kerc.

As the three case studies showed each monastery could be studied in a different way, largely limited by the available sources, thus a true comparison between these monastic landscapes must wait. However, the dissertation added new data on the economic history of the estates and land use, on the estate management and the people that inhabited the monastic lands.

Finally, I wish to emphasize the wealth of research possibilities concerning all the monastic estates, which are awaiting to be explored. The estates of Kolozsmonostor deserve a continuous study of field work and survey just as all the other Cistercian and Pauline properties. Since, basic studies and surveys are missing for relevant comparative studies, research must focus first on elaborating these. In time and with the available data at hand investigations can broaden their focus and answer questions concerning the relationship of lay owners and church institutions, and others. As my own investigations clearly demonstrate, it is important to study the monastic estates in a long-term perspective, with their pre-monastic and post-monastic history, something that is missing from Romanian scholarship, and is rare also in Hungarian research. One significant aspect to keep in mind is that the monastic estates were shaped by both the needs of the local population living and using the specific land as well as the need of the abbeys to sustain their religious communities (to have food, products, buildings materials and money) and the buildings they used (monastic buildings, parish churches, chapels, granges/farms, town houses, mill, fishponds etc.) just as well as to produce income for the various taxes that needed to be paid. This is reflected best in the division of the properties in common lands used by all the villagers and the lands kept for the abbey, where production and use was based on the needs of the abbeys. A better understanding of the material culture of the religious communities would bring benefits also for landscape studies, so in my opinion there is urgent need to publish or make available in online databases all the already excavated materials lying in museum deposits.

Concerning the heritage value of these monastic landscapes it has to be emphasized that not only the preserved religious buildings but also their landscapes are part of the historical heritage, which should be preserved and protected accordingly by law. Given the scarcity of research into such topics in Romania and the perishable nature of historic landscapes their protection is even more pressing.

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Appendix 1: Gazetteer of settlement names

Settlements in present-day Romania, Slovakia, Serbia.

Hungarian	Romanian/Slovakian/Serbian	German
Abafája-Apáti	Apalina	-
Alsóporumbák	Porumbacu de Jos	Unter-Bornbach
Alsóucsá	Ucea de Jos	-
Alsóváradya	Oarda	Unter-Wardein
Andrásháza	Rădaia	-
<i>Anttelke/Onttelke</i>	-	-
Apahida/Apáthida	Apahida	Bruckendorf
Asszonyfalva	Axente Sever	Frauentorf
Bács/Kisbács	Baciu	-
Barcafeldvár	Feldioara	Marienburg
Barcaszentpéter	Sânpetru	Petersburg
Bábolna/Alparét	Bobâlna	Krautfeld
Bálványosváradya	Unguraş	Schlosswall
Beréd	Brebi	-
Besimbák	Oltet/Beşimbac	Bessenbach
Bodonkút/Burjánosbuda	Vechea	Budendorf
Bogártelke	Băgara	-
Borbánd	Bărbant	Borbant/Weindorf
Boroszló	Leliceni	-
<i>Bőnye/Benye</i>	-	-
Brassó	Braşov	Kronstadt/Corona
Bulcs	Bulci	-
Buzd	Boz	Bußd
Csernek	Cernuc	-
Csicsóholdvilág	Țapu	Abtsdorf bei Marktschelken
Csicsóújfalva/Csicsó	Ciceu-Corabia	Neudorf
Csonkatelep-Szelistye	Sălişteia Nouă	-
Dános	Daneş	Dunesdorf
Dátos/Marosdátos	Dăţăşeni	-
Dés	Dej	Deesch
Diós	Deuşu	
Doborka	Dobârca	Dobrings
Dombó	Rakovac	-
Egeres	Aghireşu	Erlsdorf
<i>Egerszeg</i>	-	-
Egres	Igriş	Egresch
<i>Eperjes</i>	-	-
Erked	Archita	Arkeden
Érszakácsi	Săcăşeni	-
Farkastelke	Lupu	-
Fejérd	Feiurdeni	-
Felek	Avrig	Freck
Felsőszombatfalva	Sâmbăta de Sus	Obermühlendorf
Fogaras	Făgăraş	Fogarasch
Fófeld	Fofeldea	Hochfeld

Földvár	Feldioara	-
Fűzkút	Sălcuța	Feiskut
Gerdály	Gherdeal	Gürteln
Gerendkeresztúr	Grindeni	-
Glimboka	Glâmbocă	Hühnerbach
Gyerővásárhely	Dumbrava	-
Gyulafehérvár	Alba Iulia	Karlsbrug/Weissenburg
Harcó	Hărtău	-
Héjjasfalva	Vânători/Hașfalău	Teufelsdorf
Holdvilág/Nagyholdvilág	Hoghilag	Halvelagen/Halwlagen
Inaktelke	Inucu	-
Jegenye	Leghia	-
Kajántó	Chinteni	-
Kalodva	Cladova	-
Kalotánádas	Nadășu	-
Karika/Karikapatak	Creaca	-
Keménynagyszőlős/ Nagyszőlős	Seleuș	Groß-Alisch
Kerc	Cârța	Kerz
Kercisóra	Cârțișoara	Oberkerz?
Kerelő	Chirileu	Laußen
Kereszténysziget	Cristian	Grossau
<i>Kis Bene</i>	-	-
Kiscserged	Cerghizel	-
Kisdisznód	Cisnădioara	Michelsberg
Kiskapus	Copșa Mică	Kleinkopisch
Kisteremi	Tirimioara	-
Kolozs	Cojocna	Salzgrub
Kolozskara	Cara	-
Kolozskorpád	Corpadea	-
Kolozsmonostor/ <i>Monostor</i>	Cluj-Mănăștur	
Kolozsvár	Cluj-Napoca	Klausenburg
Kolun	Colun	Kellen
Koppánd	Copăceni	-
Középlak	Cuzăplac	-
Kusaly	Coșeiu	-
Küküllőiklód	Iclod	Mikluden
Küküllősárd	Șoard	Schard
Küküllővár	Cetatea de Baltă	Kokelburg
<i>Külsősolymos</i>	-	-
Magyargerőmonostor	Mănăstireni	Ungarisch Klosterdorf
Magyarigen	Ighiu	Grabendorf
Magyakályán	Căianu	-
Magyarmacska	Măcișa	-
Magyarnádas	Nădășelu	-
Magyarpete	Petea	-
Magyarpéterfalva	Petrisat	-
Magyarpéterlaka	Petrilaca de Mureș	-
Marosbárdos	Bărdești	-
Marosdátos	Dătașeni	-
Marosfalfalu	Suseni	Pränzdorf
Kisfalud (Maros)	-	-
Maroslekence/Lekence	Lechința	Lechnitz

Marossárpatak	Glodeni	Scharpendorf
Marosszentanna	Sântana de Mureș	Sankt Anna an der Mieresch
Marosszentgyörgy	Sângeorgiu de Mureș	Sankt Georgen
Marosszentkirály/Szentkirály	Sâncraiu de Mureș	Königsdorf/Weichseldorf
Marosvásárhely	Târgu Mureș	Neumarkt
<i>Máriatelke</i>	-	-
Mártonhegy	Șomartin	Martinsberg
Mese	Meșendorf	Meschendorf
Meszes	Meseș	
Mezőbergenye/Bergenye	Berghia	Bergendorf
Mezőmadaras	Mădăraș	-
Mezőpanit	Pănet	-
Mezősámsond	Șincai	-
Méra	Mera	-
Mihályfalva	Boarta	Michelsdorf
Miklóstelke	Cloașterf	Klosdorf
Mojgrád	Moigrad	-
Monora	Mănărade	Donnersmarkt
<i>Monosturpatak</i>	-	-
<i>Nagy Bene</i>	-	-
Nagyalmás/Almás	Almașu	-
Nagybaromlak/Baromlak	Valea Viilor	Wurmloch
Nagycserged	Cerghid	-
Nagydisznód	Cisnădie	Heltau
Nagyenyed	Aiud	Straßburg am Mieresch
Nagyercse	Ercea	Groß-Ertschen
Nagyselyk	Șeica Mare	Marktschelken
Nagyszeben	Sibiu	Hermannstadt
Nagyszombat	Trnava	Tyrnau
Nagytalmács	Tălmăciu	Talmesch
Nagyteremi	Tirimia	Groß-Wachsdorf
Nagyvárad	Oradea	Großwardein
<i>Nádas/Nádastelek</i>	-	-
Nádasberend	Berindu	-
Nádaspapfalva	Popești	Pfaffendorf
Nándorfehérvár	Belgrad	-
Náznánfalva/Borzásszeg	Nazna	-
Nyárádszentlászló	Sânvășii	-
Nyírsid	Mirșid	-
Oláhbogát	Bogatu Român	Reichhof
Oláhtyúkos/Korlátelke	Poienița/Găinari	Hühnerdorf/Konradsdorf
Oltszakadát	Săcădate	Sakadaten
Omlás	Amnaș	Hamlesch
Ompolykisfalud	Micești	Kleindörfel
Pánád	Pănade	Panagen
Péterfalva	Petrești	Petersdorf
Pókafalva	Păuca	Törnen
Prázsmár	Prejmer	Tartlau
Prod	Prod	Pruden
Rádós	Roadeș	Radenthal
Remeteszeg	Remetea	-
Rukkor	Rucăr	Ruckersdorf

Sárd	Șard	Schard
Skorei	Scoreiu	-
Sorostély	Soroștin	Schorsten
Sólyomtelke	Cornești	-
Szamosszentmiklós	Sânnicoară	-
Szarakszó	Sărăcsău	-
Szarata	Sărata	Salzdorf
Szászapátfalva	Apoș	Abtsdorf
Szászbuda	Bunești	Bodendorf
Szászcsanád	Cenade	Scholten
Szászfenes	Florești/Feneș	Fenesch
Szászhermány	Hărman	Honigberg
Szászkeresztúr	Criș	Deutschkreuz
Szászkézd	Saschiz	Keisd
Szászlekence	Lechința	Lechnitz
Szászrégen	Reghin	Regen
Szászsebes	Sebeș	Mühlbach
Szászszentlászló	Laslea	Großlasseln
Szellőcskevölgy	Sălișteea Veche	-
<i>Szentgyörgy</i>	-	-
<i>Szentiván</i>	-	-
Szentjobb	Sâniob	-
<i>Szentpéter</i>	-	-
Székásgyepü	Presaca	Kerschdorf
Székásverese gyháza	Roșia de Secaș	Rothkirch
<i>Székelyfalva</i>	-	-
Szépfa/ Bizere	Frumușeni	Schöndorf
Szilágyaptelek	Popeni/Poptelec	-
<i>Szilvástelek</i>	-	-
Szomordok	Sumurducu	-
<i>Tiburcztelke</i>	-	-
Toldalag	Toldal	-
Torda	Turda	Thorenburg
Tófalva	Tofalău	-
Tótfalud/Szentmihályköve	Tăuți	Ratzenhaus
Tuson/Tuzson	Tușinu	-
Türe	Turea	-
Udvarfalva	Curteni	Hofstätten
Unoka	Onuca	-
Uzdiszentpéter	Sânpetru de Câmpie	-
Vártelek	Ortelec	-
Véza	Veza	-
Vingárd	Vingard	Weingartskirchen
<i>Zaz</i>	-	-
Zilah	Zalău	Zillenmarkt/Waltenberg
Zsuk	Jucu	-

Appendix 2. Donations made to the Paulines in Szentkirály

Date	Donor	Type of action	Land/donation type	Name of the acquired land	Location
1370/1350?	Joannes Toth, Ladislaus Bwlgar	<i>Dotatio?</i>	Arable lands and forests, and a stone church	-	Super monticulo versus villam Zenthkyral
1372	Ladislaus Bolgar	Donation	A <i>curia</i> /house or house plot, a forest and a fishpond	Silva <i>Kyreserdeii</i>	In vicinitate curiae plebani ecclesie Sancti Regis Stephani/juxta eandem villa
1376	Nobilis domina Bagycz	Donation	Her entire share of a forest	Silva <i>Gelyen Erdeye</i>	Intra limites poss. Zentkyral
1378	Ladislaus filius Nicolai Gerew cum suis consanguineis	Inheritance	A vineyard/place and a house plot under the vineyard with arable lands and hay land+ a mill place with a plot for the miller's house (under the mill called <i>Nazan</i>)	-	In villa Siculorum Bergeny; in fluvio seu fossato Marwsyo decurrente
1379	Michael filius Ponya de Therenye	Donation	Forest with arable lands and a meadow	Pratum <i>Boda Mezeze</i>	Intra metas Zekelffalwa in capite vallis Kysbese; in introitu vallis Kysbese in planicie iuxta fluvium Bespathaka cum prato Boda Mezeze
1380	Michael filius Ponya de Therenye	Donation	A mill place	-	Intra metas villae Siculorum Zekelffalwa in fluvio Moryzii in fossato interior, in fine prati heremitarum Bodamezeze
1381	Discretus Stephanus rector ecclesiae de Asson falva	Donation	His vineyard	-	Intra metas Zekelwasarhel
1382	Martinus filius Martini Siculi de Samsond	Donation	Forest	Silva <i>Heghetew</i>	Intra metas villas Zenthkyral
1382	Anthonius filius Barthalyws et Dominicus Bartha et Nicolaus filii Bakow	Donation	Their income of a mill	-	Intra metas Zekelffalwa in fossato Morwsii
1391	Magister Symejen filius Simonis de	Donation	His tenth part (<i>decima pars</i>) from the income of a two-	-	Possessionis Zent Laslo in fluvio Kykylle

	Thwsym		wheeled mill with the tenth part from all his new products (wine and cereals)		
1395	Domina Margaretha consors Joannis filii Abrahae de Somosd	After many litigations agreed to donate	Her entire share from the <i>Wyncze</i> mill	Molendino <i>Wyncze molna</i>	In fluvio fossati Morws Zekelfpathaka vocato decurrenti
1403	Domina Catherina relicta Francisci filii Valentini fratris Michaelis filii Stephani de Nazmanffalwa	Inheritance	Left her entire ‘ <i>Siculiam</i> ’=Szőkely heritage	-	In Wdwarffalwa existentem
1403	Michael Bako de Nazanffalwa	Inheritance	Left his entire share of forests, meadows, arable lands, vineyards, a fishpond and a land plot	-	In villa Bardws
1405	Anthonius filius Thomae nobilis de Fyzkwth	Sale	Sold for 52 florins (calculated with 40 denars) to brother Marcus (procurator of the monastery) a land with thicket (woodpasture?) with the hay land <i>Bodmezeye</i> . Also an agreement was reached on a mill.	Fenetis <i>Bodmezeye</i>	Inter fluvium Morws et quoddam fossatum situatum
1408	Martinus filius Anthonii Barthalyws Siculi	Sale	Sold his house with plot (<i>curia sessionalis</i>) and a mill place	-	In Zekelffalwa
1410	Andreas dictus Bedecz de Zekelffalwa cum suis	Donation	A house plot	-	In Zekelffalwa?
1411	Paulus Posa de Bergenye	Inheritance	Left his share of a bought forest	-	In districtu Bergenye existentem/on the border
1413	Joannes filius Galli de Zekelffalwa	Inheritance	Left all his goods (movable and immovable), his arable lands, meadows and half of his forest (he sold the other half)	-	Zekelffalwa
1419	Joannes Zahalws	Donation	All his goods (movable and immovable) his house with a plot with its pertinences	-	? Panytz
1420	Michael filius Ponya de Zenth Anna	Donation	Mill place, arable lands and meadows, and other goods	-	Super fluvio Marosarka in facie poss.

					Zekelffalwa
1422	Joannes filius Galli de Zekelffalwa	Bequeath	One earlier bought land plot with its pertinences	-	In Zekelffalwa
1424	Domina Anna relicta Joannis filii Galli	Bequeath	One land plot with its pertinences	-	In Zekelffalwa, penes suam curiam existentem
1424	Domina relicta Petri filii Thomae de Naznanffalwa (filiam Michaelis filii Ponya)	Litigation decided in favor of the Paulines	With the hermits because of arable lands and meadows and a forest	Silva <i>Perzberek</i>	In Zekelffalwa
1425	Michael filius Georgii de Bergenye	Litigation decided in favor of the Paulines	Fishpond		In Bergenye?
1427	Valentinus filius Ladislai de Sancto Georgio	Bequeath	The land called <i>Zyeth</i>	Terra <i>Zyeth</i>	In villa Wdwarffalwa
1448	Margaretha relicta Bolgar de Zenthkyral	Donation	Her half of the mill called <i>Egherzegh</i> with the ford (<i>vadum</i>) next to it, with all their pertinences and allotments	Molendinum <i>Egherzegh</i>	Zenthkyral?
1449	Domina Christina relicta egregious Nicolaus Bolgar	Donation	Left her half of a mill to the hermits after her death, which was left to her by her son Ladislaus Bolgar	-	In minori fluvio Marosii decurrentis
1453	heremitas et Benedict de Kysfalwd	Agreement between the hermits and Benedict de Kysfalwd	On a mill which was newly built by the hermits	-	In rivulo fluvii Moros vulgo <i>Zeekes</i> nominato
1462	Nicolaus arcium baccalaureus	Donation	A vineyard in the <i>Cerusarum</i> mountain and a house in the platea ecclesiae Beatae Virginis	Mons <i>Cerusarum</i>	Mons <i>Cerusarum</i> , platea Beatae Virginis – Reegen
[1467] May 27	Vince frater, ordinis fratrum heremitarum priori claustrum beate marie virginis de promotorio Zenthkyral	Prohibition	Prohibited Ladislaus, son of late Jacob, son of Alardus de Megesfalwa, from building a new mill on the Maros under the mill of the hermits		At end of the village Kysfalwd
[1467 May 27]	Vince frater, ordinis fratrum heremitarum priori claustrum beate marie virginis de promotorio	Prohibition	Prohibited Ladislaus and Peter the sons of late Jacob Alardus de Megesfalwa and Ambrus Zekel de Zenthanna, and all nobles and Szekelys	-	from Zenthkyral and Zekeffalwa

	Zenthkyral		from occupying certain forests and arable lands of the hermits		
1471	Andreas de Tholdalag	Will	He left the entire village Toldalag except 4 peasant plots, a fishpond and a mill to the Paulines		Toldalag
1472	Domini de Lossoncz, Ladislaus, Joannes, Andreas	Grant	Granted the <i>jura montana</i> of Regen	-	Regen
1474 April 19	Michael wayuoda Wolahalis de Kalathazegh, in the name of his wife Sofia	Protest	That his father-in-law late Stephen Toldalagi left in his will to the Pauline hermits in Zenthkyral 8 peasant land plots, a fishpond and 2 two-wheeled mills	-	?
1482	fratres et cives de Wasarhel	Agreement	In a litigation concerning a mill (molendinum corticalis)	-	
1483	Albertus Parvus	Bequeath	Left two house plots, two forests, lands and their pertinences	-	In Wdwarffalwa
1483	Benedictus de Galtfew cum Sophia consorte	Donation	Their half of a fishpond with half of their landed properties	-	In Tholdalagh
1485 May 24	The children of Peter, Thomas and Balazs Tholdalaki protest against the will of Sofia (daughter of late Andrew, son of Luka Tholdalaki)	Protest	Sofia left in her will the half of her part from the property Tholdalag with a fishpond under the mountain Dobocz to the Paulines from Zenthkyral		Tholdalag
1489	fratres et Blasium Gywlakwthy de Zent Anna	Agreement	On half of a mill; and meadows with the forest Kewzberk	Silva Kewzberk	Super fluvio Marosarok decurrentis; inter metas Zekelffalwa
1492 Nov.3	Affra (daughter of Nicholaus de WyzAkna, widow of late Thomas Altemberger)	Prohibition	Prohibits Helena, widow of Benedek Veres de Farnas from the alienation of her parts of the properties Mykes and Zelesthye to Stephen Batori and the Paulines from Zentkyral	-	Mykes, Zelesthye – Thorda County
1493	Petrus Thamasy In his will!	Bequeath	A grove/forest next to the mill called <i>Waryzegh</i> ; two acres	-	?

			(jugera) of land under his vineyard; and four acres above the spring <i>Fewzer</i>		
1497	Thomas de Thoffalwa	Bequeath	First he left all his goods to his brother, Gregorius, who at his turn left all his goods to the hermits	-	Thoffalwa?
1498	Andreas de Thoffalwa	Donation/sale	Partly donated and partly sold to the prior Martinus and his convent his Székely hereditary right (<i>Siculicales</i>) in Thoffalwa, Zent Gwergh, Cheyth, Ernyew and Zwekes with all their pertinences – pro celebrare singulis diebus sabbati unam missam de Beata Virgine Maria	-	In sede Maros existentem
1500	Albertus Polyak	Agreement	The fourth part of a mill for the monastery	-	?
1500	Domina Agnes filia Janko	Bequeath	Her third of a fishpond	-	In territorio Zabes
1504	Andreas Bogathy In his will!	Bequeath	Left the <i>Zaadtelekwelgye</i> and <i>Kendereswelgye</i> valleys and many other lands	Zaadtelekwelgye Kendereswelgye	?
1508	Michael de Gywlakwtha In his will!	Bequeath	His hayland called <i>Matzko</i>	Fenetis <i>Matzko</i>	?
1509	Nicolaus Gywlakwthy	Bequeath	Left his mill pro una missa perpetua	?	In Zenth Anna
1509	?	Agreement	The limits of a hayland and other inheritances	?	De Bergenye
1510	Michael natus Joannis de Gyalakwtha	Bequeath	Left his forest in villa Berghenye		In villa Bergenye
1520	Frater Dionysius		Entered the Pauline order in 1520 as the prior of Zekelhaza – he rebuilt the ruined cloister – died there in 1526		
1529 Feb. 13	Andrew the Alba Ghywla and Matthew de Krazna	Protest	Protest in the name of the Pauline monastery in Zenthkyral that Peter Mhyalffy occupied the monastery's <i>primipilaratum</i> in Thofalwa		Thofalwa
1529 Feb. 13	Andrew the Alba Ghywla	Protest	Protest in the name of the Pauline monastery		Wnoka, Thorda County

	and Matthew de Krazna		in Zenthkyral because John Erdely de Gernyezeg occupied their property Wnoka which was left to them by late Dorottya widow of George Pysky de ZenthIwan for mass		
1535 Apr.27	Frater Antal Wechey prior and John de Zolnok scriptor	Exchange	Exchanged their half of the deserted fishpond from Tholdalagh to Michael de Tholdalagh and his brother (and his wife) for their half of the peasant land plots from NagyErche and for the fishpond called Soostho		Only four peasant plots were inhabited, the others were deserted, but all of them could be found towards the parish church. If they should die without heir the half of the fishpond from Tholdalagh will pass on to the Paulines
1550 Feb. 8	George Pysky, John and George Cheryny		Bans the Pauline monks from Zenthkyral to alienate their entire property Wnoka to brother George, bishop of Warad and Jacob Pokay		Wnoka, Thorda County
1588 Apr.14	Sigismund Bathory		Wanted to install Paul Giulai into certain estate parts but Andreas Bogati contradicted – the noble manor/curia in Zenthkyral was his. Also, the installation of the estate part called Baratrez was contradicted since it was given by Catherine Swki to scribe Paul Varadi		Zenthkyral

Appendix 3. Donations made to the Paulines in Szentmihálykő

Date	Donor	Type of action	Land/donation type	Name of the acquired land	Location
1316	Demetrius, Transylvanian bishop	Donation	Vineyard	-	Villa Burband
1384	Goblinus, vulgo Gewbel, Transylvanian bishop	Foundation/ <i>dotatio</i>	Lands, mill parts, tithes and other goods	-	
1386	Bishop Emeric	Consecration/ Donation	The church tithe	-	Villa Chanad
1386	Joannes filius Salomonis	Inheritance	Mill	-	In villa Petri
1386	Anthonius filius Orisclini de Nagh-Zewlews	Donation	Vineyard		In territorio possessionis ecclesiae Saard
1388	Frater Stephen, prior of the St. Anna and Elisabeth monastery	Bought for 64 gold forints from the widow of Stephen Jazer	The eight part of her 3 wheeled mills	-	In fluvio Enyed-Patakha
1392	Demetrius	Confirmation	Of the donation and dotation	-	-
1392	Petrus filius Bartholomeus de Dalya	Donation	Curia		In villa Abbatis, nunc Hodwylagh vocata
1395	Joannes Bruncker	Sold for 110 forints to the monastery of St. Elisabeth	The third part of half of a mill (the mill was divided into 5 but only 4 parts were finally divided into 3 from which 1 was sold)	-	Inter villam Petri et Malwnkacz, juxta fluvium Sebes
1412	Benedictus presbyter	Donation	Another eight parts of the same 3 wheeled mills (from 1388)	-	In Enyed-Patakha
1415	Benedictus Hamar	Foundation of an altar to All Saints	Dotation - vineyard	-	Kysfalwd
1428	Catherina widow of the miller Anthonius	Donation	The eight part of a mill		In districtu Petherffalwa
1453	Mattheus Transylvanian bishop	Donation	His tenth of vine and cereals	-	In Wyngarth
1454	Margareta, widow of Johann Sleser	Will	Left 5 gold forints	-	From Coloswar
1460	Benedictus and Anthonius, Pauline monks	Protest	Michael, their lay brother (<i>fratrum conversum</i>), was attacked and ransacked while transporting a number of carts of salt	-	From the Transylvanian parts (DL 36392 p. 91 nr. 1)
1461	Frater Nicolaus cum fratre Anthonio (prior	Exchange	Exchanged their fishpond from <i>Madaras</i> to one near <i>Erche</i>	-	Madaras and Erche

	of <i>Zekelhaza</i>)				
1469	Potenciana, widow of Michael Zekel de <i>Zentywan</i>	Donation	Her entire parts/share	-	Wereseghaz
1488	-	Adjudication	Two parts of a vineyard	-	Saard
1493	Helena, widow of Ambrosius castellan of Gyalu	Donation	An entire deserted/empty peasant plot	-	Wyngarth
1497	Bishop Ladislaus Gereb	Confirmation	All the properties and incomes of the monastery	-	-
1503	Bishop Ladislaus Gereb	Donation	A house or a house plot with garden and a barn	-	In oppido Wyngarth
1508	Blasius, plebanus de Kolos	Will	Left the chapel of St. Catherine in Kolos with all its inventory (books, clothes etc.), two vineyards, two fishponds, a house and thoroughbred horses	-	Kolos (DL 36405)
1511	Dominus plebanus de Zerk	Donation	Fishpond	-	Intra versa metas oppida Kolos in valle Ordogmonya
1517	Anna Pazman de Pazman	Donation	Nine peasant plots in Sorokzo and in Warallya, three in Fayd	-	Sorokzo, warallya, Fayd
1519	Caspar, son of Joannes Horváth de Vingart	Sold for 150 gold florins to the hermits	All his property parts	-	In Váradya, Gaáld et Fahyd
1531	King John I Zápolya	Confirmation	Salt worth of 100 florins	-	Ex camera Thordensi
1556	The general meeting in Kolozsvár	Transfer	Transferred the monastery into the royal treasury	-	-
1580	Christophorus Bathory de Somlyo, Transylvanian voivode	Donation	Gave back the cloister to the order of St. Paul the Hermit/with all its parts in Totfalud, a vineyard in Ighen, called Baráthszőlő	Baráthszőlő	Totfalud, Ighen, comitatus Albensi