

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CHRISTIANISATION OF THE RURAL COUNTRYSIDE OF MEDIEVAL HUNGARY

By

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Submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies and the Doctoral School of History
Central European University, Budapest

*In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
Medieval Studies and for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in History*

Budapest, Hungary

2019

Contents

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	3
Acknowledgements	4
I. INTRODUCTION	6
Problems to be Considered in the Dissertation	6
Contextualisation of the Notion of Christianisation.....	8
Contextualisation of the Historical Events of the Christianisation of Hungary	12
II. SOURCES, METHODS AND APPROACHES	14
Written Evidence Connected to Christianisation	14
Regulations Towards Christianisation and the Parochial System	14
Written Evidence on the Stratification of the Rural Population.....	19
Types of Archaeological Data Considered in the Dissertation and their Issues	22
Data Sources.....	22
Issues with Dating	23
Buildings	23
Material Culture Connected to Christianisation.....	24
Existing Datasets, the Size of Data	27
Taphonomical Problems.....	32
Big Data, Distant Reading and Archaeology	35
III. RESEARCH TRENDS OF THE HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES ON THE CHRISTIANISATION OF HUNGARY	39
Archaeology in the Interpretation of the Christianisation of Medieval Hungary	41
Chronological Division	41
Pagan-Christian Division and Field Cemeteries	44
‘Gellértgyháza-type’ Cemeteries.....	46
Churchyards	49
Churches.....	52
Results and Problems in the Archaeological Research of Christianisation.....	55
Categorisation of Cemeteries – Problems with Nomadism	55
Discrepancies in the Research of Field Cemeteries and Churchyards	59
The Identification of Early Churches	61
Elements of Secular and Ecclesiastical Power – The Castle System and Church Organisation	68
The Organisation of the Counties and the Castle System	70

IV. SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL	72
Chronological Division, Technical Data	72
The Eleventh Century.....	74
General Remarks	74
Central Power and Christianisation in the Eleventh Century.....	77
Ecclesiastical Centres as Places of Central Power in the Eleventh century.....	85
Conclusions of the Relations of Early Secular and Ecclesiastical Power Centres.....	93
Rural Sites and Christianisation in the Eleventh Century	95
The Twelfth Century	116
Changes in the Ecclesiastical System, Society and Secular Power.....	116
Difficulties of Dating in the Twelfth Century	119
Archaeological Data of the Twelfth Century	120
General Distribution of Rural Churches.....	120
Field Cemeteries in the Twelfth Century	122
Field Cemeteries and Twelfth-Century Church Foundations	123
Rural Churches and Castles.....	125
Monasteries, Local Churches and Field Cemeteries	125
The Local Church Network and the Question of Authority.....	129
Conclusion of the Spatial Analysis of the Archeological Material.....	133
V. HISTORICAL THEORIES AND THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL OF CHRISTIANISATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAROCHIAL NETWORK. A COMPARISON.....	138
The Role of Royal Churches	138
Foreign Influences on the Ecclesiastical System	148
VI. CONCLUSION OF THE COMPARISON OF HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE.....	152
BIBLIOGRAPHY	163
APPENDIX	181
Figures	181
LIST OF SITES.....	207
FIELD CEMETERIES	207
LOCAL CHURCHES OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.....	215
TRANSITIONAL CEMETERIES IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY	222
MONASTERIES OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY	223

BISHOPRICS IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY	224
ROYAL FORTIFICATIONS IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY	225
LOCAL CHURCHES OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY	227
TRANSITIONAL CEMETERIES IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY	236
MONASTERIES IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY	237
BISHOPRICS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY	240
ROYAL FORTIFICATIONS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY	241

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Table 1. Various positions of churches within and outside of county castles.....	80
Table 2. Examples for the examinations of spatial relations	142

Acknowledgements

I cannot help but look back on the past six years, and be amazed about what an adventure it has been – as such, sometimes being painful, tiring and seemingly endless, but mostly exciting and stimulating, and most importantly, a truly life-changing experience. At the journey's end, I feel exhausted, relieved, nostalgic and weirdly sorry, that it is over. However, mostly, I feel grateful. I could not have completed this thesis without the help and support of many people, and therefore here I would like to express my gratitude to those who have endured with me.

First and foremost, I am forever grateful to my supervisor, József Laszlovszky. Offering me inspiring guidance and encouragement, early morning, late night and last minute, patient advice on the present work and every other piece that I have written during this time was only one segment of his care. He involved me in many projects, introduced me to his academic network, and with constant support, made my way smoother into the world of academia. However, most importantly, as a true Doktorvater, he taught me a life lesson not just about how to be a good academic, but also how to be a kind one; he became my eternal role model on how to guide and inspire others on the never easy ways of academic life. I can only hope that someday I will be able to give back some of this to my own students.

In that spirit, I would like to express my gratitude to the Medieval Studies Department of CEU. The family-like atmosphere, the emotional and intellectual support of professors and fellow students helped me a great deal in the development of the present work. I would express my special gratitude to Katalin Szende, for providing me with useful advice along the way. I would like to say special thanks to András Vadas, Zsuzsa Pető, Tünde Komori and Csete Katona, my fellow colleagues, who read and commented on drafts of the present work. Furthermore, I would like to acknowledge the opportunity that this journey has provided me with the joy of many friendships. I would like to say thank you for all of you for making this process easier, better and funnier.

During the formation of this thesis, I received much valuable help from colleagues. I would like say special thanks to Maxim Mordovin, for the incessant help, inspiration and reassurance, Máté Stibrányi, for providing me data and guidance, and Erwin Gáll, Beatrix Romhányi and Tibor Ákos Rácz for their worthwhile advice and help on the draft version of this work.

I would like to express my gratitude to the DAAD program financed by the Federal Republic of Germany, which allowed me to spend a year of research in Göttingen and spend long days

in the magnificent library of the university. I would like to give special appreciation to Hedwig Röckelein, who graciously received me as a guest researcher and offered me valuable guidance.

I am grateful to my boss, Tara Andrews, and the DH team of the University of Vienna for their help, support, advice and understanding.

Finally, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my loved ones, family and friends who joined me to the rollercoaster-ride of PhD; endured with me, made the low-times easier and shared the joy of the high ones. The stable background you provided for me was essential for this thesis and is for life in general. I have no words to express how much I love you, and how lucky I am to have you in my life.

I. INTRODUCTION

Problems to be Considered in the Dissertation

After the conquest of pagan Hungarian tribes towards the end of the ninth century, and their gradual occupation of the Carpathian Basin, in the year 1000 a significant change has occurred. Stephen I, the first king of Hungary was baptised and crowned, and with his reign, the Christian state was born. Quite obviously, the actual process was not so quick and straightforward. Still, it marks already a crucial point in the investigation of the present topic; the development of the state power went hand in hand with the Christianisation, and so with it, the building of the local church system. Although the beginnings of both the reorganisation of power structures and the first steps towards Christianity rooted in the previous century,¹ the official steps and the organised development started with the foundation of the kingdom, and thus, this marks the chronological starting point of the present dissertation. Tracing this process, however, seems to be rather challenging. Despite that, the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Hungary were of major importance regarding the foundation of the state, and with it, the formation of (secular and ecclesiastic) power structures, sources about this period are rather scarce, primarily written evidence. Opposite to that, archaeology can provide a large amount of data.

However, although the process of Christianisation and church organisation in Hungary is well researched, it has been reconstructed using mainly written sources.² Still, given their paucity in this period, only the emergence of the most important bishoprics and archbishoprics are known while local churches, the smallest, but in a way, an essential element of the church system, are

¹ See an earlier example: György Györffy, “Die Entstehung der Ungarischen Burgorganisation,” *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 28 (1976): 324–326 and the most recent, pointing on the uncertainty of the dating: Maxim Mordovin, *A várszervezet kialakulása a középkori Magyarországon, Csehországban és Lengyelországban a 10–12. században* [The emergence of the castle organisation in medieval Hungary, Bohemia and Poland in the 10th–11th centuries] (*Studia Ad Archaeologiam Pazmaniensia*, 5) (Budapest: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar, Archaeolingua, 2016), 98–99.

² See for example: Géza Érszegi, ‘Die Christianisierung Ungarns Anhand der Quellen.’, in *Europas Mitte Um 1000*, 2000, 600–607.; László Koszta, ‘Fejezetek a korai magyar egyházszerkezet történetéből [Chapters from the History of the Early Church Organisation of Hungary]’ (DSc dissertation, 2012).; Gyula Kristó, ‘Szent István püspökségei [Saint Stephen’s Bishoprics]’, in *Írások Szent Istvánról és koráról [Papers of Saint Stephen and His Era]*, by Gyula Kristó (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2000), 121–35.; Nóra Berend, *Christianization and the Rise of the Christian Monarchy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

not. Although historians have made many relatively successful attempts to reconstruct the emergence of the future parish system, there are still some areas needing more comprehensive examination. The dominance of written records in the investigation of the Middle Ages is not a new phenomenon; the phenomenon of the ‘tyranny of written records’ is also known in other areas of medieval archaeology.³ It has not proved possible to reconstruct the network of local churches from the poor written sources even though these smaller entities encompassed the commoners who made up the largest segment of the population, thus playing a significant role in the process of Christianisation and church organisation. In this PhD thesis, the aim is to concentrate on this smallest organisational element from a mainly archaeological point of view, and to create a picture of the local churches within the context of the emergence of the parish organisation and thus, Christianisation that is not influenced by the results of historical research based on textual sources but comes from the existing material sources: buildings, archaeological finds and features. Nonetheless, the results of the analysis of these sites are compared to the conclusions of the historical reconstruction of the same processes.

After concisely contextualising the notion of Christianisation and briefly discussing the most important historical events of the process, the following chapter of the dissertation gives a problem-oriented historiography, wrapped around the sources and methods that are used in the present work. Christianisation was in high focus of the researchers of multiple disciplines, and therefore its results are somewhat scattered and often controversial. Therefore it is essential to discuss the disputes in the light of the methodology and interdisciplinary approach of the present thesis, which can be found in Chapter III. Following this, the next chapter conducts a GIS-based analysis on the archaeological material, dividing it to two periods that are roughly equal to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Finally, the results of the analysis is contextualised in the historical investigations on the development and origin of royal churches, and on the influence

³ See David Austin, ‘The “Proper Study” of Medieval Archaeology’, in *From the Baltic to the Black Sea. Studies in Medieval Archaeology*, 1990, 9–42.

of foreign ecclesiastical systems on the development of the local church network, in order to propose a narrative on the development of the rural church network, that argues with the traditional theories.

Unfortunately, a regional comparison would exceed the limits of the present thesis; however, it is a vital future perspective. As the Christianisation of the rural countryside was a crucial element in the emergence of Christian monarchies, the comparison of similarities and differences in this context can be discussed - Hungary in comparison with the state of art of the existing scholarship from neighbouring areas in the Czech and Southern Polish lands where this process took place, more or less, at the same time and explore their causes.

Contextualisation of the Notion of Christianisation

It is rather hard to answer the question of what is precisely Christianisation. In short, it means the conversion of individuals or groups of people, sometimes even entire states to Christianity. However, the way research - and different disciplines within it - approached this question is rather varied, which raises several problems.

The issue to start with is that Christianisation is a process whose interpretation is primarily dominated by historical narratives.⁴ Secondly, which is probably even more important, is the one-sided story of these narratives, as pagan cultures being mostly illiterate and existing as an oral tradition, the history of Christianisation is known from the already Christian sources. Thus, the narratives are jaundiced by the inevitable and complete victory of Christianity, connected to which, it has been argued that the example of the conversion of Paul was projected on medieval converting societies. To overcome these issues, two crucial perspectives were raised.⁵ Firstly, Peter Brown's approach to the 'representation' of the religious history of the

⁴ Almut Schülke, 'On Christianization and Grave-Finds', *European Journal of Archaeology* 2, no. 1 (1999): 78.

⁵ Rastislav Kožiak, 'Conversio Gentum a Christianizácia vo Včasnóm Stredoveku [Conversio Gentum and Christianization in Early Middle Ages]', in *Ružomberský Historický Zborník I.*, ed. Peter Zmátlo (Ružomberok: Katedra histórie Filozofickej fakulty Katolíckej univerzity v Ružomberku, 2007), 84–88.

Christianisation of the Roman world. According to Brown, this concept, the complete victory narrative of Christianisation starting with the crucifixion of Christ, originates from the fifth century but has an impact still on the present-day historical narratives and research of Christianisation.⁶ Brown's theory put the importance from the individual events to the supernatural history of salvation itself, and Christ's coming to this world, it allowed to put aside the factual problem of Christianisation. Besides, he also highlighted the importance of the impact of this on everyday life and Christianisation – resulting in the incorporation of pagan tradition to the church practices by the newly converts.⁷

Secondly, the issue of individual and collective conversion and the notion of conversion and Christianisation as well have been discussed. Conversion greatly simplifies the notion of Christianisation, and should not be used as a synonym for it. As it appears in Early Medieval sources, conversion and converts appear in every case, regardless the nature (voluntary or involuntary act), and the participants of the conversion. All this also suggests that the importance of the ideal, internal conversion was less than the actual act of baptism. This would further be supported by the well-known phenomenon of the baptism of kings or local sovereigns, and their immediate elite was understood as the actual Christianisation of his entire region. Regarding the act of the church, the Early Medieval missionary work's focus of attention was also the acceptance of baptism rather than a thorough explanation of the Christian faith before performing this sacrament.⁸

Although the period of interest of the present thesis is the High Middle Ages, the issues raised above on Early Medieval conversion and Christianisation are still valid. The approaches of research, however, are somewhat different, since the situation of Christianity around the turn

⁶ Peter Brown, *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), 3-8.

⁷ Brown, 15-18. See also Kožiak, 'Conversio Gentum a Christianizácia vo Včasnom Stredoveku [Conversio Gentum and Christianization in Early Middle Ages]', 86.

⁸ Kožiak, 'Conversio Gentum a Christianizácia vo Včasnom Stredoveku [Conversio Gentum and Christianization in Early Middle Ages]', 88-89.

of the first millennium has changed compared to Early Medieval times. Instead of the general acceptance and development of the Christian church, the focus shifted to the relationship of centre and periphery, the emergence of the new Christian states and their relation to the Christian West,⁹ or as Gábor Klaniczay has proposed it, the invention of Central Europe and the formation of the Scandinavian periphery “*allowed the extension of Europa Occidens toward the East and the constitution of the Holy Roman Empire as the centre of Christianitas*”.¹⁰ According to him, similarities can be observed in regard of the processes of the conversion to Christianity, the extension of ecclesiastical structures and religious orders, the formation of dynastic cults and the evolution of social categories in the High Middle Ages.¹¹ Of these, sources speak most about the development of ecclesiastical institutions and monastic foundations in charters and law books and the dynastic cults in chronicles and hagiographic texts. Since the former is more directly connected to the process of Christianisation, the focus of historical research was set mostly on the development of the ecclesiastical institutions and secular law connected to it. Besides, as Klaniczay pointed it out, the formation of dynastic and royal saints further supported the relationship of the emerging church and the rulers of the new Christian kingdom.¹² Without questioning the importance of these sources, it has to be pointed out, that in consequence of the nature of historical sources of the period, their subject represent mostly the topmost echelon of both society and the church, namely the conversion of rulers and nobility, the establishment of the highest level of ecclesiastical institutions, and monastic foundations by the king and perhaps the high nobility. Written evidence on the conversion process of the rural population and the development of the local church system there, are, however, rather scarce, directing the focus of historical research away from them.

⁹ See for example Berend, *Christianization and the Rise of the Christian Monarchy*.

¹⁰ Gábor Klaniczay, ‘The Birth of a New Europe about 1000 CE: Conversion, Transfer of Institutional Models, New Dynamics’, *Medieval Encounters* 10 (2004): 107.

¹¹ Klaniczay, 99.

¹² Klaniczay, 121.

Besides historical, philosophical and theological approaches, archaeology has also been dealing with the phenomenon of Christianisation, introducing more approaches to the research of the topic from Late Antiquity to the High Middle Ages. Besides continuing with the topics that were raised mostly by historians, not surprisingly, archaeology also focused on a specific areas, objects or phenomena connected to the process of Christianisation, resulting in studies focusing on material culture, burial customs, and some more, comprehensive studies on archaeological evidence on Christianisation connected to for example (religious) identity and transformation. Consequently, research of this field is largely segregated as much as in time and space, but the need for a more unified approach, towards a broader understanding of religious transformations and religious identity, has risen in archaeology. Besides a re-evaluation of funerary evidence and the correlation of material and religious expression, new directions were set to a more comprehensive approach stepping out of the traditional targets of investigation of religious transformations and contextualising it in broader processes of political, social and economic change.¹³

The present thesis aims to integrate this comprehensive approach to the investigation of Christianisation. Naturally, Christianisation as a change of belief, thus, conversion in the spiritual sense is hard to touch by archaeological methods. Besides the known political agenda behind this process, the shift in the change of practise, the changing landscape, however, can be traced. Large-scale data and a comprehensive approach, including the relation of the changing religious and secular landscape can give a new interpretation of Christianisation as a religious and social transformation. For more, with the present approach archaeology can provide data on the rural society, which represented a large segment of the population, but written sources generally remain silent about them.

¹³ Gábor Thomas et al., 'Religious Transformations in the Middle Ages: Towards a New Archaeological Agenda', *Medieval Archaeology* 61, no. 2 (2017): 328-329. See also Dawn M. Hadley, 'The Garden Gives Up Its Secrets: The Developing Relationship between Rural Settlements and Cemeteries, c. 750-1100', in *Early Medieval Mortuary Practices*, 2007, 194-203; Rick Hoggett, 'Charting Conversion: Burial as a Barometer of Belief?', in *Early Medieval Mortuary Practices*, 2007, 28-37.

Contextualisation of the Historical Events of the Christianisation of Hungary

The Christianisation process of Hungary shows similarities with the neighbouring countries of the region. In the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the states of Hungary, Bohemia and Poland emerged as Christian monarchies as the result of state formation and Christianization. The Moravian prince, Moimir and several chieftains were baptised in the first half of the ninth century, and in 873 the first Přemysl ruler, Bořivoj converted to Christianity too. Mieszko I, Polish prince, the first ruler of the Piast dynasty and Géza, the prince of Hungary from the Árpáadian dynasty were baptised one hundred years later, in the last third of the tenth century. Not surprisingly, political agenda stood behind the conversions. Although the first influences on Hungarians were of Byzantine Christianity, started already in the mid-tenth century, in order to make an opposition to his competitor, Gyula, Géza decided to be baptised according to Latin Christian rite, together with his son, Stephen. According to written sources, Latin Christian missions came to the country already in the last third of the tenth century, with varied outcome. Sources tend to put an accent on the missions of Adalbert, who in the later *Legenda maior* of Stephen was claimed to baptise both Géza and Stephen. Except for his activity, no other missions are mentioned in eleventh-century sources, and so most probably their impact and memory disappeared.¹⁴

In the year 1000, in the third year of his reign, Stephen (997–1038) was crowned together with his wife, the Bavarian princess Gisela. Their marriage (996/7) is also considered as a tactical act towards the Christianisation of the country, negotiated by Géza, as Stephen returned with the princess accompanied by western military forces and missionaries. The first steps towards an institutionalised Christianity preceded the coronation ceremony; first, the foundation of the Benedictine abbey of Pannonhalma at the very end of Géza's rule in 996. This was followed

¹⁴ 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' c.900–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 327–330.

by the foundation, or rather the transformation of the former, missionary bishopric to the first regular Hungarian bishopric, Veszprém, probably under the authority of the archbishopric of Salzburg, between 997 and 1000.¹⁵ The coronation, which was a crucial precondition to the creation of the independent Hungarian church, was soon followed by the foundation of the archbishoprics of Esztergom and the dioceses of Győr and Transylvania (this latter most probably only in the form of a missionary-like bishopric) until 1003, and until 1009, the organisation of the bishoprics of Pécs and Eger, and the archbishopric of Kalocsa. This more or less completed the system, as, during his reign, king Stephen founded only one more bishopric, Cenad, in 1030.¹⁶ After the reign of Stephen, the bishoprics of Vác and Bihar were soon established, the latter following a pagan revolt in 1045–46 in the area. Zagreb was founded in the last third of the century, and finally, Nitra was established around 1100.¹⁷ According to László Koszta, that meant that the church organisation that developed in the first half of the eleventh century was further corrected during the reign of Saint Ladislaus in the last third of the century, targeting the peripheries. He also presupposed differences between the western and eastern half of the country – according to his analysis, in the eastern half of the country the diocesan level of church organisation was only established towards the end of the eleventh century, about 80 years later than in the Transdanubian region.¹⁸

¹⁵ László Koszta, ‘L’organisation de l’Église Chrétienne En Hongrie’, in *Les Hongrois et l’Europe. Conquete et Intégration*, 1999, 287–288.

¹⁶ László Koszta, “State Power and Ecclesiastical System in Eleventh Century Hungary,” in *“In My Spirit and Thought I Remained a European of Hungarian origin” Medieval Historical Studies in Memory of Zoltán J. Kosztolnyik* (Szeged: JATE Press, 2010), 68–71.

¹⁷ Berend, Laszlovszky, and Szakács, “The Kingdom of Hungary,” 351.

¹⁸ László Koszta, “Fejezetek a korai magyar egyházszervezet történetéből,” [Chapters from the history of the early church organization of Hungary]’ (DSc dissertation; Szeged, 2012).

II. SOURCES, METHODS AND APPROACHES

The spatial analysis of sites connected to Christianisation, and approaching the process from the point of view of rural churches is an unusual one in previous research. In order to contextualise and to strengthen the potency of such an approach, a detailed, problem-oriented discussion of the historiography and methodology of the subject is needed, and so will be elaborated in the present chapter.

Written Evidence Connected to Christianisation

Regulations Towards Christianisation and the Parochial System

Written evidence on the organisation of the local church system is less direct, and most probably followed the expansion of Christianity and the organisation of the dioceses with a significant delay. Regarding the Christianisation of the masses, the most crucial element of the church is the parish and the establishment of the parochial system. However, there is no way to set an exact date for the legislation on parishes, as it developed gradually, and has more essential components that were not necessarily discussed in the same law collections. The question is, to what extent is it possible or not to speak about parishes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in general, even if not in its developed form, but regarding its functions. To be able to decide that, probably the best is the investigation of the legislation of parish rights, for which four major points should be noted; baptism, tithes, burial rights, and last but not least appellation, which can shed light on the hierarchy and diverse functions of early churches.

Oddly enough, baptism, which was undoubtedly the first crucial step in the process of conversion and thus Christianisation, is not something that was regulated until quite late. This can be connected to a larger phenomenon of canon law – baptism being a theological doctrine, was not supposed to be discussed under the term of canon law, especially not after the twelfth century, when the separation in theological phenomena and the governance and regulation of

the church was purposefully done.¹⁹ However, this is exactly the period when the first regulations appear regarding the act of baptism. Although the seven sacraments were only defined in the Fourth Lateran Council, the perception of baptism as a sacrament is going back a long time ahead of the thirteenth century. For Carolingian thinkers, the *sacramentum* of baptism was one of the most important ones, having religious, social and political connotations.²⁰ Ivo of Chartres has also referred to baptism as a *sacramentum*,²¹ and so it appears in Gratian's *Decretum*. This latter work is especially important as besides the theological concept of baptism and underlining its necessity for salvation; it also contained practicalities about the times and recipients of the act, and the baptismal formula itself. It is also of great importance that the necessity of the baptism of infants appears there.²² It is important to note, that baptism could be performed by any member of the society, which can strongly be connected to the emergency baptism of infants,²³ one, that certainly has a connection to archaeological evidence – the burials of unbaptised children.²⁴

Tithes, as a second crucial element of parish rights, were less in the focus of research. Studying a Thuringian tithe dispute, John Eldevik claimed that in the collection of the tithes, the power of the bishop was a crucial point. Although from the early ninth century onwards, the collection and distribution of the tithes was the duty of the priest, still, it was the bishop who had to properly administer it, and take the share of the cathedral church. According to Roman canon law, from the time of Pope Gelasius I, the so-called quadripartition was used in the Carolingian Empire on the income of the church; it was divided to four parts as follows: one for charity to the poor, one for the support of the priest, one for the church fabric, and one for the diocesan

¹⁹ Richard H. Helmholz, 'Baptism in the Medieval Canon Law', *Rechtsgeschichte - Legal History* 2013, no. 21 (2013): 118.

²⁰ Owen M. Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe: The Carolingians, Baptism, and the Imperium Christianum* (Oxford, 2014), 10-11.

²¹ Christof Rölker, *Canon Law and the Letters of Ivo of Chartres* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 184.

²² Helmholz, 'Baptism in the Medieval Canon Law', 119.

²³ Roberta Gilchrist, *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), 185.

²⁴ Barbara Hausmair, 'Topographies of the Afterlife: Reconsidering Infant Burials in Medieval Mortuary Space', *Journal of Social Archaeology* 17, no. 2 (2017): 210–36, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1469605317704347>.

bishop.²⁵ This corresponds with Hungarian regulations, as it is clear from the sources that until the end of the eleventh century, the tithe was collected by the bishop.²⁶

As for the appellation, or the status of the churches, sources show a similar confusion. Even in eleventh century English sources, the terms *ecclesia*, *capella* and even *monasterium* were used interchangeably. Sources from the region of the present study show that the terminology cannot define clearly the role of the church, it is rather to be searched for in its right for funerals.²⁷

Of the regulation of the elements of the later parish rights, legislations concerning burials were the most widely discussed, latest summarised by Maxim Mordovin, together with the legislation on the status of churches, in connection to the investigation of the churches of the county castles.²⁸ According to his investigation, of the legislation of general canon law, the earliest mandates regulating that burials should be placed around churches can be found in the capitularies of Charlemagne, dated to 768 and 810/813, referring only to the pagan Saxon areas. In 836, the synod of Aachen stated that priests should bury the members of his congregation according to Christian customs, and following that in 895, the synod of Tribur enumerated the possible places of Christian burial: cathedrals, monasteries and churches that receive the tithe.²⁹ This legislation is important also for the mentioning of the latter income. Next, the so-called Decretum of Burchard, completed around 1000, and the works of Ivo of Chartres (*Decretum*, *Panormia*, created between 1040 and 1115) should be mentioned. In these works, they underlined the importance of the exclusion of pagans from the sacred spaces, and so the burials

²⁵ John Eldevik, "Ecclesiastical Lordship and the Politics of Submitting Tithes in Medieval Germany: The Thuringian Dispute in Social Context," *Viator* 34 (2003): 45–46.

²⁶ Mordovin, *A várszervezet kialakulása*, 117.

²⁷ Mordovin, "Templomok az ispánsági várakban," 784.

²⁸ Mordovin, "Templomok az ispánsági várakban," 783–786. See also Mordovin, *A várszervezet kialakulása*, 105–108.

²⁹ MGH Capitularia 2, 221–222: Caput XV.: „De sepultura mortuorum. Restat propter instantem, quae tunc maxima occurrit, necessitatem, ubicunque facultas rerum et oportunitas temporum suppetat, sepulturam morientium apud ecclesiam, ubi sedes est episcopi, celebrari. Si autem hoc propter itineris longinquitatem aut difficultatem impossibile videatur, expectet eum terra sepulturae suae, quo canonicorum aut monachorum sive sanctaemonialium congregatio sancta communiter degat, ut eorum orationibus iudici suo commendatus occurrat et remissionem delictorum, quam meritis non obtinet, illorum intercessionibus percipiat. Quodsi et hoc ineptum et difficile estimetur, ubi decimam persolvebat vivus, sepeliatur mortuus.”

from the inside of the church.³⁰ Sources testify that the general use of churchyard cemeteries for the Christian population cannot be seen at the end of the eleventh century, not even in Western Europe. Even according to the twelfth-century orthodox author, Honorius Autun “since the whole world is the temple of God, consecrated by the blood of Christ, it is not indispensable for the just to be buried in the churchyard.”³¹ The first detailed regulation on burials can be found in the *Decretum Gratiani* (1139–1142) and was finalised by Guillaume Durant (1235–1296).³²

Besides the summary of general church law, it is worthwhile to summarise the Hungarian secular legislation on the local church system. First of all, the second law book of Stephen should be mentioned, which states that “*Decem villę ecclesiam edificent.*”³³ Even though this was considered as *topoi*, the appearance shows the ruler’s aim for an organised development on the local church level.³⁴ Furthermore, it ordered that the king should provide the chalices and clothes, but the liturgical books were to be provided by the bishop. The important point is that already this law codex has a general regulation of the tithe, the *decima*.

After that, three more synods and the gradual development of the churchyard cemeteries should be noted, which are also frequent references in the archaeological literature that is dealing with burials of the period. The synod of Szabolcs in 1092 made compulsory to bury the people in the sacred area of the churchyard. This appears in a milder form in the regulation of the synod of Tarcál, dated around 1100, stating only that burials should be around churches, and stating a moderate penalty if not. The latest regulations in the synod of Esztergom made between 1104–1112/3 gave detailed orders on who could not be granted with such a burial. All this marks a

³⁰ Burchardus Wormaciensis III, 676, XIII-XIV.: „ecclesiam ubi paganus est, non liceat consecrare, neque Missas in ea celebrare”, „In ecclesia in qua cadavera mortuorum sepeliuntur, sanctificare altare non liceat. Si autem consecratum prius fuit, Missas licet celebrare in ea.”

³¹ Elisabeth Zadora-Rio, “The Making of Churchyards and Parish Territories in the Early-Medieval Landscape of France and England in the 7th–12th Centuries: A Reconsideration,” *Medieval Archaeology* 47 (2003): 13.

³² Szabolcs Anzelm Szuromi, *A temetésre vonatkozó egyházfegyelem a XII–XIII. században* [Canon law concerning burials during the 12th and 13th centuries] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2002), 43–48.

³³ DRMH I. Decreta S. Stephani Regis, Liber Secundus 1.

³⁴ Mordovin, *A várszervezet kialakulása*, 114–115.

process from the beginning to the end, first ordering the act and giving a significant penalty, marking the starting point of the introduction of a new custom, to the end where it is taken in exceptional cases.³⁵ Here, the question of the ecclesiastical hierarchy should also be mentioned. As it was described before, the rough outline of the ecclesiastical system, the dioceses and the archbishoprics were established rather early. However, concerning the local churches, and also the castle system, another, lower class in the hierarchy is even more critical: the decanal churches. Mordovin investigated and compared the archaeological and historical sources, and came to the conclusion that decanal churches did not appear before the end of the eleventh century, and the development of its system connected to castles can only be seen in charter evidence from the second half of the twelfth century onwards, and so churches before the turn of the eleventh century should be rather regarded as pastoral churches.³⁶

Two further sources should be mentioned regarding the regional development of the local church system. Firstly, the less organised development of the churchyard cemeteries is confirmed by a further source, mentioned already in connection with transitional cemeteries, the Legend of Saint Gerhard, which says that "...the bishop went together with his monks to visit his diocese, and to consecrate those burial sites, who want to build churches..."³⁷ A second legislation speaks about the demolishment rate of the local churches; in the law book of Ladislaus I/7-8, the king ordered to renovate the churches that were demolished either in consequence of the pagan revolts or of old age.³⁸ This shows that already at the end of the eleventh century, the existence of a significant number of churches can be presumed, definitely

³⁵ Mordovin, *A várszervezet kialakulása*, 107.

³⁶ Mordovin, "Templomok az ispánsági várakban," 781.

³⁷ SRH II. Legenda S. Gerhardi Episcopi 495. See also József Laszlovszky, "Social Stratification and Material Culture in 10th–14th Century Hungary," in *Alltag und Materielle Kultur im Mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, ed. József Laszlovszky and András Kubinyi (Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum, 1991), 41.

³⁸ Levente Závodszy, *A Szent István, Szent László és Kálmán korabeli törvények és zsinati határozatok forrásai* [The Law Books and Synods from the Age of Saint Stephen, Saint Ladislaus and Coloman] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1904), 157.

more than what can be retrieved from written sources or archaeological remains, leaving us with a challenge for the reconstruction of the contemporary state of the local church system.

Furthermore, as it seems from written sources and legislation of general church law, a clear definition of the parish emerges only during the thirteenth century on, and before that, it is better to be referred only as a local church system. Still, it has to be noted, that legislation expressed the desire for that already from the ninth century on, and thus, different areas could have had different development in that sense. Hungarian secular law shows a rapid development on the level of local church system, with the explicit intention on pastoral functions of the churches (regulation of the tithe, the compulsory attendance, equipment of churches, etc.), which can be connected to the top-down Christianisation and church organisation process tied to the state formation of the country, which – as the sources and historical events such as pagan revolts testify – took most of the century to stabilise.

Written Evidence on the Stratification of the Rural Population

For a better understanding of the process of Christianisation, it being a top-down movement, knowing the social stratification of the commoners is needed. There are not enough written sources on the social life of commoners from the period of the Conquest (from the last decades of the ninth to the tenth century) to permit a complete picture to be developed. Therefore, the social stratification of the Conquest Era has been reconstructed based on archaeological sources, which is rather problematic and controversial in itself, for example, the interpretation of ‘empty’ graves. Traditionally, research distinguishes three positions within the society; a rather significant level commoners, who could have had a free or unfree status; a smaller, higher level of military entourage; and an elite, which seems to be somewhat scattered, controversial and hard to interpret in itself. For more, the scarce written sources existing show the society from another, the enemy’s point of view, and concerns only on its leaders and their closest entourage. Because of the lack of relevant sources, it is hard to define that the changes occurred

in the turn of the tenth century is a change in society, or the discrepancy is merely caused by the difference of the available source material.³⁹

Written sources became more common from the eleventh century on when the kings of the newly founded Christian state started to make their own law-books. Based on the written sources, Hungarian historical research has identified a complex process of transformations for the rural population during the first three centuries of the Christian monarchy. Written sources (charters, law books, hagiographic sources) from the early eleventh century suggest that at first the social division of the commoners was quite simple. People either had a free or unfree status (serfs). The first notable change already occurred in the last quarter of the eleventh century when the social grouping of serfs divided into more groups. Besides, the (relatively small number of) people remaining as serfs, a group of the conditionally freed people (*conditionarius*) emerged. This latter group appeared on all kinds of properties (ecclesiastical, royal, and secular) from the twelfth century.⁴⁰

Depending on the property types, the situation of the *conditionarius* social stratum was not equal at all, not even within a single village. In each situation, the social divisions were highly stratified. However, there were unique, common characteristics of their servitude depending on what type of property they lived. The best situation was most probably on royal domains. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the most significant parts of the landed estates belonged to royal domains, and therefore the majority of people within the *conditionarius* social stratum lived on

³⁹ On the society of the Conquest Era, see Laszlovszky, 'Social Stratification and Material Culture in 10th-14th Century Hungary', 35–40; Károly Mesterházy, 'Gräber und Gräberfelder als Geschichtsquellen der Sozialstrukturen in Ungarn im 10.-11. Jh.', in *Ethnische und kulturelle Verhältnisse an der mittleren Donau im 6.-11. Jahrhundert*, 1996, 383–90; Károly Mesterházy, 'Daten zur Struktur der Familien des gemeinen Volkes in der Landnahmezeit', *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum évkönyve*, 1967 1966, 115–20. For a comprehensive study on the period see Péter Langó, 'Archaeological Research on the Conquering Hungarians: A Review', in *Research on the Prehistory of the Hungarians: A Review.*, ed. Balázs Gusztáv Mende, *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica* 18 (Budapest: MTA BTK Régészettudományi Intézet, 2005), 175–340. For a different approach and a discussion on the estimation of the population see Miklós Takács, 'Die ungarische Staatsgründung als Modellwechsel und/oder möglicher Akkulturationsprozess. Die Aussagekraft der archäologischen Funde und Befunde', in *Akkulturation im Mittelalter*, 2014, 165–206.

⁴⁰ Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és alattvalóik* [The Arpads and their Subjectdom]. (Debrecen: Csokonai Kiadó, 1997): 199–200. See also, Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*. (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001): 66–82.; Attila Zsoldos, *The Legacy of Saint Stephen*. (Budapest: Lucidus, 2004): 15–122.

such properties. The most powerful of their group could even possess significant income and property, had their servants and were sometimes even able to free themselves. People had in a conditionally free status on ecclesiastical property composed of the *familia ecclesiastica*, in a similar way as those who lived on royal domains; people were grouped and had a hierarchy based on their type of service and possessed their own farms within the ecclesiastical property. The difference was that they served the patron of the property (i.e. the saint to whom the church or monastery was dedicated), not a person, and because of that they could not be freed. People living on secular lands fared the worst. They lived in common lodgings, had no plot of their own to plough, and had no special duties but were used wherever and however they were needed.⁴¹

This system was typical in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but with increasing donations from the royal domains, it became significantly weakened by the turn of the twelfth century. The Mongol invasion of the country accelerated these processes, and many people abandoned these domains. This time marks the second period of change in rural society, when commoners either became part of the forming nobility social stratum or became a member of the emerging tenant peasantry.⁴² Such changes also show that, in a sense, society had undergone serious changes that not only impacted commoners but the nobility as well. In this particular case, the two was connected. For more, presumably, these significant changes in the society had an effect on burials and the system of churches and graveyards. Therefore, the investigation of churchyards and field cemeteries could be connected with the landowner's identity when it is possible, and also with these social transformation processes as well, and should not be investigated only from the point of view of Christianisation.

⁴¹ Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok*, 201-210.

⁴² Ibid., 201-206; 211-212. See also Jenő Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok* [The last Árpádians] (Budapest: MTA TTI, 1993) and *ibid.* "Megosztott parasztság, egységesülő jobbágyság. A paraszti társadalom átalakulása a XIII. században." [Divided Peasantry – Unified Serfdom. The Transformation of the Rural Society in the Thirteenth Century] *Századok*, 115 (1981): 3-65., 263-319.

Types of Archaeological Data Considered in the Dissertation and their Issues

Data Sources

The database (see Appendix) of the thesis have been compiled based on first and foremost on the online database of recorded archaeological sites of Hungary.⁴³ Secondly, I have used another online collection that compiles the (Medieval) churches of Slovakia.⁴⁴ I have also used two more, published collection of the churches of the Árpadian Age Hungary,⁴⁵ and a separate one for the churches of Transylvania.⁴⁶ For the cemeteries, I have used László Kovács's collection to supplement the database and narrow the dating of some sites. Individual finds that can be connected to Christianity were collected from published studies. Dating was generally accepted from secondary archaeological literature; the mentioned art historical and monument databases were used only for collecting the sites. In the dataset, three chronological categories were made within the High Middle Ages the first phase roughly equivalent to the eleventh century, the second roughly equivalent of the twelfth century and a general one for the High Middle Ages where the differentiation within this period (~ eleventh to thirteenth centuries) was not possible. It has to be noted here, that I also collected churches that are dated to the Late High Middle Ages, thus roughly to the thirteenth century. However, given their large number, and a different methodology needed for them, they do not appear in the present thesis. However, this collection also shed light on how it is more accessible to date sites to the beginning or the end of the High Middle Ages, the mid-part being somewhat less distinct. Therefore, it is presumable that a significant amount of those sites that received a general dating for the whole period could be associated with the middle period. Naturally, however, these sites cannot be treated just as so, a number of them being dated broadly simply because of the lack of

⁴³ See <https://archeodatabase.hnm.hu/en> Here I would like to thank Máté Stibrányi for providing me the offline version of this database before it was made public. In case when published material was not available on a site, I sometimes referred to the documentation, available online with a third level user registration.

⁴⁴ <https://dennikn.sk/160769/kostoly-slovenska-mapa-fotky/> See also: <http://apsida.sk/kostoly>

⁴⁵ János Gyurkó, *Árpád-kori templomok a Kárpát-medencében [Arpadian age churches in the Carpathian basin]* (Érd: Érdi Környezetvédő Egyesület, 2006).

⁴⁶ Géza Entz, *Erdély építészete a 11-13. században [The Architecture of Transylvania in the 11-13th Centuries]* (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1994).

information about it (ex. only inconclusive field walking material, small scale excavation lacking securely datable finds, etc.). Therefore, such sites will be treated separately but taken into consideration at the analysis. Dating of the secondary literature was not accepted when it was decided based on ambiguous evidence, or by a wrong and outdated research tradition, such as dating churches to the eleventh century, based on S-ended lock rings, which are now commonly known to be used throughout the High Middle Ages. In such cases, a broader dating was used if no other evidence (finds) suggested otherwise.

Issues with Dating

The sometimes broad dating of the sites in the database of the recorded finds was further specified in each case when it was possible by published material about the given site. This was resulted in a vast amount of sites, with an obvious discrepancy with the regions – the recorded archaeological sites were only possible to access for the area of present-day Hungary. Naturally, this is considered in the analysis of the material, together with the issues with dating – as much of the material that is recorded as an archaeological site was identified without an excavation – thus mostly by field walking, their dating is sometimes rather broad, and cannot be identified more closely. Thus, despite that I have tried to review each site appearing in the database and aimed to date them within the precision of a century, it was not proved to be possible in all cases. This, by all means, is also considered in the analysis of the sites. In the following, I describe the types of archaeological data considered in the thesis, and their further issues that are necessary to underline for a proper interpretation of their relations.

Buildings

The data archaeology can provide, and thus what on this thesis focuses on is material evidence. Of that, (local) churches, and together with it cemeteries are the focal point of this research as burials, and cemetery types are undeniably the most suitable archaeological sources to deal with the process of Christianisation and church organisation. This process took place in the Carpathian Basin roughly from the eleventh century to the end of the thirteenth century, and as

it was described before, the process starts with the establishment of the churches and churchyards which runs parallel with the gradual decline of the field cemeteries, and finishes with the steady system of parish churches. Of this process, the present thesis focuses on the first two centuries, which were more focused on Christianisation and the local church development. The connection between churches and coeval field cemeteries, and how their spatial distribution pattern fits with other elements of the ecclesiastical system, and other critical factors in the settlement system are analysed and discussed in Chapter IV. This detailed spatial analysis of the earliest churches combined with investigation of historical textual data reveals important social issues guiding that process and by this illuminating the way the parochial system was developed.

Material Culture Connected to Christianisation

Another additional material source type is represented by liturgical objects, which also have social and spatial aspects because - at least in the later period - it was the landowner's duty to equip churches. The diverse quality of such artefacts and their distribution can reveal important questions about trade, local production and certain kinds of social aspects – because liturgical objects were surely tools for representation of earthly wealth and power as well. An example of this latter point is the pectoral crosses that appear in graves but in a context where they can be understood differently than religious artefacts – only as simple ornaments or amulets.⁴⁷

Burial customs can be best studied by comparison with evidence from field cemeteries, and it also seems the most promising. A comparative analysis of burial customs in these two types of cemeteries will hopefully result in small, but important details which can shed light on the issue of pagan/Christian distinction and/or continuity. The investigation of jewellery and dress accessories would comprise a separate thesis. Here I would like to consider them instead as

⁴⁷ Péter Langó and Attila Türk, 'Honfoglalás kori sírok Mindszent-Koszorús-dűlőn (Adatok a síjbefűzős bizánci csatok és a délkelet-európai kapcsolátú egyszerű mellkeresztek tipológiájához) [Landnahmezeitliche Gräber in Mindszent-Koszorús-dűlő (Angaben zur Typologie der trapezförmigen byzantinischen Schnallen und einfachen Brustkreuze mit südosteuropäischen Beziehungen)]', *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum évkönyve. Studia archeologica* 10 (2004): 365–417.

tools to create a more stable chronology through comparative analysis just as with the ones from the second half of this period, which I have completed.⁴⁸

All the topics mentioned above concerning this Christianisation process have been researched before in the secondary literature. Concerning written sources, the legal issues surrounding burials, churches and churchyards were most recently investigated in several works by Szabolcs Anzelm Szuromi focusing more on church law,⁴⁹ more studies have discussed the secular regulations concerning Christianisation in Hungary.⁵⁰ Written evidence concerning the period have been compiled for most of them in general.⁵¹

Cemetery plans and cemetery analysis is the least studied area within this topic, although several works have been published about cemeteries in today's Slovakia and Hungary. Until now, however, there is no generally accepted methodology for such an analysis, and thus, attempts for such are rather unusual.

Burial customs, however, were discussed in many studies, as it was also described above in the discussion of hot topics in the archaeology of Christianisation.⁵² Still, most studies focus on the

⁴⁸ Vargha, *Hoards, Grave Goods, Jewellery*, 31-65.

⁴⁹ Szuromi, *A temetésre vonatkozó egyházfegyelem a XII-XIII. században [Canon Law Concerning Burials During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries]*.

⁵⁰ See synthetic studies: János M. Bak, 'Signs of Conversion in Central European Laws', in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, 2000, 115–24; László Veszprémy, 'Conversion in Chronicles: The Hungarian Case', in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, 2000, 133–45; Zsolt Hunyadi, 'Signs of Conversion in Early Medieval Charters', in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, 2000, 105–13.

⁵¹ György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza I-III.* (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1963-1987).

⁵² See for example Ágnes Ritoók, 'Szempontok a magyarországi templom körüli temetők elemzéséhez [Viewpoints for analysing Hungarian churchyard cemeteries]', in *'Es tu scholaris': ünnepi tanulmányok Kubinyi András 75. születésnapjára*, ed. András Grynaeus, Beatrix Romhányi, and Károly Magyar, Monumenta Historica Budapestinensia 13 (Budapest, 2004), 115–23; Ágnes Ritoók, 'Zalavár-Kápolna: egy temető elemzés lehetőségei és eredményei' [Zalavár-Kápolna: possibilities and results of a cemetery analysis]', in *'... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok'. A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása - A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2003. május 13-16. között megtartott konferencia előadásai* [“... I am walking in the valley of the shadow of death”. Research of the medieval churchyard cemeteries. Presentations of the conference held in the Hungarian National Museum between the 13th-16th of May 2003], ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi, Opuscula Hungarica, 6. (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005), 173-183.; Ágnes Ritoók, 'A templom körüli temetők felfedezése. [The discovery of churchyard cemeteries]', in *Arhitectura religioasa medievala din Transilvania - Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben - Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania 4.*, ed. Péter Levente Szöcs and Adrian Andrei Rusu (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2007), 249–71; Ágnes Ritoók, 'A templom körüli temetők régészeti kutatása - Churchyard archeology in Hungary', in *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon = Archaeology of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period in Hungary*, ed. Elek Benkő and Gyöngyi Kovács, vol. 2 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Régészeti Intézete, 2010), 473–94; Alexander Ruttikay and Michal Slivka, 'Cirkevne inštitúcie a ich úloha v sídliskovom a hospodárskom vývoji Slovenska v stredoveku –

beginning of the development of churchyard cemeteries, and there is little evidence on the burial customs of the second half of the High Middle Ages. Lacking numerous large scale cemetery excavations, and a thorough analysis of burial customs, studies either focused on specific, debated issues or often only repeat topoi, derived from written evidence concerning burials. Another problem is that chronology is based on grave goods and dress accessories, which is a problematic area of research itself.

As it was underlined above, the research situation of the investigation of dress accessories and jewellery is similar to the situation surrounding burial customs: the first half of the Árpád period (equivalent to the High Middle Ages) is overrepresented in the research, and what is worse, its results were often influenced by the Bjelo-Brdo debate,⁵³ which had an impact on the dating, social and ethnic interpretation of these objects. Another malicious effect of this was the dating of some later items in graves to an earlier period, and the neglecting the context of the material found in graves, despite that it can have a severe discrepancy between the general dating of the object and the grave itself.⁵⁴

Kirchliche Institutionen und ihre Stellung in der Wirtschafts- und Siedlungsentwicklung der mittelalterlichen Slowakei', *Archaeologia Historica* 10 (1985): 333–56; Alexander Ruttkay, 'Mittelalterlicher Friedhof in Ducové, Flur Kostolec, Bez. Trnava: Beitrag zum Studium der Beziehungen zwischen den sog. Reihengräberfeldern und Kirchenfriedhöfen vor dem 13. Jahrhundert.', in *Etnische und kulturelle Verhältnisse an der mittleren Donau vom 6. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert.*, ed. Dana Bialeková and Jozef Zabožník (Bratislava, 1996), 391–409.; Igor Keller, Veronika Plachá, and Denisa Divileková, 'Pochovávanie v mestečku Devín v 13 až 18. storočí [Ways of burial at the village of Devín in the 13th to the 18th centuries]', *Slovenská Archeológia* 55, no. 1 (2007): 127–186.; Erwin Gáll, 'Krisztianizáció és régészet. Az Erdélyi-medencei 11–13. századi templomkörüli temetők kutatásának stádiuma. [Christianisation and archaeology. The state of research of the 11–13th century churchyard cemeteries in the Transylvanian basin]', in *Hadak Útján XX.* (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2012), 287–312; Zsolt Nyárádi, 'Régészeti adatok az udvarhelyszéki Árpád-kori templomok keletkezéséhez. [Archaeological Data on the Emergence of the Arpadian Age Churches of Udvarhelyszék]', in *Beatus homo qui invenit sapientiam. Ünnepi kötet Tomka Péter 75. születésnapjára.*, ed. Miklós Takács and Teréz Csécs (Győr: Lekri Group Kft., 2016), 495–510.; Daniela Marcu-Istrate and Angel Istrate, 'Morminte cu nisa cefalica descoperite la Alba-Iulia (sec. XII–XIII). Contributii privind istoria oaspetilor occidentali în Transilvania [Cephalic recess tombs in Alba-Iulia (12th–13th c.) The history of occidental guests in Transilvania]', in *Relatii interetnice în Transilvania. Secolele VI–XIII*, 2005, 229–44.

⁵³ Ethnic or social interpretation of a material culture to be found in a larger region. For a detailed synthetic study of the historiography of the research on the Bjelo Brdo culture, see: Csanád Bálint, 'A magyarság és az ún. Bielo-Brdo kultúra [Hungarians and the so-called Bjelo-Brdo culture]', *Cumania* 4 (1976): 225–54; Attila Kiss, 'Zur Frage der Bjelo Brdo Kultur. Bemerkungen zu den ethnischen Verhältnissen des heutigen Slawonien und Syrmien im 10–11.', *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 25 (1973): 327–40.

⁵⁴ Vargha, *Hoards, Grave Goods, Jewellery*, 62–63.

Liturgical objects, such as processional crosses, chalices, bowls or patens, were also investigated, but mainly from an art-historical point of view.⁵⁵ Their general distribution as concerns their appearance within settlement networks has never been discussed before. Besides, the relatively large number of new finds since the last synthetic study also requires a new review of this topic. The question of pectorals should be treated separately. Although studies have dealt with their typology, chronology, and interpretation,⁵⁶ a more comprehensive investigation of their spatial distribution can lead to new results in their interpretation.

Changes in settlement patterns, settlement networks, and changes in settlement structure are a popular, growing and developing area of today's archaeological research in Central Europe. Luckily, there are numerous studies on various aspects of this topic in each area of the territory examined here.⁵⁷ This will allow me to use the results of the already existing scholarship rather than dealing separately with this question.

Existing Datasets, the Size of Data

In sum, many areas within the present topic have been investigated, but most do not include the way churches and churchyards changed, nor do they address variability in the form and content of churches and churchyards within Hungary. Furthermore, there is no synthetic study on the

⁵⁵ Zsuzsa S. Lovag, 'Die Einflüsse der byzantinischen Pektoralkreuze auf die Bronzekunst Ungarns im 11./12. Jahrhundert', in *Metallkunst von der Spätantike bis zum ausgehenden Mittelalter*, 1982, 159–65; Zsuzsa Lovag, *Mittelalterliche Bronzegegenstände des Ungarischen Nationalmuseums*. (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1999); Éva Kovács, *Romanische Goldschmiedekunst in Ungarn* (Budapest, 1974); Imre Szatmári, 'Árpád-kori korpuszok Békéscsaba-Fényesen [Arpadian Age Corpuses from Békéscsaba-Fényes]', *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum évkönyve. Studia archeologica* 7 (2001): 365–71; Imre Szatmári, 'Árpád-kori fémálak Békés megyei gyűjteményekben [Árpadian Age metal bowls in collections of County Békés]', *Archaeologiai értesítő* 139 (2014): 171–92.

⁵⁶ Zsuzsa S. Lovag, 'Bronzene Pektoralkreuze aus der Arpadenzeit', *Acta archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1980): 363–72; László Selmeczi, *A négyszállási I. számú jász temető [The Jazygian cemetery of Négyszállás I.]* (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 1992); Imre Szatmári, 'Bizánci típusú ereklyetartó mellkeresztek Békés és Csongrád megyében [Byzantine Type Pectoral Crosses from Békés and Csongrád Counties]', *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum évkönyve. Studia archeologica* 1 (1995): 219–55; Langó and Türk, 'Honfoglalás kori sírok Mindszent-Koszorús-dűlőn'.

⁵⁷ Rostislav Nekuda, 'Sociální a hospodářské podmínky středověké kolonizace z hlediska archeologie. [Social and economic conditions of medieval colonisation from the point of view of archaeology.]', *Archaeologia historica* 18 (1993): 151–57; Ruttkay and Slivka, 'Cirkevné inštitúcie'; Michal Slivka, 'Sídlistková a cirkevná štruktúra Spiša vo vcasno a vrcholnostredovekom období. [Settlement Network and Ecclesiastical Structure of Scepusia in the Middle Ages.]', in *Terra Scepusiensis*, 2003, 419–45; Tibor Ákos Rácz, 'Social Differences within Rural Settlement Types in the Central Area of the Hungarian Kingdom between the 10th and the 14th Centuries', in *Hierarchies in Rural Settlements*, ed. Jan Klápště, *Ruralia* 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 423–35.

topic itself that encompasses investigations into all these aspects or compares their results with each other, despite the undeniable connection between the process of Christianisation and church foundation, changes in burial customs, spread of liturgical object or settlement formation. This PhD thesis will focus on these links reached from a shared point of view - the process of Christianisation, derived from material evidence, using the approach of spatial distribution - and not on the diverse research directions and details of each question.

Regarding sources, the intention is to compile as much data from the Carpathian Basin, as it is possible by the archaeological/art-historical databases and published sites. As the churches will be the core of the data – all the other elements will be compared to them, the best is to examine their number. For now, to picture the scale of the research, the already existing of ecclesiastical topographies can be used. In Pest county Edit Tari compiled data for 373,⁵⁸ in Somogy Csilla Aradi collected 404,⁵⁹ in Békés Imre Szatmári discovered 237,⁶⁰ and in Tolna, András K. Németh counted 326⁶¹ medieval churches. However, not all of them are parishes, nor can be dated before the thirteenth century. Still, this shows that only the base of the research will mean more than a thousand sites. For those areas, where the ecclesiastical topography has not yet been made, István Györffy's work on the historical geography of the Árpád period Hungary⁶² will be a huge help. To supplement the research with field cemeteries, settlements, and liturgical

⁵⁸ Edit Tari, *Pest megye középkori templomai*, vol. 27, Studia comitatensia (Szentendre: Pest Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2000), 5.

⁵⁹ Csilla Mógáné Aradi, *Somogy megye Árpád-kori és középkori egyházszerkezetének rekonstrukciója: Somogy megye középkori templomainak adattára* (Rippl-Rónai Megyei Hatókörű Városi Múzeum, 2018).

⁶⁰ Imre Szatmári, *Békés megye középkori templomai* (Békéscsaba: Békés Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2005).

⁶¹ András K. Németh, *A középkori Tolna megye templomai [The churches of the medieval Tolna county]* (Szekszárd, 2015).

⁶² Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza I [The Historical Geography of the Arpadian Age Hungary I]*; György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza II [The Historical Geography of the Arpadian Age Hungary II]* (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1987); György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza III [The Historical Geography of the Arpadian Age Hungary III]* (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1987); György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza IV [The Historical Geography of the Arpadian Age Hungary IV]* (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1998).

objects, more studies will help. First of all, the existing archaeological topographies of the country should be mentioned.⁶³ Besides these, primary sources will be archaeological reports. These enumerated data will cover the whole area to be investigated – the Carpathian Basin –, although obviously not entirely equally nor in time, nor space. For instance, churches, which are the best-researched source type of all that will be examined, represents perfectly the problems arising by the data itself. There are 2178, archaeologically known, located churches in the database that can be dated to the High Middle Ages. Of that, only 181 can be dated back to around the eleventh century, 110 to the twelfth century, 630 generally to the High Middle Ages, and 1394 to the end of the period, thus roughly to the thirteenth century.

In this analysis, I had access to all the recorded archaeological sites from present-day Hungary,⁶⁴ resulted in a good number of sites, of which in the present work I used cemeteries and churches dated to the early Árpadian period, altogether over 500 sites. Besides published material on individual sites, that only takes the smaller part of the database, I used the online

⁶³ Kornél Bakay, *Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiája. A keszthelyi és Kapolcsai járás* [The Archaeological Topography of Veszprém County. Keszthely and Kapolcs Districts], Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 1 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966); István Éri, *Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiája. A veszprémi járás* [The Archaeological Topography of Veszprém County. Veszprém District], Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 2 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969); Kornél Bakay, *Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiája: a devecseri és sümegi járás*, Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 3 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970); István Éri and Sándor Mithay, *Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiája. A pápai és zirci járás*. [The Archaeological Topography of Veszprém County. Pápa and Zirc Districts], Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 4 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972); István Horváth, Márta Kelemen, and István Torma, *Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája: Esztergom és a Dorogi járás* [The Archaeological Topography of Komárom County. Esztergom and Dorog Districts], Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 5 (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1979); István Ecsedy, Borbála Maráz, and László Kovács, *Békés megye régészeti topográfiája: a szeghalmi járás IV/1* [The Archaeological Topography of Békés County. Szeghalom District IV/1], Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 6 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982); István Dinnyés, Zsuzsa Lovag, and Klára Kövári, *Pest megye régészeti topográfiája: a budai és szentendrei járás (XIII/1.)* [The Archaeological Topography of Pest County. Buda and Szentendre Districts (XIII/1)], Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 7 (Budapest: Akad. Kiadó, 1986); Dénes B Jankovich, János Makkay, and Béla Miklós Szőke, *Békés megye régészeti topográfiája. A szarvasi járás, IV/2* [The Archaeological Topography of Békés County. Szarvas District IV/2], Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 8 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989); Elek Benkő, *A középkori Keresztúr-szék régészeti topográfiája* [The Archaeological Topography of the Medieval Keresztúr-Szék], *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica* 5 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Régészettudományi Intézete, 1992); István Dinnyés, Klára Kövári, and Judit Kvassay, *Pest megye régészeti topográfiája: a szobi és a váci járás (XIII/2)* [The Archaeological Topography of Pest County. Szob and Vác Districts (XIII/2)], Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 9 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993); Dénes B. Jankovich, Pál Medgyesi, and Edit Nikolin, *Békés megye régészeti topográfiája IV/3. Békés és Békéscsaba környéke* [The Archaeological Topography of Békés County IV/3. The Area of Békés and Békéscsaba], Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 10 (Budapest, 1998); István Dinnyés et al., *Pest megye régészeti topográfiája: az aszói és a gödöllői járás (XIII/3)* [The Archaeological Topography of Pest County. Aszód and Gödöllő Districts (XIII/3)], Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 11, 2012.

⁶⁴ <http://archeodatabase.hnm.hu/> (last accessed: 11 June 2017)

monument database of the churches in present-day Slovakia.⁶⁵ For Transylvania, I was able to use the works of Erwin Gáll⁶⁶ and Géza Entz.⁶⁷ Finally, the last valuable monument database relevant to all churches of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary is the monograph by János Gyurkó.⁶⁸ Here it has to be stressed, that since the online dataset of churches of Slovakia, and the collection of Gyurkó were both made by a non-specialist, I double-checked all the data, e.g. all the churches one by one, and based on documentation or publications by specialists I corrected the dataset. (See appendix). Seemingly, the proportion of data on churches and cemeteries are close, but not quite the same (328 cemetery to 182 church), which requires further consideration. First of all, most of the data on cemeteries come from the database of recorded archaeological sites of Hungary. This contains all the excavated (and published) material, but as noted this takes only smallest small part of the recorded sites, as most of them were recorded by field walking, and no further research was made on them.⁶⁹ Still, the number of sites exceeds the published material significantly, even though that it is hard to date the sites within the eleventh or the twelfth centuries solely by the means of field walking, and here only those sites were included where the dating was set to the early Árpadian period that is more or less equivalent to the eleventh century. Also, it shows a significant difference in research state within different parts of the Carpathian Basin. Field cemeteries mostly fall within the area of present-day Hungary, as apart from the Hungarian national archaeological database, published material are more scarcely available. This is the consequence of the discrepancy of research

⁶⁵ <https://dennikn.sk/160769/kostoly-slovenska-mapa-fotky/> (last accessed: 1 June 2017)

⁶⁶ Gáll, 'Krisztianizáció és régészet'. and Erwin Gáll, *Az Erdélyi-medence, a Partium és a Bánság 10-11. századi temetői, szórvány- és kincsleletei. [10th and 11th century burial sites, stray finds and treasures in the Transylvanian basin, the Partium and the Banat]*, Magyarország honfoglalás kori és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei 6 (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régészeti Tanszék, 2013).

⁶⁷ Entz, *Erdély Építészete a 11-13. Században [The Architecture of Transylvania in the 11-13th Centuries]*.

⁶⁸ Gyurkó, *Árpád-kori templomok a Kárpát-medencében [Arpadian age churches in the Carpathian basin]*. I would like to thank Gergely Buzás for providing me this rarely available volume.

⁶⁹ Here it should be mentioned that by the means of field walking it is rather hard, sometimes impossible to make a difference between field cemeteries and churchyard cemeteries, even though that if the church was constructed from a more solid material (stone, brick), than its recognition is simple on the field. Since the database of recorded archaeological sites does not make a difference between field and churchyard cemeteries, so will not the present study.

state, and also of published and unpublished material. While from the area of Transylvania and Slovakia the appearance of such sites is rather scarce, the territory of present-day Hungary is well-covered. The differences of published material vs research state are best visible in the case of Transylvania; even though the field cemeteries of the region are collected in a vast, thorough monograph,⁷⁰ there are large empty territories on the map. This is best visible in a case study on the cemeteries of the Banat region by László Révész. In his study, a map showing the field cemeteries of the Mureş-Tisza interflow demonstrates that sites on the area of present-day Hungary are significantly denser than outside of the border.⁷¹ Erwin Gáll, however, taking into consideration also the Avar era, suggested that the settlement area mainly focuses on the meeting area of rivers Tisa, Mureş and Aranca, and the southern region of the Banat is less populated because of the marshy lands. Furthermore, he argues that the Transylvanian Basin was considered as periphery as a geopolitical perspective, and therefore the colonisation of it only reached the valleys of the larger rivers.⁷² As the investigation of settlements are not part of the present PhD thesis, such sites were only integrated from the Hungarian database of recorded sites, and thus, their relation to other site types can only be investigated in the region of present-day Hungary. This is justified also by their distribution within that area – differences in research state are clearly visible. Also, those sites that are published constitute only a fragment of them. Since the state of research has to be considered even with a relatively good number of data, fragmentary mapping evidence makes no sense, as it would not be suitable for any sort of analysis.

⁷⁰ Gáll, *Az Erdélyi-medence, a Partium és a Bánság*.

⁷¹ László Révész, 'Die Gräberfelder Des 10.-11. Jahrhunderts Im Banat', in *FS Csanád Bálint*, 2016, 634. *Abb.1*.

⁷² Erwin Gáll and Sándor Romát, 'The Current State of Archaeological Research on the Avar Period in the Banat. Observations on the Changes in the Avar Settlement Territory in This Region and on Some Early Medieval Cultural-Sociological Phenomena', in *FS Csanád Bálint*, 2016, 433–68. See also Erwin Gáll, 'The Analysis of Churchyard Cemeteries in the Transylvanian Basin from the 11th–First Half of the 13th Centuries. On the Beginning of Institutionalised Christianity', *MARISIA* 33 (2013): 135–250.

Taphonomical Problems

This example demonstrates perfectly the two main issues with analysing archaeological big data: taphonomy, and dating. Taphonomical processes can be one reason why the proportion of the data datable for the earliest period is so strikingly small. As by the nature of archaeology and the natural process of creation and demolition of cultural phenomena, the decay, thus, the taphonomy of the sites that came into being the earliest, are the heaviest.⁷³ In the case of the present data, there is one more issue to be considered concerning churches, thus the focus element of the examined data: wooden constructions. Wooden churches, especially early wooden churches, are rather hard to trace in the archaeological record – mainly because of their taphonomy. As the soil of the Carpathian basin is not wet enough to preserve wooden structures in most cases, wooden churches would leave little, or no trace at all. If such a site can be identified, it is mostly possible by identifying a graveyard that shows the characteristics of a churchyard cemetery (graves in a restricted area, upon each other in several layers), without a church, or with an empty space within it. Albeit there are some rare cases when such a site can be recognised,⁷⁴ it is somewhat harder to do it solely by evidence observed during field walking, even though the density of a churchyard cemetery can more or less be possible to be identified, depending on the individual circumstances of the soil.

Furthermore, a church dated to a later period could have had an earlier, wooden version, which is almost undetectable in most cases, as the construction of the (foundation) of the new, stone or brick structure, and possible later disturbances within the church usually destroy any evidence pointing to that direction. This could only be revealed by a complete excavation and analysis of the cemetery, and the identification of burials dated prior to the church building, but

⁷³ On the concept of taphonomy, and its archaeological use see Manuel Domínguez-Rodrigo, Sixto Fernández-López, and Luis Alcalá, 'How Can Taphonomy Be Defined in the XXI Century?', *Journal of Taphonomy* 9 (2011): 1–13.

⁷⁴ Csilla Mógáné Aradi, 'A főnyed-gólyásfai Árpád-kori temető és település eddigi ásatásának összegzése [The Summary of the Excavations of the Settlement and Cemetery of Főnyed-Gólyásfa]', *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 13 (1998): 113–53. See also the site of Gyulaháza-Halomdűlő in Rég.Kut. 2002, 216.

aligning with the structure of the cemetery. This, however, is a rather rare opportunity, and not a viable option in the analysis of large scale archaeological data.

This example leads to the second issue – dating. The exact dating of most of the diverse archaeological phenomena enumerated above is rather hard. Depending on the context of the identification, thus excavation, objects with or without context, or data from field walking, and on the possibilities on the dating of the kind of phenomena (artefact, settlement, cemetery, church), the accuracy of the dating vary. Sometimes it is not even possible to date it any closer than to the High Middle Ages, and in the best case, it is usually not more than a century, or perhaps a half-century. For example, the identification and dating of a settlement from field walking data, based on usually pot shards is based partially on luck – if the archaeologists making the survey find any pieces that are characteristic within the High Middle Ages, and also on their expertise to date within this period. This seldom leads to incorrect dating, but more often to a broad one, mostly dating generally to the High Middle Ages. This is similar to the classification of churches, with two additional problems. First of all, the church building and its ground plan, especially in the case of rural churches are hard to date without data from the cemetery, which is often lacking. In addition to that, in this period the dating of dress accessories of burials are also controversial. There is still an impact on the research originating from the so-called 'Bjelo-Brdo' debate, which tends to date artefacts to the eleventh century. Meanwhile, cemetery analysis have also proved that there could be significant differences in the time of the burial and the period of fashion of such objects, in consequence of putting heirlooms in graves.⁷⁵ Furthermore, as it was mentioned above, taphonomy plays a significant role as well in the decay of the earliest features – from the disappearance of the earliest graves of a churchyard due to later disturbances to the rebuilding of churches, demolishing the recognisable early features, resulting in a false, later dating.

⁷⁵ Vargha, *Hoards, Grave Goods, Jewellery*, 27, 63.

Quite obviously, it is impossible to inspect the accuracy of all the sites considered in this dissertation. Such a work would be physically inconceivable – checking only the finds from each site identified by field walking alone would take an unthinkable time. Therefore, in the present thesis of the discussed archaeological phenomena (settlements, field cemeteries, churches with or without churchyards and individual objects) only the dating of the churches (around 2000 record) are revised in each case when possible, thus, when there is more data than only identification by field walking. Since the present work uses datasets that are unique in their field but compiled not by specialists, such as Kostoly Slovenska,⁷⁶ or the collection of János Gyurkó,⁷⁷ it is necessary to inspect the dating given there meticulously. Besides, because of the above-mentioned problems, it proved to be useful to do the same with the database of recorded archaeological sites of Hungary, providing the core of my own database. The dating of individual objects is the most precise of all the examined data; thus their revision is not needed. The revision of cemetery data, however, would not be possible on the whole dataset – in most cases the evidence for dating is much less than in case of churches, also in consequence of the context of identification – partial, fragmentary excavation or field walking data. Since because of the complexity of this type of evidence, precise dating is only possible of completely excavated and analysed cemeteries, which are rare phenomena. Lacking that, cemeteries appearing in the database of the present thesis are dated accordingly to their appearance in the above-mentioned dataset of recorded archaeological sites, or in case it is possible, in individual publications about them. Naturally, in case of dating cemeteries, the fragmentary nature of the evidence is always considered.

⁷⁶ <https://dennikn.sk/160769/kostoly-slovenska-mapa-fotky/> (accessed 15.12.2018)

⁷⁷ Gyurkó, *Árpád-kori templomok a Kárpát-medencében* [Arpadian age churches in the Carpathian basin].

Big Data, Distant Reading and Archaeology

Long discussing above the problems of the dataset used by the present thesis might even question the validity of using it as a source, which is the reason why archaeologists, in general, do not like to engage in research with big data. Still, archaeology can provide a large amount of data. However, dealing with large-scale archaeological data can also be rather challenging. Collecting all types of recorded sites, that are dated to the period of the High Middle Ages, thus to the time of the development of the local church system, the database consists of altogether 19175 sites, of which as mentioned above, 2178 are churches, and besides there are 1209 cemeteries that have particular focus in the database analysis in consequence of their essential role in my analysis. Most of the remaining sites are settlement. This data plays a vital role in analysing the relations of diverse site types, even if settlements are not investigated individually, and thus, do not appear in the database in the appendix, but taken into consideration when analysing the spatial patterns.

Archaeology is not a field that traditionally deals with such a large amount of data. However, today's technological development and large-scale investigations of the landscape made the concept of Big Data, and especially Geospatial Big Data, a concept that research has to consider. It is defined as “*Geospatial Big Data (GBD) can be broadly defined as data sets that include locational information and exceed the capacity of widely available hardware, software, and/or human resources.*”⁷⁸ The most critical problematic points of the concept of Big Data, variety, veracity, volume and velocity can be applied to GBD, archaeology, and the present research as well. Since geospatial archaeology and data science in archaeology is an existing and developed field, best practices of how to deal with data are widely known, and the number of its users is growing.⁷⁹ However, in consequence of the problematics mentioned above, of which the most

⁷⁸ Mark McCoy, ‘Geospatial Big Data and Archaeology: Prospects and Problems Too Great to Ignore’, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 84 (2017): 74.

⁷⁹ McCoy, 74-78.

considerable general concern focuses on the quality of the original datasets,⁸⁰ the number of studies dealing with archaeological Big Data is relatively low. Another concern, namely legal and ethical questions, the availability of free and open-source datasets, has to be mentioned as well. This is further complicated by the relatively small number of researchers personally engaging in these technologies or getting funding to hire professionals.

Furthermore, such studies are mostly associated with the field of landscape archaeology, which only embraces a segment of all the archaeological research. Another important characteristic of Big Data in archaeology was promptly described by Gattiglia – here research should move from causation to correlations and relations. He also stresses that the definition of Big Data in archaeology (and humanities in general) is mostly about the aggregation wide variety of data, which, precisely because of its diverse nature, in the data curation process needs data cleaning and transformation.⁸¹ All this can and has been applied to the material of the present research, as it was discussed above. Albeit the essential elements of the dataset (churches) are double-checked, reviewing the chronological and general classification, this was not possible to do with the entire dataset. However, if one does not let oneself taken over by examining all these sites in detail, but only to determine their character and dating, it permits far more comprehensive examinations that it has been possible before, and also would not be possible without the application of GIS. A recent study enumerates the using of Big Data in the research of cultural history as possible outcomes of future research.⁸² Although studies and projects on cultural history and Big (geospatial) Data and archaeology started to emerge,⁸³ such a

⁸⁰ Anwen Cooper and Chris Green, 'Embracing the Complexities of "Big Data" in Archaeology: The Case of the English Landscape and Identities Project', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 23, no. 1 (2016): 272. See also Gabriele Gattiglia, 'Think Big about Data: Archaeology and the Big Data Challenge', *Archäologische Informationen* 38 (2015), 114-115.

⁸¹ Gattiglia, 'Think Big about Data', 115-117.

⁸² McCoy, 'Geospatial Big Data and Archaeology', 79.

⁸³ See a prime example for this, the project 'Digitising Patterns of Power' and its research output: <https://dpp.oeaw.ac.at/> (accessed: 01.14.2019)

comparative study on the Christianisation of the region, using Big Data in archaeology has not yet been carried out for the region, and can bring to light many details connected to the issue. Besides Big Data, the concept of distant reading should also be introduced. Coming from literary studies, the original approach of Moretti made a distinction between close reading, a detailed examination of a few texts, and distant reading, accumulation and analysis of a large amount of data. According to Moretti, distance ‘is a condition of knowledge’.⁸⁴ Since then, distant reading has broken the barriers of literary studies,⁸⁵ and became a widely used term in the humanities, but seldom, or rather never in archaeological research. Even though, when dealing with Big Data, this is precisely the methodology to use. A large dataset, let it be a corpus or hundreds or thousands of archaeological sites are not suitable for a traditional analysis - it is impossible to investigate and discuss each of them, and thus create a ‘close reading’ of archaeological sources. However, by creating an abstraction of the data by careful data normalisation, including the categorisation based on site types (church, field cemetery, settlement, monastery, castle, royal curia, etc.), and an acceptable framework for dating (early-, mid-, and late High Middle Ages) can provide a large dataset. This organised and reviewed, normalised Big Geospatial Data is ideal for ‘distant reading’, a thorough analysis and so the investigation the correlations between different site types and exploring patterns. These results can be then interpreted, which, without such a large scale spatial analysis, the ‘distant reading’ of archaeological sources would not be possible to be seen. In the following chapter, archaeological data gathered from the diverse, above enumerated sources will be separated by site types, their spatial relations analysed, and their archaeological-historical interpretation discussed.

⁸⁴ Franco Moretti, ‘Conjectures on World Literature’, *New Left Review*, II, no. 1 (2000): 57.

⁸⁵ See a multidisciplinary example: Murray G. Phillips, Gary Osmond, and Stephen Townsend, ‘A Bird’s-Eye View of the Past: Digital History, Distant Reading and Sport History’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 32, no. 15 (2015): 1725–40.

III. RESEARCH TRENDS OF THE HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES ON THE CHRISTIANISATION OF HUNGARY

Although ecclesiastical history as a whole was rather neglected until the 1980s, the investigation of Christianisation and the establishment of the church system was connected to the state foundation, and thus it was one of the exemptions in that regard.⁸⁶

Although early, comprehensive research on the establishment of the church system concentrated mostly on its origins – understandably, as this was perhaps the most important issue regarding its relations to state formation. These debates can mostly be connected to the works of György Györffy⁸⁷ and Gyula Kristó.⁸⁸ This approach was soon followed by numerous studies on the development and foundation of certain regions, bishoprics and archbishoprics.⁸⁹ Recently, comprehensive works on the development of the ecclesiastical system came into the focus of the research again, mostly connected to the works of László Koszta.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ László Koszta, 'A középkori magyar egyházra vonatkozó történeti kutatások az utóbbi évtizedekben [Historical Research Related to the Medieval Hungarian Church in the Past Decades]', *Aetas*, no. 8 (1993): 71.

⁸⁷ György Györffy, 'Zu den Anfängen der Ungarischen Kirchenorganisation auf Grund Neuer Quellenkritischer Ergebnisse', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 7 (1969): 79–113; György Györffy, *István király és műve [King Stephen and His Work]* (Budapest, 1977); György Györffy, 'Die Arpaden und das Christentum', in *Elisabeth, Der Deutsche Orden und Ihre Kirche. Festschrift*, 1983, 1–8; György Györffy, 'La Christianisation des Hongrois et les peuples de la Hongrie', in *L'Eglise et le peuple Chrétien dans les pays de l'Europe du Centre-Est et Du Nord*, 1990, 57–66.

⁸⁸ Gyula Kristó, 'Megjegyzések az ún. "pogánylázadások" kora történetéhez [Remarks on the so-Called Age of the "Pagan Revolts"]', *Acta Historica (Szeged)* 18 (1965): 3–55; Kristó, 'Szent István püspökségei [Saint Stephen's Bishoprics]'.⁸⁹

See a selection of works: Alexander Szentirmai, 'Der Ursprung des Archidiaconats in Ungarn', *Österreichisches Archiv Für Kirchenrecht* 7 (1956): 231–44; Gyula Kristó, 'A fekete magyarok és a pécsi püspökség alapítása [The Black Hungarians the the Foundation of the Diocese of Pécs]', *Acta Historica (Szeged)* 82 (1985): 11–17; Ferenc Makk, 'Megjegyzések a kalocsai érsekség korai történetéhez', in *Szent Gellért vértanúságának 950. évfordulóján*, 1998, 77–83; László Koszta, 'A váci püspökség alapítása [The Foundation of the Bishopric of Vác]', *Századok* 135 (2001): 363–75; László Koszta, 'A nyitrai püspökség létrejötte. (Nyitra egyháztörténete a 9-13. században) [The Emergence of the Bishopric of Nyitra. (Ecclesiastical History of Nyitra in the 9th to 13th Centuries)]', *Századok* 143 (2009): 257–318; Gábor Thoroczkay, 'A kalocsai érsekség első évszázadáról', in *Thoroczkay, Írások az Árpád-korról*, 2009, 51–65; László Koszta, 'A püspökség alapítása', in *A Pécsi Egyházmegye Története. 1. A Középkor Évszázadai, 1009-1543*, 2009, 13–42.

⁹⁰ László Koszta, 'A kereszténység kezdetei és az egyházszervezés Magyarországon [The Beginnings of Christianity and the Organisation of the Church in Hungary]', in *Az államalapító*, ed. Gyula Kristó (Budapest: Zrínyi Katonai Kiadó, 1988), 153–207; László Koszta, 'A keresztény egyházszervezet kialakulása [The Emergence of the Christian Church System]', in *Árpád előtt és után. Tanulmányok a magyarság és hazája korai történetéről*, ed. Gyula Kristó and Ferenc Makk (Szeged: Somogyi Könyvtár, 1996), 105–15; Koszta, 'L'organisation de l'église Chrétienne en Hongrie'; László Koszta, *Írásbeliség és egyházszervezet: fejezetek a középkori magyar egyház történetéből [Literacy and Church System: Chapters from the History of the Hungarian Church]*, vol. 3, Capitulum (Szeged: JATEPress, 2007); László Koszta, 'State Power and Ecclesiastical System in Eleventh Century Hungary', in *In My Spirit and Thought I Remained a European of Hungarian Origin' Medieval Historical Studies in Memory of Zoltán J. Kosztolnyik*, ed. István Petrovics, Sándor László Tóth, and Eleanor A.

Besides these more general directions, some particular problems, such as the so-called ‘Eigenkirche’ issue was discussed separately,⁹¹ which can also be connected to the research direction that aimed to investigate the relations and possible models of the Hungarian church system and its institutions, as well as research connected to royal chapels.⁹² Also, this particular question was also studied according to current international research trends.⁹³ Similarly to that, the issue of the influence of the Byzantine Church was discussed in separate studies,⁹⁴ also including archaeological research.⁹⁵

Similarly to that, historical research did not deal much with local churches,⁹⁶ which may have to do with the little written evidence, and their contradictions.⁹⁷ Neither was discussed the

Congdon (Szeged: JATEPress, 2010), 67–78.; Koszta, ‘Fejezetek a korai magyar egyházszervezet történetéből [Chapters from the History of the Early Church Organisation of Hungary]’.

⁹¹ Elemér Mályusz and Günther Stökl, ‘Die Eigenkirche in Ungarn’, in *Studien zur älteren Geschichte Osteuropas (Festschrift für Heinrich Felix Schmid)* (Graz: Böhlau, 1956), 76–95.

⁹² Miklós Jankovich, ‘Buda-környék plébániáinak középkori kialakulása és a királyi kápolnák intézménye [The Emergence of the Parishes around Buda and the Institute of Royal Chapels]’, *Budapesti Régisegei* 19 (1959): 57–98; Gergely Kiss, ‘Az esztergomi érsek királyi egyházak feletti joghatóságának kialakulása a 11–13. században [The Development of the Legal Authority of the Archbishop of Esztergom above Royal Churches in the 11–13th c.]’, *Századok* 145 (2011): 269–92; Gergely Kiss, ‘Királyi egyházak a középkori Magyarországon. A királyi kápolna mint lehetséges közös eredet? [Royal Churches in Medieval Hungary. Royal Chapels as a Common Origin?]’, in *Középkortörténeti Tanulmányok* 7, ed. Attila Kiss, Ferenc Piti, and György Szabados (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2012), 77–88.

⁹³ Ulrich Stutz, ‘Ausgewählte Kapitel aus der Geschichte der Eigenkirche und Ihres Rechtes’, *Zeitschrift Der Savigny-Stiftung Für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung* 26 (1937): 1–85; Clemens Böhne, ‘Von der Eigenkirche zur Selbständigen Pfarrkirche: aus der Baugeschichte der Pfarrkirche Fürstenfeldbruck’, *Amperland* 8 (1972): 219–23, 260; Ulrich Stutz and Hans Erich Feine, *Forschungen zu Recht und Geschichte der Eigenkirche: gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Aalen: Scientia-Verl, 1989).

⁹⁴ Gyula Moravcsik, ‘Byzance et le Christianisme Hongrois du Moyen Âge’, *Corso Di Cultura Sull’Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* 16 (1969): 313–41; Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars* (Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970); György Györffy, ‘Rôle de Byzance dans la Conversion des Hongrois’, in *Cultus et Cognition. Studia z Dziejów Sredniowiecznej Kultury*, 1976, 169–80; László Komáromi, ‘A bizánci kultúra egyes elemei és közvetítő tényezői a középkori Magyarországon [Certain Elements and Transmitters of Byzantine Culture in Medieval Hungary]’, *Iustum Aequum Salutare* 1, no. 3 (2007): 215–28; Szabolcs Anzelm Szuromi, ‘A keleti egyházfegyelem befolyása a korai magyar zsinatokon [The Influence of Eastern Church Discipline on Early Hungarian Synods]’, in *Tanulmányok a magyarországi egyházjog középkori történetéről: kéziratos kódexek, zsinatok, középkori műfajok*, ed. Péter Erdő (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2002), 143–53.

⁹⁵ Károly Mesterházy, ‘Adatok a bizánci kereszténység elterjedéséhez az Árpád-kori Magyarországon [Data on the Spread of Byzantine Christianity in the Árpadian Age Hungary]’, *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* 1968 (1970): 145–81; Éva Révész, ‘Régészeti és történeti adatok a kora Árpád-kori bizánci-bolgár-magyar egyházi kapcsolatokhoz [Archaeological and Historical Data on the Early Árpadian Age Byzantine-Bulgarian-Hungarian Ecclesiastical Relationships]’ (Szeged, 2012).

⁹⁶ See an exception: Beatrix F. Romhányi, ‘Korai egyházak az esztergomi érsekség területén [Early Churches in the Territory of the Archbishoprics of Esztergom]’, *Tudományos Füzetek Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Múzeumi Szervezet* 11 (1999): 265–76.

⁹⁷ On the contradictori use of the term ‘parochia’ see: Erzsébet Ladányi, ‘Euzidinus-oklevél hitelességének a kérdéséhez [On the Questioning the Authenticity of the Euzidinus Charter]’, *Levéltári Közlemények*, no. 48–49 (1978): 51–59.

location of the church and its relation to the villages, or their nucleation processes in the later centuries intensively, as mostly archaeological sources could have collected data on this problem. Interestingly, this, as a comprehensive approach still also does not have a long research tradition in Hungarian archaeological research.⁹⁸

Another area of research in connection with Christianisation which was not studied in details until recently are burials. Apart from an early article from Kristó dealing with the appearance of (pagan) burials in charters mainly dealing with perambulations,⁹⁹ there has been little work done until recently, when the topic was extensively discussed mostly in the studies of Szabolcs Anzelm Szuromi,¹⁰⁰ and its historical relations were also recently summarised by Maxim Mordovin in relation to the research of early central places of power.¹⁰¹

As it is visible, archaeological and historical research are interconnected – in specific topics. In the following, I will summarise the most intensively discussed topics in archaeology connected to Christianisation.

Archaeology in the Interpretation of the Christianisation of Medieval Hungary

Chronological Division

Chronologically, the archaeological research of this era is traditionally separated into two parts.

The first (tenth- eleventh century) phase represents the beginning and called the so-called

⁹⁸ See an exception by: Máté Stibrányi, 'A határon álló templomok. A középkori templomos helyek és a településhálózat vizsgálata Fejér megyében [Churches on Village Borders. The Investigation of the Relation of Churches and Settlement Network in Fejér County]', in *Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája - Múlt, Jelen, Jövő.*, ed. Elek Benkő, Mária Bondár, and Ágnes Kolláth (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2017), 369–86.

⁹⁹ Gyula Kristó, 'Sírhelyekre vonatkozó adatok korai okleveleinkben [Data from Early Charters Concerning the Location of Burials]', *Acta Historica (Szeged)* 71 (1981): 21–28.

¹⁰⁰ Szabolcs Anzelm Szuromi, 'On Preparation for Death in the 12th and 13th Centuries in Light of Contemporaneous Ecclesiastical Discipline', *Folia Theologica* 13 (2002): 103–9; Szabolcs Anzelm Szuromi, *A temetésre vonatkozó egyházfegyelem a XII-XIII. században [Canon Law Concerning Burials During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries]*. (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2002); Szabolcs Anzelm Szuromi, 'A templom körüli temetkezés a középkori egyházfegyelem tükrében (12-13. század). [Burials in Churchyards Regarding 12-13th c. Church Discipline]', in *„... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok” A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása.*, ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi, *Opuscula Hungarica* 6 (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005), 9–12; Szabolcs Anzelm Szuromi, 'A temető mint szent hely [The Churchyard as a Sacred Space]', *Teológia*, no. 45 (2011); Szabolcs Anzelm Szuromi, 'A szerzetesi temetők kiemelkedő szerepe a 11-13. századi temetkezési szokások és egyházi jogi előírások tükrében [The Distinguished Role of Monastic Graveyards Regarding the 11-13th c. Burial Customs and Church Law Regulations]', *Iustum Aequum Salutare* 1, no. 13 (2017): 145–54.

¹⁰¹ Mordovin, *A várszervezet kialakulása*, 105–8.

Conquest Period or Early Árpadian Age, and the twelfth and thirteenth centuries often referred as Late Árpadian Age comprise the second, perhaps even more complex, phase.¹⁰² Despite that this division does have some justification – the three centuries of the Árpadian Era; thus the High Middle Ages are often not easy to separate by archaeological means and ways – it is mostly connected to historiographical trends that were set by the educational institutions and their divisions made partially on personal interests. Since the present thesis investigates the remains of institutionalised Christianity, data is collected from the eleventh century onwards. This is the time of state formation and the creation of the ecclesiastical system, and a gradual adaptation to Christianity. Although it was obviously a process, archaeologically the period is represented by diverse phenomena – different, coeval cemetery types and different kind of burial rites along with an interesting composition of material heritage; still this period should not be considered under the concept of the Conquest Era, as another perspective already directed it. Regarding processes, another kind of division can be made. The process of Christianisation has been largely completed by the beginning of the twelfth century, which marks the end of the first phase of this process. Following that, the second phase concerns mostly on the development of the network of the local churches, and thus the emergence of the parish system in the thirteenth century. This phase of the process, from the (mid) twelfth to the thirteenth centuries, is perhaps even more interesting since written sources indicate this is the period that field cemeteries fell into disuse and burying the dead in churchyard cemeteries finally became a general custom. However, this latter period in some fields of archaeology, for example, burial archaeology, can also be considered as ‘missing centuries’, a description they earned from the fact that the entire material culture of grave goods is largely uninvestigated. Churches, buildings, liturgical objects, or even jewellery and dress accessories have been dated to the thirteenth century (and up to some limit the end of the twelfth century), but no such object

¹⁰² It has to be mentioned that the early twelfth century often taken to the first category as well, making these divisions even more blurred

appears in graves leading to the notion of the ‘impoverishment of churchyard cemeteries’.¹⁰³ I have investigated this phenomenon previously, and by using cemetery analysis, I was able to demonstrate the existence of graves either furnished with jewellery that can be dated to earlier centuries or grave goods that are of no help in dating the graves or were completely empty. This latter can be partially explained by the special burial custom of the use of shrouds, a custom which seems to come to an end around the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when people restarted to bury their dead fully dressed. Another cause of this lacunae may have been the economic situation, namely the silver and bullion shortage that occurred at this time.¹⁰⁴

To summarise, it can be agreed that the starting point of the present-day research is that the unity of church and churchyard is undeniable in later medieval understanding and therefore everything that can be understood as part of the physical, social and religious context of cemeteries: location, church building, churchyard pattern, liturgical objects, burial customs, jewellery and dress accessories could bring us closer to a better understanding of Christianisation. Of these, the present thesis will concentrate on the spatial arrangement of churches, graveyards and ecclesiastical and secular power centres, taking a broader point of view than it was customary in previous archaeological works. With that, I would like to investigate the whole process surrounding the development of churchyard cemeteries from its beginnings and the irregularities of the twelfth century to investigate this phenomenon within its context. Nonetheless, when possible, the comparison of the material from field cemeteries will be contrasted with evidence from churchyards when possible. The enumerated features all speak to different aspects of this process; location and church building address the spatial and social aspects of Christianisation, churchyard patterns reveal both local and also general customs in the way churchyards were used bringing us closer to the understanding of their

¹⁰³ Ritoók, ‘Szempontok a magyarországi templom körüli temetők elemzéséhez [Viewpoints for analysing Hungarian churchyard cemeteries]’, 121.

¹⁰⁴ Vargha, *Hoards, Grave Goods, Jewellery*, 22.

internal development. Regarding this period as a historical process, there is no clearer way to make a division. Still, when dealing with archaeological sources, my aim is to use the division by centuries whenever it is possible. This way, the notion of Conquest Period can be eliminated from the investigation of the processes of the period, resulting in a historically clearer and more neutral approach.

Pagan-Christian Division and Field Cemeteries¹⁰⁵

Hot topics of archaeology concerning the Christianisation of Hungary mostly centred on one crucial issue; the division of pagan and Christian elements, based mostly on cemetery types and certain elements of the material culture. However, these debates occurred mostly in connection with the research of the field cemeteries of the so-called Conquest Period, encompassing both the tenth and eleventh centuries, as it was mentioned above.

While earlier works considered such cemeteries entirely pagan, this is now debated. Latest research accepted the theory that such, initially pagan field cemeteries could have been continued uninterruptedly after the Christianisation of the population, even without the indication of the church, based on the evidence of coeval field cemeteries and churchyards in each other's vicinity, and the changing burial customs regarding grave goods.¹⁰⁶ Referring to the latter, researchers almost completely agree that objects that were identified as indicators of

¹⁰⁵ These cemeteries in Hungarian and German research are called row cemetery (*soros temető*, *Reihengräberfeld*) because of the arrangement of the graves. Granville Astill dealt with the naming of such cemeteries in the Anglo-Saxon research, and states that these are cemeteries which were used between the abandonment of cemeteries with extensive grave goods and the start of churchyard burials; he calls them “open ground cemeteries,” “traditional lay cemeteries” or more often “field cemeteries.” Although there are some chronological differences, the process was clearly the same in both areas; Astill states that the formation of the landscape and land use had a strong connection with the change of burial customs, as when a new field system emerged, local parishes were established, and thereafter burials were restricted to the churchyard. The process in Hungary was similar, as churchyard burials started with the stabilisation of settlements near churches. Astill argues that because of the fields were the most antique element of the landscape it could also have created a common identity among the people who cultivated it; it could have been the most appropriate place to bury the deceased. Therefore the most appropriate name for these burial grounds are field cemeteries. For more information on the process, see: Grenville G. Astill, ‘Anglo-Saxon Attitudes: How Should Post-AD 700 Burials Be Interpreted?’, in *Essays Heinrich Härke*, 2009, 222–35.

¹⁰⁶ Péter Langó, ‘A kora Árpád-kori temetők kutatása [Research into Cemeteries from the Early Árpadian Age]’, in *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon*, 2010, 456–57.

Christian faith of the interred individual, such as *lunula* shaped pendants¹⁰⁷ or pectoral crosses, are not suitable material to make such statements, due to ambiguous find context (rite of the burial).¹⁰⁸ In the case of pectorals, this was further supported by a spatial analysis conducted by Attila Türk and Péter Langó, comparing the spread of pectoral finds from burials with ecclesiastical centres, showing negative results.¹⁰⁹

Researchers started to make a chronological and socioeconomic division within the field cemeteries of the period as early as the 1960's,¹¹⁰ which with some corrections was the base of the research, until the latest extensive comprehensive evaluation of field and churchyard cemeteries of the first half of the High Middle Ages by László Kovács, collecting and re-analysing all the published material.¹¹¹ The traditional chronological division of the so-called 'Conquest Period' or sometimes 'Conquest Period and Early Árpadian Age' thus treated the tenth and eleventh-century material as a whole, and mainly examining it from the point of view of the former. The pagan-Christian debates, therefore, emerged also in this context, where the turn of the two centuries and so the beginning of the consciously directed development of institutionalised Christianity. This research tradition was further strengthened in case of

¹⁰⁷ Alán Kralovánszky, 'Adatok a kárpát-medencei X. - XI. századi félhold alakú csüngők kérdéséhez [Data on the 10-11th c. Crescent Shaped Pendants from the Carpathian Basin]', *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 86 (1959): 76–82; Aurel Dragotă, 'Typology of Crescent-Shaped Pendants.', *Ziridava. Studia Archaeologica*, no. 30 (2016): 171–88; Natalia Khamaiko, 'Crescent Pendants (Lunnitsa) in 11th – 13th Century Rus': Pagan Amulet or Christian Ornament?', in *Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe. Archaeological and Historical Evidence.*, ed. Salamon Maciej et al. (Kraków – Leipzig – Rzeszów – Warszawa, 2012).

¹⁰⁸ István Fodor, 'The Art and Religion of the Ancient Hungarians', in *Hungarian Archaeology at the Turn of the Millenium*, ed. Zsolt Visy (Budapest: Ministry of National Cultural Heritage, Teleki László Foundation, 2003), 337.

¹⁰⁹ Péter Langó and Attila Türk, 'Honfoglalás kori sírok Mindszent-Koszorús-Dűlőn (Adatok a síjbevezető bizánci csaták és a délkelet-európai kapcsolattal egyszerű mellkeresztok tipológiájához) [Landnahmezeitliche Gräber in Mindszent-Koszorús-Dűlő (Angaben zur Typologie der Trapezförmigen Byzantinischen Schnallen und Einfachen Brustkreuze mit Südosteuropäischen Beziehungen)]', *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve. Studia Archeologica* 10 (2004): 365–417.

¹¹⁰ Béla Szőke, *A honfoglaló és kora Árpád-kori magyarság régészeti emlékei. [The Archaeological Remains of the Conquering and Early Árpadian Age Hungarians]* (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1962).

¹¹¹ László Kovács, 'A Kárpát-medence honfoglalás és kora Árpád-kori szállási és falusi temetői [The Conquest Period and Early Árpadian Age Cemeteries of Villages and Temporary Settlements]', in *A honfoglalás kor kutatásának legújabb eredményei. Tanulmányok Kovács László 70. születésnapjára* (Szeged: Martin Opitz, 2013), 511–604; László Kovács, 'Éremleletes kora Árpád-kori templom körüli temetőkről és templomokról a magyar királyságban (1000-1141)', in *A honfoglalás kor kutatásának legújabb eredményei. Tanulmányok Kovács László 70. születésnapjára [The Latest Results of the Research of the Conquest Period. FS for László Kovács]* (Szeged: Martin Opitz, 2013), 227–96.

graveyards by the great work manifested by series of monographic collection of tenth-eleventh century graves and grave goods of the regions of the Carpathian Basin.¹¹² Although some of these monumental works include more or less elaborated chapters about churchyards as well, their main focus is the classification of the material culture and the burial customs of the field cemeteries, which are perhaps the most intensely studied subjects of this period.

‘Gellértegyháza-type’ Cemeteries

Overviewing the historical processes of the period of interest, the most crucial issue from the first phase is the spread of church foundations and therefore of churchyards. Within this period, the most important problem connected to both Christianisation and changes in burial customs as well as the investigation of different coeval cemetery types. The most significant problem has been the overly simplified typology of cemeteries that divided cemeteries into pagan field cemeteries and Christian churchyard cemeteries, despite archaeological evidence shows the existence of numerous transitional types (something which is not a specific phenomenon but is also consonant with trends in international scholarship).

¹¹² The published volumes so far are: Attila Kiss, *Baranya megye X-XI. századi sírleletei [10-11th c. Grave Finds of Baranya County]*, Magyarország honfoglalás kori és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei 1 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983); Gábor Kiss, *Vas megye 10 - 12. századi sír- és kincsleletei [Die Grab- und Schatzfunde des 10.-12. Jahrhunderts im Komitat Vas]*, vol. 2, Magyarország honfoglalás kori és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei (Szombathely: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2000); M Nepper Ibolya, *Hajdú-Bihar megye 10-11. századi sírleletei [10-11th c. Grave Finds of Hajdú-Bihar County]*, Magyarország honfoglalás kori és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei 3 (Debrecen; Budapest: Déri Múzeum ; Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum : Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Régészeti Intézete, 2002); Eszter Istvánovits, *A Rétköz honfoglalás és Árpád-kori emlékei [The Material Remains of the Conquest and Early Arpadian Age Rétköz]*, Magyarország honfoglalás kori és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei (Nyíregyháza: Jóna András Museum, 2003); László Révész, *Heves megye 10-11. századi temetői [The 10-11th c. Graveyards of Heves County]*, Magyarország honfoglalás kori és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei 5, 2008; Gáll, *Az Erdélyi-medence, a Partium és a Bánság; Anikó Tóth, A nyíri Mezőség a 10-11. században [The Mezőség of Nyír in the 10-11th Centuries]*, Magyarország honfoglalás kori és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei 7 (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régészeti Tanszék, 2014); Ciprián Horváth, *Győr és Moson megyék honfoglalás és kora Árpád-kori temetői és sírleletei [The Conquest Period and Early Arpadian Age Cemeteries and Grave Goods of Győr and Moson Counties]*, Magyarország honfoglalás kori és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei 8 (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régészeti Tanszék Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Régészeti Intézet, 2014); László Kovács, *A Taktaköz 10-11. századi sír- és szórványleletei, valamint a Tiszalúc-Sarkadi 11. századi temető [The 10-11th c. Grave and Stray finds of the Taktaköz, and the 11th c. Cemetery of Tiszalúc-Sarkad]*, Magyarország honfoglalás kori és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei 9 (Szeged; Budapest: Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régészeti Tanszék Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Régészeti Intézet, 2015).

Connected to these issues, the next well-debated and studied phenomenon was the so-called Gellértegyháza type of cemetery, which represents a transitional cemetery type between field and churchyard cemeteries, where field cemeteries and churchyards interconnected in some ways. Initially, the name-giving site referred to a situation where the churchyard was erected over a pagan burial site.¹¹³ From the archaeological point of view, this would mean that the foundation walls of the church or burials undoubtedly belong to the churchyard cut or superimposed earlier graves of the cemetery. Despite that the term ‘Gellértegyháza-type’ has been widespread in research (even though the name-giving site’s character has been debated), I would instead recommend to call such burial places ‘transitional cemeteries’. Although the continuity of pagan(?) and Christian burials is not a clearly tangible phenomenon, researchers used this term to cover all possible cemetery types, debating mostly on the relation regarding the location,¹¹⁴ and sometimes the possibility for the continuity of the two graveyards, or their incidental placing.¹¹⁵ This makes it visible that the phenomenon could have occurred in varied form, and so its description by one single site is somewhat inaccurate. Recently, the name-giving site of Gellértegyháza has been reinvestigated by Gyöngyvér Bíró, also interpreting the unpublished material and documentation of the cemetery. Besides a thorough description of the features, she also overviewed the still not resolved problem of transitional cemeteries.¹¹⁶ It also has to be stressed, that the heated debates on the pagan-Christian transition of cemeteries are originated from historical research, or more precisely, from historical sources. As canon law strictly prohibited to burying people in places where pagans had previously been buried, so in

¹¹³ Béla Szőke, ‘A bjelobrdói kultúráról [About the Bjelo-Brdo Culture]’, *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, no. 86 (1959): 38.

¹¹⁴ Or according to some researchers, next to, see Ritoók, ‘A templom körüli temetők régészeti kutatása’, 478.

¹¹⁵ István Dienes, ‘A honfoglaló magyarok. [The Conquering Hungarians]’, in *Orosháza története és néprajza*, ed. Gyula Nagy (Orosháza: Orosháza Városi Tanács, 1965), 159-160; Langó, ‘A kora Árpád-kori temetők kutatása [Research into Cemeteries from the Early Arpadian Age]’.

¹¹⁶ Gyöngyvér Bíró, ‘Gellértegyháza és problémaköre [Gellértegyháza and Its Related Problems]’, in *Fiatal Középkoros Régészek VII. Konferenciája. Tanulmánykötet* (Salgótarján: Dornyai Béla Múzeum, In press).

theory, this situation should not exist. However, despite these regulations, there are seemingly several examples of churchyards that overlapped a previously existing field cemetery.

Contrary to that, there is also written evidence that testifies that Christian field cemeteries were created as results of complex processes. The *Legenda Maior* of Saint Gerhard says that ‘the bishop went together with his monks to visit his diocese, and to consecrate those burial sites, who want to build churches’, referring to a process where field cemeteries could have worked as Christian cemeteries and later a church could have been erected on them. Still, identifying such continuity is reasonably tricky. Additionally, it is almost impossible to decide on an individual’s religious beliefs in this period. Another problem is that there are only a few wholly excavated sites, and in such cases, the existence of a previous wooden church can sometimes be assumed.¹¹⁷ Therefore, despite that the latest, mostly accepted steps of the development of churchyard cemeteries differentiate from pagan field cemeteries to Christian field cemeteries and finally churchyards,¹¹⁸ it has to be underlined that the first two steps could have overlapped as much in time as in space.

Another problem with archaeology in general and the research of transitional cemeteries especially is that archaeologist often fell into the trap of creating artificial time horizons or periods, that might had little to do with reality. While the conversion was undoubtedly a longer process, that should not reflect necessarily on the archaeological remains of the cemeteries. As an example, there is no such transitional period between the field cemetery and the churchyard cemetery that could be identified on a larger scale. Despite that this phenomenon occurs in archaeological studies¹¹⁹ it has to be stressed out, that once the construction of the church started, in case of small, simple rural churches the process should not have taken more than a

¹¹⁷ József Laszlovszky, ‘Social Stratification and Material Culture in 10th-14th Century Hungary’, in *Alltag Und Materielle Kultur Im Mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, ed. József Laszlovszky and András Kubinyi (Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum, 1991), 41-42.

¹¹⁸ Mordovin, *A várszervezet kialakulása*, 105.

¹¹⁹ Even in the latest literature, see Bíró, ‘Gellértegyháza és problémaköre [Gellértegyháza and Its Related Problems]’.

season – a period which represents an archaeologically hardly perceivable moment. That is especially valid in case of a cemetery, where there might not even be any death occurred in the given period. Therefore, transitional cemeteries in their first phase should be considered as field cemeteries, where the faith of the interred and so the burial customs might have been varied. Once a church was erected, there is no question about the type of the cemetery or the burial. Here it has to be noted, that superstitious actions and individual artefacts in burials do not automatically refer to the ‘pagan’ characteristic of the burial. As such traditions continued throughout the Christian Middle Ages, their presence should be considered a little more cautiously.

Connected to that, despite the many methodological problems and the fact that this research concentrates on churchyards cemeteries, the question of recognising incipient or thoroughly Christian field cemeteries has to be included. The issue of the diverse, coeval cemetery types permits investigation into the range of contemporary burial customs in varied type of burial ground discussed in the dissertation. In turn, such re-definition can lead to a closer understanding of burials customs and, to some degree, at any rate, the variations on the process of Christianisation over Hungary. A comparative study of this sort has not yet been carried out and should bring to light many details connected to this issue. In my opinion the issue of transitional cemeteries could and should be further investigated on a larger scale analysis, including spatial contextualisation, which could result in further clarifications of the problem – considering also the question of earlier – wooden churches, character of the graveyard, burial customs, etc., as it will be discussed later in details in the present thesis.

Churchyards

Following transitional cemetery types, the next significant area of research that is connected to Christianisation in the archaeological investigation of churchyards and churches. The historiography of this field has been summarised recently by Ágnes Ritoók. Although she

claimed that until the 1990s, the research results of this field in the Carpathian basin was among the best in Europe, she also noted a significant division following the Second World War, when – according to her – the interest for this time-consuming and not quite remarkable field has declined, and the analytical, comprehensive research of churchyards continuous for about fifty years was divided by two distinct approaches; the separate investigation of church buildings and grave goods.¹²⁰ The latter, especially concerning the research of the High Middle Ages was under the influence of the Bjelo-Brdo debate that had a severe impact on both the research of churchyards and also of Árpáadian age jewellery. The most burdensome consequence was that researchers (over)concentrated on the material of the early Árpáadian age and somewhat neglected the second half of the period. This lead to a misleading research situation; an oversimplified and wrong dating of the artefacts for the eleventh century, resulting in the disappearance of the cemeteries of the second half of the period, and the neglect on the context of the artefacts, thus the graves themselves.¹²¹ Besides, this made a distinct example on putting ethnic connotation on grave goods and material culture in general, which also lead the discussion to an old-fashioned approach recalling the research trends of the pre-second World War era, that despite being rather outworn by today, still has an impact on the present-day archaeology of burials and material culture in the region.¹²² Therefore, the decline of the research of churchyard cemeteries and burial archaeology in general, at least in a methodological point of view, started already from the mid-twentieth century. This started to

¹²⁰ Ritoók, 'A templom körüli temetők régészeti kutatása', 474.

¹²¹ Ritoók; Vargha, *Hoards, Grave Goods, Jewellery*, 62–63. Ritoók; Mária Vargha, *Hoards, Grave Goods, Jewellery: Objects in Hoards and in Burial Contexts during the Mongol Invasion of Central-Eastern Europe* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2015).

¹²² Silviu Ota, 'Tombs with Jewels in the Byzantine Tradition Discovered on the Present-Day Territory of Romania, North of the Danube (End of the 11th Century-the 14th Century)', *Ziridava* 26 (2012): 123–42; Silviu Ota, *The Mortuary Archaeology of the Medieval Banat (10th-14th Centuries)*, vol. 26, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages (Leiden [u.a.], 2015); Florin Curta, 'Some Remarks on Ethnicity in Medieval Archaeology', in *Medieval Archaeology. Critical Concepts in Archaeology*, vol. 4, 2017, 9–33; For an opposing opinion see Erwin Gáll, *At the Periphery of the Avar Core Region. 6th–8th Century Burial Sites near Nădlac (The Pecica–Nădlac Motorway Rescue Excavations)*, *Patrimonium Archaeologicum Transylvanicum* 13 (Paris - Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2017); Gheorghe Alexandru Niculescu, 'Culture-Historical Archaeology and the Production of Knowledge on Ethnic Phenomena', *Dacia* 55 (2011): 5–24; Gheorghe Alexandru Niculescu, 'On Florin Curta's Attack', *Dacia* 60 (2016): 307–56.

change in the 1990s, especially with the works of Ágnes Ritoók in Hungary,¹²³ in which she stressed out the importance of the analysis of the cemetery structures to be able to contextualise grave goods and so to be able to date and interpret them more precisely. Although her works are doubtlessly influential, the maleficent impact of the previous research era still lingers. Although it is unquestionably rare that there is an opportunity for a full excavation and analysis of a churchyard, attempts on it are still quite rare. In the Carpathian Basin there are only nine cemeteries which were excavated entirely and have been at least partially dated to the Árpadian period (Ducové, Moravany nad Váhom, Krasno, Főnyed-Gólyásfa, Esztergom-Zsidód, Zalavár-Kápolna, Hajdúdorog-Szállásföldek, Kána¹²⁴ and Perkáta¹²⁵). An even more significant problem is that among these cemeteries only Zalavár-Kápolna,¹²⁶ Ducové¹²⁷ and Kána¹²⁸ have been analysed and none of them have been published completely. Although a new research tradition regarding cemeteries has started to develop, unfortunately, it has not yet made a sensible impact regarding excavations, and their targets – which otherwise are often rather

¹²³ Ágnes Ritoók, 'A magyarországi falusi templom körüli temetők feltárásának újabb eredményei [New Results on the Excavations of the Churchyards of Hungary]', *Folia Archaeologica* 46 (1997): 165–77; Ritoók, 'Szempontok a magyarországi templom körüli temetők elemzéséhez [Viewpoints for Analysing Hungarian Churchyard Cemeteries]'; Ágnes Ritoók, 'Zalavár-Kápolna: Egy Temető Elemzés Lehetőségei És Eredményei' [Zalavár-Kápolna: Possibilities and Results of a Cemetery Analysis], in '... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok'. *A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása - A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2003. május 13-16. között megartott konferencia előadásai* ["... I Am Walking in the Valley of the Shadow of Death". *Research of the Medieval Churchyard Cemeteries. Presentations of the Conference Held in the Hungarian National Museum between the 13th-16th of May 2003*], ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi, *Opuscula Hungarica*, 6. (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005), 173–183.; Ágnes Ritoók, 'A templom körüli temetők felfedezése. [The Discovery of Churchyard Cemeteries]', in *Arhitectura Religioasa Medievala Din Transilvania - Középkori Egyházi Építészet Erdélyben - Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania 4.*, ed. Péter Levente Szócs and Adrian Andrei Rusu (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2007), 249–71; Ritoók, 'A templom körüli temetők régészeti kutatása'; Ágnes Ritoók, 'Kolozsmonostor-Kálvária-tető: a temető tanúsága Cluj-Manastur [The Testimony of the Cemetery]', in *Arhitectura Religioasa Medievala Din Transilvania V*, 2012, 257–68, 269–74.

¹²⁴ Ritoók, 'A templom körüli temetők felfedezése. [The Discovery of Churchyard Cemeteries]', 255.

¹²⁵ Gábor Hatházi and Loránd Olivér Kovács, 'Árpád-kori falu és kun szállás Perkáta-Nyúli-dűlő lelőhelyen – falu, templom és temetők [Árpadian Age Village and Cuman Settlement at Perkáta-Nyúli-Dűlő Site - Village, Church and Cemeteries]', in *Carmen Miserabile "A tatárjárás magyarországi emlékei. Tanulmányok Pálóczi Horváth András 70. születésnapja tiszteletére*, ed. Szabolcs Rosta and György V. Székely (Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014), 241–70.

¹²⁶ Ritoók, 'Zalavár-Kápolna: egy temető elemzés lehetőségei és eredményei' [Zalavár-Kápolna: possibilities and results of a cemetery analysis].

¹²⁷ Alexander Ruttkay, 'Mittelalterlicher Friedhof in Ducové, Flur Kostolec, Bez. Trnava: Beitrag Zum Studium Der Beziehungen Zwischen Den Sog. Reihengräberfeldern Und Kirchenfriedhöfen Vor Dem 13. Jahrhundert.', in *Etnische und Kulturelle Verhältnisse an der Mittleren Donau vom 6. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert.*, ed. Dana Bialeková and Jozef Zabožník (Bratislava, 1996), 391–409.

¹²⁸ Vargha, *Hoards, Grave Goods, Jewellery*, 31–34.

limited by external factors. Besides, the new approach towards cemeteries introduced by Ágnes Ritoók relies heavily on the regulations concerning burials, which also had an effect on archaeological investigations, and most of all, interpretations. Again, research faces the issue when phenomena known from historical, written sources are expected to be identified in archaeological data, such as regarding the use of the churchyard (or rather the non-use of the Northern side),¹²⁹ which started getting widespread in archaeological studies despite that archaeological data have not proved its universal appearance. Similarly, the regulations concerning burials by Saint Stephen, Ladislaus and Coloman were implemented deep in archaeological research and determined the interpretation of the process of the change from field cemeteries to churchyards.

Comprehensive research on the archaeological remains of all issues connected to churchyard cemeteries can have more significant implications beyond a better understanding of the burial customs and churchyard use in this period and region. It can also reveal details about social changes, settlement formation and even some aspects of trade or fashion. The common point in all these questions is that even though all can be approached using different kinds of material evidence, the data here are all connected one way or the other churchyards. The investigation of all these issues together, from the point of view of churchyards, represents the contextualisation of churchyard cemeteries. The diverse data has another advantage: they highlight variable aspects of this complex issue, the archaeological remains of Christianisation.

Churches

As Ágnes Ritoók has pointed out, the interest from grave goods soon shifted to the less time-consuming work on excavating churches. However, the approach dominated this research

¹²⁹ Ritoók, 'A magyarországi falusi templom körüli temetők feltárásának újabb eredményei [New Results on the Excavations of the Churchyards of Hungary]', 168-169.

direction – the excavation of the church building (often only the foundations) – similarly to the approach focusing only on objects resulted in a number of ground plans, and some studies on their variations, but without a cemetery analysis it neither could result in a closer dating of them, nor a better understanding and interpretation on their relations and development.¹³⁰ Therefore, church buildings are mostly published separately, either in archaeological and art historical studies or in monument topographies. Exemptions are several synthetic studies, mostly based on ground plans and their chronological or social issues.¹³¹ A particular study has been carried out on brick churches,¹³² but the building material of these monuments are usually not explicitly studied. From an archaeological point of view, the ecclesiastical topographies should be mentioned regarding the research of churches,¹³³ which has already been carried out for some of the present-day counties.¹³⁴ Although these works mostly focused on the buildings

¹³⁰ Ritoók, 'A templom körüli temetők régészeti kutatása', 476.

¹³¹ See for example: Géza Entz, 'Westemporen in der Ungarischen Romanik', *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 6 (1959): 1–19; Vera Gervers-Molnár, *A középkori Magyarország rotundái [The Rotundas of Medieval Hungary]* (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1972); Károly Kozák, 'Téglából épített körtemplomaink és centrális kápolnáink a XII-XIII. században [Brick Rotunda Churches and Chapels in the 12th-13th C.]', *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve*, 1977 1976, 49–89; Béla Zsolt Szakács, 'Western Complexes of Hungarian Churches of the Early XI. Century', *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 3 (1997): 149–63; Béla Zsolt Szakács, 'Négykaréjos templomok az Árpád-kori Magyarországon [Four-Lobed Churches on the Árpadian Age Hungary]', in *Arhitectura Religioasă Medievală Din Transilvania. Középkori egyházi építészet erdélyben V. [Medieval Religious Architecture in Transylvania V.]* (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2012), 7–34.

¹³² Ilona Valter, *Árpád-Kori téglateplmok nyugat-dunántúlon [Árpadian Age Brick Churches in the Western Transdanubia]* (Budapest: METEM, 2004).

¹³³ See a recent summary on the research of ecclesiastical topography in Hungary: András K. Németh, "A középkori Magyarország egyházi topográfiai kutatása. Kutatástörténeti áttekintés," in *A Középkor és kora újkor régészete Magyarországon / Archaeology of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period in Hungary*, 2 vols ed. Elek Benkő and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Régészeti Intézete, 2010), I, 271–288.

¹³⁴ Ilona Valter, 'Egyházhelyek és templomok a középkori Bodroghözben [Churches in the Medieval Bodroghöz]', *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 8 (1969): 115–42; Zoltán Rácz, 'Hajdú-Bihar megye középkori templomai', in *A Műemlékvédelem Negyedévszázada Hajdú-Bihar Megyében, 1958-1983*, 1984, 77–80; Beatrix F. Romhányi, 'Korai egyházak az esztergomi érsekség területén [Early Churches in the Territory of the Archbishoprics of Esztergom]', *Tudományos Füzetek Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Múzeumi Szervezet* 11 (1999): 265–76; Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Biserici Medievale Din Judetul Arad [Medieval Churches of Arad County]* (Arad, 2000); Edit Tari, *Pest megye középkori templomai*, vol. 27, *Studia Comitatus* (Szentendre: Pest Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2000); Gábor Kiss, 'A történeti Vas vármegye 11-12. századi templomairól [Über Die Kirchen Des Geschichtlichen Komitates Vas Aus Dem 11. Bis 12. Jahrhundert]', in *Hadak Útján. A népvándorlás kor fiatal kutatóinak konferenciája*, 2000, 379–91; Károly Erdész, *Árpád-kori templomok és kolostorok Veszprém megyében [Churches and Monasteries of Árpád Era in Veszprém County]* (Veszprém, 2004); Imre Szatmári, *Békés megye középkori templomai* (Békéscsaba: Békés Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2005); János Gyurkó, *Árpád-kori templomok a Kárpát-medencében [Árpadian Age Churches in the Carpathian Basin]* (Érd: Érdi Környezetvédő Egyesület, 2006); Zoltán György Horváth, *Somogy, Tolna és Baranya: középkori templomai a teljesség igényével [The Medieval Churches of Somogy, Tolna and Baranya]*, vol. 4, *A Szent Korona Öröksége* (Budapest, 2004); András K. Németh, *A középkori Tolna megye templomai [The Churches of the Medieval Tolna*

themselves, collecting both the historical and archaeological records of them, resulting in huge, and rather valuable and informative volumes on the development of the church organisation in certain regions. However, in consequence of the often limited archaeological information on them, the topographies could not contribute much on the questions concerning the beginnings of church organisation, on the focus of the present study.

At the same time, there is no large-scale (Carpathian Basin) spatial analysis for the distribution of medieval village churches. Churches should first be investigated using detailed spatial analysis to see a distribution pattern. The connection between settlements, field cemeteries and churches should be analysed, and how their spatial distribution pattern fits with other elements of the ecclesiastical system. This detailed spatial analysis of the earliest churches will reveal important social issues guiding that process and by this illuminating the way the parochial system was developed. However, written evidence from the eleventh and twelfth centuries is quite weak; thus, the exploration of the first phase of this period relies mostly on material evidence, and in most cases, historical data can only be derived from later evidence. Many questions can also be raised concerning cemetery material from the first phase because there are not many written or archaeological sources, and although the field cemeteries of the so-called Conquest Period (encompassing both the tenth and the eleventh centuries) were researched in detail,¹³⁵ churchyards, in general, were rather neglected. No synthetic study was ever carried out on them. The lack of textual sources and comparative studies meant that many topoi concerning churchyard burials appeared including assessing the social position of the

County] (Szekszárd, 2015); László Szabolcs Gulyás, 'A középkori Szatmár megye egyházi intézményei [Ecclesiastical Institutions in the Medieval Szatmár County]', in *A történeti Szatmár vármegye. I. Kötet*, ed. Péter Takács (Nyíregyháza: Kölcsey Társaság, 2016), 155–80; Aradi Csilla Mógáné, *Somogy megye Árpád-kori és középkori egyházszervezetének rekonstrukciója: Somogy megye középkori templomainak adattára* (Rippl-Rónai Megyei Hatókörű Városi Múzeum, 2016); for a synthesis on the research of the ecclesiastical topography of Hungary see András K. Németh, 'A középkori Magyarország egyházi topográfiai kutatása. Kutatástörténeti áttekintés. [The Research of the Ecclesiastical Topography of Medieval Hungary. A Historiography]'

¹³⁵ So far, around 30 000 graves have been excavated from this period. See Lango Peter, 'Archaeological Research on the Conquering Hungarians: A Review', in *Research on the Prehistory of the Hungarians: A Review*, ed. Balázs Gusztáv Mende, vol. 18, *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2005), 188.

deceased based on the location of the grave or the items found in it and also the mental construct of identification of the preferred, less preferred and neglected areas of cemeteries. How these variables connect to Christianisation processes represents a question of its own right which appears time to time in diverse enquiries of topics connected to churchyard burials. However, the research I have made to date only indicated vital questions. A more extensive, more complex investigation (in time, space and topics) is still needed.

I am aware that because of the current research situation – the Carpathian basin is not equally investigated – this research cannot be carried out for the whole area in the same detailed way, but with the help of sample areas, where more of these data can be compiled, a general picture can be drawn.

Results and Problems in the Archaeological Research of Christianisation

Before summarising the interpretation of the spatial analysis of the archaeological material, an outlook is needed on what has been said on the Christianisation of the country, based on diverse archaeological evidence, and how do historical theories influence them.

Although Christianisation as such has been also discussed in archaeological research, the process itself was less in the centre of attention, as research focused mainly on two things related to this; the categorisation of cemeteries and of settlements.

Categorisation of Cemeteries – Problems with Nomadism

In case of cemeteries, as it was elaborated in the introduction, research heavily overfocused on the beginnings, the Conquest Period and the early Árpáadian Age, thus what is called the eleventh century in the present work. This categorisation was mostly based on the size of the site and the material found there, and so was divided into diverse socio-economic groups. The problematic part of this, besides what was outlined earlier, is that these categories often used (inaccurately) historical terms, or even ideas, to which they aimed to match the (often fragmentary) archaeological material. Furthermore, when cemeteries and settlements were

researched together (mainly from the point of view of cemeteries), burial archaeology often used terms borrowed from settlement archaeology and misused them, bringing in such time-worn, but from time-to-time reoccurring issues such as nomadism or semi nomadism within the Carpathian basin, despite its repeated refusal based on diverse evidence.

This striving after the identification of historical ideas was present from the earliest works, and it still dominates this field of research. This can be followed best on the division of cemeteries, starting with the works of Hampel, who, fitting into his contemporary romantic theories, pictured the conquering Hungarians as horse-riding warriors, and so placing their remains in the rich graves equipped with horse burials and weapons. Those cemeteries that comprised a large number of graves, but much less grave goods, mostly just cheap trinkets and lock rings (interpreted as a particularly Slavic type of jewellery), were identified as the tenth-century burial places of the Slavic population.¹³⁶ This is a prime example of fitting archaeological data not only to historical but even ethnic ideas. Even though Hampel himself noted doubts about his interpretation, and his work has undeniable weaknesses, such as uncritically using previous research and ignoring the data that contradicted his theory, this ethnic interpretation became ingrained in later research, and led to the birth of the ‘Bijelo Brdo culture’.¹³⁷

Roughly half a century later, the next division of cemeteries was made by Béla Szőke. In his monograph, even though the ethnic connotations have not disappeared, he made his division based on social status, dividing the smaller cemeteries of the elite and the wealthier mid-layer of society, and interpreting the large cemeteries as the burial places of the ethnically mixed commoners.¹³⁸ This triple division has determined research directions until recently, when,

¹³⁶ József Hampel, *Újabb tanulmányok a honfoglalási kor emlékeiről*. [New Studies on the Remains of the Conquest Period] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1907), 12–14. This shows a rather significant contrast to the chronology appeared in his earlier work, see József Hampel, *Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn* (Braunschweig, 1905).

¹³⁷ On Hampel’s critique and the general synthesis on this issue see Kiss, ‘Zur Frage der Bjelo Brdo Kultur. Bemerkungen zu den ethnischen Verhältnissen des heutigen Slawonien und Syrmien im 10–11.’; Bálint, ‘A magyarság és az ún. Bielo-Brdo kultúra [Hungarians and the so-called Bjelo -Brdo culture]’.

¹³⁸ Szőke, *A honfoglaló és kora Árpád-kori magyarság régészeti emlékei*. [The Archaeological Remains of the Conquering and Early Árpadian Age Hungarians].

after another fifty years the need for new directions have been vocalised, with a special regard on questioning the socioeconomic status-led division, the chronology, the continuity and the relations to Christianisation of these cemeteries, recognising the possibility of Christian field cemeteries.¹³⁹ The latest synthesis of the early cemeteries, both churchyards¹⁴⁰ and field cemeteries¹⁴¹ were made recently by László Kovács. In his monumental work, he meticulously collected the published sites from all over the Carpathian Basin and proposed a new division. He created the terms of 'village' (*falusi*) and 'nomadic campsite' (*szállási*) cemeteries, based on the number of graves and the time of use, altogether creating eight categories, including churchyards. This division, however, leads back to old, time-worn debates about temporary settlements and nomadism, and raises questions about how the incomplete data can be identified in this context, a problem which Kovács pointed out himself.¹⁴² His terminology was criticised by both from the point of view of settlement and burial archaeology as well. Tibor Ákos Rácz pointed out that Kovács mostly used the terminology and results taken from conclusions of historical research, by-passing the latest results of settlement archaeology, and identifying the 'szállási' cemeteries as the burial grounds of the conquering Hungarians, thus, the same category that was used previously for the elite. He pointed out that the size of the settlements, and especially the small settlement cannot be identified (singularly) as the dwellings of the elite, but rather of commoners. He criticised the suggestion of a nomadic lifestyle, and pointed out that despite that in the archaeological material a variety of settlements can be identified, their size and their composition can be heavily influenced by research state; depending on the scale, a site can be identified as an isolated farmstead, part of a hamlet, or a hamlet consisting a piece of one larger, dispersed settlement. He also pointed out that despite of the diverse categories and terms of archaeological research, contemporary law only recognises one settlement type,

¹³⁹ For a detailed historiographic synthesis and the problems of present research see Langó, 'A kora Árpád-kori temetők kutatása [Research into Cemeteries from the Early Arpadian Age]'.
¹⁴⁰ Kovács, 'Éremleletes kora Árpád-kori templom körüli temetőkről'.

¹⁴¹ Kovács, 'A Kárpát-medence honfoglalás és kora Árpád-kori szállási és falusi temetői'.

¹⁴² Kovács, 520–21.

the *villa*, thus the village.¹⁴³ István Fodor criticised the lack of consideration of the agricultural characteristics of the contemporary people and the notion that according to this nomadising theory, the small cemeteries would mean that people buried their dead wherever they were grazing the herd. He also pointed out, that the term '*szállás*' has already been used in connection with the settling Cumans of the thirteenth century, and unless a significant similarity can be observed in the lifestyle of the Cumans and the tenth-eleventh century people of the Carpathian Basin, the use of such terminology is misleading, which he underlined with highlighting the differences between the Cumans and the conquering Hungarians. He pointed out that soon after the conquest, archaeological and historical evidence suggests a settled lifestyle, as it was elaborated and proved in previous debates. He also argued against this division with bringing in the term of 'small and extended family', which was traditionally interpreted in the context of small cemeteries, but he suggested the identification also in settlements.¹⁴⁴ This division, however, cannot be identified in settlements and has been disproved by an archaeogenetic investigation made on such cemeteries.¹⁴⁵

Therefore, in spite of the numerous works on the subject, the division of field cemeteries in the present research is still defined by historical ideas, and even though the questions and problems have been pointed out, so far little has been done on the synthetic, comparative analysis of the archaeological material – it has been raised recently by Tibor Ákos Rácz that a fundamental shortcoming of archaeological research is that it has not yet made many attempts on

¹⁴³ Tibor Ákos Rácz, *A Pesti-síkság falvai a magyar honfoglalástól a 14. századig [Villages of the Pest Plain from the Hungarian Conquest until the Fourteenth Century]*, A PPKE BTK Régészettudományi Intézetének kiadványai 13 (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2019), 138–44.

¹⁴⁴ István Fodor, 'Voltak-e a 10-12. században "szállási" temetők? [Were There Nomadic Campsite Cemeteries in Hungary during the 10-12th Centuries?]', *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, 140 (2015).

¹⁴⁵ Bogácsi-Szabó Erika et al., 'Archeogenetikai vizsgálatok a Kárpát-medence 10. századi népességén [Archaeogenetic Investigations on the 10th c. Population of the Carpathian Basin]', *Magyar Tudomány* 2008, no. 10 (2008): 1210. See also Péter Langó and Zsuzsanna Siklósi, '10. századi temető Balatonújlak-erdő-dűlőn. Ein Gräberfeld Des 10. Jahrhunderts in Balatonújlak-Erdő-Dűlő.', in *A honfoglalás kor kutatásának legújabb eredményei. Tanulmányok Kovács László 70. születésnapjára*. (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régészeti Tanszék, 2013), 151.

synchronising the results of settlement and burial archaeology, resulting in discrepancies and distorted results on socioeconomic divisions.¹⁴⁶

Discrepancies in the Research of Field Cemeteries and Churchyards

From the point of view of the process of Christianisation, and in general on the socio-economic development of the population, however, this should be expanded with the synchronisation of field and churchyard cemeteries as well, as Péter Langó also suggested it in his synthetic work on problematising the cemeteries of the early Árpáadian Age.¹⁴⁷ Traditionally, the two sides have both produced their own corpora; researchers of the Conquest and early Árpád Period (field) cemeteries have published the collection sites of certain areas, and so did those who dealt with medieval Christian remains, publishing corpora of ecclesiastical topographies. However, the two seldom reached each other, as the former in most cases focused on field cemeteries and paid little or no attention to churchyards, and the former had very little to say in general on the early period in consequence of the lack of historical evidence on the early local churches, and the insufficient amount of data coming from archaeological investigations, even though attempts were made to reconstruct the early church system in regional levels, which will be discussed below. The first synthetic work on the early churches was written by Beatrix Romhányi, who, focusing on the early churches near Esztergom, gave an overview of the problems of research of early local churches. Even though focusing mostly on historical evidence and problematising the development of the early church system from a historical perspective, she already set up a directive of the contextualisation of the sites, by archaeological and historical means.¹⁴⁸

Lately, there have been some more attempts pointing to this direction, even though usually they remain on a regional level. The investigation in Vas county were focused mostly on the shift

¹⁴⁶ Rácz, *A Pesti-síkság falvai*, 145.

¹⁴⁷ Langó, 'A kora Árpád-kori temetők kutatása [Research into Cemeteries from the Early Árpáadian Age]'.
¹⁴⁸ Romhányi, 'Korai egyházak az esztergomi érsekség területén [Early Churches in the Territory of the Archbishoprics of Esztergom]'.

from field cemeteries to churchyards and their possible locations, also with regards to the positioning of the sites.¹⁴⁹ The synthetic work of Erwin Gáll on the opposite edge of the kingdom focused mostly on the pagan-Christian shift and its manifestation in burial customs, but also the definition of transitional cemeteries and burials.¹⁵⁰ A highly important element of the synthetic works of László Kovács on the cemeteries of the eleventh century is that he put as much focus on the churchyard cemeteries, as of the field cemeteries of the period.¹⁵¹ His work on churchyard cemeteries is also the first-ever synthesis of the early churchyards. The meticulous collection of sites, divided by groups based on coins excavated in the churchyard's burials, have much potential for analysis, even if it also raises some problems, mostly in consequence of the lack of completely or largely excavated and published sites, and some minor ambiguity in the dataset itself.¹⁵² Unfortunately, Kovács did not use this potential for the analysis of the sites, and he remained in giving the general interpretation of the sites, which followed a tradition long implemented in research; the summary of the historical sources on churches, burials and the process of Christianisation, without further consideration of the archaeological material.¹⁵³ The exception of this is the overview of the transitional cemeteries

¹⁴⁹ Pap, 'Rábasömjén'; Kiss and Pap, 'Elfeledett soros temetőink?'; Antal, Gábor, and Katalin, 'Savaria keleti temetője és a szombathelyi Szent Márton-templom körüli temető újabb sírjai. (Régészet és antropológia) [New Graves from the East Cemetery of Savaria and the Churchyard of Szombathely Saint Martin's Church]'.
¹⁵⁰ Erwin Gáll, 'From the Pagan Cemetery to the Christian Churchyard', *Transylvanian Review* 19 (2010): 265–87; Gáll, 'Krisztianizáció és régészet'; Gáll, *Az Erdélyi-medence, a Partium és a Bánság*, 843.

¹⁵¹ This is still somewhat of a unique approach. As it was discussed before, even though the research of Christianisation, the start of the churchyard cemeteries, and the early Árpadian Age field cemeteries, the latter mostly handled by the researchers of the Conquest Period overlap in time and space, their joint research is a novelty in the archaeological sphere. See for example: László Révész, 'A Kárpát-medence 10–11. századi temetőinek kutatása napjainkban (Módszertani áttekintés) [Research of the 10–11th c. Cemeteries of the Carpathian basin at Present (A Methodological Overview)]', in *Magyar őstörténet: tudomány és hagyományörzés*, ed. Balázs Sudár, MTA BTK MÖT Kiadványok 1 (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2014), 63–136. Even though Révész supports the division made by László Kovács, in his own overview he does not even mention the churchyard cemeteries of the period, nor the problem of transitional and coterminous cemeteries.

¹⁵² Some of the sites appear here as churchyard cemeteries (Temesliget), even though the existence of a church cannot be proven, and they are usually treated as field cemeteries, and there is also a confusion in case of the site of Kána, where at the description of the site the abbey of Kána appears in the title, but the description fits to the church of the village. Kovács, 'Éremleletes kora Árpád-kori templom körüli temetőkről', 257. See also György Terei, 'Az Árpád-kori Kána falu [Kána, a Village from the Árpadian Era (Twelfth-Thirteenth Centuries)]', in *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon*, 2010, 81–112.

¹⁵³ Kovács, 'Éremleletes kora Árpád-kori templom körüli temetőkről', 229–38. A similar approach, the enumeration of legislations and the historical knowledge can be observed in the general works on the development churchyard cemeteries, written by archaeologists, see for example Ritoók, 'A templom körüli temetők felfedezése'; Ritoók, 'A templom körüli temetők régészeti kutatása'.

– which, lacking such sources were discussed in their archaeological context, resulting in interesting and stimulating observations. Ecclesiastical topographies usually follow a similar pattern, thus a collection and thorough description of sites, their archaeological and historical data, supplemented by a historical overview of the problem. However, their synthesis on the early church system is usually not so extensive, in consequence of the lack of sufficient data. Even so, the study of Kiss Gábor on the early churches of Vas county is exceptional in many ways, as his study followed the publishing of his monograph on the Conquest and Early Árpáadian Period burials and hoards of Vas county.¹⁵⁴

The Identification of Early Churches

In Kiss' study, after the conclusion of the historical sources, he has reflected on the problem of identification of the early churches, pointing out the rather small number of identifiable monuments. He suggested that many of such early local churches should be found in later ones, dated to the thirteenth century, lacking proper archaeological-art historical research and historical data. He also defined the possibilities for recognition of these early sites; according to Kiss, besides the obvious data from historical sources or archaeological/art historical research of the church and the churchyard(!), he suggested that some other options are should also be considered for such purpose; such as the dating by a nearby field cemetery (presupposing a continuity), on local tradition, based on its *filia*, several variants of toponyms, the character and history of the domain, its location in or next to a castle, its position outside the settlement or in between more settlements, its position near Roman roads, its position in Roman ruins, its position on a highly visible place, its location near a pagan cult site, based on its patron saint, and based on its building material or ground plan.¹⁵⁵ This way he was able to identify much more sites that he supposedly dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but made no synthesis

¹⁵⁴ Kiss, *Vas megye 10 - 12. századi sír- és kincsleletei* [*Die Grab- Und Schatzfunde Des 10.-12. Jahrhunderts Im Komitat Vas*].

¹⁵⁵ Kiss, 'A történeti Vas vármegye 11-12. századi templomairól [Über Die Kirchen Des Geschichtlichen Komitates Vas Aus Dem 11. Bis 12. Jahrhundert]'.

on them. However, it has to be noted that many of these aspects are questionable, and when examining the development of the local ecclesiastical network, his dating frame is also too broad. Dating based on ground plans, building material, presupposed cults sites and patron saints is extremely difficult and ambiguous, as so far there has been no overall comparison that confirmed these theories. On the contrary, it has been noted that a variety of different ground plans have existed at the same time, and dating churches without further contextualisation, solely based on such information is wrong. There is no sufficient data so far also to accept the early datings only based on positions, without further contextualisation. Following Attila Kiss's study on Vas, András K. Németh used the same criteria system on the sites of Vas county, with the exception that in some cases he thought that even a late tenth-century building phase could be acceptable. He applied Kiss's categories on the sites of Tolna, but he also did not give any synthesis on the early church system in this work.¹⁵⁶ András K. Németh summarised the aims of ecclesiastical topographies; he underlined that such works are focusing on the churches themselves, and not on the villages with churches, but it also comprises the investigation of their spread in time and space and the discussion of their character from the point of view of technical variations, status ecclesiastical law and so, thus, creating a joint investigation of archaeological, art historical and historical evidence, making a synthesis on the development of the church system,¹⁵⁷ resulting in an ideal, interdisciplinary work. In the ecclesiastical topography of Tolna county, he had accomplished all the criteria he formulated in his previous study. As for the early churches, he collected, even more, forty-one sites that based on the methodology by Kiss were dated to the early period (end of tenth to twelfth century), but he, referring to the lack of sufficient data, suggested that the material is still not enough for drawing steady conclusions on the early development of the local church system.¹⁵⁸ The ecclesiastical

¹⁵⁶ András K. Németh, 'A középkori Tolna vármegye korai templomairól', *A Wosinszky Mór Múzeum Évkönyve* 23 (2001): 391–405.

¹⁵⁷ K. Németh, 'A középkori Magyarország egyházi topográfiai kutatása. Kutatástörténeti áttekintés', 271.

¹⁵⁸ K. Németh, *A középkori Tolna megye templomai*, 207, 234.

topography of the neighbouring county, Somogy was investigated by Csilla Aradi first in her PhD thesis,¹⁵⁹ which was recently published.¹⁶⁰ In her thesis she aimed a more comprehensive approach towards the research of the development of the ecclesiastical organisation, giving a dominantly historical, detailed overview not only on this process in Hungary but also with an outlook to England. Although in the work there is a separate chapter dealing with the development of the early church system in Somogy county, this is again mostly a discussion on the historical problems, and even though the questions arose about the early church, the context in which it is discussed is predominantly late Medieval historical sources and evidence on these issues.¹⁶¹ The discussion of the archaeological material only consists of a small part of this chapter. Here the author rightfully criticises the approach defined by Kiss on identifying the early churches, discussing certain churches that contradicting and or supporting some of these theories. Apart from that, she analysed the material based on differences in ground plans, also giving a chronological division, and again, mixing the archaeological evidence with historical data. This is debatable, for example in case of the problems of early wooden churches that she generally dates to the eleventh century, the author brings in written sources from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when the establishment of churches had a rather different motivation, context and spatial distribution than as those of the eleventh century. She dated the basilica-type, three-aisled churches to the eleventh century, the churches with semicircular or rectangular nave to the turn of the twelfth century, and churches with central ground plans to

¹⁵⁹ Csilla Mógáné Aradi, 'Somogy megye Árpád-kori és középkori egyházszerkezetének létrejötte és megszilárdulása [The Establishment and Consolidation of the Church Organisation of Somogy County in the Árpadian Age and the Middle Ages]' (PhD Thesis, 2007).

¹⁶⁰ Aradi, *Somogy megye Árpád-kori és középkori egyházszerkezetének rekonstrukciója*.

¹⁶¹ Aradi, 'Somogy megye egyházszerkezetének létrejötte és megszilárdulása', 44–92. See also Aradi, *Somogy megye Árpád-kori és középkori egyházszerkezetének rekonstrukciója*, 8–30., Here it also has to be noted, that the historical overview reflects several inaccuracies as well, such as the presupposition of the existence of parish system and parishes, or at least the usage of the terminology for the eleventh century, or the presupposition of the decanal system from the earliest stage, stating that the first parish churches were the decanal churches. However, as she also pointed out, decanal churches do not appear before the end of the eleventh century in written sources, and nor should be the earliest churches identified as parishes. The study gives a historical overview, but the different opinions on the many historically debated issues of the eleventh century do not appear in it.

the turn of the thirteenth century.¹⁶² From the summary of András K. Németh on the ecclesiastical topographies of the country it is clear that the above-discussed examples can be matched with other investigated areas as well; the historical overview of the sources on the development of the ecclesiastical system in general, the the sources referring to each building compose an integral part of these works, just as the typology of the churches, mostly based on ground plans, building material, and their status. He emphasised the work of Imre Szatmári on Békés county, who, first in such works discussed the relations of churches to field cemeteries and their transition.¹⁶³ Besides this, in connection with attempts on the recovery on the early church system, besides the work of Szatmári on Békés county, the above-mentioned work of Beatrix Romhányi, and the dissertation of Máté Stibrányi on the development of the church system in Fejér county should be mentioned. Comparing the three works, the following picture can be seen.

In case of the archbishopric of Esztergom, Romhányi pointed out that there is almost no (contemporary) written source on the establishment of the early local churches, and discussed the general point of view, which says that the earliest such churches should be found in or nearby secular and ecclesiastical power centres. She approached the issue of the local rural churches and their appearance in the law of Stephen I (*'decem ville ecclesiam edificent'*) from the socio-economic interpretation of the *'villa'*, the concept of the village. Referring to earlier legal tradition, she defined the size of a settlement sufficient to maintain a church in ten households, estimating the number of churches in the area of the Archbishopric of Esztergom in the eleventh century to fifty to sixty churches, which consist only 5-7% of the recorded parishes in the beginning of the fourteenth century. She also noted the relatively low number of church foundations of the following century, for which she proposed the possibility of a more

¹⁶² Aradi, 'Somogy megye egyházszerkezetének létrejötte és megszilárdulása', 93–105. See also Aradi, *Somogy megye Árpád-kori és középkori egyházszerkezetének rekonstrukciója*, 30–38.

¹⁶³ K. Németh, 'A középkori Magyarország egyházi topográfiai kutatása. Kutatástörténeti áttekintés', 273.

significant number of wooden churches still in that period. She also pointed out the low number of monastic foundation of the period, and the possibility that in the twelfth century the aggravation of goods was more characteristic, and the rapid increase of the number of churches might only have happened from the thirteenth century on, when the actual stable establishment of the parish system can be observed. Accordingly, she presupposed the pastoral activity of monasteries in the eleventh and twelfth, and in some areas even in the first half of the thirteenth century. She also examined the spatial distribution of sites and explained the clustering of the sites on the Western areas of the archbishopric with the previous tradition of Christianity, the direction of conversion missions and the more suitable conditions for settlements.¹⁶⁴

In Békés county, Imre Szatmári divided his work to two major parts, the discussion of the details of churches, and churchyards, from an archaeological point of view. Therefore, he investigated the ground plans, building material, the architectural elements of churches and determined their dating. In the case of the churchyards, he examined the burial customs, the grave goods (dress accessories), the location of the cemetery and the question of pagans and Christians. He did not dedicate a separate chapter on the discussion of the development of the ecclesiastical network; however, interestingly, he gives a historical overview from the viewpoint of settlement networks and settlement history.¹⁶⁵ However, he gives no detailed description of the development of the early church system; focusing instead on the typochronological overview of the characteristics of the early churches. He presupposed the existence of about two hundred medieval churches, of which forty-one were investigated in details enough to make conclusions on their characteristics and dating. Of these twenty-four were local rural churches.

In consequence of the low number of sites, he stated that general observations would be probably too far-fetched. Still, he presupposed that most of these churches could be dated back to the eleventh century, but at least to the twelfth. He contrasted this with historical evidence,

¹⁶⁴ Romhányi, 'Korai egyházak', 266–69.

¹⁶⁵ Szatmári, *Békés megye középkori templomai*, 14–16.

the pagan uprising lead by Vata, and stated that large scale Christianisation was most probably happened only after his subdual in the mid-eleventh century. Apart from that, he states that the ecclesiastical development of Békés county was similar to the other counties.¹⁶⁶

For the identification of the early churches of Fejér county, Stibrányi used the above-mentioned system developed by Attila Kiss, as he stated that because of the few excavations of rural churches in the county, the identification of the earliest churches based solely on archaeological data is difficult. Still, he pointed out the ambiguity of this system. He also proposed an additional possibility for the identification of early churches; those that appeared in medieval perambulation. According to him, there these building appeared as the elements of the medieval boundaries. However, this position also presupposes that they precede the establishment of the boundaries of villages and thus these could be identified as the earliest local churches. From the forty-three, archaeologically investigated churches, nineteen can be dated to the early period; which, supplementing with the methodology above rises up to thirty-eight churches.¹⁶⁷ He paid special attention to the research of the settlement and ecclesiastical networks, more focused on the reconstruction of their border, than their chronological and spatial development. Lately, Irma Oláh has attempted synchronising the research of churches, cemeteries and settlements in the area of present-day Békés county. Even though she underlined herself that first, the terminology should be more extensively discussed, this only appears in her study in connection with settlements, but not the cemeteries. This is even more striking, as she criticises ‘szállás’ as a concept regarding settlements, but later still uses it, and for more, accepts the concepts without any further criticism for the categorisation of cemeteries.¹⁶⁸ Even though the

¹⁶⁶ Szatmári, 87–90.

¹⁶⁷ Máté Stibrányi, ‘Fejér megye középkori templomos helyei [Medieval Settlements with Churches in Fejér County]’ (PhD Thesis, 2015), 46–48. See also: Stibrányi, ‘A határon álló templomok. A középkori templomos helyek és a településhálózat vizsgálata Fejér megyében [Churches on Village Borders. The Investigation of the Relation of Churches and Settlement Network in Fejér County]’.

¹⁶⁸ Oláh Irma, ‘Adatok a Békés megyében található Árpád-kori temetők és településnyomok komplex vizsgálatához [Data to the history of settlements in Békés County in the Árpadian Age Cemeteries and settlements]’, *Acta iuvenum : Sectio archaeologica* 3 (2017): 107–17.

study has its shortcomings in the synchronisation of the terminology of the different site types, and its methodology can be criticised for the dominant approach from the viewpoint of settlements and difficulties with chronology – the tenth-eleventh centuries are often merged with results of the High Middle Ages in general, which would require a completely different methodology. Still, the study is a bracing new approach, pointing out a huge potential in the joint analysis of the different site types and also draws essential conclusions, such as that according to her analysis, more, smaller settlements could have also used one (field) cemetery.¹⁶⁹ This phenomenon is a rather important point in the examination of the process of the development of Christianisation, and the transition from field to churchyard cemeteries.

Without going into deep into the terminology and settlement types of the eleventh century, it has to be noted, that such investigations cannot be made on the area of the Carpathian basin, mostly because of the lack of recognition of the early settlement sites within the many recorded sites dated broadly to the High Middle Ages. Considering the social, economic and legal changes within these three centuries, examining the data in a precise chronological division as possible is crucial. Since in most areas settlement archaeology lacks this precision, large-scale conclusions cannot be made on the relationships of settlements, field cemeteries and churchyards, as that would require – if one aims to be precise – micro-level investigations.¹⁷⁰

Therefore, conclusions drawn in the present work will only take into account settlements when possible but will focus more on the relationship of churches, field cemeteries, and ecclesiastical and secular power centres.

¹⁶⁹ Oláh, 116.

¹⁷⁰ An exception for that could be the area of the Pest plain, mostly in consequence of the meticulous work of Tibor Ákos Rác. See Rác, *A Pesti-síkság falvai*.

Elements of Secular and Ecclesiastical Power – The Castle System and Church Organisation

Although the relationship of the county castles and the ecclesiastical system has long been in the focus of discussion, it was mostly concentrating on archbishoprics and bishoprics, or deaneries, and had little attention on the local churches, mostly in consequence of the lack of relevant sources,¹⁷¹ and in accordance of the top-down direction of Christianisation and so church organization in the region.

Albeit both topics were in the focus of research for a long time, there are some common points and observable differences. In earlier research, the rather problematic, intertwined interpretation of the historical and archeological sources is observable. The best example for that the interpretation of the churches in the castles as decanal churches, unless other written evidence suggested otherwise. This however, projected a later development in the ecclesiastical system (known from historical evidence) on archaeologically detected churches.¹⁷² The most important common point is that until very recently, the castle system and the problem of church organisation has been discussed separately. As for the differences, while castles were considered mostly from an archaeological point of view – except for their relation to the county system,¹⁷³ church organisation was mostly discussed by historians, as it was described before. Of the former, many publications of the excavation of individual sites were released; here only the synthetic works are to be mentioned. The first comprehensive work on the castles was an article by József Dénes, enumerating the castles and briefly summarising the problems.¹⁷⁴ This

¹⁷¹ For an exception see Maxim Mordovin, “Templomok az ispánsági várakban,” [Churches in the early royal centres] in *Népek és kultúrák a Kárpát-medencében. Tanumányok Mesteházy Károly tiszteletére* [Peoples and culture in the Carpathian Basin. Studies in honor of Károly Mesterházy], ed. László Kovács and László Révész (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2016), 777–794.

¹⁷² For a comprehensive overview on the problem see Mordovin, 779–83. For case studies see Judit Kodolányi, ‘Churches and Graveyards on Sibrik Hill, Visegrád’, *Hungarian Archaeology E-Journal* 2019, no. Summer (n.d.): 10–17; Mária Wolf, *A Borsodi földvár: egy államalapítás kori megyeszékhelyünk kutatása* [The Castle of Borsod: Research of a County Seat from the State Foundation Era] (Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2019).

¹⁷³ See for example the recent synthetic work of Attila Zsoldos, “Korai vármegyéink az újabb történeti kutatások fényében,” [The early Hungarian counties in light of recent historical research] *A Castrum Bene Egyesület Hirlevele* 11, No 1 (2010): 5–13.

¹⁷⁴ József Dénes, “A honfoglalás és államszervezés korának várai,” [Castles of the conquest and state organization Period] *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 30–31 (1993): 417–432.

was soon followed by the first sizeable comprehensive work on the castles by István Bóna, where apart from discussing its related historical problems, he contextualised the castles in the region and discussed their archaeological structure, focusing mostly on their dating.¹⁷⁵ After a significant break, the debate continued with a contribution by Gergely Buzás, who summarised the problems of one particular structure type of castles belonging to the eleventh century.¹⁷⁶ More recently, two more studies are to be mentioned; Katalin Szende's synthetic article about the relationship between the castles and their later developments as royal cities,¹⁷⁷ and a monograph by Maxim Mordovin, with the synthetic analysis of county castles and castle systems of Hungary, Bohemia and Poland. This volume is so far the most complex and most detailed research on the castles, with a critical overview of the existing literature, a discussion of terminology, dating, typology and fortification structures, their roles as settlements, and last, but not least the relationship of the castles and the graveyards, with regards to the Christianisation and church organisation. The latter chapter is especially important, as it is also the first comprehensive work on the problem, reviewing the legislation (both domestic and general church law), the status of the churches, and cemeteries as archaeological material.¹⁷⁸ As it was described above, besides this study, church organisation was mostly in the focus of historical studies, which was dominated by studies on other topics than parishes. On the latter, the works of László Koszta should be highlighted.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ István Bóna, *Az Árpádok korai várairól: 11–12. századi várak és határvárak* [On the early castles of the Árpáds: 11th–12th-century castles and borderline forts] (Debrecen: Ethnica Kiadás, 1995).

¹⁷⁶ Gergely Buzás, "11. századi ispáni várainkról," [About the 11th-century Hungarian county castles] in *"Gondolják, látják az várnak nagy voltát..." Tanulmányok a 80 éves Nováki Gyula Tiszteletére* ['Considering and seeing the greatness of castles.' Studies in honor of Gyula Nováki on his 80th birthday], ed. Gyöngyi Kovács and Zsuzsa Miklós (Budapest: Históriaantik, 2016), 43–53.

¹⁷⁷ Katalin Szende, "Az ispánsági vártól a királyi városig. Miért, hogyan – vagy miért nem?," [From the ispán's castle to the royal town. Why, how - or why not?], in *Kő kövön. Dávid Ferenc 73. születésnapjára. Stein Auf Stein. Festschrift Für Ferenc Dávid*, 2 vols, ed. Klára Mentényi and Anna Simon (Budapest: Vince, 2013), I, 127–142.

¹⁷⁸ Mordovin, *A várszervezet kialakulása*.

¹⁷⁹ See for example the latest synthesis in English: Koszta, "State Power," 67–78 and the major work in Hungarian Koszta, "Fejezetek a korai magyar egyházszervezet."

The Organisation of the Counties and the Castle System

Similarly to the Christianization and church organisation process, the castle and county system and its development has long been studied, focusing mostly on the relations of the counties and the castles. The organisation of the county system started during the reign of Stephen, connected to the formation of the Christian state. According to Attila Zsoldos, a leading scholar of Árpadian-period political history by the end of the eleventh century, the existence of a good number of counties can be observed, as follows: Bács, Baranya, Bars, Bihar, Bodrog, Borsod, Borsova, Csanád, Csongrád, Doboka, Esztergom, Fehér, Fejér, Győr, Hont, Nógrád, Nyitra, Somogy, Sopron, Szabolcs, Szolnok, Tolna, Újvár, Ung, Torda, Vas, Veszprém and Zala.¹⁸⁰ He also noted that the relationship between the organisation of the counties and the emergence of castles are not always clear – he pointed out those counties which had more than one castles, sometimes with a *comes* for both, which he regarded as characteristic for the earliest counties.¹⁸¹ Compared to that, the origins of the castles and the castle system are not as clear. Maxim Mordovin has meticulously compared the dating of the castles based on historical, archaeological and typological evidence, and came to the conclusion that despite neither archaeology nor history can provide an exact dating for them, the different evidence point towards a more extended development, started most probably in the time of Stephen's father, Géza, and finished only in the second half of the eleventh century. Also, according to his opinion, it cannot yet be stated that the organisation of each county was preceded or followed by the construction of a castle.¹⁸²

Again, the problem with the comparison of the development of the parochial system and the state formation (castles) starts with the ambiguous dating of the castles, and especially the missing archaeological evidence for the central fortifications in some cases. In the present study, the comparison will be based on the thirty-six castles dated to the eleventh century,

¹⁸⁰ Zsoldos, "Korai vármegyéink," 5–6.

¹⁸¹ Zsoldos, "Korai vármegyéink," 8.

¹⁸² Mordovin, *A várszervezet kialakulása*, 191–192.

collected by Maxim Mordovin,¹⁸³ supplemented by the fortifications of Csongrád, Nógrád, Sály, Székesfehérvár, Szolnok, Trencsén, and Zólyom, where the archaeological remains are either not known or not yet published, but the eleventh century existence can be presupposed.

¹⁸³ Mordovin. 265–266.

IV. SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

Chronological Division, Technical Data

As it was discussed previously, in this chapter the spatial relations of the archaeological material (rural churches, field cemeteries, settlements, centres of secular and ecclesiastical power, and individual archaeological phenomena connected to Christianisation) are being investigated. The archaeological material is divided into three subparts by chronology, and within that, by site types. Chronologically, where it was possible, I have arranged the material to the previously stated three categories within the High Middle Ages. The first phase which covers roughly the eleventh century, the second is covering around the 12th century. A separate group that is dated approximately to the 13th century, however, in consequence of the complexity and scale of the data, could not fit into the extent of the present thesis, and thus will not be analysed separately in the following chapter. Furthermore, in consequence of the difficulties of dating – discussed extensively in previous chapters - those cases where it was not possible to securely date the material to any of these categories, I marked it as High Middle Ages (HMA). Naturally, this category is considered separately, and in itself demonstrate plenty of information on the state of research, regarding all site types. However, because of the lack of exact information, its discussion will remain brief and without an in-depth analysis, likewise the material of the thirteenth century.

In each site type, the distribution of the archaeological sites are described and interpreted, followed by a discussion on state of the art on the subject in (historical) research, and concluded by the comparison of these results.

The base map used for all the maps used DEM tiles from the Shuttle Radar Topography Mission (SRTM) 1 Arc-Second Global version. Better, open-access resolution imagery for the complete region does not exist, the 25m EU-DEM of the Copernicus Land Monitoring Service does not cover the whole Carpathian basin, and there is no LIDAR data available for the complete area. In the creation of historical spatial analysis, the question of water bodies are crucial. However,

it is not possible to re-create the water cover of the High Middle Ages completely, and the resolution of the used SRTM data is not sufficient for reconstruct the water flows based on the terrain, and there is no existing open GIS dataset on the water systems of the Carpathians in the High Middle Ages. The use of modern water cover in the analysis of a Medieval landscape would lead to false conclusions, even if the riverbeds of the largest rivers are more or less stable. Therefore, I decided to use a hybrid approach. Waterbodies appearing on the map are created from two, diverse layers. The bottom layer is the shows present-day riverbeds of the Danube river net and its connected inland water, used from the database of the Copernicus Land Service. This is overlaid by a second image – waterbodies based on the map of the hydrography of the Carpathian basin before the flood protection drainage works of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, created in 1938, and still used today.¹⁸⁴ The map was digitised, and the hydrography has been extracted from it with the help of the Historical Map plugin.¹⁸⁵ With this tool, the system follows a processing chain where first the data is processed with a morphological and rank filter, a classifier model is trained in order to create a spatially accurate, but somewhat simplified raster of the original. Although the tool was designed for extracting forest areas, it is usable for (more extensive) waterbodies as well. However, the simplification, and therefore some loss of the original extent cannot be avoided. In the present case however, it is more of an advantage than a problem, since the original map representing the flooded areas is problematic in itself. The creation of the map was influenced by contemporary political and economic interests, and because of that, the extent of the flooded areas is somewhat exaggerated. However, bearing this in mind, it is still a better alternative than the sole use of modern

¹⁸⁴ M. Kir. Földműv. Min. Vízrajzi Int. Ny. M. Kir. HTI, *Magyarország vízborította és árvízjárta területei az ármentesítő és lecsapoló munkálatok megkezdése előtt. [The water covered and flooded areas of Hungary before the flood protection drainage works]* (Budapest, 1938), <https://maps.hungaricana.hu/hu/HTITerkeptar/2206/>. In the most recent National Atlas the same map is used Magyar Tudományos Akadémia and Földrajztudományi Kutató Intézet, *Magyarország nemzeti atlasza:természeti környezet [National Atlas of Hungary: Natural Environment]* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Csillagászati és Földtudományi Kutatóközpont, Földrajztudományi Intézet, 2018), p.73.

¹⁸⁵ <http://fauvel.mathieu.free.fr/historical-map-qgis-plugin.html>

waterbodies showing the situation created by water regulation, or the generated waterbodies based on this, not quite precise digital elevation model, which, it has to be underlined, show the modern terrain.¹⁸⁶ Therefore, in the present case I decided to use a map combined with the simplified flood map and the modern waterbodies. This hybrid map, showing both the riverbeds and the permanent and periodically flooded areas, even if it cannot be interpreted as a perfect simulation of the hydrography of the High Middle Ages, can help in the interpretation on the spatial arrangement of the archaeological sites. Cultural layers of the base maps – habited areas and borders are digitised from maps of the current historical atlas.¹⁸⁷

The Eleventh Century

General Remarks

The reorganisation of power structures after the year 1000 shaped the landscape of the country differently, then it was organised before the foundation of the new state. In this new system, the central elements of power were the county castles. As it was pointed out before, the foundation of the state, and with that, the re-organisation of power – the development of the system of county castles – took place in parallel with the process of Christianisation. In the latter, the development of the local church system played an especially important role. As religion was also to express the new power of the state, the emergence of the local church system can be understood as a sort of ‘side-project’ of that, and the county castles as power centres where the

¹⁸⁶ For a critical analysis of the map see Beatrix Szabó and Zsolt Pinke, ‘Analysis of the Map of the Ministry of Agriculture. Water Covered Areas and Wetlands in the Carpathian Basin Before the Commencement of Flood Protection and Draining’, in *II. Nemzetközi VIII. Országos Interdiszciplináris Grastyán Konferencia Tanulmánykötete (II International VIII National Interdisciplinary Grastyán Conference: Scientific Studies)* (Pécs: University Press, 2013), 194–203.

¹⁸⁷ *Történelmi atlasz [Historical Atlas]. Map: Magyarország X-XI század [Hungary 10-11th century]* (Budapest: Cartographia Tankönyvkiado kft., 2013). Here it has to be noted, that albeit the images of the thesis represent borderlines, as it is common in historical maps, it has to be stressed that it is impossible to draw clear borderlines in the period of interest of the current work. It is much more appropriate to talk about border zones, which, with the help of digital methods are easier to define, and are probably closer to the reality at the time. Still, since this work would exceed the limits and the aims of the present thesis, accustomed borderlines are presented on the maps, but interpretations of the maps are taking this problem into account. For more on borderzones and digital approaches on them see: Mihailo St. Popović and Veronika Polloczek, ‘Digitising Patterns of Power (DPP): Applying Digital Tools in the Analysis of Political and Social Transformations in the Historical Region of Macedonia (12th–14th Centuries)’, *Medieval Worlds* (2017): 170–94.

smaller, pointed fortresses of power were the local churches, propagate the new religion and the power of the new state. Obviously, not only castles could and should be regarded as power elements in this process. Monasteries and the royal curia system also played a significant role, although the archaeological footprint of the latter is rather small on this scale.

As it was described above, lacking written sources in this period, only the most important bishoprics and archbishoprics are known from such sources; the smallest, but in a way, the most important element of the church system – local churches – are not. However, these small elements compiled the most substantial proportion of the church system, and thus influence the largest segment of the population – the commoners – and so played a significant role in the process of Christianisation and church organisation. As it was stated before, the present study focuses on this smallest element from a mostly archaeological point of view, in order to have an objective picture that comes from the existing sources: archaeological finds and features – churches, and field cemeteries, comparing their location, spread and frequency to the castle system. The present research encompasses all the recorded sites from the area of present-day Hungary, and all the published sites and known monuments from the area of medieval Kingdom of Hungary.

With more sites to analyse, all carefully investigated and put in a GIS system, new possibilities arise to explore their relation to the county castle system in more detail and more ways than ever before. However, the limitations of the use of archaeological data, and the different research state of various areas of medieval Hungary has to be discussed first. As it was discussed above concerning the sources, the number of churches and field cemeteries is close, but not even (288 cemetery to 193 church) are the level of investigation is varied in the Carpathian basin, resulting in a map with discrepancies, as field cemeteries mostly fall within the area of present-day Hungary, as apart from the Hungarian national archaeological database, published material are more scarcely available.

Churches, however, make the picture even more complicated. Mostly because at least their ruins are above ground can be traced much better, churches, especially standing churches, were much more in the focus of research. It is clear from the listing of databases above, and it is also evidently visible on the map that their spread in the Carpathian Basin is much more even than of cemeteries. Also, the dating of standing churches is more straightforward in many cases. However, some potential methodological problems can be found there also. The dating of standing churches is mostly based on art-historical evidence, which may not have preserved the earliest (form) of the church. Unless it is mentioned in a historical source, or have been excavated, information about an earlier structure cannot be retrieved. Needless to say, in most cases, none of these is the case.

In consequence of this, the number of standing churches dated to the eleventh century is rather small. Taking into account the churches identified by field walking, the situation does not change much. Dating a church within the High Middle Ages is hard even with proper excavation, let alone only by field walking data. Therefore, most of the churches identified by such a method can be dated broadly within these three centuries, and accordingly, the number of churches that appear on this map must have been larger. First of all because of the problematic dating, and secondly, because the non-rigid material (wood), and the taphonomy of most probably a right proportion of the earliest churches. However, all this mostly affects the actual number of churches, but not so much their spread. Still, it has to be noted that identifying churches for one century only, especially in case of the eleventh century is not always sufficient – the institutionalised process of Christianisation started in the beginning, and have been more or less completed by the end of that century. Therefore, the picture must have been very different at the beginning of the century as of the end. Still, archaeological data is not yet sufficient to make sensible differences within that period, and therefore the process that took this whole century has a rather static picture in the archaeological material. Even so, since this is still the most data one can acquire on the Christianisation of the masses, and on the

development of the local church system, it should not be neglected, but instead carefully considered. This, of course, can also be the case when comparing different site types; for example even though that a particular field cemetery and a nearby church can be dated to the same century, they might, or might not exist in the same period. This is an especially important factor to be considered in case of the transitional cemetery types.

Generally, on the spread of the enumerated data types, it can be stated that in consequence of the lack of data, the analysis of the relationship of castles, churches and cemeteries are not possible everywhere equally. In Transylvania, sites not connected to castles are basically unknown, and that makes any further analysis impossible. Although more churches are known from the area of present-day Slovakia, the low number of cemeteries warns that considerations should be taken in case of the contextualisation of churches.

Central Power and Christianisation in the Eleventh Century

Castles as Places of Central Secular Power

As it was articulated above, fortified early royal centres – castles, the centres of administration of secular and ecclesiastical power have supposedly played a crucial role in Christianisation and in the development of the local church system, and thus, the relation of castles and early (local) churches are the first to be examined. (*Fig. 1*)

Here it has to be noted that the spatial analysis of the archaeological material has several aspects. First of all, the examination starts with the investigation of a comprehensive range of appearance of certain site types (such as patterns, density, empty areas, etc.). Secondly, this is followed by the comparison of specific elements to other phenomena, either geographic (water bodies, terrain, possible building materials available), or human (power centres, other site types, settlements).

As for the castles themselves,¹⁸⁸ Their spread covers the entire area of the kingdom; however, they are more dense along the north-western areas and in Transylvania. They seldom appear in the inner areas, and it is evident that they concentrate more on the border areas of the kingdom. Considering their apparent defensive role, and also their demonstrative function on the bordering areas of the newly-founded kingdom, this pattern is not surprising. More so, if the castles are also considered as places of central ecclesiastical power, and even more if taking into account their supposed role in conversion, Christianisation, and missionary activities. Most of the bishoprics were connected to such fortified early royal centres, and even in most of those cases, where the early castle was not possible to be identified (Eger, Kalocsa, Pécs, Zagreb), some sort of fortification can be presupposed. The distribution of castles as power centres of Christianisation is even more interesting regarding the eastern, or rather the central-eastern part of the country; the area of the Great Plain, which is lacking such structures.

Castles and Bishoprics

Comparing the spread of castles to the location of bishoprics (Fig. 1.), the picture is quite similar, not quite unpredictably, having said that most of them are connected to these castles. Still, it has to be noted that they are not positioned in the castles closest to the border area, but rather in those fortifications that can be found closest, or within the inner area of the kingdom. This, and their prevalent appearance on the Transdanubian region, however, is a significant difference. This has already been pointed out by historians, such as László Koszta, who interpreted this by presuming that in the eastern half of the country the episcopal level of church organisation was only stabilised towards the end of the eleventh century, about eighty years later than in the Transdanubian region.¹⁸⁹ Even though this can explain the density of bishoprics on the western half of the country, the spread of castles do not correspond to this. Considering

¹⁸⁸ The list of identified 11th century castles were taken from the monograph of Mordovin, *A várszervezet kialakulása*.

¹⁸⁹ Koszta, 'Fejezetek a korai magyar egyházszervezet történetéből [Chapters from the history of the early church organisation of Hungary]', 262.

that castles are supposed to be the centres of both state and ecclesiastical power, this is an exciting phenomenon. Also quite telling, that opposed to the Transdanubian region, bishoprics of the eastern part (Alba Iulia, Bihor, Cenad) were all connected to early royal fortified centres. Although not much known from the early defensive structures of Vác and Eger, some sort of fortification can also be presupposed there.

Castles and Monasteries

Moving on with the comparison of secular and ecclesiastical power, the next features to be analysed are monasteries. The investigation of their relations is important also because the relationship between Christianisation and the spread of monasteries in Europe show different patterns. While in Scandinavia the appearance of monasteries is a much later phase in Christianisation, in Central Europe, as it was discussed above, monks and missions are involved not only in the conversion but also in the church organisation, and in the context of the eleventh century, the pastoral care of the people as well.¹⁹⁰

By the beginning of the eleventh century, there were twenty-seven Benedictine abbeys, and seven Greek orthodox monasteries established, with some hermitages connected to some of them.¹⁹¹ Being mostly royal foundations,¹⁹² monasteries were actors of the state-controlled Christianisation. This appears in their functions too, besides being the centres of missionary activities of converting the people, they also had pastoral functions. Their relations to castles is twofold. (Fig. 2) First of all, it can be observed, that some of the castles also had monasteries

¹⁹⁰ Michael H. Gelting, 'The Kingdom of Denmark', in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy. Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900-1200*, 2007, 110; Sverre Bagge and Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide, 'The Kingdom of Norway', in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy. Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900-1200*, 2007, 151–53; Nils Blomkvist, Stefan Brink, and Thomas Lindkvist, 'The Kingdom of Sweden', in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy. Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900-1200*, 2007, 196–98; Berend, Laszlovszky, and Szakács, 'The Kingdom of Hungary', 352–55.

¹⁹¹ Gyula Kristó, 'Tatárjárás előtti bencés monostorainkról [About our Monasteries before the Mongol Invasion]', *Századok* 138, no. 2 (2004): 403–412.; László Koszta, 'Remeték a 11. századi Magyarországon [Hermitages in 11th c. Hungary]', *Aetas* 23, no. 1 (2008): 42–55.

¹⁹² Private foundation are known already from the eleventh century, but play a dominant role only from the next century on. See a comprehensive study on the issue Péter Levente Szócs, 'Private Monasteries of Medieval Hungary (Eleventh to Fourteenth Centuries): A Case Study of the Ákos Kindred and Its Monasteries' (PhD dissertation, Medieval Studies Department, Central European University, 2014).

in, or near them, such as Esztergom, Veszprém, Cenad, Zalavár, Somogyvár, Visegrád, Zalavár and Nitra, and with some considerations Bihar-Oradea.

Of these, Esztergom, Veszprém, and Cenad were also early episcopal centres. So was Bihar, and although the bishopric was shifted to Oradea during the reign of Ladislaus I, and although the fortifications of Oradea were probably less significant than that of Bihar, its strategic location made it a more important centre in the later centuries.¹⁹³ This was further strengthened by the monastery founded here by Ladislaus. Later, he was buried in the cathedral, and after the canonisation of the king (1192), it also became an important site for pilgrimage. Another episcopal seat founded around the turn of the beginning of the eleventh century, Nitra¹⁹⁴ shows the same allocation of episcopal seat, monastery and castle. Nitra, Zalavár and Visegrád, besides being royal foundations with some sort of fortifications, were all places where ecclesiastical institutions were present prior to the state's institutionalised Christianisation process. Nonetheless, in a later phase monastic foundations were made by the bishops, often nearby the bishoprics. The spread of Greek orthodox monasteries (Oroszlámos, Pentele, Szávaszentdemeter, Tihany-Oroszkő, Veszprémvölgy, Visegrád, Zebegény)¹⁹⁵ and their relations to castles is also worth further consideration. Although they are not directly connected to these early royal fortifications, most of them are in one's proximity; Visegrád was the closest to the county castle, and in its proximity, there is also Zebegény. Veszprémvölgy is nearby Veszprém, and Tihany is not very far from there. Oroszlámos is close to Cenad. Even though Pentele was not connected to any castle, but the settlements forming on the ruins of Roman Intercisa on the bank of the Danube, halfway between Esztergom and Pécs was probably an important strategic location of royal power. The only true exception of these is

¹⁹³ Adrian Andrei Rusu, 'Várad vára a 16. századig [The Castle of Várad up to the 16th c.]', in *Várak nyomában: tanulmányok a 60 éves Feld István tiszteletére [On track of Castles. FS István Feld]* (Castrum Bene Egyesület - Civertan, 2011), 220–21.

¹⁹⁴ Koszta, 'A nyitrai püspökség létrejötte. (Nyitra egyháztörténete a 9-13. században) [The Emergence of the Bishopric of Nyitra. (Ecclesiastical History of Nitra in the 9th to 13th Centuries)]', 258.

¹⁹⁵ László, 'Remeték a 11. századi Magyarországon [Hermitages in 11th c. Hungary]', 42.

Szávaszentdemeter. This monastery, located on the bank of the Sava river, is positioned significantly further down south than any other monastic foundation of the time.¹⁹⁶ It has to be noted that the existence, even the royal foundation of the orthodox monasteries do not contradict to the primarily western Christian orientation of the church and the church organisation in general. The schism of 1054 did not appear to affect Hungary before the end of the eleventh century, or even in the following period, partially because monasteries (including non-orthodox ones) did not belong under the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the bishoprics.

Castles and Local Churches

Moving down on the level of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the relations of castles and local churches provide the most data. Lacking proper archaeological data, not all the castles appear to have had churches, which certainly was not the case. As it was proved by Mordovin, because of the *Hofkapelle* tradition integrated into the castle system, most of them had at least one church, and many of them probably even two, the castle chapel serving both as an ecclesiastical institution and a stately office. With the development of the ecclesiastical system the second church was built functioning as a pastoral church of the inhabitants of the castle and its connected village, similarly to ‘*great parishes*’ or to ‘*Urpfarrei*’.¹⁹⁷

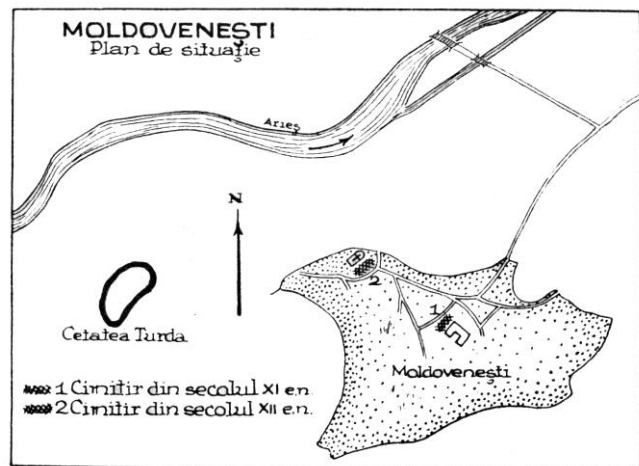
Since not all of them have been discovered by archaeological means; however, this is not represented on the map, pointing out the possible losses of data. Still, some unexpected patterns can be observed about the spread of local churches and castles. Not taking into account churches belonging to castles, and with the exception of those that are definitely preceding king Stephen’s activity, such as Nitra, Visegrád, or Zalavár, and those that are important royal

¹⁹⁶ For a recent synthesis on the structure of orthodox churches see Miklós Takács, ‘A magyarországi, 11. századi, ortodox monostortemplomok térszerkezete [The Configuration of 11th C. Orthodox Monastic Churches in Hungary]’, in *A Kárpát-medence, a magyarság és Bizánc [The Carpathian Basin, the Hungarians and Byzantium]*, ed. Terézia Olajos, Opuscula Byzantina 11 (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem, 2014), 295–324; Miklós Takács, *Byzantinische oder byzantinisierende Raumgestaltungen kirchlicher Architektur im früharpádenzeitlichen Ungarn*, vol. 139, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum. Monographien (Mainz: Schnell & Steiner, 2018).

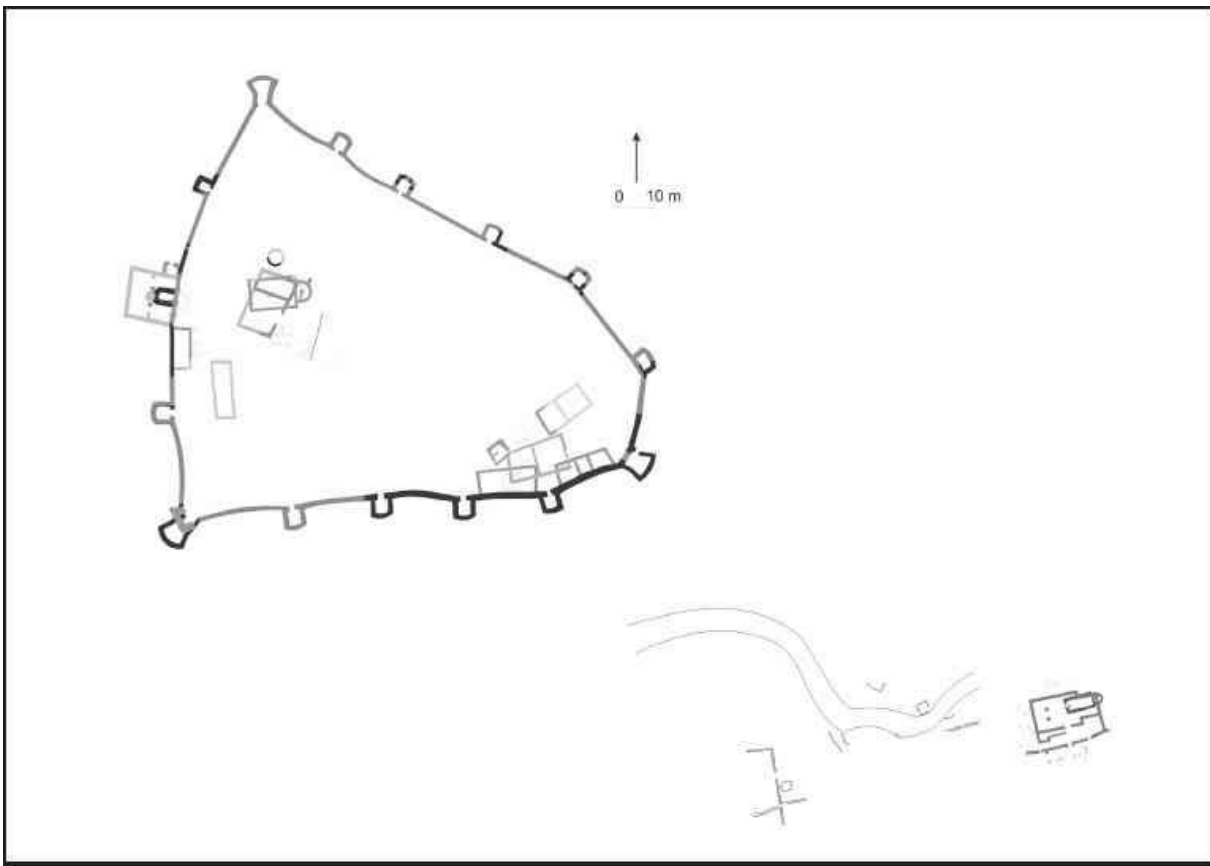
¹⁹⁷ Mordovin, *A várszervezet kialakulása*, 188.



1.



2.



3.

Table 1. Various positions of churches within and outside of county castles. 1: Szablotcs (II Military Survey of Hungary) 2: Moldovenesti (Horedt 1955) 3: Visegrád – Sibrik domb (Buzás et al. 2017)

centres, possibly also preceding king Stephen's time, Esztergom and Veszprém, the early churches 'avoid' the immediate surroundings of the castles. Presupposing that castles served as centres of Christianisation, this is a rather remarkable result. Castles being the 'bastions' of the new religion, and most probably the starting point of missions and Christianisation movements of the countryside, one could have expected a dense appearance of churches around castles, and a more scattered pattern as the distance grows. Seemingly, the picture is just the opposite. The lack of churches in the neighbourhood of castles and the even density of the spread of churches (and the somewhat more dense concentration in the central part of the Carpathian Basin where the absence of castles is the most visible) speaks of a different situation.¹⁹⁸ (Fig.3) First of all, the absence of churches, and also the smaller density of field cemeteries around castles show that the ecclesiastical institutions belonging to them most probably had pastoral functions over the castle and its neighbourhood. Secondly, the even spread of churches and their slightly higher density in the central part that is lacking in castles speak of a well-designed act of building up political power, and together with it the state religion on the lowest level.

Castles and Field Cemeteries

Finally, the last site type to be considered in connection with secular central power are field cemeteries. Generally, it can be noted that the spread of field cemeteries show the most similarities that of local churches, as field cemeteries, together with local churches fill in the gap in the area of the Great Plain, where nor castles nor monasteries appear. The notable difference of field cemeteries to churchyards is that in some cases they can also be identified in the immediate surroundings of castles. This also explains the question on where should have been the presupposed Christianised inhabitants; workers, soldiers of the castle, the service people of the king could have been buried. Here it has to be noted that the first connection between field cemeteries and castles were made by István Bóna, who, opposing earlier theories

¹⁹⁸ Here it has to be noted that the somewhat more dense appearance of churches between the rivers Danube and Tisza might also be the consequence of a higher state of research activity in the area.

about the chronology of castles, stated that their dating should not precede significantly the dating of the cemeteries belonging to them.¹⁹⁹ It has to be noted, that in consequence of conservation issues the identification of field cemeteries is probably the hardest of all the examined site types. Not surprisingly, therefore, that their presence cannot be identified near all castles. Drawing a 10 km buffer²⁰⁰ around the castles, adjacent field cemeteries can be found in the following cases: Nitra, Bratislava, Bína, Esztergom, Visegrád, Győr, Moson, Lutzmannsburg, Velem-Szentvid, Vasvár, Zalavár, Somogyvár, Bihar, Alba Iulia, Hunedoara, Moldovenești, Szabolcs, Borsod and Gyöngyöspata. In those cases, when the cemeteries are located in the immediate neighbourhood of the castle, such as Nitra, Bína, Visegrád, Győr, Velem-Szentvid, Zalavár, Somogyvár, Bihar, Alba Iulia, Hunedoara, Moldovenești, Szabolcs and Borsod, it can be presupposed that as it has long appeared in literature, these might have been the cemeteries of the castle folks. However, in some cases, there were more cemeteries, a little further of the castles, but just far enough to say that the authority did not reach that area. In those cases most probably either the lack of a church nearby enough to bury the dead would lead to the establishment of the graveyard, or there was already one opened not long before, and the above-mentioned reason made it convenient to keep using that.

A final remark should be made on settlements. Of all site types, the spread of settlements show the most uneven pattern. This, and especially the concentration in the area of the later *Medium Regni* and around present-day Szeged is clearly a research state. Churches, even local churches without any historical data are more likely to appear in the local memory and tradition; however, unstable, early settlements are not. Their taphonomy is also much heavier than of later, more

¹⁹⁹ See: Bóna, *Az Árpádok korai várairól*, 18–19. Later it was Mordovin who examined his theory further, see: Mordovin, *A várszervezet kialakulása*, 101–5.

²⁰⁰ Define the radius of the buffer in 10 km is based mostly on empirical evidence. This is a distance that can still be done back and forth in one day quite comfortably, even on foot. More than that however might be of some difficulty. I would argue, that the immediate effect of a power centre, it being ecclesiastical or secular, should be within a day's reach. That is especially important in case of Christianisation, and in the following, pastoral functions.

stable villages – less material and probably less permanent buildings can play a substantial role in that process.

Another problem to be considered is how the identification of these settlements, and especially how their dating is determined is crucial; it is based on pottery. Without having a specialist on the pottery of the Eleventh century on the field, archaeologists can seldom differentiate between the average find types of the first two centuries of the period, and thus, more like to just generally date the site to the ‘Árpadian’ age. Naturally, this is also a problem in case of churches, but much more visible in case of settlements. Therefore, the initial density of settlements should have looked much more like the two areas with the most densely populated with sites. Unfortunately, none of them are centred around a castle, and thus, it would be hard to draw any direct conclusion that is more than just a guess about the relationship of castles and settlements. Indirectly, however, the absence of churches and the appearance of the field cemeteries around castles suggests what has been concluded in case of the churches – there must have been more settlements around the castles, for which it served as an economic, administrative, and religious centre.

[Ecclesiastical Centres as Places of Central Power in the Eleventh century](#)

As it was described in the first chapter, the top-down Christianisation and the secular legislation of ecclesiastical affairs demonstrates already that how secular and ecclesiastical power were intertwined during the first century of the new millennia in Hungary. This is especially true for the topmost elements of ecclesiastical hierarchy – bishops and bishoprics, monasteries and abbots. Monastic foundations were almost exclusively royal and Benedictine, with some Greek orthodox monasteries as exemptions. Bishops and monks of the time arrived to the country on royal orders, to take part in the Christianisation of the country, and so were directly connected to central secular power. In the following, their spatial relations will be examined.

Bishoprics

Episcopal seats, being the highest places of church administration are of interest in themselves regarding their location within the territories of the bishoprics. Not counting Zagreb and Nitra, being founded in the turn of the eleventh century, it has to be noted that with the exception of Pécs and to some extent Alba Iulia, none of them are located in the central part of their territory. Both of these exemptions are places where Roman ruins have been reused, especially in case of Pécs. The remaining episcopal seats are either connected to castles or placed at a strategic location, such as Vác and Kalocsa, both next to the river Danube, even though the foundation and early history of these two are debated.²⁰¹ Although the territories of the bishoprics were larger than the actual inhabited area. Still, it is quite interesting that episcopal seats along with castles and monasteries tend to populate the inner half of the bishoprics along the border. Without doubt, some of the distribution of all features on the map can be explained with the research state. That, however, cannot be said about the highest-ranked institutions – castles, episcopal seats and monasteries.

Bishoprics and Monasteries

Concerning the latter, the comparison of the spatial organisation of bishoprics and monasteries further strengthens this idea of clustered central power. (Fig.4) Only Kalocsa and Alba Iulia do not have monasteries nearby them. Győr and Eger are in a somewhat similar situation – although Pannonhalma is relatively close to the former, and so are Abasár and Feldebrő to the former. Vác also falls close to this category, but here it has to be noted that not only Visegrád and Zebegény are close, but the distance between the archbishopric of Esztergom and Vác is similar to that of Szekszárd and the archbishopric of Kalocsa. Cenad, Pécs, Bihor-Oradea, Veszprém and even Nitra of the later foundations are all clustered power centres of secular and ecclesiastical power on the highest levels. Collegiate chapters, another, specific church institution and their important role in royal power should also be mentioned here briefly. Their

²⁰¹ Makk, 'Megjegyzések a Kalocsai Érsekség korai történetéhez'; Thoroczkay, 'A Kalocsai Érsekség első évszázadáról'; Koszta, 'A váci püspökség alapítása [The Foundation of the bishopric of Vác]'.

distribution focuses mainly on the area of the *Medium Regni* – not surprisingly, as according to historical evidence, they had an exclusive character within the royal churches, a leading role in the administrative affairs. Not surprisingly, similarly to monasteries they are often located nearby royal curiae, which often appear in the itinerary of the kings.²⁰²

Bishoprics and Local Churches

Foreseeably, bishoprics and local churches show similarities to the situation with castles – those cases when bishoprics are not located within a castle, such as Alba Iulia, Eger, and Kalocsa, the same pattern can be observed – early churches ‘avoid’ the neighbourhood of these institutions. The situation is somewhat different in case of Pécs, or *Quinque Ecclesiae*. However, the earliest structures here all connected to Roman ruins, and their functions are rather unclear.²⁰³ The possibility of it connected to a church predating the state foundation has been raised, similarly to Visegrád,²⁰⁴ and Alba Iulia.²⁰⁵ In case of those that are connected to early royal fortifications, similar conclusions can be drawn that of castles – the former statement can be observed, except for churches belonging to the castles, thus some sort of *Hofkapelle* type of churches or pastoral churches for the people of the adjacent villages and the castle.

Bishoprics and Field Cemeteries

Probably the most controversial comparison can be made with bishoprics and field cemeteries. In the case of Nitra, Alba Iulia, Veszprém, Bihar and Oradea, field cemeteries can be found in the immediate surrounding of the bishoprics. In Győr, Pécs and Cenad, they are not so close, but still within or around a ten km distance. Taking a closer look at them, the following can be stated. In the case of Győr, the cemeteries of Pósdomb, Téglavető dűlő and Újszállások were opened in the tenth century and were in use continuously in the eleventh century. According to

²⁰² Gergely Kiss, *Királyi egyházak a középkori Magyarországon [Royal Churches in Medieval Hungary]* (Pécs: Pécsi Történettudományért Kulturális Egyesület, 2013), 30.

²⁰³ Buzás Gergely, ‘A pécsi székesegyházak a román korban [The Romanesque Cathedrals of Pécs]’, *Archaeologia – Altum Castrum Online* 2013: 1–43.

²⁰⁴ Buzás; Gergely Buzás et al., ‘Régészeti kutatások a visegrádi sibrik-dombon [Archaeological Investigations on Sibrik Hill at Visegrád]’, *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* 2017 (2018): 193–235.

²⁰⁵ Daniela Marcu Istrate, ‘Byzantine Influences in the Carpathian Basin around the Turn of the Millennium. The Pillared Church of Alba Iulia [Gyulafehérvár/Karlsburg]’, *Dacia* LIX (2015): 177–214.

Takács and Paszternák, they show the villages nearby the (later) county centre and bishopric, belonging to them.²⁰⁶ In the case of Pécs, two cemeteries are falling just inside the ten km circle; Somogyvasas Mogyorósi-kút and Pécs Vasas – Homokbánya. The two cemeteries lay less than four km distance from each other. The former is better documented, and so dated from the end of the twelfth to the end of the eleventh century.²⁰⁷ The latter is, unfortunately, less known, only that it can be dated to the eleventh century. To Cenad, the closest field cemeteries are Kiszombor Nagyszentmiklósi út II and Kiszombor Kisladány 100-as istálló, just outside the ten km buffer zone. These cemeteries are both fragmentary and were dated by the S-ended lock rings. The cemetery nearby that has been better excavated, Kiszombor B, is a little further away to the West. According to coin finds, it also has been opened during the late tenth century, and were in use until the time of Ladislaus I (1077-1095).

Interestingly, with the exception of Veszprém, those sites where the field cemeteries can be found closer to the bishopric, are somewhat peripheral. Starting with Veszprém, there are a few cemeteries that can be dated to the period. (Fig.5) Sashegyi szőlők, the furthest away from the medieval city, and also quite outside the modern one to the west, is dated to the turn of the tenth century.²⁰⁸ The one in Paál László utca is also positioned far away from the centre, and it is also dated to a quite early period - the turn of the tenth century.²⁰⁹ Very close to it, but far away enough to be identified as a separate site the cemetery nearby Hunyadi utca can be found. Unfortunately, there are no known details about this site. The next one, Sallai utca, positioned also somewhat closer, is another fragmentarily excavated site, dated up to the end of

²⁰⁶ Miklós Takács and István Paszternák, 'A győr-homokgyödröki 10-11. századi temetőrészletek és középkori település [The 10-11th c. Graveyard and Settlement Fragments of Győr-Homokgyödrök]', in *A népvándorlaskor kutatóinak kilencedik konferenciája : Eger, 1998. szeptember 18-20.* (Eger: Heves Megyei Múzeumi Szervezet, 2000), 264.

²⁰⁷ Kovács, 'Szállási és falusi temetők', 567.

²⁰⁸ Éri, *Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiája. A veszprémi járás [The Archaeological Topography of Veszprém County. Veszprém District]*, 249.

²⁰⁹ Ágota S. Perémi, 'Honfoglalás-kori köznépi temető Veszprémben [Cemetery of the Commoners dated to the Conquest Period from Veszprém]', *Veszprémi Történelmi Tár* II (1989): 3-17.

the eleventh century.²¹⁰ Closer is the site of Pléh-Szőlők, where another cemetery fragment, dated to the turn of the tenth century was discovered.²¹¹ South from this, has been identified another cemetery, nearby the Cserhát utca and its surroundings. It can probably be identified as the graveyard that probably was in use before the church of Szent Iván szeg was built. The finds coming from the cemetery fragment date it to the second half of the eleventh century.²¹² The last site, Jeruzsálemhegy - Somogyi Béla utca is closer to the centre. Here the cemetery has been dated to the tenth-eleventh centuries.²¹³ The last four sites lay within a circle of about one km radius, centred on the bishopric. Interestingly enough, even though there are many graveyards known near Veszprém, the dating of these sites seldom reaches even the second half of the eleventh century.

Examining the sites on the periphery, Bihar has one field cemeteries near the castle and so the bishopric; Căuaceu.²¹⁴ It can be dated from the mid-tenth to the late eleventh centuries. Alba Iulia also shows a rather complicated set of cemeteries. The closest to the cathedral are Vânătorilor, Brândușei, and Stația de Salvare. Of these, there have been over 230 burials excavated in Brândușei, but according to Gáll, that still may only be about 20% of the cemetery. According to Gáll, the cemetery can be divided to two parts, a tenth century necropolis, and one that has been in use from the mid-tenth century to the end of the eleventh century. However, based on the change in burial customs, he presupposes a possible change in the population from the eleventh century on.²¹⁵ The cemetery of Stația de Salvare is somewhat debated, the lack of proper documentation makes the interpretation difficult. According to Gáll, around twelve hundred burials can be dated to the tenth-eleventh centuries, and it is probably also used to be one necropolis with of the one excavated at Vânătorilor. Together they have been used from

²¹⁰ Éri, *Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiája. A veszprémi járás [The Archaeological Topography of Veszprém County. Veszprém District]*, 238.

²¹¹ Éri, 240.

²¹² Éri, 241.

²¹³ Éri, 248.

²¹⁴ Cséplő 1899, 360-363; Dumitrașcu 1994, 41-42, 58, 28-29. j.

²¹⁵ Gáll, *Az Erdélyi-medence, a Partium és a Bánság*, 183-84.

the mid-tenth to the end of the eleventh centuries, and according to Gáll, their pagan customs can also be traced in the later period.²¹⁶ The last one, Poklisa, located somewhat further away, was interpreted as an eleventh-century village's field cemetery.²¹⁷

Nitra and Oradea are somewhat different to the ones in this list before, given that the bishopric of Oradea has been moved there from Bihar by Ladislaus I in 1077, and although the bishopric of Nitra has only been fully established under the reign of Coloman, it was Ladislaus who started organising it. Therefore, in case of the following sites, the late foundations of the bishoprics should be considered also.

In Nitra, the two close by cemeteries is Nitra- Šindolka and Csekej – Čakajovce. Of them, Šindolka was opened around the mid-tenth century and was in use until around 1190.²¹⁸ Csekej is a long-used burial field – following a cremation burial site dated to the seventh and eighth centuries, a graveyard was opened with inhumation burials in the ninth century. It was continuously in use until the twelfth century, when the church was built on the cemetery, according to the coin finds, sometime around or after the reign of Béla II (1131-1141).²¹⁹

In Oradea, there are two cemeteries nearby, Oradea-Szőllős and Oradea Ferenc József laktanya. The latter was opened during the end of the tenth century but was in use until the second half of the eleventh century.²²⁰ According to Gáll, even though Szöllős is probably a fragment of a much larger cemetery, its chronological spectrum is clear. Based on the finds, he dated it from the turn of the tenth century up to about the 60s or 70s of the eleventh century. He also stated that although there are no horse burials, the cemetery shows both pagan and Christian elements.²²¹

²¹⁶ Gáll, 197.

²¹⁷ Gáll, 204–5.

²¹⁸ Kovács, 'Szállási és falusi temetők', 563.

²¹⁹ Kovács, 552.

²²⁰ Gáll, *Az Erdélyi-medence, a Partium és a Bánság*, 403.

²²¹ Gáll, 399–400.

Summarising the relationships of the field cemeteries and the bishoprics, it can be said that field cemeteries are not often found nearby the cathedrals, but quite frequently within, and even more on the verge of their surroundings. It is also quite notable that many of them are originated in the tenth century, and they can seldom be dated even up to the second half of the eleventh century.

Monasteries and Local Churches

For the first sight, it may seem that the positioning of monasteries and local churches are similar to the one with bishoprics. However, taking a closer look, this is not always the case, but an interesting pattern can be observed. In those cases, when monasteries occur together with bishoprics and/or castles, it is more common to have local churches around them, such as in the case of Pécs, Somogyvár, Zalavár, Veszprém, Esztergom, Visegrád, Nitra, Abasár, and Feldebrő. With the exception of the latter two, all of them are royal centres and are located in the western half of the country, and except for Nitra on the north, within the Transdanubian region.

Interestingly enough the centres of the eastern half of the country, such as Bihar, Alba Iulia, Mănăştur, and Cenad show a completely opposite picture; there are not any local churches to be found nearby them. The difference in the density of the monasteries within the country is remarkable and has already been noticed by historians.²²² Latest Beatrix Romhányi concluded on the relations of the monastic network, population and settlements. She also pointed out the difference between the monastic and church network on the area of the Great Hungarian Plain, and suggested that the effective settling of Slavonia and South Transylvania took on only from the second half of the twelfth century.²²³ Examining how the monasteries relate to the bishoprics, an uneven pattern can be observed. While the only monastery in the bishopric of

²²² See for example: Kristó, 'Tatárjárás előtti bencés monostorainkról [About our Monasteries before the Mongol Invasion]', 407–8.

²²³ Beatrix Romhányi, 'Kolostorhálózat – településhálózat – népesség. A középkori Magyar Királyság demográfiai helyzetének változásaihoz [Monastic Network – Settlement System – Population: On the Demographic Changes of the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom]', *Történelmi Szemle* 57, no. 1 (2015): 10–13.

Győr in Pannonhalma, there are ten in the neighbouring bishopric of Veszprém (Hahót, Zalavár – which also has preceding remains, Somogyvár, Tihany, Veszprémvölgy, Somlóvásárhely, Bakonybél, Székesfehérvár and Visegrád). These being the two extremes, the average number of monasteries within the area of a bishopric is three. In these cases monasteries either cluster around ecclesiastic/secular centres, such as in the case of Nitra, Eger and Cenad, or rendered near strategic locations, such as the monasteries along the Danube, or Meszes (built on the ruins of a Roman settlement) and Sárvármonostor on the verge of the critical eastern border zones, filling the gap in between the castles of Dăbâca and Borsova-Варн.

Monasteries and Field Cemeteries

As for the spread of field cemeteries and monasteries, the general statement can be made that while in the eastern part of the country it is not customary to find field cemeteries nearby monasteries (the only exception to some extent Feldebrő), such pattern is quite common in the Transdanubian region. Field cemeteries can be observed nearby the following monasteries: Visegrád, Esztergom-Sziget, Tata, Székesfehérvár, Veszprémvölgy, Nitra, Zobor, Diakovce, Zalavár, Somogyvár, Kaposszentjakab, Szekszárd, and Óbuda. On the verge of the ten km circle, therefore somewhat further from the monasteries, but still within their proximity there are cemeteries at Mogyoród, Báta, Pécsvárad, Hahót, Bakonybél, and Feldebrő. The picture gets more complex if this is combined with the spread of local churches. Even though both field cemeteries and churches are seldom to occur with monasteries, they show some interesting common patterns. In the proximity of monasteries, both site types can be found in the case of Somogyvár, Zalavár, Veszprémvölgy, Nitra, Óbuda, and Feldebrő. Again, a concentration can be observed in the Transdanubian region, even with taking into consideration the dominant appearance of monasteries in that region. Also, it is worth noting that the enumerated sites are all early centres. Zalavár and Nitra especially, but Veszprémvölgy might also date back to the end of the tenth century. Óbuda and Feldebrő are considered as important sites connected to royal power.

Conclusions of the Relations of Early Secular and Ecclesiastical Power Centres

Concluding on the relations of secular and ecclesiastical power centres to each other, early local churches and field cemeteries, the following observations can be made; first of all, it has to be mentioned that the contextualisation of the archaeological material shows a static picture – it shows roughly a century as if the sites on the map would appear as such during the entire time. Naturally, this was not the case. However, in general, most of the sites cannot be dated closer than within a century, and thus, when examining their spread and relations in a macro-level, a more nuanced chronology of those sites where it is possible would only cause confusion. Still, when interpreting the individual relations and drawing conclusions based on them, when possible, a more detailed chronology should be taken into account to contextualise them.

Apart from the already stressed uneven spread of castles, bishoprics and monasteries, a remarkable clustering of centres of the highest level of secular and ecclesiastical power is noticeable. Still, there is a significant difference in their spread; while ecclesiastical power centres show a dominant presence on the Transdanubian region and more absent on the area of the Great Plain, this cannot be said of castles. While secular power centres are also absent from the central areas, especially the area of the Great Plain, they evenly appear along the Western, Northern and Eastern border. It has to be underlined again, that there is also a noteworthy difference in their relation in the different halves of the country; opposed to the Transdanubian region, bishoprics of the eastern part were all connected to early royal fortified centres. A special interest may be that the supposedly Byzantine monasteries are all close to royal fortifications. Castles are appearing as early centres of both secular and ecclesiastical power, the difference in the spread of ecclesiastical and secular power centres worth further consideration and contextualisation, which will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

The positioning of the episcopal seats in the inner areas of their territories shows the fragility of the Christian power in the time of their foundations, thus at the beginning of the

Christianisation process. In this regard, the spread of castles around the borderlands can also be taken as a first, secular defence line of the main ecclesiastical centres.

The general statement can be made that the spread of local churches is quite even, and also shows a higher density in the central part that is lacking both ecclesiastical and secular power centres. Oppositely, they avoid the surroundings of both royal and ecclesiastical power centres, with the exception of power clusters; those cases, when monasteries occur together with bishoprics and/or castles. In these sites, it is more common to have local churches nearby them. Here, a notable difference should be pointed out with regard to monasteries; local churches appear nearby mostly in case of royal centres of the western half of the country, near the monasteries of the eastern half of the country; there aren't any local churches to be found.

The even pattern of the spread of local churches, especially considering how it supplements the spread of power centres of Christianisation suggests that it should not be interpreted as the result of local development, but instead as a centrally planned and directed act.

Integrating the spread of field cemeteries in this picture, it can be observed that they show some similarities to local churches; field cemeteries are not often found nearby the cathedrals, but quite frequently within, and even more on the verge of their surroundings. It is also quite notable that many of them are originated in the tenth century, and they can seldom be dated even up to the second half of the eleventh century. As for monasteries, in the eastern part of the country, it is not customary to find field cemeteries nearby them but, such pattern is quite common in the Transdanubian region, even with taking into account the more dense appearance of monasteries in that region, and thus, a higher chance for such an alignment.

Considering this, it should be generally noted that in those cases when the local churches are absent from the near surroundings of secular/ecclesiastical power centres, shows that these institutions probably had pastoral functions over their neighbourhood in the beginnings. The appearance of field cemeteries around them do not eliminate the possibility of this; the closer

investigation of this phenomenon, the examination of transitional cemeteries is discussed in the following chapter.

Rural Sites and Christianisation in the Eleventh Century

Relations of Local Churches and Field Cemeteries

Comparing the spread of field cemeteries and churches, the following picture can be seen.

(Fig.6) As it is clear from above, important ecclesiastical and or secular centres often show a clustering of different site types. Interestingly, the patterns described earlier continues here also; field cemeteries and churches occur together in these, such as Nitra, Bína, Visegrád, Győr, Zalavár, Somogyvár, Kaposvár, Szekszárd, Bihar, and Szeged. Apart from these centres, two separate patterns can be observed. Neither churches nor field cemeteries are located in each other's immediate surroundings, or, more generally, field cemeteries line up roughly along the line of a ten km buffer of the churches. This latter pattern is observable both in the eastern and western part of the country. It is also notable, that those areas where there are more known field cemeteries (often occurring together with more known settlements, together showing a more intensive archaeological research in general), such as the southern areas or the later '*Medium Regni*' this pattern also appears more notably. Oppositely, the situation where field cemeteries and churches can be found in each other's immediate proximity is not generally observable in these areas. While the previous situation would indicate a position when the nearest church is simply too far away for the contemporary villagers to bring there their dead, and so they either open a graveyard near their settlement, or just keep using the one they had before the official Christianisation process, the second case should be discussed in the frame of transitional cemeteries and their types.

Categories of Transitional Cemeteries

Categorising these cemeteries, two major types can be differentiated.²²⁴ Churches, that were built on field cemeteries (Type 1a,b), and churches that were built nearby them (Type 2). In the former type, there are some subcategories, and there is a chronological difference – some churches were built up already in the eleventh century (Type 1a), and some only later, roughly in about the following century (Type 1b). In those cases when churches were built right on the cemetery, usually a direct continuity can be presupposed. The other major category is when field cemeteries can be found in the near surroundings of the church (Type 2). This, however, occurs less frequently, and it is also necessary to investigate each case if the continuity between the graveyard and the churchyard can be assumed or not. Another phenomenon to be discussed are wooden churches. However, due to later disturbances, such as robbery pits, or changing of floors, etc., the insides of the churches are usually the most heavily affected part taphonomically. Furthermore, the unfavourable soil conditions of the Carpathian Basin for the preservice of wood or its remains (and organic material in general), plus the lack of necessity for a solid foundation for wooden churches, in many cases it would be impossible to trace a wooden church. Thus presumably, some of the transitional type sites listed below, and especially many of all that listed in the appendix might also have such a building. It has been noted, however, that in most cases it is not known that if those sites indeed had a wooden church, it was built before or after the establishment of the graveyard.²²⁵ Also, wooden churches most

²²⁴ Lately, László Kovács collected sites of transitional cemeteries, but he used a somewhat different categorisation. He distinguished churches built on graves of field cemeteries that contained coins, churches built on field cemeteries (altogether 20 sites), and those sites where he presupposed the previous cemetery was indeed a churchyard, but the earlier phase of the church was not unambiguously identified (11 sites). Kovács, 'Éremleletes kora Árpád-kori templom körüli temetőkről', 253–59.

²²⁵ Such exception is for example Főnyed-Gólyásfa, where the empty circle in the middle of the cemetery is taken as evidence for a wooden church. See Aradi, 'A főnyed-gólyásfai Árpád-kori temető és település eddigi ásatásának összefoglalása [The Summary of the Excavations of the Settlement and Cemetery of Főnyed-Gólyásfa]'. Another similar site is Gyulaháza-Halom-dűlő, where a cemetery started with 'pagan' horse burials and continued to be used until the thirteenth century. Here, the archaeologists did not find any evidence for any kind of building. However, given that the site has been excavated also around the turn of the nineteenth century, and that the recent rescue excavation was necessary because of the heavy destruction of the site by agricultural works, this latter statement is somewhat weak, and probably can be explained with the fragmentary evidence and the taphonomy of the site. See Rég.Kut. 2002, 216. Oppositely, in case burials can be found underneath the entire area of the church,

probably appear even more frequently in those cases where the church is dated to the middle part of the High Middle Ages. However, without proper excavations of the churchyards, it is quite hard to trace that. So far, there are seven sites, where the foundations of the church superimposed graves, and archaeologists were presumed or found a trace of an earlier wooden church. Such sites are Dăbâca Castle Area IV and A. Tâmaş's garden, Felsőörs, Főnyed-Gólyásfa,²²⁶ Mezőcsát-Csicske dűlő, Szombathely Szent Márton templom and Tápiógyörgye-Ilike part. Naturally, the presence of a wooden church must have been more prevalent. One pattern that can bring us closer to the interpretation is the pattern on the spread of field cemeteries and churches. Before discussing this phenomenon, however, the contextualisation of those transitional cemeteries where the church was built directly on the graveyard is necessary.

Definition of Transitional Cemeteries

These transitional cemeteries, and especially, but not exclusively the first discussed type, generally referred to as '*Gellértegyháza-type*' in Hungarian literature, which is wrong for several reasons.²²⁷ As it was discussed in the previous chapter, research focused mostly on the pagan-Christian aspect of this problem, identifying the name-giving site as one where the church was directly built on pagan horse-burials of the conquering Hungarians. Later this was modified to those cemeteries, where the pagan cemetery was *next to* a churchyard.²²⁸ According to the latest results, even the identification of the site as the Medieval Gellértegyháza is problematic too. New excavation results and the reevaluation of the earlier documentation proved that the cemetery has been used from the late tenth century on. However, the transition to a churchyard was a gradual process, and the church was only built later on on this transitional

and they are not interpreted as later intra-church burials, the existence of the cemetery before the church can be presupposed, as probably in the latter case.

²²⁶ Aradi, 'A főnyed-gólyásfai Árpád-kori temető és település eddigi ásatásának összegzése [The Summary of the Excavations of the Settlement and Cemetery of Főnyed-Gólyásfa]'.

²²⁷ Bíró, 'Gellértegyháza és problémaköre [Gellértegyháza and Its Related Problems]'.

²²⁸ Ritoók, 'A templom körüli temetők régészeti kutatása', 478.

field cemetery.²²⁹ László Kovács have already pointed out the problems of the widespread, but according to him, ‘discredited’ terminology (Gellértgyháza-type). However, the terms he suggested to use instead are long and complicated; ‘rural-churchyard cemetery pair’ when they are next to each other, and ‘churchyard with antecedent rural cemetery’ when the church was built on top of the field cemetery.²³⁰ Instead of that, I would suggest the use of transitional cemetery as a terminology, as in my opinion differentiating on if the graveyard was right next to the church or underneath, is only a rather typical overcomplication and overtypologisation of archaeology, resulting in a ‘non-user friendly’, complex terminology, and thus confusion in scholarly work.

In order to get a better understanding of these sites, to see if they show any kind of distribution pattern, to examine their relations to other (contemporary) site types, and to investigate further their chronological aspects, I have collected and mapped those that were identified as such. (Fig.7)

Type 1 Transitional Cemeteries

So far, 41 sites can be classified where the church was built directly on the field cemetery. Of these, the following twenty-one were most probably built within the eleventh century (Transitional type 1a); Abaújvár,²³¹ Algyógy,²³² Bácsalmás,²³³ Baja-Pető,²³⁴ Baracs-

²²⁹ Gyöngyvér Bíró and János Balázs, ‘A „gellértgyházi” temető kutatásának legújabb eredményei. Rövid beszámoló az Orosháza-Rákóczi-telepen végzett 2016. évi feltárásról [Latest Results on the Investigation of the Cemetery of “Gellértgyháza”. Short Report on the Excavation of Orosháza-Rákóczi-telep in 2016]’, in *A Fiatal Középkoros Régészek VIII. Konferenciájának Tanulmánykötet.*, ed. István Ringer (Sátoraljaújhely: Petőfi Irodalmi Múzeum - Kazinczy Ferenc Múzeum, 2018); Bíró, ‘Gellértgyháza és problémaköre [Gellértgyháza and its Related Problems]’.

²³⁰ Kovács, ‘Éremleletes kora Árpád-kori templom körüli temetőkről’, 238–39.

²³¹ Judit Gádor, ‘Ausgrabung in der Erdburg von Abaujvar; eine Kirche in der Gespanschaftsburg’, *Acta archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1980): 443–54.

²³² Petrov Gheorghe, ‘Előzetes jelentés az algyógyi középkori épületegyüttes régészeti kutatásáról [Preliminary report on the archaeological investigations of the medieval building complex of Geoagiu]’, *Erdélyi Múzeum* 60, no. 1–2: 68–73. Contrary to that, Erwin Gáll interprets this as a simple churchyard cemetery.

²³³ Rég.Füz. 1964 (18), 56.

²³⁴ Rég.Füz. 1960 (14), 80–81.

Apátszállás,²³⁵ Bába,²³⁶ Berekböszörmény,²³⁷ Beszterec,²³⁸ Bihar-Téglagyár,²³⁹ Cegléd-Kövespart,²⁴⁰ Győr-Székesegyház,²⁴¹ Gyula-Fövenyes,²⁴² Gyula-Szeregyháza,²⁴³ Alba Iulia-Székesegyház,²⁴⁴ Hódmezővásárhely-Csomorkány,²⁴⁵ Ják Szent Jakab Kápolna – Bencés apátság,²⁴⁶ Kaposvár 61-es úti templom,²⁴⁷ Kecskemét Hetényegyháza-Belsőnyír, Zana-tanya,²⁴⁸ Kisszállás-Templomdomb,²⁴⁹ Örménykút-Décse,²⁵⁰ Orosháza-Rákóczi-telep-Újosztás²⁵¹ and Téglás-Angolkert.²⁵² Moreover, twenty sites were dated to the middle period (Transitional type 1b); Balatonakali Ság-pusztá,²⁵³ Biharugra-Temető zug,²⁵⁴ Budapest 2 –

²³⁵ Mihály Kulcsár, 'Az Árpád-kori templom körüli temetők kialakulásának kérdéséhez [About the Emergence of the Arpadian Age Churchyard Cemeteries]', *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 11 (1995): 227–35. Lacking a church, dating it to the middle period is hypothetical.

²³⁶ K. Németh András and Rác Miklós, 'Bába középkori plébániatemplomának feltárása [The Excavation of the Medieval Parish Church of Bába]', *Archaeologia – Altum Castrum Online*, 2013, 2-5.

²³⁷ Nepper Ibolya, *Hajdú-Bihar megye 10-11. századi sírleletei [10-11th c. Grave Finds of Hajdú-Bihar County]*, 25–26.

²³⁸ Istvánovits, *A Rétköz honfoglalás és Árpád-kori emlékanyaga [The Material Remains of the Conquest and Early Arpadian Age Rétköz]*, 21.

²³⁹ Kovács, 'Éremleletes kora Árpád-kori templom körüli temetőkről', 254; Erwin Gáll, 'A magyar-román párhuzamos megtelepedés és a régészet [The Parallel Romanian-Hungarian Settling and Archaeology]', *Századok* 140 (2006): 384.

²⁴⁰ Edit Tari, *Árpád-kori falusi templomok Cegléd környékén: Árpadian Age Rural Churches Surroundings of Cegléd* (Ceglédi Kossuth Múzeum, 1995), 131–32.

²⁴¹ Károly Kozák and András Uzsoki, 'A győri székesegyház feltárása [The excavation of the cathedral of Győr]', *Arrabona* 12 (1970): 111–64.

²⁴² Imre Szatmári and Ibolya Gerelyes, 'Középkori falusi templomok régészeti kutatása Gyula határában [Investigation of Medieval Rural Churches Near Gyula]', in *Tanulmányok a Gyulai Vár És Uradalma Történetéhez*, Gyulai Füzetek 8 (Gyula: Békés Megyei Levéltár, 1996), 9–100.

²⁴³ Szatmári and Gerelyes.

²⁴⁴ Kovács, 'Éremleletes kora Árpád-kori templom körüli temetőkről és templomokról a magyar királyságban (1000-1141)', 255.

²⁴⁵ Mária Béres, 'A Hódmezővásárhely-csomorkányi egyház. [The Church of Hódmezővásárhely-Csomorkány]', in *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer* (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000), 193–219.

²⁴⁶ Kinga Éry and Antónia Marcsik, 'Embertani vizsgálatok Ják 11-18. századi népességén [Anthropological Examinations of the 11-18th c. Population of Ják]', *Savaria – A Vas Megyei Múzeumok Értesítője* 35 (2010): 13–97.

²⁴⁷ Rég.Füz. 1980 (34), 103

²⁴⁸ Rég. Füz. 1982 (35), 91. The unknown church makes the dating hypothetical.

²⁴⁹ Szabolcs Rosta, 'A kiskunsági homokhátság 13–16. századi településtörténete [The 13-16th century settlement history of the Kiskunság sand-ridge]' (PhD thesis, 2014), 182.

²⁵⁰ Szatmári, *Békés megye középkori templomai*, 107.

²⁵¹ Bíró and Balázs, 'A „gellértegyházi” temető kutatásának legújabb eredményei. Rövid beszámoló az Orosháza-Rákóczi-telepen végzett 2016. évi feltárásról [Latest Results on the Investigation of the Cemetery of "Gellértegyháza". Short Report on the Excavation of Orosháza-Rákóczi-telep in 2016]', *Archaeologia – Altum Castrum Online*, 2017, 1-5.

²⁵² Gyula Gazdapusztai, 'Réz- és középkori telep Tégláson' [A Copper Age and Medieval Settlement in Téglás], *A Debreceni Déli Múzeum Évkönyve 1962–1964* (1965): 115-126.

²⁵³ Sylvia Palágyi, 'Balatonakali-Ságpuszta. A Középkori templom, település és a római kori épületek maradványai I. [Balatonakali-Ságpuszta. Remains of the Medieval Church and Settlement, and the Roman Buildings]', *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 28 (2008): 89–106.

²⁵⁴ MRT 6, 25-26.

Nyék,²⁵⁵ Budapest 16 Timur utca,²⁵⁶ Cegléd-Birincsek,²⁵⁷ Cegléd-Nyúlfülehalom,²⁵⁸ Csepreg-Szentkirály,²⁵⁹ Derekegyház-Ibolyásdomb,²⁶⁰ Felsőzsolca-Nagyszilvás,²⁶¹ Koppányszántó-Római katolikus templom,²⁶² Jászberény Szent Pál halom,²⁶³ Lébény-Polgármesteri hivatal,²⁶⁴ Medgyesegyháza-Bánkút,²⁶⁵ Mezőberény Bodzás-halom,²⁶⁶ Perkáta-Nyúli dűlő,²⁶⁷ Tázlár-Templomhegy,²⁶⁸ Tiszafüred Tiszaörvény-templomdomb,²⁶⁹ Veszprémfajs Felső-kéri pusztá,²⁷⁰ and Vinkovci.²⁷¹

Regarding their spatial distribution, it is quite visible, that Type 1a appears in all areas, except the northwest. It is also somewhat more sporadic in the Transdanubia, and quite dominant in the southern areas of the Great Plain. Comparing that to Type 1b, therefore the same type of church dated to the middle period, it can be seen that it has a little bit more even spread, with a more dominant appearance on the Transdanubian region, along the Danube and the interstice of the Danube and Tisza rivers. Therefore, archaeological material suggests that the existence of such transitional cemeteries was a rather common thing. Mainly, when taking into account that the enumerated sites above, thus the recorded cases probably only compose a rather small

²⁵⁵ Kovács, 'Éremleletes kora Árpád-kori templom körüli temetőkről és templomukról a magyar királyságban (1000-1141)', 254.

²⁵⁶ Kovács, 254.

²⁵⁷ Tari, *Pest megye középkori templomai*, 27:46–47.

²⁵⁸ Tari, *Árpád-kori falusi templomok Cegléd környékén*, 76–94.

²⁵⁹ Kiss, 'A történeti Vas vármegye 11-12. századi templomairól [Über die Kirchen des Geschichtlichen Komitates Vas aus dem 11. bis 12. Jahrhundert]', 31.

²⁶⁰ Kovács, 'Éremleletes kora Árpád-kori templom körüli temetőkről és templomukról a magyar királyságban (1000-1141)', 253.

²⁶¹ Erika Simonyi, 'Középkori templom és temető Felsőzsolca-Nagyszilváson [Medieval Church and Churchyard in Felsőzsolca-Nagyszilvás]', *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 43 (2004): 167. In this case the archaeologist suggested a preceding period of the church that was undetectable, however, the continuous graves under the nave and sanctuary of the church may suggest otherwise.

²⁶² K. Németh, *A középkori Tolna megye templomai*, 97.

²⁶³ Kovács, 'Éremleletes kora Árpád-kori templom körüli temetőkről', 255–56. The church is unknown and thus the dating is hypothetical.

²⁶⁴ XJM Rég. Ad. 48-93

²⁶⁵ Kovács, 'Éremleletes kora Árpád-kori templom körüli temetőkről és templomukról a magyar királyságban (1000-1141)', 256.

²⁶⁶ MRT 10, 552-553.

²⁶⁷ RKM 2011, 135.

²⁶⁸ RKM 2012, 100-101

²⁶⁹ Béla Kovács, 'Előzetes jelentés az 1965-1968. évi tisztaörvényi feltárásokról [Preliminary Report on the Excavations of Tiszaörvény in 1965-68.]', *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 97 (1970): 127.

²⁷⁰ MRT 9, 258. Kovács, 'Éremleletes kora Árpád-kori templom körüli temetőkről', 257.

²⁷¹ Kovács, 253–54.

segment of reality, in consequence of taphonomy, and the small number of sites known well from excavations. To fully interpret these cemeteries; however, their closer investigation is necessary, principally the cemeteries they were built on, even though there is not always much information available on that subject also.

Transitional Cemeteries with Tenth Century Origins

The main question is, of course, chronological; it is of some importance if the cemetery can be originated from the ten, or only from the eleventh century on. According to grave goods, the cemetery preceding the building of the rotunda in Ják have started at the beginning of the tenth century. Horse bones found in one of the graves suggest that the originally pagan cemetery have gradually transformed to a churchyard.²⁷² A similar situation can be observed in the case of Örménykút Décsi telek-halom, the medieval village of Décse, where in front of the western wall of the nave, some tenth-century graves were excavated. Szatmári, presupposed, that the first phase of the church can be dated from the early eleventh century, and thus, the continuous use of the graveyard is possible.²⁷³ In the case of Berekböszörmény-Református templom, where a tenth-century grave was excavated in the axis of the nave, close to the sanctuary. The burial was undisturbed and contained a pot. According to M. Nepper, the grave is not an isolated burial, but under the church, a tenth-century graveyard is believed to exist.²⁷⁴ A particular site where such a phenomenon was also observed, is Orosháza-Rákóczitelep, the site which was formerly identified as Gellértegyháza, and as such, became the name-giving site for transitional cemeteries of the region. Whilst earlier the opinion was that the church was built on the site of a pagan cemetery (excavated horse burials), it was later reviewed and stated that the pagan burials could not have been in connection with the church. Lately, the new excavation results and the careful investigations of the documentation by Gyöngyvér Bíró pointed out that the

²⁷² Ilona Valter, 'A Ják nemzetség Árpád-kori lakóhelye Jákon', *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae*, 2005, 537–64.

²⁷³ Szatmári, *Békés megye középkori templomai*, 55, 66.

²⁷⁴ Nepper Ibolya, *Hajdú-Bihar megye 10-11. századi sírleletei [10-11th c. Grave Finds of Hajdú-Bihar County]*, 26.

cemetery has most probably been in continuous use from the end of the tenth century on, and the church was built on it sometime in the first half of the eleventh century. Accordingly, she claimed that it started as a pagan graveyard which later started to transform to a Christian cemetery and later a churchyard.²⁷⁵ Lacking sufficient data, thus extensively excavated cemeteries, such sites remain somewhat isolated. However, similarly to the existence of transitional cemeteries, the occurrence of such sites also could have been more frequent.

To demonstrate how controversial the interpretation of such sites can be, Mesteri-Intaháza has to be mentioned here. According to Ildikó Pap, the ‘some finds of the graves’ (pearls, bracelet ending in animal heads, and a ring with runic incisions) suggests that a field cemetery preceded the churchyard.²⁷⁶ Pearls and runic rings, however, are frequent find of churchyard cemeteries. Also, it worth noting, that no pots, horse bones, or other evidence was excavated, which would point to an indeed earlier, pagan field cemetery. The church of the cemetery has been found, but unfortunately, the site is only known from short reports, and the relation of the cemetery to the church has not been discussed.²⁷⁷ Still, it may not be a too far-fetched assumption, that if the walls of the church would have cut graves, it would have been mentioned in the reports. It also worth noting that on the site there is a former Roman villa complex. Therefore, since no hard evidence suggests otherwise, I believe this site should be considered as an early churchyard cemetery.

Field Cemeteries Near Churchyards

When examining transitional cemeteries, those sites where the field cemetery is located near to a church cannot be excluded.²⁷⁸ Examining the spread of such phenomenon, there are three areas where such sites can be observed; there is a clustering on the southern half of the Great

²⁷⁵ Bíró, ‘Gellértegyháza és problémaköre [Gellértegyháza and its Related Problems]’.

²⁷⁶ Pap, ‘Rábasömjén’, 224.

²⁷⁷ Rég.Kut. 2001, 190.; Rég.Kut. 2002, 239.; Rég.Kut. 2003, 251.

²⁷⁸ Naturally, the notion of ‘near’ should be defined. Here those cemeteries will be discusses where the field cemetery is located within about a one kilometer distance to the church, but found in most cases in its immediate surrounding.

plain, less dominant appearance along the northernmost areas where early churches can be located, and sporadic appearance of sites around the western border. In order to contextualise these sites better, it is vital to have a closer look at their positioning one by one. Since castles and ecclesiastical centres represent an extraordinary power, and therefore their presence may shape the landscape differently, cemeteries near them were discussed above separately, and so their evaluation is not included here.

The Area of the Great Plain

Starting with the case of Debrecen-Klastrompart, the former village of Szentgyörgy-Kismacs, another exciting situation can be observed. While the area was inhabited from the tenth-eleventh centuries on, the church and its cemetery cannot be dated before the beginning of the thirteenth century. However, a tenth-century cemetery has also been discovered, right underneath the church, also containing horse burials. The archaeologists of, however, identified an eleventh-twelfth century cemetery a little further away, in the Rózsás dűlő.²⁷⁹ This is a prime example for a double relocation of the cemetery. First, the villagers left their pagan cemetery and opened a new one, which was still located outside of the village, and used it up until the thirteenth century, when they built their church on the spot of the former, most probably by that time long forgotten pagan cemetery. The case of Debrecen-Klastrompart represents an excellent example for nucleation, and how the cemeteries – and the church moved from the periphery to the centre of the settlements. Also, a quite late example for the establishment of the churchyard and thus a long-used, supposedly Christian field cemetery. What makes this even more interesting, is that in the broader area of this field cemetery (in an about a 15 km radius), four churches can be located that are dated to the eleventh century.

²⁷⁹ Ibolya M. Nepper and Módy, György, 'Szentgyörgy (Kismacs) Árpád-kori templomának feltárása – A falu a XIII–XIV. században [The excavation of the church Szentgyörgy - Kismacs. The village in the 13-14th centuries]', *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* 1983-84. (1985): 91-129.; Nepper Ibolya, *Hajdú-Bihar megye 10-11. századi sirleletei [10-11th c. Grave Finds of Hajdú-Bihar County]*, 36–42.

Somewhat further away, on the mid- area of the Great Plain (Fig. 8), a large cluster of such sites can be observed. The first group of cemeteries in it to be examined starts with Hajdúdorog-Szállásföld közép-Templomdomb. This site can be found about 300m distance of a churchyard under the same site name, on the top of the neighbouring hilltop. Both cemeteries are completely excavated but only published in concise reports. It is still known though, that the field cemetery was opened in the tenth century, and according to the latest coin turned up in one of the graves, was in use until the reign of Béla II (1131-1141). The earliest coin from the churchyard is of Géza II (1141-1162). Thus, here, a continuous shift can be observed. László Fodor, the archaeologist who excavated both cemeteries, presupposed that the first church was a wooden construction because the brick church of the churchyard superimposed one grave, but there were no burials excavated within the church. He also assumed that the churchyard was in use most probably until the Mongol invasion, given that the latest coin finds are from András II (1205-1235).²⁸⁰ It also has to be mentioned, that nearby, in the area of the same modern settlement (Hajdúdorog), another form of transition can be observed. The church of Hajdúdorog-Kövecses, positioned about 10 km south of the previous site, was built directly on a field cemetery.²⁸¹ However, in about 2 km distance to the northeast, there is another field cemetery (Hajdúdorog-Vágotthegy) dated to the eleventh century.

Interestingly, there are also some cemeteries positioned around the verge of a 10 km radius from this church, Hajdúböszörmény-Kis-Süldös-halom and Hajdúböszörmény Szőke-zug, about 500m from each other. The former site is dated roughly to the eleventh century, while the latter is labelled as a Conquest period cemetery. Therefore, in this microregion, the various shifts of cemeteries can be observed at once.

Kiskunfélegyháza-Csányi tanya is located on another area of the Great Plain where the previous two sites are to be found also. This is somewhat different from those, in any case. Here the field

²⁸⁰ Rég.Kut. 2004, 227.

²⁸¹ Rég.Füz. 1992 (46), 101.

cemetery, Kiskunfélegyháza Kántor-domb is found a little further away, in an about 800 m distance from the church. Still, this shows the same situation as in case of Hajdúdorog; the field cemetery was opened in the tenth century and has been used at least until the mid-eleventh century when they probably built the church and started to bury their dead in the churchyard. It is worth noting, that according to Szabolcs Rosta, the first, eleventh century period of the church has not yet been discovered.²⁸² Interestingly, the closest nearby church, Kiskunfélegyháza-Templomhalom, is also only about two kilometres away. Also, in the region this kind of alignment appears often; the church of Kiskunfélegyháza Bense-tanya is located about 500m from the field cemetery of Kiskunfélegyháza Páka-Dósa tanya. In the broader region located the site of Felgyő-Gedahalom. Here, on the same site where in 1942 Mihály Párducz excavated a cemetery, used in the tenth-eleventh centuries, later Gyula László have found a church and its churchyard. Unfortunately, the positioning of the two cemeteries are not known, due to the lack of publication and the early excavations, and therefore it cannot be decided whether the field cemetery was under or nearby the church. Considering, however, that the early excavation did not reveal any sign of a churchyard, the latter option seems to be more probable.²⁸³ The picture is further complicated, as about 300 m northwest to the site, in Felgyő Kossuth u. 23., fragments of another eleventh-century cemetery were excavated.

Moving on to the broader region, Szentes-Szentlászló brings up another similar situation. Here, first a more massive cemetery was excavated, which was first dated to the eleventh century,²⁸⁴ but in its latest review has been dated solely to the tenth century. This work is interpreting the burials containing definitely eleventh-century material (coins and jewellery) as posterior burials to the cemetery, and disregarding the dating of some of the material (including pectoral reliquary crosses!) can also be dated to the eleventh century, and the fact that only half of the

²⁸² Rosta, 'A kiskunsági homokhátság 13–16. századi településtörténete [The 13-16th century settlement history of the Kiskunság sand-ridge]', 147.

²⁸³ <https://archeodatabase.hnm.hu/hu/node/64118>

²⁸⁴ Márta Széll, 'XI. századi temetők Szentes környékén [11th c. Cemeteries around Szentes]', *Folia archeologica* 3–4 (1941): 233.

cemetery is excavated. Thus, here the unfortunately rather common phenomenon of archaeology can be observed, when researchers take into account only the earliest, or to their theories, more favourable dating of objects. This is how this cemetery dated from the beginning to the end of the tenth century.²⁸⁵ Lately, however, about 200m away from this site, the church and churchyard of the village has been identified. Unfortunately, given that has not been excavated, its dating is rather loose, as it only sets it to the High Middle Ages.²⁸⁶

Nonetheless, since the closest known cemetery, Szentes-Kistőke is over six kilometres away from this site, it can be presupposed that the burials in the area were continuous until the establishment of the churchyard. Although the name of the village (St László) suggest a later a foundation, given that the saint was only canonised at the end of the twelfth century, this cannot be decided based on the current research state. Still, considering that the field cemetery's middle part is unknown, it might be presupposed that it would not go much further up in time, at least definitely not up until the end of the twelfth century. The example of this site shows thus a continuous use of a burial place from the first half of the tenth century on.

Another example of the narrower region comes from Örménykút. Here, on the Maczonkai domb, a field cemetery was excavated, including horse burials. András Liska dated it from the end of the tenth century to the second half of the eleventh century, noting that the burial of the earliest objects could have also happened at the beginning of the eleventh century. The relatively late 'pagan' horse burials he explained in this case with historical evidence; according to that, that the region belonged to Ajtony and has been dominantly pagan until 1028, and he dated the Christianisation of the area only after this, but even more the defeat of the pagan revolt led by Vata in 1045-46. However, he also noted a spatial separation between the earlier and later graves and explained it with a possible half a century chronological gap in the use of the

²⁸⁵ Rita Soós, 'A Szentes-szentlászlói honfoglalás kori temető elemzésének új eredményei [New Results of the Reevaluation of the Conquest Period Cemetery of Szentes-Szentlászló]. Masters Thesis, Szegedi Tudományegyetem.' (2016), 45–47.

²⁸⁶ <https://archeodatabase.hnm.hu/hu/node/28643>

graveyard.²⁸⁷ Furthermore, although there have been attempts on connecting the areas of the pagan uprisings of the eleventh century to the denser appearance of field cemeteries, the results were rather controversial.²⁸⁸ About 500 metres from there, in Örménykút, Maczonkai-határút - Kápolna-halom, Imre Szatmári has identified the church of the medieval Bercsényegyháza, which he dated from about the turn of the eleventh century.²⁸⁹ Here again, therefore, the direct continuation of the burial ground is observable.

Further south in the region, the area of Hódmezővásárhely is also of interest from this perspective. Here, a few hundred metres away from the site of Hódmezővásárhely-Csomorkány, (a site where the church was built on top of a field cemetery), another graveyard was identified on the Hunyadi or Solti-halom. The graveyard was dated to the eleventh century and was identified as the medieval Solt village, and its cemetery. Interestingly, the first, 1895 identification of the site also found the traces of a church, however, the excavation in 1934-35 did not find any trace of that.²⁹⁰

Northeastern Areas

Shifting to the second cluster of such sites, their appearance spread along the northernmost churches of the period, especially in the eastern half of the country. Here it should be noted, that some castles with their churches and field cemeteries nearby align with this pattern.

The easternmost site to start with is, Karcsa, where the site of the Református templom has been identified as an early church.²⁹¹ About one-kilometer north to it, the site of Karcsa-Kormoska

²⁸⁷ 'X-XI. századi temető Örménykúton [10-11th c. Cemetery in Örménykút]', *A Békés Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 16 (1996): 190–92.

²⁸⁸ László Révész, 'A 10–11. századi temetők regionális jellemzői a Keleti-Kárpátoktól a Dunáig [Regional Characteristics of 10-11th C. Graveyards from the Eastern Carpathians to the Danube]' (DSc dissertation, 2018), 175; Oláh, 'Adatok a Békés megyében található Árpád-kori temetők és településnyomok komplex vizsgálatához [Data to the history of settlements in Békés County in the Árpadian Age Cemeteries and settlements]', 110.

²⁸⁹ Szatmári, *Békés megye középkori templomai*, 100–101.

²⁹⁰ Márta Széll, 'Elpusztult falvak, XI—XVI. századbeli régészeti leletek Szeged és Hódmezővásárhely határában. [Destroyed Villages, 11-16th c. Finds within the Border of Szeged and Hódmezővásárhely]', *Dolgozatok* 1940 (1940): 175.

²⁹¹ The dating of the church is debated. Vera G. Molnár dated it to the second half of the eleventh century, while Béla Zsolt Szakács dates the type to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and Karcsa to the twelfth. See Gervers-Molnár, *A középkori Magyarország rotundái [The Rotundas of Medieval Hungary]*, 46–52; Béla Zsolt Szakács, 'Gerény - Görögkatolikus templom [Gerény - Greek Catholic Church]', in*ideje az építésnek...*, ed. Tibor Kollár

has been excavated with 107 graves, dated by coins of Béla dux (1046-1060) to one coin by Coloman (1096-1116), with the majority of the coins by king Ladislaus I (1077-1095). According to László Révész, the site is not in any connection with the nearby tenth century cemeteries, but probably is a preceding burial site to the people who later were buried around the church mentioned above.²⁹² For more, this region is considered as a special area by several researchers of the Conquest Age, based on the burials and their rich equipment found there.²⁹³ This could be decided with the excavation of the churchyard, which, however, is not yet happened. Even though the church was excavated in 1964, the research focused on the building and its periodisation and does not mention anything about the cemetery or graves in general. The dating of the church also has been determined by relative chronology, which has an assumed starting date based on historical data that defines the earliest building phase of another church.²⁹⁴

In Pétervására, the relation of the cemetery to the church on it is not yet clear, but the cemetery can be dated from the eleventh century on.²⁹⁵ About a thousand metres northwest to the church, two field cemeteries can be found, from about five hundred metres from each other, one of them dated to the eleventh century,²⁹⁶ and another that is supposedly started in the Conquest period and was in use also in the eleventh century.²⁹⁷

A little further west, the next site to be discussed is Szécsény-Kerekdomb. Here a church and churchyard were excavated at the end of the nineteenth century. This churchyard is dated by

(Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2018), 87, https://www.academia.edu/38502442/Ger%C3%A9ny_-_G%C3%B6r%C3%B6k_katolikus_templom.

²⁹² RKM 1998, 152-153.

²⁹³ Révész, 'A 10–11. századi temetők regionális jellemzői a Keleti-Kárpátoktól a Dunáig [Regional Characteristics of 10-11th C. Graveyards from the Eastern Carpathians to the Danube]', 272–364.

²⁹⁴ Vera Molnár, 'Beszámoló a karcsai templom 1964. évi ásátásairól. [Report on the Excavation of the Church of Karcsa in 1964]', *Acta Antiqua et Archeologica* X (1966): 103–13.

²⁹⁵ Gyula Nováki and Csaba Baráz, 'Őskori és középkori erődített telepök, várak Heves megye Mátrán kívüli területén [Prehistoric and Medieval Fortified Settlements and Castles in County Heves Outside the Mátra Area]', *Agria* 36 (2000): 21.

²⁹⁶ <https://archeodatabase.hnm.hu/hu/node/40863>

²⁹⁷ <https://archeodatabase.hnm.hu/hu/node/40869>

the coins of Salamon (1063-1074) and Béla II (1131-1141).²⁹⁸ The nearby site of Szécsény-Ültetés was primarily identified as a Prehistoric site. However, eight, empty graves of a field cemetery was also excavated, which the archaeologist interpreted as the possible graveyard of the population who later started using the church and churchyard of Szécsény-Kerekdomb.²⁹⁹

Transdanubia

In the Transdanubian area, such sites are clustered mostly in the westernmost border, also probably in consequence of the research on the topic of Idlikó Pap and Attila Kiss.³⁰⁰

However, starting in the middle part of the region, probably the most curious site can be found; Pannonhalma-Boldogasszony kápolna. Here, on the neighbouring hilltop right next to first Benedictine abbey founded in the country, a cemetery was identified during the building of the chapel. Initially, it was assumed to be a churchyard; however, we do not know any evidence for a church.³⁰¹ Later it was identified as a field cemetery, and dated from the mid-tenth century.³⁰² In consequence of the early discovery of the finds in the nineteenth century, and the lack of documentation, unfortunately not much more can be stated about the site. However, its positioning is definitely thought-provoking.

The closest site to that within this area is Dörgicse-Felsődörgicse Szent Péter templom. Here, less than two hundred metres away from the church, a few hundred graves of a field cemetery have been identified. Interestingly, the field cemetery and the church seems to be coterminous in this case, at least for some time; the church of St. Peter has been built sometime the end of the eleventh century, reusing a Roman (funerary?) building, and has been used even in the Late Middle Ages.³⁰³ The size of the field cemetery suggests a longer use, which can also be

²⁹⁸ Albert Nyáry, 'Ásatás a szécsényi Kerekdombon [Excavation at Szécsény-Kerekdomb]', *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 27 (1907): 222–31.

²⁹⁹ Rég.Füz. 1980 (34), 20.

³⁰⁰ Pap, 'Rábasömjén'.

³⁰¹ Elemér Lovas, 'Pannonhalma környéke az ó- és középkorban. [The Surroundings of Pannonhalma in the Ancient and Medieval Times]', *Pannonhalmi Szemle* 12 (1937): 36–37.

³⁰² Péter Langó and Balázs Gusztáv Mende, 'Honfoglalás kori sírok Enesén', *Arrabona* 43 (2005): 235.

³⁰³ Pál Rainer, *Veszprém megye egyházi élete a középkorban [The Ecclesiastical Life of Veszprém County in the Middle Ages]* (Veszprém, 2009), 45.

observed from the finds; even though there is not a thorough publication of the site so far, the exhibition catalogue of the cemetery shows eleventh-twelfth century material connected to the field cemetery. What makes this cemetery even more unusual, is the use of stone lobes covering the graves of the field cemetery.³⁰⁴ This is unknown from such contexts and appears in a contemporary context usually only in monastic sites or sites related to them. Unfortunately, lacking detailed published data of the site, the relation of the church and the cemetery is unclear; it is not known how long they had been co-used, and how long have the field cemetery been used before the building of the church. Nevertheless, it is important to note that here nothing refers to the use of the field cemetery in the tenth century.

Moving on to the western area of the Transdanubia, a similar situation was observed in a similar case of the site of Sorokpolány-Berekalja. Here, a graveyard was opened in the late tenth century and was in use until the beginning of the twelfth century. According to Kiss, this is also the time when the church was built in the immediate neighbourhood, about a hundred metres away from the cemetery.³⁰⁵ Here it has to be underlined, that the field cemetery was in connection with a church built in the middle period.

This is also the situation of Sárvár-Rábasömjén Római katolikus templom,³⁰⁶ where on the side of the hilltop where the church stood and stands today. The excavated cemetery fragment has been dated to from the mid-eleventh to the beginning of the twelfth century, based on grave goods.³⁰⁷ Since the church was not excavated, the positioning of the cemetery and the church is unclear; the field cemetery could either have been right next to or under the church and later churchyard. The lack of excavated burials dated to the later period, however, suggests the

³⁰⁴ Rainer, 56–63.

³⁰⁵ Kiss and Pap, ‘Elfeledett soros temetőink?’, 160–61.

³⁰⁶ Ildikó Katalin Pap, ‘Államalapítás kori temető Rábasömjén temploma mellett. Régészeti adatok Vas megye templom körüli temetőinek kialakulásához [A Cemetery Dated to the Time of the Foundation of the State next to the Church of Rábasömjén. Archaeological Data on the Development of the Churchyard Cemeteries of Vas County]’, *Savaria* 35 (2012): 211–50.

³⁰⁷ Pap, 219.

former. The church building is dated to the thirteenth century, on historical evidence.³⁰⁸ However, given the site's character, it seems to be more plausible that some sort of church was already built during the twelfth century.

Ildikó Pap had suggested, that two graves that were excavated on the verge of Meggyeskovácsi, with the church of the village in between them about one km distance from each could show a similar situation when the cemeteries moved to the church. However, the two fragmentary burials are not enough evidence to date and decide on the character of the cemetery(?) to which they once were buried.³⁰⁹

She also pointed out the relations of a Conquest period cemetery of Ikervár-Virág utca, used between the second half of the tenth century to the 1020s, and a church, which existence is presupposed on a document that says King Solomon has spent Christmas here in 1073.³¹⁰ Unfortunately, apart from the conquest period cemetery, there is no archaeological evidence on the matter, and thus the transition, in this case, remains unclear.

The last site to be discussed in this area, Szombathely-Szent Márton templom is probably the most unusual of all, probably also because there is much more written and archaeological evidence about this site than average. Here the situation is somewhat similar to Felsődörgicse; starting from the Roman continuity. The site started with the Roman cemetery of Savaria, in which in the Carolingian period a church was built, and a churchyard was opened around it. This church was located under the nave of the present baroque church and was destroyed in the seventeenth century, during the building of a crypt. Around it, however, a fragment of a churchyard cemetery was excavated, dated to the mentioned period. The church is also known from the mid-eleventh century source of the *Arnulfium*, which is falsely dated to 895, also

³⁰⁸ Pap, 'Rábasömjén'; Kiss, 'A történeti Vas vármegye 11-12. századi templomairól [Über Die Kirchen Des Geschichtlichen Komitates Vas Aus Dem 11. Bis 12. Jahrhundert]'; Kiss, *Vas Megye 10 - 12. Századi Sír- És Kincsleletei [Die Grab- Und Schatzfunde Des 10.-12. Jahrhunderts Im Komitat Vas]*; Kiss and Pap, 'Elfeledett soros temetőink?'

³⁰⁹ Pap, 'Rábasömjén', 224.

³¹⁰ Pap, 223.

mentioning the title of the church which was Saint Martin already. Following this, a wooden church was built during the reign of Stephen I (1001-1038) partially on the graves of the former cemetery, and partially on the former, possibly ruined church. This was used in the first two-thirds of the eleventh century and was demolished after, as during the reign of Ladislaus I (1077-1095), it was replaced by a brick church, reusing the Roman bricks of the site. This church is also mentioned in written sources, keeping its title to Saint Martin and appear as the property of the abbey of Pannonhalma. This brick church was in use for a long period, the next rebuilding phase is dated to the turn of the thirteenth century when it came into the property of the bishop of Győr.³¹¹ To further complicate this, there was a cemetery excavated nearby this church, in Kisfaludy utca. This cemetery is also only partially excavated, and thus its full extent in time and space is unknown, but it shows the characteristics of a field cemetery, and (the excavated part) can be dated from the turn of the millennium to the 70's of the eleventh century. According to Horváth, from then on this population also started to use the churchyard as their burial place.³¹² The cemetery complex here is only known by fragments, and therefore its extent and the relation of the different cemeteries to each other are not clearly defined. For quite a long time the field cemetery of Kisfaludy utca and the churchyard of Szent Márton templom has been treated as two coterminous cemeteries located in a one hundred metres distance from each other, but showing different socioeconomic, religious and probably even ethnic background. The churchyard was identified as the Christian cemetery of an upper-class population, while the field cemetery as a burial site of poor, probably proto-Christian villagers, probably Pechenegs.³¹³ This latter theory has lately been dropped, especially since the latest excavations

³¹¹ Gábor Kiss and Endre Tóth, 'Szombathely, Szent Márton-templom [Szombathely, Saint Martin Church]', in *Vas Megye Műemlékeinek Töredékei 2.* (Budapest: Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal, 2002), 345–46.

³¹² Ciprián Horváth, 'Kora Árpád-kori temető a szombathelyi Kisfaludy Sándor utcában [Early Árpadian Age Cemetery in Szombathely Kisfaludy Utca]', *Életünk* 2016, no. 3 (n.d.): 100; See also: Ciprián Horváth, *Kora Árpád-kori temető Szombathely-Kisfaludy Sándor utca területén (S-Végű Karikaékszerek a Kora Árpád-Kori Nyugat-Dunántúlon) [Early Árpadian Age Cemetery in the Area of Szombathely-Kisfaludy Utca. (S-Ended Loc Rings in the Western Transdanubia)]* (Szombathely: Savaria Megyei Hatókörű Városi Múzeum, 2016).

³¹³ Gábor Kiss, 'Két szomszédos, kora Árpád-kori temető Szombathelyen. [Two Neighbouring, Early Árpadian Age Cemetery in Szombathely]', in '... A halál árnyékának völgyében járok'. *A középkori templom körüli temetők*

suggests otherwise. Graves of the churchyard excavated recently suggested that the site may have started as a field cemetery that was only later concentrated more around the church.

Furthermore, based on the latest excavation results it has also been brought up that the two cemeteries may only have been developed as one cemetery, and thus they only represent the two parts of it on both sides of the marsh, which was narrowed down from the twelfth century on to the area of the churchyard.³¹⁴ In my opinion, this latter theory is the most plausible. The ethnic identification of archaeological features is always a tricky issue, and an unhealthy mix of current concepts with the past often consociated with political, especially nationalistic ideas.³¹⁵ In the present case, the use of sporadic archaeological material, which ethnic identification, as it was referred, raises many problems in itself, combined with the use of much later toponyms cannot be accepted as a valid argument on the ethnic and religious identification of a population. The socioeconomic interpretation of the buried individual based on their trinkets in the grave, especially in the High Medieval period is also precarious. The general lack of grave goods in this period pushed researchers to identify socioeconomic status based on the little finds that turn up in graves. However, in reality, these trinkets represented such a low value (even of those that were made of silver), that using them to estimate an individual's wealth can lead to slightly wrong conclusions.³¹⁶ Therefore, if the latest theory of the researchers are accepted than in some way a rather common situation can be observed; a field cemetery, that is shortly transformed into churchyard. What makes this site unique is the continuity with the Carolingian church, and up to some limit, the Roman burial site. Unfortunately, because of the

kutatása., ed. Ágnes Ritoók, *Opuscula Hungarica*, VI (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005), 151–54; See how the theory of the two, different socioeconomic and religious community have lived on in Horváth, 'Kora Árpád-kori temető a szombathelyi Kisfaludy Sándor utcában [Early Árpadian Age Cemetery in Szombathely Kisfaludy Utca]', 100.

³¹⁴ Kiss and Pap, 'Elfeledett soros temetőink?', 163. See also Antal, Gábor, and Katalin, 'Savaria keleti temetője és a szombathelyi Szent Márton-templom körüli temető újabb sírjai. (Régészet és antropológia) [New Graves from the East Cemetery of Savaria and the Churchyard of Szombathely Saint Martin's Church]', 129–30.

³¹⁵ For a recent discussion of the problem see Erwin Gáll, *At the Periphery of the Avar Core Region: 6th-8th Century Burial Sites near Nadlac* (L'Harmattan, 2018), 149–51.

³¹⁶ On the estimation of the value of such trinkets see Vargha, *Hoards, Grave Goods, Jewellery*, 76–77.

later destruction of the site of the Carolingian church, the continuity of the burial site and especially the churches remains ambiguous, until further archaeological evidence will be excavated and analysed from the cemetery.

Concluding Remarks on Transitional Cemeteries

Concluding on the spatial distribution pattern of transitional cemeteries, the first and foremost remark to make is that the research that was directed on this issue in Vas county demonstrates nicely the need of contextualising this question further, also outside the frame of the eleventh century. Therefore, another, further discussion will be included on how these sites, transitional cemeteries, and with special regard, field cemeteries nearby churches fit into the ecclesiastical landscape of the following century. Still, that being a retrospective analysis, it cannot be made without first interpreting the scene discussed above. Starting with the spread of transitional cemetery 'Type 1a', a general appearance can be observed, with a concentration on the southern, and eastern areas of the kingdom. Although they are typically not associated with power centres, two of them occurs nearby a bishopric, which also has a castle; Győr and Bihar. Furthermore, given that nearby most of them further early churches, in some cases even monasteries can be found, their presence cannot be explained by the underdeveloped ecclesiastical organisation of their region. This is further strengthened by strong presence of the 'Type 1b' sites, thus the same kind of transitional cemeteries, where the (first, archaeologically known) church was built around the twelfth century. The equal ratio between these chronologically divided groups and the even spread of 'Type 1b' over the Kingdom also suggests that this was regarded as common practice. Here, two facts need to be underlined. First, the number of such sites is probably much higher. However, without larger-scale excavation, it is almost impossible to identify them. Secondly, some of these cemeteries are originated in the tenth century. Unfortunately, given the above-mentioned church-building focused research, in many cases, the full spatial and chronological extent of these cemeteries are unknown. Probably not it is not by chance that a tenth-century origin was brought up mostly

in the more extensively researched sites (Ják, Orosháza-Rákóczitelep, Örménykút-Décse, Berekböszörmény-Református templom).

Compared this to those sites where the field cemetery was in the immediate surrounding of the church, founded still in the eleventh century, the picture seems to be somewhat different. Here, as it is described above in details, the tenth-century origin of the field cemeteries, or to be more precise, the end of tenth-century origin is rather common. The appearance of 'pagan' graves, thus burials containing pots, weapons or horse bones is also quite frequent, which are usually gradually disappear from the later graves. The spatial distribution of such sites is also somewhat different and shows a rather interesting picture. The most considerable clustering of such sites are to be found on the southern area of the Great Plain. As it was mentioned above, archaeologists tied their appearance in some individual cases to be on the land of Ajtony, and thus to a half-century lateness in the Christianisation of the area. This, however, could not be said for the sites along the northern-northeastern areas.

Furthermore, the sites in the Transdanubia showing a completely opposite picture. Of this, the site of Pannonhalma, the first royal foundation of a Benedictine monastery founded by Géza and István stands out the most, with the tenth-century field cemetery being near it. Similarly to that, in the western areas of the kingdom, a continuous, even if not rather strong influence of the Carolingian church is presupposed and is proved by excavation in case of Szombathely. Thus, a completely different interpretation of the same kind of sites appears at the same time, both of them derived primarily by historical thoughts, but supported with some archaeological evidence also.

The Twelfth Century

Changes in the Ecclesiastical System, Society and Secular Power

The complex issue of transitional cemeteries and the continuous use of field cemeteries in the first couple of decades of the twelfth century pointed out the need of the contextualisation of the eleventh-century material, with particular regard to transitional and field cemeteries in the twelfth-century archaeological material. Although the comparison of the historical and the archaeological investigation will be done in the following chapter, a brief discussion of the historical context is needed. As opposed to the previous century, the era of the twelfth century is not primarily focused on the building of the secular state power, nor the larger ecclesiastical structures anymore, but rather on maintaining and developing them. Still, Ladislaus I (1077-1095) started a major reform on the ecclesiastical system, which was still based on the foundations laid by Saint Stephen, starting with the relocation of some ecclesiastical centres, the bishopric of Bihar was moved to Oradea, and the archbishopric of Kalocsa to Bač.³¹⁷ This was followed by the foundation of the bishopric of Zagreb³¹⁸ sometime the end of his reign, and preparing the foundation of the bishopric of Nitra, which was finally accomplished by Coloman (1095-1116).³¹⁹ Besides the ecclesiastical infrastructure, the impact of the Gregorian reform can also be traced in the synods of the era.³²⁰ As it was mentioned before, secular law of Coloman is traditionally regarded as a turning point in the legislation of burials – the synod of Esztergom (~1112-1113) stating who cannot receive Christian burial is marked as the general, dominant presence of churchyard burials, and as such, an endpoint to

³¹⁷ Koszta, 'Fejezetek a korai magyar egyházszervezet történetéből [Chapters from the history of the early church organisation of Hungary]', 185–86.

³¹⁸ Koszta, 123. See also Tamás Körmendi, 'Zagoriensis episcopus. (Megjegyzés a zágrábi püspökség korai történetéhez) [Zagoriensis episcopus (Notes on the Early History of the Bishopric of Zagreb)]', in *'Fons, skepsis, lex': ünnepi tanulmányok a 70 esztendő Makk Ferenc tiszteletére ["Fons, skepsis, lex": Festschrift Ferenc Makk]*, ed. Tibor Almási (Szeged: SZTE Történeti Segédtudományok Tanszék, 2010), 247–56.

³¹⁹ Koszta, 'A nyitrai püspökség létrejötte. (Nyitra egyháztörténete a 9-13. században) [The Emergence of the Bishopric of Nyitra. (Ecclesiastical History of Nitra in the 9th to 13th Centuries)]'.

³²⁰ Szabolcs Anzelm Szuromi, 'Esztergomi zsinatok és kánongyűjtemények a XII. századi Magyarországon [Synods of Esztergom and Canonical Collections in 12th c. Hungary]', *Iustum Aequum Salutare* II, no. 1 (2006): 191–202.

Christianisation.³²¹ Field cemeteries in general also end with the coins of king Coloman, even though there are some exceptions from further in the twelfth century.

In comparison to the centralised ecclesiastical and secular power of the previous century, these structures were changing with the changing society in the twelfth century, resulting in major differences in the foundation of ecclesiastical institution and power centres, the emerging lesser and higher nobility playing a significant part in the development of the ecclesiastical system. The appearance of proprietary churches, or *Eigenkirchen*,³²² being either monastic or local church foundations started to bloom, along with the appearance of new monastic orders. The *Eigenkirche*, or proprietary church foundations are without doubt part of a social process, that starts predominantly in the twelfth, but strengthens only by the beginning of the thirteenth century. Besides ecclesiastical foundations, the question has to be raised whether the construction of other representative properties, such as castles could be indicators of the same process as well. Interestingly, the appearance of private, small fortifications are traditionally dated later, from the end of the twelfth century.³²³ The role and development of fortified royal centres were still intertwined with the ecclesiastical system – from the beginning of the twelfth century, they were also the centres of deaneries, with the churches inside the castles taking the role of decanal churches. This, however, was changed by the end of the century, when they were moved to the cathedral chapters. Bishoprics in castles, however, kept their importance.³²⁴

The development of the county system continued, and it is generally accepted among historians

³²¹ Mordovin, *A várszervezet kialakulása*, 104.

³²² Mályusz and Stökl, 'Die Eigenkirche in Ungarn'; see also: Wilfried Hartmann, 'Vom frühen Kirchenwesen (Eigenkirche) zur Pfarrei (8.-12. Jahrhundert): strukturelle und kirchenrechtliche Fragen', *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 73 (2011): 13–30. See the latest contribution from the point of view of monasteries by Szöcs, 'Private Monasteries of Medieval Hungary (Eleventh to Fourteenth Centuries): A Case Study of the Ákos Kindred and Its Monasteries'.

³²³ István Feld, 'A magánvárak építésének kezdetei a középkori Magyarországon a régészeti források tükrében I. [The Beginning of the Building of Private Castles in Medieval Hungary in Regard of Archaeological Sources I.]', *Századok* 148 (2014): 351–86. Even though the article itself stresses out that such datings are primarily made solely by typology.

³²⁴ Szende, 'Az ispánsági vártól a királyi városig - miért, hogyan - vagy miért nem? [Von der Gespanschaftsburg zur Stadt: Warum, wie – oder warum nicht?]', 136.

that by the end of the twelfth century there were around seventy-two counties.³²⁵ Historical studies had intensive discussions on the social aspect of the changing county castle structures,³²⁶ but the castles of the twelfth century, however, were not in the focus of the research. Just as in the case of cemeteries and churches, researchers focused mostly on their beginnings and early development, and the end – usually in the context of the Mongol invasion. Not surprisingly, therefore, the castles themselves are not known in all cases. Although József Dénes has created a list of county castles, their dating is not specified, and even their location is unknown in many cases. Similarly, he provided a list about the earliest mentions of county castles in historical sources, which allows to supplement the list of castles dated to the eleventh century with some more entries.³²⁷ Furthermore, István Feld tried to trace the twelfth-thirteenth century fate of the early castles.³²⁸ Still, there is not much to know about the construction of new royal fortified centres; with the exception of the periphery; there, the royal forest estates of former counties were started to transform to separate counties, with new centres constructed, mostly in consequence of new settlers in the area, around the end of the twelfth century. The existing castles were used throughout the century and in the following one as well, although some lost its importance already in the twelfth century.³²⁹ Regarding the spatial distribution of castles, the most visible difference is the filling of the gap in the line of the castles along the South East border zone. (Fig.9)

³²⁵ István Tringli, 'Megyék a középkori Magyarországon [Counties in medieval Hungary]', in *Honoris causa: tanulmányok Engel Pál tiszteletére [Honoris causa: Festschrift Pál Engel]*, ed. Tibor Neumann and György Rácz (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2009), 23.

³²⁶ See for example: Attila Zsoldos, 'A királyi várszervezet és a tatárjárás [The Royal Castle System and the Mongol Invasion]', *Hadtörténelmi közlemények* 104 (1991): 45–76.

³²⁷ Dénes, 'A honfoglalás és államszervezés korának várai [Castles of the conquest and state organisation period]'. Castles of the twelfth century which location are at least potentially identifiable are Bač, Bački Monoštor, Hlohovec, Karakó, Kovin, Timișoara, Varaždin, and Zagreb.

³²⁸ István Feld, 'Korai eredetű ispánsági váraink a 12–13. században [Bailiffs' castles of early foundation in the twelfth–thirteenth centuries]', in *Népek és kultúrák a Kárpát-medencében [People and Cultures in the Carpathian Basin]*, ed. László Kovács and László Révész (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2016), 695–716.

³²⁹ Mordovin, *A várszervezet kialakulása*, 97.

Difficulties of Dating in the Twelfth Century

Without echoing the importance of taphonomical loss of archaeological data elaborated in regard to the eleventh century, the most problematic issue of dating archaeological material to the twelfth century has to be discussed. Different find context and data types are not equally problematic in that regard, though. Dating pottery with more precisely analysed sites is getting more and more exact. This, however, helps the least in connection to Christianisation. The dating of churches and burial could be, but those are usually one of the hardest phenomena in this period to be dated, especially in case of the twelfth century. In the first centuries following the conversion of a society, the gradual impoverishment of graves can often be observed even if no regulation is known to prohibit grave goods or personal adornments, and can be connected to the more widespread use of shrouds. Therefore, the appearance of twelfth-century adornments in graves are much more scarce than that of the previous century. Furthermore, the bullion shortage occurring from the second half of the twelfth century resulted in the prolonged use of the more valuable, earlier coins. Therefore dating by coins is also somewhat more complicated.³³⁰ Dating the churches without the graves can be challenging even in case of a standing building, where specific architectural, and art historical details can give a closer dating. Still, an earlier phase can be disguised by the present one, and the massive (re)building wave of churches in the thirteenth century, especially after the Mongol invasion can affect it massively. The situation gets even more complicated where ruins, mostly only ground plans are known, as such information is unfortunately not specific enough to give a precise date within the High Middle Ages.

Finally, a rather brief, but nonetheless important factor should be considered – it is always easier to recognise the more distinct early and late elements in any period, than a less specific, more general middle phase. Undoubtedly, these factors together made it the dating of the twelfth century the most difficult within the period.

³³⁰ Vargha, *Hoards, Grave Goods, Jewellery*, 62–63.

Archaeological Data of the Twelfth Century

Still, altogether 244 rural churches (in addition to the 192 of the previous century) can be identified that can be dated to this period. (Fig. 10) This more than doubles the number of local churches that can be analysed. In addition to that, there are the two mentioned newly founded bishoprics of Zagreb and Nitra, and the relocated ones of Oradea and Bač. Furthermore, eighty-eight monastic foundations can be dated to the twelfth century, which is almost triple to the previous ones.³³¹ In the following, the relations of local churches will be examined similarly to that of the previous century. Furthermore, considering the taphonomical processes discussed in details above related to the eleventh century, the contextualisation of the early material with the one followed is necessary.

General Distribution of Rural Churches

Regarding the general spread of the churches, (Fig. 11) the first remark to be made is that the territory covered by the newly founded local churches is almost identical to the one in the previous century. The most significant difference can be observed in the case of Transylvania, where a significant expansion towards the East can be seen. Empty spaces between the Great Hungarian Plain and the Transylvanian basin, and possibly the southern areas of the Plain, however, is striking, and can probably be explained with multiple causes. First of all, the geography of that area is less favourable than that of the more populated places. Seemingly, at this time the higher mountainous regions are more or less empty in both the eastern and northern areas of the Kingdom. The geographical cause is further strengthened by the appearance of sites in the valleys of high mountainous areas, such as in the Mures valley.

Nonetheless, such gaps suggest also a state of research in the given area, which also have to be considered. Thirdly, an interesting correlation between the present-day use of medieval

³³¹ The monastic foundations appearing in the thesis were collected from the work of Beatrix Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon: katalógus [Cloisters and Collegiate Chapters in Medieval Hungary: Catalog]* (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000). Only those items appearing in the present work, where the monastery was doubtlessly dated to the twelfth century. Foundations of ambiguous datings or dated to the turn of the century does not appear here, as they would distort the picture representing the full century.

churches and the lack of early material due to taphonomical loss in the region was pointed out by István Botár in case of the Ciuc basin, where so far only two churchyards can be dated securely to the twelfth century, even though settlement material have been identified in diverse social level.³³² Although the Taphonomical loss is not an unknown phenomenon, here it is paired with something else that might be thought-provoking; the lack of cemeteries in general. Accepting that castles and rural settlements have existed in the region, cemeteries are expected too. Lacking them, and notably lacking field cemeteries is what a more interesting phenomenon is. Not neglecting the fact that the identification of field cemeteries are more difficult than churchyards, their complete absence, as opposed to other regions of the country is curious. Given the remoteness of the area, and the luckily identified twelfth-century graves in case of two churches, the assumption can be made that a quite simple interpretation can explain the absence of the field cemeteries; the settling of the basin happen after the establishment of such cemeteries were still happening. So far, there is no (undoubtedly) field cemetery, which was opened in the twelfth century. Therefore, this region (and possibly some more that appear as empty spaces around the peripheries might serve as an example for newly acquired lands that adapted to churchyards from their beginnings.³³³

The second digression compared to the general spread of churches in the eleventh century can be observed in the northeastern line of the churches, which moved a little further north, just beyond the line of the castles. Such a phenomenon can only be observed in the area of Nitra, and up North to it. This, however, has been populated by local churches already in the eleventh

³³² István Botár, ‘Település, templom, temető. Vita a Csíki-medence 12. századi hovatartozásáról. [Settlement, Church, Cemetery. Debate on the Relations of the Cius basin in the twelfth century.]’, *Székegyföld* 2017, no. July (2017): 98–99. For a critique of this theory see Erwin Gáll and Zsolt Nyárádi, “‘Drang Nach Osten’: Terjeszkedés kelet felé. A 12. századi Magyar Királyság és a Csíki-medence kérdése [“Drang Nach Osten”: Expansion to the East. The Question of the 12th C. Hungarian Kingdom and the Ciuc Basin]’, in *Népek és kultúrák a Kárpát-medencében: Tanulmányok Mesterházy Károly tiszteletére*, ed. László Kovács and László Révész (Budapest - Debrecen - Szeged: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum – Déri Múzeum – MTA BTK Régészeti Intézet – Szegedi Tudományegyetem, 2016), 717–36.d

³³³ This, however, is contradicted by settlement material tentatively dated to the eleventh century, see Botár, ‘Település, templom, temető. Vita a Csíki-medence 12. századi hovatartozásáról. [Settlement, Church, Cemetery. Debate on the Relations of the Cius basin in the twelfth century.]’, 89–90. Given the early settlements however, the complete absence of cemeteries bring mystery to the interpretation.

century and can be explained as one of the exceptional areas where the continuity of Christian faith and churches are observable from the Carolingian period.

Secondly, the dense appearance of churches in some regions can undoubtedly be connected to more intensive research (such as around lake Balaton,³³⁴ In the area of Vas,³³⁵ Békés,³³⁶ and Pest,³³⁷ counties. Still, it has to be mentioned that the area of Tolna and Somogy has been researched with much intensity and precision,³³⁸ yet the results are different.

Thirdly, with the appearance of castles along the southern borderline, the lack of churches and cemeteries in the southern areas shows a prominent example for missing data in consequence of research state, including my own limited possibilities and capabilities to gather data from this area. Apart from these three differences, only the increased density of sites can be observed, but not the expansion to new lands.

Field Cemeteries in the Twelfth Century

The existence of field cemeteries in the twelfth century is not common anymore. According to László Kovács, who synthesised the field cemeteries of the High Middle Ages dated by coins, they end with the mints of Béla II (1131-1141). Still, the number of such sites are strikingly low. From all the cemeteries listed in his synthesis, the twelfth century use of field cemeteries were only observable in fourteen cases, six cemeteries ending with the mints of Coloman (1095-1116) (Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb, Deszk-D temető, Nové Zámky – Szomorjai, Hurbanovo - Stará D'ala, Karcsa, and Sorokpolány-Berekalja); one cemetery, Magyarhomorog-Kónyadomb with a coin from Stephen II (1116-1131), six with the coins of Béla II (1131-1141)

³³⁴ Tibor Koppány, *A Balaton környékének műemlékei [The Monuments of the Balaton Area]* (Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1993); Tibor Koppány, 'Középkori templomok és egyházas helyek Veszprém megyében [Medieval Churches in Veszprém County]', *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 6 (1967): 117–50.

³³⁵ Kiss, *Vas megye 10 - 12. századi sír- és kincsleletei [Die Grab- und Schatzfunde des 10.-12. Jahrhunderts im Komitat Vas]*; Kiss, 'A történeti Vas vármegye 11-12. századi templomairól [Über die Kirchen des geschichtlichen Komitates Vas aus dem 11. bis 12. Jahrhundert]'; Kiss and Pap, 'Elfeledett soros temetőink?'

³³⁶ Szatmári, *Békés megye középkori templomai*.

³³⁷ Tari, *Árpád-kori falusi templomok Cegléd környékén*; Tari, *Pest megye középkori templomai*.

³³⁸ K. Németh, *A középkori Tolna megye templomai*; Aradi, *Somogy megye Árpád-kori és középkori egyházszerkezetének rekonstrukciója*.

(Hajdúdorog-Temetőhegy, Halimba-Cseres, Békés-Povádzug, Mezőberény-Kér halom, Pusztaszentlászló and Bešeňov) and one single cemetery, Szabolcs-Petőfi utca, which might even was a churchyard dated by an anonym denarius dated to the beginning of the twelfth century.³³⁹ This is, of course, a rather small set of data. Still, it should also be considered that the appearance of coins in graves in the twelfth century is too frequent. Furthermore, such a small sample can still be telling in some ways. First of all, these sites spread all around the area of the Kingdom, showing that the use of field cemeteries at the beginning of the twelfth century is not a spatially isolated phenomenon.

Furthermore, quite obviously, they only represent a fragment of the cemeteries that were being used until that time. Another possibility would be the analysis of grave goods. This, however, would be problematic in consequence of the difficulties of dating graves goods in the period, as it was elaborated above. For more, it would also exceed the limits of the present thesis. Another issue to be considered is that without sufficient data from excavations, the start of churchyards, the first churches are not always identifiable. Therefore, examining the field cemeteries in the context of twelfth-century churches can reveal more about the issue.

Field Cemeteries and Twelfth-Century Church Foundations

Comparing the distribution of twelfth-century churches and field cemeteries the first pattern to be observed is the appearance of large areas, with a high density of field cemeteries, but the scarce presence of churches. (Fig. 12) The largest and most eye-catching such area is the southern Transdanubia. Similar situation can be observed through in the northern part of the region, along both sides of the Danube, and in the middle, especially northeastern part of the Great Plain. The first obvious explanation for that would be pinpointing them as the areas of the earliest development of local churches. However, bringing in the picture the eleventh-

³³⁹ Kovács, 'Szállási és falusi temetők'.

century churches as well, seemingly, this is not the case. Although some parts of the gaps are filled, there are still large areas without a church, even without a monastery from either centuries, especially in the area of the southern Transdanubia. Another reversed situation is also worth further consideration. In the area of Pest county, especially its western part, field cemeteries are basically unknown, but churches, especially those dated to the twelfth century, show a dense network. The most straightforward explanation for that would probably be the densely populated character of the area; however, this is not really the case, or at least not in all areas and especially not their extents. Furthermore, given that most of the churches are also ruined, this should not be the reason. The late settling of the area, right in the *Medium Regni* is also not a possible explanation, and therefore, supposedly it shows the results of the present research state in the area.

Creating a ten km buffer around these churches, (Fig. 12) the interpretation of some smaller regions that were more difficult only seeing the eleventh-century material. Two of them are within the area of the Great Plain, one roughly in the area of the present-day county of Hajdú-Bihar, the other around Csongrád and Békés. Similar observation can be made on the North-West part of Nógrád, the North-East part of Komárom-Esztergom, the North-East border zone, North and West areas from Nitra, and the western half of the upper Balaton area. Thus, in these areas (besides some existing churches in the eleventh century), a more general use of field cemeteries could be presupposed, until the first third of the twelfth century.

The spatial distribution of field cemeteries and the surroundings of churches show a similar pattern to the one of the eleventh century; field cemeteries are either converge around the ten km buffer of the churches or can be found in their near proximity. This latter situation discussed extensively above in the framework of transitional cemeteries, seems to be a rather more frequent alignment than it seemed to be the case before. Besides the already mentioned sites,

this can be observed in Hajdúböszörmény – Köves halom, Hajdúdorog-Szállásföld közép,³⁴⁰ Konyár – Református templom, Nádudvar – Sétér halom, Sarkadkeresztúr – Egyház mögött, Székkutas – Kápolna dűlő, Tiszasziget – Falu Ny-i széle, Kiskunfélegyháza – Zöldmező telep, Csongrád – Bokros – Kiskőhalom, Tiszaalpár – Tóth Mátyás dűlő, Bácsalmás – Mosztonga II, Dabas – Fertályos földek, Jászfényszaru – Kozma part, Nemeti – Templom, Hévízgyörk – Római katolikus templom, Ipolytölgyes – Szentmárton dűlő, Szob – Bészob, Sorokpolány – R.k. templom, Pusztaederics – temető, Koppányszántó – R.k. templom, Dunapataj – Várhegy, Daruszentmiklós – Alsó Pázmánd, Nagykőrös – Nyárkútrét, Csengele – Bogárhát, Nagyszénás – Székács major, Kiskunfélegyháza – Kőkereszt. Although from this list it is quite clear that such phenomenon appears everywhere within the country, a more intense concentration can be observed in the area of the Great Plain, more specifically in its southern and northeastern parts, which suggests a more general longer use of field cemeteries in the region.

Rural Churches and Castles

Examining the relations to secular authorities, an interesting phenomenon can be observed. (Fig. 13) With some exception, churches still do not appear nearby castles. Those where they do usually were populated by churches already in the previous century. This would suggest the importance of the churches in or next to castles regarding pastoral functions.

Monasteries, Local Churches and Field Cemeteries

Bringing in monasteries, the picture changes significantly (Fig. 14). As it was stressed before, the monasteries dated to the twelfth century were taken from the corpus of Beatrix Romhányi.³⁴¹ Based primarily on historical evidence, it gives a slightly different picture than archaeological material, filling well some of the gaps that appeared there. Still, the general distribution shows similarity with the previous century – it does not extend the area much, the dominance on the

³⁴⁰ Here, as it was by stressed out by László Kovács, the continuation of the field cemetery and the churchyard is also validated by fortuitous coin finds; while the former ends with a mint from Béla II (1131-1141), the latter starts with a coin of Géza II (1141-1162). Kovács, 'Éremleletes kora Árpád-kori templom körüli temetőkről', 252.

³⁴¹ Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon*.

Transdanubian areas is still visible, and the middle part of the Great Plain and the lower area of the Tisza remains empty. Besides these, some distinct phenomena should also be discussed. First and foremost, the monastic foundations on the peripheries align with the foundations of the new bishoprics of Zagreb and Nitra, and the above-mentioned process of transformation of royal forest lands into separate counties, indicated by the expansion of new settlers.³⁴² Therefore, even though the effective colonisation of the peripheries cannot be observed on a large scale, these actions could be understood as the first steps towards this process.

Secondly, the appearance of monasteries on empty territories, such as the northeastern edge of the Carpathian basin shows that despite the lack of other, archaeological material, such areas should also be considered as populated. Similarly to that, except for the high mountain areas, monasteries fills in the otherwise empty space between the Great Plain and the Transylvanian basin. Connected to that, the alignment of monasteries along the river Mureş is observable, and similar to that, monasteries follow a line along the river Danube as well. Interestingly enough, this cannot be observed in case of river Tisza, with the exception of a shorter section of between the confluences of the river with the Körös and Maros (Mureş). These can probably be connected – among other things – to salt trade.³⁴³ Beatrix Romhányi has examined the distribution pattern of monasteries in several recent, exciting articles, in the context of settlement structures, population and economic changes, pointing out several phenomena discussed also in the present thesis. Most of it is supported by analysis of the archaeological, and so in the following, only those will be mentioned where a different interpretation could have been proposed.

³⁴² István Feld, 'Az erdőispánságok várai az Árpád-kori Magyarországon', in *Arcana tabularii. Tanulmányok Solymosi László tiszteletére [Arcana tabularii. Festschrift László Solymosi]*, ed. Attila Bárány, Gábor Dreska, and Kornél Szovák (Budapest: Debreceni Egyetem, 2014), 369–90.

³⁴³ Beatrix Romhányi, 'Monasteries along the Danube', in *Genius Loci - Laszlovszky 60.*, ed. Dóra Mérai et al. (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2018), 77–81; Beatrix Romhányi, 'A beregi egyezmény és a magyarországi sókereskedelem az Árpád-korban [The Treaty of Bereg and the Salt trade in the Árpadian Age Hungary]', *Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Évkönyv* 1 (2016): 265–301.

First and foremost, the question of expansion and settling in the twelfth century should be discussed. Based on the lack of sites around them, she presupposed that the bishopric of Alba Iulia, Zagreb and Nitra also played a role in fostering the settling movements in the area.³⁴⁴ In case of Nitra, the denser, eleventh and twelfth-century church network contradicts to this theory; and oppositely, it presupposes a possible continuity of Christian tradition and so – up to some limit – population. Even though monastic foundations and local churches are scarce around Zagreb and Alba Iulia, the theory requires some further considerations. In the case of the former, the lack of data might not make it possible to decide. In the case of Alba Iulia however, another circumstance deserves more attention. Beatrix Romhányi suggested that the settling of Transylvania should have started from the north.³⁴⁵ Accepting that, however, twelfth-century churches in eastern Transylvania, showing a more or less even spread until a little North to the line of the river Olt; thus North-East to Alba Iulia suggests that it did not have much role in the settling of the (eastern) part of the Transylvanian Basin. In the settling of the Olt valley, it might have a more significant role; however, the closeness of the castle of Orlat and possibly even Sibiu could have played a larger role there.

Lastly, the question of the empty territories in the Great Hungarian Plain should be discussed. According to Romhányi, the area was evenly populated already from around 1100, and the depopulation of the middle areas started in the first half of the thirteenth century, in consequence of the economic possibilities of the region. She also pointed out, that the less dense ecclesiastical network compared to the Transdanubian region can also be connected to this, and not the belated Christianisation of the area.³⁴⁶ Based on the analysis of the archaeological material, the picture shows some little differences to her observations. Firstly, a good part of

³⁴⁴ Romhányi, 'Kolostorhálózat – településhálózat – népesség.', 10.

³⁴⁵ Romhányi, 12.

³⁴⁶ Romhányi, 15; See also Beatrix Romhányi, 'Szempontok a Kárpát-medence térszervezésének változásaihoz (5–14. század) [Changes in the Early Medieval Settlement Structure of the Carpathian Basin]', in *Hatalmi központok az Avar Kaganátusban - Power Centres of the Avar Khaganate*, ed. Csilla Balogh, József Szentpéteri, and Erika Wicker (Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2019), 404.

the present-day Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok county seems to have been empty from the beginning. Although it would be tempting to blame the state of research, or even later destructions in all kinds of source material, the more even pattern of all neighbouring areas suggests otherwise. Doubtlessly, the area was not completely empty. Even though if archaeological data of the area is scarce, or hard to date, written evidence shows the existence of settlements on these seemingly empty areas. A good example of that is the foundation charter of the abbey of Garamszentbenedek (Hronský Beňadik).³⁴⁷ Although the comparison of the archaeological data to written records of settlements would be doubtlessly beneficial, it would exceed greatly the framework of the present thesis. However, perhaps the marshy lands around the Tisza there provided the least favourable conditions for settling, and so the blank spaces could be explained with geographic and economic reasons in that case. It is less likely to be the scenario in case of the southern area of the Bácska and the southwestern corner of the plain, North to the interflow of the Danube and the Tisza, which is more likely to be explained by the state of research as discussed above.

Lastly, the relations of monasteries, field cemeteries and churches should be discussed. (Fig. 15) Based on the archaeological material, the alignment of field cemeteries and monasteries – with the exception of some, important centres, are basically nonexistent. Churches, on the other hand, appear in their proximity quite often, especially in the area of the *Medium Regni*. This suggests a decrease in the role of monasteries in everyday pastoral activities. This is also further strengthened by the fact, that instead of a significant expansion of the territory covered by churches in the eleventh century, rather the increasing density of ecclesiastical institutions are observable. This can be nicely connected to the increasing participation of secular lords in foundation of churches – a sign in itself that in the present era Christianisation was not the main

³⁴⁷ József Laszlovszky, “‘Dedi eciam terram, que adiacet circa aquam, que vocatur Tiza’: adatok az 1075-ös garamszentbenedeki oklevél helyneveinek lokalizálásához [“Dedi eciam terram, que adiacet circa aquam, que vocatur Tiza”: Data on the Localisation of the Toponyms of the Foundation Carter of Garamszentbenedek from 1075]’, *Zounuk* 1 (1986): 9–24.

issue anymore, but rather the development of the ecclesiastical network and system. Bearing that in mind, in the following an attempt will be made to reconstruct the area of authority of churches.

The Local Church Network and the Question of Authority

After reviewing the spatial relations of both centuries, it is clear that the first two centuries of the High Middle Ages should be interpreted in each other's context. The fragmentary eleventh-century material does not give a clear picture; many of its elements may appear only as twelfth-century elements. Patterns related to the state of research can also be identified when examined both. Previously in the present thesis, the authority of individual ecclesiastical and secular institutions were defined by a ten km buffer zone, which is a realistic distance for everyday operation. However, this does not tell much about the networks themselves. In order to get a closer understanding of the church networks and their development, Thiessen (or Voronoi) polygons were used to determine the division of all the habited areas. Such polygons represent a catchment area, thus, an area of influence of a single point, by defining an area around them, where every location is nearer to this point than to all the others. This can be defined simply by Euclidean distance, or with further interpolation, terrain data can also be integrated into the system. In the present analysis, due to the massive data size of the analysis (the size of the single DEM file used as base layer is over 25 GB), the relative low resolution available (25m or one arc second) and because of the debatable role of water bodies (divide or connect), here only the Euclidean distance was used, as the results in such large scale would probably not be significantly different, but would show a different kind of distortion. Obviously, in the interpretation of the results, these factors are considered. The use of Thiessen/Voronoi polygons (and site catchment in the broader sense) for the analysis of networks, proximity, neighbourhood, and areas of power and influence in archaeological material, even though it is

usually applied on a more regional level.³⁴⁸ Quite obviously, many other factors may contribute to the regular or irregular shape and size of the polygons. Natural (geographical) factors e.g. terrain, such as high mountains, wetlands, swamps, or floodplains significantly.

Furthermore, the presence of natural raw materials or resources can also play a part. An excellent example of that are rivers, which can both be dividing or connecting factors at the same time. Therefore, centres close to one another on the two sides of the river may distort the picture; however, it may also indicate that their proximity is justified either by their function or the concurrence of resources.

Applying this on solely the churches of the eleventh century, the picture is undoubtedly distorted (Fig. 16). Disregarding the vast areas of authority around the peripheries, and the clearly wrong results around Lake Balaton however, the outcome still worth considering. The smaller areas representing the higher density of churches appear nearby centres, such as Esztergom, Zalavár and two more on the eastern half of the country, one around the area of Gyöngyös, and another on the southern part of the Great Plain. However, since it was argued above, that in the beginning ecclesiastical and secular power centres also played a role in both the process of Christianisation and pastoral activities, including them (thus besides the churches castles, monasteries and bishoprics) in the analysis is needed for a more precise picture (Fig. 17). This is still a quite similar one to the previous image; however, some more clustering is observable.

Interestingly, combining this with bishoprics and castles (Fig. 18) shows their impact on this pattern. This is quite striking, given that the analysis of the sites above was telling the opposite – local churches avoided the proximity of power centres. The two combined, however, gives

³⁴⁸ For a detailed explanation of the methodology, and a prime example on defining boundaries of parishes see Stibrányi, 'Fejér megye középkori templomos helyei [Medieval Settlements with Churches in Fejér County]', 132–36. See also a recent, detailed discussion and comparison of the methods of GIS based network analysis by Armin Volkmann, 'Methods and Perspectives of Geoarchaeological Site Catchment Analysis: Identification of Palaeoclimate Indicators in the Oder Region from the Iron to Middle Ages', in *Digital Geoarchaeology*, ed. Christoph Siart, Markus Forbriger, and Olaf Bubbenzer (Cham: Springer, 2018), 27–44.

the most precise answer; the avoidance of immediate proximity suggests the pastoral functions of power centres, but, the Thiessen polygons prove that the network of local churches in their surrounding areas was still somewhat denser, which, given that such centres must have been the starting points of missions, filling in the logical gap of the previous statement.

A further step in the investigation of the relation of field cemeteries and the church network, which shows a rather intriguing picture (Fig 19). Similarly to the analysis of the ten km surrounding of the churches, where field cemeteries aligned more or less around their borders, in this case, they also converge towards the sides of the polygons, and thus the border areas of the authorities of churches. Several explanations and questions can be raised. First and foremost, as above, here it can also be said that the border zones of the authority of church power are precisely where such cemeteries should appear, lacking other available burial options (churchyards) in the proximity. However, another, rather conditional possibility should be raised. Since those settlements that were either connected to power centres or had a church already in the early period can be considered as the larger rural settlement, in case of their existence before the churches (or power centres), they represented a different kind of local power. Having their cemeteries, not in their closest proximity, however, may raise the possibility of the joint use of field cemeteries on the border areas of settlements, by more than one community.³⁴⁹ A similar case was observed in the Anglo-Saxon context, where early English burials were located on or nearby later parish boundaries. For that two explanation was given; either with pre-existing estates with the same boundaries, or with a more pragmatic explanation, identifying these areas as poor quality soil, and marginal for arable settlements.³⁵⁰ Finally, it is worth to investigate the density of field cemeteries within these polygons, in order to interpret empty areas also within the framework of networks (Fig. 20). The large, coherent

³⁴⁹ This possibility have been raised already, but connected to smaller settlement types. See Oláh, 'Adatok a Békés megyében található Árpád-kori temetők és településnyomok komplex vizsgálatához [Data to the history of settlements in Békés County in the Árpadian Age Cemeteries and settlements]', 116.

³⁵⁰ Donald Auberón Bullough, 'Burial, Community and Belief in the Early Medieval West', in *Studies J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, 1983, 184.

empty space marked by black colour in the upper area of the Transdanubian region suggests that it might be more than just research state – it, combined with the somewhat denser church network suggests that it might be connected the earlier establishment of the local church network – except for forest lands.

Integrating the twelfth-century local churches to the network, leaving out monasteries, castles and bishoprics this time in consequence of their changing role changes the network significantly (Fig. 21). Here the clustering shows the obvious density in consequence of research state mentioned above in the Balaton region, nearby Kecskemét, Pest county, and up to some limit, Békés. Combining it with the spread of field cemeteries (Fig. 22), the statement above still stands – with the exception of the unusually large areas in Tolna county. Similarly, large areas can be identified in the area of Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, explain most probably with the marshy character of the area. Similarly to that, the increase of sites can be observed in the southern area of the plain between the River Duna and Tisza, and on the Kisalföld (Small Plain) region.

Counting the field cemeteries in the polygons (Fig.23), the dominance of the southern regions are observable, together with the empty areas with dense church networks in the middle parts of the country.

The density of the churches, especially the even character of the church network (disregarding the area of southeastern Transdanubia, and the extra density of the more researched areas) demonstrates a stable local church network in the twelfth century. Those areas where the density is connected to more intensive research shows the gravity of taphonomic loss in case of well research areas that still appear to have a rather loose ecclesiastical network (such as Fejér, which belonging to the *Medium Regni* was supposedly had a denser church network), or Tolna and Somogy, where the sporadic appearance of churches raises the possibility a perhaps more general, and more prolonged presence of wooden architecture. The cause of the empty area of the Nyírség in the northeastern edge of the Kingdom, lacking a thorough investigation of churches remains an open question. The appearance of monasteries in the area, however,

suggests that it probably could be interpreted by the state of research. This is questionable in the empty areas within Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok county, where it is most probably can be explained geographic and economic reasons, which, however, cannot be applied to the southern areas of the Great Plain.

Conclusion of the Spatial Analysis of the Archeological Material

Concluding the results of the analysis on the archaeological remains of the eleventh century, the first, general remarks to be made is that several levels of power can be observed in connection with Christianisation, and their patterns differ quite significantly. Comparing the spread of churches, cemeteries and castles are rather telling, even with the considerable taphonomic loss described previously. Starting with fortified royal centres, as it was discussed above, their presence concentrates mostly along the bordering areas, which is obviously can be connected to their defensive role and perhaps also power representation along the border areas of the newly-founded kingdom. However, the relation of churches and castles are rather surprising. Lacking proper archaeological data, not all the castles appear to have churches, which was surely not the case in the time of their existence. As it was stated above, most of the castles had at least one church, and many of them probably even two. Still, this is not the most surprising element of the map. With the exception of those castles that are definitely preceding king Stephen's activity, such as Nitra or Visegrád, the early churches 'avoid' the immediate surroundings of the castles. Nearby castles also a smaller density of field cemeteries can be observed. This is a phenomenon, which can generally be seen in case of all kinds of power centres. This is rather surprising, as them being the 'bastions' of the new religion, and most probably the starting points of missions and Christianisation movements of the countryside, one could have expected a dense appearance of churches around ecclesiastical and secular power centres, and a more scattered pattern as the distance grows. Seemingly, the picture is just the opposite. The lack of churches around the neighbourhood of castles and the even density of the

spread of churches (and the somewhat more dense concentration on the middle part where the absence of castles is the most visible) speaks of a different situation. First of all, the absence of churches, and also the smaller density of field cemeteries around castles shows that the ecclesiastical institutions belonging to them most probably had pastoral functions over the castle and its neighbourhood. Similar conclusions can be made of early monasteries – their spread complement to that of the castles – especially in the southern borderline, representing the second line of power. Their more dominant appearance on the Transdanubian part of the country verifies the above-mentioned theory of László Koszta, on the advanced ecclesiastical development of this part of the country, at least regarding the number of centres of (central) ecclesiastical power. However, even though the number of local churches in the eastern half is somewhat lower, the even spread of churches and their little elevated density on the middle area lacking castles speak of a well-design act of building up political power, and together with it the state religion on the lowest level. As it was emphasised above, religion was to express also the new power of the state, and its greatest power lay not in the foundation of bishoprics, but in converting the masses of commoners, and creating the local church system. An important local component of this, the relocation of the dead from the field cemeteries outside of the settlements to the central places of new communities, to churchyards, seems to be a generally appearing phenomenon by the end of the eleventh century, according to archaeological data. Here conclusions should be made on transitional cemeteries. Naturally, the belief of the people buried here cannot be determined – in previous literature, several approaches have been proposed for the classification of field cemeteries. According to Mordovin, the development is as follows: pagan field cemeteries, Christian field cemeteries and churchyards.³⁵¹ However, these categories cannot be applied without reservation to the cemeteries of this transitional period. Another study from the region categorised the cemeteries belonging to the castles as ‘proto-

³⁵¹ Mordovin, *A várszervezet kialakulása*, 105.

Christian or half-Pagan' cemeteries.³⁵² Regarding that many of them started undoubtedly as such, a clear division certainly cannot be made the cemeteries themselves should be more regarded as going through a transformation process with the above-mentioned phases probably existing in parallel for some time. Although the initial, dominant spread of transitional cemeteries (Type 1a) on the southeastern areas could be set in parallel with the ideas about the later Christianisation of the Southern half of the Great Plain, the spread of their second chronological group, complementing its spread on the north, northwestern areas speaks just oppositely – as it shows that the later shift from transitional cemeteries to churchyards appears exactly in the area which supposed to have a more developed ecclesiastical system. This latter, however, can also be observed in the spread of royal monastic foundations, and their dominance on the Transdanubia. Type 2 transitional cemeteries also cluster both in the Western bordering areas and the Southern areas of the Great Plain. This discrepancy can be explained with two issues, both of them which needs further considerations. First of all, research in the Western areas shows that this phenomenon should also be contextualised in a twelfth-century environment, which will be done later in this chapter. Secondly, since in the Western areas it is connected to places where the earliest ecclesiastical centres are (Pannonhalma), or previous, possibly continuous tradition of Christianity can be observed (Szombathely), it could be perhaps interpreted as a situation appearing in areas at the first stage of Christianisation; and its concentration on the southern Great Plain thus could be explained with the somewhat delayed Christianisation of the area in the second half of the eleventh century. The more plausible explanation can only be decided based on the contextualisation of the twelfth-century material. The pattern of the spread of the early churches; however, in itself can be interpreted, and it gives probably the most important conclusions. The even spread of these buildings all along the Kingdom shows the results of a well-designed act, complementing the first (castles, bishoprics)

³⁵² Gáll, 'From the Pagan Cemetery to the Christian Churchyard'.

and second lines (monasteries) of central power, creating the third, local line of power. Even though this pattern seems not to be connected to the obvious manifestation of royal or central ecclesiastical power, two things should be considered. First of all, the evenness of the pattern, the lack of significant clustering of churches could not be the result only by local development. Secondly, another archaeologically unidentifiable factor should be considered – the royal curia system. This will be further discussed in the next chapter examining the historical evidence on Christianisation, and so here only its significance is mentioned. The churches belonging to these curiae, later often becoming the parish churches of the village developed around these centres, can be traced back by their *exempt* status in historical evidence. The even spread of such churches shows – an otherwise logical – even spread of them all along the Kingdom, just like local churches. Obviously, the early churches were not all royal centres, but the presence of royal chapels could certainly help to build up an even local church system.

Thus, while castles may have been the power centres of secular state power, and it could have also manifested in the highest ecclesiastical centres, and royal monastic foundations, the emergence of the local church system – as it was indicated in the law book of Stephen I. – should be regarded as a less visible, but equally crucial complementary part of the development and consolidation of state power.

The changes occurring in the following century have resulted in a more stable, dense local church network. By that time monasteries have probably lost their pastoral functions; however, churches around castles did not. The dense network of the Medium Regni can already be observed, probably also in consequence of the intensive research conducted in the area. Regarding the chronology and phases of Christianisation, the most important conclusion is that field cemeteries, and also transitional cemeteries should be regarded as a general, normal phenomenon of the Christian state, without any religious (pagan) connotation, which is especially shown by in case of the continuity of the burial sites. As it was noted above, transitional cemeteries probably occur in the first phase of Christianisation. Therefore, the

density of transitional cemeteries in the southern Great Plain does not necessarily correspond with the late Christianisation of the area – which is further supported by the presence of early churches. The cause of the longer use of field cemeteries in the region is yet to be answered. All this, however, was seemingly not connected to state or ecclesiastical power anymore but should be rather regarded as the further, local development of the rural church network.

V. HISTORICAL THEORIES AND THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL OF CHRISTIANISATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAROCHIAL NETWORK. A COMPARISON.

The Role of Royal Churches

As it was briefly mentioned above, the royal curia system – a byproduct of the itinerant kingship of the early Árpadian Age-, and the churches belonging them could have played a special role in the Christianisation of the countryside. In order to better understand this possible phenomenon, the status and characteristics of royal churches, and the royal curia system together with the itinerant kingship and its effect on the early settlement structures should be discussed first.

Although royal chapels and privileged royal church institutions have been studied already before the mid-twentieth century, these were usually isolated studies, both geographical and subject – wise.³⁵³ Lately, Gergely Kiss approached the topic from a more comprehensive view, in a monograph summarising his work on the privileged church institutions of Hungary in the Middle Ages, defining and examining their types, origin and roles, and contextualising them also in the processes of the formation of similar privileged royal church institutions in Western Europe.³⁵⁴ In his work, Kiss defined five groups of royal privileged church institutions in Medieval Hungary; Benedictine abbeys, collegiate chapters, Premonstratensian provostries, chapels and parishes, and the two *decanatus* in Transylvania.³⁵⁵ Of these, the emergence of the

³⁵³ Albert Gárdonyi, 'Városi plébániák kiváltságos állása a középkorban [Privileged Status of Urban Churches in the Middle Ages]', in *Emlékkönyv Károlyi Árpád, születése nyolcvanadik fordulójának ünnepére* (Budapest: Sárkány-Nyomda Részvénytársaság, 1933), 163–83; Jankovich, 'Buda-környék plébániáinak középkori kialakulása és a királyi kápolnák intézménye [The Emergence of the Parishes around Buda and the Institute of Royal Chapels]'; Lajos Bernát Kumorovitz, 'A zselicszentjakabi alapítólevél 1061-ből: "Pest" legkorábbi említése [Die Stiftungsurkunde von Zselicjakab aus dem Jahre 1061: die früheste Erwähnung von "Pest"]', *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából* 16 (1964): 76–81; András Kubinyi, 'Királyi kancellária és udvari kápolna Magyarországon a XII. század közepén [Royal Chancellory and Chapel in Hungary in the mid 12th Century]', *Levéltári közlemények* 46 (1975): 59–121.

³⁵⁴ Kiss, *Királyi egyházak*.

³⁵⁵ Kiss, 27.

privileges of the two *decanatus* can only be dated from the fourteenth century onwards,³⁵⁶ and therefore out of the chronological framework of the present thesis. Although the appearance of Premonstratensian monasteries can be dated from the twelfth century, it is a period that is in many ways different from the first century of institutionalised Christianisation and church organisation. Furthermore, their exact debut to Hungary is also somewhat ambiguous, both because of the beginnings of their activity in Hungary cannot clearly defined within the twelfth century, but also because it is also unclear whether the first foundations were intended as Premonstratensian or Benedictine monasteries.³⁵⁷ Because of these ambiguities and their later introduction to the country, their role in Christianisation and church organisation is nonexistent in its first stage and questionable in the second. Therefore, their role in this process is also questionable and possibly negligible. However, other, early royal monastic foundations (in this case these concerns mostly Benedictine abbeys and collegiate chapters), as it was discussed above, could have played a significant role.

The other, perhaps even more relevant group of privileged churches in that matter are chapels and (later) parishes. Kiss have collected the sources dealing with the exempt status of these institutions, in order to examine their relations and origin. Unfortunately, the sources referring about the special status of certain ecclesiastical institutions appear mostly from about the second half of the twelfth, and be dominant from the thirteenth century on, and thus are not contemporary with the beginning of the process of Christianisation and church organisation. The term ‘royal church’ and their collective privileges are also traceable only from the thirteenth century on. Nonetheless, Kiss was able to collect evidence on their origins, defining several

³⁵⁶ Kiss, 32.

³⁵⁷ Tamás Körmendi, ‘A premontrei rend megtelepedése az Árpád-kori Magyarországon: a rend korai hazai története a kezdetektől az 1235-i Catalogus Ninivensisig II. [The Establishment of the Premonstratensian Order in Arpadian Age Hungary: The Early History of the Order from the Beginnings to the Catalogus Ninivensis from 1235 II.]’, *Turul* 75 (2002): 50–51. See also Tamás Körmendi, ‘A premontrei rend megtelepedése az Árpád-kori Magyarországon: a rend korai hazai története a kezdetektől az 1235-i Catalogus Ninivensisig I. [The Establishment of the Premonstratensian Order in Arpadian Age Hungary: The Early History of the Order from the Beginnings to the Catalogus Ninivensis from 1235 I.]’, *Turul* 74 (2001): 103–11.

vital points, and investigating whether the exempt status can connect the different types of institutions. According to his investigation, the exempt status of all privileged church institutions originate by their royal foundations. He proposed that a possible explanation of the various types of them could be that they are tied tightly to the royal court, which had an itinerant character at the time. He also observed that the spread of royal chapels and parishes concentrate mostly on the area of the *Medium Regni*, and proposed that they could have been part of some statewide network of royal churches. He also suggested that the people connected to royal churches could have played a significant role in administrative literacy, especially before the organisation of the royal chancellory towards the end of the twelfth century. Examining the remnants of this, and the people connected, he discovered that they were mostly connected to royal provostries, and most of them were provosts, which, according to him, was most probably because of a legislative role.³⁵⁸

However, as Kiss pointed out, the rest of the privileged church institutions, Benedictine and Premonstratensian monasteries, royal chapels and parishes did not appear to take a role in administration. He explained their privileged status – apart from their *per fundationem* right by their direct religious activities to their founder kings and their offsprings as funerary places and constant prayers to promote their salvation, the former referring only to monastic institutions, the latter also to chapels and parishes.³⁵⁹ In his latest study, Kiss also collected and examined the privileged institutions one by one. However, reviewing the chapels and parishes, it is clear, that many of the enumerated forty-five churches are later foundations that the period of this study, especially the ‘sainte-chapelle’ type-like castle chapels.³⁶⁰ This leaves us with a rather low number of royal chapel in the period of study, possibly much lower than the original number. This has also been noted by Kiss, who explained the non-privileged status of some

³⁵⁸ Kiss, *Királyi egyházak*, 28–30.

³⁵⁹ Kiss, 31.

³⁶⁰ Kiss, 86–130.

chapels founded in (originally) royal estates by their loss of importance at the peak time of the general legislation of the *exemptio*, thus in the thirteenth century.³⁶¹

Although their exempt status might have been lost, there is a type of rural church that is relevant in the examination of royal churches and their impact on the development of the local church network. These are the chapels of the royal curiae, the centres of the itinerant kingdom. Although their exact location is not always known, their spread throughout the kingdom is traceable by another phenomenon – the appearance of service villages, whose names appear in medieval documentary evidence, and are still identifiable today. Here again, the importance of the foundation of the church by the king, in his own estate is crucial to point out – as Kiss observed. In order to contextualise the role of royal churches, it is essential to overview the structure of the itinerant kingdom and the royal curia system.

When organising the administration of the country, king Stephen tied it together with the economic organisation of the royal estates, which composed the largest part of the territory of the Kingdom. For a military, administrative and economic purpose, the above-discussed county castle system was developed, which was further supplemented by the so-called royal curia network. Both were the centres of the surrounding royal estates and served as seats of the itinerant court as well.³⁶²

The itinerant character of the royal court and service villages surrounding the court seats is not a new phenomenon in Europe, such observations about the Carolingian court, but also on the

³⁶¹ Kiss, 144–45.

³⁶² Attila Zsoldos, 'A megyeszervezés kezdetei a magyar királyságban (Az „óriás” és az „átlagos” nagyságú megyék kérdése) [The Beginnings of County Organisation in the Kingdom of Hungary (The Issue of “Giant” and “Average” Sized Counties)]', in *Megyetörténet. Egyház- és igazgatástörténeti tanulmányok a Veszprémi Püspökség 1009. évi adománylevele tiszteletére*, ed. Istvan Hermann, vol. 22, Veszprém Megyei Levéltár kiadványai (Veszprém: Veszprém megyei Levéltár, 2010), 302. On the contradictory interpretation of the castle system see Zsoldos, 303; vs. György Györffy, 'Az Árpád-kori szolgálonépek kérdéséhez [On the Question of Árpadian Age Servive People]', *Történelmi szemle* 15 (1972): 271; Mordovin, *A várszervezet kialakulása*, 187; Szende, 'Az ispánsági vártól a királyi városig - miért, hogyan - vagy miért nem? [Von der Gespanschaftsburg zur Stadt: Warum, wie – oder warum nicht?]', 133–34.

follow-up states of the Roman Empire and beyond, in Northeast and central Europe were observed. In these states, the itinerant character of the court required the network of royal curiae (and castles), where the king could fulfil his judiciary duties. According to Bernhardt, it was also a way to express the dual nature of the Ottonian and Salian kingship, the ruler being *rex et sacerdos*, and, therefore both a secular and a sacral representation of the rulership³⁶³ – something that is observable in case of Hungary as well. Besides these, it is generally accepted in research that the itinerant character had a practical, economic role as well; the collection and use of the revenues of the estates on the spot, in consequence of the poor state of the transport of goods and money economy. This latter argument, however, was recently reviewed Kristóf György Veress, who, based on written documentary evidence, attempted to reconstruct the area in which the king was moving in the first two centuries of the Árpáadian era, integrating it also in the context of the international research on the itinerant courts.³⁶⁴

Previously, research mostly focused on the administrative activity of the kings and its location to reconstruct the area in which the ruler was moving, concluding that the itinerant activity of the rulers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were restricted to the area of the *Medium Regni*. Veress introduced another group of evidence, private charters validated with royal stamps, presupposing that those landlords that lived in the faraway corners of the kingdom could not always have a chance to meet with the king unless he was in a court nearby their estate.³⁶⁵ This evidence material leads him to the conclusion that the itinerant activity was possibly also conducted in a more extensive territory around the *Medium Regni*, approximately within the Transdanubia. Otherwise, he presupposed that the other areas of the kingdom were not part of the general itinerary.³⁶⁶ The investigation of the narrative sources further strengthened these

³⁶³ John W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, C.936-1075* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 46–50.

³⁶⁴ Kristóf György Veress, 'A magyar királyok itineráns életmódja a XI-XII. században [The Itinerant Lifestyle of Hungarian Kings in the 11-12th c.]', *FONS* 21, no. 3 (2014): 351–86.

³⁶⁵ Veress, 364–67.

³⁶⁶ Veress, 369.

two observations. Based on these, Veress also noted that not only the larger centres but also, the smaller curiae appear quite frequently, showing that smaller seats were also periodically visited.³⁶⁷ Based on the location of the known centres, he also pointed out that they were located close to the main roads and therefore crops and taxes in kind could have been easily transported to the larger seats.³⁶⁸ However, the extra-Medium Regni areas of the kingdom also had royal estates; therefore the question of the collection of their revenues remain. Veress tried to answer the question by connecting this issue with the theory of Attila Zsoldos on the ‘giant’ and ‘average’ sized counties. In his study, Zsoldos connected the average size with the Taksony (and within the Árpád) clan’s territory and the ‘giant’ ones with the former territories of those chieftains who resisted to king Stephen.³⁶⁹ Veress developed the theory further and proposed that in these areas, the curia system was only established in the first two-thirds of the thirteenth century when the ‘giant’ counties were discripted.³⁷⁰ Here, however, some contradictions of historical research should be pointed out, starting with focusing on the service villages and their spread in the Kingdom. Such settlements were located nearby the curiae or castles, named by the service that they owed to the king. Gusztáv Heckenast made the first comprehensive work on the service people of the king,³⁷¹ soon followed by a critique and another comprehensive work by György Györffy.³⁷² According to him, different villages of the service people (*ministeriales conditionarii*) were present in all kinds of estates of the Árpáds, therefore on castle estates, estates belonging to the curia system, ecclesiastical domains and private estates.³⁷³ Although Györffy focused mostly on the origins and level of continuity of this system after the state foundation, the relevant part of his work is that he collected and mapped the

³⁶⁷ Veress, 371–72.

³⁶⁸ Veress, 374.

³⁶⁹ Zsoldos, ‘A megyeszervezés kezdetei’. The respective counties are Kolon, Újvár, Bihar, Csanád and Fehér.

³⁷⁰ Veress, ‘A magyar királyok itineráns életmódja a XI-XII. században [The Itinerant Lifestyle of Hungarian Kings in the 11-12th c.]’, 378.

³⁷¹ Gusztáv Heckenast, *Fejedelmi (királyi) szolgálónépek a korai Árpád-korban [Royal Service People in the Early Arpadian Age]* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970).

³⁷² Györffy, ‘Az Árpád-kori szolgálónépek kérdéséhez [On the Question of Árpadian Age Serve People]’.

³⁷³ Györffy, 261.

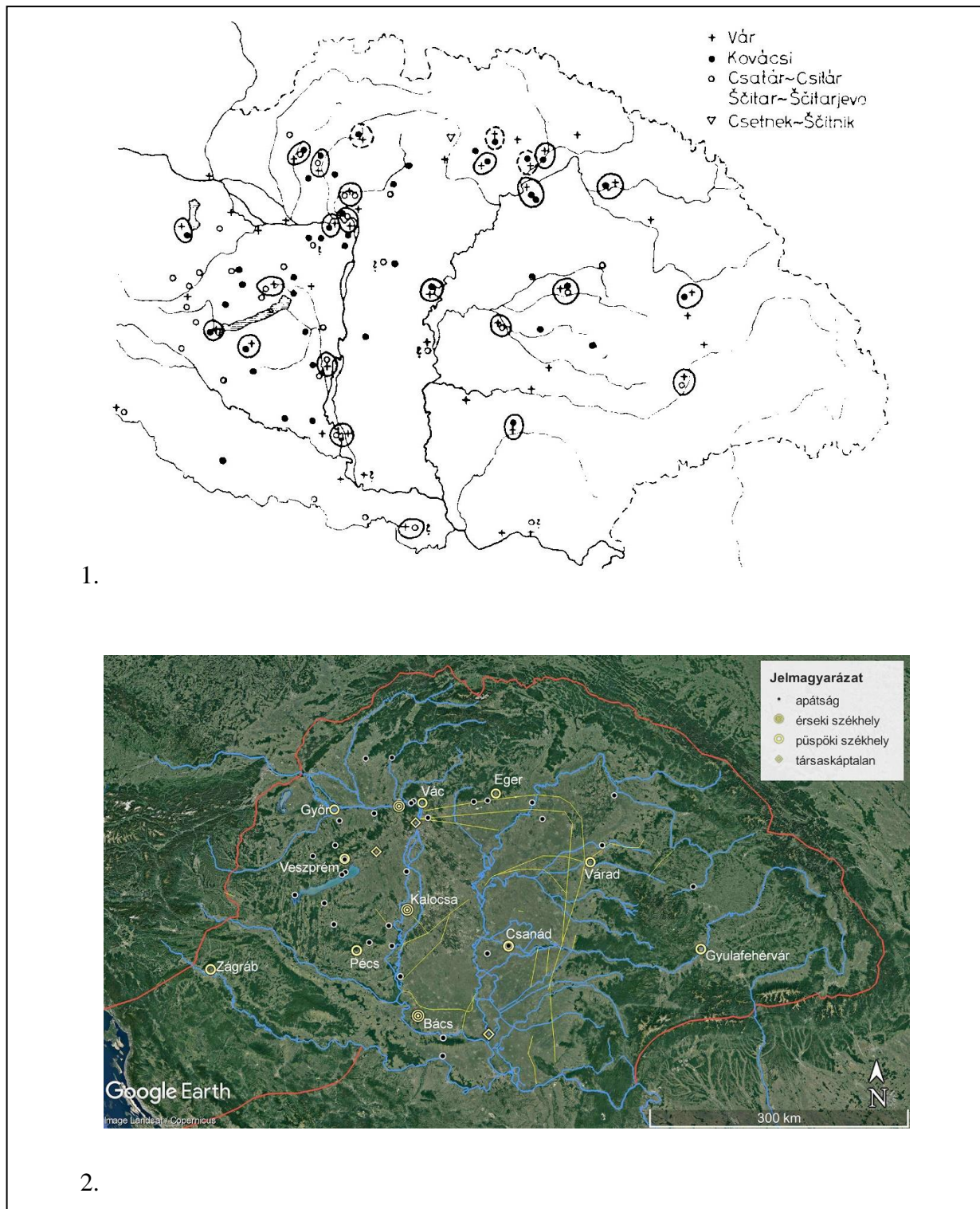


Table 2. Examples for the examinations of spatial relations 1: The distribution of the toponyms *Kovácsi* (Smith) and *Csatár* (Armourer) and castles. (Györffy 1972, 282) 2: The monastic network of the Carpathian Basin around 1100 (Romhányi 2019, 418.)

appearance of names of service villages in the Árpadian era. Although as Györffy pointed out based on documentary evidence, the place of residence of such service people cannot be restricted only to those villages that bore the name of their occupation,³⁷⁴ the spread of such villages can still be rather telling. Györffy argued that the system must have been build up during the reign of István and not much earlier, based on equal the appearance of villages connected to the curia system on the territories of the Árpáds and the chieftains who revolted against king Stephen, and because villages named after occupations cover the area of the eleventh century administrative areas.³⁷⁵

Even though that this does not dismiss the possibilities of the theories above about a later development in the areas that were not originally in the property of the Árpáds, thus in the later ‘giant’ counties, the comparison of these and the archaeological material worth consideration. Since county Kolon represents a specific example within the ‘giant’ counties based on its location and also its early discription in the mid-eleventh century, the focus should be more on the territories of Újvár, Bihar, Csanád and Fehér counties (Fig. 24.). Examining the appearance of eleventh-century churches in their areas, it has to be stated that none of these areas are empty. The scarcest not surprisingly is county Fehér. However, the Taphonomical problems on the Transylvanian material have been discussed above. Furthermore, the appearance of churches in the river valleys and nearby the castles are present in Transylvania even in this early period. County Újvár is similarly scarce on churches that can be dated to the eleventh century, however, similarly to Fehér, not empty, and besides the churches, castles and monastic foundations are also present. In case of these two counties, a further phenomenon should be mentioned; the appearance of ashlar village churches. Although most of them are dated to the twelfth century, many of them can be found either on royal, or former royal (often later monastic) domains,

³⁷⁴ Györffy, 273.

³⁷⁵ Györffy, 288.

which assumes that preceding the ashlar churches, some kind of antecedent building could be possible. Their spread focuses partially on the northern flow of the Danube, often with nearby ruins from the former Roman Empire – them serving as base material for the churches. However, their appearance continues beyond the limes, focusing mostly on Northern Mountain Range, including the area of county Újvár. Their appearance is observable also in county Fehér.³⁷⁶ The territory of Bihar and Csanád however, is rather densely populated with churches. The appearance of monastic institutions is less present in Bihar, but as it was observed above, monastic institutions, in general, do not appear in the inner area of the great Hungarian Plain in this time. The absence of churches in the southern areas of Csanád can most probably represent the state of research rather, than the actual situation – judged by that the churches disappear about south from the modern border of Hungary and Serbia. In the comparison of Újvár and Fehér, to Bihar and Csanád, it has to be noted, that the latter two is a geographically more desirable area to the previous ones, and therefore a denser population is more expected.

Therefore, it seems like that despite the rather fragmentary archaeological evidence from the eleventh century, some kind of a local church network can be observed even in those areas, that were supposedly not developed the royal curia system before the twelfth century. This, however, raises further questions. As it was stressed out multiple times, the state and church organisation was tied together tightly. One prime example of this is the castle and curia system – in the centres of the royal estates, royal church foundations were also made, such as the chapels in the castles, and the still traceable exempt churches of former royal curiae. This could arguably be supplemented by further church foundations that did not develop or keep an exempt status, and was located outside the area of the itinerary of the court. In the framework of such system, the spread of local churches is much easier to explain – the churches appear in the areas

³⁷⁶ József Laszlovszky et al., ‘The “Glass Church” in the Pilis Mountains. The Long and Complex History of an Árpád Period Village Church.’, *Hungarian Archaeology E-Journal* 2014, no. Winter (2014): 6–9.

of the kingdom where castles and monasteries do not, but based on the spread of exempt churches and service villages, the existence of the royal curia system (even if the dating is questionable) can be observed. The intent of the development of the smallest element of the ecclesiastical network is known from legislative sources, as it was discussed above. However, the (even) appearance of local churches in the areas where otherwise no secular or ecclesiastical power centres are present, and which otherwise were known as troublesome with revolts and anti-Christianisation movements is somewhat problematic to explain without the support of the central power. A system resulted by local development would be expected to show a much less even structure, especially lacking church institution in the problematic areas – which, as it was discussed, is not the case. The archaeological dating of the churches thus presupposes the presence of some form of the central, royal power in the area in the time of their foundation, the eleventh century. As Koszta stated “...Ecclesiastical institutions are indicative of to what extent state organisation has been developed as well...”³⁷⁷ The identification of this central power is consequently identifiable with the royal curia system. Therefore, the joint examination of the archaeological material with the historical investigations of the royal curia system proposes the possibility, that the even spread of local churches might have been connected to the development of the former. This would not only explain how the churches could have appeared without any further support from the central power but also their relative even spread would be more understandable. It has to be noted, that even though the church foundations were more needed where the king and the court were actually moving and residing, the erection of churches can also be expected in the centres of the more distant royal estates.

³⁷⁷ Koszta, ‘State Power and Ecclesiastical System in Eleventh Century Hungary’, 63.

Foreign Influences on the Ecclesiastical System

The origin and the precedent model of the Hungarian ecclesiastical system has been a long-discussed and debated issue, similarly to the one of the secular state. The comparison of all these debates could form a separate dissertation, and thus, unfortunately, exceeds the limits of the present one. However, an overview of the most popular theories are desirable in order to contextualise the pattern gained from the archaeological material and discussed above. Again, it also has to be underlined once more, that the parallel organisation of the state and ecclesiastical administration system is interconnected.

Regarding the secular administrative system, research focused mostly on the influences of foreign models on law,³⁷⁸ the castle³⁷⁹ and the curia system,³⁸⁰ or on general directions of influence.³⁸¹ A special also debated issue is the appearance of the lance³⁸² and the sceptre³⁸³ in the royal insignia of Saint Stephen, and their relations to the Holy Roman Empire. The examination of the origins of the coronation ordo reflects both secular and ecclesiastical aspects.

384

Influences on the ecclesiastical system usually starts with the – mostly Byzantine – Christianising missions, even though the majority of the historians agree that in the last third of

³⁷⁸ For a recent overview see Gábor Hamza, 'Szent István törvényei európai összefüggésben [Laws of King Stephen I (St. Stephen) in a European Context]', *Polgári Szemle* 13 (2017): 269–79.

³⁷⁹ See a critical review on the issue by Ferenc Makk, 'Megjegyzések a Szent István-i államalapítás történetéhez [Notes on the History of the State Foundation by Saint Stephen]', *Aetas* 2011, no. 1 (2011): 125–27. It has to be noted that in that regard the historical and archaeological research do not match. Although as it is visible from the mentioned study, the precedent for the Hungarian county castle system is originated from german territory, archaeology usually evaluate the question based on the castles themselves, in a Central European context. See Mordovin, *A várszervezet kialakulása*.

³⁸⁰ Györffy, 'Az Árpád-kori szolgálonépek kérdéséhez [On the Question of Árpadian Age Serve People]'.
³⁸¹ See a short outline by Gyula Kristó, 'A magyar államalapítás [The Hungarian State Foundation]', *Történelmi Szemle* 2001, no. 1–2 (2001): 113–21.

³⁸² Márta Font, ed., *Dinasztia, hatalom, egyház. Régiók formálódása Európa közepén (900-1453) [Dynasty, Power, Church. The Formation of Regions in Central Europe (900-1453)]* (Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem, 2009), 117–19.

³⁸³ Endre Tóth, 'Das ungarische Krönungszepter', *Folia archaeologica* 48 (2000): 111–55; See also Endre Tóth, 'Die ungarischen Krönungsinsignien und Sankt Stephan', *Ungarn Jahrbuch* 31 (2013 2011): 1–38.

³⁸⁴ József Gerics and Erzsébet Ladányi, 'Királyeszmény–Szent István–Európa (Szent István királlyá avatási szertartásának honi jelentősége és európai háttere) [Royal Ideal - Saint Stephen - Europe (The Local Significance and European Context on the Crowning Ceremony of Saint Stephen)]', *Levéltári Szemle* 54, no. 2 (2004): 3–14.

the tenth century, these activities disappeared.³⁸⁵ Latin Christian missions appeared only from the end of the tenth century, with missionaries from different places; among others, sources mention Adalbert of Prague, Bruno of Querfurt, and Gerhard from Venice, who later became a bishop.³⁸⁶ Many kinds of historical evidence deals with Christianisation, and their contextualisation can sometimes provide further information on a possible foreign influence. Law codes were mentioned already above,³⁸⁷ besides that the most important sources are probably those charters that refer to the foundations of bishoprics. The complexity of the problem on the interpretations of the diverse influences can be easily presented; while László Koszta proposed in a study that in Hungary the notion of *Imitatio Romae* can be observed – thus, the ecclesiastical system copied the papacy, in the number of bishoprics to the veneration of saints and copying the layout of the churches.³⁸⁸ In another work of his, he points out the strong influence of the German Reichskirche, although he also underlines that the Hungarian ecclesiastical system did not follow that example completely, which, however, he tied to the stronger secular power of the king, manifesting in the castle system.³⁸⁹ Furthermore, he also pointed out similarities with the Byzantine ecclesiastical system, mostly in connection with the titular archbishoprics character of Kalocsa.³⁹⁰

Other sources may speak a different aspect of the ecclesiastical organisation. Elements of the liturgy are often connecting people and places – such as the Lotharingia. From here elements of the liturgy are traceable in more sources, and also two bishops are known from this area, Leodvin, bishop of Bihar and Franco bishop of Veszprém.³⁹¹ Furthermore, impact from the area

³⁸⁵ Font, *Dinasztia, hatalom, egyház*, 238.

³⁸⁶ Berend, Laszlovszky, and Szakács, 'The Kingdom of Hungary', 332–33.

³⁸⁷ For a synthesis on law dealing with Christianisation see Bak, 'Signs of Conversion in Central European Laws'.

³⁸⁸ Koszta, 'A püspökség alapítása', 24–30.

³⁸⁹ Koszta, 'Fejezetek a korai magyar egyházszervezet történetéből [Chapters from the history of the early church organisation of Hungary]', 256–57.

³⁹⁰ László Koszta, 'Esztergom és Kalocsa kapcsolata a 11-12. században [The Relationship of Esztergom and Kalocsa in the 11-12th centuries]', in *Lux Pannoniae Esztergom, Az ezeréves kulturális metropolis konferencia 2000. június 15-16-17* (Esztergom: Balassa Bálint Múzeum, 2001), 61.

³⁹¹ Koszta, 'Fejezetek a korai magyar egyházszervezet történetéből [Chapters from the history of the early church organisation of Hungary]', 274.

of Mainz, Sankt Gallen, Bavaria, Magdeburg and Italy was proved, partially connected to monks coming from these areas.³⁹² In the works of Saint Gerhard, the impact of the Greek Dionysius Areopagite's work can also be traced, which was believed to come in his possession from the Greek monastery of Oroszlámos, nearby the seat of his bishopric.³⁹³ This latter possibility expresses the diverse, co-existing structures nicely in the early period of the institutionalised Christianisation of the country. Titles of churches similarly show differences – while some researchers underlined the appearance of the title Saint Peter, and pointed out the influence of Rome,³⁹⁴ others used similar source material to prove the influence of Byzantium.³⁹⁵ Art history usually emphasises the influence of Italy, although other elements are also observable on monuments of the period.³⁹⁶

Unfortunately, most of these sources refer to the higher levels of the ecclesiastical system – cathedrals, monasteries, bishops and monks. Data on rural local churches and the people associated with them appear only in exceptional cases mostly in consequence of the poor historical evidence, and the taphonomic loss of the monuments and archaeological evidence in general.

Summarising the problems of the foreign influences on the Christianisation of the rural population and the development of the local church system, due to the fragmentary evidence, and the ambiguity of the interpretations, a comprehensive spatial evaluation is not yet feasible. Even though the above-mentioned examples show, that most probably especially in case of the

³⁹² Koszta, 'A középkori magyar egyházra vonatkozó történeti kutatások', 80–81.

³⁹³ József Török, *A katolikus egyház és liturgia Magyarországon: A kezdetektől a 19. század végéig* [The Catholic Church and Liturgy in Hungary from the Beginnings to the end of the 19th c.] (Budapest: Mundus, 2000), 21.

³⁹⁴ Kálmán Magyar, 'A somogyvári apátság Péter titulusának forrásairól (Adatok a korai magyar egyházszerkezés kérdéséhez) [On the Sources of the Title of Peter of the Abbey of Somogyvár (Data on the Question of the Early Hungarian Church Organisation)]', *Somogy megye múltjából - Levéltári évkönyv* 6 (1975): 25.

³⁹⁵ Mesterházy, 'Adatok a bizánci kereszténység elterjedéséhez az Árpád-kori Magyarországon [Data on the Spread of Byzantine Christianity in the Arpadian Age Hungary]'; Gyula Moravcsik, 'The Role of the Byzantine Church in Medieval Hungary', *American Slavic and East European Review* 6, no. 3/4 (1947): 134–51, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2491705>.

³⁹⁶ Szakács, 'Négykaréjos templomok az Árpád-kori Magyarországon [Four-lobed Churches on the Arpadian Age Hungary]'; Szakács, 'Western Complexes of Hungarian Churches of the Early XI. Century'.

less prestigious rural areas, the main aim was the establishment of the new Christian infrastructure, and the means and ways of that were less critical. This is reflected on the level of quality of the rural priests in the beginning, the above mentioned example where bishop Gerhard was cooperating with a Greek monastery and was influenced by Greek theological works, but law from the synod of Esztergom that prohibited baptism, preaching, and giving absolution for monks³⁹⁷ demonstrates nicely also the entangled roles of all ecclesiastics in the beginnings of the development of the ecclesiastical system and Christianisation.

Furthermore, as it was elaborated above, the most significant influence on the development of the rural church network could have been the royal curia system, thus, a predominantly secular network. Still, the interpretation of that is just as controversial; as Györffy pointed out, the system appears both in western Christian, and eastern nomadic context.³⁹⁸ The problems with evaluating the connection between the latter and the church network does not need further explanation. However, this is also the case in the case of western examples. There Christianisation was a lengthier process, and partially in consequence to that, local development, especially in rural areas was much more present than in the top-down, rapid Christianisation of Hungary. Therefore, accepting the argumentation on the influence of the royal curia system on the local church development, again, a rather unique situation can be observed, where the strong, centralised secular power had a substantial impact on the organisation of the lowest level of the ecclesiastical network. Considering the parallel Christianisation, but somewhat different development of the ecclesiastical system in Bohemia and Poland, the comparison of the development of rural churches is an exciting possibility which, unfortunately, exceeds the limits of the present work.

³⁹⁷ Berend, Laszlovszky, and Szakács, 'The Kingdom of Hungary', 355–56.

³⁹⁸ Györffy, 'Az Árpád-kori szolgálonépek kérdéséhez [On the Question of Árpadian Age Servile People]', 262–70.

VI. CONCLUSION OF THE COMPARISON OF HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Concluding the study, there are a couple of questions raised in the dissertation that needs to be revisited and summarised.

In this dissertation, I study the development of the process of Christianisation and the development of the network of local churches in rural Medieval Hungary, based on archaeological remains. Despite that, the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Hungary were of major importance regarding the foundation of the state, and with it, the formation of (secular and ecclesiastic) power structures, sources about this period are rather scarce, primarily written evidence. Opposite to that, archaeology can provide a large amount of data. In the framework of the present study, I have compiled a database of rural local churches, field cemeteries, and ecclesiastical and secular power centres (bishoprics, monasteries and castles), altogether nine hundred and sixty-three sites dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, implemented them in a geographical information system, and analysed their relation to each other, resulting in a sequence of twenty-four maps. An analysis with such an extensive database, especially from the point of view of the early development of the rural church network is something that has not been conducted yet. Since the problem of Christianisation is an interdisciplinary issue, which has been discussed much by historians, it was inevitable to discuss its problems and compare the results of my analysis of the existing historical theories. With that, a unique narrative of the process became available, based on a phenomenon, the development of the rural local church network, which almost does not appear in historical sources, and on a source material that otherwise was not in the focus of research. During the discussion of these problems, as I have demonstrated in Chapter II, the – otherwise scarce - historical sources had a too excessive impact on the interpretation of the archaeological material, especially when considering that the majority of that, including the rural churches and cemeteries, appear the

least in such context. This historical argumentation manifested mostly in the ambiguous dating, and controversial interpretation of field and transitional cemeteries, and the emergence of the local, rural church network, including, of course, the contentious issue of pagan-Christian transition, and the (semi-) nomadic lifestyle. Considering the disputes around the historical sources, I concluded that the investigation of the question should be in a broader spectrum, using Big Archaeological Data in order to escape the projection of historical ideas on the analysis of the archaeological material and contextualise it within the framework of the contemporary ecclesiastical and secular power centres.

Based on the analysis of the archaeological material, in Chapter IV I have demonstrated that in the context of the eleventh century the spatial distribution of secular and ecclesiastical power centres – castles, monasteries and bishoprics display a complementary system. (Fig. 1.) Castles were creating a peripheral, defensive line, supplemented by monasteries in the middle range (Fig. 2.), and the positioning of the bishoprics closest to the inner areas. Enhancing this with the investigation of the rural churches to the places of central power, it became visible that opposed to the general expectation, early churches ‘avoid’ the immediate surroundings of the castles, and seldom occur together with monasteries or bishoprics. Presupposing that such centres served as centres of Christianisation, this is a rather remarkable result. The results of my analysis have exposed an even distribution of churches, with a little more density in the areas lacking ecclesiastical and secular power centres (Fig.3), and a smaller density of field cemeteries around those. With this, my investigation has confirmed that the ecclesiastical institutions belonging to them most probably had pastoral functions over the neighbourhood. Secondly, I have demonstrated that the even distribution of rural churches, including areas lacking central power centres speak of a well-designed act of building up political power, and together with it the state religion on the lowest level.

Examining the relations of early churches and field cemeteries, with special regard to transitional cemetery types, also applying Thiessen polygon catchment areas I have found out, that the distribution of the field cemeteries often can be found along the edges of the catchment areas of the churches. Concerning transitional cemeteries, I have demonstrated that it is no different in chronological or spatial distribution of transitional Type 1, and Type 2 cemeteries. Therefore, it seems like that regardless of the regulations of church law on the positioning of churches and ‘pagan’ burials, and also the endless debates that research was conducted on the ‘Gellértgyháza-type’ cemeteries, the exact positioning of the field cemetery and the church is irrelevant, although the direct building on a field cemetery proved to be more common. It also has to be noted, that the frequency of occurrence was equal in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as well, which first and foremost points out that it was probably regarded as common practice; and secondly, it might be connected to wooden churches, and their archaeologically mostly undetectable character. This provides further considerations on the quantitative difference between the eleventh and twelfth-century rural church network as well.

Furthermore, I have pointed out the serious problem of the frequent tendency of research to judge the character of the cemetery based solely on some grave finds, and classify them as field cemetery or maybe even ‘pagan’, even if the finds cannot be associated with pagan beliefs. However, the clustering of transitional cemetery types cannot be associated with any specific, ‘pagan’ areas of the Kingdom. I have also demonstrated that contrary to earlier theories, transitional cemeteries cannot be connected to the underdeveloped ecclesiastical system. Although they are typically not associated with power centres, two of them occurs nearby a bishopric, which also has a castle; Győr and Bihar. Furthermore, given that nearby most of them further early churches, in some cases even monasteries can be found. Such situation can also be observed in case of transitional cemeteries rooting in the tenth century, often with clearly pagan graves, which later slowly disappeared.

With the similar analysis of the twelfth century I demonstrated, that the general distribution of the rural churches did not change significantly; some expansion can be observed on the northeast, and a little more extensive one in Transylvania. However, the largest difference is the density of the churches, which can partially be connected to the taphonomically more favourable conditions – more lasting building materials. Perhaps the opposite can be suggested in intensively researched areas with a relatively low count of churches, such as Tolna county, where a more dominant presence of wooden churches can be presupposed.

Examining the relations of field cemeteries, I have concluded, that although their number is much lower than in the previous phase, the even distribution of such graveyards shows that the use of field cemeteries at the beginning of the twelfth century is not a spatially isolated phenomenon. The spatial distribution of field cemeteries and the surroundings of churches show a similar pattern to the one of the eleventh century; field cemeteries are either converge around the ten km buffer of the churches or can be found in their near proximity. This latter situation discussed extensively above in the framework of transitional cemeteries, seems to be a rather more frequent alignment than it seemed to be the case before.

Comparing the distribution of twelfth-century churches to secular and ecclesiastical power centres, I have observed that their relations to castles do not change. However, monasteries have appeared on those empty territories where only rural churches were represented in the earlier phase, and also started to take the first steps towards the colonisation of the peripheries. Lastly, examining the relations of monasteries, field cemeteries and churches (Fig. 15), based on the archaeological material, I have concluded that the alignment of field cemeteries and monasteries – except for some, important centres, are nonexistent. Churches, on the other hand, appear in their proximity quite often, especially in the area of the *Medium Regni*. This confirms a decrease in the role of monasteries in everyday pastoral activities. This is also further strengthened by the fact, that instead of a significant expansion of the territory covered by churches in the eleventh century, rather the increasing density of ecclesiastical institutions are

observable. This can be connected well to the increasing participation of secular lords in foundation of churches – a sign in itself that in the present era Christianisation was not the main issue anymore, but rather the development of the ecclesiastical network and system. With the overall evaluation of the spatial analysis of the twelfth-century material, I have concluded that the density of the churches, especially the even character of the church network (disregarding the area of southeastern Transdanubia, and the extra density of the more researched areas) demonstrates a stable local church network in the twelfth century. Those areas where the density is connected to more intensive research shows the gravity of taphonomic loss in case of well research areas that still appear to have a rather loose ecclesiastical network (such as Fejér, which belonging to the *Medium Regni* was supposedly had a denser church network), or Tolna and Somogy, where the sporadic appearance of churches raises the possibility a perhaps more general, and more prolonged presence of wooden architecture.

Following the main conclusions of the analysis of data and conclusions of my investigation, some more general ideas can also be formulated. Of these, perhaps the best to start with is to clarify, what is Christianisation? Moreover, what is Christianisation in the context of this study? Turning back to historical sources, the question on what is Christianisation, and how it happened does not get less puzzling. Narrative sources, especially chronicles on the process are rather silent, and they are influenced heavily by political agendas, picturing it as a peaceful and eventless, and using it mostly in order to create the image of the apostolic king of Saint Stephen and the independent state and church formation of Hungary. This, of course, concern the lower level of the society – the conversion of the elite is had to be more thorough; nonetheless, this was also heavily induced by political agenda and representation.³⁹⁹ Legends of saints, especially of Stephen pictures similar problems. The *legenda maior* of Gerhard, however, pictures an exciting piece of information that might be closer to reality. The legends inform that Gerhard

³⁹⁹ Veszprémy, 'Conversion in Chronicles'.

was preaching to masses of people, using interpreters and the people later returned with gifts for the bishop. This passage is interesting in more ways. First of all, the latter act was deciphered as a pagan tradition transferred and explained as a Christian act and an important step in the actual conversion of the people.⁴⁰⁰ Again, however, this mass-conversion cannot be understood as conversion per se on the level of the individual. The contemporary missionary activity was also a top-down process, first of all, the leaders of a particular territory were baptised, who, with this act, permitted the baptism of their people. Missionaries opted for rapid efficiency, and in return, the expectation of knowledge about the Christian faith was not high; the recognition of the cross and its meaning, and a joint prayer of Pater Noster with the missionaries were enough. After this performance, they were considered as Christian and were under the jurisdiction of the new, Christian rule of law. The actual conversion process, including the initiation of Christian doctrines and way of life, was left for the members of the newly developing ecclesiastical network – in case of the rural population, their local churches.⁴⁰¹ This image gets even more apparent when considering Christianisation in the light of secular law codes of the period, already starting with king Stephen. The sheer level of involvement of secular law-making in the everyday religious life of people is telling in itself. Law dealt with various topics from Christian observance (going into such nuances as murmuring during mass) and what should happen to those who fail in it, to where to bury the dead. This is supplemented with law codes attempting on building the new infrastructure of the church on the local level, and how to provide for it, both in terms of equipment and income.⁴⁰² None of these, however, deals with the actual faith of the individual, or the people in general. Still, rarely and indirectly, and from about a century later, but law codes can also be a source for that. According to the

⁴⁰⁰ Anna Kuznetsova, 'Signs of Conversion in Vitae Sanctorum', in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, 2000, 129.

⁴⁰¹ Koszta, 'A püspökség alapítása', 22–23.

⁴⁰² Bak, 'Signs of Conversion in Central European Laws', 118–20.

interpretation of János Bak, the codes in the Synod of Esztergom that deal with ‘selling the feasts’ show that people did believe in Christian practices by that time.⁴⁰³

Summarising what historical sources tell about the process, it is clear that it should not be understood as conversion, definitely not In the level of the individual, especially at the beginning of the process. The mass conversion of the population, and the establishment of the church network, including the local churches of the rural population, centrally initiated by the secular power, is the actual an act of Christianisation; a centrally administered, top-down directed political act, that, at least in the beginning, had very little to do with the faith of the individual.

The interpretation of institutionalised Christianisation as a central political act is crucial on the evaluation of the archaeological remains. Individual archaeological features are hard and controversial to interpret on their own and can speak little about a general, central political act. United, however, they offer a source material for the study of the Christianisation process of the rural population that, even considering its fragmentary state and its conservation issues, still, only by numbers is incomparable to any other kind of sources. Not to mention that the digital modelling of the data offers a unique perspective, that is uncommon in archaeological research; by stepping away from the comparison of similarities of archaeological features, and embed them only in their chronological and spatial context, more angles can open up than in traditional research methods. The importance of space, however, is not a new approach in the investigation of the archaeology of Christianisation,⁴⁰⁴ nor the application of GIS on large scale archaeological data for tracking changes in settlement structures and socio-economic

⁴⁰³ Bak, 123.

⁴⁰⁴ See for example Anders Andrén, ‘The Significance of Places: The Christianization of Scandinavia from a Spatial Point of View’, *World Archaeology* 45 (2013): 27–45; Bullough, ‘Burial, Community and Belief in the Early Medieval West’.

processes.⁴⁰⁵ The two combined, yet, is not used frequently. However, in case of the Christianisation of Hungary, both the available archaeological material and the relatively short timeframe allows effectively investigating such dynamics, and fill the gaps that the otherwise scarce sources cannot answer, for which a study by Beatrix Romhányi, approaching the question of the population, settlements and the monastery network, came to similar conclusions.

406

Based on the comparison of the archaeological data in the present work, the following conclusions should be drawn on the process of Christianisation of the rural population, thus, the development of the rural local church network. Firstly, the dynamics between the central, secular and ecclesiastical power and the local church network confirms the idea of the centrally administered Christianisation. The even pattern of the appearance of local churches and their absence near the ecclesiastical and secular power centres show a pattern that is not consistent with local, down-to-top development. The even appearance of churches in all habited areas of the kingdom, however, could not have been established without the support of the central administration. The bishoprics, monasteries and secular power centres could have administered this, and where their appearance is scarce, such as in the area of the Great Hungarian Plain, the local church development was most probably aided by the network of royal churches in the framework of the royal curia system. Considering what a hostile environment it would have been for isolated, small rural churches and their priests, it is clear that without the involvement of the central administration, the spatially faraway secular and ecclesiastical power centres could not have been established an even church network among the rural population. Furthermore, without the involvement of the local churches, bishoprics would not have been efficient enough in the actual conversion process of the population, which was crucial in

⁴⁰⁵ See a recent, prime example by Rainer Schreg, ‘Assessing Settlement Dynamics in Medieval Central and Western Europe’, in *Power in Landscape. Geographic and Digital Approaches on Historical Research*, ed. Mihailo Popović et al. (Leipzig: Eudora-Verlag, 2019), 227–44.

⁴⁰⁶ Romhányi, ‘Kolostorhálózat – településhálózat – népesség.’, 10–15.

stabilising the political state – as it is clearly visible by the pagan uprisings in the middle of the eleventh century. Even though the archaeological material, especially in such a large scale investigation, is unsuitable to make notable chronological differentiation within one century, some reference points should be made in connection to historical theories, pagan uprisings and the chronology of the church network. The discrepancy that Koszta was proposing between the two halves of the country cannot be observed on the level of the local church network,⁴⁰⁷ nor can any difference noted on the area of the mentioned ‘giant’ counties.⁴⁰⁸ Therefore, the theory that presupposed the establishment of the royal curia system in the areas of the latter counties, explaining it with the adversary chieftains and the lands of the pagan uprisings, cannot also be accepted.⁴⁰⁹ Also, the question has to be posed about up to what limit can the uprisings interpreted as religious acts? Since Christianisation itself is a top-down political act, why is it assumed that the pagan uprising is much different? As it was mentioned above, in such a hostile environment, the establishment of a stable church network would not have been feasible, and therefore, only two explanation can be made. Either the archaeologically detectable church network was established only towards the end of the century, or, it was established before supported by central power, and the uprising was only a setback, however devastating. Unfortunately, a definite answer without further chronological data is impossible. However, the matching pattern to the other parts of the country suggests perhaps the latter case. This is especially plausible when considering that the archaeological material usually reveal churches only that taphonomically were more stable, and therefore, usually long-lived. The actual network, as it has been discussed above, must have been more extensive, with buildings, however, that left no sign for us. Moreover, bringing in the twelfth-century churches, it is visible that the church network in the area of Újvár, Csongrád and Bihar did not change significantly

⁴⁰⁷ Koszta, ‘Fejezetek a korai magyar egyházszervezet történetéből [Chapters from the history of the early church organisation of Hungary]’, 262.

⁴⁰⁸ Zsoldos, ‘A megyeszervezés kezdetei’.

⁴⁰⁹ Veress, ‘A magyar királyok itineráns életmódja a XI-XII. században [The Itinerant Lifestyle of Hungarian Kings in the 11-12th c.]’.

in its extent, only in density. In case of Újvár, the scarce appearance of churches is apparent even in the material of the twelfth century. Therefore, based on the archaeological material, the development of the local church network in the rural areas seems to be a rather unified process in all habited areas in the kingdom, which, considering that the regulations of such churches and people was attempted from the very beginning, it is perhaps not as surprising. Principally, since the Christianisation itself – the mass conversion of people and the development of the higher level of the ecclesiastical system - would have been inefficient in the long run without the work of the local churches, the actual conversion of the people and thus their adaptation to the new ruling system.

Nonetheless, I do not suggest that it was a rapid process. The relations of field cemeteries and churchyards, and the presence of diverse transitional cemeteries are witnesses of that, both the process of top-down Christianisation and to some limit, the actual process of conversion took a long time to gain its later form, which is, undoubtedly inseparable from the settlement formation processes. The top-down process turned over by the twelfth century. As it was referred above, some traces in written evidence also testifies that the actual conversion of the people by the turn of the eleventh century. Comparing the pattern of rural churches of the twelfth century to the eleventh century one, it is observable that territorial expansion is observable mostly in case of Transylvania, where, the structure of the church network is somewhat similar to the one in the central areas in the eleventh century. There, however, the clustering of churches appears in the twelfth century, something that cannot be observed much in the previous phase, and which, can be the indicator of local development of the church network. This perhaps can be understood as the involvement of the local nobility in the process, and the spread of the institution of the *ecclesia propria* as much amongst monastic, as local churches. The density of local churches from that period nearby ecclesiastical and secular power centres also suggest that their

involvement in the Christianisation and conversion has ended, and were continued only by the local churches, the forming parish network.

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APPENDIX

Figures

Fig. 1. Relations of Castles and Local Churches in the Eleventh Century.

Fig. 2. Relations of Castles, Monasteries and Local Churches in the Eleventh Century.

Fig. 3. Relations of Castles, Field Cemeteries and Local Churches in the Eleventh Century.

Fig. 4. Relations of Bishoprics, Field Cemeteries, Local Churches and Monasteries in the Eleventh Century.

Fig. 5. Field Cemeteries and Local Churches near the Bishopric and Castle of Veszprém

Fig. 6. Relations of Local Churches and Field Cemeteries in the Eleventh Century.

Fig. 7. Transitional Cemeteries in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries.

Fig. 8. Transitional Cemeteries in the Middle Part of the Great Plain

Fig. 9. Royal Fortifications in the Twelfth Century.

Fig. 10. Local Churches and Bishoprics in the Twelfth Century.

Fig. 11. The General Distribution of Local Churches in the Twelfth Century.

Fig. 12. Relations of Field Cemeteries and Local Churches in the Twelfth Century.

Fig. 13. Relations of Local Churches and Castles in the Twelfth Century.

Fig. 14. Relations of Local Churches and Monasteries in the Twelfth Century.

Fig. 15. Relations of Local Churches, Monasteries, and Field Cemeteries in the Twelfth Century.

Fig. 16. Thiessen Polygons of the Network of Local Churches in the Eleventh Century.

Fig. 17. Thiessen Polygons of the Network of Local Churches, Castles, Bishoprics and Monasteries in the Eleventh Century.

Fig. 18. The Impact of Places of Central Power on the Pastoral Network of the Eleventh Century.

Fig. 19. Relations of Field Cemeteries and the Church Network of the Eleventh Century.

Fig. 20. The Number of Field Cemeteries within the Polygons of the Church Network of the Eleventh Century.

Fig. 21. The Church Network in the Twelfth Century.

Fig. 22. Relations of Field Cemeteries and the Church Network of the Twelfth Century.

Fig. 23. The Number of Field Cemeteries within the Polygons of the Church Network of the Twelfth Century.

Fig. 24. The Positioning of 'Giant Counties' and the Church Network

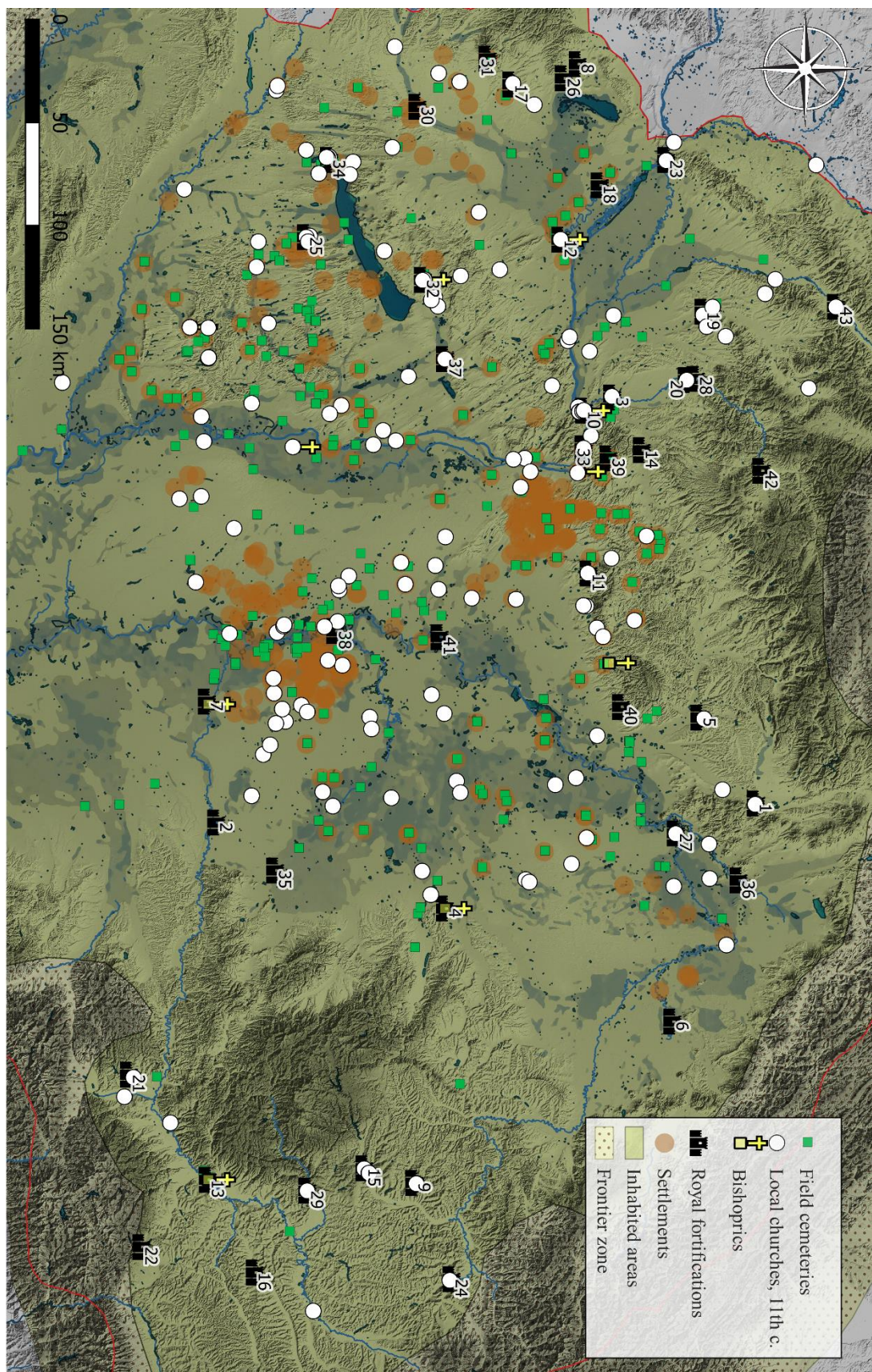


Fig. 1. Relations of Castles and Local Churches in the Eleventh Century.

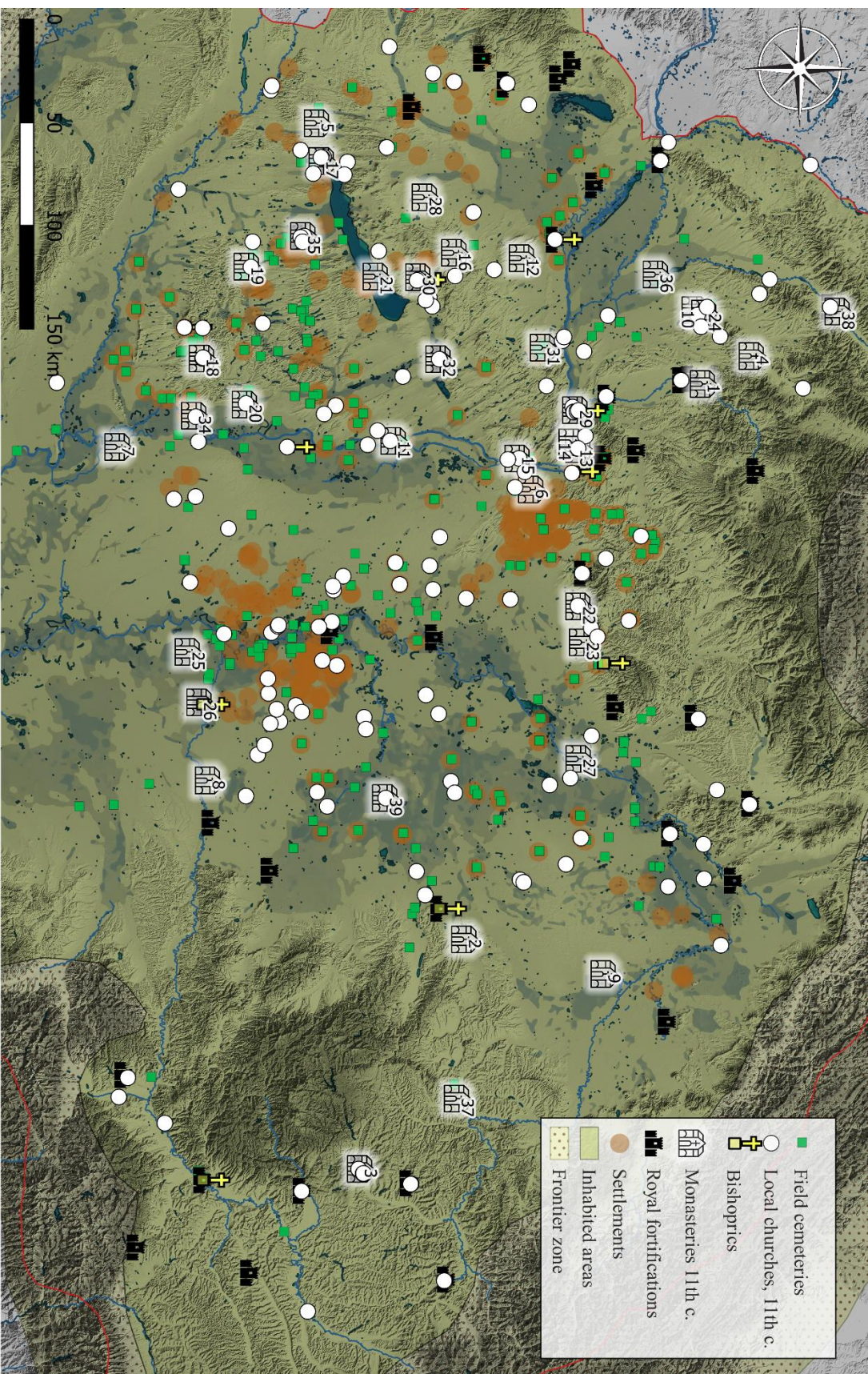


Fig. 2. Relations of Castles, Monasteries and Local Churches in the Eleventh Century.

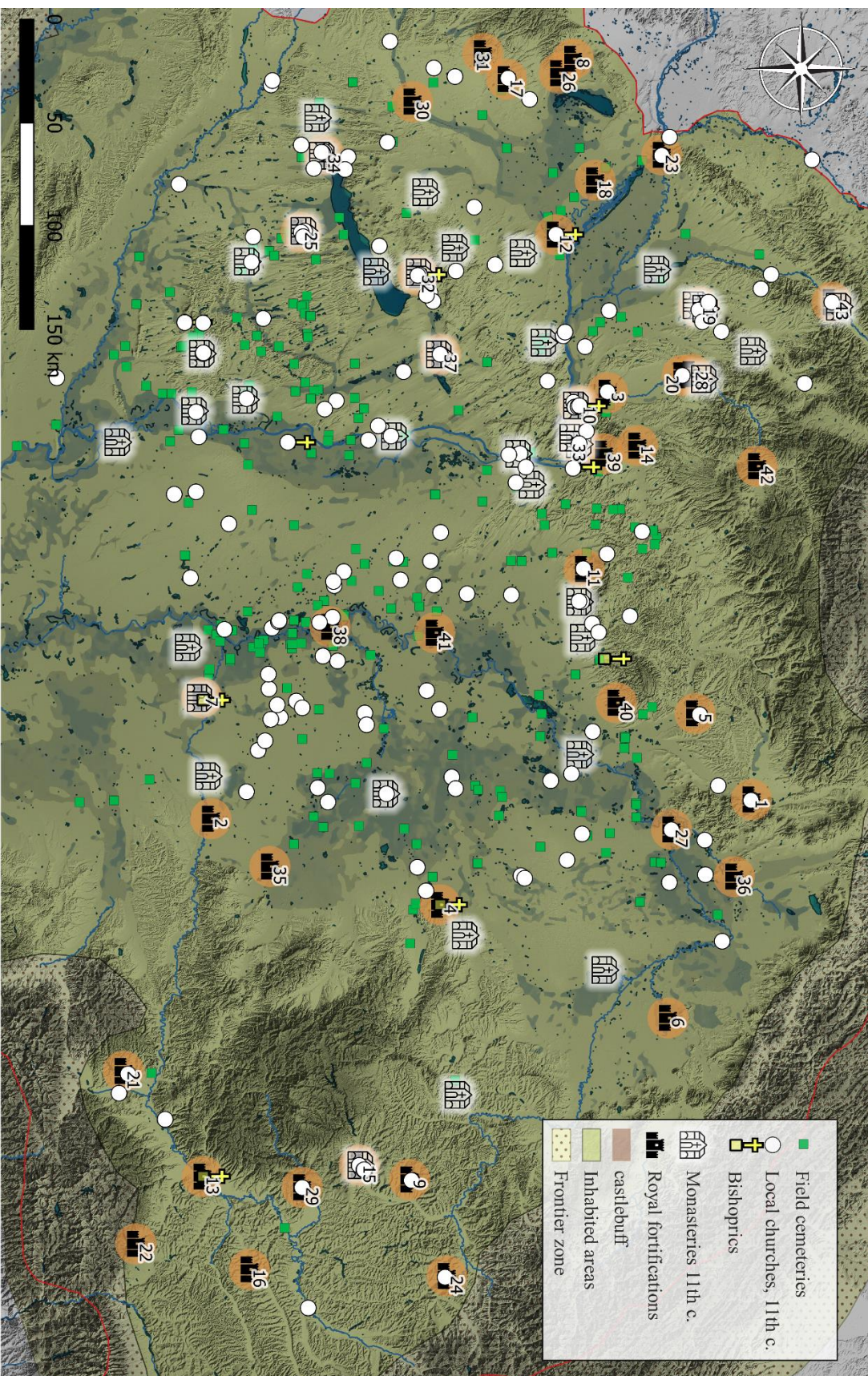


Fig. 3. Relations of Castles, Field Cemeteries and Local Churches in the Eleventh Century.

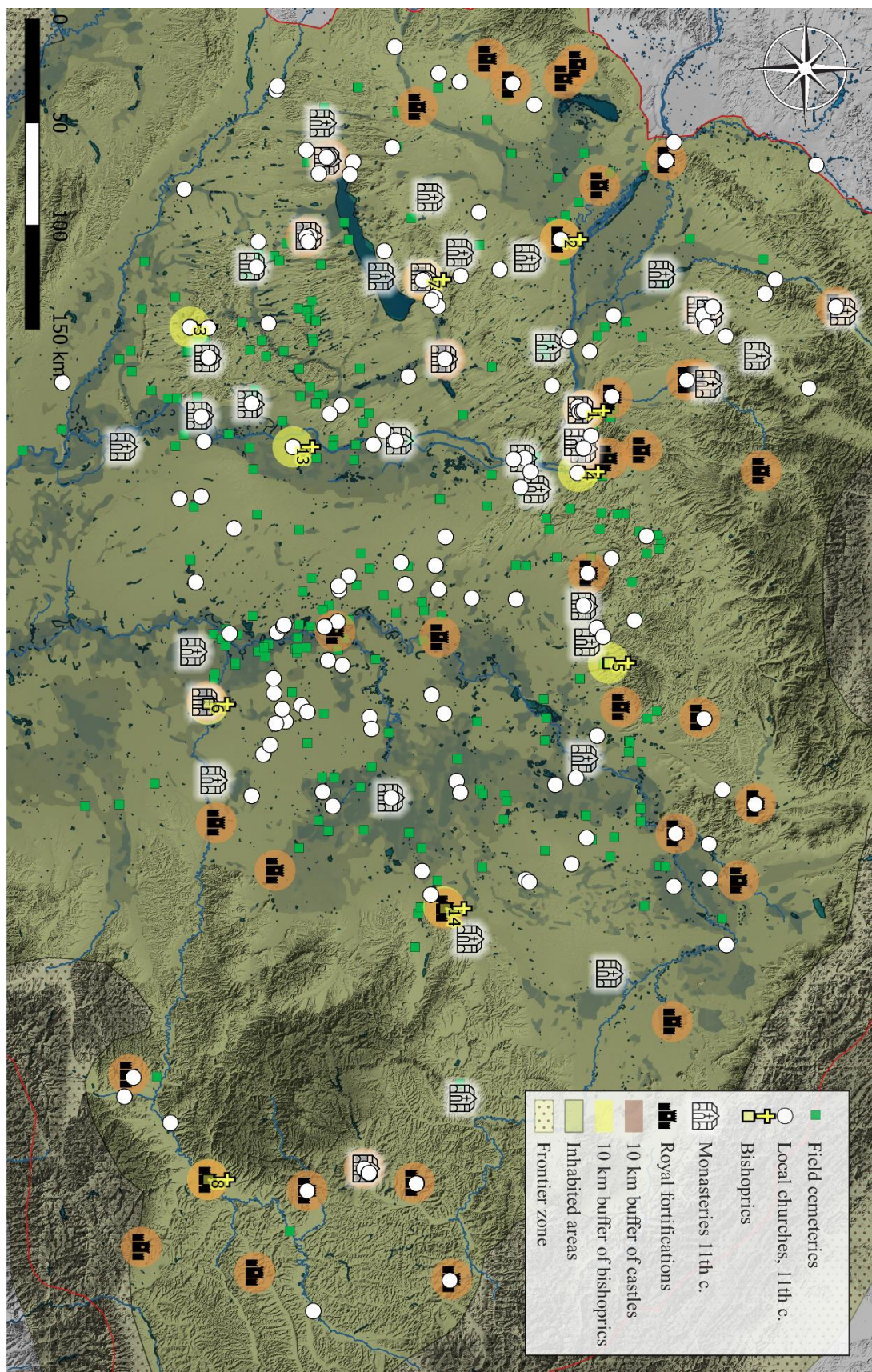


Fig. 4. Relations of Bishoprics, Field Cemeteries, Local Churches and Monasteries in the Eleventh Century.

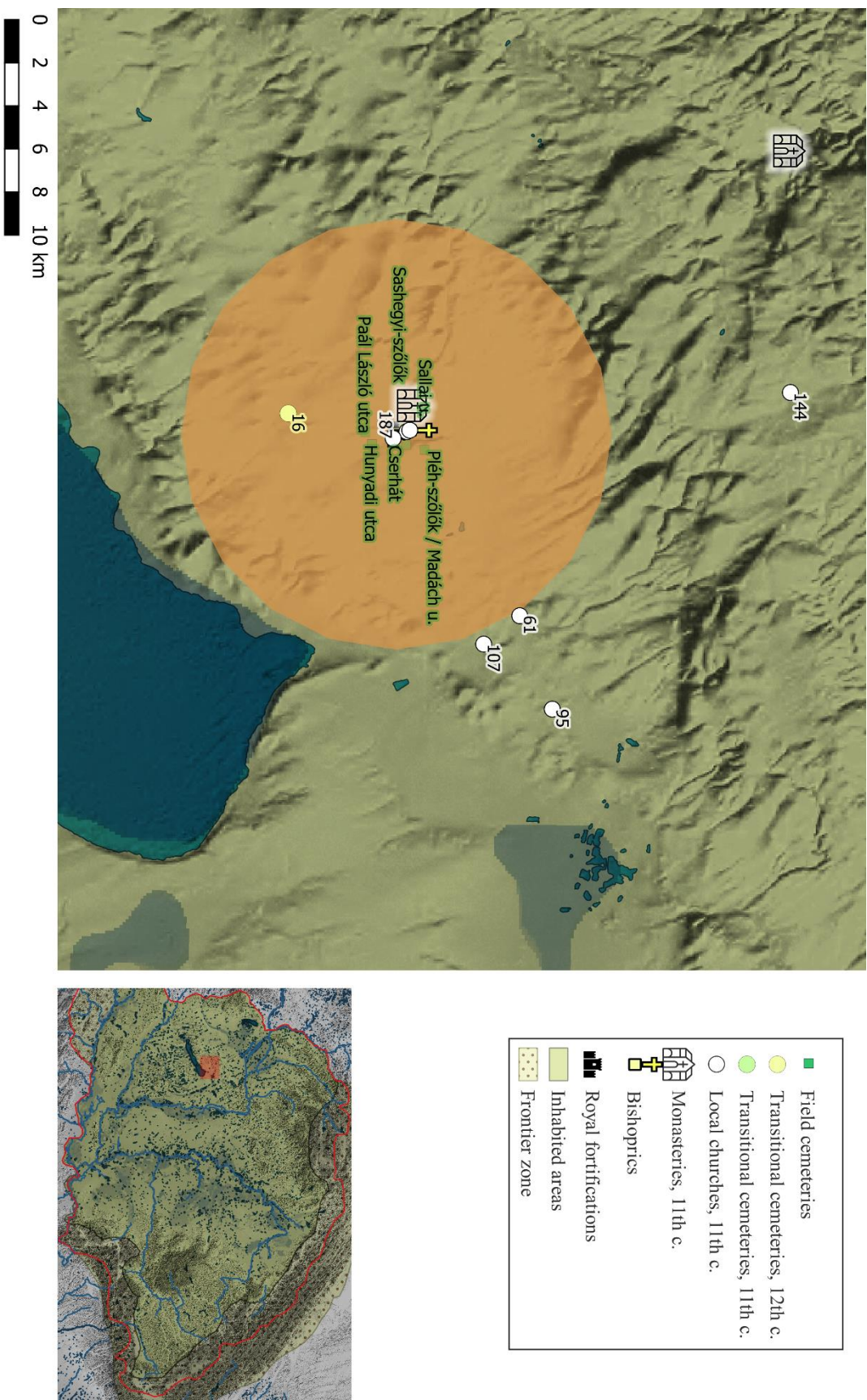


Fig. 5. Field Cemeteries and Local Churches near the Bishopric and Castle of Veszprém



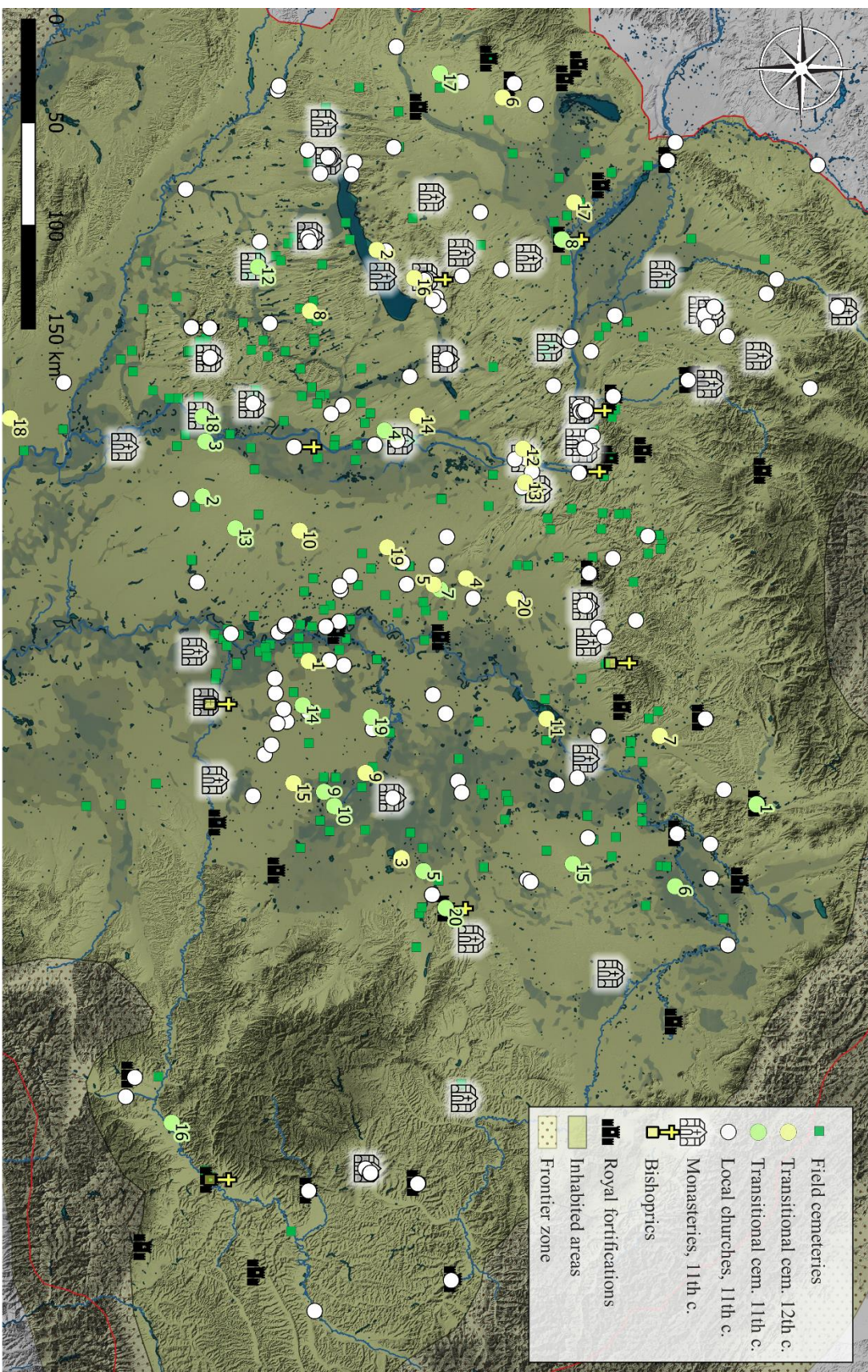


Fig. 7. Transitional Cemeteries in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries.

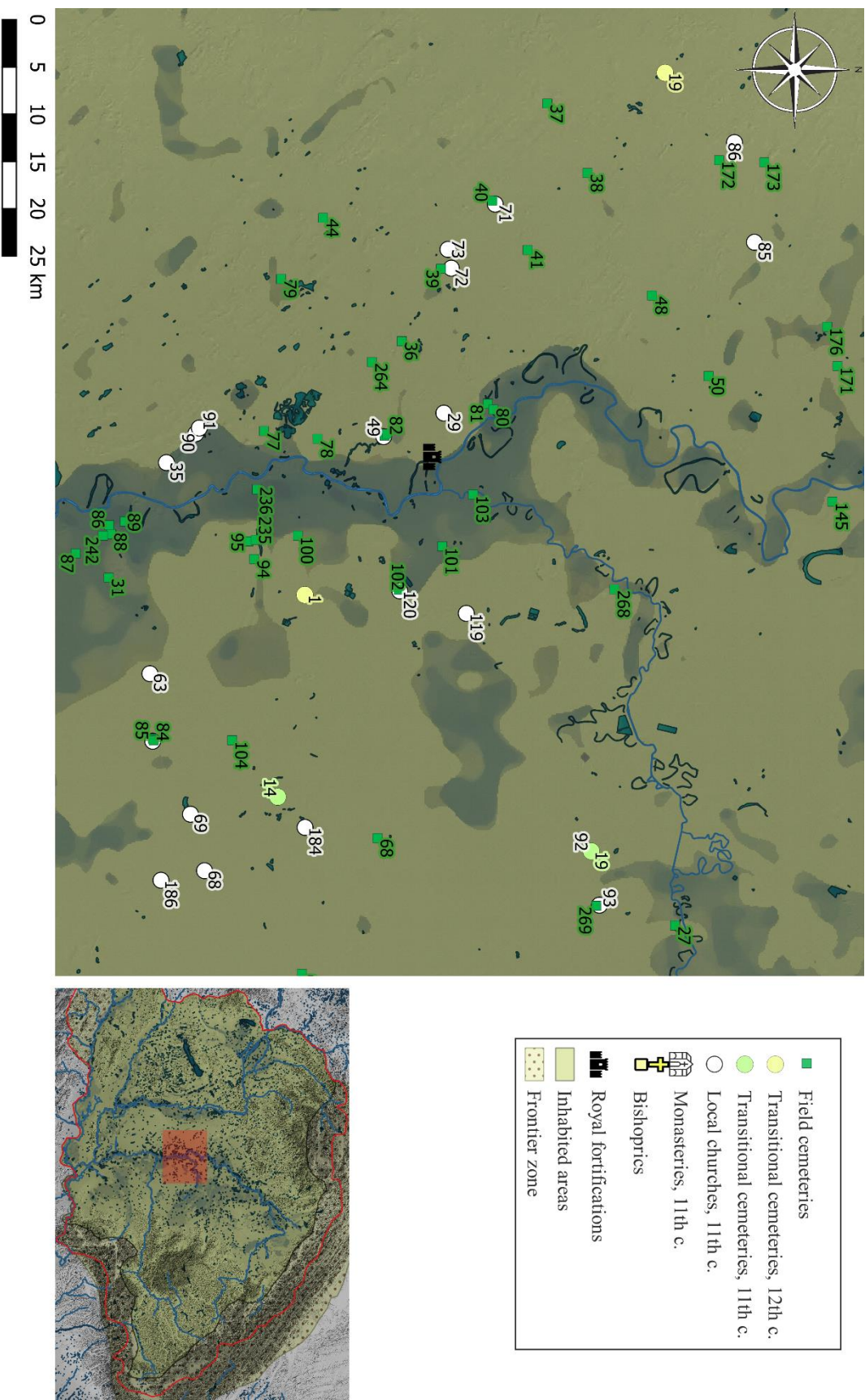


Fig. 8. Transitional Cemeteries in the Middle Part of the Great Plain

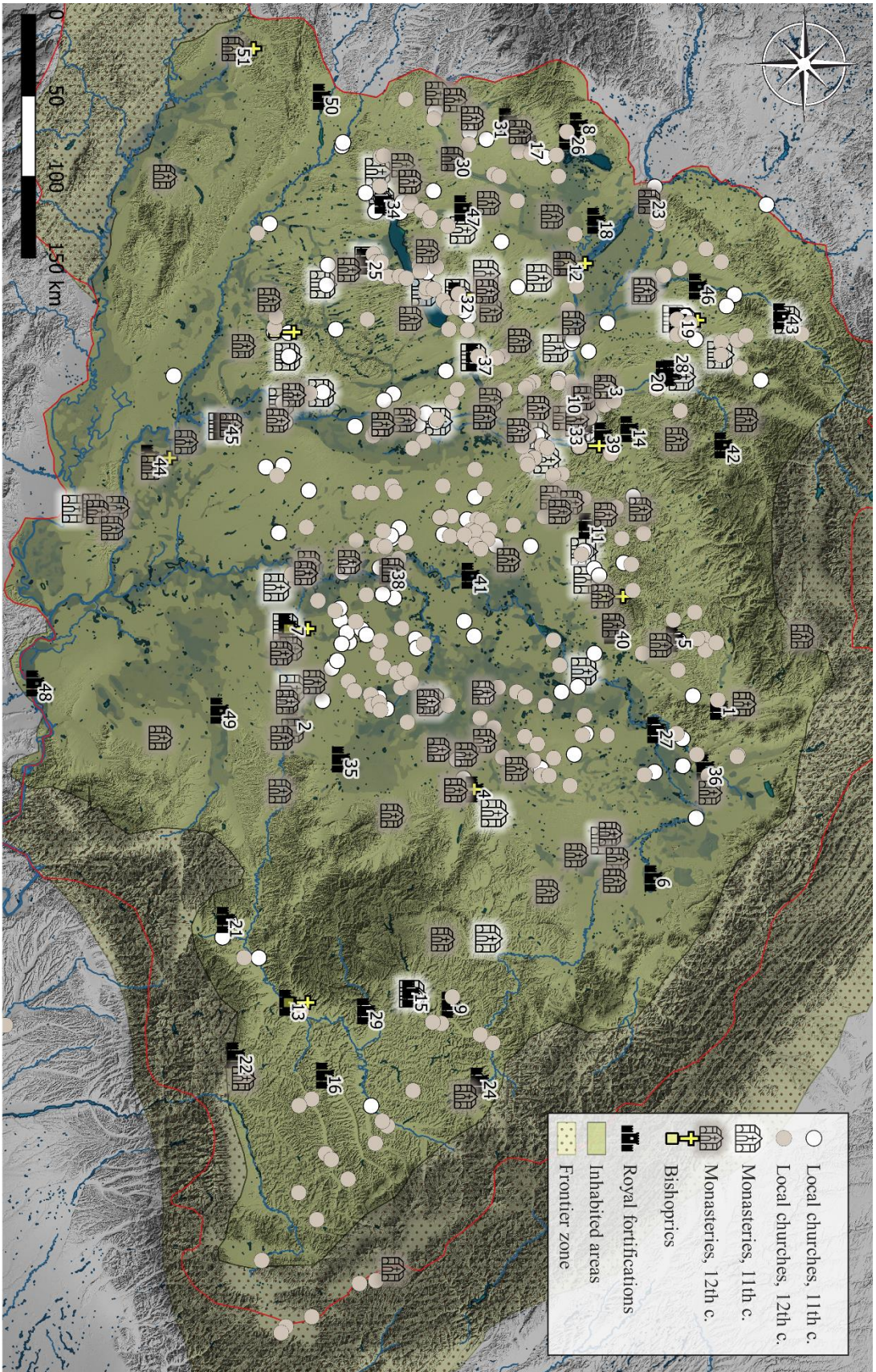


Fig. 9. Royal Fortifications in the Twelfth Century.

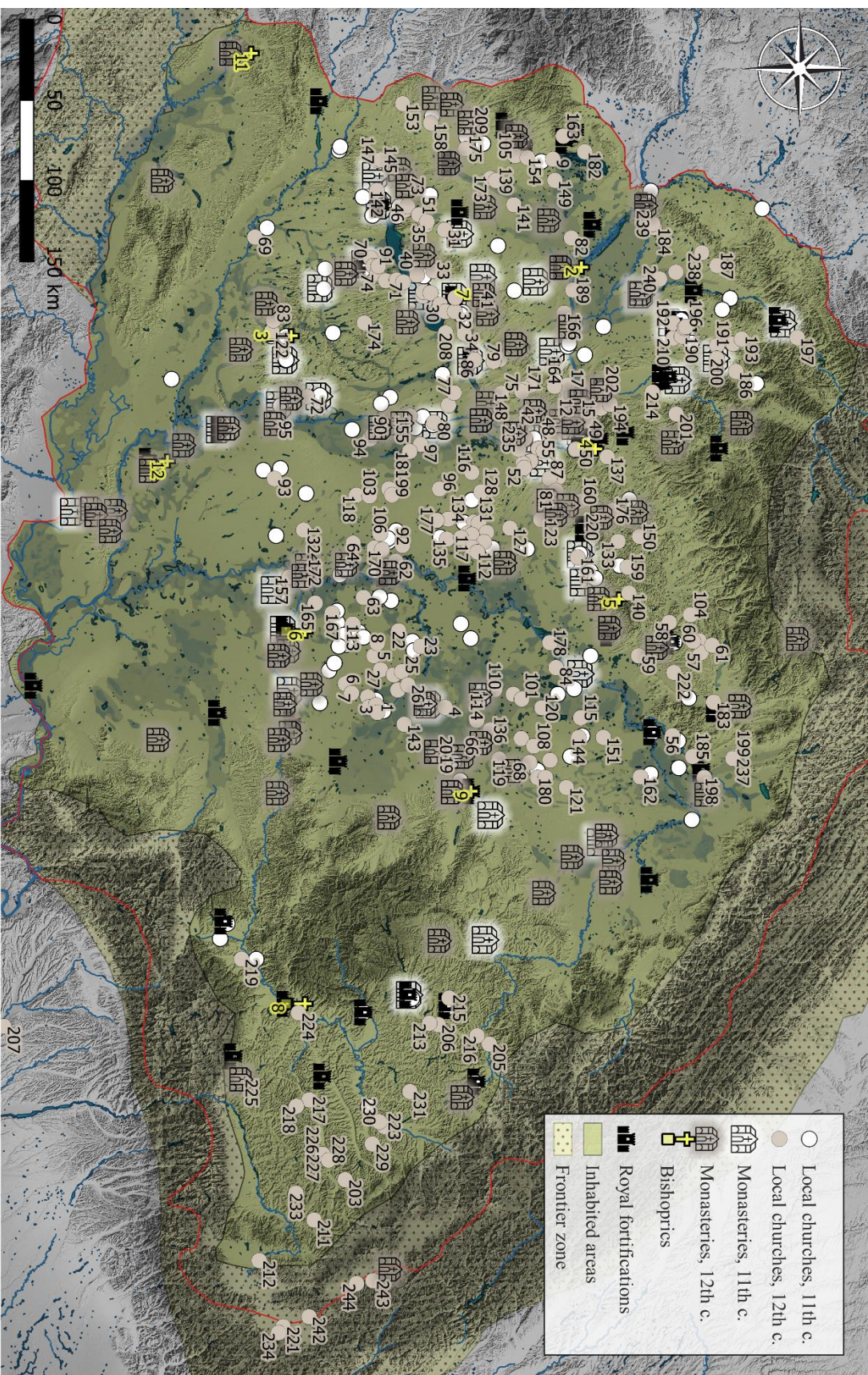


Fig. 10. Local Churches and Bishoprics in the Twelfth Century.

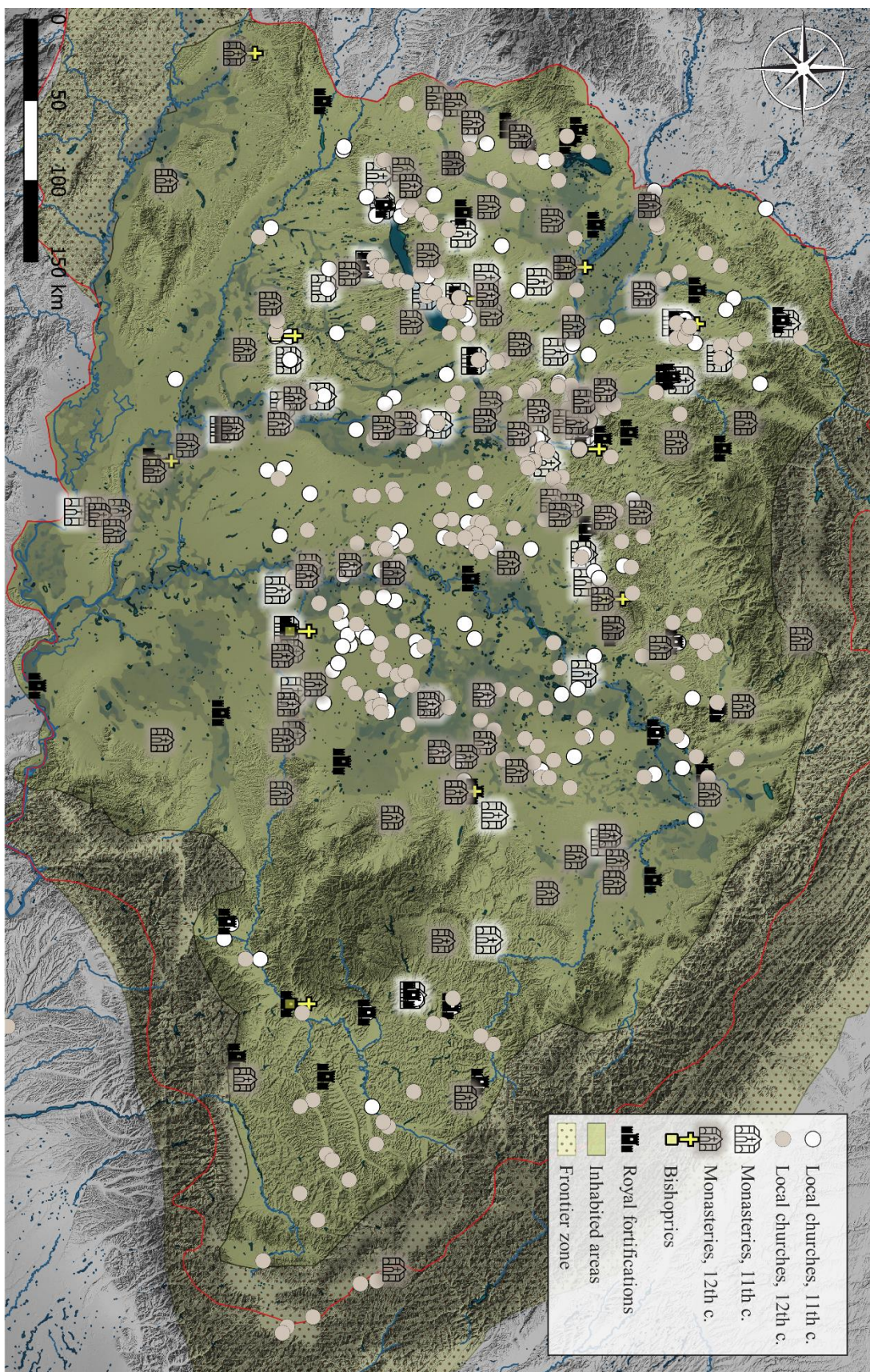


Fig. 11. The General Distribution of Local Churches in the Twelfth Century.

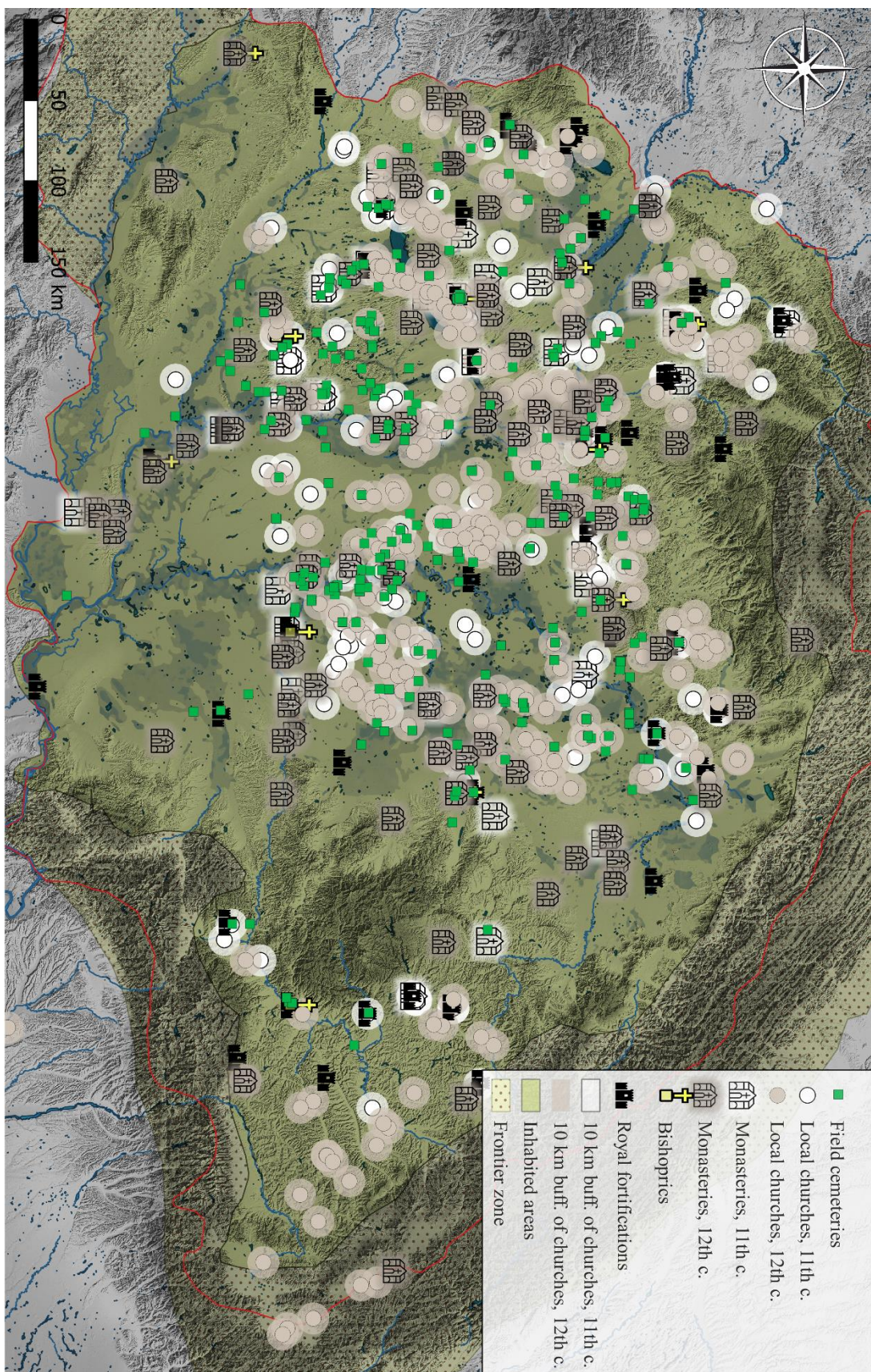


Fig. 12. Relations of Field Cemeteries and Local Churches in the Twelfth Century.

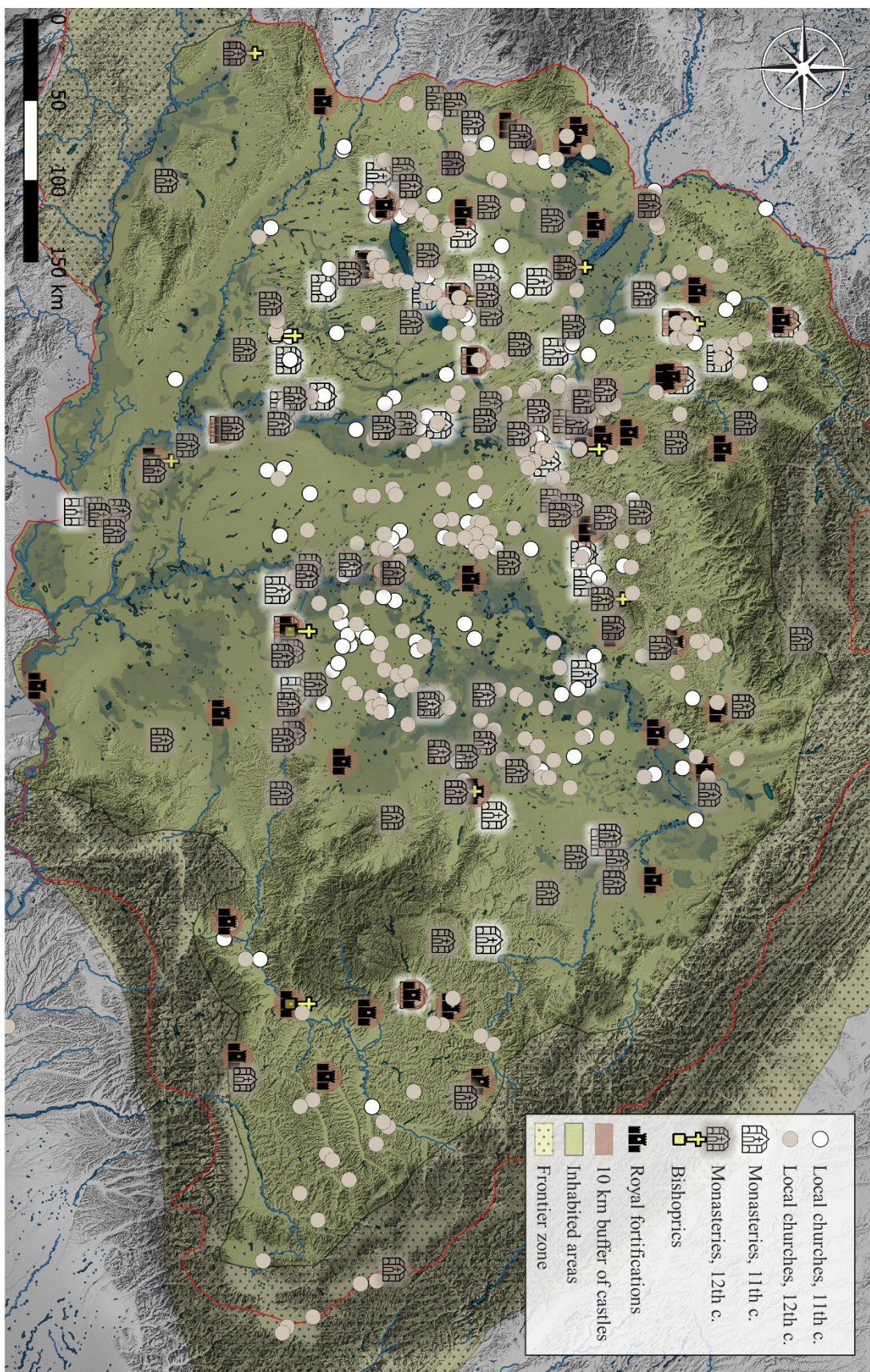


Fig. 13. Relations of Local Churches and Castles in the Twelfth Century.

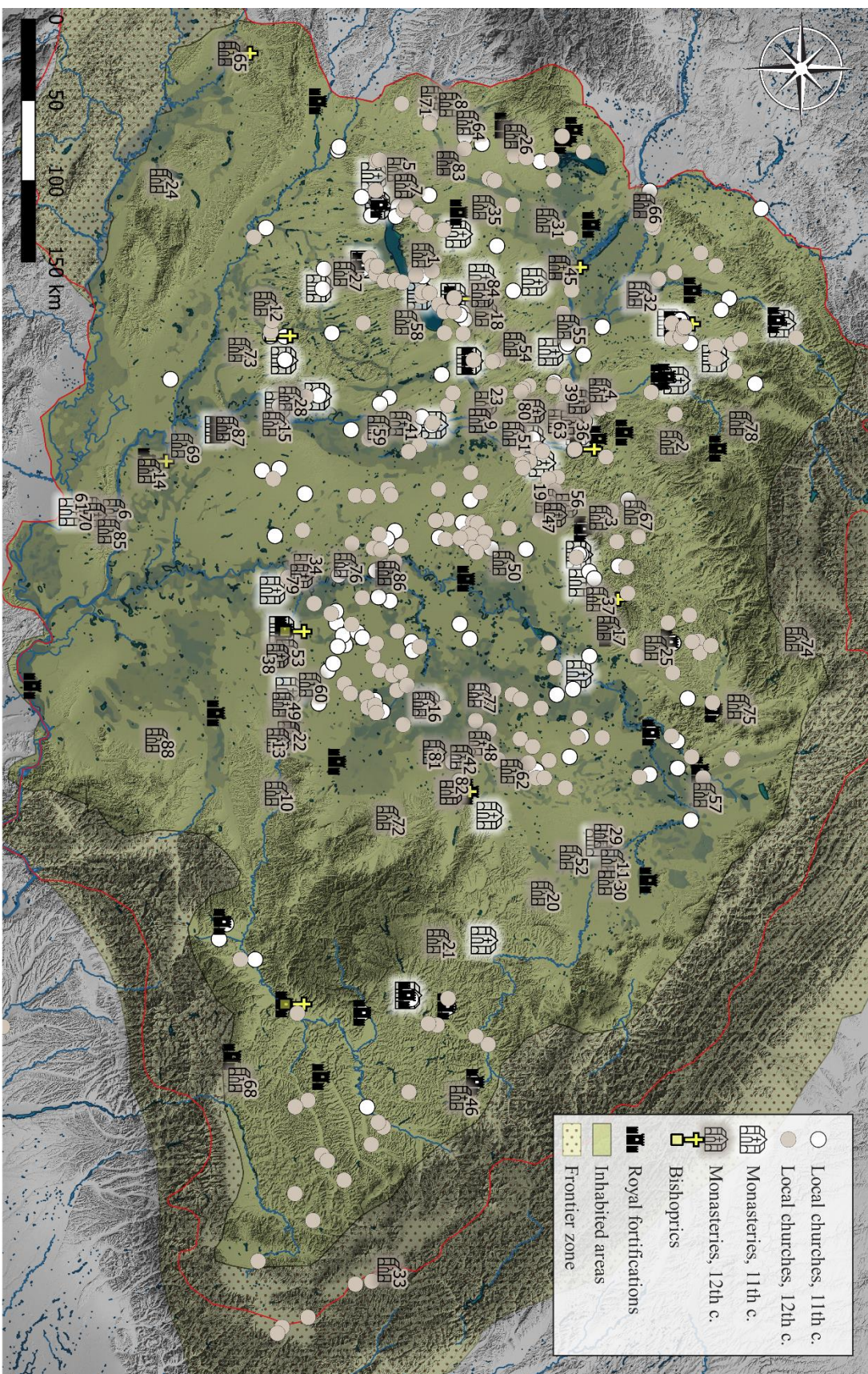


Fig. 14. Relations of Local Churches and Monasteries in the Twelfth Century.

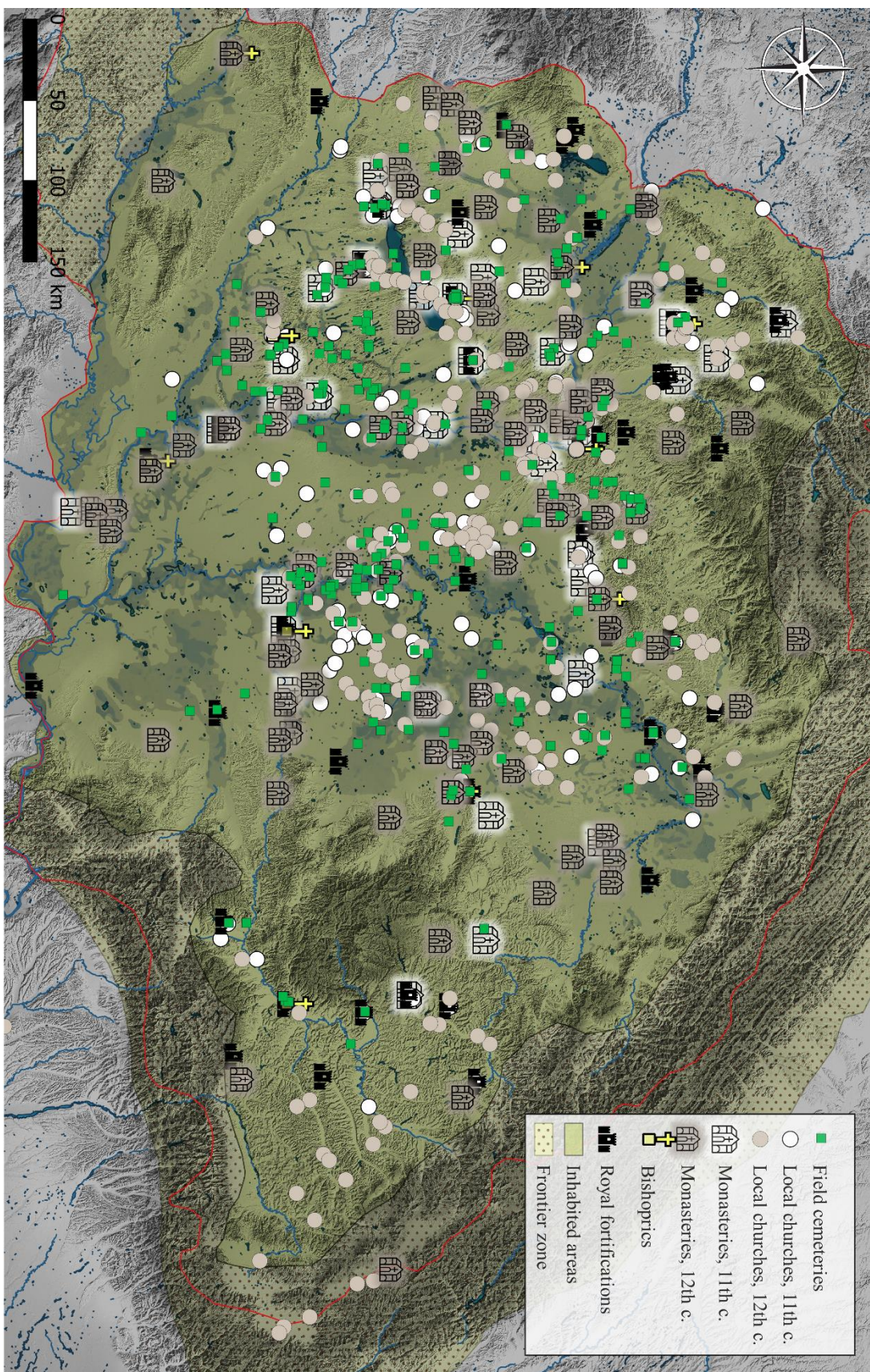


Fig. 15. Relations of Local Churches, Monasteries, and Field Cemeteries in the Twelfth Century.

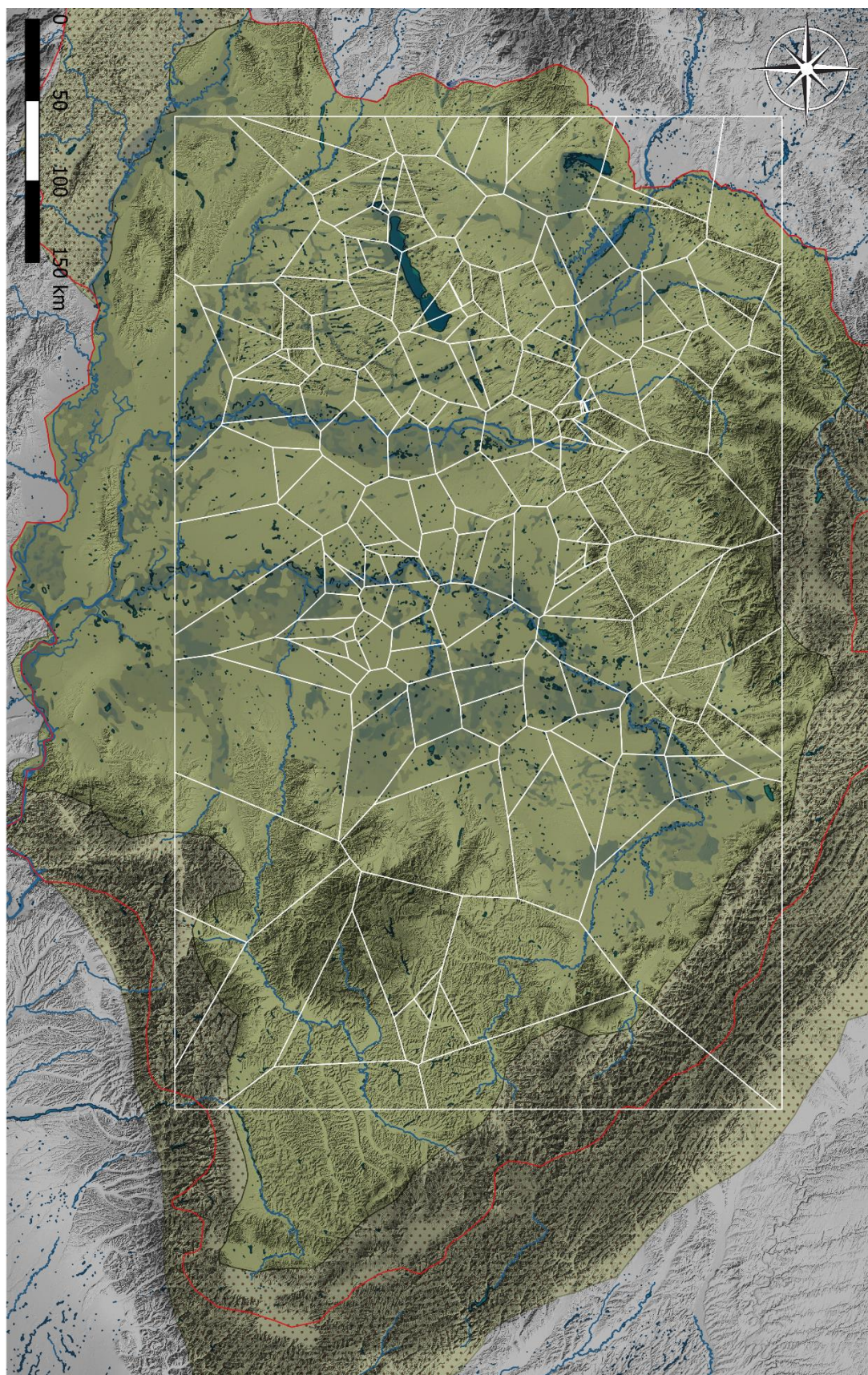


Fig. 16. Thiessen Polygons of the Network of Local Churches in the Eleventh Century.

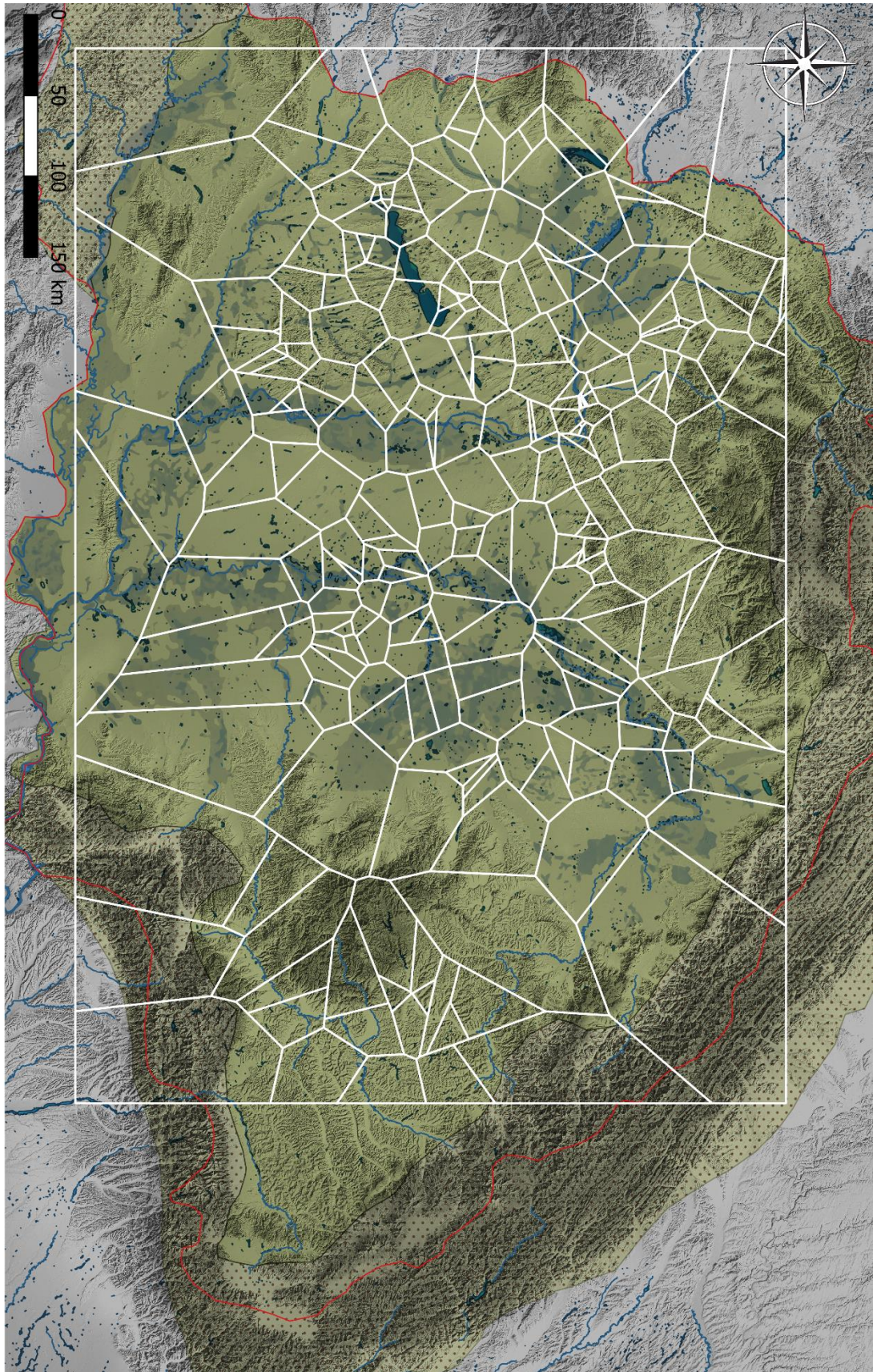


Fig. 17. Thiessen Polygons of the Network of Local Churches, Castles, Bishoprics and Monasteries in the Eleventh Century.

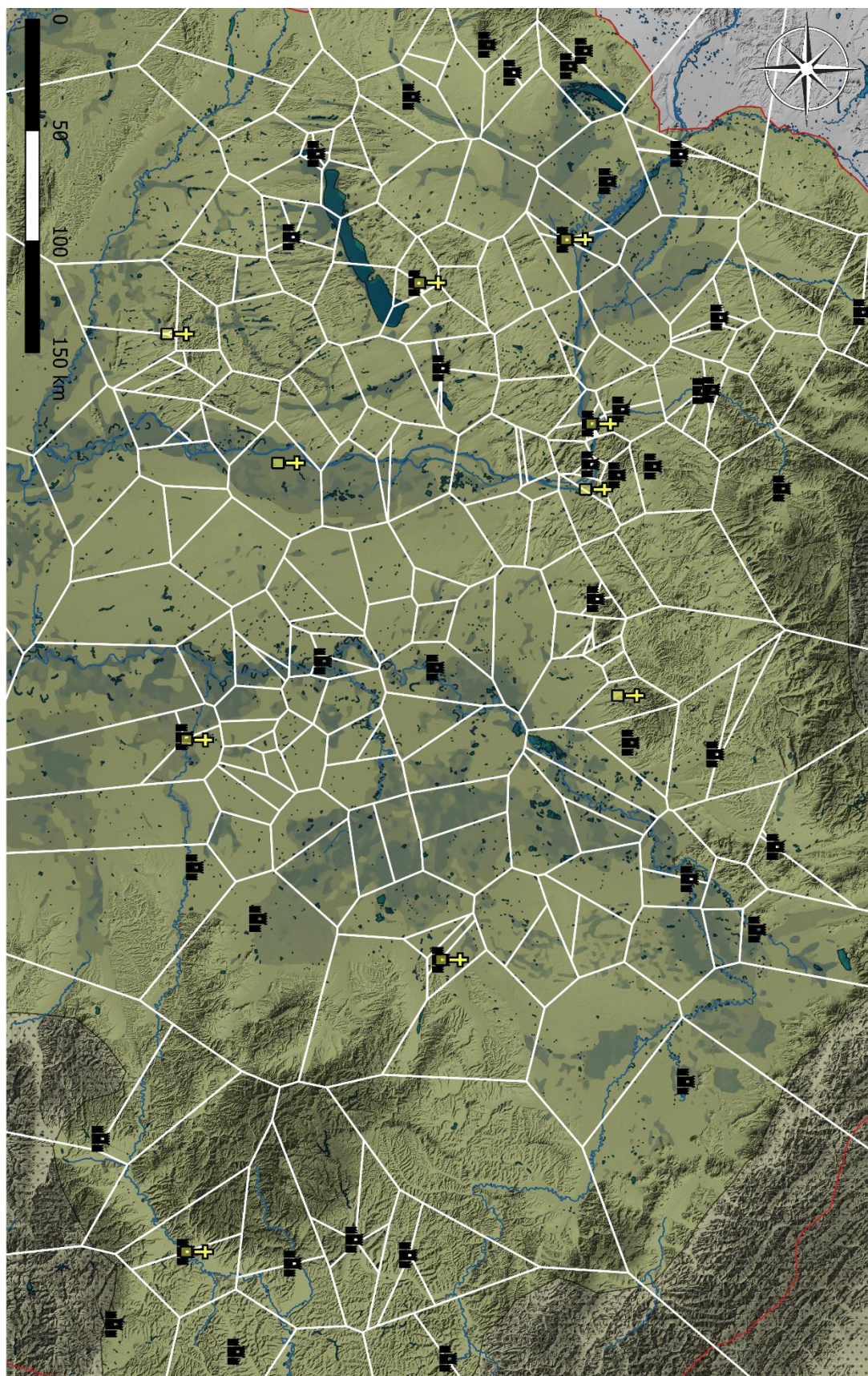


Fig. 18. The Impact of Places of Central Power on the Pastoral Network of the Eleventh Century.

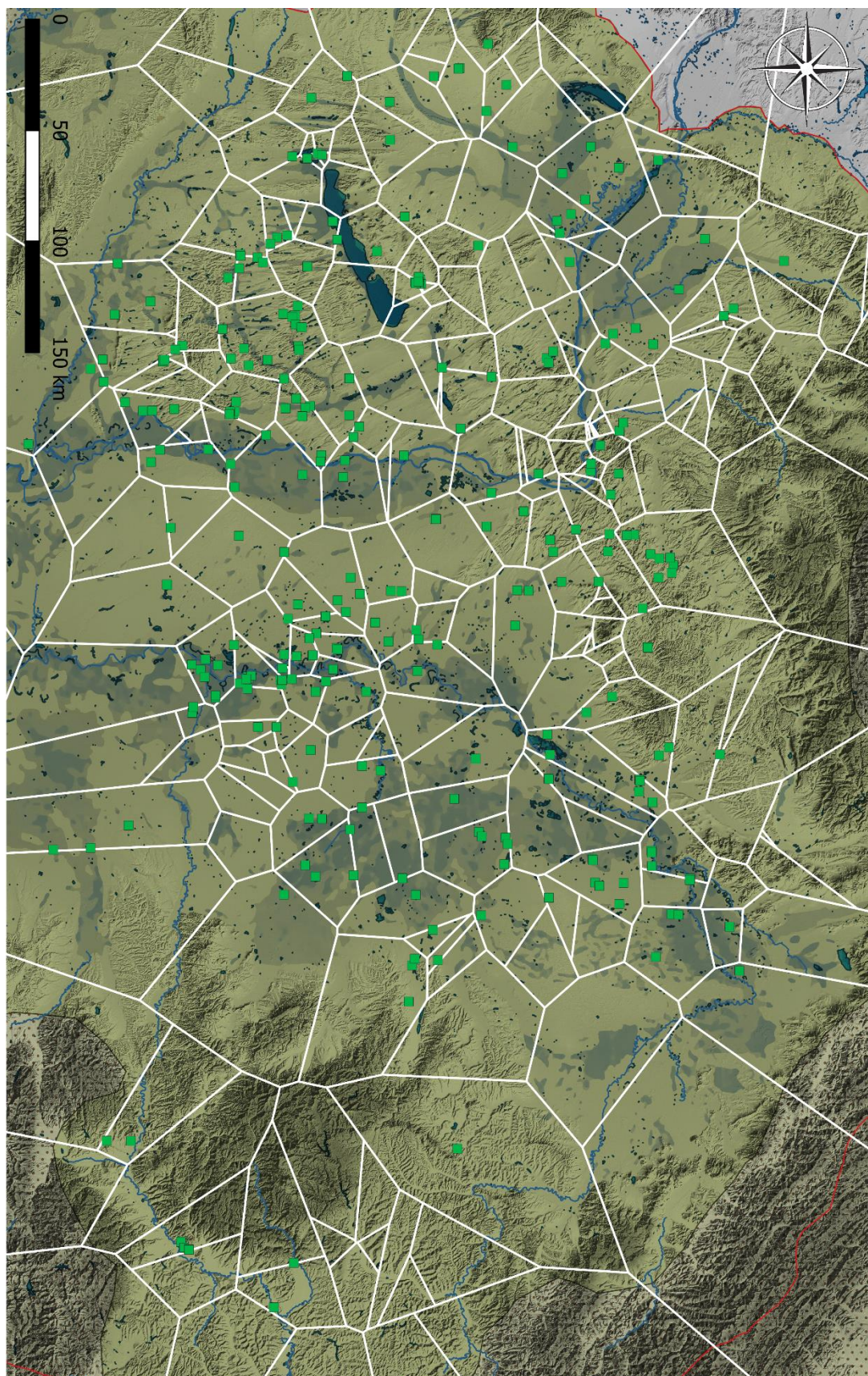


Fig. 19. Relations of Field Cemeteries and the Church Network of the Eleventh Century.

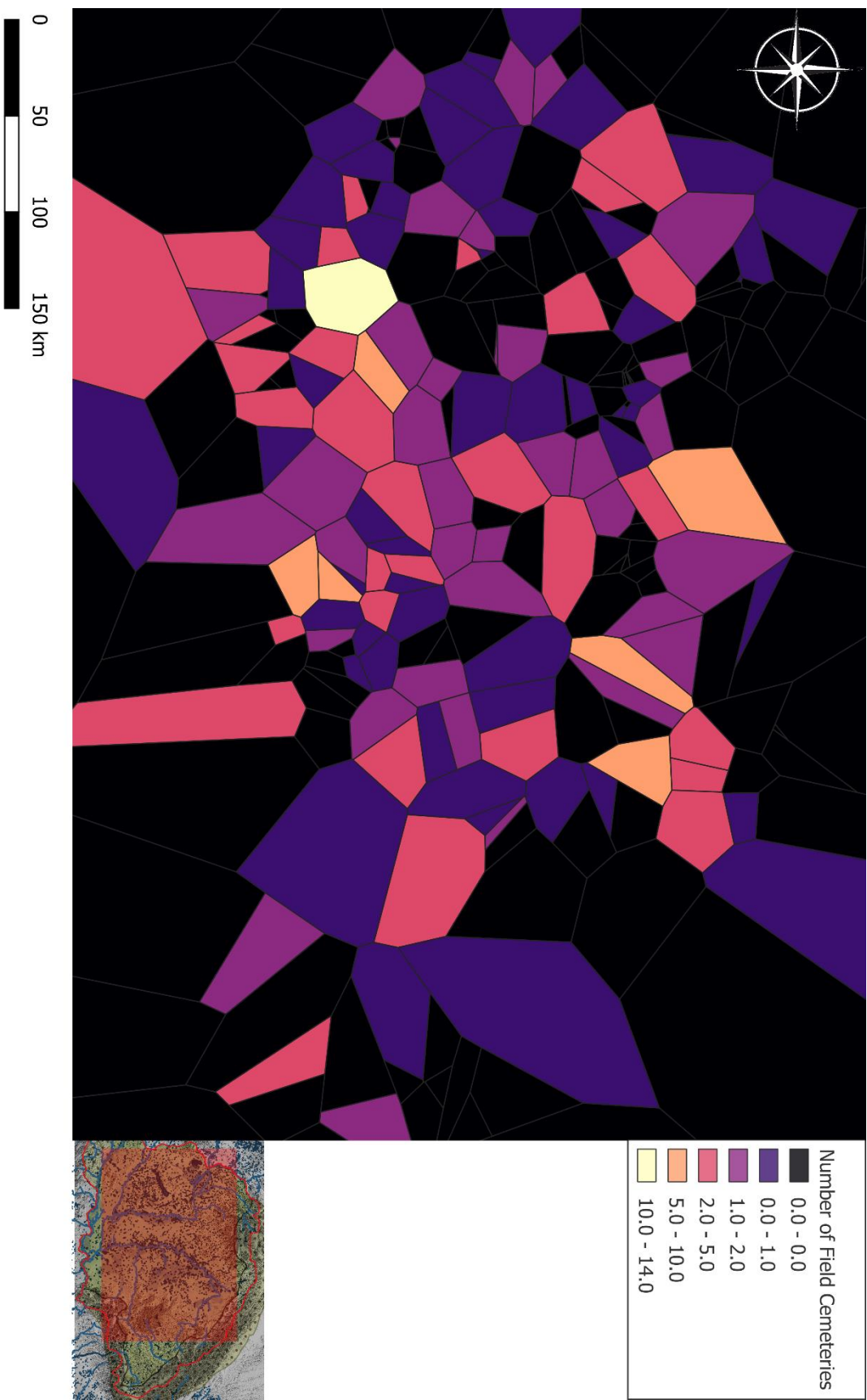


Fig. 20. The Number of Field Cemeteries within the Polygons of the Church Network of the Eleventh Century.



Fig. 21. The Church Network in the Twelfth Century.

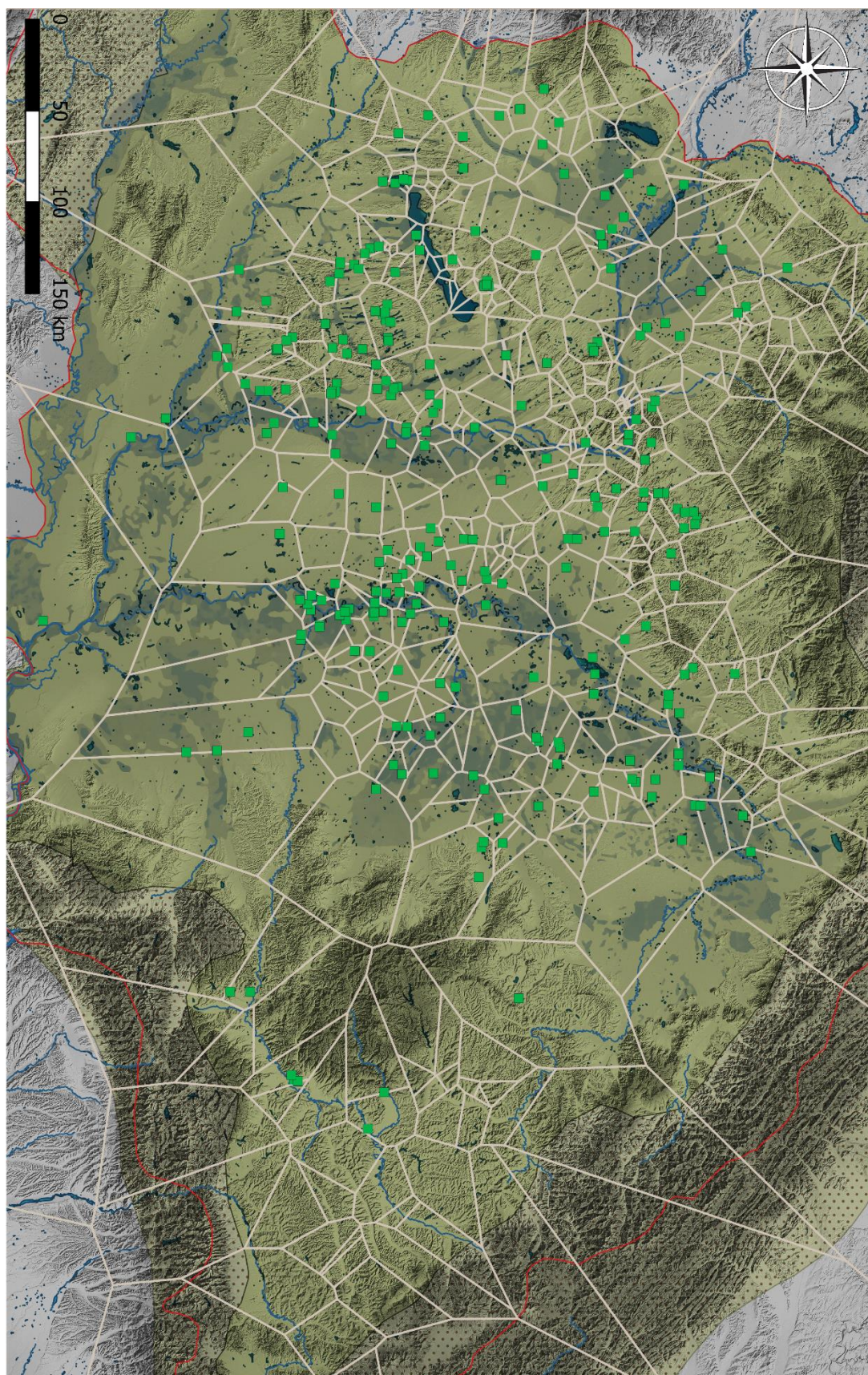


Fig. 22. Relations of Field Cemeteries and the Church Network of the Twelfth Century.

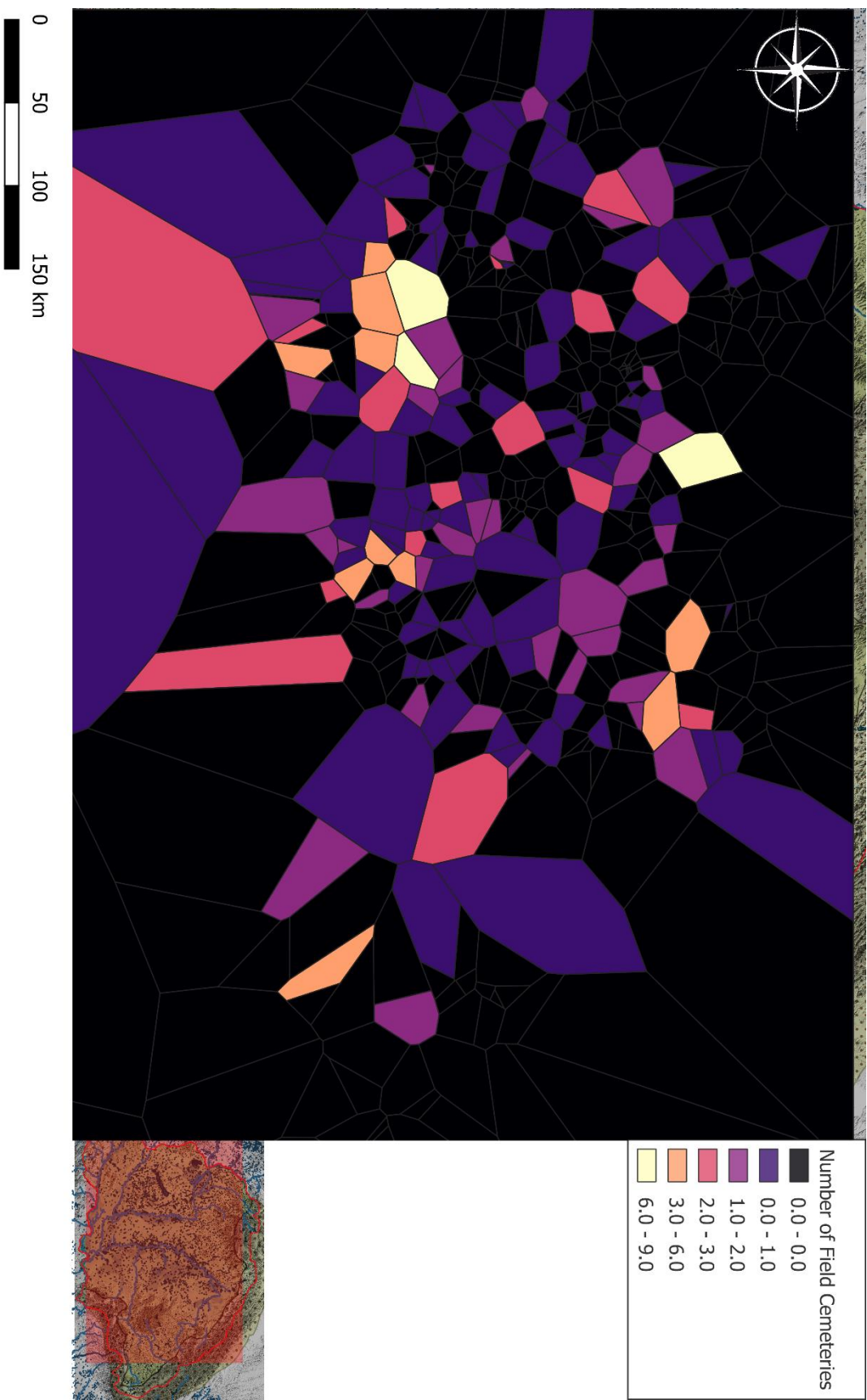


Fig. 23. The Number of Field Cemeteries within the Polygons of the Church Network of the Twelfth Century.

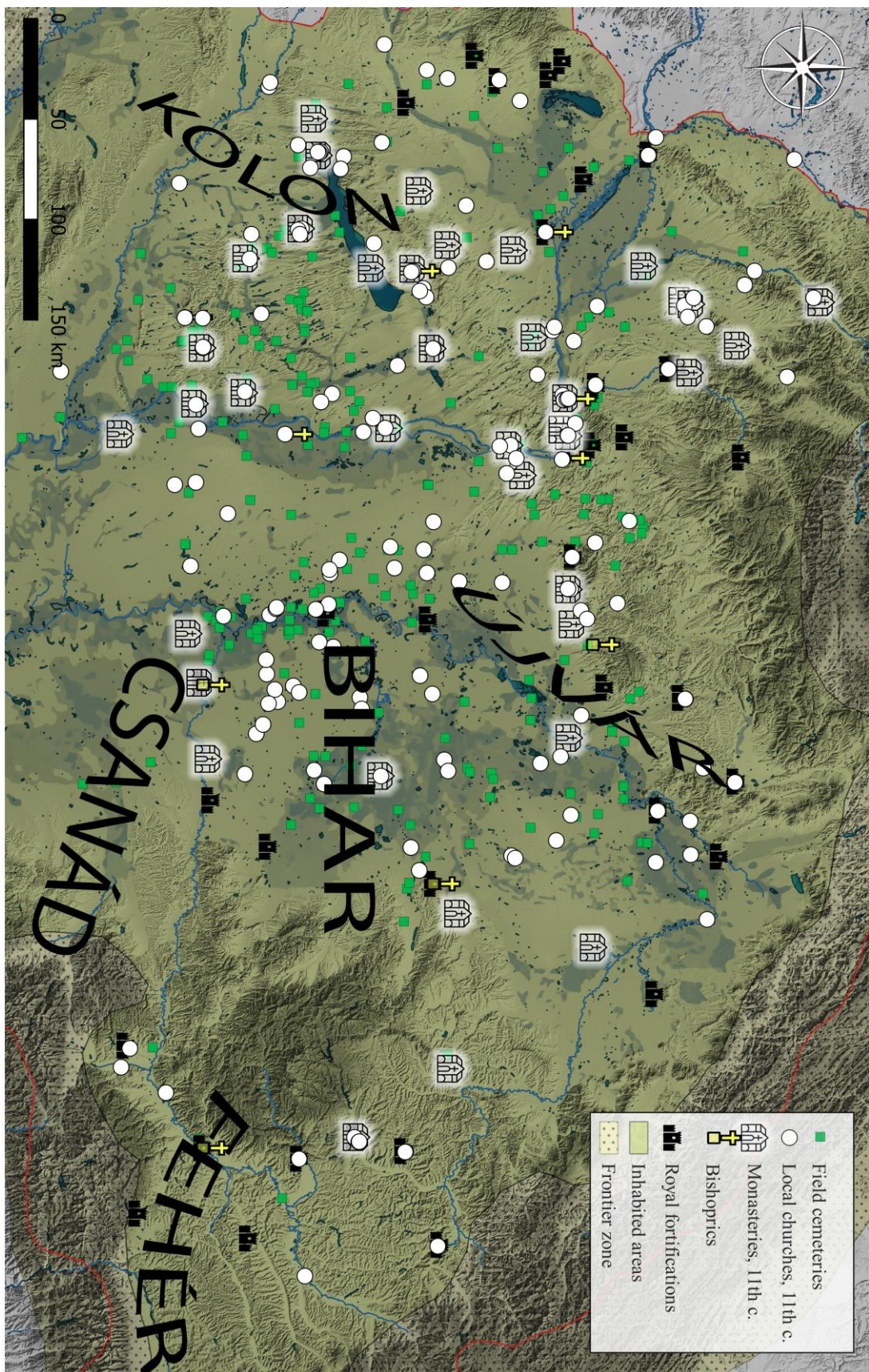


Fig. 24. The Positioning of 'Giant Counties' and the Church Network

LIST OF SITES

FIELD CEMETERIES⁴¹⁰

Nr	Settlement name	Site name	ID ⁴¹¹	Count(r)y
1	Biharia	Téglagyár	Kovács 2013	Romania
2	Alba Iulia	Brândușei	Gáll 2013	Romania
4	Hunedoara		Gáll 2013	Romania
5	Moldovenești		Gáll 2013	Romania
6	Pădureni		Gáll 2013	Romania
7	Hodoni		Gáll 2013	Romania
8	Timișoara	Csóka erdő	Kovács 2013	Romania
9	Vârșand		Gáll 2013	Romania
10	Chișineu		Gáll 2013	Romania
11	Oradea	Szóllós	Gáll 2013	Romania
12	Oradea	Ferencz J laktanya	Gáll 2013	Romania
13	Zalău	Pálvár	Gáll 2013	Romania
14	Noșlac		Gáll 2013	Romania
15	Alba Iulia	Stația de Salvare	Gáll 2013	Romania
16	Deva		Gáll 2013	Romania
17	Alba Iulia	Vânătorilor	Gáll 2013	Romania
18	Alba Iulia	Poklisa	Gáll 2013	Romania
19	Čakajovce	Templom-dűlő	Kovács 2013	Slovakia
20	Trnovec nad Váhom	Felsőjattó	Kovács 2013	Slovakia
21	Borovce	Rakovicka u.	Kovács 2013	Slovakia
22	Ártánd	Nagyfarkasdomb	31790	Hajdú-Bihar
23	Batajnica	Velika Humka	Kovács 2013	Serbia
24	Deszk	Nádashalmi dűlő D temető	43795	Csongrád
25	Nové Zámky	Szomoray-Útra-dűlő	Kovács 2013	Slovakia
26	Fadd	Jegeshegy	23037	Tolna
27	Gyomaendrőd	Szujókereszt	4640	Békés
28	Hajdúdorog	Temetőhegy	4640	Hajdú-Bihar
29	Hajdúszoboszló	Árkoshalom	22729	Hajdú-Bihar
30	Halimba	Cseres	8022	Veszprém
31	Hódmezővásárhely	Nagysziget	34477	Csongrád

⁴¹⁰ Field cemeteries were taken from the Hungarian national database of recorded archaeological sites (<https://archeodatabase.hnm.hu/>). Those sites were taken into consideration where it was dated as Early Árpadian Age. Further sites were taken from the works of Kovács, 'Szállási és falusi temetők'; Erwin Gáll and Mihály Huba Högyes, 'Néhány gondolat a Kis-Szamos völgyének Árpád-kori településterületéről (11. század – 13. század első fele) [Thoughts on the Settlement history of the Someșul Mic Valley]', *Marisia* 34–35 (2015): 57-72.; Erwin Gáll, *Az Erdélyi-medence, a Partium és a Bánság 10–11. századi temetői [10th and 11th century burial sites, stray finds and treasures in the Transylvanian Basin, the Partium and the Banat]* (Szeged; Budapest, 2013).

⁴¹¹ Identification number within the Hungarian national database of recorded archaeological sites (<https://archeodatabase.hnm.hu/>)

32	Bácsalmás	Mosztonga, Juliska major DK	86557	Bács-Kiskun
33	Dunapataj	Várhegy	27617	Bács-Kiskun
34	Érsekcsanád	Veránka, Vajas-dűlő	86545	Bács-Kiskun
35	Érsekhalma	Érsekhalom	27492	Bács-Kiskun
36	Gátér	Gyula major	31407	Bács-Kiskun
37	Kecskemét	Matkó-Kocsis-tó	34086	Bács-Kiskun
38	Kecskemét	Lokátorállomás	27936	Bács-Kiskun
39	Kiskunfélegyháza	Kántor-domb	31294	Bács-Kiskun
40	Kiskunfélegyháza	Páka-Dósa-tanya	31316	Bács-Kiskun
41	Kiskunfélegyháza	Kőrösi út 341. tanya	31318	Bács-Kiskun
42	Kunfehértó	Pándi tanya	35407	Bács-Kiskun
43	Nagybaracska	Öregszőlők	27561	Bács-Kiskun
44	Petőfiszállás	Fazekas-tanya	31424	Bács-Kiskun
45	Solt	Tételhegy	27646	Bács-Kiskun
46	Solt	Révfalu	54678	Bács-Kiskun
47	Sükösd	Szántópuszta (Nikolin 24. lh.)	83755	Bács-Kiskun
48	Szentkirály	Homokbánya	27965	Bács-Kiskun
49	Tázlár	Templomhegy, "Pusztatemplom"	35625	Bács-Kiskun
50	Tiszaújváros	Árkus-dűlő	27994	Bács-Kiskun
51	Beremend	Tsz. homokbánya, Árpádkori temető	20099	Baranya
52	Lapáncsa	Dreispitz dűlő	24846	Baranya
53	Majs	Kiserdő / Udvari rétek	24888	Baranya
54	Mekényes	Rab-völgy	24476	Baranya
55	Mohács	Téglagyár	24493	Baranya
56	Mohács	Varga-tanya	48178	Baranya
57	Palotabozsok	Kirchegrund	25002	Baranya
58	Pécs	Vasas-Homokbánya	28751	Baranya
59	Rádfalva	Görlicés dűlő	25053	Baranya
60	Sellye	Dobina	25073	Baranya
61	Siklónagyfalu	Újhegy	25098	Baranya
62	Szabadszentkirály	Új iskola	25115	Baranya
63	Szárász	Szlavónia dűlő	25132	Baranya
64	Békéscsaba	Schweidel utca	2977	Békés
65	Bucsa	Bucsa, Mária -major	1012	Békés
66	Gerendás	Egyházföld, Homokbánya	43349	Békés
67	Gyula	Gelvács utca	937	Békés
68	Nagyszénás	Vaskapu	1428	Békés
69	Sarkadkeresztúr	Csapháti legelő, Barna-tanya I.	43851	Békés
70	Edelény	Régi temető	16983	Borsod-Abaúj- Zemplén
71	Karcsa	Kormoska	15948	Borsod-Abaúj- Zemplén
72	Köröm	Rákóczi-domb	16022	Borsod-Abaúj- Zemplén

73	Muhi	Muhi puszta	16124	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén
74	Ónod	Muhi	16461	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén
75	Zemplénagárd	Terebesi homok	16382	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén
76	Budapest 3	Csillaghegy, téglagyár	33354	Budapest
77	Baks	Iskola	20725	Csongrád
78	Csanytelek	Béke tér	17205	Csongrád
79	Csengele	Gyarmati tanya (Tanya 23.)	86219	Csongrád
80	Csongrád	Bokros, Bokrospuszta, Jováki-part	17480	Csongrád
81	Csongrád	Bokros, Deák Rókus földje	17481	Csongrád
82	Felgyő	Kossuth u. 23.	34344	Csongrád
83	Felgyő	Gedahalom	48694	Csongrád
84	Hódmezővásárhely	Csomorkány, templomrom	1516	Csongrád
85	Hódmezővásárhely	Csomorkány	1539	Csongrád
86	Hódmezővásárhely	Szakálhát	20333	Csongrád
87	Hódmezővásárhely	Kopáncs, Szent-tanya	36986	Csongrád
88	Hódmezővásárhely	Solt-Palé, Dobos József földje	55363	Csongrád
89	Hódmezővásárhely	Hunyadi-halom vagy Solti-halom	55383	Csongrád
90	Kiszombor	Kisladány 100-as istálló	44117	Csongrád
91	Maroslele	Hunyadi u. 16.	38621	Csongrád
92	Maroslele	Soós-Kruzslicz-telek	38625	Csongrád
93	Maroslele	Temető	38666	Csongrád
94	Mindszent	Korom Ernő tanyája	17120	Csongrád
95	Mindszent	Koszorús-dűlő, Csernák János földje	17122	Csongrád
96	Szatymaz	Vasútállomás-Mezőker	35791	Csongrád
97	Szeged	Szőreg - Péli szélmalomdomb	48372	Csongrád
98	Szeged	Alsóváros, Kundomb I.	55338	Csongrád
99	Szeged	Baktó, Makkoserdő	62754	Csongrád
100	Szegvár	Oromdűlő, VI.külterület 40.,Boros-féle homokbánya	17881	Csongrád
101	Szentes	Kistőke, Dinnyés-halom, Kanász Nagy Antal földje	33422	Csongrád
102	Szentes	Szentlászló, Tárkány Szűcs Imre földje	18505	Csongrád
103	Szentes	Zalota, Magospart, Németh György tanyája	33413	Csongrád
104	Székkutas	Veres-Kutas és Szőke-Halmi dűlő	33703	Csongrád
105	Tiszasziget	Falu Ny-i széle	48399	Csongrád
106	Alap	Tavaszmajor	21555	Fejér
107	Baracska	Gellért Tanya	21596	Fejér
108	Csákvár	Szikvíz üzem	21845	Fejér
109	Előszállás	Arany János utca 4.	21819	Fejér

110	Mezőszilas	Jókai utca	22045	Fejér
111	Nagykarácsony	Szőlőhegy	21821	Fejér
112	Rácalmás	Göböljárás	22151	Fejér
113	Székesfehérvár	Vasvári Pál utca 3.	28673	Fejér
114	Csorna	Eperjes-domb	38853	Győr-Moson-Sopron
115	Győr	Győrszentiván-Söprűshegy	21495	Győr-Moson-Sopron
116	Győr	Pósdomb	44959	Győr-Moson-Sopron
117	Ikrény	Silógödrök és Magtárak összevont lelőhely	24211	Győr-Moson-Sopron
118	Jánossomorja	Tímár-domb	32306	Győr-Moson-Sopron
119	Lébény	Kaszás-domb	24338	Győr-Moson-Sopron
120	Mosonszentmiklós	Lednice domb	31130	Győr-Moson-Sopron
121	Szakony	TSZ major	34027	Győr-Moson-Sopron
122	Vásárosfalu	Tsz-istálló	35787	Győr-Moson-Sopron
123	Debrecen	Józsa, Rózsásdűlő	36710	Hajdú-Bihar
124	Egyek	Félhalom	55277	Hajdú-Bihar
125	Egyek	Cseppentői Temető	75557	Hajdú-Bihar
126	Hajdúböszörmény	Szőke-zug	34227	Hajdú-Bihar
127	Hajdúböszörmény	Kis-Süldős-halom	34200	Hajdú-Bihar
128	Hajdúdorog	Vágott-hegy	40776	Hajdú-Bihar
129	Hajdúdorog	Pedagógus-földek	59498	Hajdú-Bihar
130	Komádi	Közös-liget	31802	Hajdú-Bihar
131	Komádi	Közös-liget II.	32400	Hajdú-Bihar
132	Konyár	Galamb u. 2.	40811	Hajdú-Bihar
133	Nádudvar	Vajózug	40883	Hajdú-Bihar
134	Nádudvar	Töröklaponyag	40886	Hajdú-Bihar
135	Püspökladány	Eperjesvölgy	25330	Hajdú-Bihar
136	Püspökladány	Eperjes-völgy II.	42593	Hajdú-Bihar
137	Eger	Szövetkezeti út	44588	Heves
138	Hatvan	Hárstelep	48882	Heves
139	Pétervására	Lőtér	44835	Heves
140	Pétervására	Ivádi út	44834	Heves
141	Szihalom	Földvár	25655	Heves
142	Jászberény	Szent Pál-halom	28164	Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok
143	Jászfényszaru	Kopasz-domb	44145	Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok
144	Kunhegyes	Nagyállás-halom	32918	Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok

145	Rákóczipfalva	Kastélydomb	25489	Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok
146	Tiszafüred	Tiszaörvény, Templom- domb	80883	Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok
147	Tata	Nagykert u. 34-36.	57622	Komárom-Esztergom
148	Vértesszőlős	M1 autópálya	50532	Komárom-Esztergom
149	Bercel	Bástya u. 29.	71881	Nógrád
150	Bér	Tsz-major	46078	Nógrád
151	Cserhátsurány	Halmok	46121	Nógrád
152	Jobbágyi	Mátra utca 25.	46336	Nógrád
153	Nógrád	Temető	34581	Nógrád
154	Nőtincs	Hársas alja II.	78921	Nógrád
155	Piliny	Sírmány	41508	Nógrád
156	Rimóc	Templomdomb	41563	Nógrád
157	Sóshartyán	Hosszútető	40074	Nógrád
158	Szalmatercs	Fehérlő-dűlő	46566	Nógrád
159	Szécsény	Ültetés	38781	Nógrád
160	Szécsény	Berekdűlő	46731	Nógrád
161	Terény	Bokák-dűlő	51058	Nógrád
162	Abony	Beliczei-dűlő 2.	56146	Pest
163	Bag	Diósberki-dűlő	25767	Pest
164	Dabas	Dabas 3. lelőhely	34330	Pest
165	Dabas	Gyón, Pap-hegy	41282	Pest
166	Dabas	Evangelikus temető, Gyón	54565	Pest
167	Dunabogdány	Cseresznyés utca 4-6.	10200	Pest
168	Galgagyörk	Meleg-völgy	25838	Pest
169	Hévízgyörk	Szilos (Tullát-dűlő)	26045	Pest
170	Ipolytölgyes	Téglaégető	10439	Pest
171	Kőröstetetlen	Árpád-halom	41376	Pest
172	Nagykőrös	Barátszilos	41500	Pest
173	Nagykőrös	Homolytája	41515	Pest
174	Nagytarcsa	Homokbánya	26203	Pest
175	Szentlőrincváta	Monostori határ	42001	Pest
176	Törtel	Kákás-dűlő, Szeghalom	39685	Pest
177	Üllő	Üllő 34. lh., Vasúti-dűlő	56971	Pest
178	Visegrád	Várkert-dűlő, Magyar Nemzeti Bank üdülője	53013	Pest
179	Balatonboglár	Berekre-dűlő	19827	Somogy
180	Fiad	Kérpusztá	19508	Somogy
181	Fonyód	Sándor u. 26. (volt ÁFÉSZ telek)	30417	Somogy
182	Kaposvár	Városi Kertészet	40028	Somogy
183	Kaposvár	Stromfeld Aurél u. 14.	40061	Somogy
184	Kaposvár	61-es úti templom, templom körüli temető	40208	Somogy

185	Kaposvár	Gombási erdő	45297	Somogy
186	Osztópán	Téglagyár	47041	Somogy
187	Somogyaszaló	Kossuth Lajos u. 63-67.	51178	Somogy
188	Somogyjád	Szállás-dűlő I.	19882	Somogy
189	Szentbalázs	Általános iskola	49147	Somogy
190	Törökkoppány	Temető utca	59887	Somogy
191	Ibrány	Esbó-halom	35571	Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg
192	Nyíregyháza	Felsősima - Henzsel Mihály-tanya	51392	Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg
193	Nyíribrony	Fő u. 31.	50655	Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg
194	Szabolcs	Mudrány-kúria	19366	Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg
195	Tiszalök	Kis-Vajas-domb	36963	Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg
196	Dúzs	Ráczenberg	66822	Tolna
197	Értény	Illa-kúti-dűlő III.	66866	Tolna
198	Gyöng	Vásártér út	20488	Tolna
199	Györköny	Sandacker II.	52109	Tolna
200	Györköny	Sandacker III.	52110	Tolna
201	Kajdacs	Éri malom II.	22951	Tolna
202	Kajdacs	Éri malom	20454	Tolna
203	Koppányszántó	Homokbánya	20479	Tolna
204	Koppányszántó	Római katolikus templom	66989	Tolna
205	Madocsa	Pogodhát III.	51762	Tolna
206	Madocsa	Felsőnyilas IV.	51774	Tolna
207	Nagydorog	Hosszútó- dűlő	87233	Tolna
208	Nagydorog	Szőlőhegy	87235	Tolna
209	Nagykónyi	Okrádi-patak mellett	23745	Tolna
210	Nagykónyi	Okrádi-dűlő	51494	Tolna
211	Sárszentlőrinc	Uzd, Táncsics TSz, szérűskert	23318	Tolna
212	Szakcs	Deák F. u. 6.	23299	Tolna
213	Szekszárd	Batitorok	66292	Tolna
214	Szekszárd	Kálvária	66386	Tolna
215	Szekszárd	Jobbremete	66394	Tolna
216	Szekszárd	Porkolábvölgy I.	66402	Tolna
217	Tamási	Újvárhegy	36953	Tolna
218	Tamási	Rácvölgy	22996	Tolna
219	Závod	Alsó Ziller-dűlő	23242	Tolna
220	Hegyfalu	Kossuth Lajos u. 21.	85879	Vas
221	Szombathely	Semmelweis Ignác u.	21409	Vas
222	Szombathely	Kisfaludy Sándor utca 70-72.	21425	Vas
223	Velem	Szent Vid (Szentvid)	0	Vas
224	Balatonmagyaród	Koloni-dűlő	20268	Zala
225	Balatonmagyaród	Hídvégpusztá	39150	Zala

226	Csonkahegyhát	Ó-temető	39282	Zala
227	Egervár	Kápolna-dűlő II.	39311	Zala
228	Pusztaszentlászló	Deák-sűrű	18926	Zala
229	Sármellék	Repülőtér II.	11403	Zala
230	Zalaszentgrót	Alsómalomkert	53796	Zala
231	Zalavár	Községi temető	44317	Zala
232	Kiszombor	Nagyszentmiklósi út II.	44126	Csongrád
233	Gerényes	Kis-Nagyág	48039	Baranya
234	Budapest 23	Soroksár, Péteri major	15737	Budapest
235	Mindszent	Gyovai Tóbiás földje	17121	Csongrád
236	Mindszent	Hármashatárhegy	17127	Csongrád
237	Bakonykoppány	Kavicsbánya (Kaséri-domb)	7179	Veszprém
238	Békéscsaba	Kereki, Kékegyi-tanya	3015	Békés
239	Miskolc	Vörös u. 13.sz.	16716	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén
240	Miskolc	Miskolctapolcai-vizesbarlang	16773	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén
241	Tiszalúc	Sarkadpuszta	16930	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén
242	Hódmezővásárhely	Kotacpart, Vata-tanya	55329	Csongrád
243	Székesfehérvár	Szabadság tér 2.	25363	Fejér
244	Levél	Újhelyi Imre tér	24363	Győr-Moson-Sopron
245	Vértesszőlős	Széchenyi u.	50536	Komárom-Esztergom
246	Bátonyterenye	Hársashegy	40364	Nógrád
247	Pamuk	Gál - horog	48006	Somogy
248	Ibrány	Általános iskola	51548	Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg
249	Szekszárd	Baktahegy	66414	Tolna
250	Malé Kosihy	Felsökenderesek	Kovács 2013	Slovakia
251	Kiszombor	B temető	44085	Csongrád
252	Nitra	Sindolka	Kovács 2013	Slovakia
253	Hurbanovo	Bohatá	Kovács 2013	Slovakia
254	Szob	Vendelin	11653	Pest
255	Vukovar	Lijeva Bara	Kovács 2013	Croatia
256	Besenov	Sírdűlő	Kovács 2013	Slovakia
257	Abrahám	poloha Podvrbské	Kovács 2013	Slovakia
258	Békés	Povád	2752	Békés
259	Bijelo Brdo		Kovács 2013	Croatia
260	Csátalja	Vágotthegy	27438	Baranya
261	Ellend	Kis Cseri dűlő	37570	Baranya
262	Ellend	Szilfai dűlő	24645	Baranya
263	Ellend	Nagyödör dűlő	Kovács 2013	Baranya
264	Felgyő	Kettőshalom	17651	Bács-Kiskun
265	Svätý Peter	Kisrét II temető		Slovakia
266	Magyarhomorog	Kónya-domb	32454	Hajdú-Bihar

267	Mezőberény	Kér-halom dűlő	5739	Békés
268	Öcsöd	Kovás-halom	28166	Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok
269	Örménykút	Maczonkai-domb	5948	Békés
270	Somogyvasas	Mogyorósi kút	27007	Baranya
271	Bratislava	Oroszvár- Wiesenacker dűlő	Kovács 2013	Slovakia
272	Sorokpolány	Berekalja dűlő II.	42712	Vas
273	Szabolcs	Belterület - Petőfi u.	36665	Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg
274	Szabolcs	Vontatópart II.	36666	Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg
275	Tiszalök	Rázompusztá, Gyémánt-domb, I. sz. temető	36999	Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg
276	Tiszalök	Rázompusztá II. sz. temető	37000	Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg
277	Tiszalök	Rázompusztá-III. temető	37001	Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg
278	Újlőrincfalva	Magyarad	49998	Heves
279	Subotica	Veresegyház I	Kovács 2013	Serbia
280	Szabadka	Veresegyház II	Kovács 2013	Serbia
282	Bihar	Căuaceu	Gáll 2013	Romania
283	Veszprém	Paál László utca	57244	Veszprém
284	Veszprém	Sallai u.	9657	Veszprém
285	Veszprém	Pléh-szőlők / Madách u.	9668	Veszprém
286	Veszprém	Cserhát	9678	Veszprém
287	Veszprém	Hunyadi utca	57243	Veszprém
288	Veszprém	Sashegyi-szőlők	9707	Veszprém
289	Veszprém	Jeruzsálemhegy	9702	Veszprém
290	Dörgicse	Felsődörgicse - Szérűskertek	7826	Veszprém

LOCAL CHURCHES OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

fid	ID ⁴¹²	Settlement name	Count(r)y	Site name	Literature
1	48717	Abasár	Heves	Bolttető	Tóth 2017.
2	49334	Abasár	Heves	Peterma	Tóth 2017.
3	48730	Abasár	Heves	Rk. templom	Tóth 2017.
4	15846	Abaújvár	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	vár	15846
5	32583	Abaújvár	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	Református templom	Gádor 1980
6	168	Geoagiu	Romania		Petrov 1998
7	63928	Almásfüzitő	Komárom-Esztergom	Pusztadomb II.	63928
8	63938	Almásfüzitő	Komárom-Esztergom	Prépost-sziget (Szent Elek-sziget)	63938
9	69255	Alsópáhok	Zala	Kátyán-hegy	MRT 1, 24.
10	27181	Apostag	Bács-Kiskun	Rotunda	Gervers-Molnár 1972, 45-46.
11	19630	Babócsa	Somogy	Nárciszos	Magyar 1994, 77.
12	69591	Bácsalmás	Bács-Kiskun	Kígyós-csatorna	Rég.Füz. 1964 (18), 56.
13	27378	Baja	Bács-Kiskun	Pető	Rég.Füz. 1960 (14), 80-81.
14	1920	Bajna	Komárom-Esztergom	Pap-földi-dűlő	MRT 5. 38.
15	30473	Balmazújváros	Hajdú-Bihar	Papegyháza	30473
16	21796	Baracs	Fejér	Apátszállás	Kulcsár 1995.
17	19956	Báta	Tolna	Régitemető-völgy	K. Németh - Rácz 2013, 3.
18		Bíňa	Slovakia	Bíňa -Opátske, Kostol sv. Mikuláša, Leánd	Pomfyová et al. 2013, 86.
19	32515	Berekböszörmény	Hajdú-Bihar	Református templom	M.Nepper 2002, 25-26.
20	47584	Beszterec	Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg	Református templom	Istvánovits 2003, pp. 28-29.
21	64	Bihar	Romania	Castle church	Mordovin 2018, 111.
22		Boldog	Slovakia		Boldog
23	15150	Budapest 16	Budapest	Rózsalevél utca 46., evangélikus templom és környéke	Írásné 1997, 75.
24	56084	Budapest 3	Budapest	Szent Péter prépostsági templom területe	56084
25		Budapest 5	Budapest	Belvárosi plébániatemplom	15658

⁴¹² The ID refers to the identification number within the Hungarian national database of recorded archaeological sites (<https://archeodatabase.hnm.hu/hu>)

26		Cece	Fejér	Menyédpuszta	21760
27	71449	Cegléd	Pest	Kövespart / Bábahalom	Tari 1995, 131-132.
28	39422	Csemő	Pest	Hosszú-dűlő / Gerje-halom / Göbolyös tanya	Tari 1991, 399. Tari 1995, 6-13.
29	17391	Csongrád	Csongrád	Kesköny	Rég.Füz. 1958(11) 71-72.
30	39436	Dánszentmiklós	Pest	Tetveshalom	Rég.Füz. 1978 (32), 80.
31	75803	Debrecen	Hajdú-Bihar	Nagycsere, Szent János-hegyi templom / Újlak	Módy 1988, 55-56.
32		Dăbâca	IV	Castle Area IV	Gáll 2006, pp. 286-287.
33		Dăbâca	garden	A.Tămaș's garden	Gáll 2006, pp. 287.
34		Dăbâca	Romania	Boldâgă	Gáll, 2006, pp. 292.
35	20634	Dóc	Csongrád	Kőtörési-szőlők, Kőtörési-major	Széll, 1943, 179-180.
36	62558	Dombegyház	Békés	Vizespuszta/Vizesmonostor	Szatmári 2005, 154.
37	76365	Dombóvár	Tolna	Szarvasd-puszta	K.Németh 2001, pp. 392-393.
38	7827	Dörgicse	Veszprém	Felsődörgicse, Templomrom	MRT 2, 85.
40	16504	Edelény	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	Borsodi földvár	16504
41	30970	Edelény	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	Borsod-Református templom	Wolf 1999 (RKM 1999), pp. 199-200
42	2109	Esztergom	Komárom-Esztergom	Szentkirály II.	MRT. 5, 185.
43	29114	Esztergom	Komárom-Esztergom	Schweidel József utca 10. / Kovácsi plébániatemplom	MRT. 5, 176-178.
44	2105	Esztergom	Komárom-Esztergom	Kovácsi Szent János templom	MRT. 5, 176-177.
45	2278	Esztergom	Komárom-Esztergom	Szent Lőrinc templom	MRT. 5, 141.
46	2237	Esztergom	Komárom-Esztergom	várhegy - Szent István protomártír-templom és -prépostság	MRT 5, 91-92.
47	2239	Esztergom	Komárom-Esztergom	várhegy - Szent Adalbert-templom	MRT 5, 103.
48		Esztergom	Komárom-Esztergom	várhegy - Szent Vid	Nagy 1968, 103. See also Major 2014, 15.

49	48694	Felgyő	Csongrád	Gedahalom	48694
51	19531	Főnyed	Somogy	Gólyásfa	Aradi 1998
52		Kostoľany pod Trábečom	Slovakia		Pomfyová et al 2013, 108
53	31494	Gyöngyöspata	Heves	Szent Péter templom	Nagy László 2013, pp. 109.
54	48869	Gyöngyöspata	Heves	Rk. templom	Kovács 1978.
55	51543	Győr	Győr-Moson-Sopron	Apor Vilmos püspök tere	Lővei 1991, pp. 9.
56	44960	Győr	Győr-Moson-Sopron	Székesegyház?	Kozák-Uzsoki 1970.
57	39	Gyula	Békés	Fővenyes	Szatmári-Gerelyes 1996.
58	40	Gyula	Békés	Szeregyháza	Szatmári-Gerelyes 1996.
60	34211	Hajdúdorog	Hajdú-Bihar	Kövecses-halom	Rég Füz. 1992 (46), 101-2.
61	8005	Hajmáskér	Veszprém	Belterület	Koppány 1967, pp. 129.
62	1516	Hódmezővásárhely	Csongrád	Csomorkány, templomrom	1516
63	55612	Hódmezővásárhely	Csongrád	Kis-tóvölgyi-dűlő III.	55612
64	31524	Ják	Vas	Szent Jakab kápolna	Éry-Marcsik 2010.
65	84551	Kalocsa	Bács-Kiskun	Székesegyház	Henszelmann 1873
66	40208	Kaposvár	Somogy	61-es úti templom, templom körüli temető	Rég. Füz. 1980. (34), 103.
67	15956	Karcsa	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	Református templom	15956
68	1043	Kardoskút	Békés	Hatablak - Fekete József földje	Szatmári 2005, 129.
69	64504	Kardoskút	Békés	Fehértó, Szeghalmi Ferenc-tanya, Apácaegyháza	Marcsik 1970, 155, Szatmári 2005, 96.
70	10547	Keszthely	Zala	Plébániatemplom és ferences kolostor	Gervers 1972, 33.
71	31300	Kiskunfélegyháza	Bács-Kiskun	Bense-tanya	Rosta 2014, 145-146.
72	31400	Kiskunfélegyháza	Bács-Kiskun	Csányi-tanya / Alpári út	Rosta 2014, 147.
73	31399	Kiskunfélegyháza	Bács-Kiskun	Templomhalom	Rosta 2014, 148.
74	25665	Kisnána	Heves	vár	Gervers 1972, 34.
75	27526	Kisszállás	Bács-Kiskun	Templomdomb	Rosta 2014, 182.
76	77655	Kisújszállás	Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok	Konta 4.	Rég.Füz. 1983 (37), 91-92.
78	40247	Letenye	Zala	Fő tér	40247

79	40248	Letenye	Zala	Szentkeresztomb	40248
80		Lutzmannsburg	Austria	Földvár	Gömöri 2008, 208-209.
81	27534	Madaras	Bács-Kiskun	Bajmoki út	Rég. Füz. 1975 (29), 66.
82	22770	Mánfa	Baranya	Római katolikus templom	22770
83	16051	Mezőcsát	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	Csicske-dűlő	Szabó 2006.
84	28958	Mezőkovácsháza	Békés	Új Alkotmány Tsz, Henrik-major II. / Kovácsháza	Szatmári 2005, 134.
85	20411	Nagykőrös	Pest	Gurmann- halom	20411
86	20412	Nagykőrös	Pest	Szőrhalom	Simon 1991, 30.
87	32300	Nagylózs	Győr-Moson-Sopron	Temetődomb	32300
89		Nitra	Slovakia	sv Emeráma	Pomfyová et al 2013, 120.
90	20329	Ópusztaszer	Csongrád	Kápolnai-erdő	20329
91	33571	Ópusztaszer	Csongrád	Monostor	33571
92	5938	Örménykút	Békés	Décsi-telek-halom / Décsé	Szatmári 2005, 107.
93	5949	Örménykút	Békés	Maczonkai-határt - Kápolna-halom / Bercsényegyháza	Szatmári 2005, 100-101.
94	64666	Orosháza	Békés	Rákocztelep-Újosztás; Gellértegyháza	Bíró 2018
95	8861	Öskü	Veszprém	Kerektemplom	Gervers 1972, 34.
96	8903	Pápa	Veszprém	Belterólet, Fő tér	Mordovin 2015, 246.
97	34401	Pásztó	Nógrád	Ciszterci templom és kolostor	Valter 2018
98	26798	Pécs	Baranya	Cella trichora	Buzás 2013
99	24585	Pécs	Baranya	Cella septichora	Buzás 2013
100	82435	Pécsvárad	Baranya	Felszabadulás tér	Kárpáti 1984, pp. 118.
101	25035	Pécsvárad	Baranya	Rózsa F. u. - Zengőalja út	Bodó 2004
102	25040	Pécsvárad	Baranya	Katolikus templom dombja	Bodó 2004
103	49159	Pétervására	Heves	vár	Nováki-Baráz 2000, pp. 21.
104		Pohranice	Slovakia	Kostol Všetkých svätých	Pomfyová
105	43211	Rábagyarmat	Vas	Római katolikus templom	43211
106	16315	Sárospatak	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	Római katolikus templom	Molnár 1968
107	9147	Sóly	Veszprém	Református templom	RKM 2009, pp. 341.
108	20405	Somogyvár	Somogy	Kupavár	Magyar 1993, pp. 45.

109	48842	Somogyvár	Somogy	Gyógypedagógiai intézet mellett /Erdőszet	Magyar 1993, pp. 45.
110	48789	Somogyvár	Somogy	Makovistya dűlő / Kurtő	Magyar 1993, pp.45.
111		Starý Tekov	Slovakia	Kostol Panny Márie	Pomfyová et al. 2013, 149.
112		Sary Tekov	Slovakia	Hrad - sv Juraja	Pomfyová et al. 2013, 144.
113	36676	Szabolcs	Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg	Református templom	Rég.Füz. 1972 (26), 87-88.
114	40232	Szécsény	Nógrád	Kerekdomb	Nyáry 1907.
115	60922	Szeged	Csongrád	Belváros, Dömötör-torony	Lajkó 2015
116	28641	Székesfehérvár	Fejér	Rózsa Ferenc utca 4.	Siklósi 1990, pp. 141.
117	28649	Székesfehérvár	Fejér	Koronázó tér 1-3. /Szűz Mária prépostság, Bazilika	28649
118	23352	Szekszárd	Tolna	vármegyeháza	K.Németh 2015, pp. 160-161.
119	18508	Szentes	Csongrád	Kaján, Temető-halom / Köves halom	RKM 2001, pp. 220-221.
120	33388	Szentes	Csongrád	Szentlászló	Széll 1941, pp. 233.
121		Sâniob	Romania	Church nearby the monastery	Paradisum Plantavit
122	20192	Szerep	Hajdú-Bihar	Csonkatorony	Mesterházy 1975, pp. 220,
123	11677	Szob	Pest	Bészob	MRT 9, pp. 339-342.
124	21424	Szombathely	Vas	Szent Márton plébániatemplom	Kiss-Tóth 2002, pp. 345.
126	39571	Tápiógyörgye	Pest	0313/1 hrsz. / Ilike part	Tari 1995, 120.
127	34602	Tarnaszentmária	Heves	Római katolikus templom	Kozák 1984, pp.125-126.
128	36293	Tiszaszentmárton	Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg	Református templom	Bartos-Fülöp 2011.
129	20193	Újszentmargita	Hajdú-Bihar	Koponya-csárda	Mesterházy 1975, pp. 220,
130	12070	Vác	Pest	Szent Péter-templom	MRT 9, pp. 458.
132		Moldovenești	Romania		Personal information from the recent excavation by Zsolt Csók
133	1434	Végegyháza	Békés	Zsibrik-domb, Templom-halom /Kaszaper	Szatmári 2005, 130.
134	9648	Veszprém	Veszprém	várhegy - Székesegyház	Rainer 2009, 16.

135	9736	Veszprém	Veszprém	várhegy - Szent György-kápolna	Rainer 2009, 25.
136	55528	Veszprémvarsány	Győr-Moson-Sopron	Római katolikus templom	MRT 4, 259.
137	53013	Visegrád	Pest	Várkert-dűlő, Magyar Nemzeti Bank dűlője	Buzás et al. 2018
138	32382	Visegrád	Pest	Sibrik-domb	Buzás et al. 2018
139	16894	Vízoly	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	Református templom	16894
140	40899	Zalamerenye	Zala	Templom	Zala
141	12525	Zalavár	Zala	Kövecses-sziget	Cs. Sós 1984.
142	12526	Zalavár	Zala	Récés-kút	Mordovin 2006.
143	12527	Zalavár	Zala	vár-sziget	Mordovin 2006.
144	9873	Zirc	Veszprém	Kistemplom	MRT 4, pp. 265.
145		Nitra-Dražovce	Slovakia		Pomfyová et al 2013, 128.
147		Debrecen	Hajdú-Bihar	Perse-domb	Mesterházy 1973. pp.226.
148		Dunaújváros	Fejér	Pentele	Stibrányi 2015, 34-35.
149		Téglás	Hajdú-Bihar	Angolkert	Gazdapusztai 1965
150	44055	Zalabér	Zala	Aranyod	44055
155		Ducové	Slovakia	Slovakia	Pomfyová et al. 2013, 101.
158		Kopčany	Slovakia		Pomfyová et al 2013, 104.
159		Lutzmansburg	Austria	castle church	Mordovin 2017, 120.
160		Nitra Chrenovská	Slovakia	Sv. Martin	Pomfyová et al 2013, 122.
164		Streisângeorgiu	Romania		Szabó 1985, pp. 55.
168		Bojnice	Slovakia		Pomfyová et al. 2013, 90.
169		Bratislava	Slovakia	Hrad	Kovács 2013.
171		Bratislava	Slovakia	Devín	Kovács 2013.
172		Nitrianska Blatnica	Slovakia	Sv. Juraja	Pomfyová et al 2013, 138.
173		Nesvady	Slovakia	Jánoska part	Nevizánsky-Prohúszka 2018
174		Trenčín	Slovakia	Hrad	Pomfyová et al. 2013, 152.
175		Sîntion	Romania		Kovács 2013.
176	36456	Sárrétudvari	Hajdú-Bihar	Református templom	Kovács 2013.

177	15161	Budapest 15	Budapest	Rákospalota, Kossuth Lajos utca 39-41.	Kovács 2013.
178		Čepin	Croatia		Kovács 2013.
179	80343	Jászberény	Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok	Necső	Kovács 2013.
180		Kaposfő	Somogy	Szomajom	Kovács 2013.
181		Kuncsorba	Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok	XIV. dűlő	Kovács 2013.
182		Modrany	Slovakia	Szentkirálykúti dűlő	Kovács 2013.
183	73203	Németkér	Tolna	Látóhegy	Kovács 2013.
184	41637	Orosháza	Békés	Kristó téglagyár	Kovács 2013.
185		Subotica	Serbia	Nosza - Hinga	Kovács 2013.
186	28995	Tótkomlós	Békés	Száraz-ér part	Kovács 2013.
187	9655	Veszprém	Veszprém	Kálvária domb	Kovács 2013.
188	6792	Vésztő	Békés	Mágor	Kovács 2013.
189		Mănăştur	Romania	Castle Church	Gáll-Balázs-Nagy 2018.
190		Cluj	Romania	Main square	Gáll-Balázs-Nagy 2018
191		Cluj	Romania	Franciscan friary	Gáll-Gergely-Nagy 2018
192		Moreşti	Romania		Gáll-Nyárádi 2017, 723.
193		Şirioara	Romania		Gáll 2013, 148.

TRANSITIONAL CEMETERIES IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

fid	ID ⁴¹³	Settlement name	Site name	Count(r)y	Literature
1	32583	Abaújvár	Református templom	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	Gádor 1980
2	69591	Bácsalmás	Kígyós-csatorna	Bács-Kiskun	Rég.Füz. 1964 (18), 56.
3	27378	Baja	Pető	Bács-Kiskun	Rég.Füz. 1960 (14), 80-81.
4	21796	Baracs	Apátszállás	Fejér	Kulcsár 1995.
5	32515	Berekböszörmény	Református templom	Hajdú-Bihar	M.Nepper 2002, 25-26.
6	47584	Beszterec	Református templom	Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg	Istvánovits 2003, pp. 28-29.
7	71449	Cegléd-Kövespart	Kövespart / Bábahalom	Pest	Tari 1995, 131-132.
8	44960	Győr	Székesegyház	Győr-Moson-Sopron	Kozák-Uzsoki 1970.
9	39	Gyula	Fövenyes	Békés	Szatmári-Gerelyes 1996.
10	40	Gyula	Szeregyháza	Békés	Szatmári-Gerelyes 1996.
11	30	Alba Iulia	Székesegyház	Romania	Kovács 2013, 255.
12	40208	Kaposvár	61-es úti templom	Somogy	Rég. Füz. 1980. (34), 103.
13	27526	Kisszállás	Templomdomb	Bács-Kiskun	Rosta 2014, 182.
14	64666	Orosháza	Rákóczi-telep-Újosztás; Gellértegyháza	Békés	Bíró 2018
15	43912	Téglás	Angolkert	Hajdú-Bihar	Gazdapusztai 1965
16		Geoagiu		Romania	Petrov 1998
17	31524	Ják	Szent Jakab kápolna	Vas	Éry-Marcsik 2010.
18	19956	Báta	Régitemető-völgy	Tolna	K. Németh - Rác 2013, 3.
19	5938	Örménykút	Décsi-telek-halom / Décse	Békés	Szatmári 2005, 107.
20		Bihar	Téglaégető	Romania	Kovács 2013, 254.

⁴¹³ The ID refers to the identification number within the Hungarian national database of recorded archaeological sites (<https://archeodatabase.hnm.hu/hu>)

MONASTERIES OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY⁴¹⁴

fid	Settlement name
1	Garamszentbenedek
2	Szentjobb
3	Kolozsmonostor
4	Kolos
5	Hahót
6	Mogyoród
7	Bodrogmonostor
8	Ajtonymonostor
9	Sárvármonostor
10	Nitra
11	Pentele
12	Pannonhalma
13	Visegrád
14	Zebegény
15	Óbuda
16	Bakonybél
17	Zalavár
18	Pécsvárad
19	Kaposszentjakab
20	Szekszárd
21	Tihany
22	Abasár
23	Feldebrő
24	Zobor
25	Oroszlámos
26	Csanád
27	Százd
28	Somlóvásárhely
29	Esztergom Sziget
30	Veszprémvölgy
31	Tata
32	Székesfehérvár Szűz Mária
33	Szávaszentdemeter
34	Báta
35	Somogyvár
36	Diakovce
37	Meszes
38	Skalka nad Váhom
39	Vésető

⁴¹⁴ The list of monasteries dated to the Early High Middle Ages was taken from the work Kristó, 'Tatárjárás előtti bencés monostorainkról [About our Monasteries before the Mongol Invasion]'.
 223

BISHOPRICS IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY⁴¹⁵

fid	Settlement name
1	Esztergom
2	Győr
3	Pécs
4	Vác
5	Eger
6	Csanád
7	Veszprém
8	Transylvania (Alba Iulia)
13	Kalocsa
14	Bihar

⁴¹⁵ For a detailed discussion on the foundation of bishoprics in the eleventh century see Koszta, 'State Power and Ecclesiastical System in Eleventh Century Hungary'.

ROYAL FORTIFICATIONS IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY ⁴¹⁶

fid	Settlement name
1	Abaújvár
2	Oradea
3	Bíňa
4	Biharea
5	Borsod
6	Borsova (Вари)
7	Cenad
8	Draßburg
9	Dăbâca
10	Esztergom
11	Gyöngyöspata
12	Győr
13	Alba Iulia
14	Hont
15	Mănăştur
16	Cetatea de Baltă
17	Lutzmannsburg
18	Moson
19	Nitra
20	Starý Tekov
21	Hunedoara
22	Orlat
23	Bratislava
24	Şirioara
25	Somogyvár
26	Sopron
27	Szabolcs
28	Tolmács
29	Moldoveneşti
30	Vasvár
31	Velem - Szent Vid
32	Veszprém
33	Visegrád - Sibrik domb
34	Zalavár
35	Zaránd
36	Zemplén
37	Székesfehérvár
38	Csongrád
39	Nógrád
40	Sály
41	Szolnok

⁴¹⁶ The list of fortified royal centres was taken from the work of Mordovin, *A várszervezet kialakulása*.

42	Zvolen
43	Trenčín

LOCAL CHURCHES OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

fid	ID ⁴¹⁷	Settlement name	Site name	Count(r)y	Literature
1	37	Gyula	Török-zug	Békés	Szatmári 2006., Rég.Füz. 25/182
2	41	Gyula	Szentbenedek	Békés	Szatmári- Gerelyes 1996.
3	42	Gyula	Györke	Békés	Szatmári- Gerelyes 1996.
4	1056	Csökmő	Csökmő, Peterd	Hajdú-Bihar	Szatmári 2005, 140
5	1067	Csorvás	Csorvás, Faluhely	Békés	Szatmári 1999, 104.
6	1459	Medgyesegyháza	Juliska csárda/Kunágotai földút	Békés	Szatmári 2005, 136.
7	1479	Medgyesegyháza	Bánkút, Libicsi halom	Békés	Szatmári 2005, 97.
8	1486	Nagyszénás	Székács-major, Dózsa erdő	Békés	Szatmári 2005, 138.
9	1718	Hidegség	Templomdomb	Győr-Moson- Sopron	Sedlmayer 1977, 236.
10	1902	Bajna	Bercse II.	Komárom- Esztergom	MRT 5. 34-36. See also Szakács 2012, 12.
11	2106	Esztergom	Gyepmester-ház (Lázár- domb)	Komárom- Esztergom	MRT 5., 181.
12	2110	Esztergom	Szentkirály III.	Komárom- Esztergom	MRT. 5., 187- 188.
13	2118	Esztergom	Zsidód II.	Komárom- Esztergom	Molnár 2005.
14	2222	Esztergom	Helemba-sziget	Komárom- Esztergom	MRT 5., 227.
15	2279	Esztergom	Szent Miklós-templom	Komárom- Esztergom	MRT. 5., 142.
16	2306	Kesztölc	Magasok I.	Komárom- Esztergom	MRT 5, 232- 233.
17	2388	Mogyorósbánya	R.K. Templom	Komárom- Esztergom	Rég.Füz. 5, 257.
18	2744	Békés	Hidas, Templomhely	Békés	Szatmári 2005, 54.
19	3660	Biharugra	Szentegyháza	Békés	MRT 6. 24.
20	3670	Biharugra	Temető-zug	Békés	MRT 6. 25-26.
21	3670	Biharugra	Református templom	Békés	MRT 6. 25-26.
22	3709	Csabacsüd	Nagyráta - Templomhely	Békés	MRT 8, 101.
23	4607	Gyomaendrőd	Kápolna-halom	Békés	MRT 8, 126- 127.

⁴¹⁷ The ID refers to the identification number within the Hungarian national database of recorded archaeological sites (<https://archeodatabase.hnm.hu/hu>)

24	4869	Kamut	Kamut-dűlő, Molnár-tanya	Békés	MRT 10, 466-469
25	4962	Kamut	II. Egyenes-dűlő, Szekeres-tanya	Békés	MRT 10, 483-486
26	5679	Mezőberény	Bodzás-halom / Berény	Békés	MRT 10., pp 552-553.
27	6593	Telekgerendás	Kocziszkai-iskola	Békés	Szatmári 1996
28	7319	Balatonakali	Ság-puszt	Veszprém	Palágyi 2008
29	7407	Balatonfüred	Siskei templomrom	Veszprém	Valter 1972.
30	7898	Felsőörs		Veszprém	MRT 2., 89.
31	7984	Gyepükaján	Pusztaszentegyházi-dűlő	Veszprém	MRT 3, 99.
32	8361	Litér	Református templom	Veszprém	Levárdy 1970.
33	8663	Nagyvázsony	Leányfalu - Templomrom	Veszprém	MRT 2,140.
34	8839	Ősi	Római katolikus templom	Veszprém	MRT 2, 156.
35	9243	Sümeg	Templom-sűrű	Veszprém	Holl 1979, 33.
36	9249	Sümegprága	Kis-Gesztenyész	Veszprém	MRT 3, 232.
37	9424	Tihany	Csokonai-liget	Veszprém	RKM 2010, 375.
38	9429	Tihany	Apáti templomrom	Veszprém	MRT 2, 195.
39	9743	Veszprém	Szent László-kápolna	Veszprém	MRT 9, 232.
40	9861	Zánka	Református templom	Veszprém	M. Kozák 1992.
41	9882	Zirc	Pusztatemplom	Veszprém	MRT 4, 269.
42	10028	Budajenő	Régi temető	Pest	MRT 7, 40.
43	10325	Fót	Sikátor	Pest	Írásné 1983, 40.
44	10396	Hévíz	Rét aljai dűlő	Zala	MRT 1, 66.
45	10437	Ipolytölgyes	Szentmárton-dűlő	Pest	MRT 9, 125.
46	10870	Nemesbük	Mihályházi-hegy	Zala	Rég.Füz. 1983 (37), 120.
47	10981	Páty	Hegyi-dűlő	Pest	MRT 7, 127.
48	11252	Pomáz	Nagykovácsi, Pusztatemplom	Pest	Laszlovszky et al. 2014
49	11675	Szob	Bészob - Matyóktanya	Pest	MRT 9, 337.
50	12068	Vác	Szent Margit-templom	Pest	MRT 9, 457.
51	12497	Zalaszentő	Plébániatemplom	Zala	Koppány 2003, 13
52	15128	Budapest 17	Rákosszaba, Péceli út - Rákosszaba utca sarok	Budapest	Írásné 1983, 40.
53	15132	Budapest 17	Rákoskeresztúr, Pesti út 110.	Budapest	Írásné 1983, 40.
54	15150	Budapest 16	Rózsalevél utca 46., evangélikus templom, Cinkota	Budapest	Írásné 1983, 40.
55	15161	Budapest 15	Rákospalota, Kossuth Lajos utca 39-41.	Budapest	Írásné 1983, 40.
56	15897	Bodrogolaszi	R.K. Templom	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	Feld 2004.

57	16244	Rakacaszend	Református templom	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	Pálóczi-Horváth 1984.
58	16473	Sajókaza	Református templom	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	RKM 2001, 209
59	16563	Felsőzsolca	Nagyszilvás-Szabadság u. 25-27. sz.	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	Simonyi 2004. 167.
60	16777	Szalonna	Református templom	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	M.Kozák 1981.
61	16905	Tornaszentandrás	Római katolikus templom	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	S. Pusztai 1980.
62	17477	Csongrád	Bokros, Kiskőhalom	Csongrád	17477
63	17731	Derekegyház	Ibolyásdomb	Csongrád	Rég.Füz. 35 (1981), 88
64	18799	Csengele	Bogárhát	Csongrád	Horváth 1978, 120.
65	19353	Berettyóújfalu	Csonkatorony	Hajdú-Bihar	Patay-Módy 1998. 158-162.
66	19354	Berettyóújfalu	Egyházziget	Hajdú-Bihar	M.Nepper 2000, 54-58.
67	19361	Debrecen	Dombos-tanya / Pallag	Hajdú-Bihar	Rég.Füz. 40 (1986), 92-93.
68	19362	Debrecen	Fancsika középkori temploma	Hajdú-Bihar	Módy 2006, 99.
69	19598	Barcs	Vukovári-dűlő	Somogy	Rég.Füz. 46 (1992), 81.
70	19655	Buzsák	Fehér kápolna	Somogy	Rég.Füz. 1985 (39), 84.
71	19786	Balatonszemes	Templom	Somogy	Aradi 2018, 176.
72	20014	Decs	Ete	Tolna	Vízi-Miklós 1999, 214
73	20271	Nagykapornak	Bencés apátság	Zala	Bogyay 1938.
74	20360	Hács	Béndekpuszta	Somogy	Aradi 2018, 104.
75	21739	Bicske	Tóra-dűlő	Fejér	Stibrányi 2015, chart II.
76	21771	Csabdi	Középkori templomrom	Fejér	Pámer 1994, 311-314.
77	22344	Szabadegyháza	Öreg-temető	Fejér	RKM 2009, 342
78	22431	Zámoly	Kerekszenttamás	Fejér	Rég.Füz. 15/79.
79	22432	Zámoly	Rk. temető	Fejér	Rég.Füz. 45/70.
80	22632	Dunaújváros	Csetény /Pusztaszentegyház	Fejér	Bóna 1975
81	24102	Aszód	Szentkereszt	Pest	RKM 1999, 149-151
82	24357	Lébény	Polgármesteri hivatal	Győr-Moson-Sopron	24357
83	24837	Kővágóttös	Római katolikus templom	Baranya	S. Pusztai 1993.
84	25269	Egyek	Telekháza	Hajdú-Bihar	Módy 1996, 19-21

85	25344	Gyula	Keresztes-halom	Békés	Szatmári 1996.
86	25445	Székesfehérvár	Dózsa György tér- Honvéd utca	Fejér	25445
87	25981	Gödöllő	Babapuszta, Templom- tábla	Pest	MRT 11, 243- 244
88	26036	Hévízgyörk	Római katolikus templom	Pest	MRT 11., 273.
89	26395	Vácegres	Római katolikus templom	Pest	26395
90	26769	Dunapataj	Szent Tamás-domb / Pataj	Bács-Kiskun	RKM 1999, 198.
91	27011	Lengyeltóti	Római katolikus templom	Somogy	Lukács 1992, 20.
92	27149	Tiszaalpár	Tóth Mátyás-dűlő - Dudás-tanya	Bács-Kiskun	27149
93	27337	Bácsalmás	Mosztonga II.	Bács-Kiskun	RKM 2000, 95- 96
94	27617	Dunapataj	Várhegy	Bács-Kiskun	27617
95	27632	Bátmonostor	Pusztafalu	Bács-Kiskun	Biczó 1985
96	27651	Ladánybene	Templom-dűlő	Bács-Kiskun	V.Székely 1981.
97	27717	Dunavecse	Fehéregyháza pusztá- Templomdomb	Bács-Kiskun	Gerecse 1910, 101-105., Kada 1912, 326-329.
98	28043	Orgovány	Kápolna	Bács-Kiskun	Rosta 2009, 2010
99	28045	Orgovány	Ürögi-tanya	Bács-Kiskun	Rosta 2009, 2010
100	28150	Ebes	Templom-domb	Hajdú-Bihar	M.Nepper-Sz. Máthé 1993, 126-127
101	28157	Nádudvar	Sétér-halom	Hajdú-Bihar	Mesterházy 1975, 260.
102	29289	Perkáta	Nyúli-dűlő	Fejér	RKM 2011, 135.
103	29391	Bácsa	Templomhegy	Bács-Kiskun	Rosta 2014, 67- 68
104	29827	Ragály	Református templom	Borsod-Abaúj- Zemplén	Kozák 1965, 131-134
105	29921	Csepreg	Szentkirály	Vas	Kiss 2000, 31.
106	31352	Kiskunfélegyháza	M5 út 136. lelőhely	Bács-Kiskun	Rosta 2014, 157.
107	31423	Kiskunfélegyháza	Kőkereszt	Bács-Kiskun	Rosta 2014, 155-156.
108	31766	Debrecen	Köves-halom	Hajdú-Bihar	Mesterházy 1982, 83.
109	32487	Nádudvar	Szentiván-halom	Hajdú-Bihar	Mesterházy 1975, 260.
110	32493	Püspökladány	Köztemető	Hajdú-Bihar	Rég.Füz. 1986 (40), 83-84.
111	33286	Cegléd	Cegléd 4/1. lelőhely / Kőhalom	Pest	Tari 1995. 128.

112	33314	Abony	Hegyes-halom környéke	Pest	Dinnyés 1985, 416-417
113	33737	Székkutas	Kápolna-dűlő, Gönci-tanya	Csongrád	Nagy-Tóth 2000, 241.
114	34152	Nagyrábé	Rétszentmiklós	Hajdú-Bihar	Rég.Füz. 1974 (28), 97.
115	34224	Hajdúböszörmény	Köves-halom	Hajdú-Bihar	M.Nepper 1975, 68
116	34326	Dabas	Fertályos-földek, Templom-domb	Pest	Personal information from Tibor Rácz
117	35070	Cegléd	4-es főút 4/14. lelőhely - Madarászhalom, + M II Varjas-domb	Pest	Tari 1995. 128-130.
118	35625	Tázlár	Templomhegy, "Pusztatemplom"	Bács-Kiskun	RKM 2012, 100-101
119	36573	Konyár	Református templom	Hajdú-Bihar	36573
120	36799	Nagyhegyes	Görbehát/Elep	Hajdú-Bihar	Sőregi 1934.
121	36929	Nyíradony	Kenderföld	Hajdú-Bihar	Kozák 1975, 270.
122	38106	Pécs	Magyarürög-Kápolnadomb	Baranya	38106
123	38297	Jászfényszaru	Kozma-part	Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok	Selmeczi 2011, 34.
124	39310	Cegléd	Birincsek / Cseke falu, Szűz Mária templom	Pest	Tari 2000, 46-47. Tari 1995, 40.
125	39406	Cegléd	Törteli út / Bede	Pest	Tari 1995, 133-134.
126	39414	Cegléd	Öregszőlők 6. lelőhely	Pest	Tari 1995, 25-27.
127	39483	Nagykáta	Kender-halom	Pest	Rég.Füz. 1982 (36), 82.
128	39502	Nyíregyháza	Pusztapótharaszti	Pest	Rég.Füz. 1994 (48), 85.
129	39579	Budapest 1	Attila utca 11.	Budapest	39579
130	39708	Budapest 11	Kána falu, Kőérberek-Tóváros lakópark	Budapest	Terei 2010
131	41108	Cegléd	Szennyvíztelep 4. lelőhely / Máté völgy	Pest	Tari 1995, 126.
132	41240	Ruzsa	Templomhegy, Csorva járás	Csongrád	41240
133	41343	Nemti	Templom	Nógrád	Benkhardt 1998
134	41519	Nagykőrös	Nyárkútrét,Tölgy	Pest	Rég.Füz. 1992 (46), 73.
135	41558	Nagykőrös	Ludas	Pest	Balanyi 1975, 135.
136	41636	Berettyóújfalu	Andaházapuszta	Hajdú-Bihar	Módy 1998. 171.
137	41922	Tereske	R.k.templom	Nógrád	Mag 2014

139	42647	Rábapaty	Felsőpaty-Templom mellett	Vas	42647
140	42903	Bókkaszentmárton	Szt. Márton templom	Heves	42903
141	43169	Pápoc	Római katolikus templom	Vas	Szakács 2012, 12.
142	43305	Dióskál	Ungi-pusztá	Zala	RKM 2006, 190.
143	43794	Sarkadkeresztúr	Egyház mögött	Békés	Szatmári 1997
144	43894	Hajdúböszörmény	Kölesföldi-halom / Hajdúdorog-Kati dűlő	Hajdú-Bihar	Rég.Füz. 46/101/1
145	44291	Tófej	Községi temető	Zala	Müller 1974, 17.
146	45000	Balatonlelle	Rád-pusztá, templomrom	Somogy	Molnár-Sipos 2013, 179.
147	45447	Pusztaderics	temető	Zala	Rég.Füz. 1985 (39), 106.
148	45802	Vál	Torony	Fejér	Simon 2003, 181.
149	46476	Fertőd	Süttör, Jakab-sziget	Győr-Moson-Sopron	Bella 1909, 181.
150	46557	Salgótarján	Salgótarján-Zagyvaróza, Római katolikus templom	Nógrád	46557
151	46870	Hajdúdorog	Szállásföld közép, Templom-domb	Hajdú-Bihar	RKM 2004/183
152	47364	Kisberény	Helai dűlő	Somogy	Aradi 2018, 37.
153	47674	Kercaszomor	Pusztá temető	Vas	Pap 2014.
154	47771	Sopronhorpács	Templom	Győr-Moson-Sopron	47771
155	47773	Daruszentmiklós	Alsó-Pázmánd	Fejér	Stibrányi 2015, 82.
156	48053	Somogytúr	Református templom	Somogy	Aradi 2018, 197.
157	48399	Tiszasziget	Falu Ny-i széle	Csongrád	RKM 20056, 113.
158	49007	Hegyhátszentmárton	temető	Vas	Kiss 2000, 384.
159	49226	Váraszó	Rk. templom	Heves	Erdei-Kovács 1964
160	49617	Egyházasdengeleg	R.K. Templom	Nógrád	Kocsis 2016, 18
161	50045	Visonta	Templom	Heves	RKM 2011-2014, 270-271
162	51728	Nyírbogdány	Hene, Szentegyházi-dűlő	Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg	Istvánovits 2003, 154-155.
163	52023	Sopron	Sopronbánfalva, Mária Magdolna-templom	Győr-Moson-Sopron	Szabó 1985, 55.
164	54316	Bajna	Római katolikus templom	Komárom-Esztergom	MRT 5, 32.
165	55429	Hódmezővásárhely	Batidapusztá, Déli part III.	Csongrád	Horváth 2000,

166	55715	Ács	Református templom	Komárom-Esztergom	Valter 1963, 284.
167	56496	Hódmezővásárhely	Szenterzsébet, Árpád-kori templom	Csongrád	Horváth 2000,
168	58736	Jászilvás	Gólyajárás	Pest	58736
169	58869	Cegléd	Nyúlfülehalom / Szentlászlóhalom	Pest	Tari 1995. 76-94.
170	59139	Kiskunfélegyháza	Zöldmező telep	Bács-Kiskun	Rosta 2014, 157.
171	59792	Bicske	Belterület, Bikcse	Fejér	Stibrányi 2015, 21-22.
172	62818	Szeged	Tápé, Szent Mihály templom	Csongrád	RKM 2009, 349.
173	64850	Sárvár	Rábasömjéni Római katolikus templom	Vas	Pap 2012
174	66989	Koppányszántó	Római katolikus templom	Tolna	K.Németh 2015, 97.
175	68839	Sorokpolány	Római katolikus templom	Vas	Kiss-pap 2018, 171.
177	71577	Nagykőrös	Homolytáj	Pest	Balanyi 1975, 135.
178	80883	Tiszafüred	Tiszaörvény, Templom-domb	Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok	Kovács 1970, 127.
179	81325	Debrecen	Haláp- Soma középkori temploma	Hajdú-Bihar	Módy 1988, 55-56.
180	81327	Debrecen	Halápi telek, templom	Hajdú-Bihar	Módy 2006, 92.
181	81351	Szabadszóllős	Kőhalom	Bács-Kiskun	Rosta 2017, 240.
182		Rust		Austria	Melzer, 1980, 19.
183		Tornyosnémeti		Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	Tajkov 2012, 278.
184		Bernolákovo		Slovakia	Slivka 2009, 189-210.
185		Borša		Slovakia	Tajkov 2011, 26-84.
186		Bystričany	(Chalmová)	Slovakia	Mencl 1937
187		Dechtice		Slovakia	Gervers 1972, 43.
188		Klátová Nová Ves	(Sádok)	Slovakia	Bóna - Mikuláš 2009, 83-98.
189		Klížska Nemá		Slovakia	Güntherová 1968
190		Kolíňany		Slovakia	Botek 2016, 385-400.
191		Livina		Slovakia	Hanuliak 1991, 87-88.
192		Nitra	Sv. Štefana Kráľa	Slovakia	Pomfyová et al. 2015, 126
193		Otrhánky		Slovakia	Horváth 1978, 118.

194		Pastovce		Slovakia	Szénássy 2005
195		Podhorany	(Mechenice)	Slovakia	Hanuliak 1991, 87-88.
196		Podhorany	(Sokolníky)	Slovakia	Hanuliak 1991, 87-88.
197		Sedmerovec	(Pominovec)	Slovakia	Paulusová - Kalinová 2010, 150-158
198		Svinica		Slovakia	Caplovic 1978
199		Trebišov		Slovakia	Kaminská 1982
200		Veľký Klíž	(Klížske Hradište)	Slovakia	Hanuliak 1991, 87-88.
201		Bad'an		Slovakia	Hudecová 1995, 40-41.
202		Bíňa	rotunda	Slovakia	Pomfýová et al. 2015, 275-279.
203		Avrămești		Romania	Nyárádi-Gáll 2018
204		Balatonalmádi	Vörösberény	Veszprém	Rainer 2009, 43.
205		Bața		Romania	Entz 1994
206		Bonțida		Romania	Entz 1994
207		Brădești		Romania	Nyárádi-Gáll 2018
208		Csajág		Veszprém	Koppány 1967, 125.
209		Deutschschützen		Austria	Vida 1997, 37.
210		Dolné Obdokovce		Slovakia	Judák - Poláčik 2009
211		Drăușeni		Romania	Nyárádi-Gáll 2018
212		Feldioara		Romania	Nyárádi-Gáll 2018
213		Jucu		Romania	Entz 1994
214		Kalinčiakovo		Romania	Vincze– Žažová 2017
215		Chidea		Romania	Entz 1994
216		Mănăstirea		Romania	Entz 1994
217		Mediaș		Romania	Nyárádi-Gáll 2018
218		Moșna		Romania	Nyárádi-Gáll 2018
219		Orăștie		Romania	Nyárádi-Gáll 2018
220		Pásztó	Szt. Lőrinc	Nógrád	Valter 1975, 54.
221		Peteni		Romania	Gáll 2014-15
222		Rásonysápbrencs		Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	Joó 1983
223		Sângeorgiu de Mureș		Romania	Nyárádi-Gáll 2018

224		Sântimbru		Romania	Entz 1994
225		Sibiu - Piata Huet		Romania	Nyárádi-Gáll 2018
226		Sighișoara	Biserica din Deal	Romania	Nyárádi-Gáll 2018
227		Sighișoara	Biserica Mănăstirii	Romania	Nyárádi-Gáll 2018
228		Sighișoara	Dealul Viilor	Romania	Nyárádi-Gáll 2018
229		Sânvășii		Romania	Nyárádi-Gáll 2018
230		Târgu Mureș Cetate		Romania	Nyárádi-Gáll 2018
231		Ulieș		Romania	Nyárádi-Gáll 2018
232		Văleni		Romania	Nyárádi-Gáll 2018
233		Viscri		Romania	Sófalvi 2013, 150.
234		Zăbala		Romania	Nyárádi-Gáll 2018
235		Budapest	Szentlőrinc	Budapest	Írásné 1983, 40.
236		Szendrő	Gacsai	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	Wolf 1985
237		Paričov		Slovakia	Tajkov 2012, 266.
238		Boleráz		Slovakia	Rábik 2010, 53.
239		Ivánka pri Dunaji		Slovakia	Rábik 2010, 62.
240		Gáň		Slovakia	Rábik 2010, 115.
241		Križovany nad Dudváhom		Slovakia	Rábik 2010, 117.
242		Petriceni	Kézdikővár	Romania	Botár 2017, 95.
243		Nicolești		Romania	Botár 2017, 96-97.
244		Lelicieni		Romania	Botár 2017, 99.

TRANSITIONAL CEMETERIES IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

fid	ID ⁴¹⁸	Settlement name	Site name	Count(r)y	Literature
1	17731	Derekegyház	Ibolyásdomb	Csongrád	Kovács 2013, 253.
2	7319	Balatonakali	Ság-puszta	Veszprém	Palágyi 2008
3	3670	Biharugra	Temetőzug/Belterület	Békés	MRT 6. pp. 25-26.
4	39310	Cegléd-Birincsek	Birincsek	Pest	Tari 2000, 46-47. Tari 1995, 40.
5	58869	Cegléd-Nyúlfülehalom	Nyúlfülehalom	Pest	Tari 1995. 76-94.
6	29921	Csepreg	Szentkirály	Vas	Kiss 2000, 31.
7	16563	Felsőzsolca	Nagyszilvás	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	Simonyi 2004. pp. 167.
8	66989	Koppányszántó	Római katolikus templom	Tolna	K.Németh 2015, pp. 97.
9	5679	Mezőberény	Bodzás-halom	Békés	MRT 10., pp 552-553.
10	35625	Tázlár	Templomhegy, Pusztatempló	Bács-Kiskun	RKM 2012, pp. 100-101
11	80883	Tiszafüred	Tiszaörvény, Templom-domb	Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok	Kovács 1970, pp. 127.
12	39680	Budapest II	Nyék falu	Budapest	Kovács 2013, 254.
13	15153	Budapest 16	Timur utca	Budapest	Kovács 2013, 254.
14	29289	Perkáta	Nyúlidűlő	Fejér	RKM 2011, 135.
15	1479	Medgyesegyháza	Bánkút, Libicsi halom	Békés	Kovács 2013, 256.
16	33347	Veszprémfajsz	Felső-kéri puszt	Veszprém	MRT 9, pp. 258., Kovács 2013, 257.
17	24357	Lébény	Polgármesteri hivatal	Győr-Moson-Sopron	24357
18		Vinkovci	Meraja - Crkva Sv. Ilije	Vinkovci, Croatia	Kovács 2013, 253-54.
19	27772	Kecskemét	Hetényegyháza-Belsőnyír, Zana-tanya	Bács-Kiskun	Régészeti Füzetek Ser. I. No. 35. 1982. 91.
20	28164	Jászberény	Szent Pál-halom	Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok	Kovács 2013, 255-256

⁴¹⁸ The ID refers to the identification number within the Hungarian national database of recorded archaeological sites (<https://archeodatabase.hnm.hu/hu>)

MONASTERIES IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY⁴¹⁹

fid	Settlement name	Count(r)y
1	Monostorapáti	Hungary
2	Bzovík	Slovakia
3	Pásztó	Hungary
4	Bíňa	Slovakia
5	Csatár	Hungary
6	Banoštor	Serbia
7	Nagykapornak	Hungary
8	Guessing	Austria
9	Ercsi	Hungary
10	Chelmac	Romania
11	Cégénydányád	Hungary
12	Csonkamindszent	Hungary
13	Frumușeni	Romania
14	Selenča	Serbia
15	Bátmonostor	Hungary
16	Vesztő - Mágor	Hungary
17	Kács	Hungary
18	Jásd	Hungary
19	Galgahévíz	Hungary
20	Acâș	Romania
21	Almașu	Romania
22	Vladimirescu	Romania
23	Baracska	Hungary
24	Bijela	Croatia
25	Boldva	Hungary
26	Klostermarienbergr	Austria
27	Somogyjád	Hungary
28	Bátaszék	Hungary
29	Nyírcsaholy	Hungary
30	Császló	Hungary
31	Csorna	Hungary
32	Diakovce	Slovakia
33	Ineu	Romania
34	Kiskundorozsma	Hungary
35	Celldömölk	Hungary
36	Dömös	Hungary
37	Eger	Hungary
38	Igriș	Romania
39	Esztergom	Hungary
40	Esztergom	Hungary

⁴¹⁹ The list of monasteries were taken from the work of Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon*.

41	Dunaföldvár	Hungary
42	Told	Hungary
43	Grabovo	Serbia
44	Oradea	Romania
45	Győr	Hungary
46	Herina	Romania
47	Hatvan	Hungary
48	Berettyóújfalu	Hungary
49	Bodrogu Vechi	Romania
50	Jánoshida	Hungary
51	Budapest	Hungary
52	Căpleni	Romania
53	Nădlac	Romania
54	Vértesszentkereszt	Hungary
55	Komárom	Hungary
56	Nagykökényes	Hungary
57	Leles	Slovakia
58	Ságvár	Hungary
59	Madocsa	Hungary
60	Battonya	Hungary
61	Mandēlos	Serbia
62	Monostorpályi	Hungary
63	Pilisszentkereszt	Hungary
64	Pornóapáti	Hungary
65	Kaptol (Zagreb)	Croatia
66	Bratislava	Slovakia
67	Karancsság	Hungary
68	Sibiu	Romania
69	Sonta	Serbia
70	Grgurevci	Serbia
71	Szentgotthárd	Hungary
72	Sânnicolau de Beiuș	Romania
73	Vokány	Hungary
74	Spišská Kapitula	Slovakia
75	Krásna nad Hornádom	Slovakia
76	Ópusztaszer	Hungary
77	Szerep	Hungary
78	Skalka	Slovakia
79	Szeged	Hungary
80	Telki	Hungary
81	Biharugra	Hungary
82	Oradea	Romania
83	Vasvár	Hungary
84	Zirc	Hungary
85	Rakovac	Serbia

86	Ellés	Hungary
87	Paka	Serbia
88	Gătaia	Romania

BISHOPRICS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY⁴²⁰

fid	Settlement name
1	Esztergom
2	Győr
3	Pécs
4	Vác
5	Eger
6	Cenad
7	Veszprém
8	Alba Iulia
9	Oradea
10	Nitra
11	Zagreb
12	Bač

⁴²⁰ For the foundation of the new bishoprics see Körmendi, ‘Zagoriensis episcopus. (Megjegyzés a zágrábi püspökség korai történetéhez) [Zagoriensis episcopus (Notes on the Early History of the Bishopric of Zagreb)]’; Koszta, ‘A nyitrai püspökség létrejötte. (Nyitra egyháztörténete a 9-13. században) [The Emergence of the Bishopric of Nyitra. (Ecclesiastical History of Nitra in the 9th to 13th Centuries)]’.

ROYAL FORTIFICATIONS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY ⁴²¹

fid	Settlement name
1	Abaújvár
2	Oradea
3	Bíňa
4	Biharea
5	Borsod
6	Borsova (Вари)
7	Cenad
8	Draßburg
9	Dăbâca
10	Esztergom
11	Gyöngyöspata
12	Győr
13	Gyulafehérvár
14	Hont
15	Mănăştur
16	Cetatea de Baltă
17	Lutzmannsburg
18	Moson
19	Nitra
20	Starý Tekov
21	Hunedoara
22	Orlat
23	Bratislava
24	Şirioara
25	Somogyvár
26	Sopron
27	Szabolcs
28	Tolmács
29	Moldoveneşti
30	Vasvár
31	Velem - Szent Vid
32	Veszprém
33	Visegrád - Sibrik domb
34	Zalavár
35	Zărand
36	Zemplín
37	Székesfehérvár
38	Csongrád
39	Nógrád
40	Sály

⁴²¹ For the castles mentioned in the twelfth century see Dénes, 'A honfoglalás és államszervezés korának várai [Castles of the conquest and state organisation period]'.

41	Szolnok
42	Zvolen
43	Trenčín
44	Bač
45	Bački Monoštor
46	Hlohovec
47	Karakó
48	Kovin
49	Timișoara
50	Varaždin
51	Zagreb