Monastic Life, Art, and Technology

in the 11th-16th Centuries

Edited by
Ileana Burnichioiu

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MONASTERIES UNDER PRIVATE PATRONAGE WITHIN THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC TOPOGRAPHY: CENTERS, RESIDENCES, AND ESTATES. SEVERAL CASE STUDIES OF MEDIEVAL HUNGARY[*]

PÉTER LEVENTE SZŐCS[**]

While monasteries were eminently institutions of faith, they also had economic functions and through their artistic-architectural design they contributed directly to the social display of the patron kindreds. The set of economic and social relations between patrons and their monasteries can be examined through several methods; among them the topographical analysis seems to add an important contribution. For several regions of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary the starting point is offered by the historical geographies written by György Györffy[1] on the Árpádian era, and by Dezső Csánki covering the rule of the Hunyadis during the fifteenth century.[2] Furthermore, for certain geographical regions a number of topographical studies on ecclesiastical institutions are available.[3] These topographical studies are partly based on general historical geographies, using predominantly written sources, and they combine these results with archaeological data as well.

In historical-geographical contexts, ecclesiastical institutions – churches and monasteries alike – were always considered as integral parts of the settlement network, and as such, the subject of topographical reconstructions. More recent archaeological field surveys have brought in completely new datasets, partly relying on a more extensive survey of different types of archival sources, and contributed effectively to a better understanding of the chronological development and the spatial structure and hierarchy of the historic settlement network.[4]

The most important result of these works was a more accurate localization and identification of medieval settlements and monastic sites. While the topographic maps published by Györffy can be seen as the first attempt to reconstruct the spatial relations of monasteries to settlements, roads, and major geographical features, the site maps created by archaeological topographical surveys have highlighted many more details on these relations (e.g., the topographical position of monasteries within the settlement boundaries or traces of settlements in their vicinity).[5] Results obtained

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[*] This paper is part of my PhD thesis: *Private monasteries of medieval Hungary (eleventh to fourteenth centuries): A case study of the Ákos kindred and its monasteries*, defended at Central European University, Budapest, in 2014.

[**] PhD, Satu Mare County Museum; peterszocs@gmail.com.

[1] György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* [Historical geography of Hungary in the Árpádian Age], I[3]-IV (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987-1998); see also volumes on counties Szabolcs and Szatmár compiled by Péter Németh, *A középkori Szabolcs megye települései* [Settlements of medieval Szabolcs county] (Nyíregyháza: Ethnica, 1997); and Németh, *A középkori Szatmár megye települései a XV. század elejéig* [Settlements of medieval Szatmár county until the middle of the fifteenth century] (Nyíregyháza: Jósa András Múzeum, 2008). Furthermore, information on the early evolution of topography and settlements in historical Torna county can be added to these works: Sebestyén Sárközy, *A történeti Torna megye településtopográfiája a kezdetektől a 18. század elejéig* [The topography of settlements in historical Torna county, from the beginning until the eighteenth century] (Perkupa: Galyasági település szövetség, 2006).

[2] Dezső Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* [Historical geography of Hungary in the Hunyadis' Age], I-V (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1890-1913).

[3] For the southern part of the Great Plain see László Koszta, "Dél-Magyarország egyház topográfiája a középkorban" [Ecclesiastical topography of Southern Hungary during the Middle Ages], in *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer*, eds. Tibor Kollár et al. (Szeged-Budapest: Open Art, 2000), 41-80. Studies on ecclesiastical topography of several counties: Edit Tari, *Pest megye középkori templomai* [Medieval churches of Pest county] (Szentendre: Pest Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2000); Imre Szatmári, *Békés megye középkori templomai* [Medieval churches of Békés county] (Békéscsaba: Békés MMI, 2005); András K. Németh, *Tolna megye középkori templomai* [Medieval churches of Tolna county] (Pécs: Publikon, 2011); Csilla Aradi, "Somogy megye Árpád-kori, és középkori egyházszervezetének létrejötte és megszilárdulása" [Formation and consolidation of the medieval ecclesiastic organization of Somogy county], (PhD diss., ELTE-BTK Budapest, 2007).

[4] *MRT*, I-XI (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966-2012): four districts of Veszprém county, one of Komárom, three of Békés, and three of Pest.

[5] Apart from the county maps accompanying the work of Györffy (*Az Árpád-kori*, I-IV) there are several maps on medieval historical-geography of bigger areas than a whole county. They are useful tools for a more detailed topographic analysis: map of roads and central places (András Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat a középkori Alföldön és az Alföld szélén* [Urban development and market network in the

through field surveys, thus, opened up new ways of interpreting the selection pattern of particular settlement sites by different monastic communities as seen against different factors such as the natural, environmental conditions and their changes (access to and management of water and woodland resources),[6] and the problem of settlement development (the dynamic changes of historic settlement pattern through migration, concentration of population, desertion of settlements, changing road networks, the historic land-use pattern, and the administrative organization of secular and ecclesiastical estates).

Although environmental conditions are definitely important for the establishment and development of monasteries, in the perspective of monastic patronage, it seems more instructive to discuss the position of monasteries not merely through a spatial distribution but within the context of social, economic, and ecclesiastic topography. Within the ecclesiastical topography the relation of monasteries with parishes, deaneries, and their integration into the hierarchical network of the diocese might reveal their liturgical and pastoral functions. As it was

mentioned, the analysis of social and economic topography contributes to the assessment of the secular role of monasteries. In this sense, the topographical survey of domains/estates and residences might be the most significant. Due to the number and quality of sources it seems plausible to narrow the spatial framework of the analysis, down to the micro-regional level and case studies, in order to get relevant results.

The selection of the studied region was made considering the most relevant source on the early ecclesiastic topography: the papal tithe registers dating from between 1332 and 1337.[7] In this sense, three neighboring counties, all situated in the northeastern part of the Great Hungarian Plain – Szabolcs, Szatmár, and Bihar – have been selected. It is important to note that – with regard to the size of the three selected counties and general character of the landscape here – the data will be more representative of what can be also observed in the central part of the kingdom than in marginal, mountainous, and heavily forested regions close to the borders. The three counties represent three different bishoprics (Szabolcs Co. belonged to the Diocese of Eger, Bihar Co. to the

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Great-Plain and its margins during the Middle Ages], Dél-Alföldi évszázadok 14 (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár 14, 2000), a map of the region between the Körös-Tisza-Maros Rivers (László Blazovich, *Városok az Alföldön a 14-16. században* [Towns in the Hungarian Great Plain from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century], Dél-Alföldi évszázadok 17 (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 1996), the map of the medieval Archdiocese of Kalocsa and Bács by Gábor Thoroczkay, and the maps of Transylvania accompanying the publication of charter excerpts: *CDTrans*, 1-3 (Budapest: MOL, 1997-2008).

[6] For a case study on the region enclosed by the Maros, Körös, and Tisza Rivers in the Hungarian Great Plain see: Gábor Csüllög, "11-14. századi monostorhelyek a Körös-Maros vidéken és a Közép-Tisza mentén" [Monastic sites in the region of Körös-Maros and along the Middle Tisza, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century], in *Az Alföld történeti földrajza*, ed. Sándor Frisnyák (Nyíregyháza: MTA Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Tudományos Testület –Nyíregyházi Főiskola Földrajz Tanszéke, 2000), 397-406.

[7] The earliest critical publication: *MonVatHung*, series I, tom. 1, ed. Vilmos Fraknói (Budapest: MTA, METEM, 1887, 2000). For the historical context see the introduction by László Fejérpataky. The extensive data of the tithe registers were used in almost all compilations of local history and the topographical or historical-geographical studies. The earliest systematic adaptation of the papal tithe lists for historical geography was made by Tivadar Ortvay, *Geographia*

ecclesiastica Hungariae ineunte saeculo XIV. etabulis rationes collectorum pontificorum a. 1281-1375 referentibus eruta, digesta, illustrata. Magyarország egyházi földleírása a XIV. század elején a pápai tizedjegyzékek alapján feltüntetve, I-II (Budapest, 1891-1892). The issues of source criticism and problems in the use of the registers as a topographical source were discussed again by György Györffy in his Árpádian Age historical geography (Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori*, I-IV) and in his special study of the problem: György Györffy, "A pápai tized lajstromok demográfiai értékelésének kérdéséhez" [Problems of the demographic interpretation of the papal tithe registers], in *Mályusz Elemér emlékkönyv. Társadalom és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* [Elemér Mályusz memorial volume. Social and cultural history studies], eds. Éva H. Balázs, Erik Fügedi, and Ferenc Maksay (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984): 141-157. More recently, studies focusing on the diocese of Transylvania have been published: Géza Hegyi, "Egyházigazgatási határok a középkori Erdélyben (I. közlemény)" [Ecclesiastical administration in medieval Transylvania. 1st part], *EM* 72 (2010): 1-32; Géza Hegyi, "A pápai tizedjegyzék tévesen azonosított székelyföldi helynevei" [Erroneous identification of the toponyms of Szekler-land mentioned in the papal tithe list], in *Tanulmányok a székelység középkori és fejedelemségkori történelméből*, eds. András Sófalvi and Zsolt Visy (Énlaka – Székelyudvarhely: Pro Énlaka Alapítvány – Haáz Rezső Múzeum, 2012), 97-113.

Diocese of Várad, and Szatmár Co. to Transylvania), therefore, the quality and the quantity of data are slightly different from county to county: the data presented by the papal tithe register seems to be the most complete in case of Bihar Co. (Dioecese of Várad), while it is somewhat less representative for the other two counties. For the county of Bihar, though, there is an earlier set of written sources on ecclesiastical topography, the list of tithes paid to the Bishop of Várad, recorded between 1291 and 1294.[8]

The map of the medieval kingdom of Hungary prepared by Pál Engel was used as a reference to identify the settlements mentioned in the papal tithe registers (and also for Bihar settlements mentioned in the bishops' tithe register: fig. 1).[9] Attached to the map Engel created a complex electronic database, on the basis of which it was possible to reconstruct estate boundaries, i.e., to identify basic territorial units of economic and jurisdictional administration, and their owners.

According to this set of sources, 29 monasteries were founded in Bihar. Apart from the collegiate chapters and monasteries founded in connection with the see of the bishopric of Várad (altogether seven), there were two important royal foundations: the Premonstratensian provostry of Váradelőhegy (the promontory of Várad dedicated to St. Stephen, the Protomartyr), and the Abbey of Szent Jobb (Sâniob). These two were prestigious, as Váradelőhegy was the head of the Premonstratensian houses in Hungary, while the Abbey of Szent Jobb was home to a relic of King St. Steven (his right hand), and beside Várad it also became a center for the cult of the holy kings.

Apart from two sites with unknown patron, the remaining 19 monasteries were founded and patronized by noble kindreds, all of which were smaller establishments.[10] Five private monasteries are known in Szatmár County – apart from the Franciscan and Dominican friaries in the privileged royal towns of Szatmár and Németi (fig 3).[11] In Szabolcs county there are ten identified monastic sites altogether that were all private foundations. Some of the monasteries in these three counties are known only from the archeological-architectural record (Herpály), while others only from toponyms or a few written sources, which were not relevant even for their locations (i.e., the cases of Andosmonostora, Nánásmonostora, and Szalócmonostor). Historical evidence is more abundant for the remaining ones, so their historical evolution and social-economical context can be reconstructed in greater detail. Altogether the number of private monasteries founded in the three selected counties represents roughly 14 to 15% of the total number of private monasteries of Hungary, in this sense, the observations formulated here might also be representative for other areas.

Analyzing the topographic relation of the private monasteries (founded before 1300 in the study area) with the estates of patrons, it became clear at the first sight that they were in almost every case surrounded by the estates of the patrons' kindreds.[12] In the area surrounding the provostry of Pályi (see fig. 2), there was a rather large estate owned by the Ákos kindred, the founders and patrons of the monastery, comprising 13 settlements stretching along the Berettyó River.[13] In the course of the fourteenth

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[8] Published by Emil Jakubovich, "A váradi püspökség XIII. századi tizedjegyzéke" [The tithe register of the Diocese of Várad dating from the thirteenth century], *Magyar Nyelv* 22 no. 5-6 (1926): 220-223; 22, no. 7-8 (1926): 298-302; 22, no. 9-10 (1926): 357-362. The source was used by Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori*, I, 583-589, and referred to in Györffy, "A pápai tized."

[9] Pál Engel, *Magyarország középkor végén. Digitális térkép és adatbázis a középkori Magyar Királyság településeiről. Hungary in the Late Middle Ages. Digital vector map and attaching database about the settlements and landowners of medieval Hungary*, PC CD-ROM (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 2001). Although the map provides information on the late medieval situation, it is

useful for the earlier stages, too, with the adaptation of the changes that occurred.

[10] Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori*, I: "Bihar megye," passim.

[11] Kaplony, Sárvár, Csaholy, Cégény cf. Németh, *A középkori Szatmár megye*.

[12] Data provided by the map of Pál Engel (*Magyarország középkor végén*) was completed with sources on proprietorship and other relevant data provided by the relevant county topographies (Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori*, I: "Biharmegye"; for Szabolcs: Németh, *A középkori Szabolcs megye*; and for Szatmár: Németh, *A középkori Szatmár megye*).

[13] Zsigmond Jakó, *Bihar megye a török pusztítás előtt* [Bihar county before the Ottoman destructions], Település és

century further settlements were established and the domain was divided among three families descended from the kindred. The site of the monastery was located near Nyírpályi (later Monostorospályi), which was one of the earliest settlements of the domain.[14] The abbey of Gáborján was founded by the Gyovad kindred, who owned a small estate comprising three settlements around the monastery.[15] The abbey of Egyed (Egyedmonostor) situated around Diószeg and Székelyhíd and comprising around a dozen settlements, was part of the huge domain of the patron kindred, the Gutkeleds.[16] The westernmost example is the case of Herpály. There is no written evidence on this monastery, only the church ruin found within the confines of the medieval settlement. Its ground plan-arrangement suggests the existence of a monastery here.[17] The monastery was located in the valley of the Berettyó River and was part of a domain comprising five settlements (fig. 2).[18]

In Szatmár county, the abbey of Kaplony was surrounded by the extensive domain of the Kaplony kindred; the abbey of Csaholy was part of the domain of the Káta kindred, and the monastery of Sárvár was part of the domain of Ecsed, owned by the Gutkeled kindred (fig. 3).[19] In Szabolcs Co., the case of Adonymonostor should be mentioned; it was surrounded by estates owned by families who were descendants of the patron kindred, the Gutkeleds (fig. 4).[20]

Although the topographical structure of land ownership often remains unclear due to lack of data, these examples suggest that monastic sites usually had a prominent topographic position on the patrons' estates. The sizes of the estates of kindreds or families are important because they might also indicate the status of the particular monastic site. It was often the case that abbeys

were situated at the center of lands inherited by families descended from the patron kindred, which shows that monasteries were more likely to be situated in those parts of the estates that were – in the context of the Hungarian system of inheritance – regarded as more ancient, perhaps among the earliest acquisitions of a family. This can be demonstrated clearly in the case of Pályi, where the Ákos kindred originally owned a large domain along the valley of the Berettyó River, which was later divided through inheritance among the branches of the Bebek, Ernye, and Pocsaji families (all of them descendant the Ákos kindred) (fig. 2).[21] The monastery of Adony was surrounded by estates owned by the descendants of the Gutkeled kindred (fig. 4), i.e., the settlement of Szakoly was owned by the Szakolyi family, the villages of Aba, Kis-, and Nagygút were owned by the Gúti family, and Encsencs and Lugos were owned by the Báthori family.[22] It is in this context that the names of these monasteries sometimes deliberately evoke the link with the founding kindred. The abbey of Kaplony is a similar illustrative example situated within the study area, but there are dozens with this name pattern around the kingdom. Among them, the case of Ákosmonostor is also worth mentioning; there were two monasteries with the same name – one in Pest county and the other in Közép-Szolnok county – and both were associated with the Ákos kindred. In conclusion, the evidence surveyed thus far suggests that monastic sites were typically located at the heart of a kindred's domain, near the residences of the founders. Unfortunately, there are few documentary sources, and none of them from the studied area.

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népiségtörténeti értekezések 52 (Budapest: Sylvester nyomda, 1940), 317-318; Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori*, I, 650-651.

[14] See the map provided by Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori*, I, 581.

[15] Szentpéterszeg, Keresztszeg / Keresztúr, and Gáborján: Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori*, I, 618-619, 581 (map).

[16] Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori*, I, 614-615, 581 (map).

[17] György Módy and Károly Kozák, "A herpályi templomromnál végzett régészeti kutatás és helyreállítás (1972-1975)" [The archaeological research and rehabilitation of the church ruin of Herpály], *Bihari Múzeum Évkönyve* 1

(1976): 49-103; Károly Kozák, "A herpályi apátsági templomrom építéstörténete" [The architectural history of the abbey church of Herpály], in *Berettyóújfalu története*, ed. György Varga (Berettyóújfalu, 1981), 121-139.

[18] Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori*, I, 625, 581 (map).

[19] Németh, *A középkori Szatmár megye*, passim.

[20] Németh, *A középkori Szabolcs megye*, 18-19.

[21] Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori*, I, passim and Jakó, *Bihar megye*, passim.

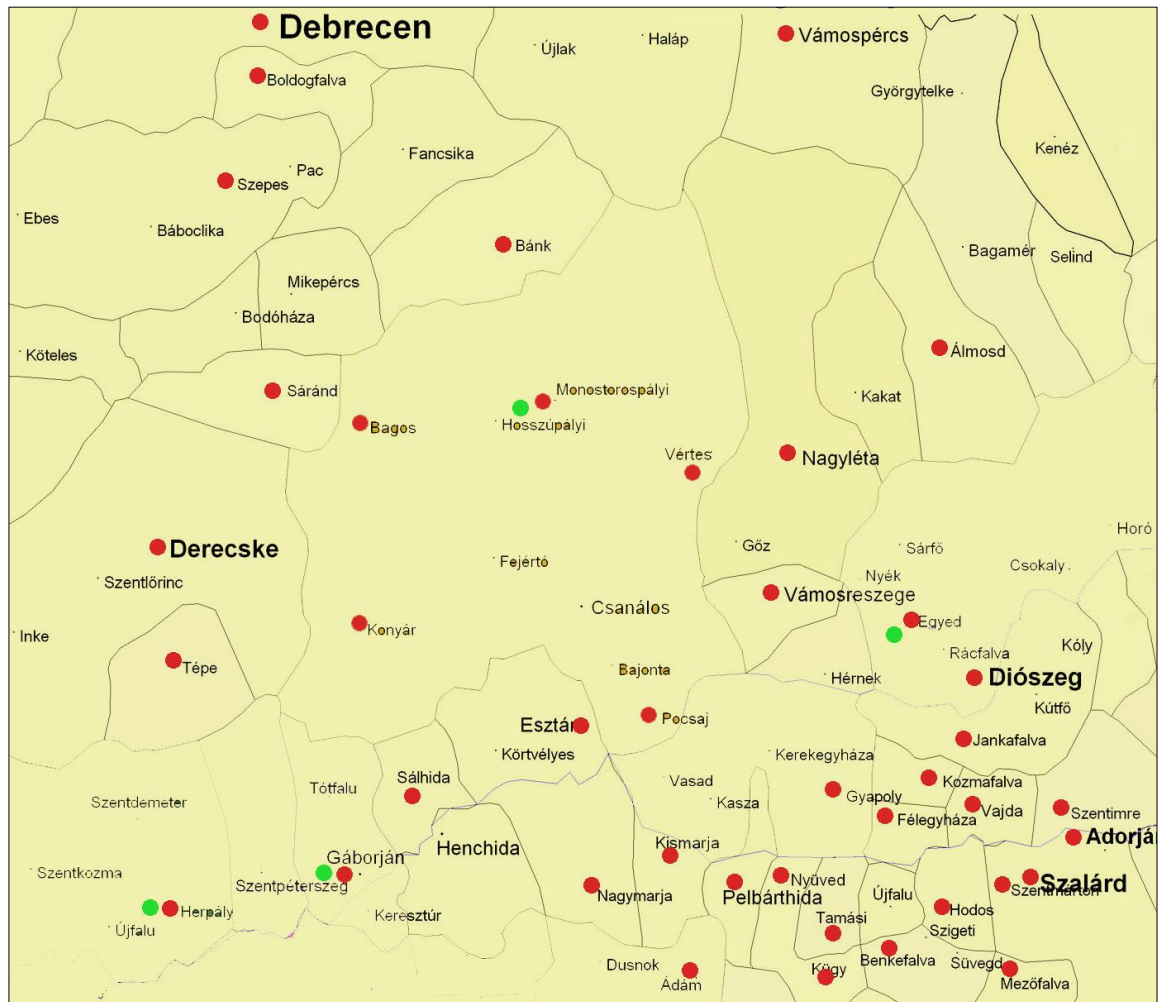[22] Engel, *Magyarország középkor végén.*

Fig. 1. Map with monasteries and parishes along the Berettyó River, Bihar county. Source: Engel, *Magyarország középkor végén* (red dots: parishes mentioned in the papal tithe-list; green dots: monasteries).

Erik Fügedi mentions the examples of the Benedictine Abbey of Szerencs and the Cistercian Abbey of Ábrahám.[23] In the case of Szerencs, there was a conflict between two branches (the Izsépi and Monoki families) of the patron's kin (the Bogát-Radvány family) over the property rights of the monastery. Fortunately, the details of the long lawsuit have come down to us and all the earlier charters documenting subsequent stages of the conflict were recorded in the final decision of the palatine's court in 1400.[24]

The conflict began in 1380 when members of the Monoki family did not acknowledge the patronage rights of the other branch, denying even the bonds of kinship. The oldest document the parties were able to present concerning their rights of patronage dated back to 1252.

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[23] Erik Fügedi, "*Sepelierunt corpus eius in proprio monasterio*: A nemzetségi monostor" [*Sepelierunt corpus eius in proprio monasterio*: The kindred monasteries], *Századok* 125, no. 3 (1991): 33-66, 48-49.

[24] Fügedi ("*Sepelierunt corpus eius*," 48, note 101, and 49, note 102) cites the charter containing the final verdict issued 21 February, 1400 (MNL OL DL 376), published in regesta in *Zsigmond-kori oklevéltár* [Cartulary of King Sigismund's

Age], II, eds. Elemér Mályusz et al. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1951), 98. The other original copy of the verdict is at DL 71908, while a copy made in 1710 is at DL 107345. Moreover, several acts were transcribed by the judge-royal at an intermediate stage of the lawsuit, in 1387: DL 71896. These four documents, in slightly different variants, keep the integral text or the abstract of 17 charters issued between 1252 and 1400.
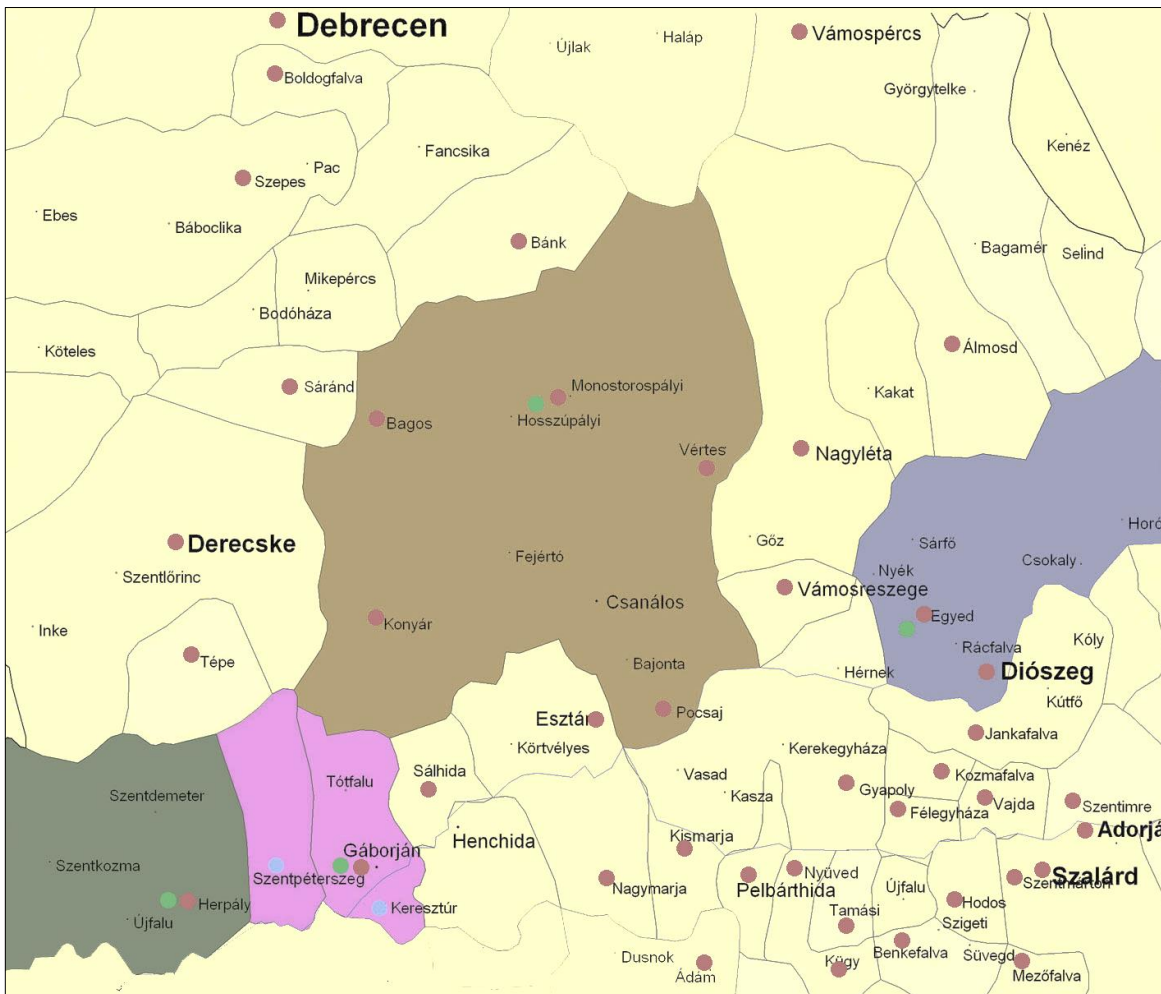
Fig. 2. Map with estates of the kindreds along the Berettyó River, Bihar county. Source: Engel, *Magyarország középkor végén* (red dots: parishes mentioned in the papal tithe-list; green dots: monasteries).

Such documents – apart from recording disputes – illustrate that patrons were directly involved in the administration of monastic estates and that they were able to use the economic resources of the monasteries for their own benefit and purposes – sometimes they could even expropriate their lands. Patrons were also in a position to appoint or dismiss the abbots whenever they thought it appropriate to do so. It is worth noting that parties did not question or contest the correctness of the jurisdictional statuses of their opponents, but merely claimed that there should be a clear division of such rights. In the aforementioned case, the abbot himself and the monastic community were not involved personally or collectively in the lawsuit.

The supreme court of the palatine, however, influenced by the diocesan bishop, pointed out the abusive nature of such practices, and ordered that the rights of the monastic community should be observed. A decision was made to divide the rights of patronage between the two branches according to the proportion of 1/3 to 2/3, while the palatine also emphasized the principle to avoid potential abuses in the future. Also, the properties of the monastery should not be alienated, should be preserved for the use of the abbey only, and should be administered by the abbot without any patron interfering. The rights of the patrons should be limited to honorary functions acknowledged by the church – the most important one was the right to be buried within the monastic enclosure.

Fig. 3. Map with the monasteries and parishes in Bihar county. Source: Engel, *Magyarország középkor végén* (red dots: parishes mentioned in the papal tithe-list; green dots: monasteries).
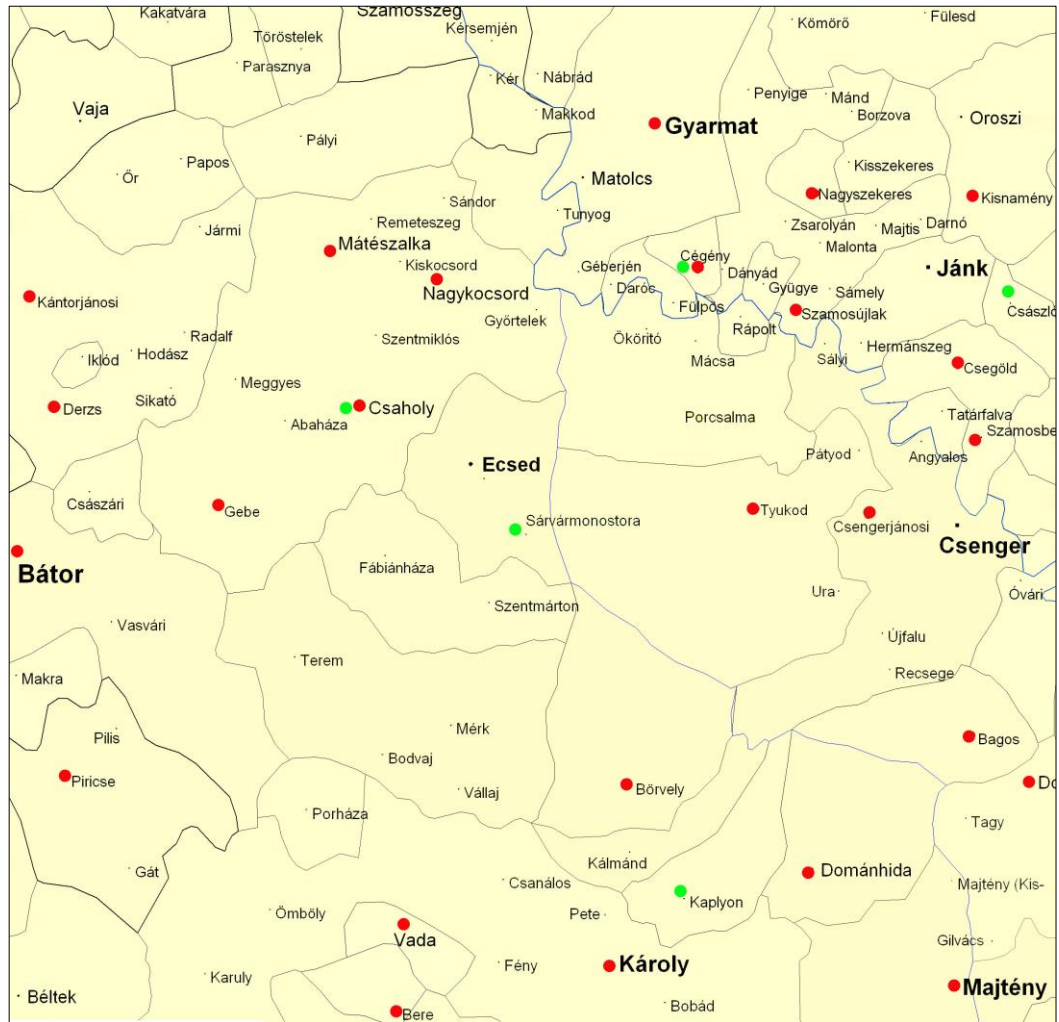
It was explicitly forbidden to seize any part of the income of the monastic estate or to reside in the monastery. All in all, the patrons of Szerencs were not deprived of their rights due to their abusive practices in the past, which might imply that these were possibly not considered grave. In fact, other examples (e.g., that of Ják or Zselicszentjakab) suggest that such disputes between patrons and monastic communities over jurisdictional issues were fairly common, as patrons often tried to administer monastic estates themselves, used their incomes for themselves, or partially or totally expropriated monastic possessions for themselves.[25]

The above-mentioned case of Ábrahám-monostor (near Dombóvár, Tolna county), illustrates that patrons could also – probably quite often – reside at monastic sites. Ábrahám was one of the few private Cistercian monasteries. Ábrahám was founded in 1263 by Moys, master of the queen's treasury, and his brother, Alexander.[26]

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[25] Elemer Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* [Ecclesiastical society in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), passim.

[26] On the foundation: *Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke* [Critical list of the Árpádian Kings' Charters], I-II, ed. Imre Szentpéter (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia), 1923-1987, no. 1357; on the career of Moys, see Attila Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archonto-lógiája. 1000-1301* [Secular archontology of Hungary: from

1000 to 1301] (Budapest: História – MTA TTI 2011), 338, note 612. The founder made additional endowments to the monastery, *Az Árpád-kori nádorok és helyetteseik okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke. Regesta palatinorum et vices gerentium tempore regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica* [Critical register of the Charters of the Árpád Era palatines and their deputies], MOL Kiadványai II. Forráskiadványok 51, ed. Tibor Szőcs (Budapest: MOL, 2012), no. 161. See also Levente F. Hervay, *Repertorium historicum*
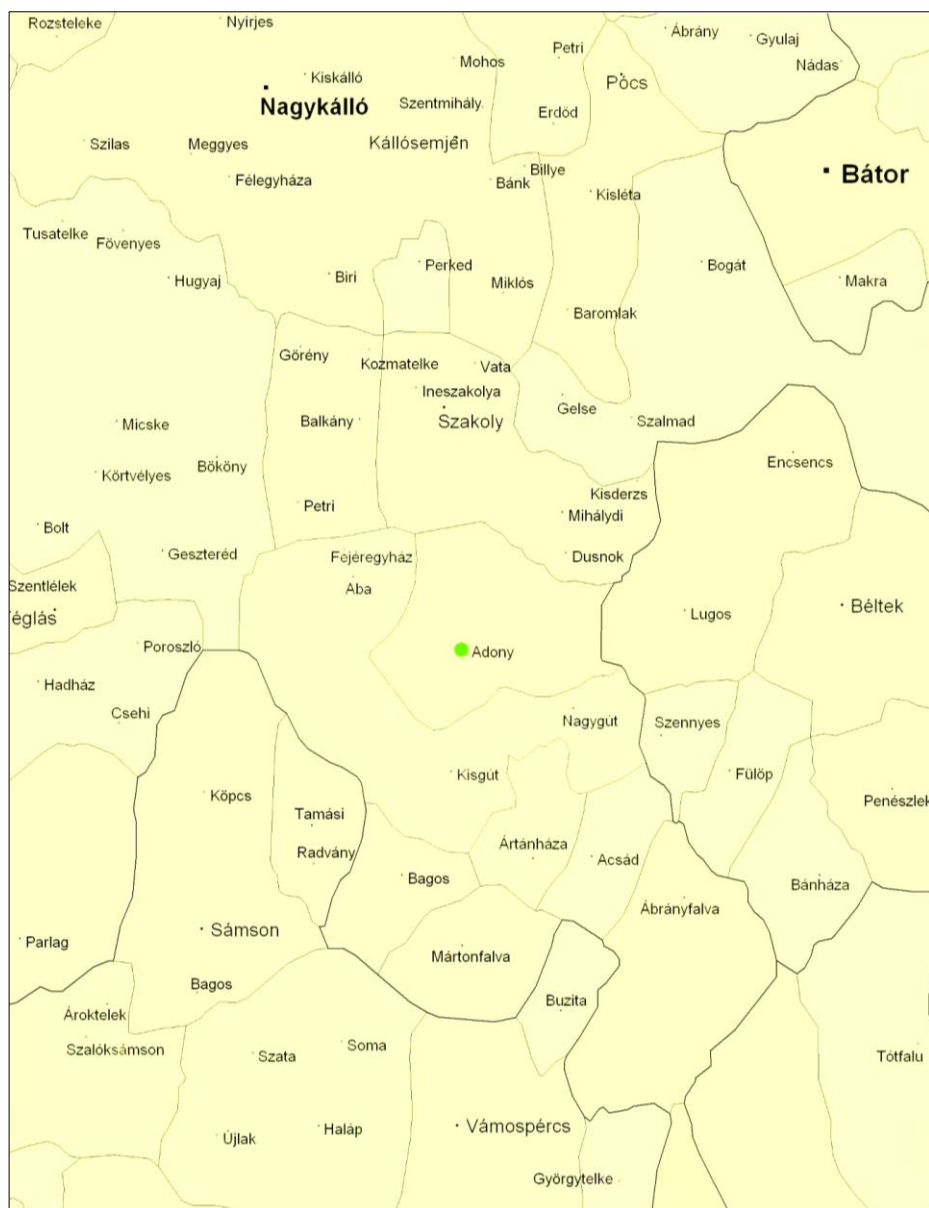
Fig. 4. Map with the monastery of (Nyír-)Adony, and the surrounding estates in Szabolcs county. Source: Engel, *Magyarország középkor végén*.

his residence built near the monastery ("*circa dictum monasterium descendere et curiam, domos et alia edificia construere-niterentur*"),[28] so he announced his intention at the congregation of the nobles of Tolna county, asking whether anyone would oppose it. The act of declaration and the absence of opposition were put down in a charter by the palatine, who was also present at the meeting. A representative of the other patron family, Michael, son of Majos, was also present, and allegedly had no objection. A similar case was recorded in the case of Császló, which shows that such residential practices were rather usual. The patrons of Császló – members of the Surányi family of the Káta kindred – were summoned to court at their monastery in 1345.[29] According to customary law, parties should be summoned to court at their residential sites, so it seems probable that several members of the Surányi family had their residences in Császló near the monastery.

The topographic connection between monasteries and residences of patrons is also evidenced for the Árpádian Age in a number of earthwork fortification sites. Some of them were mentioned in the secondary literature as "small

A century later, the patronage right was held by the members of the Dárói (or Daróczi) and Majos families.[27] In 1343, one of the patrons, Nicholas, son of Stephan of the Dárói family, decided to have

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Ordinis Cisterciensis in Hungaria (Rome: Editio Cisterciensis, 1984), 47-52.

[27] Hervay, *Repertorium*; *Középkori magyar genealógia* [Medieval Hungarian genealogy], Electronic database released on CD: *Magyar középkori adattár* [Medieval Hungarian database], ed. Pál Engel (Budapest: Arcanum, 2001), s. v. *Majos rokonsága*, 1st table.

[28] Fügedi, "*Sepelierunt corpus eius*," 49, note 103.

[29] Cited by Németh, *A középkori Szatmár megye*, 44-45: DL 76766; published in *Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vasonkeö. A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára*, I-II, eds. Imre Nagy et al. (Pest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1872), II, 150.

castles" ("kisvár" in Hungarian), several of them appear to have been residences of noble kindreds.[30] Péter Németh pointed out that several monasteries in Szabolcs and Szatmár counties were associated with such fortified sites. This is the case with the Abbey of Beszterec, which was built on the highest part of an earlier earthwork castle that had been abandoned shortly before the monastery was built.[31] At Sárvár (Szatmár Co.), the abbey was built next to the earthwork castle on an island in the marshland of Ecsed.[32] Similarly, Adonymonostora was situated near the earthwork castle of Belső-Gút – notably, the place name is closely similar to the name of the Gutkeled kindred.[33] Archaeological discoveries at Sárvár and Adonymonostora suggest that these monasteries functioned contemporaneously with the fortifications nearby.

A similar example, though somewhat larger, is Bény (Kisbény / Bina, Slovakia), where an earthwork castle was built on the Garam River at the end of the ninth century and was in use, researchers assume, as the early residence of the Hont-Pázmány kindred until the middle of the twelfth century.[34] A Benedictine abbey was built during the first decades of the twelfth century, just 500 meters away from the castle. In 1217, it was taken over by the Premonstratensians and a new monastery was built inside the former castle building.[35] The abbey of Ákosmonostora (Pest Co.) was also built on the site of a former earthwork castle that had been abandoned shortly before.[36] The abbey of Kács, of which the Örsúr kindred were patrons, was built in the vicinity of the earthwork castle at Sály-Lator, which belonged to the same kindred.[37] The provostry of the Holy Cross at Bodrog-Bő was built at Bő, where there was also an earthwork castle of the Bő kindred.[38] The Benedictine Abbey of Hahót, dedicated to St. Margaret, was founded by the Buzád-Hahót kindred, built just a few kilometers away from the residence of the kindred at Buzád-Sárkánysziget, a site that was localized by archaeological

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[30] These types of castles, usually of small dimensions and built of earth and wood, were regarded as fortifications with "no history" due to the lack of written sources referring to them. They were analyzed, though, with archaeological methods and several interpretations were proposed in order to establish their chronology and function. The overview of the research and analysis of several cases from the later period: Gábor Virágos, *The Social Archaeology of Residential Sites. Hungarian noble residences and their context from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century: an outline for methodology*, BAR International Series 1583, Achaeolingua – Central European Series 3 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006).

[31] Péter Németh, "Szabolcs és Szatmár megyék Árpád-kori földvárai és monostorai, 1. közlemény" [Earth fortifications and monasteries from the Árpádian Age in Szabolcs and Szatmár counties, 1st proceeding], *MFME* 6 (1966-1967): 127-134, 128 (note 7), and 132; Németh, "Szabolcs és Szatmár megyék Árpád-kori földvárai és monostorai, 2. közlemény" [Earth fortifications and monasteries from the Árpádian Age in Szabolcs and Szatmár counties, 2nd proceeding], *A Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve* 10 (1968): 134-167, 93 and 94; and Németh, *A középkori Szabolcs megye*, 40-41.

[32] Németh, "Szabolcs és Szatmár. 1. közlemény," 128 (note 4), and 132; for the archaeological research see Kálmán Magyar, "Nagyecsed-Sárvár nemzetségi központ kutatása (1975-77)," [Investigation of the Nagyecsed-Sárvár centre of kindred], *CommArhHung* IV (1984): 146-186; Sándor Tóth, "Sárvármonostor," in *Paradisum Plantavit. Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary*, ed. Imre Takács (Pannonhalma: Archabbey of Pannonhalma, 2001), 368-370; for a more recent analysis of the archaeological research,

focused on the stone fragments see Krisztina Havasi, "Sárvármonostor XI. századi kőfaragványainak katalógusa elé" [Introduction to the catalogue of the eleventh century stone carvings of Sárvármonostor], in *Középkori egyházi építészet Szatmárban* [Medieval ecclesiastical architecture of Szatmár], eds. Tibor Kollár et al. (Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Önkormányzat, 2011), 27-59.

[33] Németh, "Szabolcs és Szatmár. 1. közlemény," 128 (note 3), and 132; "Szabolcs és Szatmár. 2. közlemény," 98-100.

[34] Alois Habovstiak, "Frühmittelalterliche Wallanlage und romanische Bauten in Bíňa," in *VIIe congrès international des sciences préhistoriques et proto-historiques, Tchécoslovaquie, 1966. Excursion en Slovaquie* (Nitra: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1966), 5-13.

[35] Sándor Tóth, *A Hont-Pázmány nemzetség premontrei monostorai* [The Premonstratensian monasteries of the Hont-Pázmány kindred] (Kecskemét: BT-Press, 2008), 54-88.

[36] Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori*, IV, 508; *MRT*, 11, XIII/3. *Pest Megye Régészeti Topográfiája. Az Aszódi és Gödöllői Járás* [Archaeological topography of Pest county. Districts of Aszód and Gödöllő], s. v. *Galgahéviz*, site no. 8/2, 176-183.

[37] Judit Gádor, "A Sály-Latori nemzetségfői központ kutatása," in *Középkori régészetünk újabb eredményei és időszerű feladatai* [New results and tasks of our medieval archaeology], eds. István Fodor and László Selmeczi (Budapest: MNM, 1985), 115-122.

[38] Kálmán Magyar, "A Bodrog-alsó-bűi nemzetségi központ régészeti kutatása (1979-1999)" [Archaeological research of the kindred center at Bodrog–Alsó-bű], *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 14 (2000): 115-161.

excavations.[39] The kindred was the patron of another monastery, too – the provostry of St. Martin – situated on the opposite side of the valley, near Alsórajk.[40]

A recent comprehensive study on the settlement development of county seats considered the presence of monasteries in or near the earthen-castles as an important factor for their centrality and later development.[41] A considerable number of these monasteries were under royal patronage, but there were private foundations as well, like Pélmonostor at Baranyavár, Bodrogmonostor at Bodrog, Ellésmonostor at Csongrád, and Koppány-monostor at Komárom. Although these sites apparently belong to the above-described group of monasteries, which were situated in or around fortified residential sites, the topographic relation between monastic complexes and earthworks is not always clear due to the limitations of archaeological interpretation or other circumstances. It seems probable that such sites were not necessarily chosen by the monasteries, but by the founders. However, in certain cases monasteries outlived residential sites that went out of use in later times.

It can be concluded as a result of the topographic analysis and case studies that the site of private monasteries had a more or less central character within the topography of the patron's estate. The examination of Engel's map of estates and the lists of papal and bishops' tithes show that the monasteries were surrounded by the estates of the patrons in almost all cases. Where the estates were of bigger extent, the central character of the monastic site can be observed even on a micro-regional level. The cases studied suggest that the patrons were directly involved in the administration of monastic estates, and they were able to use the economic resources of the monasteries not only for the Abbey, but also for their own benefit and purposes. Sometimes, the patrons even managed to secularize the monastic estates. In this sense, the topographic relation of monasteries with the patron's estates and residences had a dual character: besides the evident advantages offered by this central position, private monasteries were more vulnerable towards the patrons, being under their permanent and direct control.

[39] László Vándor, "Archäologische Forschungen in den mittelalterlichen weltlichen und kirchlichen Zentren des Hahót-Buzád-Geschlechts," *Antaeus* 23 (1996): 183-217.

[40] Vándor, "Archäologische Forschungen," 190-191. Béla Miklós Szőke, "Die Prämonstratenserpropstei von Alsórajk-Kastélydomb," *Antaeus* 23 (1996): 251-306.

[41] Katalin Szende, "Von der Gespanschaftsburg zur Stadt: warum, wie – oder warum nicht? Ein Möglicher weg der Stadtentwicklung im Mittelalterlichen Ungarn," in *Stadtgründung und Stadtwerdung. Beiträge von Archäologie und Stadtgeschichtsforschung*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas, XXII, ed. Ferdinand Opll (Linz: Österreichischen Arbeitskreises für Stadtgeschichts-forschung, 2011), 375-405, 386, fig. 3 (map of monastic establishments in or near the countyseat).