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I

Medieval Changing Landscape. Settlements, Monasteries and Fortifications

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Archaeological Evidences of Monastic Patronage: Several Case Studies

SZOCS PETER LEVENTE¹

Abstract: *In the context of medieval Central Europe, the growing number case studies has widened the church-centered archaeological approach to include the whole monastic complex, providing new data on its architectural features and on the surrounding cemetery. These features provide a large number of new evidences, which must be contextualized with the written or other sources. In case of monastic patronage, the analysis of cemeteries, of the individual burials and the grave goods, seems to be the most significant. Although there are as yet no attempts at synthetic analysis, several elements of cemetery topography, especially the inner structure and the structures of burials (whether they are built or embedded with stones or bricks) have been interpreted as signs of social status that might identify the burials of founders and patrons of the monastery. In parallel, certain grave-goods (like S-ended earrings) regarded in the previous research as significant for social attributions, were accredited with less importance, questioning their chronology and even their use.*

Apart from burials, elements of monastic complex, such as chapels, cloister buildings, or annexes to the church might have several functions in context of the patronage. Moreover, art historical debates discuss the function of western galleries and of the oratories inside of the abbey church as places of the patrons and spaces of social display. The paper analyzes, through several case studies from the medieval Hungarian Kingdom, those elements of the monastic complex which might indicate the relation of the monastic community with their lay patrons.

Keywords: *monastic patronage, private monasteries, churchyard cemetery, burial inventory*

In the context of medieval Central Europe, the growing number of recent case studies in monastic archaeology widened the church-centered archaeological approach to include the whole monastic complex. These case studies provided a great deal of new archaeological data on the buildings of the monastic complex and on the surrounding cemetery. The large number of new archaeological evidences, interpreted in context with the written documents and other types of sources, offered the possibility to clarify several issues linked to medieval monasteries. One of these aspects is the issue of private patronage, including the complex set of relations between lay founders and patrons with the monastic community. In this paper, I will analyze a set of archeological evidences through several case studies, from the medieval Hungarian Kingdom, which might have significance in the issue of private patronage.

Before turning to the proper cases studies, it is worth to consider first the research of the Cistercian Abbey of Bordesley (England),² which is significant because monastic patronage has been deliberately addressed here with archaeological methods. The rich set of finds offered the possibility to interpret them in the context of equally rich

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² Grenville G. Aston and Susan M. Wright, "Perceiving Patronage in the Archaeological Record: Bordesley Abbey," in *In Search of Cult. Archaeological Investigations in Honor of Philip Rahtz*, ed. Martin Carver, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993), 125–137.

written sources, therefore it makes this case a model for this issue of patronage. Bordesley Abbey was under royal patronage, but its research allowed archaeologists to identify several architectural and archaeological features which—in their interpretation—were signs of private patronage. Two important observations resulted from their work in this sense. First, the number of features which might be related to patronage can be enlarged; apart from the spectacular—but rare—so-called “founder’s graves” and “patron’s galleries,” the rhythm of building projects and renewal of the monastic complex was interpreted as an indicator of new endowments. Certain architectural features—ceramic floor-tiles and stone-carvings decorated with the coats of arms of the patrons—were explained as expressions of noble patronage, too. Moreover, the structure of the cemetery, the location and chronology of lay burials and their position within the monastic complex, was correlated with the patronage. Another significant result of the Bordesley Abbey research project emerged from the combination of archival data with the archaeological and architectural information. Periods of large and quick renovations were identified with archaeological / architectural methods in the abbey. These renovations were more expensive than the monastic community could have afforded, considering their average income. The combination with the archival information demonstrated that these rebuilding periods were correlated with a growing number of endowments. The opening of new parts of the abbey church for lay burials was also interpreted as a response to the pressure of the patrons. In other words, the information provided by each source group was contextualized with the help of the others. The wave of endowments explains the architectural changes, the new archaeological features, and, at the same time, these changes illustrate the purpose and effect of the endowments.³

In context of Central Europe, the case of Bordesley Abbey has only methodological significance because archival sources are not so abundant and the non-royal foundations were not so extensively researched in order to provide rich and various discoveries. It is difficult, therefore, to assess in such details issues of monastic patronage. But several observations might prove helpful in order to address issues of patronage in these regions, too.

One of the earliest examples is offered by the Abbey of Ellésmonostor. The monastery was founded at the beginning of the 12th century, the abbey church was a triple-aisled basilica, built at the beginning of the 12th century (fig. 1).⁴ On the northern side of the apses, a rectangular room was built in the same phase with the church. In a later phase, this northern side room was rebuilt with an apse, and it was used for burials. Graves, carefully built in brick with “pitched tent” covers, were sited here. In the same phase, two western towers were built to the church, and on the southern side of the basilica two more buildings were added—arranged around a rectangular courtyard with a well in the center. There were also burials inside the southeastern annex. Moreover, inside the basilica, several burials with grave goods indicating high social status were discovered. A small parish church stood 50 m to the west—built in the same period as

³ The view of authors on the role the monastic community played in this process is interesting for the general study of monasticism. The monastic community was regarded previously as more or less a passive partner in this relationship. It accepted the endowments and it provided spiritual and other services as a reward: prayers, retirement for poor and old members of patron family, and burial place for them. In the case of Bordesley Abbey, the authors emphasize the active role of the community in attracting patrons and endowments, implementing a more or less conscious “development plan.”

⁴ Éva Pávai, “Ellésmonostor kutatása” [The research of Ellésmonostor], in *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer* [The Southern Part of the Great Plain and Szer during the Middle Ages], ed. Tibor Kollár (Szeged-Budapest: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár-Open Art, 2000), 219–232 (hereafter: *Dél-Alföld és Szer*).

the first phase of the abbey church—and around it (as around the basilica) lay a large cemetery (altogether more than 320 graves were identified). A ditch from the earliest phase surrounded the whole complex. The monastic complex was situated on the site of a 10th and 11th century settlement; the village moved 50 m south of the monastery, and it was situated there from the 11th to the 17th century. As it was mentioned, high-status burials were placed inside the basilica, the northern side chapel, and the southeastern annex. Their chronology is, however, not clear (which space was used in which period). The high level of material culture is indicated by finds discovered close to the northern wall of the abbey church, near the chapel: fragments of several crosses with enamel decoration (with Corpus of Christ, the figure of the Holy Virgin and fragments of decorative plaques).⁵

Due to the architectural features, similar to monastic sites under private patronage, research on the Benedictine Abbey of Boldva⁶ is significant, even though it was a royal foundation dedicated to St John the Baptist. In the southern part of the abbey-church, a small parish church of rounded shape dedicated to St Margaret was identified, built at the same time as the abbey, during the 1170s (fig. 2). The buildings of the cloister were on the northern side, but they were built in a later period. Both churches were surrounded with cemetery, and the analysis of grave goods permitted to identify several high-status burials, grouped next to the abbey church and inside of it. Similarly, research on the royal abbey of Somogyvár, lasting roughly four decades, has provided significant results for all types of monastic sites.⁷ The *quadrum* of the monastic buildings were on the northern side of the abbey, while farther to the north, a small parish church was identified, surrounded by a cemetery (fig. 3). Around the abbey church and parish church, more than half thousand graves were identified, making it possible to establish its chronological evolution, and to identify zones where burials of higher social status were concentrated. The whole complex was surrounded with earthworks, ditches, and later with stone fortifications. In both cases, the presence of high status burials indicate that royal monastic foundations established relations of patronage with private persons, and this special relation was evidenced in special burial places.

Returning to the monasteries under private patronage, at the abbey of Kána⁸ a large cemetery was researched around the church (built in the second half of the 12th century). On the northern side of the abbey church, a nave-long side-chapel used for

⁵ Éva Pávai, “Egy limoges-i Mária figura az ellési monostor (Csongrád megye) területéről” [A figure of the Holy Virgin in Limoges style, discovered on the site of the Ellés Monastery, Csongrád County], in *A kőkortól a középkorig. Tanulmányok Trogmayer Ottó 60. születésnapjára*, ed. Gábor Lőrinczy (Szeged: Móra Ferenc Múzeum, 1994), 455–461; see also Pávai in *Dél-Alföld és Szer*, 228; and *Paradisum Plantavit. Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary*, ed. Imre Takács (Pannonhalma: Archabbey of Pannonhalma, 2001), cat. no. IV. 3–4–5. 188 (hereafter: *Paradisum Plantavit*).

⁶ IlonaValter, “A boldvai bencésapátság” [The Benedictine Abbey of Boldva], *Művészet* 25 (1984): 4; IlonaValter, *Boldva, református templom* [The Calvinist Church of Boldva], 2nd rev. ed. (Budapest: Tájak, Korok, Múzeumok, 1998), [TKM 399]; IlonaValter, “A boldvai református templom (volt bencésapátság)” [The Calvinist Church at Boldva, the former Benedictine Abbey], in *Myskovszky Viktor és a mai műemlékvédelem Közép-Európában. Nemzetközi konferencia Myskovszky Viktor születésének 160. évfordulója alkalmából. Kassa, Bártfa–1998. május 18–21*, ed. Alexander Balega (Budapest-Bratistava: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal–Pamiatkovy Ustav, 1999), 162–169.

⁷ Kornél Bakay, *Somogyvár. Szent Egyed monostor. A somogyvári bencés apátság és védműveinek régészeti feltárása. 1972–2009* [Somogyvár. The Monastery of St Giles. Archaeological Research on the Abbey of Somogyvár and its fortifications. 1972–2009], (Budapest: Műemlékek Nemzeti Gondnoksága, 2011).

⁸ Katalin H. Gyürky, *A Buda melletti Kánai apátság feltárása* [Research on the abbey of Kána near the city of Buda], (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1996).

burials was built of stone-blocks (fig. 4). At the southeastern corner of the church, graves were identified that had been paved and built with great stone-blocks, but with no special finds in the graves. The adjacent settlement and its parish church were identified in the neighborhood of the monastery, across the valley.⁹ The higher status of burials inside of the side chapel is indicated by their special position, and the exigent technique of realization.

Further relevant researches were made at Csoltmonostor,¹⁰ where the monastic complex was built through three periods (fig. 5). A ditch surrounding the monastic complex was identified which functioned during the two early periods (when the *quadrum* was built, but during the third period it was filled), while, in the third period, a wall surrounded the monastic complex. A cemetery with more than 300 graves was identified here, the high-status burials were grouped around the abbey church. At Sárvármonostor,¹¹ the monastery is located in an earthen fortification which dates from the Bronze Age (fig. 6). The fortification was reused in the Arpadian Age, two small villages are located inside the earthworks. On the southern part of the abbey church a small chapel (?) was identified, and to southwest a cloister wing. A large cemetery (around 200 graves) was excavated; some of them had rich inventories (hair rings, finger-rings, coins, cloth accessories), and others were built with bricks.

The research on Bátmonostor Abbey provided additional results.¹² The monastery was founded in 1198, and the Abbey church was a triple aisle basilica, with three apses, decorated with carved stones, during the Arpadian age church (fig. 7/1).¹³ The side apses had rectangular ends on the outside. Due to the massive foundations of the easternmost and westernmost pillars, four towers are presumed to have stood here. Two smaller foundations lay between the eastern pillars (it is presumed that they supported a gallery). A rectangular space was built at the southeastern corner of the church. Around the abbey church, a ditch was identified, filled with twelfth-century finds, among them fragments of a metal basin with enamel decoration.¹⁴ The monastery was destroyed during the Mongol invasion, but it was rebuilt in the 14th century for Austin hermits. In the area enclosed by the ditch, a Gothic parish church, an ossuary

⁹ Researches coordinated by György Terei, under press.

¹⁰ Irén Juhász, "Csolt nemzetség monostora" [The monastery of the Csolt Kindred], *Műemlékvédelem* 36, no. 2 (1992): 105; the dating of the building-periods was revised by Melinda Tóth, "Csoltmonostora" [The Monastery of Csolt], *Henszlmann Lapok* 4 (1994): 6–10; for a new survey of the results—with the former chronology—see also Irén Juhász, "A Csolt nemzetség monostora" [The monastery of the Csolt Kindred], in *Dél-Alföld és Szer.* 281–303; and Sándor Tóth, "A 11–12. századi Magyarország Benedek-rendi templomainak maradványai," [Remnants of Hungarian Benedictine Abbeys of the 11th and 12th centuries] in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 242–243.

¹¹ Kálmán Magyar, "Nagyecsed-Sárvár nemzetségi központ kutatása (1975–77)" [Research of the Kindred Residence at Nagyecsed-Sárvár], *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* (1984): 146–186; for the art, historical interpretations see Tóth, "A 11–12. századi Magyarország Benedek-rendi," 240; Sándor Tóth, "Sárvármonostor," in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 368–370; and recently, Krisztina Havasi, "Sárvármonostor XI. századi kőfaragványainak katalógusa elé" [Introduction to the Catalogue of the eleventh Century Stone Carvings from Sárvármonostor], in *Középkori egyházi építészet Szatmárban* [Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture of Szatmár], ed. Tibor Kollár, Gellért Áment, István Bardoly, Péter Levente Szöcs (Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Önkormányzat, 2011), 26–59 (hereafter: *Szatmár*).

¹² Piroska Biczó, "A Bátmonostori ásátások" [Archaeological research at Bátmonostor], in *Középkori régészetünk újabb eredményei és időszzerű feladatai*, ed. István Fodor (Budapest: Művelődésügyi Minisztérium – MNM, 1985), 363–369.

¹³ On the carved stone decorations at the abbey of Bátmonostor see *Paradisum Plantavit*, 388.

¹⁴ Piroska Biczó, "Román kori táltoredék Bátmonostorról" [A Fragment of a Roman Basin found at Bátmonostor], *Cumania* 13 (1992): 87–111; *Paradisum Plantavit*, cat. no. IV.6. 189.

chapel and 2642 graves were identified. According to a survey made by Henszlmann in 1871, two graves, built with bricks / stone slabs, were identified inside the Romanesque church in front of the main altar, and identified as the burials of patrons or founders (fig. 7/2).¹⁵ This makes the case of Bátmonostor particularly significant: it shows a clear evidence for burial of patrons, placed at very special position and constructed with high standards.

At Babócsa,¹⁶ the abbey church—dedicated to St Nicholas—had a single nave with a single apse and a western hall in which a brick-walled grave was identified (with a niche for the head). The church and a surrounding cemetery were encircled by a ditch (fig. 8). To the north and south, traces of a village were identified; to the south, a small parish church and a cemetery (contemporary with the abbey) were found, surrounded by another ditch. The curia of the patron family was built to the west during the 14th century. No difference between the two cemeteries in status of the burials was observed by the researchers at that time. The ground plan of the abbey church of Bodrog-Bü,¹⁷ the monastery of the Bó kindred dedicated to the Holy Cross, was similar to Babócsa—it had one nave, one apse, and a western hall (fig. 9). Around it, 150 graves were identified grouped in two periods (11th to 13th century and 14th to 15th century). The graves were placed densely, disturbing each other. Three settlements were identified around the church (cca. 500 m).

In the case of the abbey of Ják, the archeological research discovered a small church with a centralized ground-plan, built at the site of the monastery before the foundation act of the abbey (dated around 1220).¹⁸ A rectangular brick building also stood to the southwest at that time, interpreted as the curia of the landlords (fig. 10). The abbey church was built between 1220 and 1256; in this phase, the small parish church was rebuilt in a quadrifoil form, while a square tower was added to the rectangular building. Although only preliminary results are known of the numerous research campaigns carried on at the site,¹⁹ through the analysis of the cemetery²⁰ and its topography, the small church next to the abbey church was identified as the parish church of the village (lying toward the north), while the rectangular building seems to have served as the residence of the patron kindred during the Arpadian Age.

At Zsámbék²¹ inside of the 12th century church, especially in the western hall and

¹⁵ Imre Henszlmann, *Magyarország ó-keresztény, román és átmeneti stílusú mű-emlékeinek rövid ismertetése* [Short Presentation of Hungarian Monuments of Early-Christian, Romanesque and Transitional Style] (Budapest: Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1876), 114–117, fig. 185.

¹⁶ Kálmán Magyar, “A babócsai Nárciszos-Basakert településtörténete” [The settlement history of Babócsa, the site of Nárciszos-Basakert], *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 10 (1994): 73–91.

¹⁷ Kálmán Magyar, “A Bodrog-alsó-büi nemzetségi központ régészeti kutatása” [Research at the Kindred Center at Bodrog-alsó-Bü], *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 14 (2000): 115–161.

¹⁸ For a summary of the architectural and art historical research on the abbey, with previous literature, see Alice Mezey-Debreczeni and Edit Szentesi, *A Ják nemzetség, a jáki Szent György-monostor és Ják falu* [The Ják kindred, the St George Abbey of Ják and the settlement of Ják], in *A jáki apostol szobrok* [The Apostles’ Statues of Ják], ed. Edit Szentesi (Budapest: Balassi, 1999), 3–34; and Alice Mezey-Debreczeni, “Ják” in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 400–405.

¹⁹ Reports on the research campaigns were summarized by Ilona Valter, “A Ják nemzetség Árpád-kori lakóhelye Jákon” [The Ják kindred, the St George Abbey of Ják and the settlement of Ják], *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* (2005): 537–564.

²⁰ Kinga Éry and Antónia Marcsik, “Embertani vizsgálatok Ják 11–18. századi népességén” [Anthropological Analysis of the population of Ják living during the eleventh to eighteenth century], *Savaria* 35 (2012): 13–97.

²¹ Dezső Dercsényi and Ilona Valter, *Zsámbék, Templomrom*, 3rd rev. ed. (Tájak Korok Múzeumok Kiskönyvtára 184) (Budapest: TKM Egyesület, 1998).

in the western zone of the nave, burials built with stone blocks were discovered, and identified with the founder and patron's grave (fig. 11). Additional information on the topography of monastic complexes and the cemeteries surrounding them were offered by the research at Hahót²² (significant especially for the extension of the research and field survey to the whole micro-region, fig. 12), Szermonostor (fig. 13),²³ and Vértesszentkereszt (fig. 14).²⁴

Finally, the results of the archaeological research at Ákos,²⁵ although only partial, permits seeing the building of the abbey church in the context of its Arpadian architectural ensemble, comprising the church itself, fitted with a side chapel, surrounded by a cemetery, and enclosed by a ditch (fig. 15). This complex seems to have had no other buildings related to the monastery or perhaps they were made of wood or earth, and their traces may not be identifiable with archaeological methods. The name of the settlement, identical with the name of the kindred, suggests that there was a residence of the Ákos patron kindred in the neighborhood of the monastery during the Arpadian period. The precise date of the monastery foundation cannot be determined, but the results of the archaeological investigations, considering especially the inventory of the early graves, suggest that the monastic site started during the last quarter of the 12th century. The rare spatial distribution of the early burials, and the grave goods discovered in these burials are not typical to the parish cemeteries. These features indicate that the cemetery was used rather by a smaller community with higher social status in early phases, and the village cemetery must be located somewhere else.

Among the presented cases above, graves built and covered carefully with stone slabs or bricks were identified at Ellésmonostor, Kána, Zsámbék, Nagyecsed-Sárvár, Vértesszentkereszt, and similar discoveries were made at several further cases, too.²⁶

²² László Vándor, "Archäologische Forschungen in den mittelalterlichen weltlichen und kirchlichen Zentren des Hahót-Buzád-Geschlechts," *Antaeus* 23 (1996): 187–190, 205–207.

²³ Ferenc Horváth, "Szer plébánia temploma és a település középkori története" [The Parish Church of Szer and the Medieval History of the Settlement], in *Dél-Alföld és Szer*, 123–142; Ottó Trogmayer, "Fecerunt magnum aldumas" – Gondolatok Szer monostorának építéstörténetéről" [Fecerunt Magnum aldumas – On the Architectural History of Szer Abbey], in *Dél-Alföld és Szer*.

²⁴ Éva M. Kozák, *A vértesszentkereszt-i apátság* [The Abbey of Vértesszentkereszt], (Művészettörténet–Műemlékvédelem 4) (Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1993).

²⁵ The early results of this combined research were incorporated in my MA thesis, entitled "The Problems of Kindred Monasteries: A Case Study of Ákos Monastery" (Budapest: Central European University, 2002), and published in part in: Péter Levente Szöcs, "The Abbey Church of Ákos: An Architectural and Functional Analysis of a 'Kindred Monastery Church'," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 9 (2003): 155–180; more recent results of the research were presented in three studies: Péter Levente Szöcs, "Az ákosi református templom régészeti kutatása" [Archaeological Research on the Calvinist Church of Ákos], in *Szatmár*, 60–65; Tamás Emödi, "A középkori ákosi templom és Schulek-féle helyreállítása" [The Medieval Church of Ákos and its Renovation conducted by Frigyes Schulek], in *Szatmár*, 66–85; and Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Ákos, református templom. Művészettörténeti elemzés" [The Calvinist Church of Ákos. Art Historical Analysis], in *Szatmár*, 86–91. A more recent summary of the research on the abbey church see Péter Levente Szöcs, "Az ákosi monostor és az Ákos nemzetség" [The Ákos Monastery and the Ákos kindred], in *A Szilágyság és a Wesselényi család (14–17. század)* [The Szilágy Region and the Wesselényi Family], ed. Géza Hegyi and András W. Kovács (Kolozsvar-Cluj: EME, 2012), 7–24. Finally, the issues and results related to the research of the Ákos monastery were incorporated in 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 (in print).

²⁶ Further examples with similar discoveries were identified on Esztergom-Sziget, see Zsuzsa Lovag, "Esztergom-Sziget," in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 347–349; Feldebrő, see Júlia Kovalovszki, "Árpád-kori bronzöntő műhely Feldebrőn" [Bronze-casting workshop at Feldebrő], in *Entz Géza nyolcvanadik*

Moreover, graves constructed with stones or bricks are not only present around monastery churches, but also, they appear in cemeteries belonging to rural communities. The interpretation of these burials, regarding their chronology, social significance and / or regional specificities varied, until a systematic analysis was made by Ágnes Ritoók.²⁷ Starting with the analysis of the markers of medieval burials, Ágnes Ritoók widened her analysis of churchyard cemeteries,²⁸ and suggested several cases where the social differentiation can be detected. This is the case of the cemetery of St Michael parish in Esztergom-Kovácsi, where it can be observed that the burials of clerics were quite often marked with stone slabs.²⁹ Abandoning the use of stone slabs in churchyard cemeteries during the 14th century also seems to be linked with the status of the burials; Ritoók suggests³⁰ that the abandonment of stone slabs outside the church is in correlation with the growing number of the burials inside the church and the foundation of funeral chapels. The higher-status members of the community—who had earlier built their graves with stone (or brick) outside the church moved their burials inside from this point onward, because they could afford it.

Over all, basing on these considerations it seems plausible to assign burials constructed with higher standards, i.e. with stones and bricks, to higher social strata. In addition, observations made in the topography of churchyard cemeteries proved to be significant in the issue of private patronage. Apart of the evidently emphasized position of founders / patrons in front of the main altar at Bátmonostor, high status burials were grouped at special zones of the churchyard cemetery, next to the abbey church (Boldva, Somogyvár, Ják, Csoltmonostor, Sárvármonostor, Babócsa, Bodrog-Bú and Zsámbék) or inside of side chapels (Ellésmonostor and Kána). Beside of Bátmonostor, in case of Ellésmonostor and Zsámbék, burials inside the abbey church were identified with the

születésnapjára, ed. Ilona Valter (Budapest: OMVH, 1993), 87–98; at the abbey church of Lébény the grave-stones of patrons belonging to the Hédervári-Kont and Pót families were recorded by Arnold Ipolyi—their attribution, though, has been questioned recently: Zsófia Bendig-Zsilinszky, “Ipolyi Arnold rajz- és fénykép gyűjteménye az esztergomi keresztény múzeumban” [The Collection of Drawings and Photos belonging to Arnold Ipolyi in the Christian Museum of Esztergom], *Műemlékvédelem* 54, no. 5 (2010): 302–307, 305–306. Further cases from monasteries of Békés and Csongrád counties were identified by Ildikó Papp, *Téglás és téglakeretes temetkezések Csongrád és Békés megyében az Árpád-kortól a késő középkorig* [Burials with bricks and brick frames in Csongrád and Békés counties from the Árpadian Age to the Late Middle Ages], (Szeged: OTDK, 1998).

²⁷ Ágnes Ritoók, “A magyarországi falusi templom körüli temetők feltárásának újabb eredményei” [Latest Results of Excavations of Village Churchyards], *Folia Archaeologica* 46 (1997): 165–177; Ágnes Ritoók, “Szemponatok a magyarországi templom körüli temetők elemzéséhez” [Elements in the Analysis of the Churchyard Cemeteries], in *Es tu scholaris. Ünnepi tanulmányok Kubinyi András 75. születésnapjára*, ed. F. Romhányi Beatrix et al., (Monumenta Historica Budapestinensia XIII) (Budapest: BTM, 2004), 115–123; Ágnes Ritoók, “A templom körüli temetők felfedezése” [The discovery of Medieval Churchyards], in *Architectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania—Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben—Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania*, vol. 4, ed. Péter Levente Szöcs et al. (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2007): 249–276; Ágnes Ritoók, “A templom körüli temetők régészeti kutatása” [Archaeological research on churchyards], in *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon*, vol. 2, ed. Elek Benkő and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: MTA Régészeti Intézete, 2010), 473–494.

²⁸ Ritoók Ágnes, “Templom körüli temetők Árpád-kori sírjelei Magyarországon” [Grave markers of Árpadian-Age in the Churchyard cemeteries of Hungary], *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* (1997): 205–213; Pál Lővei, “Temetői sírjelek a középkori Magyarországon” [Grave markers in Medieval Hungary], in “... a halál árnyékánál völgyében járok.” *A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása* [Research on Medieval Churchyard Cemeteries], ed. by Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonya (Opuscula Hungarica VI) (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005), 77–84.

²⁹ Ritoók, “Templom körüli temetők Árpád-kori,” 209.

³⁰ Ritoók, “Templom körüli temetők Árpád-kori,” 208.

burial place of the patrons, too.

Apart of the burials, the patrons' residence is obvious evidences of their presence in the monastic complex. Such case was identified at the Abbey of Ják, where the dimensions and the annexes discovered here indicate that this site was the principal residence of the patron kindred. The importance of the residence is underlined with the fact, that the settlement, the abbey and the patron kindred was called all the same: Ják. Similar situation was identified at Babócsa, though the patrons' residence was built somewhat later than the monastery and it was placed at a bigger distance.

As the presented cases show, among the archeological features discovered, the construction type of the burials, the topography of the cemetery and the presence of the patrons' residence are significant for the issue of patronage. These features can be enlarged in this respect with the analysis of several elements of monastic complex, such as chapels, cloister buildings, or annexes to the church. One of the most significant aspects might be the function of western galleries and of the oratories inside of the abbey church as places of the patrons and spaces of social display. All of these features, however, exceed the possibility of archeology and must be addressed with art historical and architectural methods.

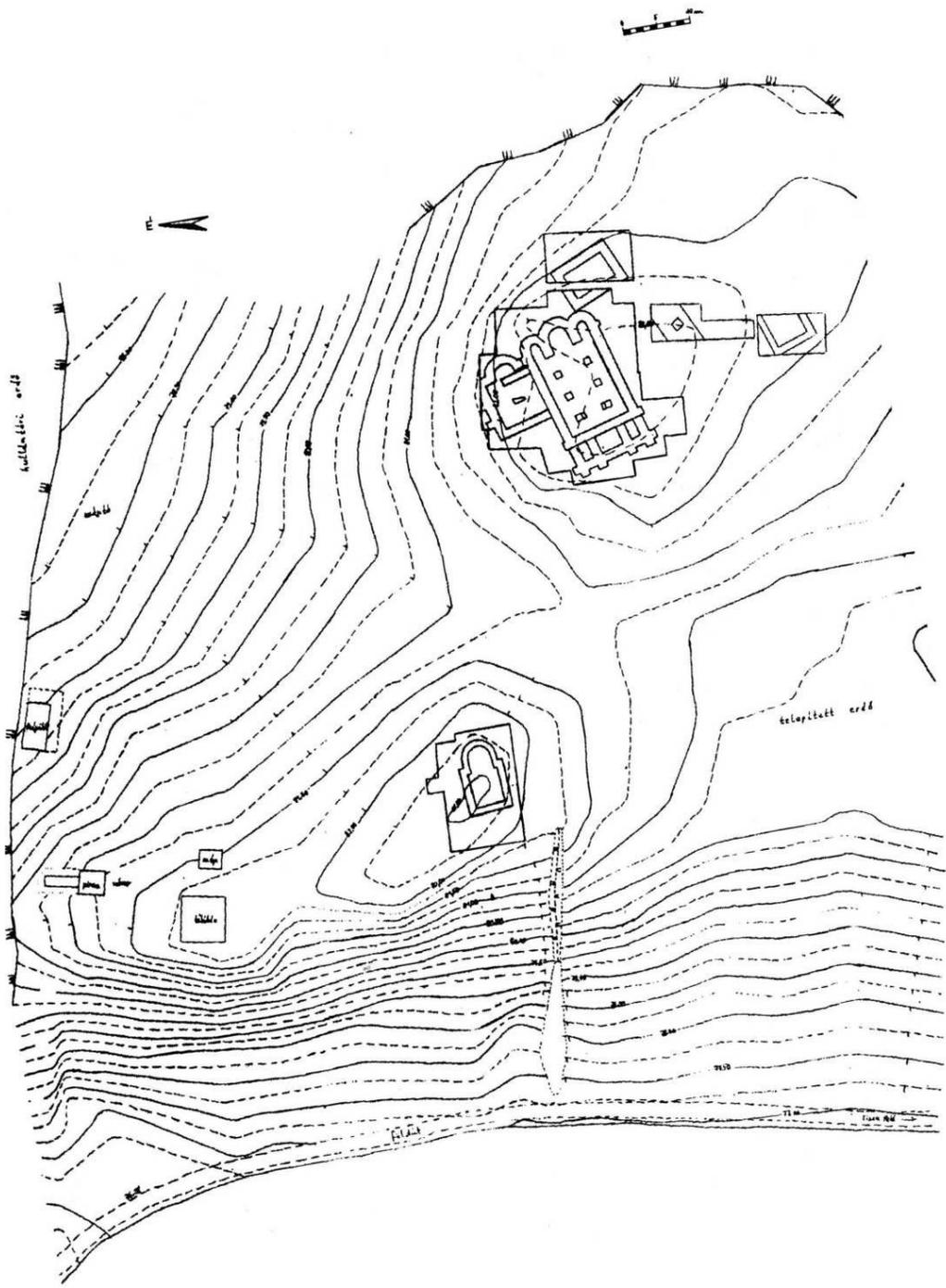


Fig. 1: Groundplan of Ellésmonostor (after Pávai 2000)

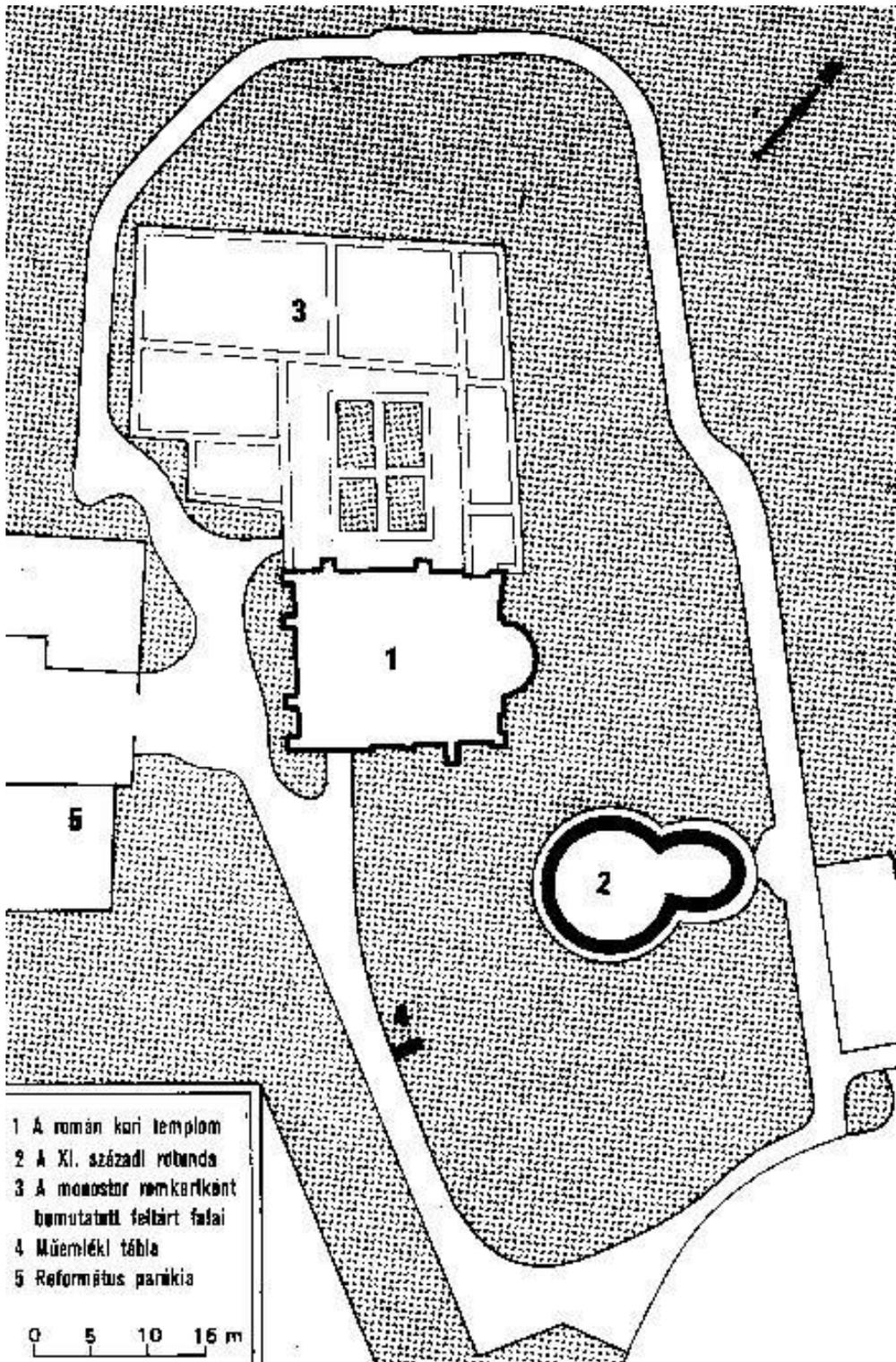


Fig. 2: Groundplan Boldva Abbey (after Valter 1998)

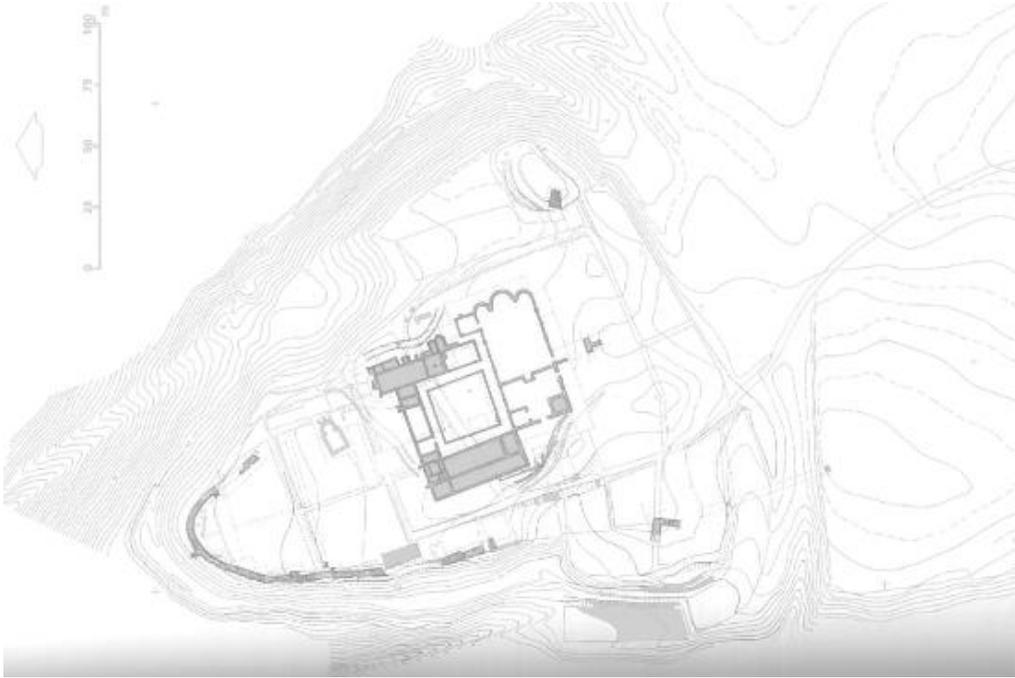


Fig. 3: Groundplan of Somogyvár Abbey (after Bakay 2011)

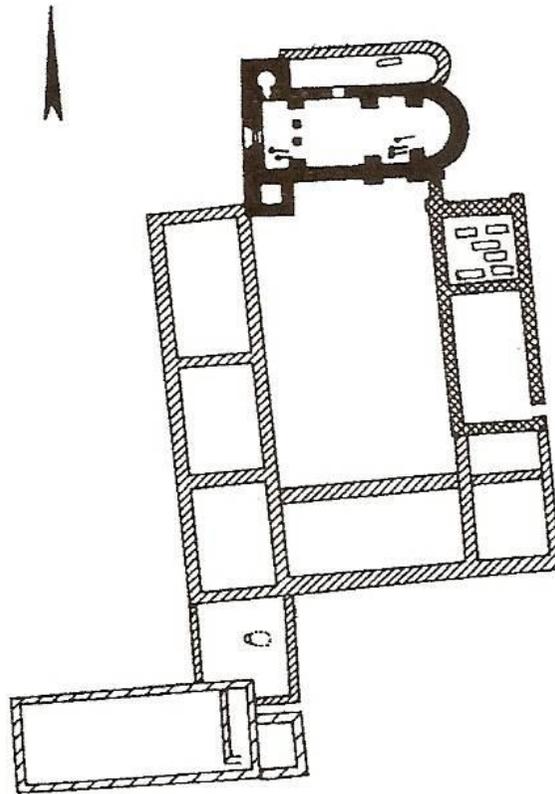


Fig. 4: Groundplan of Kána Abbey (after Katalin H. Gyürky 1996)

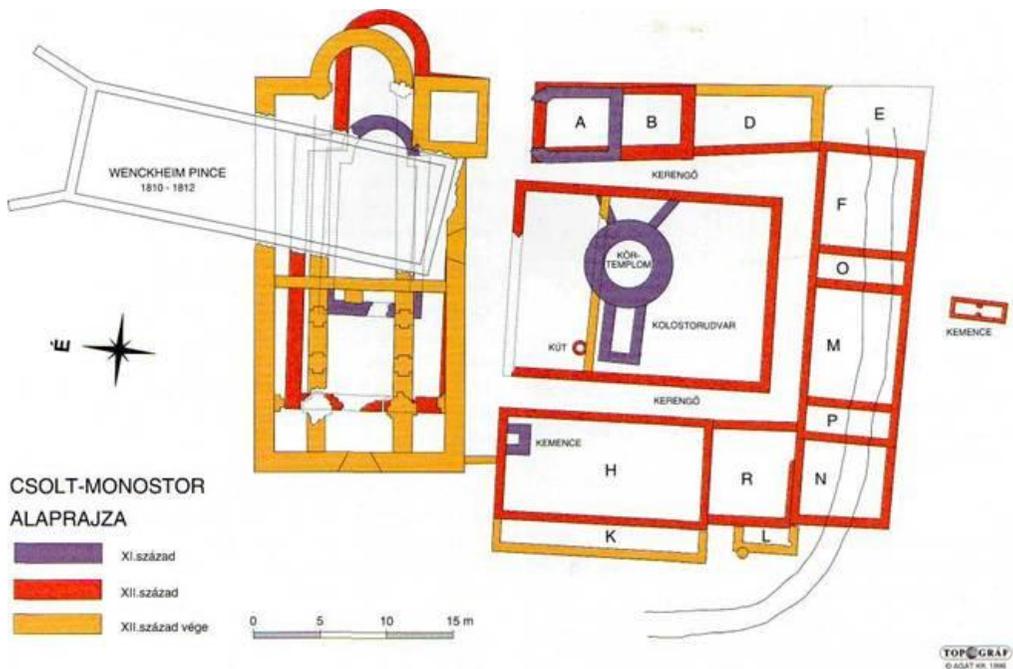


Fig. 5: Groundplan of Csoltmonostor (after Juhász 2000)



Fig. 6: Groundplan of Sárvár Abbey at Nagyecsed (after Magyar 1984)

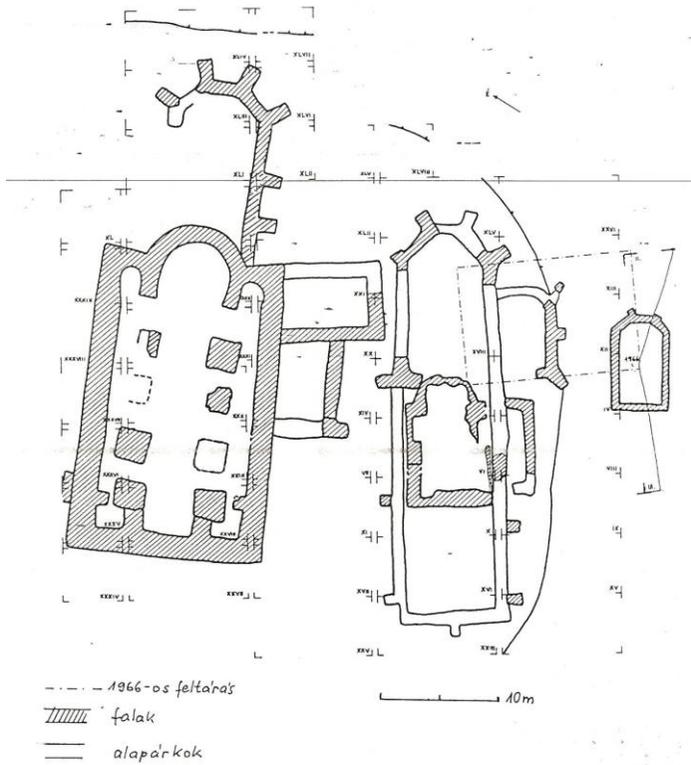


Fig. 7: 1. Groundplan of Bátmonostor (after Biczó 1985)

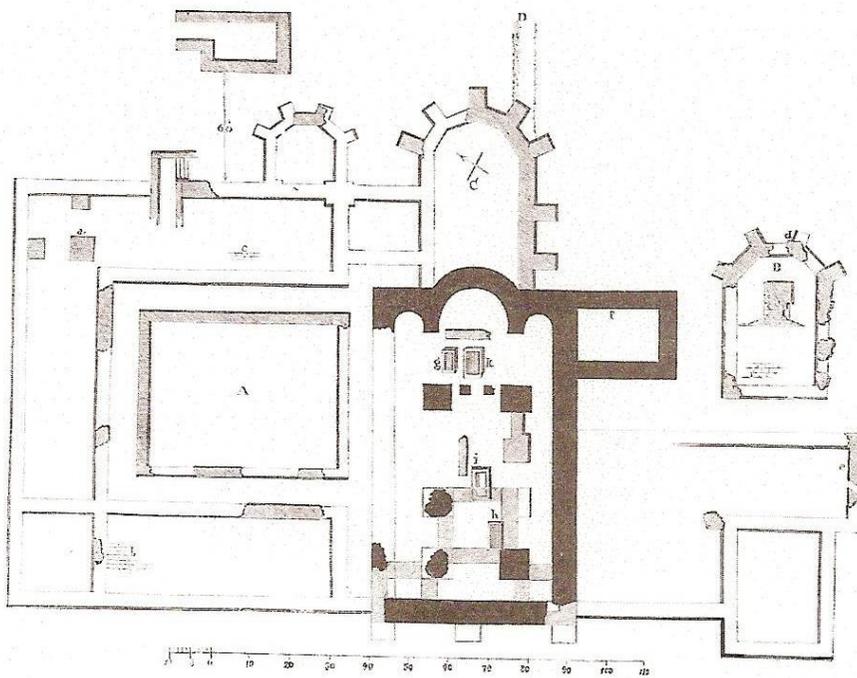


Fig. 7: 2. Groundplan of Bátmonostor (after Henszlmann 1876)

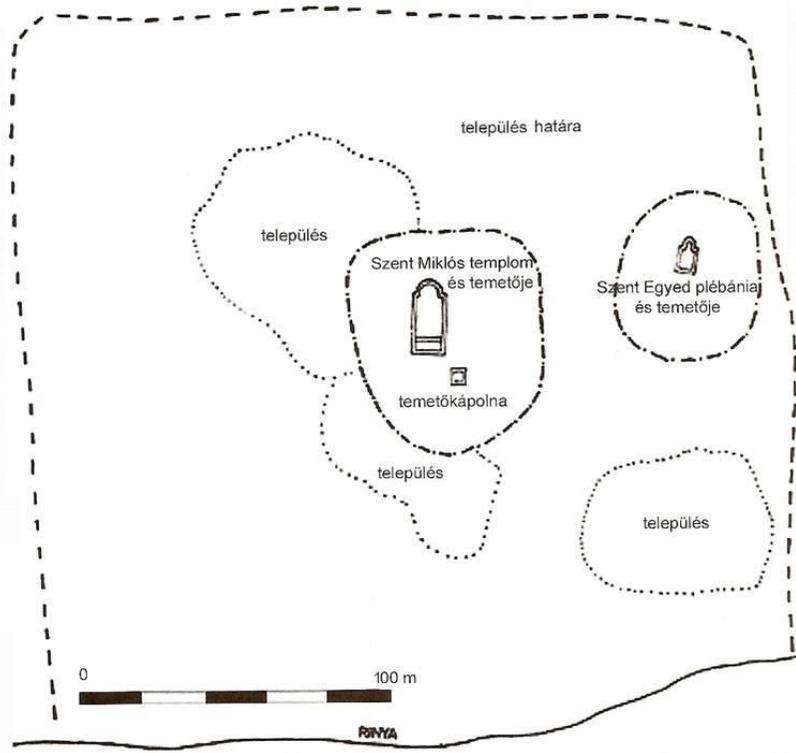


Fig. 8: Groundplan of Babócsa Abbey and the surrounding earth-fortifications (after Magyar 1994)

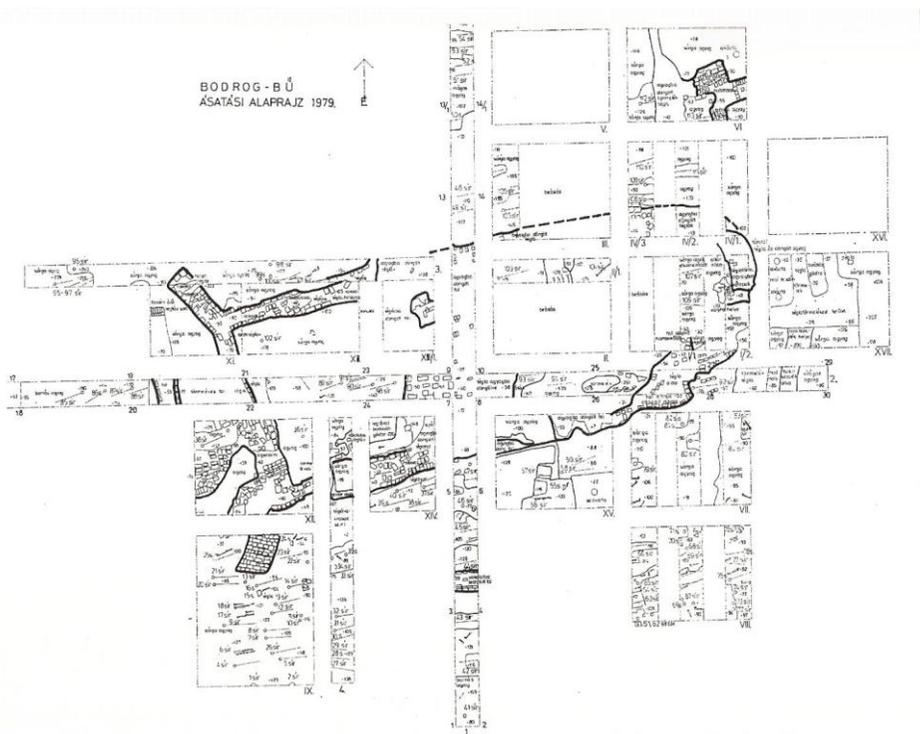


Fig. 9: Ground plan of the Bodrog-Bú Provostry (after Magyar 2000)

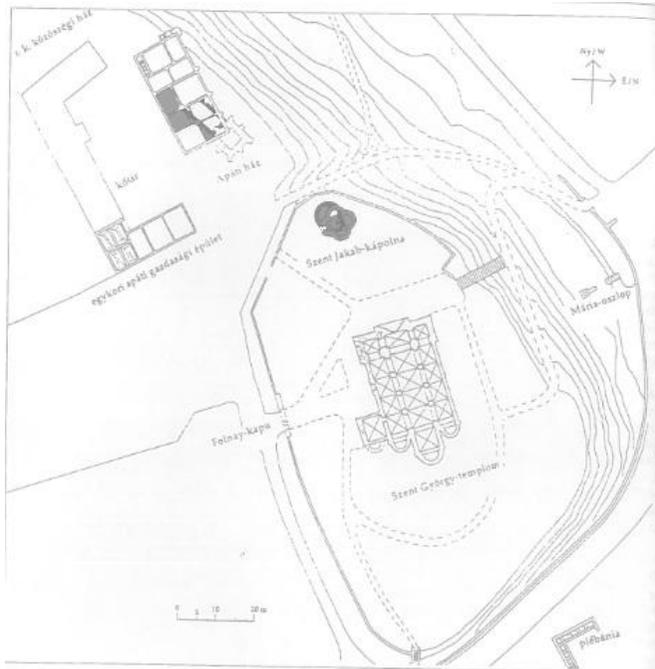


Fig. 10: **Groundplan of Ják Abbey** (after Valter 2005)

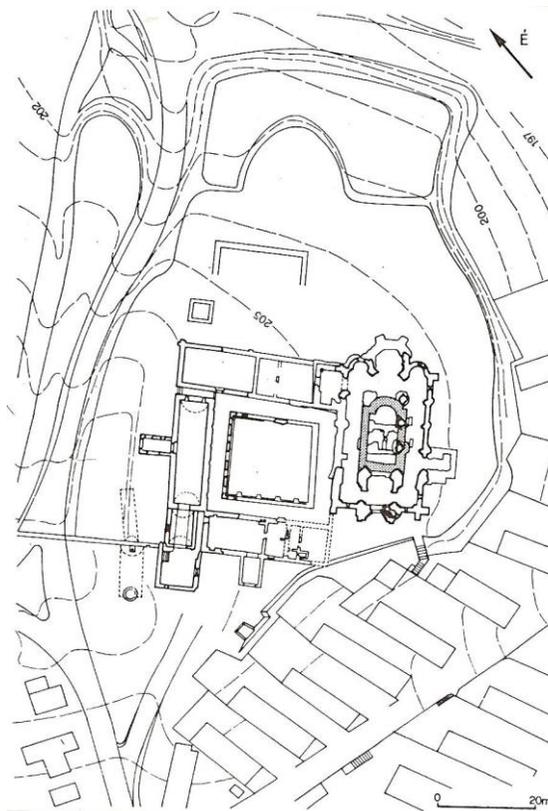


Fig. 11: **Groundplan of Zsámbék Provostry** (after Valter 1998)

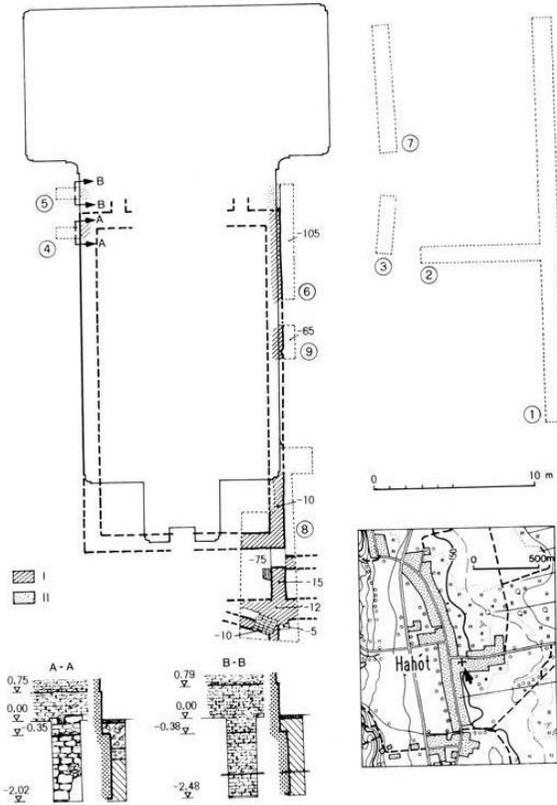


Fig. 12: Groundplan of Hahót Abbey (after Vándor 1996)

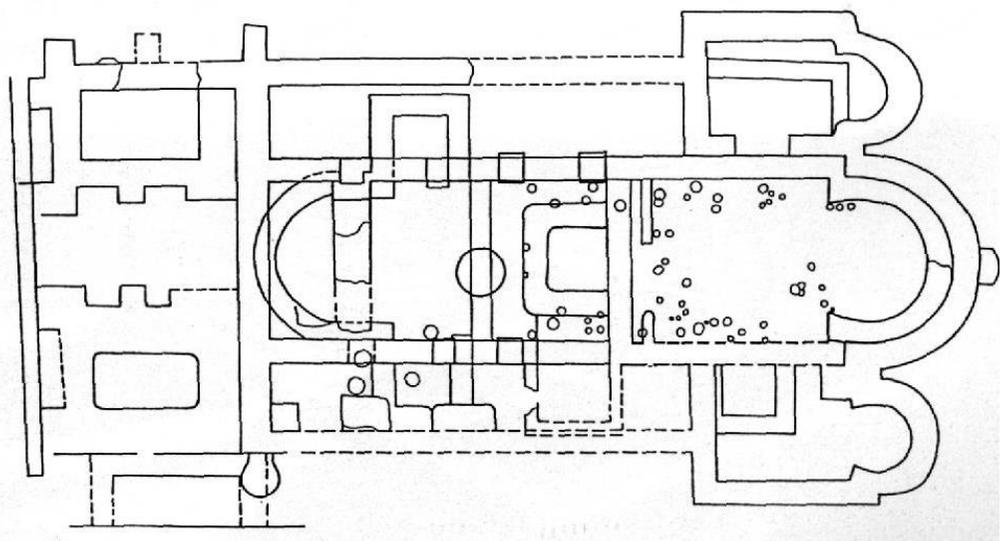


Fig. 13: Groundplan of Szermonostor (after Trogmayer 2000)

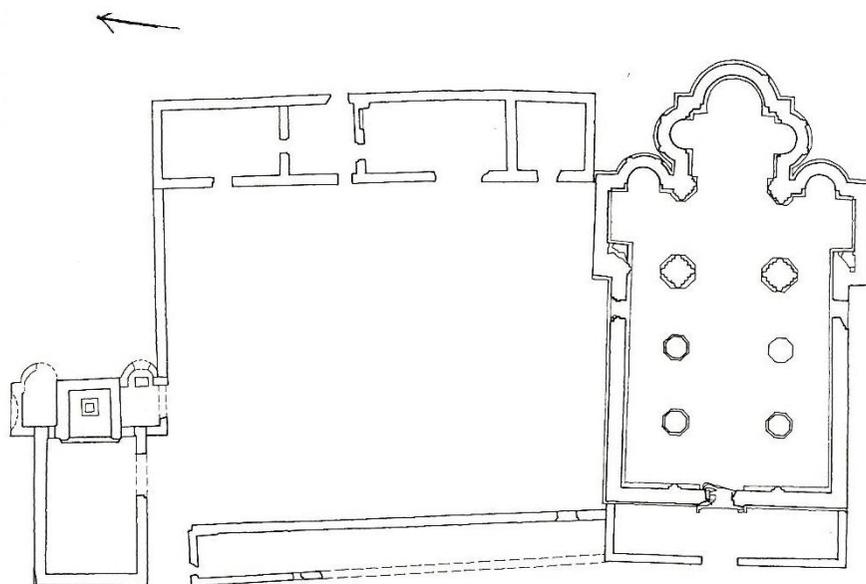


Fig. 14: **Groundplan of Vértesszentkereszt Abbey** (after Kozák M. 1993)

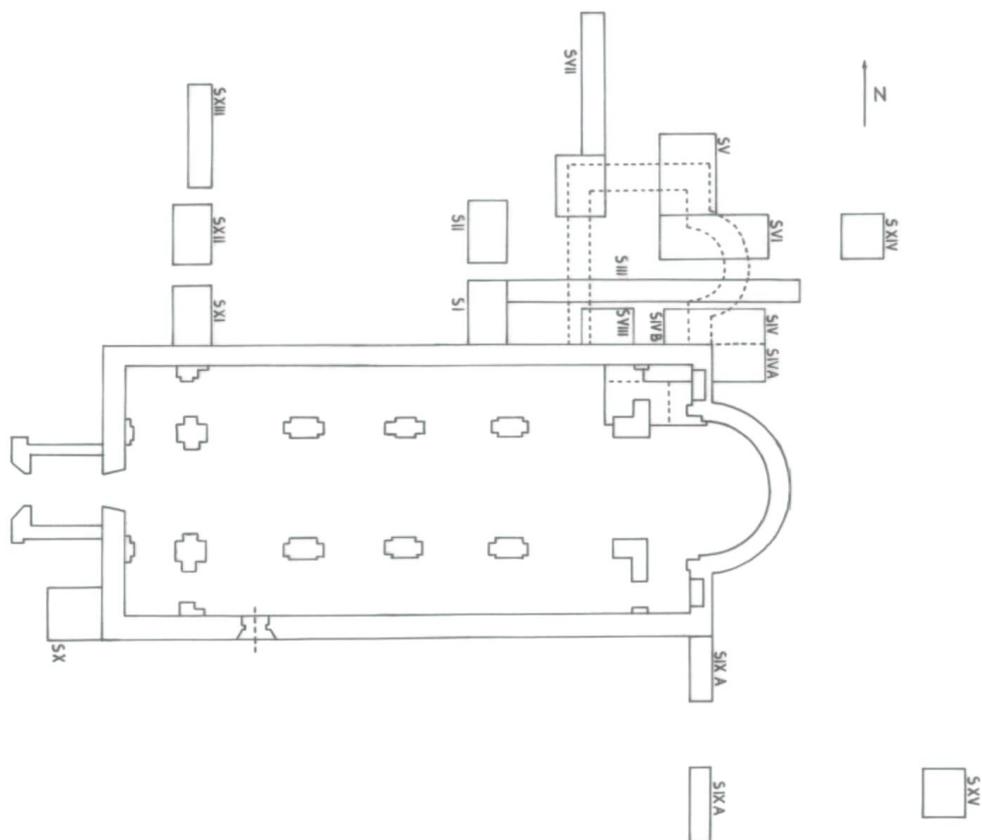


Fig. 15: **Groundplan of Ákos Abbey** (author)