

ÁRPÁD PERIOD SETTLEMENTS, CEMETERIES AND SETTLEMENT HISTORY IN BÉKÉS COUNTY

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The archaeological examinations of settlements and cemeteries are often published separately from one another in research on the Árpád period. The archaeological materials from excavated Conquest period and Early Árpád period cemeteries is generally issued in independent volumes and works, while the settlements of a similar age or from the Late Árpád period are dealt with in works on historical geography or archeological inventories based on field walks. The present study aims at comparing the results from research on cemeteries and on settlements by utilizing the published literature. The results of these two research areas are logically connected, since the cemeteries of a given community must be sought out in the vicinity of their settlement. At the same time, the professional literature rarely examines what kind of connection there was between the settlements and the cemeteries. Particularly important from this perspective are those areas where it is possible to rely upon topographical data on the settlements and micro-regional archaeological investigations alongside the systematic summary of the cemeteries. The previous research in Békés County has afforded this opportunity. The present article summarizes these results, and will be followed by a more detailed, analytical second part.¹

CEMETERIES

Present-day Békés County lies on the southeastern section of the Great Hungarian Plain and its territory was once divided between Arad, Békés, Bihar, Csanád, Heves and Zaránd counties. Geographically it can be divided between the Körös Valley and the Maros-Tisza-Körös Interfluve (*fig. 1*). The archaeological research related to the period (e.g. archaeological inventories) has conformed to the modern administrative system and the present county borders, so the present study also follows this.

Hungarian archaeology in the preceding period of more than a century and a half has excavated a great number of cemeteries from the Conquest and Árpád periods. Most recently László Kovács made a typology of the cemeteries, differentiating eight types on the basis of their dating and their size (number of graves), and tried to calculate from the size of the cemeteries the length of time that the community using the cemetery

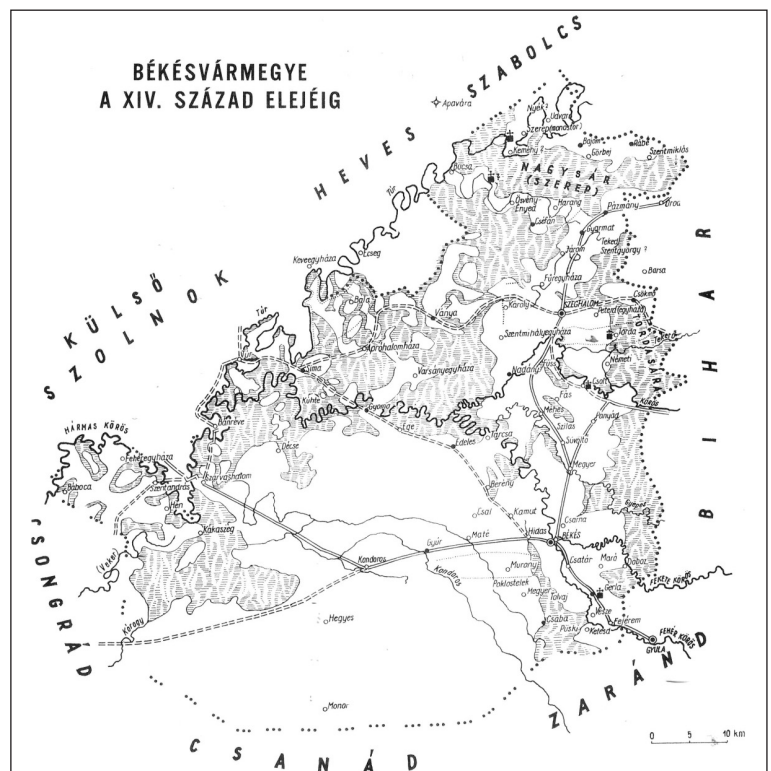


Figure 1: The extent of Békés County in the Árpád period (from: Győrffy 1987)

¹ I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Mária Wolf (associate university professor, University of Szeged-Faculty of Arts, Department of Archaeology) and Dr. László Révész (department head, associate university professor, University of Szeged-Faculty of Arts, Department of Archaeology) for their useful advice, as well as to Zoltán Rózsa (director, Nagy Gyula Regional Museum) for the data on the area around Orosháza.

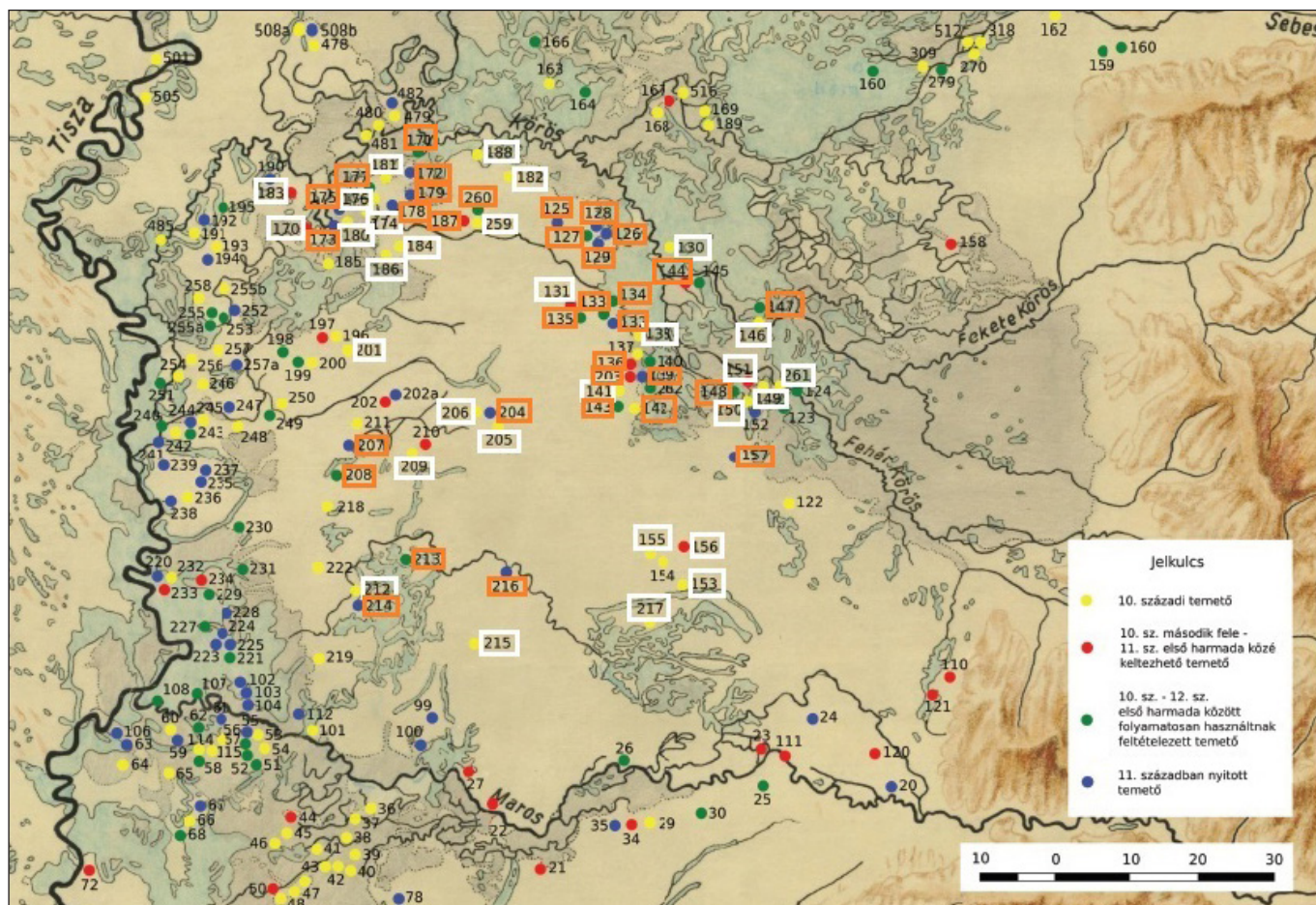


Figure 2: The cemeteries examined in the paper (the numbers for cemeteries used for a short time are in a white frame and the numbers for cemeteries used for a long time are in an orange frame) (from: Révész 2016, edited by Irma Oláh)

had lived at the given site.² The cemeteries with small numbers of graves (in the tens of graves, but under one hundred) represent those used for the shortest time, while the larger ones (more than one hundred graves) are cemeteries with a longer period of use.³ This system provides the opportunity to categorize various cemeteries regardless of the lifestyle and social position of those interred.⁴ Numerous researchers have attempted to compile the Békés County cemeteries together, most recently László Révész, and I have taken his article published in 2016 as a basis, in which he employed the Kovács typology (fig. 2).

² The Kovács typology: type I, 9th-12th century village cemeteries; type II, cemeteries around churches opened in the 9th century and still used in the 10th century; type IIIA, village cemeteries opened in the middle of the 9th century and abandoned at the end of the century or the beginning of the 10th century; type IIIB, 10th-11th century graves excavated on the territory of Late Avar period cemeteries; type IV, Hungarian 10th century accommodation cemeteries; type V, 10th century Hungarian village cemeteries; type VI 10th-11th/12th century village cemeteries; type VII, 11th century village cemeteries; type VIII, cemeteries opened around Hungarian churches in the 11th century. Kovács, László: A Kárpát-medence honfoglalás és kora Árpád-kori szállási és falusi temetői – Kitekintéssel az előzményekre (Conquest and Early Árpád Period Accommodation and Village Cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin – with a Look at Their Antecedents). In: *A honfoglalás kor kutatásának legújabb eredményei: tanulmányok Kovács László 70. születésnapjára (The Most Recent Results from Conquest Period Research: Essays for the 70th birthday of László Kovács)*, eds. Révész, László-Wolf, Mária (Szeged, 2013), 511–604.

³ In my present work I have only differentiated between cemeteries used for a short time (Kovács type IV) and those used for a longer period (Kovács types V-VIII), depending on the length of settlement.

⁴ Kovács, László: A Kárpát-medence honfoglalás és kora Árpád-kori szállási és falusi temetői – Kitekintéssel az előzményekre (Conquest and Early Árpád Period Accommodation and Village Cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin – with a Look at Their Antecedents). In: *A honfoglalás kor kutatásának legújabb eredményei: tanulmányok Kovács László 70. születésnapjára (The Most Recent Results from Conquest Period Research: Essays for the 70th birthday of László Kovács)*, eds. Révész, László-Wolf, Mária (Szeged, 2013), 511–604.

CEMETERIES USED FOR A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME

Kovács created the concept of the cemetery for accommodations. The appearance of village cemeteries with a great number of graves from longer settlement of as many as several centuries resulted in the basis for the differentiation of cemeteries from accommodations that had few graves due to a brief period of settlement of only a few decades. Numerous smaller settlement types also existed during the period in addition to villages and accommodations, but identifying cemeteries related to these is a difficult task.⁵

A major question is how large might Hungarian villages have been in the Early Árpád period. This perhaps could be revealed through counting the graves in 10th-11th century cemeteries, but at the same time even if every grave in an early cemetery were to be excavated, it still would not necessarily lead to a determination of the population of the village related to the cemetery. After all, it is not known whether the cemetery contains all of the deceased from the village, or whether the community may have used another burial site as well.⁶ There is no proof either that every village had its own cemetery. Taking the precept of one cemetery to one settlement as a basis, a 200-250 grave cemetery represents 57-72 people per generation, or 11-14 five-member households or 8-10 seven-member households over a century (ca. 3.5 generations). In an 11th century village 30-42/150-210 people could have lived, calculating 6/30 house sites, while in a larger settlement 260-364/295-413 people could have lived, calculating 52/59 house sites.⁷

Kovács compiled 37 sites determined to be cemeteries for accommodations, three of which can be found in Békés County.⁸ Révész lists 38 sites of this type.⁹ Pál Medgyesi in his two works recorded 30 cemeteries from accommodations.¹⁰ Therefore, in the Békés region the majority of remains have survived from small

⁵ Kovács, László: A Kárpát-medence honfoglalás és kora Árpád-kori szállási és falusi temetői – Kitekintéssel az előzményekre (Conquest and Early Árpád Period Accommodation and Village Cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin – with a Look at Their Antecedents). In: *A honfoglalás kor kutatásának legújabb eredményei: tanulmányok Kovács László 70. születésnapjára (The Most Recent Results from Conquest Period Research: Essays for the 70th birthday of László Kovács)*, eds. Révész, László-Wolf, Mária (Szeged, 2013), 519–520.

⁶ Szabó, István: A falurendszer kialakulása Magyarországon (X-XV. század) (The Development of the Village System in Hungary [10th-15th Centuries]) (Budapest, 1971), 68, 73.

⁷ Proceeding from the number of inhabitants in a household, researchers have concluded the populations of individual settlements on the basis of estimated data, but the probable multiple varied between 5 and 7 members per household. Bollók, Ádám: Magángondolatok temető, település és településtörténet viszonyáról a 10-11. századi Kárpát-medencében (Private Thoughts on the Relationship between Cemeteries, Settlements and Settlement History in the 10th-11th Century Carpathian Basin). In: *Archivarium historicorumque magistra – Történeti tanulmányok Bak Borbála 70. születésnapjára (Archivarium historicorumque magistra – Historical Studies for the 70th Birthday of Borbála Bak)*, eds. Kádár, Zsófia-Lakatos, Bálint-Zamóczki, Áron (Budapest, 2013.), 25–70, 28-29, 37.

⁸ Kovács, László: A Kárpát-medence honfoglalás és kora Árpád-kori szállási és falusi temetői – Kitekintéssel az előzményekre (Conquest and Early Árpád Period Accommodation and Village Cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin – with a Look at Their Antecedents). In: *A honfoglalás kor kutatásának legújabb eredményei: tanulmányok Kovács László 70. születésnapjára (The Most Recent Results from Conquest Period Research: Essays for the 70th birthday of László Kovács)*, eds. Révész, László-Wolf, Mária (Szeged, 2013), 585–586.

⁹ Révész, László: A Maros-Körös köz 10-11. századi temetői (10th-11th Century Cemeteries from the Maros-Körös Interfluve). In: *Népek és kultúrák a Kárpát-medencében – Népvándorlás-, honfoglalás-, és középkori tanulmányok Mesterházy Károly tiszteletére (Peoples and Cultures in the Carpathian Basin – Migration Period, Conquest Period and Medieval Studies in Honor of Károly Mesterházy)*, eds. Szenthe, Gergely – Bollók, Ádám – Gergely, Katalin – Kolozsi, Barbara – Pető, Zsuzsanna (Budapest, 2016), 537–588.

¹⁰ Medgyesi, Pál: Régészeti adatok Békés megye 10-11. századi történetéhez (Archaeological Data for the 10th-11th Century History of Békés County). In: *A honfoglalás kor kutatásának legújabb eredményei: tanulmányok Kovács László 70. születésnapjára (The Most Recent Results from Conquest Period Research: Essays for the 70th birthday of László Kovács)*, eds. Révész, László – Wolf, Mária (Szeged, 2013), 667 – 680; Medgyesi, Pál, *Honfoglalók a békési tájakon: Békés megye jelentősebb 10-11. századi sírleletei (Conquering Hungarians in the Békés Region: 10th-11th Century Grave Goods of Major Significance in Békés county)* (Békéscsaba: Munkácsy M. Múz., 2015). The number of cemeteries for accommodations is difficult to determine, since the periodization of the cemeteries has not been worked out. The problem is that often the cemeteries were only dated to the 10th-11th centuries, so determining their precise type is difficult. It can occur that while a cemetery analyzed by one researcher cannot be linked to a type, another can place it within the period. The cemeteries I have studied are dated to the 10th-11th centuries without providing any information suitable for any kind of more precise determination.

communities,¹¹ where a large part of the population may have lived in poor material circumstances. It is only the cemeteries in the vicinity of Gyula that suggest that there may have been a center nearby in the 10th century.¹²

CEMETERIES USED FOR A LONG PERIOD OF TIME

On the basis of Medgyesi 23 graveyards can be classified as village cemeteries¹³ and Kovács mentions five in his article,¹⁴ while on the basis of Révész's compilations 33 can be detected.¹⁵ They did not examine the churchyard; this task was performed by Imre Szatmári. From the end of the 11th century, with the population remaining in one place, a new kind of cemetery came about, the so-called cemeteries around churches.¹⁶ Szatmári lists 96 sites in his compilation on Békés County, and at 52 settlements there is evidence that the given settlement existed in the Árpád period.¹⁷ The site for the church was marked out on a vacant site during settlement or amongst the houses in existing settlements, but in certain cases it was located on the territory of a cemetery that had been opened earlier. In this case, it is difficult to determine whether the early graves belong to the village cemetery that preceded the church or to the cemetery around the church.¹⁸ The conversion to Christianity and the change from a village cemetery to a cemetery around a church may have been a long process.¹⁹ Perhaps this took place more gradually in Békés County than elsewhere, since it is a widely held view that this area remained the site of paganism for a longer time.

It is questionable whether the village cemeteries were used in parallel with the cemeteries around churches, or whether there was a sharp, sudden change. The cemeteries of Bercsényegyháza indicate the

¹¹ B. Dénes Jankovich during his micro-regional research came to the conclusion that "small cemeteries" must be reckoned at the sites of small settlements. According to him, these cemeteries cannot be observed in the Körös Valley, those that have come to light can be found amongst the larger cemeteries of commoners, relatively close to one another. Jankovich, B. Dénes–Szatmári, Imre: *Régészeti kutatások az alföldi mikrorégió területén (Archaeological Research in the Area of the Great Hungarian Plain Micro-Region)* (Varia Archaeologica Hungarica XXVIII., Budapest, 2013), 415; 635.

¹² Révész, László: A Maros-Körös köz 10-11. századi temetői (10th-11th Century Cemeteries from the Maros-Körös Interfluve). In: *Népek és kultúrák a Kárpát-medencében – Népándorlás-, honfoglalás-, és középkori tanulmányok Mesterházy Károly tiszteletére (Peoples and Cultures in the Carpathian Basin – Migration Period, Conquest Period and Medieval Studies in Honor of Károly Mesterházy)*, eds. Szenthe, Gergely – Bollók, Ádám – Gergely, Katalin – Kolozsi, Barbara – Pető, Zsuzsanna (Budapest, 2016), 540; 573; 575.

¹³ Medgyesi, Pál: Régészeti adatok Békés megye 10-11. századi történetéhez (Archaeological Data for the 10th-11th Century History of Békés County). In: *A honfoglalás kor kutatásának legújabb eredményei: tanulmányok Kovács László 70. születésnapjára (The Most Recent Results from Conquest Period Research: Essays for the 70th birthday of László Kovács)*, eds. Révész, László – Wolf, Mária (Szeged, 2013), 667 – 680; Medgyesi, Pál, *Honfoglalók a békési tájon: Békés megye jelentősebb 10-11. századi sírleletei (Conquering Hungarians in the Békés Region: 10th-11th Century Grave Goods of Major Significance in Békés county)* (Békéscsaba: Munkácsy M. Múz., 2015).

¹⁴ Kovács, László: A Kárpát-medence honfoglalás és kora Árpád-kori szállási és falusi temetői – Kitekintéssel az előzményekre (Conquest and Early Árpád Period Accommodation and Village Cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin – with a Look at Their Antecedents). In: *A honfoglalás kor kutatásának legújabb eredményei: tanulmányok Kovács László 70. születésnapjára (The Most Recent Results from Conquest Period Research: Essays for the 70th birthday of László Kovács)*, eds. Révész, László – Wolf, Mária, (Szeged, 2013).

¹⁵ Révész, László: A Maros-Körös köz 10-11. századi temetői (10th-11th Century Cemeteries from the Maros-Körös Interfluve). In: *Népek és kultúrák a Kárpát-medencében – Népándorlás-, honfoglalás-, és középkori tanulmányok Mesterházy Károly tiszteletére (Peoples and Cultures in the Carpathian Basin – Migration Period, Conquest Period and Medieval Studies in Honor of Károly Mesterházy)*, eds. Szenthe, Gergely – Bollók, Ádám – Gergely, Katalin – Kolozsi, Barbara – Pető, Zsuzsanna, (Budapest, 2016).

¹⁶ Kovács, László: A Kárpát-medence honfoglalás és kora Árpád-kori szállási és falusi temetői – Kitekintéssel az előzményekre (Conquest and Early Árpád Period Accommodation and Village Cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin – with a Look at Their Antecedents). In: *A honfoglalás kor kutatásának legújabb eredményei: tanulmányok Kovács László 70. születésnapjára (The Most Recent Results from Conquest Period Research: Essays for the 70th birthday of László Kovács)*, eds. Révész, László – Wolf, Mária, (Szeged, 2013), 543.

¹⁷ Szatmári, Imre: *Békés megye középkori templomai (Medieval Churches of Békés County)* (Békéscsaba, 2005).

¹⁸ Szatmári, Imre: *Békés megye középkori templomai (Medieval Churches of Békés County)* (Békéscsaba, 2005), 27-28; 93.

¹⁹ Szatmári, Imre: *Békés megye középkori templomai (Medieval Churches of Békés County)* (Békéscsaba, 2005), 14.

course of the conversion; the population using a 10th-11th century village cemetery opened a new cemetery around the church at the turn of the 12th century. At this time the utilization of the previous cemetery came to an end, so it is not possible to speak of a parallel use of the two types.²⁰

SETTLEMENTS

The basis of the portion of my research dealing with settlements was provided by the volumes of the Hungarian Archaeological Inventory issued on Békés County.²¹ Several hundred archaeological sites fall within each district, and for most of them only one or two or an undetermined number of ceramic fragments have been published. It is essential to mention these sites, but the data are not sufficient to be able to make far-reaching conclusions. When identifying the sites, I was assisted by the results from B. Dénes Jankovich's research on the micro-regions of the Great Hungarian Plain, since this is his most recent work based on field walks in this area. Jankovich understood sites of significant size with intensive find materials that sometimes include a church under the term village, and these often had several smaller settlements around them. An accommodation was a site that was smaller than a village and stood at a distance separately from the other dwelling places of a similar period. Habitations were not able to be categorized in either of the above two types, and represented sites of greater size than accommodations, but not able to be interpreted as villages.²²

József Laszlovszky and Jankovich both studied smaller settlements. Laszlovszky considers sites where the houses were a great distance from one another and could be interpreted as independent economic and settlement units as farmstead-style settlements.²³ The description in the inventory volumes lists the characteristics of settlements defined as accommodations. Jankovich calls these sites accommodations, and in terms of their continuity considers them to be short-lived (ca. 50 years).²⁴ The term habitation is not common in the literature, but this type can by all means be differentiated from accommodations. It is Jankovich's conviction that the majority of excavated and unexcavated habitations are accommodations.²⁵ Keeping in mind general clarity, hereinafter I will use the terminology rooted in the professional literature, in other words the village/accommodation/habitation divisions.

²⁰ Szatmári, Imre: *Békés megye középkori templomai (Medieval Churches of Békés County)* (Békéscsaba, 2005), 60-61.

²¹ The work was made more difficult by the fact that not all of the volumes introducing the survey work performed in the county have been published.

²² Jankovich, B. Dénes–Szatmári, Imre: *Régészeti kutatások az alföldi mikrorégió területén (Archaeological Research in the Area of the Great Hungarian Plain Micro-Region)*. *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica XXVIII.* (Budapest, 2013), 637-638.

²³ Laszlovszky, József: Tanyaszerű települések az Árpád-korban (Farmstead-Style Settlements in the Árpád Period). In: *Falvak, mezővárosok az Alföldön - Az Arany János Múzeum Közleményei IV (Villages and Market Towns on the Great Hungarian Plain – Publications of the Arany János Museum VI)*, eds. Novák, László–Selmeczi, László (Nagykőrös, 1986, 131–151), 136-138; 142; 145; 147.; Laszlovszky, J.: Einzelhofsiedlungen in der Arpadenzeit: Arpadenzeitliche Siedlung auf der Mark von Kengyel. *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 38 (1986), 227-257.

²⁴ Jankovich B., D.: Archaeological Topography. Theoretical and Practical Lessons. In: *Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 14, (1985) 283 – 292., Jankovich, B. Dénes – Makkay, János – Szőke, Béla Miklós: Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája. Békés megye régészeti topográfiája. IV/2. A szarvasi járás (Hungarian Archaeological Inventory. Békés County Archeological Inventory IV/2. The Szarvas District), ed. Makkay, János (Budapest, 1989). On the basis of Laszlovszky I consider the term farmstead more acceptable in place of accommodation, since it suggests the relative permanence of the settlement rather than the term accommodation that suggests changes in location. Laszlovszky, József: Tanyaszerű települések az Árpád-korban (Farmstead-Style Settlements in the Árpád Period). In: *Falvak, mezővárosok az Alföldön - Az Arany János Múzeum Közleményei IV (Villages and Market Towns on the Great Hungarian Plain – Publications of the Arany János Museum VI)*, eds. Novák, László–Selmeczi, László (Nagykőrös, 1986), 135; 140–142.

²⁵ During the micro-regional research on the Great Hungarian Plain two sites considered uncertain habitations were revised to accommodations following the excavations. (Jankovich, B. Dénes–Szatmári, Imre: *Régészeti kutatások az alföldi mikrorégió területén (Archaeological Research in the Area of the Great Hungarian Plain Micro-Region)*. *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica XXVIII.* (Budapest, 2013), 638.) For me the designation of habitation is too general, in many places habitation sites are mentioned and this does not always mean the same as the Jankovich definition of habitation. The term accommodation would be more justified for these small, temporary settlements.

VILLAGES AND VILLAGES WITH CHURCHES

In Békés County the villages are most often located on the banks of a river or stream. It was also typical that they would also settle on ridges or promontories between water courses or on hills or other high ground. The settlement of featureless flat fields occurred rarely.²⁶

105 of the 384 villages discovered during field walks could be compared with documentary data and identified with village names in written sources.²⁷ However, the compilation of the data from archaeological and written sources brought about numerous problems. An example of this is the case of Doboz, which was known from a reference from 1075. Despite the fact that only the name of a single village is mentioned in the document, the traces of several minor settlements were identified during the field walks.²⁸ On the basis of the location of the villages, the settlement network as well as the difficulties in settlement can be deduced.²⁹ In the 10th-11th century the villages were sparsely scattered, but they had large borders. From the turn of the 12th century the spatial enclosure of villages began to be typical. The movement of settlements in the 12th century is less significant, since this occurred within the fixed borders, the villages became inhabited for a longer time and their lands were bounded by defined borders, which indicated their permanence.³⁰ There may have been hierarchical differences between the villages, and the most obvious evidence of this was whether they had a church or not. On the basis of Szatmári's research there are three known types of archaeological sites with churches in the county. Belonging to the first are churches found at sites of medium size with an average area compared to the other archaeological sites. The second group has a central village area of a more significant size with a church and is surrounded by small accommodation sites. The last type includes scattered sites with a small area and the character of accommodations, one of which would contain a church with the goal of developing a village center and a center for an ecclesiastical district, and to promote the settlement remaining in place.³¹ On the basis of archaeological inventory work in the county 48 sites indicating churches were identified.³²

ACCOMMODATIONS

Of the 360 accommodations most are located on the banks of a river or stream, and those found on ridges follow in frequency. Accommodations also stood on promontories, hills and more rarely mounds, while they were not typical on fluvial terraces or plateaus as well as areas far from water or bodies of water without an outlet. They appear in insignificant numbers on flat featureless fields.³³ Their extent cannot

²⁶ Ecsedy, István – Kovács, László – Maráz, Borbála – Torma, István: Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiaja. Békés megye régészeti topográfiaja IV/I. A szeghalmi járás (Hungarian Archaeological Inventory. Békés County Archeological Inventory IV/I. The Szeghalom District), ed. Bakay, Kornél (Budapest, 1982), MRT 8. 1989, Jankovich, B. Dénes-Medgyesi, Pál – Nikolin, Edit – Szatmári, Imre – Torma, István: Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiaja. Békés megye régészeti topográfiaja IV/3. Békés és Békéscsaba környéke (Hungarian Archaeological Inventory. Békés County Archeological Inventory IV/3. The Vicinity of Békés and Békéscsaba), ed. Jankovich, B. Dénes (Budapest, 1998).

²⁷ MRT 6. 1982, 221–222; MRT 8. 1989, 493–494; MRT 10. 1998, 25.

²⁸ Kovalovszki, Júlia: Árpád-kori települések Doboz határában (Árpád Period Settlements on the Outskirts of Doboz). In: *Falvak, mezővárosok az Alföldön - Az Arany János Múzeum Közleményei IV (Villages and Market Towns on the Great Hungarian Plain – Publications of the Arany János Museum VI)*, eds. Novák, László-Selmeczi, László (Nagykörös, 1986, 105–116), 105–114.

²⁹ Jankovich B., D.: Archaeological Topography. Theoretical and Practical Lessons. In: *Mitteilungen des Archaologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 14* (1985), 286–287.

³⁰ Szabó, István: A falurendszer kialakulása Magyarországon (X-XV. század) (The Development of the Village System in Hungary [10th-15th Centuries]) (Budapest, 1971), 8–9; 13; 32; 85.

³¹ Szatmári, Imre: Árpád-kori templomok Kamuton (Árpád Period Churches at Kamut). *Archeologiai Értesítő (Archaeological Bulletin)* 121-122 (1994-1995, 37 – 56), 50.

³² MRT 6. 1982, 222; MRT 8. 1989, 494; MRT 10. 1998. Imre Szatmári detected 52 churches, but his work is more recent, which may explain the discrepancy.

³³ MRT 6. 1982; MRT 8. 1989; MRT 10. 1998.

be determined merely on the basis of surface finds, since the find materials from other periods dwarfs the Árpád period remains.³⁴

The steppe soil areas lying to the south of the Körös rivers were more densely inhabited than the floodplains and the banks of the rivers.³⁵ The steppe soil had more of a clay character that was suited to the peasant lifestyle, so it was amongst the most valuable areas of the Great Hungarian Plain. The sandy areas were more suited to animal husbandry, since shrubbery, sandy forests and groves of trees grew there, providing pastures and meadows.³⁶

When examining the relationship between the accommodations and the churches it is worthwhile to mention Szatmári's third category. An outstanding example is Kamut, where traces indicating such a small settlement were found that due to their character it was not expected to find a church. Szatmári was able to detect the assemblage of small habitations that belonged to the district linked to the church; of five small settlement concentrations there was one church each in the territory of four of them (fig. 3). Therefore, on the basis of this it must be reckoned that these were village communities with independent ecclesiastical districts and cultivation boundaries,³⁷ and perhaps were miniature villages that sometimes cropped up in documents. Accepting this, it is necessary to contemplate the extent to which the accommodations were considered a part of a given village.³⁸

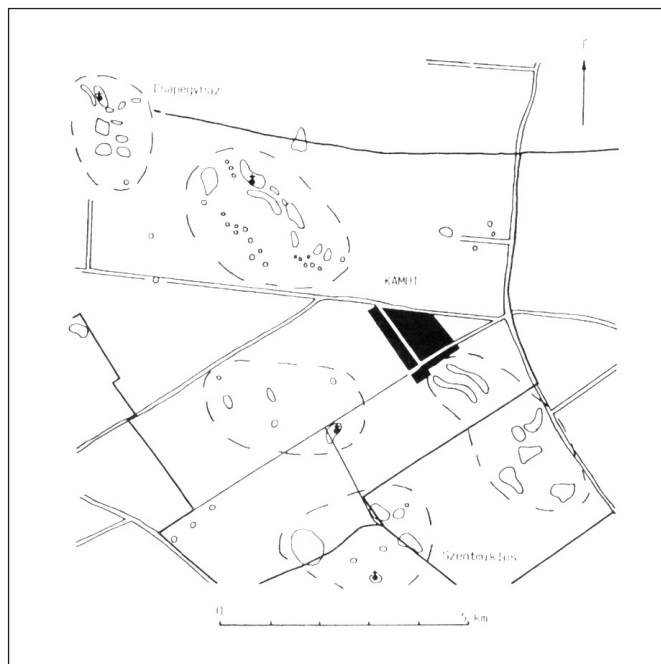


Figure 3: The churches of the small habitations of Kamut and the archaeological sites located around them (from: Szatmári 1994-1995)

HABITATIONS

The habitations are archaeological sites located on larger areas but can be characterized by no more than two or three groups of features and cannot be considered to have been continuously occupied.³⁹

Of the 217 known habitations, the majority are found on the banks of a river or stream. There are

³⁴ Laszlovszky, József: Tanyaszerű települések az Árpád-korban (Farmstead-Style Settlements in the Árpád Period). In: *Falvak, mezővárosok az Alföldön - Az Arany János Múzeum Közleményei IV (Villages and Market Towns on the Great Hungarian Plain - Publications of the Arany János Museum VI)*, eds. Novák, László-Selmeczi, László (Nagykörös 1986), 136.

³⁵ MRT 8. 1989, 31.

³⁶ Bálint, Csanád: Természeti földrajzi tényezők a honfoglaló magyarok megtelepedésében (Natural Geographical Factors in the Settlement of the Conquering Hungarians). *Ethnographia - A Magyar Néprajzi Társaság Folyóirata XC (Ethnography - the Periodical of the Hungarian Ethnographic Association XC)* (1980, 35-52), 38-40.

³⁷ Szatmári, Imre: Árpád-kori templomok Kamuton (Árpád Period Churches at Kamut). *Archeologiai Értesítő (Archaeological Bulletin) 121-122* (1994-1995), 43; 49-51.

³⁸ B. Dénes Jankovich also brought up the possibility of this settlement structure pattern on the outskirts of Örménykút where a small grouping of 5 archaeological sites were separated from the wider surroundings, although he also noted that due to the distance between them they could also be interpreted as independent accommodations. Jankovich, B. Dénes-Szatmári, Imre: *Régészeti kutatások az alföldi mikrorégió területén (Archaeological Research in the Area of the Great Hungarian Plain Micro-Region)* *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica XXVIII*. (Budapest, 2013, 638.). It is also problematic that the Árpád period features are not of the same age within one settlement, so the settlements on the outskirts of the 4-5 km² villages may not necessarily be of the same age as the given village. Therefore, it is not possible to determine whether they were a part of it at the given time. Jankovich B., D.: *Archaeological Topography. Theoretical and Practical Lessons*. In: *Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 14* (1985), 286.

³⁹ Jankovich, B. Dénes-Szatmári, Imre: *Régészeti kutatások az alföldi mikrorégió területén (Archaeological Research in the Area of the Great Hungarian Plain Micro-Region)*. *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica XXVIII*. (Budapest, 2013), 631; 638.

habitations in significant numbers on both high and low banks. They appear on hills, areas of high ground above various types of terrain and mounds in a smaller proportion in comparison with the other categories. They were not typical of fluvial terraces or plateaus, the lower areas of the terrain or areas further from water. They appeared in insignificant numbers on flat featureless fields as well.⁴⁰

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⁴⁰ MRT 6. 1982; MRT 8. 1989; MRT 10. 1998.