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ABBREVIATIONS

ActaArchHung	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
ActaEthnHung	Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
ActaOrHung	Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
ActaMusPapensis	Acta Musei Papensis. A Pápai Múzeum Értesítője (Pápa)
Agria	Agria. Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve (Eger)
AH	Archaeologia Historica (Brno)
AHN	Acta Historica Neolosiensia (Banská Bystrica)
AJMK	Arany János Múzeum Közleményei (Nagykőrös)
AKorr	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt (Mainz)
Alba Regia	Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis (Székesfehérvár)
AnalCis	Analecta Cisterciensia (Roma)
AnnHN	Annales Historico-Naturales Musei Nationalis Hungarici (Budapest)
Antaeus	Antaeus. Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico (Budapest)
Antiquity	Antiquity. A Review of World Archaeology (Durham)
AR	Archeologické Rozhledy (Praha)
ArchA	Archaeologia Austriaca (Wien)
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő (Budapest)
ArchHung	Archaeologia Hungarica (Budapest)
ArchLit	Archaeologia Lituana (Vilnius)
ArhSof	Археология. Орган на Националния археологически институт с музей – БАН (Sofia)
ARR	Arheološki Radovi i Rasprave (Zagreb)
Arrabona	Arrabona. A Győri Xantus János Múzeum Évkönyve (Győr)
AV	Arheološki Vestnik (Ljubljana)
Balcanoslavica	Balcanoslavica (Prilep)
BÁMÉ	A Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve (Szekszárd)
BAR	British Archaeological Reports (Oxford)
BMÖ	Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich (Wien)
BudRég	Budapest Régiségei (Budapest)
Castrum	Castrum. A Castrum Bene Egyesület folyóirata (Budapest)
CommArchHung	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae (Budapest)
Cumania	Cumania. A Bács-Kiskun Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei (Kecskemét)
DBW	Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg (Stuttgart)
EMÉ	Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve (Eger)
EurAnt	Eurasia Antiqua. Zeitschrift für Archäologie Eurasiens (Bonn)
FolArch	Folia Archaeologica (Budapest)
FontArchHung	Fontes Archaeologici Hungariae (Budapest)
GMSB	Годишник на музеите от Северна България (Варна)
GZM	Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu (Sarajevo)
GZMS	Glasnik Hrvatskih Zemaljskih Muzeja u Sarajevu (Sarajevo)
HAH	Hereditas Archaeologica Hungariae (Budapest)

Hesperia	Hesperia. Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (Princeton)
História	História. A Magyar Történelmi Társulat, majd a História Alapítvány folyóirata (Budapest)
HOMÉ	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve (Miskolc)
INMVarna	Известия на Народния музей – Варна (Varna)
IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen (Tübingen)
JAMÉ	A nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve (Nyíregyháza)
Jászkunság	Jászkunság. Az MTA Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Megyei Tudományos Egyesület folyóirata (Szolnok)
JbAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum (Bonn)
JPMÉ	A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve (Pécs)
KMMK	Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei (Tata)
LK	Levéltári Közlemények (Budapest)
MAA	Monumenta Avarorum Archaeologica (Budapest)
MacAA	Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica (Skopje)
MAG	Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft (Wien)
MBV	Münchener Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte (München)
MHKÁS	Magyarország honfoglalás és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei (Budapest)
MittArchInst	Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Budapest)
MFME	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve (Szeged)
MFME StudArch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica (Szeged)
MMMK	A Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum Közleményei (Budapest)
MŰÉ	Művészettörténeti Értesítő (Budapest)
MŰT	Művészettörténeti Tanulmányok. Művészettörténeti Dokumentációs Központ Évkönyve (Budapest)
NÉrt	Néprajzi Értesítő (Budapest)
NMMÉ	Nógrád Megyei Múzeumok Évkönyve (Salgótarján)
OA	Opvscvla Archaeologica (Zagreb)
Offa	Offa. Berichte und Mitteilungen des Museums Vorgeschichtliche Altertümer in Kiel (Neumünster)
PA	Památky Archeologické (Praha)
Prilozi	Prilozi Instituta za povijesne znanosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu (Zagreb)
PrzA	Przegląd Archeologiczny (Wrocław)
PtujZb	Ptujski Zbornik (Ptuj)
PV	Přehled výzkumů (Brno)
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift (Berlin)
RégFüz	Régészeti Füzetek (Budapest)
RGA	Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde (Berlin)
RT	Transylvanian Review / Revue de Transylvanie (Cluj)
RVM	Rad Vojvođanskih muzeja (Novi Sad)
SbNMP	Sborník Národního muzea v Praze (Praha)
Scripta Mercaturae	Scripta Mercaturae. Zeitschrift für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Gutenberg)
SHP	Starohrvatska Prosvjeta (Zagreb)
SlA	Slovenská Archeológia (Bratislava)
SlAnt	Slavia Antiqua (Poznan)

SIS	Slovanské štúdie (Bratislava)
SMK	Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei (Kaposvár)
StComit	Studia Comitatus. A Ferenczy Múzeum Évkönyve (Szentendre)
StH	Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
StSl	Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
StudArch	Studia Archaeologica (Budapest)
Századok	Századok. A Magyar Történelmi Társulat folyóirata (Budapest)
TBM	Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából (Budapest)
Tisicum	Tisicum. A Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Megyei Múzeumok Évkönyve (Szolnok)
USML	Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy (Turnhout)
VAH	Varia Archeologica Hungarica (Budapest)
VAMZ	Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu (Zagreb)
VMMK	A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei (Veszprém)
WiA	Wiadomości Archeologiczne (Warszawa)
WMMÉ	A Wosinsky Mór Múzeum Évkönyve (Szekszárd)
ZalaiMúz	Zalai Múzeum (Zalaegerszeg)
Zborník FFUK, Musaica	Zborník Filozofickej Fakulty Univerzity Komenského. Musaica (Bratislava)
ZbSNM	Zborník Slovenského Národného Múzea. História (Bratislava)
ZfAM	Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters (Köln)
ZHVSt	Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Steiermark (Graz)
Ziegelei-Museum	Ziegelei-Museum. Bericht der Stiftung Ziegelei-Museum (Cham)
ZRNM	Zbornik Radova Narodnog Muzeja (Beograd)

GYÖRGY TEREI

THE RELATIONSHIP OF ÁRPÁDIAN-PERIOD CASTLES AND SETTLEMENTS IN PEST COUNTY

Zusammenfassung: In diesem Beitrag wurde die Verbindung der árpádenzeitlichen Burgen und Siedlungen im zentralen Gebiet Ungarns, im Komitat Pest, auf jahrzehntelanger Forschung von Zsuzsa Miklós basierend, behandelt. In geographischer Hinsicht können die Burgen der Epoche in vier Gruppen unterteilt werden: Burgen im Tiefland, auf Flussterrassen, im Hügelland und in Gebirgen. Glücklicherweise deckt der Untersuchungsbereich der Archäologischen Topographie Ungarns den Großteil des Gebiets ab, daher können die Burgen samt ihrer Umgebung analysiert werden. Dabei stellt sich heraus, dass die Siedlungen der ersten drei Kategorien in der Nähe der Burg lagen, während Gebirgsburgen eine separate Klasse darstellten, da sich keine Dörfer in der Umgebung offenbarten. In Ungarn reicht die Burgenforschung in sehr vielen Fällen lediglich bis zum befestigten Gebiet, bzw. den Grenzen der Mauern und Wälle, die Untersuchung des Umfelds bleibt dabei aus. Dabei gibt uns die Analyse des Einzugsgebiets viel genauere Antworten auf die Frage, warum die Burg wohl an eben dieser Stelle erbaut worden war. Im Fall árpádenzeitlicher, meist kleiner Burgen, die heute nur noch aus Gräben und Wällen bestehen, ist die Inspektion der geographischen Lage und des Verhältnisses der Burg zur Umgebung und der Siedlung womöglich viel wichtiger, als im Falle größerer Steinburgen.

Keywords: castles, settlements, topography, typology, Árpádan period

The present study explores the relationship between Árpádan-period castles and settlements in Pest county, in the central part of Hungary, based on several decades of research carried out by Zsuzsa Miklós. In terms of topography, castles built in this period can be divided into four groups, these are castles on a lowland, on a riverside terrace, in a hilly landscape or the mountains. We are in a fortunate position because a significant part of the area under investigation is covered by the *Archaeological Topography of Hungary*, and thus the castles can be studied not only in themselves but also together with their surroundings. Based on this, we can conclude that in the case of the first three groups there were settlements in the vicinity of the castles. Castles in the mountains, however, represent a separate type, since there was no village nearby.

In Hungary, the investigation of castles is often restricted to the fortified area enclosed by the walls and ramparts disregarding the environment of the castles. Nevertheless, the question of why a castle was built at a certain place can be fully answered after studying its region. As regards the Árpádan-period castles – that are predominantly small castles of which only the ditches and ramparts have remained by now – it is perhaps much more important to examine their topographical location, environment, and relationship with settlements than in the case of large stone castles.

Miklós Zsuzsa dedicated her life's work to these Árpádan-period features. Not only did she carried out fieldwalking, survey, and take aerial photographs of them, but she also conducted major or minor excavations in them. These excavations have yielded a lot of new results. Their importance arises from the fact that the age of small castles identified in the field, often without finds on the surface, was normally determined with typological methods. Excavations, even brief test excavations, offer more accurate data for determining the age and function of these

strongholds. Zsuzsa Miklós investigated the surroundings of the castles, as well. Her fieldwalking surveys also covered those areas where the contemporary settlements belonging to the castles were located.

It is worth noting that in her work on the castles of the Gödöllő Hills as early as 1982,¹ she often ended the description of the individual castles with a list of contemporary settlements discovered nearby. The volumes of the *Archaeological Topography of Hungary* presenting certain districts of Pest county gave a great impetus to the research of the issue. Most of the castles mentioned in the present study are included in Volumes 9 and 11 of the *Archaeological Topography of Hungary*, one of the authors of which was Zsuzsa Miklós.

Several of my works written together with Zsuzsa Miklós focused on the relationship of Árpáadian-period small castles with settlements. Our paper was presented at the VII Castrum Bene conference, which was also published later.² We explored this topic in the territories of Pest, Fejér, and Tolna Counties, three adjacent counties occupying the central part of Hungary. Two years later, we also had the opportunity to publish a slightly revised and expanded version of our study in Hungarian.³

The untimely death of Zsuzsa Miklós prevented her from writing a monograph about her investigations in Pest county as she did in Tolna county.⁴ The staff of the Institute of Archaeology HAS RCH and external experts cooperated to complete the work. Having joined the project, I had the opportunity to finish the work started together with Zsuzsa Miklós, and summarise the relationship between the Árpáadian-period castles and settlements, with special regard to the area of Pest county. Laying the foundations was the merit of Zsuzsa Miklós. Using the results of her collecting work carried out over many years, and conducting new fieldwalking surveys around Árpáadian-period castles in Pest county, the question of these castles was raised again. In my present study, I will be focusing on small castles, which were built in the Árpáadian period but did not survive into the Ottoman era. Among other things, this was due to the fact that the surrounding settlements had a very important role in the case of this type of castle. In the following, I will be studying only those castles that were discovered by Zsuzsa Miklós. The Árpáadian-period strongholds discovered since then will be the subject of another work of mine.

In my study published in 2004,⁵ I differentiated between two groups of castles dated to the period between the 12th and 14th centuries.⁶ As to the first type, the area of the castle – that is the defended area itself – is usually very small, normally less than 0.1 ha. The territory of castles forming the second type is slightly larger than that of the previous ones, but not significantly. Their topographical location is, however, completely different. While the smaller castles were built at an altitude of about 100-200 metres above sea level, the castles of the second group were positioned higher. Their relative altitude is even more telling. As for the lower-lying castles, the relative altitude is less than 50 metres, whereas, in the case of the other group, it can be up to hundreds of metres. This observation can be interpreted as follows: while the castles belonging to the first group can be easily approached, the castles of the second group are located at a hard-to-reach, hidden place. Although the presence or absence of stone as a building material depends on many factors, it can be noted that stone walls are less common in the smaller, more easily approachable castles, and it was typically the side more exposed to an attack that was protected with a rampart or moat. In contrast, the second type of castles often had stone walls and the

¹ Miklós 1982.

² Miklós – Terei 2004.

³ Miklós – Terei 2006.

⁴ Miklós 2007.

⁵ Terei 2004.

⁶ Terei 2004 545–548.

entire area to be defended was surrounded by a rampart or moat, or both. It is of major relevance to my present study that the castles of the first group had a contemporary settlement nearby in almost every case, while in the case of the second group, it could be much less frequently observed. These criteria are certainly not carved in stone, the surrounding geographical features can sometimes override one factor or another.

The first type is known as the group of ‘small castles’ among archaeologists investigating strongholds. This term is, however, not accurate because those who have not seen these castles in the field, cannot imagine what they are exactly like. As a matter of fact, only a description could clearly define what kind of feature we think of here. There is no precise name for the second type, either. Perhaps the term ‘mountain castles’ describes this group the best. The problem of terminology was first addressed by András Gábor Szörényi.⁷ Afterwards, István Feld discussed the issue in detail in his grandiose work.⁸

Zsuzsa Miklós set up a different system of classification. She distinguished among several groups in terms of topographical location, which was already included in our article published in 2004.⁹ The two ways of classification share a lot of common features. Apparently, the first type was divided into several parts (i.e. castles built on a lowland, a riverside terrace, and a hilly area).

As to our two studies on the relationship between castles and settlements,¹⁰ the castles found in Pest county were still not included in the group of lowland castles. As a result of recent investigations, several such features were identified in the southern part of the county, including Csévharaszt-Pusztapótharaszt. When writing these studies, Zsuzsa Miklós still did not start her systematic aerial photography for archaeological purposes, which is one of the most important tools for discovering castles in such a geographical environment. Furthermore, the investigations conducted by Zsuzsa Miklós in Pest county were either focused on the mountains, such as the Börzsöny Mountains, or hilly regions, like the Gödöllő Hills.

She placed Domony-Temető, Felsőgöd-Várdomb, Galgagyörk-Templomdomb, and Valkó-Csákapart among castles built on a riverside terrace.

Galgahévíz-Szentandráspart, Galgamácsa-Ecskend-Templomhegy, Kerepes-Kálvária, Mende-Lányvár, Szada-Várdomb, Tinnye-Kisvár, and Váchartyán-Várhegy were classified as castles erected in a hilly landscape.

Her 2006¹¹ list of castles built in the mountains comprised no examples from Tolna county, and only two castles from Fejér county, but it included seven castles from the part of the Börzsöny Mountains that belongs to Pest county. These latter castles are Bernecebaráti-Templomhegy, Ipolydamásd-Zuvár, Kemence-Tamásvár, Márianosztra-Bibervár, Perőcsény-Salgóvár, Szokolya-Királyrét-Várhegy, and Szokolya-Paphegy.

Similarly to Csévharaszt-Pusztapótharaszt belonging to the lowland castles above, there were also three mountain castles (Perbál-Ajnát-hegy, Perőcsény-Jancsihegy, Vác-Látóhegy) which were not included in the collection, although they had been identified by Zsuzsa Miklós. The reason for this might be that these strongholds either yielded no finds, or they could hardly be used for dating.

At the entries of the castles, I will be writing little about the castles themselves and will be focusing on the neighbouring settlements, instead.

⁷ Szörényi 2011 61–66.

⁸ Feld 2014 374–379.

⁹ Miklós – Terei 2004 201–202.

¹⁰ Miklós – Terei 2004; Miklós – Terei 2006.

¹¹ Miklós – Terei 2006.

Csévharaszt-Pusztapótharaszt

This is a typical lowland castle protected by a regular circular moat, which rose only a few metres above its surroundings. The stronghold was discovered by Zsuzsa Miklós during aerial photography. Although no archaeological finds were discovered there, it can certainly be classified as an Árpáadian-period small castle based on its typological features. It sits on an elevated piece of land rising a few metres above its waterlogged, swampy surroundings. The Árpáadian-period village is located on a hillside, to the north of the castle. The site was identified by Ákos Tibor Rácz during a fieldwalking survey in 2015. Subsequently, in connection with investigations in Pest county, the area was surveyed and further fieldwalking was carried out, during which 12th to 14th-century finds were collected from the surface as before.

This situation clearly demonstrates that not only castles built on a riverside terrace but also those on the plains could have had a settlement nearby. In this case, the fortress was not protected by elevation but by the swamps, as the settlement was lying somewhat higher than the castle.

Domony-Temető¹²

In terms of its topographical location, it belongs among castles sitting on a riverside terrace. This is a representative example of this group. The small Árpáadian-period castle is located at a relative altitude of 18 metres above the banks of the Stream Galga. Fieldwalking surveys and the test excavation conducted by Zsuzsa Miklós in 2006 demonstrated that the site was inhabited with longer or shorter breaks from prehistoric times onward. The village developed on the banks of the stream and the hillside in the 12th–13th century. The stronghold surrounded by a moat was erected in close proximity of the settlement, on the highest point of the landscape affording good visibility of the surrounding area.¹³

Felsőgöd-Várdomb¹⁴

Based on its topographical location, it is a castle built on a riverside terrace. Today, it lies in a densely built-in town, which makes it rather difficult to reconstruct the former geographical conditions. Although only minor archaeological excavations and fieldwalking surveys were carried out in the area, the available data reveal a fairly accurate picture of the Árpáadian-period topography of the site.¹⁵ The terrace lying 5–10 metres above the floodplain of the River Danube, was already inhabited in prehistoric times. This area with excellent geographical conditions was also selected for habitation in the Middle Ages. Archaeological excavations conducted in the area stretching to north and east of today's Várdomb ('Castle Hill') brought to light finds dated between the Árpáadian period and the late Middle Ages. At the edge of the area, at a site with the telling name of Templom domb ('Church Hill') stone debris was found. Not far from this, skeletons were discovered in Rózsa Street and the neighbouring sports field.¹⁶ Based on these, the church of the settlement can be located with a great probability. However, it was not possible to explore large contiguous areas, as the site was densely built-up. We need to rely only on sporadic data. At the same time, besides the prehistoric material, lots of medieval finds came to light from the area under discussion. Based on the available archaeological and historical evidence, this

¹² *MRT II* site no. 6/12.

¹³ *MRT II* site no. 6/5 and 12; *Miklós – Terei 2006* 206–211; *MRT II* 147–149.

¹⁴ *MRT 9* site no. 7/4.

¹⁵ *MRT 9* 89–91.

¹⁶ *MRT 9* 89–90.

site can be identified with the village of Göd (*Gud, Gewd*), which was first mentioned in written documents in the 12th century.¹⁷ It must have been the property of the Gyula – Sombor family.¹⁸

The available data paint a picture of this site that corresponds with our knowledge about other small Árpáodian-period castles. The castle was erected in the 13th century, at an elevated spot, on the outskirts of the settlement. In this case, we are in a fortunate situation because even the builder of the castle can be assumed due to historical evidence.¹⁹ Although in 1991 Zsuzsa Miklós investigated the site of Várdomb only with one test trench, it can be hypothesised that the fortress, like the village, still existed in the late medieval period.

*Galgagyörk-Almáspuszta (Pusztatemplom)*²⁰

On the basis of its topographical location, it is a castle built on a riverside terrace. The fortress heavily destroyed by now sits on a mound, five metres above the Galga floodplain. Its moat can only be observed on the eastern side. The site of the former church is found east/south-east of the castle, 150 metres from it. This site has continuously yielded stone debris and human bones since the 19th century. The small-scale excavations and fieldwalking surveys produced prehistoric pottery shards as well as finds from the period between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries.²¹

In this case, the characteristics of castles set on a riverside terrace could be observed again. The village is located next to a watercourse that was inevitable for settlement. The church and the castle are in its vicinity, but on higher ground. The settlement can be identified with the medieval village of Almás.²² The archaeological material suggests that it continued to exist up to the Ottoman era. Due to the lack of major archaeological investigations in the area enclosed by the moat, we can merely assume that the castle was abandoned in the 14th century.²³

*Galgahévíz-Szentandráspart*²⁴

Zsuzsa Miklós classified this stronghold among castles situated in a hilly landscape. However, its topographical location is very similar to that of castles built on a riverside terrace. The relative altitude of the narrow strip of land protruding from the range of hills is 32 metres. The site was first used by the people of the Hatvan culture who established a major settlement in the area. The fortifications that are still visible today were constructed in the Árpáodian period, although – based on the observations – prehistoric embankments may have also been used for their construction.²⁵ After abandoning the castle fortified by massive ramparts, the Ákos kindred (*gens*) established a monastery in it.

In addition to the rich prehistoric material, twelfth to 15th-century finds were found in large quantities at the site below the castle, on the western side of the Stream Sósi. Researchers identify the site with the village of Monostor(osalja) known from written documents. The village may have belonged to the Benedictine monastery built on the hilltop.²⁶ Although the earliest written

¹⁷ MRT 9 site no. 7/3.

¹⁸ MRT 9 90.

¹⁹ MRT 9 92.

²⁰ MRT 11 site no. 7/2.

²¹ MRT 11 159–162.

²² MRT 11 site no. 7/2.

²³ MRT 11 162.

²⁴ MRT 11 site no. 8/3.

²⁵ MRT 11 179–180.

²⁶ MRT 11 site no. 8/3.

document referring to the village comes from 1425, based on the finds gathered during the fieldwalking survey, it dates back to the 12th–13th century.²⁷ If we consider the idea that, according to archaeological evidence, the monastery must have been established in the abandoned castle in the second half of the 13th century at the earliest,²⁸ the Árpáadian-period settlement found at this site can certainly be connected to the castle. The geographical conditions were ideal, as the castle sitting at a relative altitude of 32 metres offered good visibility of the village below.

*Galgamácsa-Ecskend-Templomhegy*²⁹

Based on its topographical location, this is a castle built in a hilly area. It is set at an altitude of 252 metres above sea level and an altitude of 42 metres relative to the stream valley. After the castle surrounded by a circular ditch and rampart was abandoned, a church was established in the enclosed area in the second half of the 13th century.

During fieldwalking surveys, medieval finds were also collected at Templomhegy ('Church Hill'), but the village also extended north-eastwards to the southern side of the Alma valley. Based on the observations, it can be concluded that the church discovered on the hill above the village belonged to the site identified with medieval Ecskend.³⁰ It is also presumable that earlier the owner of the village had built the castle, as well.³¹

At sites that were reused after the abandonment of Árpáadian-age castle, that is where a church or monastery was erected at the very end of the Árpáadian period or within two centuries after that (see also Kerepes-Kálvária, Galgahévíz-Szentandráspart), the connection between the later feature and the village is much more certain, especially if we have late medieval finds from the area of the settlement. In contrast, it can only be assumed that the early finds gathered during the fieldwalking surveys are contemporary to the use of the castle.

Zsuzsa Miklós, who supervised the excavations of the Galgamácsa-Ecskend castle, dated a knife sheath fitting and an arrowhead found in the stronghold to the 13th century³² However, based on similar items discovered at Kána,³³ they may as well be somewhat earlier. The existence, abandonment, construction, and use of the church can be all dated to the 13th century. Consequently, the small amount of 13th-century pottery shards gathered during the fieldwalking survey can hardly be used to determine whether the castle and the village were contemporary or not.

*Ipolydamásd-Zuvár*³⁴

On the basis of its topographical location, it is a castle built in the mountains. It was erected at an altitude of 313 metres above sea level and a relative altitude of 140 metres.³⁵ It is a representative example of castles built on the summit of a mountain in the second half of the Árpáadian period. Compared with my categorisation of Árpáadian-age small castles, fortresses like this can be identified with Group II. Based on the results of the excavations, it was built in the 12th–13th century and was already abandoned a century later.

²⁷ *MRT II* 185.

²⁸ *MRT II* 182.

²⁹ *MRT II* site no. 9/6.

³⁰ *MRT II* site no. 9/3.

³¹ *MRT II* 216.

³² *MRT II* 216.

³³ *Terei – Horváth 2007* 163–165.

³⁴ *MRT 9* site no. 9/3.

³⁵ *MRT 9* 108–110.

In the cases of these castles, neighbouring settlements could be less frequently identified. The reason for this was probably the fact that the location was more difficult to access. Nearby settlements could be identified if the castles were in use for a longer time.

In the case of Ipolydamásd-Zuvár, no trace of a settlement was discovered in the vicinity. The nearest site yielding Árpáodian-period finds is located more than one kilometre to the south,³⁶ which is unlikely to have been connected to the castle.

*Kemence-Felső-Tamásvár*³⁷

Based on its topography, it belongs to the group of castles built in the mountains. It has an altitude of 554 metres above sea level and a relative altitude of 153 metres. At present, it is located in an extreme place away from any inhabited settlement. Its identification has raised many questions. Iván Skerletz regarded it as an earthwork castle. He hypothesised that the hilltop was used as a refuge by the people of the Late Bronze Age.³⁸ Gyula Nováki held that it was a natural formation, not a stronghold.³⁹ Zsuzsa Miklós and István Torma argued that it could not be a Bronze Age earthwork castle, but it did not fit in the category of Árpáodian-period castles, either.⁴⁰ Afterwards, in 1984, Zsuzsa Miklós had the opportunity to carry out excavations in the area, during which 12th–13th-century pottery shards, iron artefacts, and pieces of daub came to light. At the same time, it turned out that it was protected with a natural ditch on one side. In her opinion, “In Tamásvár, there must have been a log-house on a wider part of the ridge, which was built directly on the rock. Based on the size of the site, the finds, and the excellent natural protection, it can most likely be identified as a small Árpáodian-period castle.”⁴¹

Even though the site was subjected to archaeological excavations, numerous questions remained unanswered. The first and most important question is whether this feature established at such an extreme location was truly a castle. If we accept the defensive role of the area, then we can classify it among those short-lived hilltop castles in the vicinity of which there was no settlement. However, this is not surprising at all, as there is no suitable land for settlement anywhere near.

*Kerepes-Kálvária*⁴²

Based on its topographical location, it is a castle built in a hilly landscape. It was erected at an altitude of 244 metres above sea level, and an altitude of 25 metres relative to the stream valley. Like many other castles belonging to this group, Kerepes-Kálvária does not sit on a riverside terrace, yet it shares common features with this latter group in its character. The excavations revealed that it was built in the 13th century, but it was used for only one century. In the 14th century, the parish church of Kerepes was established at the site enclosed with ramparts and ditches.⁴³

The medieval village of Kerepes was below the castle, by the bank of Stream Szilas.⁴⁴ According to the archaeological material, the settlement was already inhabited in the early phase

³⁶ MRT 9 site no. 9/13.

³⁷ MRT 9 site no. 11/10.

³⁸ MRT 9 139.

³⁹ MRT 9 139.

⁴⁰ MRT 9 139–140.

⁴¹ MRT 9 140.

⁴² MRT 11 site no. 15/5.

⁴³ MRT 11 335–340.

⁴⁴ MRT 11 site no. 15/7.

of the Árpáadian period, so the castle and later the parish church of the village may have been connected to the settlement, which was built in the abandoned stronghold.⁴⁵

*Márianosztra-Bibervár*⁴⁶

Based on its topographical location, it is a castle built in the mountains, but due to its being erected at a small relative and absolute altitude, it can be classified as a 'small castle'. What modifies these are the hard accessibility, stone building material, and marked fortifications (ramparts and a moat). The picture is further complicated by the fact that there are several medieval sites in the neighbourhood, including a monastery. Based on the excavations supervised by Zsuzsa Miklós, the castle consisting of a keep and an adjacent bailey was built in the 13th century and was abandoned in the early 14th century at the latest.⁴⁷

The Malom valley stream flows below the castle, and on the opposite side of the watercourse, Árpáadian-period and late medieval finds were scattered over an area of nearly two hectares.⁴⁸ The village was probably called Toronyalja.⁴⁹ The late medieval finds were found around the monastery. Based on the observations of Zsuzsa Miklós, the 13th-century finds discovered at the site of the monastery belonged to an earlier settlement, which had already been destroyed by the construction of the monastery.⁵⁰

The archaeological evidence confirms that the castle was built above the village lying on the bank of the stream, which was a more prominent, more easily defended height here. It was similar to other castles in Pest county, but in this case, the stronghold was built of stone, and the stone walls have remained to posterity. The castle was probably abandoned together with the village in the early 14th century, and the monastery was already established in a vacant piece of land.

Mende-Lányvár

Based on its topographical location, it can be classified as a castle erected in a hilly area. This multicomponent stronghold is situated at the end of a north-west/south-east oriented hill, dominating over its surroundings and having good visibility of the valley of the Stream Tápió. It is set at an altitude of 225 metres above sea level and an altitude of 70 metres relative to the stream valley.

In her study published in 1981, Zsuzsa Miklós explored the Árpáadian-period settlement system surrounding the castle in this part of the valley of the Stream Tápió.⁵¹ At the bottom of the western slope of Lányvár, there is a site occupying each bank of the stream, which can be dated to the Árpáadian period with pottery shards. In my opinion, this settlement can be connected to the castle. Zsuzsa Miklós identified this site with Árpáadian-age Szentistván. The village of Bille to the west, as well as Oszlár, Sáp, and Süly to the east of the castle are further away than other settlements from castles belonging to the same era.⁵²

⁴⁵ *MRT II* 341.

⁴⁶ *MRT 9* site no. 17/13.

⁴⁷ *MRT 9* 188.

⁴⁸ *MRT 9* site no. 17/24; *MRT 9* 194.

⁴⁹ *MRT 9* 192.

⁵⁰ *MRT 9* 191.

⁵¹ *Miklós 1981* 249.

⁵² *Miklós 1981* 245, 249.

*Perbál-Ajnát-hegy*⁵³

It has not been previously classified according to its topographical location. It rather belongs to the group of castles built in the mountains. The double summit rising 380 metres above sea level is surrounded by steep mountain slopes. Although there are historical data about the castle, the 1980 excavations supervised by Zsuzsa Miklós did not yield any finds or features.⁵⁴

We are in a fortunate position because this area is also included in a volume of the *Archaeological Topography of Hungary*. When studying the region, we did not find any Árpábian-period site nearby. It is easy to understand it, as the immediate vicinity of the castle is not suitable for settlement at all.

*Perőcsény-Jancsihegy*⁵⁵

Based on its topographical location, it is a castle built in the mountains. It is set at an altitude of 586 metres above sea level and a relative altitude of 250 metres, on one of the summits of a north-south ridge stretching at the western edge of the Börzsöny Mountains. It was undoubtedly a stronghold, for its double moat is clearly visible on its northern side. Zsuzsa Miklós explored the area with several test trenches. In addition to finds from various prehistoric periods, a few fragments of Árpábian-period ceramics came to light, as well. Eventually, based on typological analogues, she dated the stronghold to the 12th–13th century.⁵⁶

Although castles were sometimes built at an extreme location in the Árpábian period, in my opinion, a few medieval pottery shards do not provide sufficient evidence for the 12th–13th-century establishment. Such castles built on hard-to-reach hilltops were more typical after the Mongol Invasion, and they were constructed of stone in almost every case. An important feature of small castles built in the 12th and 13th centuries was the proximity of a settlement, but here, due to the steep hillside, we do not find any trace of an Árpábian-period.

In my opinion, it was a prehistoric feature, which is also supported by the fact that there was a stone rampart on the north-western side.⁵⁷ In the Árpábian period, it was only intermittently used and did not function as a stronghold any longer.

*Perőcsény-Salgóvár*⁵⁸

This is a castle built in the mountains. Sitting at an altitude of 730 metres above sea level and 370 metres above the valley of Stream Fekete, it is the highest medieval castle in the county. According to archaeological evidence, it was already used in the second half of the 13th century.⁵⁹ In 1424, it was confiscated and demolished by the king for minting counterfeit coins.⁶⁰ It belongs to type II of our classification. Although it was used up to the 15th century, there was not any village below the castle either in the Árpábian period or in the subsequent centuries as its surroundings were unsuitable for settlement.

⁵³ MRT 7 site no. 14/26.

⁵⁴ MRT 7 139–140.

⁵⁵ MRT 9 site no. 23/19.

⁵⁶ MRT 9 287.

⁵⁷ MRT 9 287.

⁵⁸ MRT 9 site no. 23/10.

⁵⁹ MRT 9 283.

⁶⁰ MRT 9 284.

*Szada-Várdomb (Vár-oldal)*⁶¹

It is a castle built on a hilly landscape. Its altitude above sea level is approximately 267 metres, and its relative altitude is 30 metres. It is set on the ridge of a hill stretching in a north-west/south-east direction. According to the excavations supervised by Zsuzsa Miklós, it was built in the 13th century and was abandoned in the same century. Unfortunately, no further research can be conducted at the site because the castle was bulldozed to the ground at the end of the 20th century.⁶²

The area lying below the castle currently forms the inner part of the village of Szada, so a fieldwalking survey could be carried out in very limited circumstances. In recent decades, archaeological finds were discovered in this part of the village on several occasions, which were mainly dated to the late Middle Ages.⁶³ In light of the above, we can assume that the Árpáadian-period village was also situated there.⁶⁴

*Szokolya-Királyrét-Várhegy*⁶⁵

Based on its topographical location, it was a castle built in the mountains. It is set at an altitude of 359 metres above sea level and a relative altitude of 100 metres. The castle hill was already inhabited in the Bronze Age and was re-used in the 12th–13th century, when a moat and rampart defending the area was constructed, as well.

Although it can be classified as a mountain castle, it does not belong to the extreme sites. Perhaps this also explains why Árpáadian-period and 14th-century finds could be collected at the foot of the mountain.⁶⁶ Based on the archaeological material, Zsuzsa Miklós suggested that the castle was not in continuous use.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, it is still plausible that the castle belonged to a nearby Árpáadian-period site.

*Szokolya-Paphegy*⁶⁸

Concerning its topographical location, it is a castle built in the mountains. It is situated at an altitude of 473 metres above sea level and a relative altitude of 250 metres. In terms of its typological features, it is a representative example of small castles built in the Árpáadian period. The end of the ridge was cut off with a single ditch, which was presumably left unfinished.⁶⁹

At a distance of 150 metres from it, in a flatter area with a diameter of 40-50 metres, 13th-century finds were discovered.⁷⁰ Despite its being a mountain castle, the area around the stronghold is not very steep, which made it suitable for habitation. As the territory is forested, it was possible to collect only a small amount of finds during the fieldwalking survey, so the size of the site could not be determined. It is probable that, at this site, there was a small settlement and a connected castle used for a short period.

⁶¹ *MRT II* site no. 21/2.

⁶² *MRT II* 440.

⁶³ *MRT II* site no. 21/1.

⁶⁴ *MRT II* 434.

⁶⁵ *MRT 9* site no. 27/1.

⁶⁶ *MRT 9* site no. 27/10; *MRT 9* 359–360.

⁶⁷ *MRT 9* 351.

⁶⁸ *MRT 9* site no. 27/16.

⁶⁹ *MRT 9* 360; *MRT 9* site no. 27/16.

⁷⁰ *MRT 9* site no. 27/9.

*Tinnye-Kisvár*⁷¹

This is a castle built in a hilly area. It is set at an altitude of 275 metres above sea level and a relative altitude of 20 metres. It sits at the end of an elongated hill oriented north-west/south-east. No finds dated to the Árpáodian period were gathered there. However, based on its typological features, the castle can be dated to the Árpáodian era.⁷²

Below the castle, on both sides of the modern road 12th–13th-century finds were collected,⁷³ so it can be claimed with great certainty that the Árpáodian-period village belonging to the castle was here again located near the castle, at a lower altitude.⁷⁴

*Vác-Látóhegy*⁷⁵

It is a castle built in the mountains. It is set at an altitude of 533 metres above sea level and a relative altitude of 150 metres. Sitting on a rocky protrusion, the castle was protected with a moat and ramparts. No archaeological material was discovered at the site of the heavily destroyed castle. Zsuzsa Miklós suggested dating to the Árpáodian period on the basis of typological analogues.⁷⁶

There is no archaeological site in the vicinity of the castle. The steep mountainside is not suitable for settlement at all. Approximately one kilometre to the south-west, some medieval pottery shards were collected along a road,⁷⁷ but I do not regard this as sufficient evidence for the existence of a settlement.⁷⁸

*Váchartyán-Várhegy*⁷⁹

It is a castle built in a hilly landscape. It is set at an altitude of 205 metres above sea level and an altitude of 40 metres relative to the valley. It is located at the western end of an elongated ridge, protected on three sides by the steep hillside. The inner area was defended by a ditch and a rampart erected on its outer side. Based on the excavations conducted by Zsuzsa Miklós, the castle was built in the second half of the 12th century–in the 13th century and was destroyed in the first half of the 14th century at the latest.⁸⁰

Although the geographical features are advantageous in the case of this site (there is a stream bank below the mountain), no Árpáodian-period site with a substantial amount of finds was identified nearby. In the area lying under the castle, one 13th–14th-century⁸¹ pottery fragment was found, which is certainly not enough evidence for the existence of a settlement.

⁷¹ MRT 7 site no. 33/14.

⁷² MRT 7 327.

⁷³ MRT 7 sites no. 33/2 and 33/4.

⁷⁴ MRT 7 325–326.

⁷⁵ MRT 9 site no. 31/41.

⁷⁶ MRT 9 478.

⁷⁷ MRT 9 site no. 31/79.

⁷⁸ MRT 9 487.

⁷⁹ MRT 9 site no. 34/14.

⁸⁰ MRT 9 512–513.

⁸¹ MRT 9 511.

*Valkó-Csákópart*⁸²

Based on its topographical location, it is a castle built on a riverside terrace with a relative altitude of 12 metres. The site, once protected with a circular moat, was heavily damaged due to ongoing agricultural work.⁸³ Based on archaeological excavations, the castle was erected in the 13th century and became abandoned in the same century.

The castle is surrounded by a large site, which yielded finds from several eras, including the medieval period. Presumably, the village of Szörény (Szörém)⁸⁴ was there once. Most of the ceramic finds collected during a fieldwalking survey are of the same age as the castle, but a small amount of shards from both the previous and following centuries were also discovered there.⁸⁵ Based on the findings, it is safe to say that the castle was built on a hill rising above its environment, which was surrounded by the village.

The research of strongholds dated to the Árpáadian period raises numerous questions and problems, as well. Not many of them have been subjected to full archaeological excavation and scientific publication. In many cases, we can connect strongholds to a historical era with the help of typological methods, which may also lead to false dating. The investigation into the “fortification environment” of the period studied by us is still at an early stage. It is hard to describe the methodology of the research because it is not possible to define the criteria precisely.

What distance is considered to be the ‘environment’ of the castles? How many metres need to be between a settlement and a castle to be associated with each other? It is not possible to give a specific number, as the environmental and local conditions differ in every case. While the site polygons of riverside castles and the settlements often meet according to archaeological investigations (particularly fieldwalking surveys), in the case of those located in hilly areas, the distance is larger. The geographical factors and the findings of the visibility study⁸⁶ carried out by András Gábor Szörényi may answer the question together. It is imperative to study the geographical environment because it is one of the most important conditions for human settlement. Is not possible to establish a settlement on a steep hillside; conversely, the proximity of water has always been an important factor. The investigation of visibility is significant because, together with Zsuzsa Miklós, we believe that in the case of castles built in a plain, on a riverside, or in a hilly area, it was of fundamental importance for the owners of the stronghold that their settlement would be close and that they would have a view of it. The visibility modelling undertaken by András Gábor Szörényi should be carried out for all the castles mentioned above. It would be possible to research more distant areas. Nevertheless, the castles of the Sajó Valley discussed by him predominantly belong to the mountain category, and in Pest county we need to consider three more geographical groups, which may produce completely different results. In my opinion, in the case of castles erected in a plain, on a riverside terrace, and in a hilly area, the settlements presented above must have been clearly seen from a ten-metre tower. The area where the settlement is located is often still visible to the naked eye from the castle. Sometimes the vegetation may obstruct the view. In such cases, visibility modelling may demonstrate what can be seen in addition to the immediate surroundings, as these castles are not built on high summits, and their relative height is not so great. Take the visibility of a river valley, for instance. Similar to the Sajó Valley, visibility modelling would be significant in the case of mountain castles, where geographical features can modify the picture to a greater extent. The environment

⁸² *MRT II* site no. 26/1.

⁸³ *MRT II* 530–531.

⁸⁴ *MRT II* site no. 26/2.

⁸⁵ *MRT II* 532.

⁸⁶ *Szörényi 2011*.

of the castle might be determined by defining the area suitable for settlement in the closest proximity of the castle.

The methodology comprises defining the term ‘site’, as well. I have already noted at the individual settlements and settlement features that the definition of inhabited places near fortifications is a very challenging question. It makes a difference whether only a pottery shard is discovered or a larger number of ceramic fragments are found during a fieldwalking survey. It is much easier to come across finds in arable land than in a forest, where it is merely mole hikes that are bound to bring any objects of archaeological age to the surface, or in a modern settlement, where many archaeological features tend to be observed only when utility trenches are dug. The findings may, therefore, be superseded by subsequent archaeological research. Normally, a small number of artefacts were found in the Árpáodian-period castles of Pest county and nearby settlement features. Can we say contemporaneity for absolutely certain if only a few 12th- or 13th-century pottery shards are found at the two sites? In my opinion, we cannot. We may only suspect it. Just a large-scale excavation of the castle and the village can offer a more reliable answer.

From the twenty-two Árpáodian-period castles in Pest county examined above, in seven cases (Ipolydamásd-Zuvár, Kemence-Tamásvár, Perbál-Ajnát-hegy, Perőcsény-Jancsihegy, Perőcsény-Salgóvár, Vác-Látóhegy, Váchartyán-Várhegy) there was no settlement in the vicinity of the stronghold. It probably does not come as a surprise that six of them belong to the group of castles built in the mountains. Among these, there are some problematic sites where the interpretation as a castle or even the dating is uncertain (Kemence-Tamásvár, Perőcsény-Jancsihegy, and Vác-Látóhegy). Most of the castles have a relative altitude of several hundreds of metres, which made it difficult to approach them. Consequently, it was not possible to establish a settlement on the steep mountainside (*fig. 1*).

In 15 cases, there was an Árpáodian-period settlement in the vicinity of the castle. The distribution of these castles according to their topographical location is as follows: three in the mountains (Márianosztra-Bibervár, Szokolya-Királyrét-Várhegy, Szokolya-Paphegy), six on a hilly area (Galgahévíz-Szentandráspart, Galgamácsa-Ecskend-Templomhegy, Kerepes-Lánykali, Kerepes-Kálvária, Mende-Leányvár, Szada-Várdomb, and Tinnyes-Kisvár), four on a riverside terrace (Domony-Temető, Felsőgöd-Várdomb, Galgagyörk-Almáspuszta, and Valkó-Csákópart), and one on a lowland area (Csévharaszt-Pusztapótharaszt). Two of the three mountain castles – despite being situated in the Börzsöny Mountains – were not built at a relative altitude of several hundreds of metres and were therefore not difficult to approach. The relative altitude is 30 metres at Márianosztra and 100 metres at Szokolya-Királyrét-Várhegy. Szokolya-Paphegy is found in a hidden, hard-to-reach place, but it was not built in such an extreme place as Perőcsény-Salgóvár, for example.

The archaeological investigations are uneven, although most of the sites are covered by the volumes of the *Archaeological Topography of Hungary*. While the majority of the castles were subjected to archaeological excavations, in the nearby settlements it was possible to collect data only with fieldwalking surveys. These fieldwalking surveys usually demonstrated settlement over several eras, and the Árpáodian period was only one of these. Nevertheless, these findings still allow for the conclusion that the castles were built close to an area suitable for habitation. At some places, it was possible to carry out thorough fieldwalking surveys and collect finds, but in the cases of those Árpáodian-period villages that lie under modern settlements, only a few pottery shards uncovered during the sewerage construction works help localisation. The question arises as to whether we can make a parallel or connection with the nearby settlement based on the

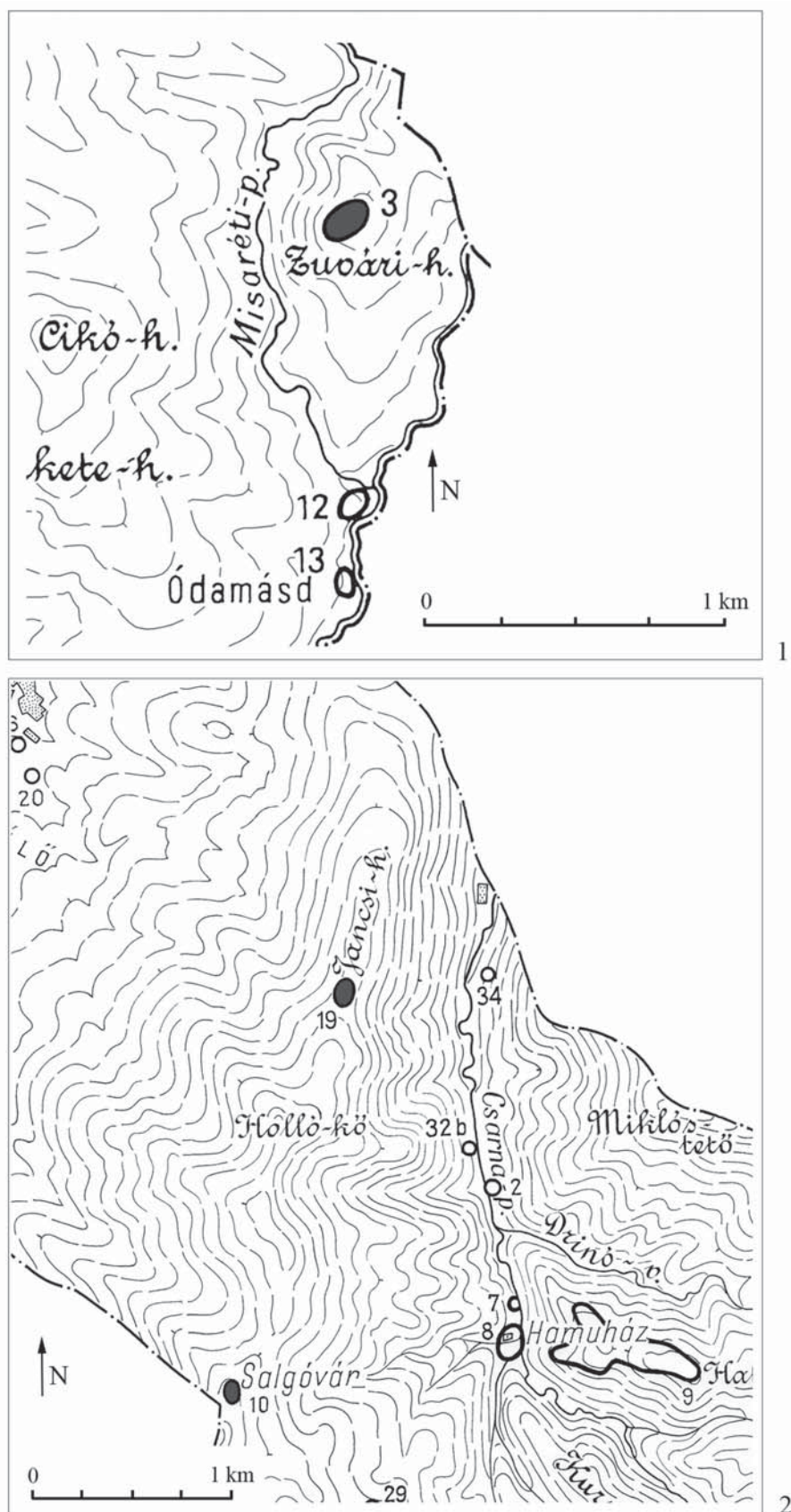


Fig. 1. Examples of the relationship between castles built in the mountains and nearby settlements: Ipolydamásd-Zuvár, MRT 9 site no. 9/3; Peröcsény-Salgóvár, MRT 9 site no. 23/10; and Peröcsény-Jancsihegy MRT 9 site no. 23/19)

small amount of dating material discovered in the castles and the shards found in their vicinity. Although this can be rightly assumed so, in those cases when there is little dating material, any claim must be made with circumspection. István Feld also draws attention to this, pointing out that without significant archaeological research of both the settlement and the castle, it is not possible to say anything certain about the connection between the two features.⁸⁷

If we consider the topographical location, the positions of the castles on the riverside terraces (*fig. 2*) and on the hills (*fig. 3*) are quite similar. Although in the former case, the castle is situated on a steeper hillside, both are in an accessible place and a settlement could develop at the bottom of the hill or terrace. It is fairly common for hillside castles that the stronghold is situated above a stream. Perhaps the real difference lies with that in the case of castles built a few metres above major rivers and streams there is enough space for a settlement to emerge next to the stronghold, whereas in the other case, the village is always at the bottom of the hill, at a place where the terrain made its establishment possible. The picture is completely clear, the castle needed to be built above the village, at a spot that allowed for good visibility of the settlement.

András Gábor Szörényi studied view from Árpáadian-period castles found in the Sajó valley concerning the visibility of other castles and settlements.⁸⁸ He compared his findings with the results of our research made with Zsuzsa Miklós and did not fully agree with our conclusions, as there were some places in the Sajó valley where the castle had no visibility of its own estate but of the neighbouring land.⁸⁹ Even though the exploration made by András Gábor Szörényi is completely unique, spectacular, and convincing, in my opinion, it is not possible to compare Árpáadian-period castles in the Sajó valley with castles built on the plains, hills, or riverside terraces of Pest, Fejér, and Tolna Counties. While mountain castles are typical of the Sajó valley, which were further away from the settlements, the castles built in the central region of Hungary are in a more accessible place and the features of the terrain generally do not hinder visibility. In Pest county, which was subjected to careful investigation, there was generally a medieval village within a distance of a few hundred metres of the castles.

Lots of studies have been published about the small castles of the Árpáadian period, and several monographs are available, as well. Recently, István Feld has published a major gap-filling work discussing numerous questions of the subject comprehensively. Regarding the topographical location of the castles, he writes that the relatively easily accessible strongholds must have been the permanent residences of landowners. Furthermore, he also raises an idea that I found most interesting, namely that not only castles built on a high hilltop and protected by steep hillsides could be in an extreme location. Swamp castles were also like that, and if you think about it, he is absolutely right.⁹⁰

Another question that needs to be examined is that Zsuzsa Miklós assumed about some of the small features that they were not completed or inhabited.⁹¹ It is difficult to prove her assumption because in most cases it was not possible to excavate the entire area of the castle. But even if this was so, it is still necessary to examine what relationship the castle and the settlement below had. The question of habitation was raised by István Feld.⁹²

Our overview demonstrates well that it is not enough to consider the castles in themselves. Their surroundings must be included in the exploration in every case. However, this is relatively rare in the research of castles in Hungary. We are in a lucky position when studying Pest county for

⁸⁷ *Feld 2014 372.*

⁸⁸ *Szörényi 2011.*

⁸⁹ *Szörényi 2011 49.*

⁹⁰ *Feld 2014 364.*

⁹¹ *Miklós – Terei 2006 219.*

⁹² *Feld 2014 366.*



Fig. 2. Examples of the relationship between riverside castles and nearby settlements (Galgagyörk-Almáspuszta, MRT II site no. 7/2; Felsőgöd-Várdomb, MRT 9 site no. 7/4; and Domony-Temető, MRT II site no. 6/12)

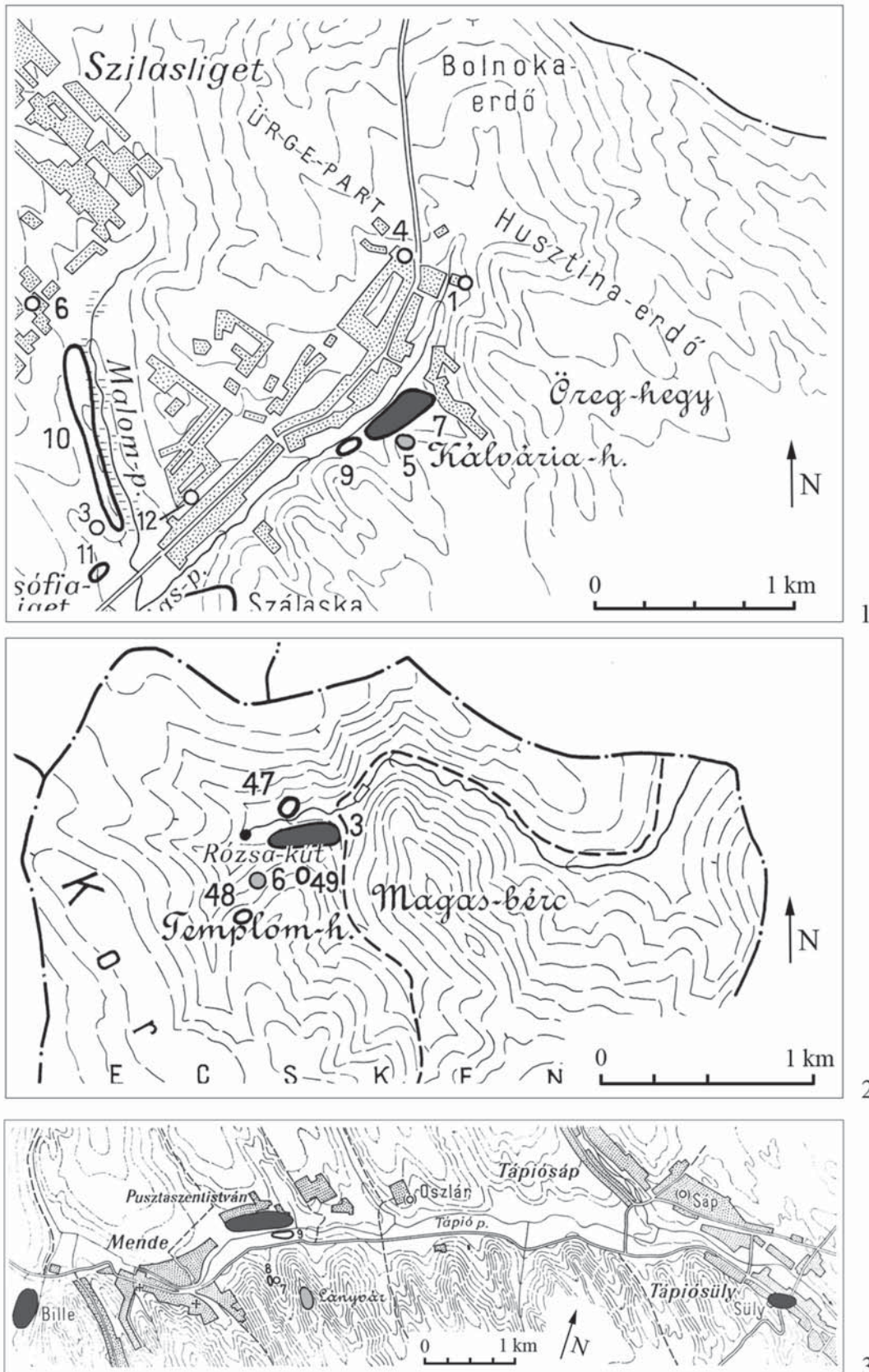


Fig. 3. Examples of the relationship between castles built in hilly areas and nearby settlements (Kerepes-Kálvária, MRT II site no. 15/5; Galgamácsa-Ecskend-Templomhegy, MRT II site no. 9/6; and Mende-Lányvár, Miklós 1981 fig. 20)



Fig. 4. Map of the castles mentioned in the study

several reasons. On the one hand, several volumes of the *Archaeological Topography of Hungary* cover certain areas of Pest county, so we can easily analyse the settlements found in the vicinity of the castles. Only two of the examined Árpáadian-period strongholds (Csévharaszt and Mende-Lányvár) are missing from the volumes of the topography. On the other hand, the relationship of the castles and the surrounding villages was always important to Miklós Zsuzsa, which was already discussed by her in her 1982 work on the castles of the Gödöllő Hills (*fig. 4*).⁹³

At each site, I called attention to that there were a lot of pitfalls to the investigations. Further research and exploration of the settlements around the castles will certainly help us get closer to solving the problem.

⁹³ This includes the work carried out by Ákos Tibor Rácz, who, reversing the approach of the research, seeks castles in the vicinity of Árpáadian-period villages. He is surveying those parts of the county, which could not be investigated by Zsuzsa Miklós.

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