

MORPHOLOGICAL STUDY ON A 15TH CENTURY VILLAGE, CSEPELY

INTRODUCTION

As studies in recent decades¹ have refined the picture of medieval settlement forms, morphological and topographical approaches² gained a greater importance in archaeological as well as historical research. However, as it is in the case of many problems, it is difficult to decide whether the application of these methods, or the results of studies on settlement forms, served as a starting point for reconsideration of the relationship between the former typology and the reality of the Middle Ages. While, the view of a wide variety and complexity of villages originated from Great Britain during the 50s and became generally accepted in Western Europe, in Hungary no serious attempts were made to test the validity of the strict system of village types established in the 60s.

The present study aims at, on the one hand, demonstrating how model of a reconstructed village form might be used to provide a basis for new interpretation of Hungarian settlement typology, and on the other hand at introducing methods based on historical, archaeological, historical geographical and ethnographical evidences whose usage can cast some light on the inner structure of medieval Hungarian villages.

Because of the often fragmentary nature of information and the complex interrelationships that make up the forms of villages, this research requires the synthesis of results, methods and sources of different disciplines. The method applied in the work consists of two stages. After making reconstruction of the village pattern relying upon historical, archaeological, historical geographical and ethnographical evidences, we will analyse the image of the settlement and draw further conclusions concerning the structure of the inner area and land usage.

The sources of the research are also taken from different branches of science. Regarding Csepely (county Somogy), the reconstruction is mainly based on the topographical description of its division charter from 1412; however, early maps, historical geographical evidences, observations taken in the landscape and ethnographical analogies are used as well.

The possible results of the present work are limited since the image of the medieval village consists only of fragments of information. Nevertheless, the available sources allow us to give at least a general, but in the case of some elements, even more detailed reconstructions of the settlement.

Although, the present work must be considered to be an initial insight to the problem of the complexity of Hungarian villages, the outcome of our work is an encouragement to expect additional results from the further development of the subject. More detailed studies of this type on different regions and on villages with different social and economic background might give new insights into the research of settlement history as well as village typology.

¹ The Hungarian version of the recent study can be read as a dissertation accepted by the Archaeological Department of ELTE in 1993.

² By morphological approach we mean the study of observing and systematizing the different forms of settlements which gives an

overall system concerning the varieties of their physical appearance. The term of topographical method is used in the sense of a method that sets out from the form and structure of a given settlement and draws conclusions with regard to its history.

1. STATE OF HUNGARIAN RESEARCH AND ITS TENDENCIES

Before starting this discussion, it is essential to see which disciplines deal with the problem of settlement structure. This can be very profitable not only from the point of view of the state of research, but it might also cast some light on the nature of morphological research. In Hungary four branches of science are interested in the field, namely history, historical geography, ethnography and archaeology.

To begin with, the majority of ethnographic works concentrate on studying settlement forms within the territory of Hungary. Consequently, the system of typology established by ethnography, is based on regional types and remains nearly untouched by the more or less unified international terminology.³ Ethnography, on the one hand by serving descriptions of outer appearance of recent villages and on the other hand by separating the earlier elements of the settlements, provides useful information for historical, historical geographical and archaeological research as well.

In contrast to ethnographical studies, historical geography is deeply rooted in foreign typologies. In the 1920s Gyula Princz, influenced by the German research, worked out a settlement typology based on regional and ethnic aspects.⁴ Following the works of him and other outstanding geologists and historians like Pál Teleki and Zsigmond Bátky, the main types of Hungarian settlements were summarized by Tibor Mendöl on the basis of the German typology.⁵ Beside making classifications, he points out that the different categories must be interpreted by functional roles. In other words, the meaning of typology is in the economic and social background behind the physical forms. Recent morphological studies still use his classification which contains the following village forms: farmsteads; group settlements; villages with round layout; street villages; villages with chessboard layout; villages with long plots.⁶

Mendöl's typology was adopted by historians and became widely accepted in the archaeological research as well. Besides application to the system of categories, historians also treated the ground plans of settlements as starting points of further conclusions. In a wide range of historical studies, the layout of towns and villages are considered as the last phase of development, incorporating many fragmentary elements of earlier forms of the given settlement.

István Györffy was one of the first to apply the topographical method when he traced back the ground-plans of some towns in the Hungarian Great Plain to the nomadic ages, considering the gardens surrounding the core of the settlements as remains of earlier pastures.⁷

The same method was used in the case of several Hungarian towns from the end of the 1950's. The present town plan was taken as a startingpoint, and by using historical and archaeological data, the medieval layout of towns became deducible. Erik Fügedi, in the case of Óbuda⁸ and András Kubinyi, in his study about economical process of Budafelhévíz,⁹ applied to the method the so-called "Verfassungstopographie".¹⁰ Because of the lack of suitable historical data, inevitably the town layout, its changes and its archaeological features, become sources for the town's development. Jenő Major¹¹ on the basis of archaeological and historical data has reconstructed the plan of medieval Sopron. By comparing it with the recent ground-plan he pointed out the phases of town development and the economic, social features behind them.

A short but fundamental paper was published by György Granasztói about the role of Hungarian topographical research.¹² He has given a summary about the tasks (reconstruction, analysis, search for analogy), the subjects (the street network, plot system, market place, town wall) and the possible causes of the topographical evolution (the changes in environment, in municipal law, in trade, etc.).

The next step toward a more elaborate pattern was András Kubinyi's work about market towns in the Hungarian Great Plain.¹³ New types of ground-plans were recognised by him, like the settlement with market

³ For the summary of methods and results of the ethnographical research see: NOVÁK (1986)

⁴ PRINCZ (1922)

⁵ MENDÖL (1963)

⁶ Definitions of the different types can be found in: MENDÖL (1963) 179–264.

⁷ GYÖRFFY (1926)

⁸ FÜGEDI (1959)

⁹ KUBINYI (1964)

¹⁰ STRAHM (1950)

¹¹ MAJOR (1965)

¹² GRANASZTÓI (1964)

¹³ KUBINYI (1983)

place and the merging town. More importantly, he identified the different forms within one settlement and by using them distinguished the principal stages of the town development.

Reconstructions based on medieval charters were born in the field of village structures simply because they have simpler ground-plans. The initiative was taken by historical geographers, when Jenő Major called the attention to the topographical descriptions of the medieval charters.¹⁴ He stressed that if spatial connections between the different descriptive elements of a given charter can be clarified, then one has a chance to make a reconstruction about at least a part of the early village. In the case of detailed sources, like the charters about perambulate of bounds or division of estates, a rather complex and exact map can be available. Another novelty of his work is that by identifying certain topographical elements in the recent landscape he was able to deduce the measures of some plots.

Some years later, historians probably influenced by Major's argument, continued the investigation. One of the most important works is the book written by István Szabó in 1969.¹⁵ He examined various aspects of the village history including the structures of the settlements and the field systems as well. Many layouts or approximate street networks are given in his work based on medieval charters. By using data of written sources from the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries and comparing them with the present layouts he identified the cores and the later expansion of some villages.

Not only the charters from Middle Ages but the early modern maps too constituted the sources of Ferenc Maksay's work on medieval villages.¹⁶ Comparing the plans of recent villages and maps from the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries, he demonstrated that many of the settlements show continuity from the Middle Ages. In his view the early cores of the villages are considered in some way as separate units within the settlements, however he does not ignore the fact that the appearance of later changes can be seen as similar features. Consequently, on the one hand morphology can serve to develop generalized connections between history and topography, but on the other hand it is vital to keep in mind that all cases are different and need careful research.

Because of the small quantity of historical sources concerning the image of settlements from medieval territory of Hungary, the importance of archaeological research must be emphasized. Results of excavations show those situations that are supposed to be deduced from today's settlement forms by the other disciplines. Nevertheless, attention must be paid to the fact that the majority of the time detailed archaeological surveys can be made only on a part of the area of the given village. Imre Holl collects and analyses the structures of excavated villages from the High Middle Ages in his article and points out how the order of tofts became closed and their size decreased in the course of village development.¹⁷

In the area of farming systems, in contrast to the typology of settlements, the first pioneer works were born in agrarian history at the end of the last century.¹⁸ Tagányi's book on common field systems was the first work that gave an exact and detailed description about the yearly distributed fields on the basis of written sources.

Historians, setting out mainly from Tagányi's work, investigate the development of agrarian techniques, forms of landholding and field systems from the fallow system to the two- and three-field systems. The first summaries are given by such influential scholars than István Szabó¹⁹ and Ferenc Maksay.²⁰ Following the results of the geographical historian Tibor Mendöl, they connect the two- and three-field systems with street villages and group settlements, but at the same time they state that different field systems might occur within the township of a village. Whereas Szabó takes over the method, worked out by Jenő Major, with regard to the reconstruction of the plot system, he does not apply it in connection with the cultivated area of settlements.

In the 1970s besides the summary of medieval agrarian history written by István Szabó, two papers were published about the relationship between the inhabited part of the settlement and the cultivated area of the village. László Földes states²¹ that in the region of "Szepesség" where the plots in the village formed groups, the fields belonging to the given groups laid next each other in the outfield too. In essence, the remains of an earlier

¹⁴ MAJOR (1961)

¹⁸ WENZEL (1887); TAGÁNYI (1950)

¹⁵ SZABÓ (1969)

¹⁹ SZABÓ (1975)

¹⁶ MAK SAY (1971)

²⁰ MAK SAY (1971)

¹⁷ HOLL (1985)

²¹ FÖLDÉS (1978)

plot system were still visible in the fifteenth century. With regard to the villages in the mentioned region founded by deforestation, Adrienn Körmendy²² assumes that the movement of German settlers (so-called hospes) was the background of many foundations in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries.

Both the field system and the structure of the toft system have been described by Jenő Szűcs in his posthumous monograph, published in 1993.²³ In his theory the changes in the village structure and field system are connected on the one hand with the results of the Mongolian invasion and that of internal developments towards to unified peasantry, and on the other hand with the agrarian innovation of the usage of the heavy moulded plough.

Among the ethnographers, the outstanding scholar, Márta Belényesy's studies provide new aspects for agrarian history and her works partly influenced the historical research as well.²⁴ Belényesy's articles contain various aspects of the medieval agriculture; among others, the origins and development of two- and three-field system and the complexity of the land usage. On the basis of systematic examination of historical and ethnographical sources, she was able to reconstruct different field systems.²⁵

Ethnography, examining origins of recent field systems, deduce the possible elements of earlier farming system from today's land usage. In this sense, its methods show close relations with that of landscape archaeology. Indeed, ethnographical descriptions of clearings can be regarded as starting points for the discovery of remains of medieval parcels in archaeology.²⁶

Archaeological surveys on relics of early arable land, that began in the 70s, covers the four works of Gyula Nováki and István Torma. Their studies provide revealing information about the form and the size of the parcels, about their position in the township and in the landscape and, last but not least, about the relationship between the cultivated land and the inner area of the village. First, Nováki came up with evidence of earlier clearings, that remained as terraces and rows of stones in the landscape.²⁷ The width of the parcels from Nagybörzsöny (county Pest) are between 15 and 35 meters and they are 100–130 meters long. In the case of the deserted medieval village Kosba (county Tolna), that was founded by deforestation, István Torma points out that the parcels have very different sizes ranging 5 to 40 meters.²⁸ The investigation made in Sarvaly (county Veszprém), first challenged the traditionally accepted theory about the similarity of field patterns in the villages.²⁹ Equally importantly, in Szentmihály (county Zala), Nováki was able to reconstruct a part of the parcels joined to the plots.³⁰ He also proved that these parcels create the infield, which had been known formerly only from historical evidences.

The present introduction into the state of Hungarian research aims at providing an initial insight into the multidisciplinary nature of the problems and to point what were the first steps on the way to constructing a more colourful image of settlement structures.

2. STUDY ON VILLAGE STRUCTURE AND FIELD SYSTEMS OF MEDIEVAL CSEPELY

2.1. Methods and sources

The reconstruction of medieval Csepely will mainly be achieved on the basis of evidence drawn from the division charter of 1412.³¹ The document survived as a copy in a charter from 1436, and was the first conclusion of the lawsuit begun between 1392 and 1396.

The source, considering the very detailed description of the village, is one of the most unique division of estate in comparison with medieval documents in Hungary. Though, the peculiar source is published since 1985 and its use in studying fifteenth century image of the village seems to be obvious, the treatment of the document

²² KÖRMENDY (1974)

²⁷ NOVÁKI (1975–1977)

²³ SZÜCS (1993a) 155–222.

²⁸ TORMA (1981)

²⁴ BELÉNYESY (1958a)

²⁹ NOVÁKI (1984–1985)

²⁵ BELÉNYESY (1964); BELÉNYESY (1960)

³⁰ NOVÁKI (1990)

²⁶ BALASSA (1964); HOFFMANN (1956)

³¹ MOL DI. 44118. Published in: BORSA (1985)

remained unaccomplished until recent time. In 1995, István Draskóczy published a map of the inner area and fields of 15th century Csepely on the basis of the document.³² Although the reconstruction of the inner area made by him is very similar to the reconstruction appeared in the recent work, the image of the 15th century fields shows remarkable differences mainly in the size of arable lands. Nevertheless, the main reason for dealing with the subject is not the different solutions of the reconstructions, but the necessity and possibility of analyzing the drawn image of the village.

We have the chance to reconstruct the ground plan of a medieval village because data of the charter about positions of plots, arable lands, meadows, vines and woodlands, and the description of spatial relations between them give us possibility to deduce the medieval settlement structure. In addition, field names, mentioned in the document and used today as well help to identify some areas of fifteenth century Csepely. For envisioning the basic features of the village form and its later changes, we also rely on the Ordinance Survey from 1784.³³ In apart from historical and historical geographical methods, archaeological field walking and survey clarify the features of the terrain, the sites of the deserted neighbouring villages and relations between the different settlement elements.

Fifteenth century landholders appeared gradually in Csepely during the period between 1138 and 1390. The settlement has been mentioned for the first time in 1138 when King Béla II donated ten vines and twenty vine-workers to the provostship of Dömös in the village.³⁴ The next reference to Csepely is the charter made out in 1193 for Knights of Saint John in Fehérvár which provides one *aratum* land to them.³⁵ The next landholders in Csepely were the Saint Nicolas collegiate church of Fehérvár, given ten *mansiones*³⁶ and five vines in 1215³⁷ and the chapter of Fehérvár which received eighteen *mansiones* with fields in 1229.³⁸ The Kátai family first appeared in Csepely in 1248³⁹ and the Osztopáni family obtained lands for plots, vines, meadows and woodlands in the village in 1276.⁴⁰ The first document to mention the treasurer of Fehérvár dates from 1327.⁴¹ The Carthusian prior of Lövöld obtained thirty seven plots in 1390, when King Sigismund exchanged the estate of Karád for the estate of the prior in Baharc.⁴² It is not clear from the documents when the bishop of Veszprém first received possessions in Csepely.

All the fifteenth century landholders were present in Csepely for the beginning of the 1390s onwards; and around that time the provost of Dömös applied for marking his possessions held in the village. The Kátai, Osztopáni and Nezsai families protested against the application of the provost and, to strengthen their opposition, introduced earlier donation charters as well. According to the document from 1412, the palatine, Nicolas Garai, ordered his people and delegates of the chapter to take stock of all the plots, arable lands, vines, meadows and woodlands and to distribute the fields among the landholders according to their deeds of ownership.

Apart from the division charter other valuable sources provide data about the topographical elements of Csepely before 1412. First, the documents of the lawsuit taken from 1316 to 1320, in which Paul son of Roland gives a piece of land and three plots to Demeter son of Peter. The description of field boundaries includes the

³² GLATZ (1995) 41.

³³ Collo VIII. Sectio 21. and Collo IX. Sectio 22. tables.

³⁴ FEJÉR (1829) 2. 94–109. 105. “In villa Cepel sunt decem vineae, cum viginti vinitoribus, quorum nomina sunt: Guku, Munos, Simudi, Bebath, Damian, Sarlaudi, et quos praescripsimus in numero suorum, qui dant panem.”

³⁵ REISZIG (1928) 102.

³⁶ The word *mansio*, during the process of formation of the later plot (*sessio*) in the eleventh-thirteenth century was applied, first of all, to servant family but also to servant person, house or toft. From the thirteenth century, instead of *mansio*, the technical term of *sessio* was used to indicate plot as a basic unit of taxation and husbandry. For more details see: BOLLA (1961)

³⁷ SZENTPÉTERY–BOSA (1961) 125. no. 2600. “Item habet in villa Chepel quinque vineas et terram et fenum et silvas et decem

mansiones vinitorum, quo[rum no]mina sunt: Venth cum filio suo nomine Zenthes, Chomotoy, Petrus, Mogd, Cheth, Cegzew.”

³⁸ FEJÉR (1829) 3. 2. 172–189. 180. “In villa Chepel octodecim mansiones exceptis paruulis et iuuenibus, terra ad tria aratra, foenaretum viginti iugera, vineas quadraginta, siluam sexaginta iugera.”

³⁹ Copies of the document can be found in the charter from 1436 (MOL DI. 44118). Published in: BOSA (1985) 19–39. lines 21–24.

⁴⁰ SZENTPÉTERY–BOSA 1961 177. no. 2756. “... terrarum populorum ducalium in Chepel existentium in numero triginta quinque iugerum pro loco sessionali myxtim existentium, septem vineas, feñile in duobus locis falcature quatuor hominum ac silvam super quatuor iugeribus terre Lorando filio Thome et suis heredibus perpetus dedisset et statui fecisset”

⁴¹ MOL DI. 44118 Published in: BOSA (1985) 26–27. lines 56–61.

⁴² DEDEK (1889) 141.

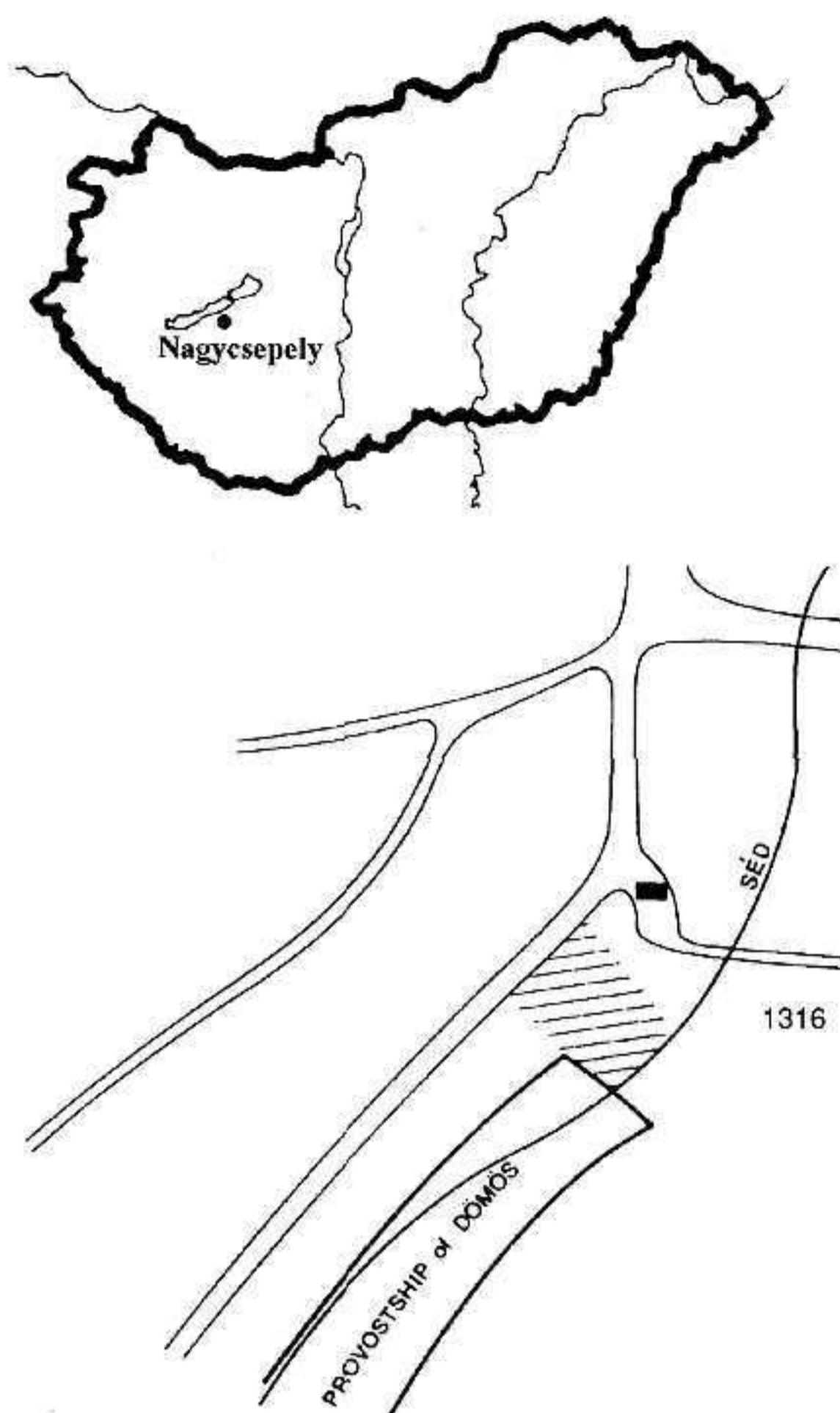


Fig. 1. Reconstruction based on the document of 1316.

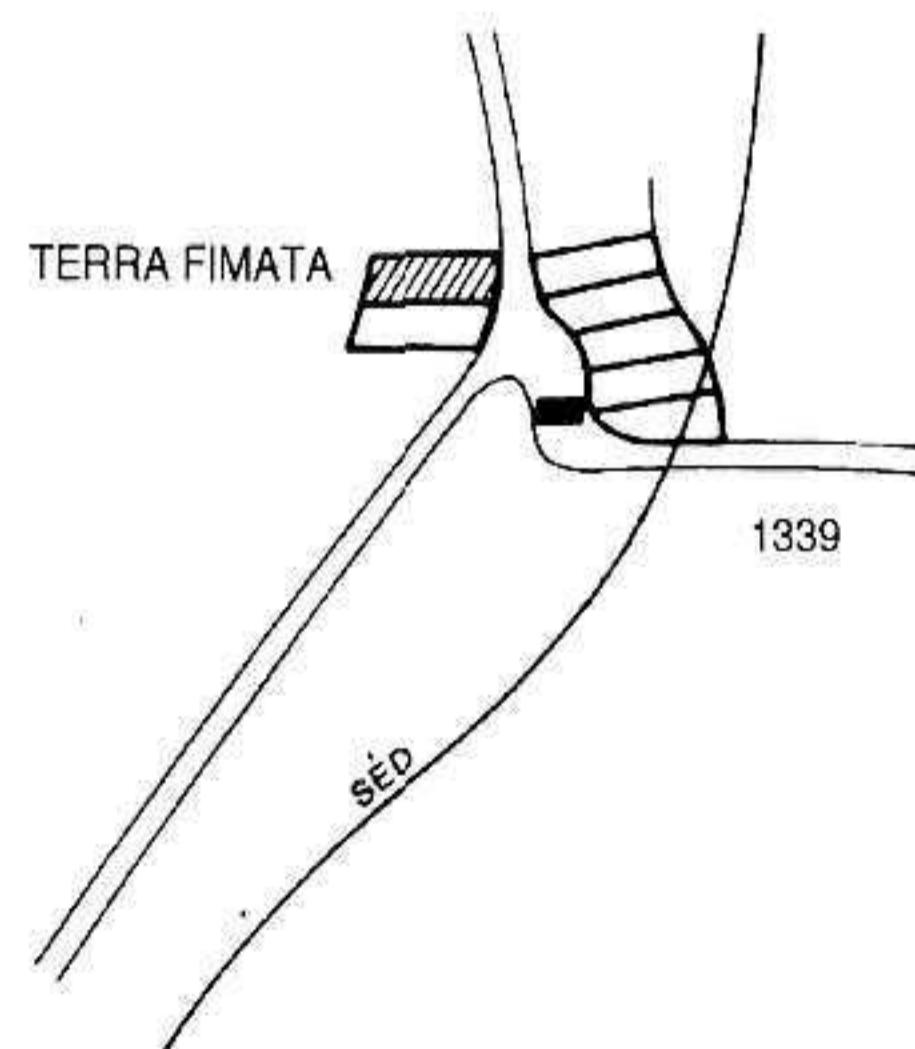


Fig. 2. Reconstruction based on the document of 1339.

parish church, a meadow situated south of the church and a stream flowing northward toward the church.⁴³ The discussed section of the document allows us to draw a map of the given territory. (Fig 1.)

Similarly profitable source is the description from 1339, in which Jacob son of Christopher Csepeli sold his toft to Emericus, son of Gwrk (Györk), for 1.5 marks.⁴⁴ The document says that west of the plot situates the toft of Saint Laurence church, the parish church. To the south of the sold toft lays the plot of treasurer in Fehérvár, and north of the plot lays the *terra simata* of Jacob. Thus, the parish church with its street, surrounding plots and meadow becomes identifiable already at the beginning of the fourteenth century. (Fig. 2.)

In the same year, the bishop of Veszprém became embroiled in a lawsuit against the sons of John Várangi for a meadow and a piece of arable land along the boundaries of the villages of Csepely, Várang and Kötce.⁴⁵

In the perambulation document of Teleki from 1429, Csepely appears as neighbouring settlement. One of the two roads running southward from Teleki led to Várang and the other ended in Csepely.⁴⁶

While the population gradually disappeared during the Turkish invasion, the village was not destroyed definitively. According to the Turkish Exchequer Rolls, Csepely contained 8 households in 1563. The village does not appear in the register from 1571 but by 1580 18 households were drawn up in the sources.⁴⁷ Consequently, Csepely was resettled very soon after the temporary evacuation of the population during the Turkish wars and by the beginning of the 18th century (1715)⁴⁸ the bishop of Veszprém already had 15 plots in the village.

2.2. Reconstructing the inner area

Before starting this section I would like to delineate the geographical area under investigation. Csepely, or Nagycsepely as it called today, lies along the edge of the lower Nagycsepely-valley within the Külső-Somogyi hills in the western part of Hungary. The adjacent villages, Várang and Fehéregyház, identified by archaeological field-walking, and the northern neighbouring village, Teleki, characteristically lie on the edge between the back of the hill and the valley. In case of Csepely, the village not only assimilates to the form of the valley but also follows the course of the stream called Séd which flows through the village.

From the description of the plot allocation in the charter of 1412, the ground plan of the inner area of the village becomes clear. (Fig. 3.) The division charter, following the order of the landholders' appearance in Csepely, begins with the plots of the provostship of Dömös and says:

„First, namely for lord Peter, the provost of Dömös his shares, thirty *mansiones*, twenty are habited and ten deserted, namely three *mansiones* [are situated] on the eastern line, behind the shares of the treasurer of Fehérvár on the southern end, fourteen *mansiones* are on the same eastern line, [lying] from the shares of the treasurer to the church of Saint Laurence Martyr, ten *mansiones* on the western line, [lying] from the southern end of the western line toward the north and here are also three *mansiones* between two streets...”⁴⁹

⁴³ MOL DI. (44118) Published in: BORSA (1985) 22–23. lines 27–30. 28–29. “...iuxta quam terram a [par]te parochialis ecclesie esset fundus curie iobagionis filiorum Nana et in [termi]nis terre eorundem filiorum Nana cum longitudine iret ad partem meridionalem usque ad pratum et aquam et in meatu aque declinaret ad partem occidentis et perveniret ad terminum terre ecclesie Demesiensis et in termino terre eiusdem ecclesie reflecteretur ad partem septentrionis et iret usque ad medietatem unius vici, per quem [ir]et ad ecclesiam...”

⁴⁴ MOL DI. 44118 Published in: BORSA (1961) 27. lines 62–64. 62. “... predictus Iacobus unum fundum curie sue fere alterum dimidium iugeris terre in se continentem, iuxta quem locum sessionalem seu fundum curie a parte meridionali locus sessionalis iobagionis custodis ecclesie Albensis, a parte occidentis fundus curie ecclesie Sancti Laurentii martiris de eadem Chepel et a parte septentrionali terra simata eiusdem Iacobi suisset...”

⁴⁵ KUMOROVITZ (1963) 128–129.

⁴⁶ MOL DI. 10474. Published in: ERDÉLYI–SÖRÖS (1902) 649–657. no. 119.

⁴⁷ VELICS–KAMMERER (1886) 177., 327.

⁴⁸ REISZIG 117.

⁴⁹ “Primo videlicet prelibato domino Petro preposito Demesiensi cum portione sua actenus servata triginta mansiones, viginti populosas et decem desertas videlicet in linea orientali retro portionem dicti custodis Albensis in fine a meridie tres mansiones in eademque linea orientali incipiendo ab eadem portione custodis usque ecclesiam Sancti Laurentii martyris quatuordecim, in linea vero occidentali incipiendo a meridie et fine eiusdem linee occidentalis versus aquilonem decem, ibidem etiam inter duas vias tres mansiones...” lines 85–86.

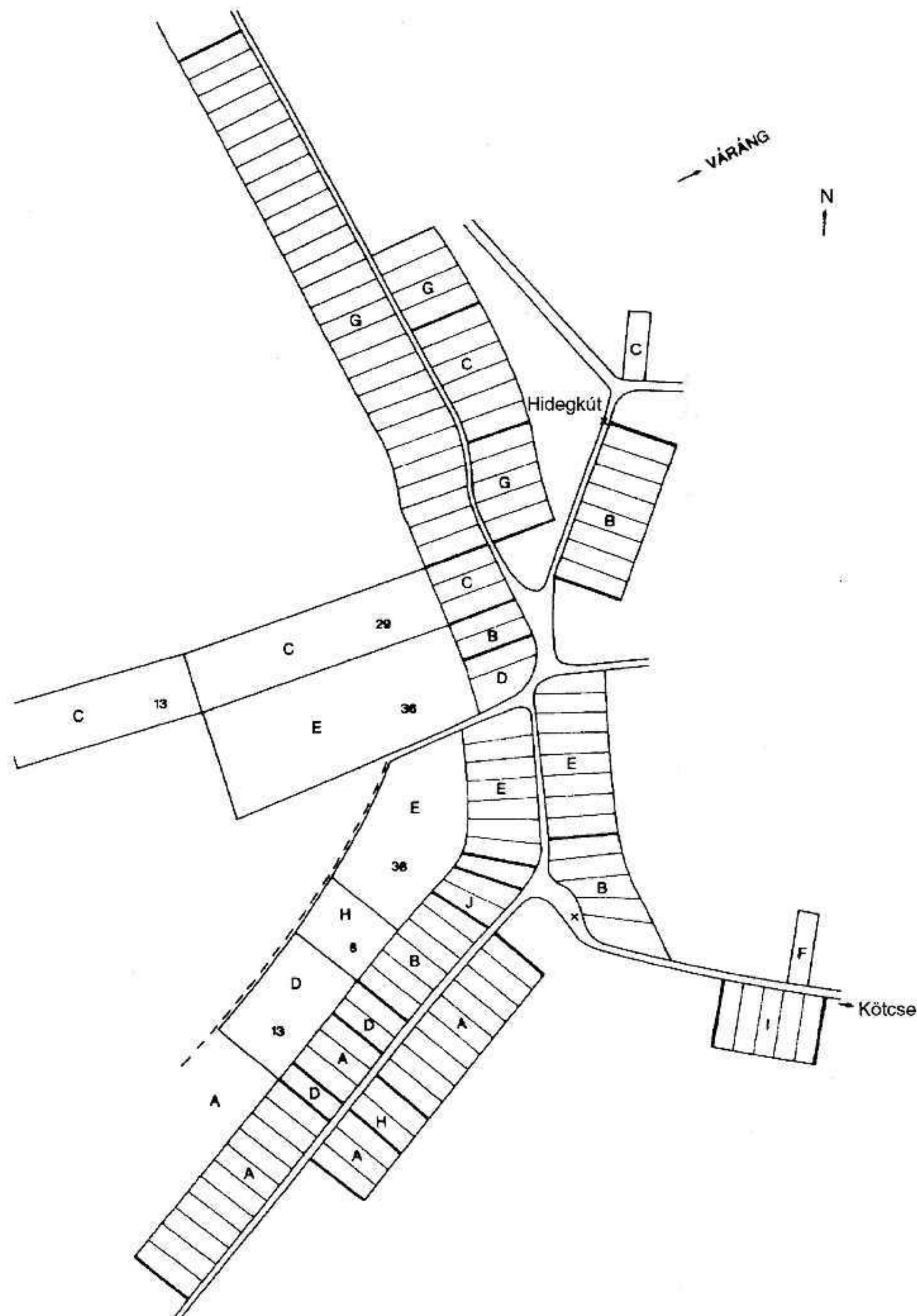


Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the inner area of Csepely based on the division charter from 1412.
 (A = Provostship of Dömös; B = Chapter of Fehérvár; C = Saint Nicolas collegiate church of Fehérvár; D = Osztopáni family; E = Kátai family; F = Laurence, son of Demeter; G = Prior of Lövöld; H = Treasurer of Fehérvár; I = Nicolas Nézsai and Nicolas Cső; J = Bishopric of Veszprém)

The expression of “between two streets” identifies with the territory between the street of the parish church and the road running parallel with that street, because, with regard to arable lands the source mentions a road situated behind the gardens. Thus, the plots of the provostship align on the eastern side of the main street from the south to the street of the parish church, surrounding the plots of the treasurer in Fehérvár („two plots with one gate on the eastern line on the south between the shares belonging to the provost in Dömös”⁵⁰). The provostship has thirteen plots on the western side of the main street.

The Saint Nicolas collegiate church has the following plots.

“For the Saint Nicolas the Confessor church ten *mansiones*, namely six habited ones to the north between two streets, near the well called Hydegkwth, three similarly habited *mansiones* on the north, on the western line between the two field marks accumulated by them, on the first [mansiō] lives Peter son of Saoul, on the second [lives] Peter, son of Michael and on the third [lives] Mark the tailor and his son Sebastian; the tenth and last deserted [plot] is situated near possession Varang, over the mentioned well Hydegkwth, with their gardens...”⁵¹

According to this extract from the charter, six plots situate on the north, between the two streets, near the well called Hidegkút (Cold well). Hidegkút is today called Hidegtó⁵² (Cold pond), lies at the spot where the north-eastern side street turns towards the north. The collegiate church also hold three plots on the western side of the main street and one plot along the eastern side street situated over Hidegkút and near Várang. The village of Várang existed only until the Turkish invasion between the villages Csepely and Kötce. On the basis of data from written sources, field names (Várangi meadow)⁵³ and field walking, its site and remains can be identified. With reference to the shares of the chapter in Fehérvár, the document also provides information about the position of the plot on the eastern side of the main street and lays in a north-south direction.⁵⁴

Chapter of Fehérvár holds twenty one plots in the settlement.

„Then, for the provost and chapter of Fehérvár twenty one *mansiones*, namely six habited *mansiones* on the western line beginning at and including the *mansiō* of Laurence, son of Demeter to [the plot of] Matthew, the bondsman of the bishop of Veszprém; first [it has] five *mansiones*, on the eastern line, behind the mentioned Saint Laurence church, beginning next the shares of the mentioned provostship of Dömös on the north, one of them is deserted and the others are habited; [it has] two *mansiones*, one habited and one deserted, on the western line, south of the shares of the mentioned Saint Nicolas the Confessor Church; furthermore eight deserted *mansiones* near Varang possession, next the mentioned well Hydegkwth and the *sessio* of Saint Nicolas the Confessor Church whose *sessio* lies from the south towards the north.”⁵⁵

Relying upon the division charter, the chapter has six plots on the western side of the main street. The six habited *mansiō* lie between the plot belonging to the bishop of Veszprém and that of the sons of Dominic Osztópáni. Five plots, among which one is deserted and four are habited, are situated on the eastern line behind and next to the parish church. One habited and one deserted *mansiō* lie on the western line and eight deserted *mansiō* on the eastern side of the main street, between Hidegkút and Várang.

⁵⁰ “... duas sessiones unam portam habentes in linea orientali a meridie inter portionem dicti prepositi Demesiensis...” line 122.

⁵¹ “... pro dicta ecclesia Beati Nicolai confessoris decem *mansiones* videlicet a parte aquilonis inter duos vicos prope puteum Hydegkwth dictum sex *mansiones* populosas, necnon ab eadem plaga aquilonis in linea occidentali inter duas metas terreas per ipsos cumulare factas tres *mansiones* similiter populosas, in quarum una Petrus filius Saoul, in secunda Petrus filius Michaelis et in tertia Marcus sartor et Sebastianus filius eiusdem residissent ac decimam et ultimam desertam a parte possessionis Varangh trans predictum puteum Hydegkwth existentem cum ortis earundem...” lines 93–95.

⁵² VÉGH (1974) 203.

⁵³ VÉGH (1974) 203.

⁵⁴ “... sessionem dicte ecclesie Sancti Nicolai eadem sessione a meridie remanente versus aquilonem protractas...” line 100.

⁵⁵ “Post hoc autem eisdem preposito et capitulo Albensi viginti unam *mansiones* videlicet in linea occidentali incipiendi a *mansiō* dicti Laurentii filii Demetrii eadem *mansiō* inclusa usque sessionem Matheus iobagionis episcopatus Vespremiensis sex *mansiones* populose, primo in linea orientali retro prefatam ecclesiam Sancti Laurentii incipiendo in vicinitate portionis prefati prepositi Demesiensis versus aquilonem quinque *mansiones*, unam desertem et reliquias populosas, item duas *mansiones*, unam populosa et aliam desertam in linea occidentali iuxta portionem prefate ecclesie Beati Nicolai confessoris a meridie existentes, preterea octo *mansiones* desertas a parte prefate possessionis Varangh iuxta predictum puteum Hydegkwth et sessionem dicte ecclesie Sancti Nicolai eadem sessione a meridie remanente versus aquilonem protractas;” lines 98–100.

Martin Kátai and his son Michael, obtained the following fourteen plots:

„Then for the mentioned Michael, son of Martin from Káta, eleven *sessio*, seven habited ones on the eastern line beginning from the *sessio* of Dennis, son of Demeter, bondsman⁵⁶ of the mentioned provostship and chapter in Fehérvár, [lying] towards the north to the road; and four deserted [plots] on the western line opposite to those seven *sessio*, beginning from the *sessio* of the parish priest towards the north” “three deserted *sessio* [are situated] on the mentioned western line, next and near to his other plots, towards the north, to the adjacent street...”⁵⁷

Regarding these tofts the document is so clear that there can be no doubt concerning the position of the plots. The Kátai family had seven habited plots situated on the eastern line between the road and the plots of the chapter of Fehérvár and another seven plots on the other side of the main street opposite to the former seven plots.

The next landholder is the treasurer of Fehérvár who has “two plots which has one gate [lying] on the eastern line in south, between the shares of the mentioned provostship in Dömös”.⁵⁸

The Carthusian order in Lövöld occupies thirty seven plots in the village.

„Then for the prior of Lövöld thirty seven *sessio*, namely twenty two habited and fifteen deserted [plots] are situated on both sides of the plots of the mentioned Saint Nicolas the Confessor church, between the two streets, and on the north, opposite to his adjacent plots.”⁵⁹

In this case, the charter is not precise enough to make an exact reconstruction of the order of the plots, therefore, the plots are placed on the map according to the sizes of the mentioned territories. The plots are put on both sides of the tofts belonging to the collegiate church of Fehérvár, between the two streets on the north and opposite to those plots in the northwestern part of the village.

Dennis and George, sons of Dominic Osztopáni, owned the following shares:

„Then for the mentioned Dennis and George, sons of Dominic from Osztopán five *sessio*, namely three habited and two deserted ones, one of them is between the two roads, in the middle of (?) the bondsman of the provostship of Dömös and was inhabited by Demeter, son of Michael, and his son Laurence; four [plots locate] on the western line, two of them are next and north of the share of the mentioned provostship of Dömös and one of them is inhabited by Sebastian, son of Peter and the other one by Koos, also called Theke; two other deserted [plots] are west of the shares of the mentioned provostship and chapter of Fehérvár.”⁶⁰

In other words, the sons of Dominic Osztopáni had one plot between the plots of the chapter of Fehérvár and that of the provostship of Dömös. They possessed two plots situated between the plots of the provost and two plots on the western line, west of the two plots belonging to the chapter in Fehérvár in northern part of Csepely.

Nicolas, son of Thomas Nesai, and Nicolas, son of Andrew Cső, also had shares in the village.

⁵⁶ Since “bondsman” is the closest English word to the latin term “*iobagiones*” that occurs in the document, the sentence is translated this way. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that people called *iobagiones* in Hungary, had special status. Because the strata became unified, in the thirteenth century, by incorporation of servant people (*servus*) as well as more or less free persons (*liber*, *libertinus*), its members had the right to move and also to inherit their plots. Consequently, as *iobagioni* were not totally bound to their landlords, they always had the possibility for social mobility. For more detailed information see: SZÜCS (1981)

⁵⁷ “Exinde autem prefato Michaeli filio Martini de Katha undecim sessiones, septem in linea orientali incipiendo a sessione Dionisii filii Demetrii *iobagionis* dictorum prepositi et capituli Albensis versus aquilonem usque viam protractas populosas ac quator desertas in linea occidentali ex opposito earundem septem sessionum incipiendo a sessione plebani versus aquilonem adiacentes;” line 116.

“... tres sessiones desertas in dicta linea occidentali secus et iuxta alias sessiones eiusdem ab aquilone usque viam adiacentes...” line 145.

⁵⁸ “... duas sessiones unam portam habentes in linea orientali a meridie inter portionem dicti prepositi Demesiensis ...” line 122.

⁵⁹ “Deinde vero priori de Leweld triginta septem sessiones, viginti duas populosas ac quindecim desertas ex utraque parte locorum sessionalium dicte ecclesie Sancti Nicolai confessoris inter duos vicos existentium et ab aquilone ex opposito earundem sessionum adiacentes;” line 125.

⁶⁰ “Post hoc autem prefatis Dyonisio et Georgii filiis Dominici de Ozthopan quinque sessiones tres populosas et duas desertas unam, inter duas vias in medio *iobagionum* prefati prepositi Demesiensis, in quo Demetrius filius Michaelis et Laurentis filius eiusdem residerent, quatuor in linea occidentali, duas iuxta portionem prefati prepositi Demesiensis ab aquilone, in quarum una Sebastianus filius Petri et in alia Koos dictus Theke commorarent ac alias duas desertas ibidem iuxta portionem predictorum prepositi et capituli Albensis ab occidente adiacentes;” lines 133–134.

„Then for Nicolas, son of Thomas from Nesa and for the other Nicolas, son of Andrew Cső, a piece of land suitable for five plots [situated] under the hill next the road leading from Chepel to Kekche”⁶¹

The earlier road to Kötcsé could either have lain on the line of today’s concrete road leading towards Kötcsé or the hollow way next to the parish church. At first glance, the expression “under the hill” supports the idea that this road was the hollow way. But this impression is contradicted by the fact that it is not possible to place five plots onto the steep slope south of the church. With regard to the lands belonging to those plots, the charter mentions meadows behind the plots, a location that could only be next the present-day road to Kötcsé.

The next landholder was the bishop of Veszprém who has “two plots with one gate situated to the south of the plot belonging to the parish priest”.⁶²

Finally, the document gives the following shares to Laurence, son of Demeter.

„Furthermore for the mentioned Laurence, son of Demeter land suitable for one plot [situated] to the east, between the two roads leading from Chepel to Kekche, opposite to the plots belonging to the two Nicolas”.⁶³

In conclusion, the chapter intended to present the way how far can be used such a detailed medieval description for reconstruction, located into the modern landscape and to show what kind of problems may occur during the work. We may, indeed, hope for more than a simple reconstruction of plots. However, it is essential to look beyond the order of plots, since some of the details mentioned in the document allow us to draw further conclusions concerning the plot system.

2.3. Analysis of the inner area

Although, the allocation of some plots remains questionable, the structure of the village becomes clear in general. There are some uncertain elements in the reconstruction, for instance the distance between the main street and the plots along the road to Kötcsé, or the distribution of plots belonging to the Carthusian monastery.

The reconstruction of the street network is based on the division charter, but its medieval origin is additionally supported by field walking, since some of the streets appear as hollow ways in the landscape. The main street, running in south-north direction, turns to the southwest-northeast direction at the site of the parish church. One of the side-streets, for a time running parallel with the main street, eventually joins the main street from the northeast at the northern part of the village. Near this point, another side street crosses the main street at right angles. The street of the parish church leads into the main street from the east in the southern part of Csepely.

Comparing this structure with today’s street network raises similarities and differences. First of all, the spatial coincidence between them is striking. Only today’s cross-street on the southern end of the settlement does not occur in the medieval document. There is another difference between the modern and medieval image of the village. The route of the side-street, that is, the road to Kötcsé, and the territory south of that street, to the north have altered over time. According to the reconstruction, the side-street situates next to Kátai’s plots at right angles to the main street, and can be considered as a continuation of the side street opposite, on the western side of the main street. In contrast, the territory on the eastern side, opposite the plots of Nicolas Kátai is covered by buildings today. One of the intervening stages of the development can be seen on a survey from 1860.⁶⁴ (Fig. 4.) At that time on this area there was already plots and houses, and the route of the earlier street is still visible on the map.

Besides the medieval streets, the fifteenth century site of the church opposite to the plot of the parish priest and that of the commonly used well of Hidegkút are also identifiable.

The medieval Saint Laurence parish church, first referred to in the document from 1316, stood on the place of today’s Calvinist church. The construction of the modern church took place in 1784 on a small hillock at

⁶¹ “Postmodum autem Nicolao filio Thome de Nesa et altero Nicolao filio Andree Chw terram pro quinque sessionibus aptam sub monte iuxta viam de dicta Chepel ad Kekche ducentem...” lines 137–138.

⁶² “... duas sessiones unam portam habentes iuxta sessionem plebani a meridie...” line 141.

⁶³ “Preterea prefato Laurentio filio Demetrii terram pro una sessione aptam ab oriente inter duas vias de dicta Chepel ad dictam Kekche ducentes ex opposito sessionum dictorum utrorumque Nicolai...” line 143.

⁶⁴ MOL S78 174. t.

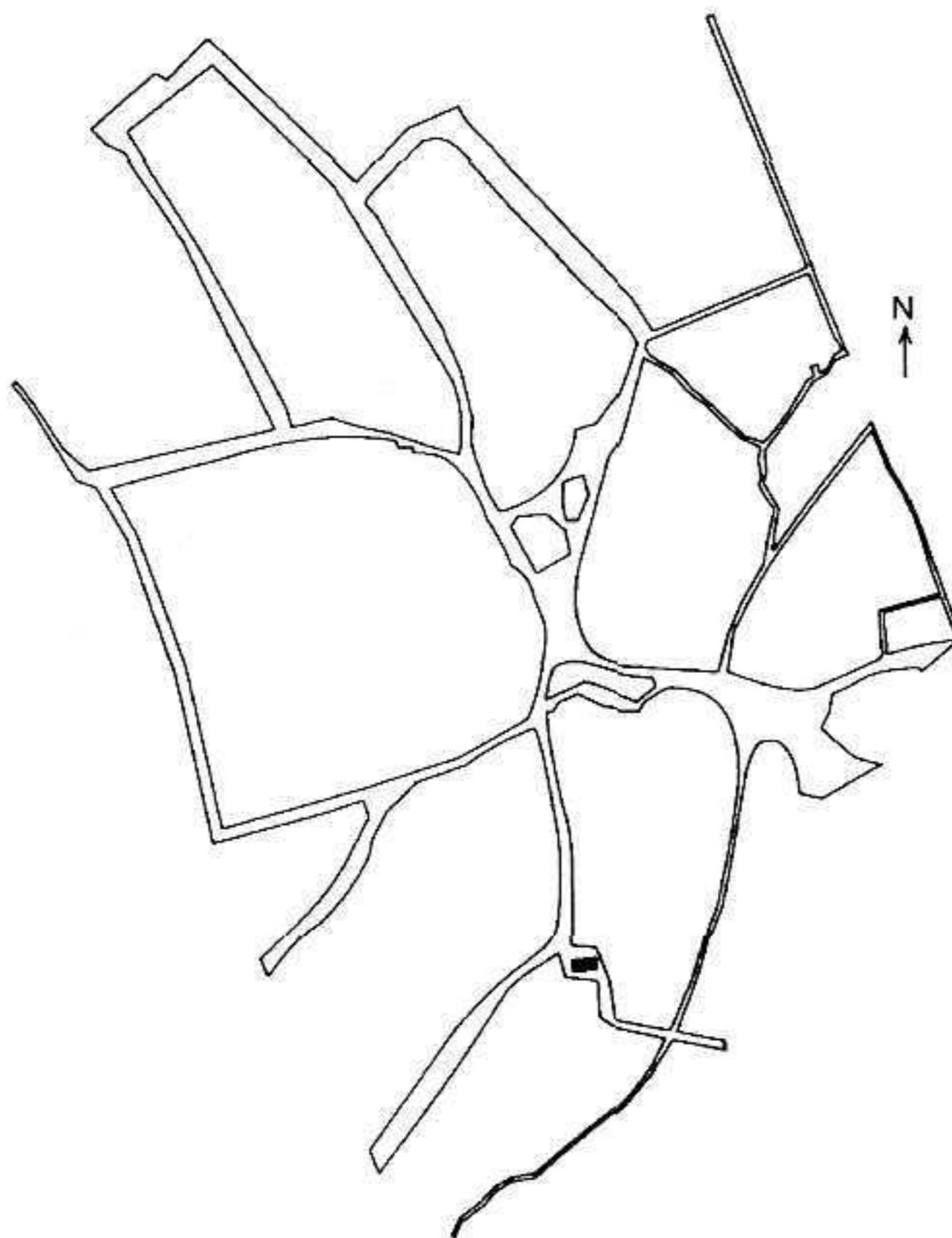


Fig. 4. Map of the inner area of Csepely in 1860. (After MOL S78 174.)

the southern part of the settlement and certainly on the remains of the earlier church building. There are other facts which support this impression. First, one can observe that today's Calvinist church shows two buttresses against the tower, originating from the Middle Ages. In addition, near the church a moulded stone displaying fine medieval profile has been found.⁶⁵

Analysis of the division document distinguishing inhabited and deserted plots gives concrete indications about the proportion of deserted plots. According to the charter, more plots were distributed in 1412 than the total amount existing in the village up to that time. Six of the hundred and twenty seven plots were only piece of land suitable for plots consequently, they were not habited at that time. The position of the newly distributed plots might indicate the direction of village expansion: towards both the north and the east. Among the remaining hundred and twenty one plots, seventy six were inhabited (63%) and forty five plots deserted (37%), a relatively high proportion of deserted plots.

Based on the quantity of inhabited plots I have deduced the number of households and estimated the population size of fifteenth century Csepely. Seventy six of the one hundred twenty seven plots were inhabited, consequently one would suppose that represented the number of households and householders in the village. However, there is an additional method by which the number of householders can be estimated and used as a control for the previous supposition. The fifteenth century charter enumerates the vines belonging to the plots along with the names of their holders, allowing the following list of householders to be compiled. (App. 1.)

⁶⁵ OMF Collection, No. 17.643.

Comparing the list with the number of inhabited plots, is no considerable difference arises between the seventy six tofts and the sixty eight to seventy vine holders. Considering the average number of village households established by István Szabó in the fifteenth century, Csepely had four times more inhabited plots than the average households established at 17.3.⁶⁶ The size of the fairly large and populous settlement is more characteristic of a market town than a village.

The number of households allows for an estimation of the population size. To begin this estimate, the average size of the households in fifteenth century Csepely must be determined. Because of the lack of suitable historical evidences, one can not find the detailed system of medieval household types in Hungary. Nevertheless, we can refer to work of Jenő Szűcs, who compares the population of villages before and after the Mongolian invasion and points out that at the end of the thirteenth century, on the one hand the simple family household became dominant and the extended family type also occurred, on the other hand the size of the households increased.⁶⁷

In Csepely, because of the archaic usage of names, where the father's name serves as the family name, a dominant type of household structure can be deduced. The most characteristic type is the simple family household, but the multiple family type, where three generations live together (George, son of Pethe, and his sons Thomas and Stephen) and the extended family (Stephen and Matthew, sons of Nicolas, or Peter and Nicolas, sons of Michael) can also be found in the village.

For the mean household size, the coefficient 5 is widely used. Not ignoring the fact, that some scholars debate this data,⁶⁸ since no other evidence exists for determining the quantity of household members in Csepely, following the normally accepted number we also apply five as a coefficient.

Regarding population size only its limits can be estimated. As it was already pointed out, the number of households was between sixty eight and seventy six. Accordingly, the size of the population is somewhere between three hundred forty and three hundred eighty.

Our document might also help determine the size of plots. The charter gives data for the widths of plots, saying that every *mansio* is thirty one and a half *ulna* measured by cloth.⁶⁹ The charter for the perambulation of the neighbouring village of Teleki from 1429 clarify the dimension of the unit of measurement. The document claims that the width of the common *iugorum* is seventeen and a half *ulna* of Buda.⁷⁰ The *ulna* of Buda, also known as *common or cloth ulna*, is 58.4 cm long.⁷¹ Using this unit of measurement, the width of a plot in Csepely is 18.3 m long. By comparing the reconstruction of the inner area and the recent 1:10000 scale map, I controlled the result. If there are two points in the village between which distance can be determined and at the same time, the reconstruction is exact between them, then the width of one plot becomes available. The "two points" for my purposes are the site of the parish church and the mouth of the northeastern side street. The distance between them is 240 meters and contains a total of 12 plots laid throughout that area in 1412. Therefore, each plot was 20 meters wide. Although, a discrepancy arises between the two data (18.3 and 20), it is not very significant. Presumably some paths leading to the fields interrupted the row of plots as they stand today. To sum up, the width of a plot in Csepely at the beginning of the fifteenth century could be between 18 and 20 meters long.

The generally accepted measure of a medieval plot in Hungary is the unit of the so-called *iugorum regale*, that is, 37.7 meters wide and 225 meters long. However, for the late Middle Ages the half of the *iugorum regale* derived from the longitudinal division in two of the earlier one *iugorum* plot became widely used. Since the width of this kind of plot (19 meters) is very close to the width of plots in Csepely, it may but not necessarily, be that the measures of the plots in Csepely have the same origins.

Let us return now to the ground plan of Csepely. The result of reconstruction showed a one kilometer long settlement. The southern end of Csepely contains features belonging to the street village type with closed

⁶⁶ SZABÓ (1966) 191.

⁶⁷ SZÜCS (1983) 136–158.

⁶⁸ For example András Kubinyi came into a different conclusion in the case of Alsónyék, where the mean household size was as high as 7.9. The reason for this, in his view, is the high number of children and the fact that in some cases more families lived together in a household. For more detailed information see: KUBINYI (1992)

⁶⁹ "... triginta unius ulnarum cum media pannis constitutarum..." line 86.

⁷⁰ "...preditum Septer ecclesie Sancti Nicolai confessoris de dicta Alba existente, viginti iugera usualia, quodlibet eorundem in latitudine decem et septem ulnas Budenses cum media faciens..."

⁷¹ BOGDÁN (1978) 103.



Fig. 5. Csepely on the First Ordinance Survey from 1783. (Collo IX. Sectio 22.)

row of plots. The middle part of the village can rank among the agglomerations, while in the north it conforms to villages with green or German type of *Angerdorf*. The analysis of the village form raises two problems. First, it demonstrates the central point of the so-called problem of typology, in the sense that the majority of villages are made up of characteristics of different types and, consequently do not conform to simple categories of village classification. However the study of settlement types should not be rejected, but research on village morphology is at the same time complicated and enhanced by the variety of aspects to be found during village investigations. The complexity of village forms should be regarded as end-products of centuries of changes, thus ground plans can be used as sources of village process.

The question is, to what extent the different morphological elements in Csepely can be considered as different phases of the village development. Regarding the development of village structure and distinguishing the original core of the medieval village, the examination of positions of the earliest plots yields controversial results. Before the Mongolian invasion (1241–1242), the provostship of Dömös, the Saint Nicolas collegiate church and the chapter of Fehérvár were present in the village. Their plots are mentioned consistently as *mansio*, that is, the earlier term for plot, in contrast to the other plots called *sessio*. All the plots of the provostship of Dömös and the eleven plots of the twenty inhabited and nine deserted plots of the chapter of Fehérvár situated on the southern part of Csepely. Three of the plots of Saint Nicolas collegiate church probably remained on their original site because of their connection to its cultivated fields. However, seven plots laid on the edematous territory between the two streets on the northern part of the village. Since, for 1390 the shares of the first landholders, including the collegiate church, reduced, it may be supposed that during the process of the division of Csepely, the chapter presented their donation charter from 1215 about the ten *mansio* whereupon they were given ten new plots on the northern area of the settlement.

Moreover, another fact reinforces the impression concerning the early origins of village settlement in the southern part of Csepely. Namely the greater certainty in the source's description of the southern part of the village. Indeed, the charter gives the exact order of plots in the south, in contrast to the often vague information on northern plots. The better defined position of the southern territory indicates that this area was more settled and perhaps at an earlier time than the other parts of Csepely. As seen already, at that time Csepely expanded northward and eastward.

The site of the parish church often located in the Middle Ages, in the center of the village, also testifies to the preeminence and earlier origins.

During the Turkish invasion Csepely became deserted for a few years. According to the Ordinance Survey from 1784, the northern part of the village was resettled first after the occupation. (Fig. 5.) The construction of the today's Calvinist church can be seen on the map some hundred meters south of the inhabited part of the eighteenth century settlement. It is certain that after the local Calvinist community received the building, earlier a Catholic church, in 1784, the southern area of Csepely became gradually resettled.⁷²

In conclusion, the exceptionally detailed description of the fifteenth century charter provides a solid basis for reconstructing the inner area of Csepely. Not only the layout of the medieval village becomes clear, but some of the problems concerning the physical appearance of the settlement can be considered solved. Apart from the questions raised with regard to Csepely itself, we also saw the difficulties in ranking villages to the particular categories of settlement typology.

2.4. Reconstructing the fields

A very important factor of a medieval settlement concerns the territory of fields surrounding the village core. Therefore the problem of village structure can not be discussed without a reconstruction of the layout of cultivated lands in the area.

The fields are reconstructed in two phases. First, the field names occurring in the source material are identified and located. After this, the names of hills, valleys, woodlands and streams in the medieval document must be identified with recent field names available in the collection of field names in the county of Somogy.⁷³ The next step is the localization of different places. In the cases, where recent names equivalent or close to their medieval counterparts become available, the contemporary regions are considered as analogous to the given fields of the fifteenth century as well. However, if only the medieval field name is available, then the descriptions of spatial relations between different places becomes a starting point for mapping.

The second stage of field reconstruction involves mapping of the places according to their cultivation and vegetation. The different places are presented in a clock-wise succession table beginning from the southern part of the village in order to clarify the references and relations between them.

Thelek-Telek

arable land:	Michael Kátai: 36 iugerum; in opposite to their plots on the western line, from the north the arable lands of Saint Nicolas collegiate church and from the south the fields of treasurer of Fehérvár Treasurer of Fehérvár: 6 iugerum; behind the plots, from the north and between the arable lands of Michael Kátai and the Osztópáni family. Osztópáni family: 13 iugerum; from the north, behind the gardens of Sebastian and Koos to Via magna
--------------	---

Halazowapa valley – Halászó

arable land:	Saint Nicolas collegiate church: 29 iugerum; from the north, behind the gardens of Peter son of Saoul, Mark tailor and Nicolas, son of Michael, to Halazowapa valley (13 iugerum)
--------------	---

Baranreh – Báránymré

arable land:	Provostship of Dömös: part of 90 iugerum; on the east, under the small woodland, opposite to Saint Laurence church, from the field mark and wild pear tree, situated next the fields to Baranreh
meadow:	Provostship of Dömös: 15 falcastrum;

Kenderatho , Road leading to the fish pond, Via magna, Zenthlelekwelge

arable land:	Osztópáni family: 6 iugerum; along the Via magna, between the fields of the treasurer of Fehérvár and the chapter of Fehérvár Treasurer of Fehérvár: 5 iugerum; in the Zenthlelekwelge, west of the road Provostship of Dömös: 87 iugerum; on the both sides of the road leading to Kenderatho Provostship of Dömös: 2 falcastrum; next to the pond Michael Kátai: 5 falcastrum; on the place called Kenderatho, north of the 2 falcastrum meadow belonging to the provostship of Dömös Saint Nicolas collegiate church: 7 falcastrum; next to the Kenderatho and the road
--------------	---

⁷² REISZIG 117.

⁷³ VÉGH (1974) 203–205.

Nadasd valley – Nádasdi arable land:	Chapter of Fehérvár: 100 iugerum regale; between the Nadasd valley and Halazowapa valley, next to and north of the road leading to Nadasd valley Osztópáni family: part of 51 iugerum; on the hillside, on the right of the entrance Saint Nicolas collegiate church: 11 iugerum;
meadow:	Chapter of Fehérvár: 1 iugerum regale; Bishop of Veszprém: 2 falcastrum; on the western side of the valley Michael Kátai: 3 falcastrum; east of the meadow of the bishop of Veszprém Carthusian monastery of Lövöld: 1 falcastrum; between the meadows of Michael Kátai and the Osztópáni family Osztópáni family: 5 falcastrum; Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 2 falcastrum; north of the meadow of the Osztópáni family
woodland:	Chapter of Fehérvár: 30 iugerum regale; on the left of the hillside
Zabowelgh valley meadow:	Provostship of Dömös: 6 falcastrum;
Pasmala – Pácsmánd arable land:	Provostship of Dömös: part of 47 iugerum; on the sites of Pasmala and Zabowelgh, between the two roads Treasurer of Fehérvár: 4 iugerum; between the arable lands of the provostship of Dömös Chapter of Fehérvár: 40 iugerum regale; on the north of the road, between an elm-bush, a field mark and a field, up to the arable land of Dominicus Osztópáni Osztópáni family: ?; among the fields of chapter in Fehérvár
vine:	Bishop of Veszprém: 1 Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 1 Prior of Lövöld: 1 Michael Kátai: 4 Chapter of Fehérvár: 4.
Ffyzegh valley – Fűző valley arable land:	Michael Kátai: 40 iugerum; next to and south of the arable lands of the bishop of Veszprém Bishop of Veszprém: 28 iugerum; between the arable lands of the prior in Lövöld and the Kátai family Prior of Lövöld: 156 iugerum; among the fields of the provostship of Dömös, the chapter of Fehérvár and that of the bishop of Veszprém Chapter of Fehérvár: part of 138 iugerum regale; from the forest called Chomberg to the road named Althalwth Laurentius son of Demetrius: 6 iugerum; on the hillside Treasurer of Fehérvár: 8 iugerum;
meadow:	Chapter of Fehérvár: 12 iugerum regale; Provostship of Dömös: 7 falcastrum;
vine:	Saint Nicolas collegiate church: 1 Chapter of Fehérvár: 12 Michael Kátai: 1 Osztópáni family: 1 Prior of Lövöld: 2 Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 1 Laurentius son of Demetrius: 1
Tothfew, Hagyothaya, Monyorosd, Iwanzeleyfely arable land:	Provostship of Dömös: 200 iugerum; on the sites called Tothfew, Hagyothaya, Monyorosd, Iwanzeleyfely, up to the boundary line of the village Visz marked by field marks erected in the Ffyzegh valley
meadow:	Treasurer of Fehérvár: 2 falcastrum; on the place named Tothfewhyd
vine:	Prior of Lövöld: 1; on Monyorosd hill Prior of Lövöld: 3; in Monyorosd valley Chapter of Fehérvár: 2; on Monyorosd hill
Dongach – Dongak vine: woodland:	Chapter of Fehérvár: 1 Laurentius son of Demetrius
Ffyzegh – Fűző hill vine:	Chapter of Fehérvár: 1 Prior of Lövöld: 1

Cherdhath – Cserhát	
vine:	Provostship of Dömös: 1 Chapter of Fehérvár: 5 Prior of Lövöld: 2 Osztópáni family: 2
Cherdiallya – Cserodal	
arable land:	Saint Nicolas collegiate church: 41 iugerum; next to Mezővölgy
vine:	Provostship of Dömös: 1
Gollyas valley – Gólya valley	
arable land:	Chapter of Ferhérvár: 30 iugerum regale; in the valley south of the walnut tree up to the arable land of Saint Nicolas collegiate church and in the Cherdiallya valley to the field marks
	Chapter of Fehérvár: part of 138 iugerum regale; from the walnut tree to the boundaries of the villages Visz, Szemes and Teleki
vine:	Provostship of Dömös: 1 Chapter of Fehérvár: 2 Prior of Lövöld: 4
Mezewelgh – Félmező	
arable land:	Chapter of Fehérvár: 3.5 iugerum regale; on the hill between Gollyas valley and Meze valley
	Saint Nicolas collegiate church: 15 iugerum;
vine:	Michael Kátai: 1 Prior of Lövöld: 5–10
Markushorhafely, Bytch – Szöcskütető	
arable land:	Chapter of Fehérvár: 40 iugerum regale; between two field marks, from the road called Thekeresarakya to the boundary of the village Teleki
woodland:	Saint Nicolas collegiate church; on the northern part of the hillside, next the arable lands of the chapter in Fehérvár from the vine of Peter, son of Saoul, to a ditch
Ord valley	
arable land:	Prior of Lövöld: 362 iugerum; next the arable lands of Saint Nicolas collegiate church, on the west and from the plots of the chapter situated near Várang to the boundary of the village Teleki, to the east
meadow:	Prior of Lövöld: 36 falcastrum; north of the plot of George the taylor
vine:	Saint Nicolas collegiate church: 2 Prior of Lövöld: 2–3
Varang – Territory nearby village Várang	
arable land:	Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 8 iugerum; on the hill, next to a small forest called Jegenyeerdo (Poplar forest), near Varang
meadow:	Chapter of Fehérvár: 6 iugerum regale; next to the mill standing near Varang, from the stream to the road leading to Kekche Saint Nicolas collegiate church: 3 falcastrum; next to and above Hydegkwth (Cold well)
Territory nearby village Kötcsé	
arable land:	Chapter of Fehérvár: 89 iugerum regale; between Chepel and Kekche Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 6 iugerum; north of the road leading to Kekche, opposite the plots situated next to the road 8 iugerum; under the hill, south of the plots situated next to the road
meadow:	Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 3 falcastrum; next to their plots, to the stream Michael Kátai: 3 falcastrum; behind and south of his plots, to the stream Chapter of Fehérvár: 1 iugerum regale; behind the plot of the chapter's bondsman living behind the parish church
woodland:	Provostship of Dömös; the woodland called Urharazthya (Lord's forest), on the south, over the Sed valley, opposite the plots of the provostship Michael Kátai; next Urharazthya
Nagzo valley – Nacco	
arable land:	Provostship of Dömös: 90 iugerum
vine:	Provostship of Dömös: 6

Nagzo hill – Nacco

- vine: Saint Nicolas collegiate church: 2
 Chapter of Fehérvár: 3
 Treasurer of Fehérvár: 1
 Michael Kátai: 4

Kalasd hill– Kalasdtető

- arable land: Chapter of Fehérvár: 13 iugerum regale;
 vine: Provostship of Dömös: 6
 Chapter of Fehérvár: 8
 Michaelis Kátai: 1
 Prior of Lövöld: 1

Kezees hill – Kösőhegy ?

- vine: Prior of Lövöld: 1

Hasallya, Hasmegefely, Hasmegallya – Hársalja

- arable land: Provostship of Dömös: part of 47 iugerum; under Hasallya hill
 Chapter of Fehérvár: 23 iugerum regale; on the top of Hamegefely hill
 vine: Prior of Lövöld: 1–5

Benevapaya valley

- arable land: Treasurer of Fehérvár: 5 iugerum;
 vine: Chapter of Fehérvár: 1
 Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 1
 woodland: Chapter of Fehérvár: 10 iugerum regale;
 Treasurer of Fehérvár; on south, next the forest of the chapter

Territory nearby village Fehéregyház

- arable land: Michael Kátai: 24 iugerum; east of the road leading to Fejereghaz, on the place called Zygeth (Island)
 10 iugerum; near Fejereghaz, on the place called Zygeth
 42 iugerum; above Mochuada pond, near Fejereghaz
 meadow: Michael Kátai: 3 falcastrum; between Chepel and Kekche, near Fejereghaz

Unidentifiable places

- Adamche: Provostship of Dömös: 1 vine
 Borsonfenew: Osztopáni family: 1 vine
 Dobrache: Prior of Lövöld: 1 vine
 Fekete mege: Prior of Lövöld: 1 vine
 Fodorzeleyfely: Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 1 vine
 Fothafenew: Osztopáni family: 1 vine
 Gwlcze hill: Provostship of Dömös: 2 vines
 Harkalyoldala: Chapter of Fehérvár: 2 vines
 Horohzeg: Treasurer of Fehérvár: 1 vine
 Michael Kátai: 1 vine
 Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 1 vine
 Oldalasnyar hill: Saint Nicolas collegiate church: 31 iugerum arable lands
 Okomlo: Michael Kátai: 2 iugerum arable lands
 Silreth: Laurentius son of Demetrius: 1 falcastrum meadow
 Thekenewsarokya valley: Prior of Lövöld: 2–6 vines
 Thekenews hill: Prior of Lövöld: 3 vines
 Michael Kátai: 1 vine
 Thengerde: Bishop of Veszprém: 1 vine
 Utas hill: Chapter of Fehérvár: 2 vines
 Michael Kátai: 1 vine
 Varasfew: Osztopáni family: 8 iugerum woodlands
 Vemedevapaya: Chapter of Fehérvár: 1 vine
 Vercheerdeye forest: Bishop of Veszprém: woodland
 Zegesey: Provostship of Dömös: 2 vines
 Zelekez: Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 1 vine
 Prior of Lövöld: 1 vine
 Zenthbenedekmezeye: Nicolas Nesai and Nicolas Cew: 48 iugerum arable lands
 Laurentius son of Demetrius: 8 iugerum arable lands

For mapping arable lands, it is essential to determine the size of the so-called *iuggerum usuale*, since the charter says that every mansio has fourteen *iuggerum* arable land defined by means of average measurement of bondsmen living in neighbouring villages.⁷⁴ Besides the official measurements of *iuggerum regale* a wide variety of local *iuggerum* were used on different territories of medieval Hungary.

The perambulation charter of Teleki from 1429 provides information about the width of *iuggerum usuale* where it says that the twenty *iuggerum usuale* Septer praedium of Saint Nicolas church, that is, seventeen and a half *ulna* of Buda wide.⁷⁵ This sentence raises some questions. First, it must be decided whether the *ulna* is used as *rőf* (58.4 cm) or *öl* (3 m).⁷⁶ If *ulna* is applied as *rőf* then the width of *iuggerum usuale* is ten and a half meters while in the case of *öl* the result is fifty three meters. Probably, the measurement used in the adjacent village of Teleki a few years later, is suitable for Csepely as well. However, it must be supposed that the perambulation document provides the exact width of the *iuggerum usuale*, because it differs from the customary unit of measurement.

In case of the cultivated land, one can also apply the method already practiced in the analysis of the inner area. At the very least the width of the *iuggerum usuale* can be established on the basis of the area of a completely cultivated territory and the amount of local *iuggerum* within it. Telek, the area behind plots of the western line, suits this kind of analysis. The territory of Telek is delimited by the plots of the provostship of Dömös to the south, and by the road called *via magna* in the west. North of Telek we find the plots of Saint Nicolas collegiate church and east of the area lie the plots of the western line. All together twenty six plots are situated along the place that is four hundred seventy five meters wide. In 1412 three of the landholders had arable lands in Telek. There are thirteen *iuggerum* belonging to the Osztopáni family on the south, six *iuggerum* belonging to the treasurer of Fehérvár and finally, thirty six *iuggerum* held by Michael Kátai on north. These shares are in total fifty five *iuggerum*, therefore the width of one *iuggerum usuale* is accordingly 8.7 meters. Although this result approximates the *iuggerum usuale* of Teleki measured by *rőf*, they are not equal.

For the purpose of further results it is necessary to reconsider the position of the mentioned fields. Presumably, the fifty five *iuggerum* land do not sit in perfect alignment to each other. Possibly, Kátai's arable lands, beside shares of the Saint Nicolas collegiate church, extend not only to the road but to Halászvölgy, as in the case of the neighbouring collegiate church's fields. If the statement is correct, then behind the four plots, next to Saint Nicolas collegiate church's lands should stand eight-eight *iuggerum usuale* arable lands, one behind the other. In this situation, forty seven *iuggerum* sit along the area of Telek, accordingly, the width of one *iuggerum* is 10.12, exactly the same as the 17.5 *rőf*.

Although, there is no information in the source about the length of the *iuggerum usuale*, on the basis of available space in Telek, the 1:10 proportion of width and length seems acceptable.

In case of meadow lands, the charter often refers to the measurement of *falcastrum*. It is widely argued in the literature that the *falcastrum* usually equalled the size or half of the size of the *iuggerum usuale*.⁷⁷ Regarding *falcastrum* there are some references to its size in the source. The twenty one plots of the chapter of Fehérvár belonged to twenty *iuggerum regale* of meadow. Seeing that the shares of the chapter were, by mistake, measured by *iuggerum regale* instead of *iuggerum usuale*, it can be supposed that the twenty *iuggerum regale* of meadow meant to be originally twenty *iuggerum usuale* or, rather, twenty *falcastrum*. Moreover, because of the unusually small size of the local *iuggerum* in Csepely, measuring *falcastrum* as half the size of *iuggerum* might be useless. As a result, the unit of *falcastrum* is identified with the size of *iuggerum usuale* in my mapping of the area.

The vineyards are listed by numbers in the document. There does not exist even indirect data about the dimensions of vineyards, therefore they are marked only by numbers in the reconstruction of the village.

In two cases the charter gives information about the unit of measurement for woodlands. Since forty *iuggerum regale* of woodlands belong to the twenty one plots of the chapter in Fehérvár, and Osztopáni's five

⁷⁴ „... quantas terras arables, prata, silvas et alias utilitates necessarias unus iobagio in vicinariis possessionibus non integrum fundum habens, sed mediocri modo more villanorum perseverans usualiter teneret et possideret et secundum hoc pro qualibet mansione quatuordecem iugera terre ...” line 87.

⁷⁵ See note 70.

⁷⁶ BOGDÁN (1978) 107–108.

⁷⁷ BOGDÁN (1978) 200.

plots receive eight *iugerum usuale* of woodlands, it is likely that about two local *iugerum* of woods was set aside for every plot. Because those woodlands are part of larger forests, only their locations are distinguished on the map.

There is an additional problem concerning units of measurement. In 1436, the sons of Michael Kátai applied to reopen the case of 1412 for the reason that in that time the fields of the chapter in Fehérvár were measured by *iugerum regale* and hence its shares crossed into the lands of the Kátai family and of the Carthusian monastery. The palatine, Michael Garai, ordered a redistribution of the fields belonging to the chapter by use of the correct measurement. Although the division charter from 1412 includes these lands measured by *iugerum regale*, they are mapped as fields allocated in local measurement.

Inasmuch as the charter does not provide information about the direction and form of the parcels or fields, the reconstruction only indicates the size, cultivation and possessors of the different shares. (Fig. 6.)

It would, of course, be quite wrong to assume that all Hungarian settlements have documents providing such an opportunity to reconstruct their medieval fields in such a detailed way. Nevertheless, the example of Csepely might cast some light on the nature of land usage in the Middle Ages, at least for the region.

2.5. Analysis of the fields

We saw at former discussion how the fields were situated within the township of Csepely at the beginning of the fifteenth century. By separation of the different elements, one can establish further conclusions concerning land usage.

The arable lands in the area of medieval Csepely are situated in valleys of the well-formed geography of the village. Different sectors of husbandry were placed on areas that provide favorable conditions for their cultivation. A considerable amount of fields run alongside the Séd stream flowing down from Várang into the pond named Kenderáztató. There are also arable lands along the streams in Nádasdi and the Fűző valley and in the southern part of the village township, where the brook now called Büdösgáti víz runs. Meadows predominantly lie in lower territories and can always be found next to streams or the pond, for that reason they are divided into smaller units and aligned near to each other. Most of the vineyards are on hills, presumably on southern slopes.

There are some sources for studying the process of land clearing and medieval silviculture, for example place-names. The name of the valley and the hill called Nacco derives from the word Nagyaszó which refers to a certain method of deforestation. During this procedure, called *aszalás* (drying), the bark of trees are stripped off around the base of the trunk and, as the circulation of sap stops, the trees wither.⁷⁸ In the fifteenth century, the sixteen vines planted on the hill and arable lands of the provost of Dömös extended to the valley making necessary a certain amount of deforestation.

One can follow the expansion of deforested areas within village boundaries by examining the medieval cultivation of a place today called *Irtás* (clearing). In the fifteenth century the hill situated west of the village was not cultivated at all. In that time, the area was probably forested or covered brushwood. Only in later centuries, when fields were expanded according to the needs of the village community, the territory of the hill eventually became cleared and cultivated.

Some features of the mapped reconstruction allow us to draw additional conclusions in connection with field systems used in Csepely. Márta Belényesy, examining villages in the county of Zala, directs attention to a special type of land usage named as tanor-system.⁷⁹ She observes that arable fields lain continuously behind the plots create an inner ring of arable land surrounding the inhabited area of the village. Despite the fact that those fields belong to landholder's shares, they are held in severalty, in contrast to other arable lands. The inner zone are cultivated in a so-called permanent one-field system which means that its fields are not under crop control and rotation. Belényesy connects this system to villages founded after clear-cutting and interprets it as the first fields of cultivation for confined townships of early settlements. What follows from her thesis is that villages using the tanor-system have a fairly late founding, their origins going back only to the thirteenth century. How-

⁷⁸ TAKÁCS (1980) 135–145 and PAIS (1912)

⁷⁹ BELÉNYESY (1958b) and BELÉNYESY (1960)



Fig. 6. Reconstruction of the fields of Csepely based on the division charter from 1412. (A = Provostship of Dömös; B = Chapter of Fehérvár; C = Saint Nicolas collegiate church of Fehérvár; D = Osztopáni family; E = Kárai family; F = Laurence, son of Demeter; G = Prior of Lövöld; H = Treasurer of Fehérvár; I = Nicolas Nézsai and Nicolas Cső; J = Bishopric of Veszprém)

ever, her argument is contradicted by the fact that this kind of land usage exist in cases of earlier villages as well. Jenő Major tries to solve the problem by stating that these communities would have relocated during the time or changed their land usage within the village boundary.⁸⁰ Although Belényesy considers the tanor-system an early sign of disintegration of common field system, it is not the only explanation. It should not be forgotten that, since the inner zone of fields could be used as pastures too, it was well manured and more fertile areas, therefore to leave this land out of crop was not necessary.

A type of land usage similar to the tanor-system can be observed in fifteenth century Csepely as well. At Telek, the parcels of land align behind the plots continuously. The document from 1339 may cast some light on the nature of cultivation in this area. The charter covers a trade where Jacob son of Christopher Csepeli sold his plot that lay next the toft of the parish priest, to Emericus, son of Gwrk (Györk). In describing the position of the sold plot, the document says that north of the toft situated the *terra fumata* of Jacob. (Fig. 2.) Expressions like *terra fumata* and *telek*, that is the fifteenth century name of the area, often referred to manured and fertile lands.⁸¹ On the basis of the reconstruction, it is clear that this territory was cultivated as arable land at the beginning of the fifteenth century; therefore, it might be supposed that Telek included arable fields that were at the same time utilized for inner pasture as well. However, the former argument is not the only explanation for this problem. Evidences of the document of 1339 prove the existence of intensive cultivation only in the fourteenth century. It is difficult to decide whether the same land usage endured up to the beginning of the fifteenth century or the place name of Telek refers to an earlier form of farming and landholding. What is more, places called *telek* primarily recall fields not under communal regulation and often held in private property. Previous discussion guides us to the conclusion that fields in fifteenth century Telek were themselves or only remains of an area within the village township where cultivation and landholding occurred in a fashion similar to the tanor-system.

Apart from the mentioned types of field-systems, certain other valuable features of field division demonstrate the complexity of land usage in Csepely. The position of the fields behind the plots of the Saint Nicolas collegiate church indicates the presence of a special type of field-systems often occurring in villages founded by deforestation. German scholars introduced the term *Waldhusendorf*, to distinguish a village in which all the arable lands belonging to a given toft, were situated as a continuation of the plot immediately behind the inner core of the settlement.⁸² Researchers often emphasize that this type of land usage appears together with regular form of the inner area. This classification applies to Hungarian village typology as well and traditionally regarded as characteristic of villages in mountainous regions. According to the normally accepted theory, *Waldhusendorf*-type Hungarian villages are settled by land-clearing and date back to the twelve-thirteen century.⁸³ In Csepely, behind the three plots of the collegiate church on the western side of the main street are twenty nine *iugera* arable lands extending to the Halászó valley, and an additional thirteen *iugera* field situate in the valley itself. This means that the continuation of the three plots are all together forty two, namely three times fourteen *iugera*. (Fig. 3) As pointed out above, as far as the measure of *iugera usuale* is concerned, every plot was given fourteen *iugera* of arable land as appurtenance. What follows from this is that, despite the fact that Csepely can not be ranked as a village founded by deforestation and is not situated in mountainous area, it still shows some features of the field-system characteristic of those settlements. More importantly, in spite the fact that the form of the inhabited area shows regular elements, Csepely can not be considered as a regular type of villages.

The division charter provides data pertaining to the presence of a common field system in Csepely. In connection with the fields belonging to the chapter of Fehérvár, the document informs us that arable lands of the chapter did not situate together within one boundary, because the fields of neighbouring shares lay mixed up (*mixtim*), in several places.⁸⁴ The argumentation and especially the expression of *mixtim*, renders the existence of yearly distributed, but at least sub-divided and communally controlled fields probable in the village. For the

⁸⁰ MAJOR (1961)

⁸¹ For more information about the meaning and usage of the word *telek* and *terra fumata* see: BELÉNYESY (1948); FÖLDES (1971); (1983); LASZLOVSZKY (1986)

⁸² For more information see: KOETZSCHKE (1953) 214–215.

⁸³ MENDÖL (1963) 254–255.; SZABÓ (1975) 18.

⁸⁴ "...ipsam autem terram trium aratrorum et triginta iugera pro eo, quia terre possessionum circumiacentium in pluribus locis mixtim adiacerent, sub una metarum distingione includere non valuerint..." lines 105–106.

reason that no other information suggest the manner of field allocation, it is not clear whether the word *mixtim* means a functioning common field-system or the remains testify to the last and solidified distribution of fields.

Several place names incorporate personal names. In these cases we meet with those fields which, in accordance with demands of village expansion, were taken under cultivation, after deforestation, by a member or a family of the community. People who cleared and ploughed a piece of forest land or brushy area received the right to hold it as private property and exercise their autonomous usage over it. These places can be interpreted as fields belonging to given persons and, hence are excluded from common or sub-divided fields.⁸⁵

Although, I have not solved all the questions concerning field systems in the village, a general overview of land usage in fifteenth century Csepely can be drawn. According to the intensity of cultivation, at least two zones of the township can be established. On the one hand, the arable lands immediately behind the plots created an inner core of pastures and ploughed areas, where two different patterns of land usages can be distinguished. On the other hand an "outer zone" of land further from the village supposedly was cultivated in sub-divided fields under cropping control.⁸⁶ The third type of lands are enclosures, cleared and brought under cultivation by personal efforts and remaining free of communal regulations and were not among the landholder's shares.

The above discussed farming systems show similarities, at least in their external appearance with the so-called infield-outfield system demonstrated in the case of many English villages.⁸⁷ Put simply, a number of scholars point out that many medieval village townships comprise of an inner core of fields around the village itself, and a considerable outer ring of land cultivated and held in contrast with the farming system employed in the inner zone. Infield-outfield combines intensive and extensive cropping patterns, namely constant and shifting cultivation. The infield was the more intensive zone because it was the longer-established of the two and therefore a more fertile nucleus for the settlement. The intensive cultivation of the infield can be considered as prerequisite for the growth of the outfield, which may have appeared either as enclosures or as sub-divided fields. Besides this general view of the infield-outfield, a wide variety of regional types of this system are discovered in different territories of Great Britain. It would be quite wrong to say that in fifteenth century Hungary the same kind of land usage was practiced, nevertheless physical appearance of some elements of the farming system in Csepely shows striking similarities.

In the case of Csepely, the fifteenth century source does not draw distinctions between the two recognizable zones, either in sense of landholding or definite methods of cultivation. Nevertheless, as far as land usage of Telek was discussed, the inner core, at least in the fourteenth century, was cultivated in an intensive way and probably held by several, in contrast to the fields of the outer periphery. Despite the fact, that we call the two areas zones or even rings, they had irregular forms influenced by various features of the terrain.

The diversity of the field systems within the township allow us to make further conclusions concerning the traditionally accepted typology applied to Hungarian farming systems. The existence of remains of different field systems refers to a shift from one kind of land usage to another. Moreover, results of the present chapter also exemplify how several patterns of farming systems may intimately mingle within one township. Field systems in Csepely, therefore, can not be identified by one particular type of cultivation, but in fact they are mixture of different types that, on one hand reflect the changes in village form over the centuries and, on the other hand, adjustment to favorable patterns of land usage.

CONCLUSIONS

In case of Csepely, we can see how studies on village forms, using both ground and historical evidences, can contribute to a better understanding of settlements, and demonstrate the importance of further research in attempting to challenge the traditional approach to village typology.

⁸⁵ The following field names are discussed here: Benevapaya (Bene), Fodorzeleyfely (Fodor), Iwanzeleyfely (Iván), Markushorhafely (Márkus), Zabowelgh (Szabó)

⁸⁶ Since we are not guided by evidence referring to the exact manner of land usage in this area, no more can be said other than

that two- or three-field system of a kind could exist within the framework of the outer zone.

⁸⁷ For the whole debate on and regional varieties of infield-outfield system see: DODGSHON (1980) 83–107.

In the discussion of Csepely, we saw that its inner area is made up of two different parts that can be connected with forms of particular village types and additional irregular elements can be discerned as well. Within the medieval township of the village, features of four divergent types of land usage were distinguished, including such regular forms as the field system of *Waldhufendorf* or the tanor-system. What is more, the regular forms of the cultivated land are not always belong to that of the inner area. The results of our research cast some light on the importance of studying both the inner area and cultivated land, since examination of their relationship can further refine the picture of medieval village forms.

Although, there are Hungarian villages that can be said to precisely fit into the typological system established in the 60s, most of the settlement forms are mixture of elements of different types and can be regarded as the last stage of a long complex development. Considering these conditions, further studies on structures of villages are needed to work out a more suitable usage of typology. As Hungarian settlement typology originated mainly from German research, until now it generally follows a strict manner of classification. Though some scholars, for example Márta Belényesy, pointed out the existence of irregularity within the village township concerning the field systems, their views have not been widely accepted.

Of course, we can not give a definite answer to the problem of Hungarian village typology, nevertheless it might be suggested that synthesis of former studies that debated the traditional categorisation and further studies on different regions and various village forms will be concluded in reconsideration of Hungarian settlement typology.

LITERATURE

- BALASSA (1964)
- BELÉNYESY (1948)
- = I. BALASSA: Földművelés a Hegyközben [Ackerbau in Hegyköz] Budapest, (1964).
- = M. BELÉNYESY: Adatok a tanyakialakulás kérdéséhez (A "telek" és a magyar tanya középkori gyökerei) [Data to the problem of farm development (Medieval origins of "telek" and the Hungarian farm)] Budapest, 1948.
- BELÉNYESY (1958a)
- = M. BELÉNYESY: Der Ackerbau und seine Produkte in Ungarn im XIV. Jahrhundert. *Acta EthnHung* 6 (1958) 265–321.
- BELÉNYESY (1958b)
- = M. BELÉNYESY: Kerített település és gazdálkodás kapcsolata néhány zalai irtásos falunál egy 1460-as határárás alapján [Die Beziehung von umfriedeter Siedlungsform und Landwirtschaft in einigen Rodungsdörfern des Komitatus Zala auf Grund der Flurbegehung vom Jahre 1460] *Ethnographia* 69 (1958) 117–138.
- BELÉNYESY (1960)
- = M. BELÉNYESY: La culture permanente et l'évolution du système biennal et triennal en Hongrie médiévale *Ergon* 2 (1960) 311–326.
- BELÉNYESY (1964)
- = M. BELÉNYESY: A parlagrendszer XV. századi kiterjesztése Magyarországon [Die Ausdehnung des Dreiecksfeldsystems im XV. Jh. in Ungarn] *Ethnographia* 75 (1964) 321–346.
- BOGDÁN (1978)
- = I. BOGDÁN: Magyarországi hossz- és földmérékek a XVI. század végéig [Linear and territory measures in Hungary until the 16th century] Budapest, 1978.
- BOLLA (1961)
- = I. BOLLA: A jobbágytelek kialakulásának kérdéséhez. A "curia" és a "mansio" terminusok jelentésváltozása az Árpád-korban [To the problem of the development of the plot. Changes in the meaning of "curia" and "mansio" in the Arpadian Age] Budapest, 1961.
- BORSA (1985)
- = I. BORSA: Csepelyi falukép 1412-ből [The image of the village Csepely from 1412] Somogy megye múltjából 16 (1985) 3–39.
- DEDEK (1889)
- = C. L. DEDEK: A karthauziak Magyarországból [Carthusians in Hungary] Budapest, 1889.
- DODGSHON (1980)
- = R. DODGSHON: The Origin of the British Field Systems: An Interpretation London, 1980.
- ERDÉLYI-SÖRÖS (1902–1910)
- = L. ERDÉLYI-P. SÖRÖS: A pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-rend története [History of the Benedictine order in Pannonhalma] 10 vols. Budapest, 1902–1910.
- FEJÉR (1829–49)
- = G. FEJÉR: Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae 11 vols. Buda, 1829–49.
- FÖLDÉS 1971
- = L. FÖLDÉS: A telek "földterület" jelentéstörténete [History of the meaning "plot" as a piece of land] *Magyar Nyelv* 67 (1971) 4. 418–431.
- FÖLDÉS (1978)
- = L. FÖLDÉS: Szilárd telekrendszerű irtásfal a Szepességen [Village founded by deforestation with stable plot system in Szepesség] *AgrSz* (1978) 3–4. 357–378.
- FÖLDÉS (1983)
- = L. FÖLDÉS: Telek és költözködő falvak a honfoglaláskori és Árpád-kori magyarság gazdálkodásában [Plot and moving villages in the farming of the Hungarians at the age of the conquest and in the Arpadian Age] in: Nomád társadalmak és államalakulatok (Red.: F. Tókei) Budapest, 1983. 327–349.

- FÜGEDI (1959) = E. FÜGEDI: Topográfia és városi fejlődés a középkori Óbudán [La topographie et le développement urbain à l'époque médiévale] TBM 13 (1959) 7–56.
- FÜGEDI (1977) = E. FÜGEDI: Vár és társadalom a 13–14. századi Magyarországon [Castle and society in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries Hungary] Budapest, 1977.
- GLATZ (1995) = F. GLATZ (Ed.): Virágkor és pusztulás. A kezdetektől 1606-ig. Magyarország története képekben elbeszélve I. [Golden age and ruin. From the beginning to 1606. Illustrated history of Hungary] Budapest, 1995.
- GRANASZTÓI (1964) = Gy. GRANASZTÓI: Az alaprajzkutatás és feladatai Győr középkori történetével kapcsolatban [Die Aufgaben der Grundrissforschung im Zusammenhang mit der Geschichte der Győr] Arrabona (1964) 41–48.
- GUNDA (1941) = B. GUNDA: Telekformák, települések és a gazdálkodás kapcsolata a Lápos felső völgyében [Relation between the plot forms, settlements and husbandry in the higher valley of the Lápos] FK 69 (1941) 230–246.
- GYÖRFFY (1963) = Gy. GYÖRFFY: Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza. Geographia historica Hungariae tempore stirpis Arpadianae 3 vols. Budapest, 1963.
- GYÖRFFY (1926) = I. GYÖRFFY: Az alföldi kertes városok. Hajdúszoboszló települése [Towns with Gardens in the Hungarian Great Plain] NÉrt 18 (1926) 3. 105–136.
- HOFER (1972) = T. HOFER: A magyar kettősudvarok kérdéséhez [Zur Frage der Ungarischen Doppelhöfe] Ethnographia 83 (1972) 29–52.
- HOFFMANN (1956) = T. HOFFMANN: Egy palóc falu földművelő technikájának néhány jellegzetessége a századforduló táján [Einige charakteristische Züge der Ackerbau-technik eines "palotz" Dorfes] Ethnographia 62 (1956) 536–560.
- HOLL (1985) = I. HOLL: Mittelalterliche Dorfgrundrisse in Ungarn MittArchInst 14 (1985) 243–249.
- KOETZSCHKE (1953) = R. KOETZSCHKE: Ländliche Siedlung und Agrarwesen in Sachsen 1953
- KÖRMENDY (1974) = A. KÖRMENDY: A soltesz (more scultetorum) telepitette falvak a Szepességben (13–14. sz.) [The "more scultetorum" villages in the region of Szepesség] Agrártörténeti Szemle (1974) 305–348.
- KUBINYI (1964) = A. KUBINYI: Budafelhévíz topográfiája és gazdasági fejlődése [Topographie und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung von Budafelhévíz] Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából 16 (1964) 85–180.
- KUBINYI (1983) = A. KUBINYI: Gondolatok a középkor végi alföldi és alföld széli mezővárosaink alaprajzi és építészeti fejlődéséről [Reflections on the architectural and layout development of market towns in the Hungarian Great Plain] Építészet- és Építéstudományi Közlemények (1983) 283–291.
- KUBINYI (1992) = A. KUBINYI: Egy Hont megyei mezővárosiasodó falu népessége a középkor végén [Die Bevölkerung eines zum Marktflecken entwickelnden Dorfes am Ende des Mittelalters] in: Város és társadalom a XVI–XVIII. században Miskolc, 1992. 7–17.
- KUMOROVITZ (1953) = B. L. KUMOROVITZ: Veszprémi regeszták [Regesta of Veszprém] Budapest, 1953.
- LASZLOVSZKY (1986) = J. LASZLOVSZKY: Einzelhofsiedlung in der Arpädenzeit (Arpädenzeitliche Siedlung auf der Mark von Kengyel) ActaArchHung 38 (1986) 1–2. 227–255.
- MAJOR (1960) = J. MAJOR: Telektípusok kialakulásának kezdetei Magyarországon [Origins of the plot formation in Hungary] Településtudományi Közlemények 12 (1960) 34–55.
- MAJOR (1961) = J. MAJOR: Szempontok a faluépítési hagyományok kutatásának módszeréhez [Viewpoints to the method of research on village forming traditions] Településtudományi Közlemények 13 (1961) 3–16.
- MAJOR (1965) = J. MAJOR: A városalaprajz, mint a korai magyar várostörténet forrása [The town layout as a source of history of early Hungarian towns] Településtudományi Közlemények 17 (1965) 153–174.
- MAKSAY (1971) = F. MAKSSAY: A magyar falu középkori településrendje [Settlement system of the Hungarian villages in the middle ages] Budapest, 1971.
- MEITZEN (1895) = A. MEITZEN: Siedlung und Agrarwesen der Westgermanen und Ostgermanen, der Kelten, Römer, Finnen und Slawen 3 vols. Berlin, 1895.
- MENDÖL (1963) = T. MENDÖL: Általános településföldrajz [General settlement geography] Budapest, 1963.
- NOVÁK (1986) = L. NOVÁK: Településnéprajz [Settlement ethnography] Nagykőrös, 1986.
- NOVÁKI (1977) = Gy. NOVÁKI: Régi szántóföldek nyomai a Börzsönyben [Spuren von einstigen Ackerfeldern im Börzsöny-Gebirge] Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum Közleményei (1975–1977) [1977] 53–79.
- NOVÁKI (1985) = Gy. NOVÁKI: Szántóföldek maradványai a XIV–XVI. századból a Sümeg-Sarvalyi erdőben [Überreste der Ackerfelder des 14–16. Jahrhunderts aus dem Wald Sümeg-Sarvaly] Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum Közleményei (1984–1985) [1985] 19–32.

- NOVÁKI (1990)
- PAIS (1912)
- PRINCZ (1922)
- REISZIG (1928)
- REISZIG
- STRAHM (1950)
- SZABÓ (1966)
- SZABÓ (1969)
- SZABÓ (1975)
- SZENTPÉTERY-BORSA (1961)
- SZÜCS (1981)
- SZÜCS (1983)
- SZÜCS (1993)
- TAGÁNYI (1950)
- TAKÁCS (1980)
- TORMA (1981)
- VÉGH (1974)
- VELICS-KAMMERER (1886, 1890)
- WENZEL (1887)
- = Gy. NOVÁKI: A középkori Szentmihály falu földvára és szántóföldjei [Der Burgwall und die Acker des mittelalterlichen Dorfes Szentmihály] Zalai Múzeum 2 (1990) 209–219.
- = D. PAIS: Az aszó elhomályosult összetételei [The blurred compounds of the word "aszó"] Magyar Nyelv 8 (1912) 391–401.
- = GY. PRINCZ: Magyarország településformái [Settlement forms in Hungary] Budapest, 1922.
- = E. REISZIG: A jeruzsálemi Szent János-lovagrend Magyarországon [Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem in Hungary] 2 vols. Budapest, 1928.
- = E. REISZIG: Somogy vármegye községei [Settlements of county Somogy] In: Somogy vármegye (Red.: D. Csánki) Budapest 30–179.
- = H. STRAHM: Zur Vervassungstopographie der mittelalterliche Stadt mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Gründungsplanes der Stadt Bern Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Geschichte 30 (1950) 372–410.
- = I. SZABÓ: A falurendszer kialakulása Magyarországon (X–XV. század) [Development of rural settlement system in Hungary (10–15th centuries)] Budapest, 1966.
- = I. SZABÓ: A középkori magyar falu [Hungarian village in the middle ages] Budapest, 1969.
- = I. SZABÓ: A magyar mezőgazdaság története a XIV. századtól az 1530-as évekig [History of the Hungarian agriculture from the 14th century to the 1530s] Budapest, 1975.
- = I. SZENTPÉTERY-I. BORSA: Árpádházi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke (Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica) Budapest, 1961.
- = J. SZÜCS: Megosztott parasztság – egységesültő jobbágyság: a paraszti társadalom átalakulása a 13. században [Divided Peasantry – Unified Serfs. The Transformation of the Peasant Society in the 13th Century] Századok 115 (1981) 3–65; 263–314.
- = J. SZÜCS: Háztartás és család a 13. századi Magyarország szolgai állapotú parasztnépeességeben [Household and Family at the Peasant Population of Servant Status in Hungary in the 13th Century] Történelmi Szemle 26 (1983) 136–158.
- = J. SZÜCS: Az utolsó Árpádok [The last Arpadians] Budapest, 1993.
- = K. TAGÁNYI: A földközösség története Magyarországon [History of the common field system in Hungary] Budapest, 1950.
- = L. TAKÁCS: Irtásgazdálkodásunk emlékei [Relics of Hungarian Shifting Agriculture, Cleared Land and Method of Clearing] Budapest, 1980.
- = I. TORMA: Mittelalterliche Ackerfeld-Spuren im Wald von Tamási (Komitat Tolna) ActaArchHung 33 (1981) 245–256.
- = J. VÉGH: Somogy megye földrajzi nevei [Field names of county Somogy] Budapest, 1974.
- = A. VELICS-E. KAMMERER: Magyarországi török kinestári defterek [Turkish Exchequer Rolls from Hungary] 2 vols. Budapest, 1886, 1890.
- = G. WENZEL: Magyarország mezőgazdaságának története [Agrarian history of Hungary] Budapest, 1887.

APPENDIX

List of householders in Csepely compiled on the basis of the enumeration of vine-holders

1. Ambrus's son Gregory
2. Ancho's son Stephen
3. Andrew's son George
4. Peter Babodi
5. Balázs's son Thomas
6. (the same) Balázs's son Benedek
7. Michael Beldeg's son George
8. Benedek Bontha
9. Demeter Chepeli's son Laurence
10. Thomas Chok
11. Demeter's son Gregory
12. Demeter's son Balázs
13. Demeter's son Barnaby
14. Stephen Erdews
15. John Erdews
16. Frank's son Peter
17. Frank's son Ladislas
18. Thomas Fodor
19. Gál's son Simon
20. George the tailor
21. George's son Laurence
22. Jacob's son John
23. Jacob's son Martin
24. (the same) Martin's son Benedek
25. John's son Valentine
26. John's son Michael
27. Michael Keerei
28. Ladislaus's son Michael
29. Laurence's son George
30. Luke's son Benedek
31. Luke's son Benedek's sponsus Peter
32. Mark's son Andrew
33. Mark's son Paul
34. Mark and his son Sebastian

- 35. Martin's sponsum Andrew
- 36. Martin's son Michael
- 37. Michael the blacksmith
- 38. Michael's son George
- 39. Michael's son Jacob
- 40. Michael's son Nicolas
- 41. Michael's son Paul
- 42. Michael's son Peter
- 43. Michael's son Thomas
- 44. Nicolas's son John
- 45. Nicolas's son Matthias and Stephen
- 46. Nicolas's son Nicolas
- 47. Paul's son Anthony
- 48. (the same) Paul's son Matthias
- 49. (the same) Paul's son Peter
- 50. Paul's son Laurence
- 51. Peter's son John
- 52. Peter's son Jacob
- 53. Pethe's son George and his sons Thomas and Stephen
- 54. John Powch
- 55. George Rosuago
- 56. Saoul's son Peter
- 57. Simon's son John
- 58. (the same) Simon's son John's son Peter
- 59. Stephen's son Benedek
- 60. Stephen's son Michael
- 61. George Sylow's son Benedek
- 62. Thomas the butcher
- 63. Koos Theke
- 64. Thomas Varro
- 65. John Vegh
- 66. Balázs Vörös
- 67. Zenthes's son Michael's son Matthias
- 68. (the same) Zenthes's son Michael's son George
- (69.) ... Michael
- (70.) ...'s son George