

## Medieval Trees and Modern Ecology: How to Handle Written Sources

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This essay, as the title suggests, will discuss medieval trees from an ecological point of view.<sup>1</sup> This might include the botanical and ecological study of living medieval trees (which are still common in Europe, although unevenly distributed).<sup>2</sup> However, my main objective will be to outline how the principles of modern ecology affect the handling of medieval written sources, and how these principles give new dimensions to the interpretation of the sources. I shall not examine these issues in general – in fact, no one in historical ecological studies should. For the most part, I shall discuss the implications of one specific source type (perambulations) in medieval Hungary.

What, for a start, is modern ecology? There are many answers to this question; moreover, there is not one ecology but rather various ecologies. I certainly do not want to provide anything like an authoritative definition.<sup>3</sup> On a basic level, ecology is “looking at nature from different perspectives.”<sup>4</sup> For an historically minded researcher the more interesting perspectives are those that concern the interactions between people and nature. It is very important to understand that in ecology “nature” is not “scenery” – things that provide the background for the events.<sup>5</sup> In effect, interactions are not the kind of straightforward impacts that usually appear in historical books. Woodland, for example, is not simply cleared or managed. It has its own characteristics and behaviour.

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<sup>1</sup> The essay is a slightly modified version of my presentation at the International Medieval Congress, Leeds, UK, 10 July 2002.

<sup>2</sup> There are thousands in England and also in Greece. Mediterranean Europe, in general, is rich in ancient trees. Oliver Rackham, *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape* (London: Phoenix, 1990; revised 2<sup>nd</sup> edition); idem and Alfred Thomas Grove, *The Nature of Mediterranean Europe: An Ecological History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001). At present, it seems that there are fewer medieval trees in the continental and eastern parts of Europe.

<sup>3</sup> A good starting point with essays on different branches of ecology is Stanley I. Dodson et al., *Ecology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). For historiography, see Anna Bramwell, *Ecology in the Twentieth Century: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

<sup>4</sup> This is the subtitle of Dodson's essay in the above volume.

<sup>5</sup> Oliver Rackham, *The Illustrated History of the Countryside* (London: Seven Dials, 2000), 15.

What people do in woods is only one of the many factors that comprise the history of woodland. Moreover, human actions rarely bring the kind of results that are expected from them. They often generate changes in woods that are not fully understood by people, are misinterpreted or left unrecorded, and thus, can only be studied through fieldwork.

Whatever methods ecology uses, it is very much dependent on mass data collection. It requires quantitative data, where each piece of information is compatible with all others. In modern ecology, this can be achieved relatively easily: Data is collected by the scientist him/herself through experiments. In historical ecology, however, this is impossible. We have to use "sources," that is, information that was created by someone else for some other purpose. Arguably the biggest challenge in ecological studies about the past is to find datasets that are large enough and were made according to the same standards, so that they are compatible. It is not enough to create a variable and find references to it: the references themselves must be similar. For example, heavy rains reported in the daily weather observations of a sixteenth-century scholar cannot be compared to heavy rains mentioned in twelfth-century *gesta*.<sup>6</sup>

Sources to study trees of the past may be of two kinds. On the one hand, there are the physical remnants of trees that once existed. Several methods have been developed to handle this material, such as pollen analysis, macro-botanical analysis, charcoal analysis, and dendrochronology.<sup>7</sup> These research fields, however relevant, will not be the focus of the present paper. On the other hand, there are written sources, which, loosely interpreted, comprise written documents and pictorial evidence. It is possible to collect the kind of mass data needed for ecological studies from both source types, although this may not seem quite so obvious in the case of pictures.<sup>8</sup> Written sources differ from country to country and from period to period, and so does their value for the historical ecologist. To go back to the previous example, the sixteenth- and twelfth-century reports on heavy rains must not be compared, however, if the *gesta* is all that is available from the twelfth century, one can still try to interpret them.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Rudolf Brázdil, "Historical climatology: definition, data, methods, results," *Geografický časopis*, 52 (2000): 99-121.

<sup>7</sup> On pollen, see Peter D. Moore, Judith A. Webb, and Margaret E. Collinson, *Pollen Analysis* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991; 2<sup>nd</sup> edition). For macro-botanical analysis, see Ferenc Gyulai, *Archaeobotanika* [Archaeobotany] (Budapest: Józsefvárosi Műhely, 2001). Basic readings on dendrochronology are for example Marvin A. Stokes and Terah L. Smiley, *An Introduction to Tree-ring Dating* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1968); Yvonne Trehard, "Making Wood Speak: An Introduction to Dendrochronology," *Forestry Abstracts*, 43 (1982): 729-759. A very instructive book is M. G. L. Baillie, *Tree-ring Dating and Archaeology* (London: Croon, Helm, 1982).

<sup>8</sup> *Image Processing in History: Towards Open Systems*, ed. Jurij Fikfak and Gerhard Jaritz (St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 1993). For trees, see Carl Adam Hægström, "Pollards in Art," *Botanical Journal of Scotland*, 46 (1994): 682-687.

<sup>9</sup> Andrea Kiss, "Időjárás adatok a XI-XII. századi Magyarországról" [Data on weather from Hungary from the eleventh and twelfth centuries], in *Magyaroknak eleiről* "Ünnepi ta-

In the following, I shall concentrate on a written source type that was once (although not at the same time) common all over the world from India to the United States.<sup>10</sup> A perambulation (from Latin *perambulatio*, literally “walking around”) was a symbolic as well as a practical equivalent of modern maps.<sup>11</sup> Whenever need arose – there was a controversy, a new settlement was founded etc. – neighbouring people gathered, and in a supposedly Indo-European ritual, they walked around a certain piece of land and noted down its most conspicuous features, and they themselves made some new features. This practice disappeared in different periods in different countries. This essay discusses Hungary, where perambulations were carried out as late as the nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup> I shall, however, concern myself only with medieval documents.<sup>13</sup>

As an example, let us examine the perambulation of Barnag (Co. Veszprém) from 1284: The first boundary starts on the southern side of that same land in a *virgultum* next to the big wood of the village called Verestow that belongs to the monastery of Almad, beside the public road that leads from Bilige in Durguche, at the place that is called Echefaya, where there are two boundaries. Thence, proceeding right next to that great wood, in a way that one boundary always exists on a large tree from that wood, whereas another one in the *virgultum*, by continuous double boundaries it goes straight towards the north. Leaving the surroundings of the aforementioned wood, it goes to a small piece of arable land that exists in the *virgultum*, where there are two boundaries, one in a shrub that is commonly called *gerthan*, the other in earth on its western side. From here proceeding directly in that *virgultum*, passing two boundaries it comes to another ancient wood of the aforementioned monastery, in whose southern corner there are two boundaries, one in a large oak-tree, the other in a

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*nulmányok a hatvan esztendő's Makk Ferenc tiszteletére* [“Ancient Hungarians” Studies in honour of the sixty-year-old Ferenc Makk], ed. Ferenc Piti (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2000), 249–263.

<sup>10</sup> From the rich material on different regions, see for example *The Laws of Manu*, tr. G. Bühler, in *The Sacred Books of the East*, ed. F. Max Müller, vol. 25 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886); Margaret Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954); Márta Belényesi, “Le serment sur la terre au moyen âge et ses traditions postérieures en Hongrie,” *Acta Ethnographica*, 4 (1955): 361–363.

<sup>11</sup> Paul D. Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures and Surveys* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980).

<sup>12</sup> Early modern boundary-walks were studied by the ethnographer Lajos Takács in his *Határjelek, határjárás a feudális kor végén Magyarországon* [Boundary signs, perambulations in Hungary at the end of the feudal period] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987). The title is misleading for many: there was never a “feudal period” in Hungary, yet the tradition is to use the term up until the mid-nineteenth century. The reason for this is that Hungary preserved a social structure seemingly similar to that of the Middle Ages until the reforms of the early 1800s. The ill-chosen title, nonetheless, has no relevance to the scholarly quality of this book.

<sup>13</sup> The Middle Ages in Hungary started around the year 1000 (the formation of the Christian kingdom) and ended in 1526 (the battle of Mohács and the subsequent occupation of the southern parts of the country by the Ottomans).

shrub. Thence it descends to an arable plot, and passing some boundaries it comes to an *angularis* boundary, which separates from the territory of the aforementioned Verustow and from the territory of Chepel, where there are two boundaries. Then it turns to the east, and by continuous double boundaries it comes to a certain hill, next to which a bit further away there are two boundaries, which separate from the territory of the aforementioned Chepel, and from the territory of Gatal, son of Peter of Balag. Thence turning back to the south, it comes directly to the wood of the sons of Peter, where there are three boundaries, from where turning along that wood it reaches a certain ancient tree that is commonly called *magal*, where there are three boundaries. From here, going right around that wood, it enters a certain *virgultum*, and in that *virgultum*, beside the aforementioned wood, there are three boundaries. Thence turning somewhat to the west, passing three boundaries, on a certain ancient road it leaves the *virgultum* and enters a meadow to three boundaries, of which one is in a shrub that is called *gymulchyn*. Thence it goes to a certain *nemus* of plums beside the houses of the son of the aforementioned Peter and those of the sons of Gothalum, where there are three boundaries. Thence turning somewhat towards the west, beside their village it comes to three boundaries, which directly face the church of the sons of the said Peter and Gothalum. From there, again leaving the surroundings of the son of Peter beside the territory of the sons of Gothalum somewhat turning towards the east, it comes to a *virgultum*, at whose entrance there are three boundaries, of which one is in a small pear. Thence proceeding towards the east it comes to the aforementioned public road, which goes from Bilege to Durguche, and by that road it returns to the place called Echefaya, where the first boundary started; and by these said borders and boundaries the aforementioned territory is distinct.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Zala vármegye története. Oklevéltár* [A history of Co. Zala Charters], ed., Imre Nagy, Dezső Véghely, and Gyula Nagy (Budapest: Franklin, 1886-1890), vol. 1, 94-95. 1284. "Prima meta incipit a parte meridionali eiusdem terre in virgulto iuxta magnam silvam ville monasterii de Almad Verustow vocate prope viam publicam per quam de villa Biligc itur in villam Durguche in loco qui Echefaya dicitur, ubi sunt due mete; et inde progrediendo iuxta eandem magnam silvam immediate, ita videlicet, quod una meta semper existit super magna arbore de predicta silva, alia vero in virgulto cum continuis binis metis vadit directe ad partem septentrionalem; transeundo autem vicinitatem predictae silve venit ad modicam terram arabilem in virgulto existentem, ubi sunt due mete, una in dumo vulgariter gerthan dicto, alia in terra iuxta eandem a parte occidentis; inde progrediendo directe in eodem virgulto interpositis duabus metis venit ad aliam antiquam silvam monasterii prenotati in cuius silve angulo meridionali sunt due mete, una in magna arbore ilicis altera in dumo; inde descendit ad terram arabilem et directe eundo interpositis metis venit ad metam angularem que separat a terra predictae ville Verustow et a terra ville Chepel, ubi sunt due mete; adhuc flectitur ad orientem et cum continuis binis metis recte vergendo venit ad quendam collem iuxta quem parum remote sunt due mete que separant a terra predictae ville Chepel et a terra Gatal filii Petri de Balag; abinde reflectitur ad partem meridionalem et directe pergendo venit prope silvam filii Petri ubi sunt tres mete; abinde flectendo prope eandem silvam attingit quendam arborem vulgariter magal dictam, ubi sunt tres mete; hinc circa ipsam silvam immediate eundo intrat in quoddam virgultum et in ipso virgulto iuxta predictam silvam sunt

(An *angularis* boundary is where three or more boundaries meet. *Virgultum* is wood-pasture with shrubs, *gerthan* is hornbeam and *magal* is a type of oak in Hungarian, *gymulchyn* is an unidentifiable type of shrub, and *nemus*, in this context, appears to be some sort of a fruit-garden.)

Medieval Hungarian perambulations come in various lengths and had varying purposes. The Barnag perambulation is of moderate size; laconic ones are merely a few lines long, whereas verbose ones go on for pages and pages. The boundary they describe can be a settlement's whole boundary, one part of it, a boundary within one settlement, two or more settlements with a common boundary, two or more settlements with separate boundaries yet described for the particular purpose as having a common boundary, any combination of these, and more. Individual meadows and woods were also perambulated. The first Hungarian charter that came down to us in its original (from 1055)<sup>15</sup> already contains several perambulations. It tells us that the practice existed, but it also reveals that the sophisticated Latin terminology, which is later associated with it, was yet to come into being. Early perambulations are a welcome relief from the often monotonous later ones.

Medieval perambulations are known to all who read charters. It was obvious from the beginning that these documents were among the few types of written evidence in medieval Hungary that could be used for quantitative analysis. For trees, perambulations are particularly relevant. In the Hungarian Middle Ages, trees were mentioned in larger numbers only in these documents. When approaching perambulations, however, I found that basic questions have not been asked in connection with them, such as: Approximately how many of them survive? What were the landmarks most often used, and what are their relative proportions in the whole? How many were written in different periods and what are the reasons behind the changes, if any? All these aspects are important because the individual trees and woods must appear in their proper context. If I read about a certain wood next to some arable land, this tells me very little unless I am able to locate both the wood and the arable in the modern landscape. However, if I know that woods appear twice as often as arable in the whole per-

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tres mete; abinde flectendo paulisper ad occidentem mediantibus tribus metis in quadam veteri via exit in pratum ad tres metas quarum una est in dumo gymulchyn dicto; dehinc vadit ad quoddam nemus pruni prope domos filii Petri prenotati et filiorum Gothalum, ubi sunt tres mete; deinde flectendo parumper ad occidentem prope villam eorundem venit ad tres metas que ecclesiam filiorum Petri et Gothalum predictorum directe rescipiunt; abinde iterum exeundo a vicinitate filii Petri iuxta terram filiorum Gothalum paulisper declinando ad orientem pervenit ad virgultum in cuius introitu sunt tres mete quarum una est in parva piro; deinde pergendo versus orientem cadit in viam publicam prenotatam per quam itur de villa Bilege venit ad villam Durguche, et in eadem via revertitur ad locum Euchefaya dictum, ubi prima meta inchoavit; et sic premissis terminis atque metis predicta terra est distincta." Translation mine.

<sup>15</sup> *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima*, ed. György Györffy (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992), 145-152.

ambulations corpus of a certain area or age, and, say, that the two put together still do not come near pasture, then I can judge the value of that small piece of information with more confidence. In other words, there are two directions in the interpretation of perambulations. One is the qualitative, micro-level search, where individual landscape features are identified.<sup>16</sup> The other is the quantitative, macro-level approach, which has not yet attracted any scholarly attention in Hungary.<sup>17</sup> As described above, the latter is the subject matter of historical ecology.

### How Many Medieval Perambulations Are There?

The easiest way to answer this question would be to look through all 200,000 documents that survive in Hungary from before 1526.<sup>18</sup> This is not unrealistic but so time-consuming that it would have undoubtedly exceeded the limits of this piece of writing. In consequence, I had to choose a smaller, yet well-defined group of charters. I could have used either the *Anjou-kori Oklevél-*

<sup>16</sup> For the identification of individual features in Hungarian perambulations, see József Laszlovszky, "Dedi etiam terram, que adiacet circa aquam, que vocatur Tiza: Adatok az 1075-ös garamszentbenedeki oklevél helyneveinek lokalizálásához" [Dedi etiam terram, que adiacet circa aquam, que vocatur Tiza: Data concerning the localization of the place-names in the 1075 charter of Garamszentbenedek], *Zsounuk*, 1 (1986): 9-24; Jenő Szűcs, "Sárospatak kezdetei és a pataki erdőuralom" [The beginnings of Sárospatak and the Forest of Patak], *Történelmi Szemle*, 35 (1993): 1-57, esp. 26-31; Károly Takács, "Árpád-kori csatornarendszerek kutatása a Rábaközben és a Kárpát-medence egyéb területein" [Research on Árpadian age channels in Rábaköz and in other areas of the Carpathian Basin], *Korall*, 1 (2000): 27-61; Jenő Major, "Szempontok a faluépítési hagyományok kutatásának módszeréhez" [On the methodology of the research on the traditions of village planning], *Településtudományi Közlemények*, 11 (1959): 3-15. This also can be done on a large scale, as in Della Hooke, *Warwickshire Anglo-Saxon Charter Bounds* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999). For a more theoretical overview, see eadem, "The use of early medieval charters as sources for the study of settlement and landscape evolution," in *The Transformation of the European Rural Landscape: Methodological Issues and Agrarian Change 1770-1914*, ed. Antoon Verhoeve and Jelmer A.J. Vervloet (Wageningen: DLO Winand Staring Centre, 1992), 39-47.

<sup>17</sup> A notable exception is Flóris Rómer, "Magyarország földirati és terményi állapotáról a középkorban" [On the geographical and agricultural status of Hungary in the Middle Ages], *Magyar Akadémiai Értesítő* (1860): 226-385. Rómer claimed to have counted trees in the *Codex Diplomaticus*, where oak would have appeared most frequently. However, his data collection is very incomplete. Dénes B. Jankovich published a list of the kind of things which can be garnered from charters. Dénes B. Jankovich, "Középkori okleveleink régészeti hasznosításának kérdései" [On the question of the archaeological utilization of our medieval charters], in *Középkori régészetünk újabb eredményei és időszzerű feladatai* [Recent results and current issues in our medieval archaeology], ed. István Fodor and László Selmeczi (Budapest: Művelődési Minisztérium, 1986), 443-452. No results that I know of followed.

<sup>18</sup> Zsolt Hunyadi, "...scripta manent. Archival and Manuscript Resources in Hungary," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* (1997-1998): 231-240.

tár, or the *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár*,<sup>19</sup> which contain all documents issued in certain years, but that would have ignored time dimensions. I could also have taken published family archives, such as those of the Károlyi or the Zichy families.<sup>20</sup> This would have been relatively quick, and would have allowed for sampling different time periods; however, such collections are inevitably regionalised, connected to the estates of the given family. Furthermore, and this applies to both options, with edited charters one always has to trust the person who transcribed the documents. Palaeographers, undoubtedly skilled in many aspects of medieval life, are rarely experts in landscape terminology, especially in tree types.<sup>21</sup> In the end, the choice I had to make was between datasets that were limited either in time or in space. I decided on the latter option. With an intent to study hitherto unpublished material, the private archives of the chapter of Veszprém (ca. 100 km south-west of Budapest, just north of Lake Balaton) seemed a reasonable choice, being mostly concerned with a region of the country that has been in the centre of my attention for several years.

The chapter of Veszprém had two relatively rich archives, both of which survive. One of them is the archival material connected to the activity of the chapter as *loca credibilia*.<sup>22</sup> This, however, seemed too specific, concentrating only on one type of legal activity. The places covered were also more scattered than in the case of the private archives. Lastly, the surviving charters number only 214. The private archives (*Veszprémi Káptalani Magánlevéltár*, henceforth *Vkpmlt*),<sup>23</sup> then, are simply a collection of the charters of the chapter as an in-

<sup>19</sup> *Anjou-kori oklevéltár* [Charters of the age of the Angevins], ed. Gyula Kristó, several volumes, not numbered continuously (Budapest and Szeged: n. p., 1990-); *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár* [Charters of the age of Sigismund], ed. Elemér Mályusz and Iván Borsa, 7 vols. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1951-2001), esp. volumes 4-7.

<sup>20</sup> *Codex diplomaticus comitum Károlyi de Nagy-Károly*, ed. Kálmán Géresi, 5 vols. (Budapest: n. p., 1882-1897); *Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vásonkeő*, ed. Imre Nagy, Iván Nagy, Dezső Véghely, Ernő Kammerer, and Pál Lukcsis, 12 vols. (Budapest: n. p., 1871-1931).

<sup>21</sup> I do not, of course, claim that my readings are perfect, still mistakes herein will at least be my mistakes.

<sup>22</sup> *Loca credibilia* were peculiar to the Hungarian Middle Ages. From approximately the beginning of the thirteenth century, they acted as public notaries. Many people and institutions also kept their charters in the chapter houses. For a quick introduction on how they functioned, see Imre Szentpétery, *Magyar oklevéltan* [Hungarian diplomatics] (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1930), 121-138. *Loca credibilia* were also the primary source of common knowledge, oral legal tradition; Erik Fügedi, "Verba volant... Oral Culture and Literacy among the Medieval Hungarian Nobility," in *Kings, Bishops, Nobles and Burghers in Medieval Hungary* (London: Variorum Reprint, 1986), VI, 1-25. We still use the proverb "Nem káptalan a fejem" (i. e. "My head is not a chapter"), if we cannot remember something.

<sup>23</sup> OL Df (Hungarian National Archives, Diplomatic Photo Collection) 200 353, 200 610 – 200 899, 200 902 – 201 203, 201 205 – 201 634, 230 049 – 230 077, 273 681, 283 184- 283 247. The old reference is U 402. The original charters are kept in Veszprém. For a description of the archives, see Pál Lukcsis, "A veszprémi székeskáptalan levéltára" [The archives of the chapter of Veszprém], *Levéltári Közlemények*, 8, no. 3-4 (1930): 151-181. A

stitution. The chapter had lands, villages, different sources of income, just like any other private or public “noble” body. The nearly 1100 charters discussing these lands formed a corpus that was of manageable size yet a sample large enough to serve as a basis for general conclusions.

The Vkpmlt contains 1096 charters connected to the settlements possessed in one way or another by the chapter, though 199 discuss matters like tithes, *ius gladii*, or the inventory of the library, and one may even find the records of incomes from the holdings of the chapter from around 1500.<sup>24</sup> The majority of the material was catalogued on the basis of the settlements to which they pertained. The number of these settlements is 112. I found altogether 63 documents containing perambulations.<sup>25</sup> One is an obvious early-modern forgery. A perambulation, as we have seen, was a strict legal procedure, thus in theory I should have counted every section that starts “Primo incepissent...” (“Firstly, they started...”, the formulaic opening of the description) as a separate boundary-walk. Nonetheless, there was only one document in which perambulations would have referred to very different places. Some had more than one bounds,<sup>26</sup> but these were carried out in one day in several places in one settlement, therefore I counted them as one. This was also practical for other calculations with the number of charters.

What are the drawbacks of this corpus? In other words, how far does it represent the surviving medieval material as a whole? Every corpus, for a start, must be biased. Representative sampling would require so much effort that it would be easier to work with all 200,000 documents. The Vkpmlt most probably has more perambulations than, for example, family archives, simply because the chapter had more land than most families. Then it is partial towards hilly countryside and woodland as opposed to flat land and pasture. The majority of the settlements mentioned are either in Co. Veszprém or in Co. Zala, with some in Co. Somogy, all of which were rather more wooded than most of the kingdom (fig. 1<sup>27</sup>).

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short English version is to be found in Péter Balázs, ed., *Guide to the Archives of Hungary* (Budapest: Archival Board of the Ministry of Culture, 1976), 196-197.

<sup>24</sup> Df 201 634. The source is published: *A veszprémi káptalan számadáskönyve 1495 – 1534: krónika 1526 – 1558: javadalmasok és javadalmak 1550, 1556* [Account book of the chapter of Veszprém 1495 – 1534: chronicle 1526 – 1558: prebendaries and prebends 1550, 1556], ed. László Kredics, Lajos Madarász, and László Solymosi (Veszprém: Veszprém Megyei Levéltár, 1997).

<sup>25</sup> For a list, see Appendix.

<sup>26</sup> Df 200 902, 200 956, 200 980, 201 061. The first one is the exception, it has two separate bounds, which I count separately.

<sup>27</sup> Reproduced after *Veszprémi káptalan számadáskönyve*, appendix.



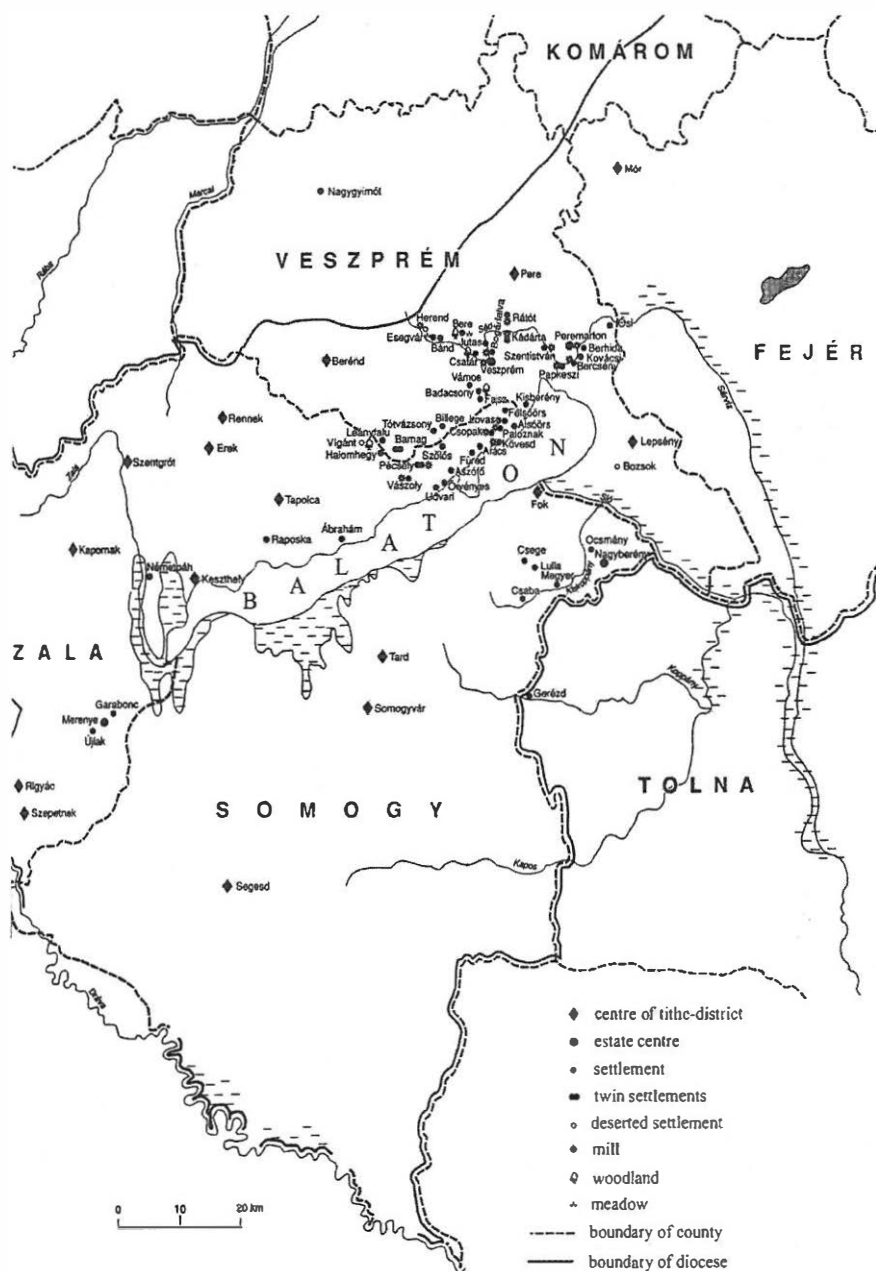


Figure 1: Holdings of the chapter of Veszprém around 1500.

Finally, we have to take into account that the distribution of perambulations in time is largely influenced by the history of the chapter of Veszprém itself.<sup>28</sup> They happened when the chapter was given some land or had some trouble with an existing settlement. I believe that the low number of perambulations in the fifteenth century is partly due to this phenomenon. All in all, the data and calculations presented in the following are intended to be the first solid ground in the sea of existing material, but it will take much more time and work to have a whole island on which one can set foot without the risk of sinking.

Returning to the original question, I would like to estimate, however feebly, approximately how many perambulations may exist in Hungarian medieval sources. In the Vkpmlt, there are 62 perambulations for 1096 charters, which is 5.75 %. Today, we know of the existence of approximately 200,000 documents up to 1526. I shall use this number, and not the 318,000 charters whose texts have been preserved in the 200,000 documents, since the 1096 charters that make up the Vkpmlt also contain transcriptions or mentions of far more charters. The 5.75 % of 200,000 is not less than 11,500, which is an astonishingly high number. One possible means to check how far this might be true is by examining the number of settlements in relation to the surviving perambulations. Here we are concerned with 112 settlements, at least as judged by those who set up the reference system of the Vkpmlt. Although naturally we cannot say that one perambulation always equals one and only one settlement, and even less that every perambulation represented the full boundary for one settlement – very often the perambulation is on the common boundary of two settlements: how can that be inserted into such calculations? – let us still utilise the rough-and-ready percentage of 56.25 % of the settlements of the Vkpmlt that have a perambulation. The total number of settlements known from written sources in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary (be they deserted or extant) is estimated to be around 20,000.<sup>29</sup> 56.25 % of this number comes to 11,250, which will certainly not prove, but at least strengthen confidence in the number of perambulations calculated above.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> József Lukcsics, *A veszprémi káptalan a XVI. században* [The chapter of Veszprém in the sixteenth century] (Veszprém: Egyházmegyei ny., 1908).

<sup>29</sup> István Szabó, *A falurendszer kialakulása Magyarországon* [The formation of the system of villages in Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966), 70. This number, although accepted and referred to, is more than problematic. Until about 1300, there were far more settlements (of whatever character) than what written sources suggest. Although nucleation from the thirteenth century resulted in settlements that would be called “villages” today, and written sources mention probably the majority of these, counting *all* remains of medieval settlements in the Carpathian Basin could easily lead to a number twice or three times more than twenty thousand.

<sup>30</sup> There is a statistical analysis of the archives connected to the estate of Szenyér (Co. Somogy.) Here, out of the 340 charters, 32 were perambulations, which is 9.4 %, almost twice as much as in the Vkpmlt. Iván Borsa, “A szenyéri uradalom Mohács előtti iratanyagának vizsgálata” [An analysis of the pre-Mohács documents of the estate of Szenyér], in *Mályusz*

Century	Number of perambulations
13 <sup>th</sup>	14
14 <sup>th</sup>	37
15 <sup>th</sup>	9
16 <sup>th</sup>	2

Figure 2: Number of perambulations in the Vkpmlt corpus.

The perambulations of the Vkpmlt are unevenly distributed in time. Most of the material comes from the fourteenth century, which is not surprising as opposed to the thirteenth, but it may be so in relation to the fifteenth.

It is clear, nonetheless, that the great age of perambulations in Hungary was in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In these two hundred years, the whole system of land ownership and estate structure was transformed. In the thirteenth century, huge royal lands fell into private hands. In the fourteenth century, the previously scattered possessions of landholders were concentrated into compact estates. All these involved perambulations on a large scale. The boundaries of individual units of land did not necessarily change, but they needed to be defined in writing for each new owner or new system. In contrast, the fifteenth century was a time of relative tranquillity.

### Boundary Signs

Counting boundary signs was not as easy as it initially promised to be. The first problem was the recurrent features in the same perambulation, for example, when the officials passed by a road, and then returned to what appears to be the same road.<sup>31</sup> This was sorted out by a fortunate custom of Hungarian medieval latinity: when a feature reappeared in a charter, it was named by the help of an adjective, such as *prefatus*, *predictus*, or *prescriptus*.<sup>32</sup> The second problem is connected to linguistics, and to our inadequate knowledge of the medieval countryside. Does, for example, *via magna* denote something characteristically different from *via*, or is *magna* a simple adjective as we would use it today? What is the relation of these two to *via publica*, or *via erbosa*?<sup>33</sup> Is there a dif-

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*Elemér emlékkönyv* [Studies in honour of Elemér Mályusz], ed. Éva H. Balázs, Erik Fügedi, and Ferenc Maksay (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 59-76.

<sup>31</sup> Oliver Rackham, when facing the same problem, used a straightforward method: every feature, even those most probably mentioned before, was counted separately. Oliver Rackham, *The History of the Countryside* (London: Dent, 1986; Phoenix Press, 2000), 10.

<sup>32</sup> In the few other cases features were counted separately.

<sup>33</sup> One perambulation suggests that *via erbosa* might be a footpath. *A pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-rend története* [A history of the Pannonhalmi order of St Benedict], vol. 2, *A Pannonhalmi Főapátság története: Második korszak* [A history of the archabbey of Pannonhalmi: The second period], ed. Sörös Pongrácz (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1903), 307-308. Tenyő (Co. Veszprém) 1258: "capitenea meta autem incipit in quadam via herbosa seu pedestri semita"

ference between *aqua* and *rivulus*?<sup>34</sup> My final choices of what to count as a separate entity are laid out in the Appendix. Trees were separated in the most detailed possible way, for example a *pirus*, *pirus silvestris*, *pirus et meta terrea*, and *pirus silvestris et meta terrea* are four entries in the table.

The total number of landmarks in the 62 perambulations is 1901, which gives the average charter 31 boundary signs. Altogether 134 types of signs were counted, however, this number is easily modified by merging different types of roads or trees. If we start examining this list at the bottom, we encounter many things that were mentioned just once, among them such curiosities as the nest of a hawk, a foxhole, or a vintage road (*via vindemialis*). Moving up the list, many types of tree were mentioned twice or three times (chestnut, cherry, crab-apple). Items mentioned more than ten times are three types of tree: walnut, pear, and oak accompanied by meadows, certain types of roads, or mills. The top ten are most intriguing. Woodland, with 35 occurrences, is just outside this limit, whereas both arable and vineyards are within it. Hills and valleys were mentioned altogether 115 times in the charters. The oak-tree surrounded by an earthen boundary (*ilex meta terrea circumfusa*) occupies the fifth place with 60 occurrences. The first three places testify to a striking feature of both the perambulations and medieval Hungary. *Via* is in the third position (129 mentions while all types of roads added up come to no less than 208), preceded by earthen boundary (*meta terrea* – 348), and boundary (*meta* – 466). These two are most probably the same since there are many allusions to the simple *meta* being actually made of earth. The two together were mentioned 814 times – 13 times on average – comprising almost forty-three percent of all boundary signs! This overwhelming predominance signifies at least three things. Firstly, that from the thirteenth century, when earthen boundaries started appearing in large numbers, the descriptions in perambulations concentrated less on natural features and more on one man-made aspects: little hillocks accumulated during the process itself. More and more of the actual countryside, thus, is hidden from the eyes of the modern researchers. Some late perambulations are nothing more than lists of earthen boundary signs. Secondly, that Hungary in the Middle Ages was a landscape where almost every settlement was surrounded by these earthen boundaries, which, as the logic of perambulations would prescribe, were within sight of one another. Sparse data provide some information about the size and shape of these hillocks. We know that sometimes they were quite big (an early-modern charter speaks of one that was 14-16 steps around), but more often about as high as a man.<sup>35</sup> One Vkpmlt perambulation relates that a certain hillock might not be a boundary, because it was „not round but elongated,”<sup>36</sup> which gives us an approximate idea of the shape. Thirdly, that a perambulation consisted of some

<sup>34</sup> Fieldwork revealed that in an eleventh-century perambulation around the Tisza river, *fluvium* and *aqua* had had different meanings. Laszlovszky, “Dedi etiam terram,” 9-23.

<sup>35</sup> Takács, *Határjárás*, 80.

<sup>36</sup> “quendam tumositatem terre non rotundam sed longuinam pro meta minime aptam” 1392. Df201 106. Translation mine.

earth moving – although the regular repairing (*renovare*, as it is usually referred to) of these hillocks may not have been such a great task – and thus, must have involved a number of people.<sup>37</sup>

### Trees in Perambulations

Trees appear in these perambulations in large numbers, mostly as individual, non-woodland plants. They were very often combined with the well-known earthen boundary (*meta terrea circumdata* or *circumfusa*). We find altogether 305 trees, recorded in 75 forms. Out of these, 14 were only defined as “tree” or “shrub.” Twenty-three different types were recorded, from the obvious oak and walnut, through hornbeam and lime, to juniper and service. In this sense, the list is definitely representative. There are not many types of trees mentioned in medieval documents that were not included here.

How much botanical precision should be expected from perambulations? Identification to the genus level is usually unproblematic, and if recognition of the species is also possible, it is because the genus sometimes automatically denotes species as well, as with beech (*Fagus silvatica*), for example. In some other cases, different names for the same species had to be sorted out. I would also like to refer to the scholarly opinion which supposes that names of trees in perambulations should not be interpreted straightforwardly. Thus, it is more advisable to speak about “a beech, so-called in the sources” rather than an actual beech.<sup>38</sup> In my view, this is an overly critical approach. We cannot expect the medieval perambulators to think in Linnean terms – that would be anachronistic – but I do not see any reasons why we should question their ability to tell a hornbeam from a lime. In particular instances one becomes suspicious (as with the single *pinus* in the Vkpmlt corpus), but those are simply inevitable mistakes that will occur in any human affair. Too much scepticism would hinder our work.

The document usually tells us what type of tree we are concerned with. Some complications might arise, of course, especially when Linnean terminology does not fit earlier practices. In the 1284 Barnag perambulation, for example, we read about “a certain ancient tree that is commonly called *magal*.” Today, Hungarian *magyal* is the evergreen holly (*Ilex aquifolium*); however, that tree is not native to Hungary, obviously due to our harsh winters. It took some

<sup>37</sup> Compare, for example, Verena Winiwarter, “Landscape Elements in the Late Medieval Village: Can Information on Land-Use Be Derived from Normative Sources?” *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*, 41 (1999): 22-42, where on page 41 the author wrote that “to calculate the amount of labor needed for agriculture in the Middle Ages one has to include the maintenance work needed for infrastructure and the work needed for erection and subsequent dismantling of temporary features such as fences.”

<sup>38</sup> Tamás Grynaeus and József Papp, “Régi magyar (gyógy)növénynevek, 15.-17. század” [Old Hungarian names of (medicinal) plants, fifteenth-seventeenth centuries], *Orvostörténeti Közlemények* (1977), Supplementum 9-10: 31-49.

research to find out that *magyal* in the Middle Ages meant an oak.<sup>39</sup> To make matters more complicated, *ilex* in medieval documents should also be understood as referring to oak. After the articles of Camillo Reuter, the mysterious Hungarian *haraszt* is also translated as oak,<sup>40</sup> however, despite the author's efforts, there is not one source that would demonstrate this explanation.<sup>41</sup> Such problems are not unique to the Hungarian situation. In Northern Italy, for example, early medieval documents did not use the word *quercus* at all. Instead, *rovere* referred to oaks, however, not to the tree that is now called *rovere* (*Quercus petraea*), but most probably to *Quercus robur*, whose modern name (*farnia*) is again missing from the sources.<sup>42</sup> Nonetheless, most cases are clear, and on a basic level perambulations are reliable sources for the identification of oaks, limes, hornbeams, etc. How we interpret this information is more problematic. Trees in perambulations do not necessarily represent the trees of the given region in general, since most boundary-trees were not woodland trees. On the other hand, trees in woods could easily serve as boundary signs, providing some extra feature – an earthen boundary, a cross, a picture – was added to them.

### Frequency of Different Trees

Type of tree	Occurrences	Type of tree	Occurrences
Oak	131	"shrub"	4
Wild-pear	50	ash	3
Willow	19	plum	2
Walnut	16	cherry	2
Beech	9	hazel	2
Sorb	9	<i>gyümölcvény</i>	2
Elm	8	hawthorn	2
Hornbeam	7	<i>troncus</i>	2
Crab-apple	7	"fruit tree"	1
"tree"	6	maple	1
Lime	6	alder	1
Poplar	4	service	1
Juniper	4	pine	1
Chestnut	4	<i>rubusculum</i>	1

Figure 3: List of trees mentioned in the Vekpmlt corpus.

A glance at the list reinforces the impression that most trees mentioned were free-standing. It would otherwise be impossible to account for the position

<sup>39</sup> Camillo Reuter, "Tölgy és haraszt" [Oak and *haraszt*], *Magyar Nyelv* 61 (1965): 80-89.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., and idem, "Adatok a régi magyar fa- és erdőnevek ismeretéhez" [Data concerning the ancient Hungarian names of trees and woods], in *Az erdőgazdálkodás története Magyarországon. (Tanulmányok)* [The history of forestry in Hungary (Essays)], ed. Szabolcsné Kolossváry (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975), 80-87.

<sup>41</sup> *Haraszt* occurs often, yet never together with its Latin equivalent, whatever that may have been.

<sup>42</sup> Massimo Montanari, *L'alimentazione contadina nell'alto Medioevo* (Naples: Liguori Editore, 1979), 36-37.

of wild-pear and walnut. The latter is not native to Hungary and does not grow in woods. The question, then, is how to interpret oak.

Oak is the most nationalist tree in Europe. Every country is proud of its connections to oak, and perceives its best features as being somehow embedded in this tree. Pride is, however, not associated with all oaks, but only with the pedunculate oak (*Quercus robur*). Hungarians are no different: medievalists are proud that King Béla III once held court under an oak,<sup>43</sup> and – although there is nothing whatsoever to prove this – are convinced that ancient Hungarians venerated certain oaks.<sup>44</sup> The above list also clearly signifies the attention people paid to oak. The tree was recorded as many times as the rest of the top ten put together. Is this because, as is often argued, “our woods mainly comprised this tree?”<sup>45</sup> The answer must be no, for we have seen that perambulations tended to record non-woodland trees. In contrast to the modern landscape, there must have been a large number of *free-standing* oaks scattered around the medieval countryside, which were particularly apt for boundary signs, because they lived long, had characteristic shapes, and were in general venerable trees.

To check how representative the Vkpmlt list may be for the country as a whole, I counted the trees in the fifty-five perambulations carried out in the years 1417 – 1420.<sup>46</sup> The results show a pattern rather similar to what we have seen above.

Type of tree	Occurrences	Type of tree	Occurrences
Oak	59	sorb	3
wild-pear	25	cherry	2
Willow	13	beech	2
<i>Haraszt</i>	8	hombeam	2
“tree”	7	alder	2
Walnut	6	maple	2
Elm	5	elder	1
Lime	5	service	1
Crab-apple	4	chestnut	1
<i>Troncus</i>	3	pine	1
Ash	3	“shrub”	1
Poplar	3	“fruit tree”	1

Figure 4: List of trees mentioned in perambulations from 1417 – 1420.

Oak, wild-pear, and willow again occupy the first three places. Walnut falls somewhat behind, however, it should be noted that all eight occurrences of

<sup>43</sup> III. Béla magyar király emlékezete [In memoriam Béla III, King of Hungary], ed. Gyula Forster (Budapest: n. p., 1900), 344.

<sup>44</sup> Pál Csőre, *A magyar erdőgazdálkodás története: Középkor* [A history of Hungarian forestry: The Middle Ages] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980), 24.

<sup>45</sup> Rómer, “Magyarország földirati és terményállapota,” 305. Translation mine.

<sup>46</sup> These are easily accessible in volumes 6 and 7 of the *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár*. Reference numbers are: vol. 6, no. 18, 371, 440, 451, 465, 563, 629, 665, 687, 751, 903, 940, 945, 973, 1068, 1204, 1288, 1396, 1405, 1583, 1741, 1915, 1947, 2113, 2220, 2563, 2679; vol. 7, no. 6, 158, 169, 329, 372, 440, 444, 655, 669, 833, 837, 843, 860, 930, 1261, 1305, 1377, 1592, 1694, 1762, 1765, 1802, 1871, 1885, 2257, 2276, 2333, 2387.

*haraszt* were found in one single document. Also remarkable is the fact that with a similar number of perambulations (62 and 55), the Vkpmlt documents contain almost twice as many trees as the boundary-walks of 1417-1420 (305 and 160, respectively). Is this because fifteenth-century perambulations were mostly concerned with "earthen boundaries," and fewer trees appeared in them than in earlier documents, or because the first list concentrates on a smaller area with many trees, whereas the second one on the (less full of trees) country as a whole?

## Conclusions

In this essay, I tried to demonstrate how medieval perambulations can be studied keeping the principles of ecology in mind. These documents are particularly useful in historical ecological research, because they contain quantitative data. In fact, as far as trees in medieval Hungary are concerned, perambulations are the only written documents available for such purposes. By analysing a well-defined sample, I argued that around 10,000 perambulations survived from the Hungarian Middle Ages. The frequency of different trees displays a remarkable pattern in perambulations. Oak dominates both lists I compiled, while the three other species often mentioned are walnut, pear, and willow. There is, apparently, something about perambulations that we do not quite understand, something that is responsible for this pattern. Tree lists extracted from these sources must not be interpreted as indicators of woodland composition. They might reflect the frequency of various species among free-standing trees, however, it is equally likely that we do not see a "real" landscape, rather a "perambulation" landscape. Does this mean that perambulations are useless for the study of medieval trees? The answer is no, but we have to approach them differently. We must keep the *pattern* in mind. It is *variations* in this pattern that are important. For example, mentions of many oaks in a perambulation corpus do not mean much. The absence of oaks, however, is very informative. Notes of a few alders are nothing special. If, however, mentions of alders occur more frequently than willows, we have to ask ourselves what the reasons could be.

There is, of course, more to perambulations than trees. I have only briefly touched upon other boundary signs, but there is no reason to doubt that patterns similar to that found with trees would emerge in their study, as well. Also, further research needs to examine more datasets, both to check whether my calculations about the number of medieval perambulations are correct and to see how universal the pattern of tree mentions is. There may well be various regional or chronological patterns. The ultimate, and not unrealistic, aim is to process all medieval perambulations.



## Appendix

### Perambulations in the Vkrpmlt corpus

Df number	Date	Df number	Date
283 210	1203	200 956	1361
201 312	1215	200 962	1363
200 630	1231	200 963	1364
200 902	1233	200 968	1364
200 902	1233	200 980	1367
200 903	1233	200 993	1368
200 631	1235	201 009	1368
201 086	1256	201 027	1379
200 661	1263	201 036	1379
200 660	1266	201 029	1380
200 684	1275	201 030	1381
201 106	1284	201 040	1383
200 726	1292	283 220	1383
200 757	1299	201 061	1386
200 761	1302	201 079	1389
200 815	1323	201 091	1392
201 137	1326	201 109	1394
200 833	1329	201 118	1395
200 849	1335	201 123	1397
201 202	1338	201 125	1399
200 859	1338	201 229	1423
200 865	1339	201 255	1430
200 869	1340	201 256	1431
200 870	1340	201 268	1435
200 891	1343	201 275	1436
200 896	1343	201 343	1454
200 915	1352	201 405	1466
200 926	1354	201 409	1466
200 928	1354	283 239	1489
200 979	1355	201 566	1507
200 955	1361	201 573	1508

Df = Diplomatic Photo Collection of the Hungarian National Archives.

# Boundary sings in the Vkpmlt corpus

Sign	Occurrences	Sign	Occurrences
meta	466	Prunus	2
meta terrea	348	Cerasus et mt	2
via	129	Avelle dumus	2
vallis	62	Platea	2
ilex et mt	60	Collis	2
via magna	55	Dumus	2
mons	53	Populus et mt	2
vinea	49	Cser et mt	2
terra arabilis	49	Iuniperis dumus	2
lapis	39	Sorbellus et mt	2
silva	35	Castanea	2
ilex	31	Castanea et mt	2
fluvius	29	Palus	2
monticulus	26	via vindemialis	1
molendinus	23	Silva regis	1
pirus et mt	17	Molendini clausura	1
rivulus	16	nemus pro canapis	1
aqua	16	rupes	1
pirus silvestris et mt	15	rubeti dumus	1
nemus	14	carpini dumus	1
virgultum	14	ilex et mlapidea	1
pratium	13	ilicis truncus	1
pirus	12	ilicis frutex	1
tölgy et mt	12	querci dumus et mt	1
bérc	11	nucis stips	1
fenetum	11	salicis dumus	1
meta lapidea	11	arbor fructifer	1
via publica	10	pomus silvestris	1
via erbosa	10	pomi silvestris dumus et mt	1
rubetum	10	ornus	1
nux et mt	10	pirus et lapis	1
puteus	9	piri silvestris dumus et mt	1
salix	9	dumus tölgy et mt	1
salix et mt	9	pomerium	1
sessio	9	foxhole	1
quercus et mt	8	castrum	1
semita	8	viminarum dumus	1
ulmus et mt	7	terra firma et spinosa	1

fons	6	parlag	1
arbor	6	nidus accipitris	1
carpinus et mt	6	porta seu apertum arbustorum	1
insula	5	fraxinus	1
nux	5	fraxini dumus et mt	1
spinetum	5	gyümölcsény du- mus	1
fagus	5	gyümölcsény du- mus et mt	1
fossatum	5	maple	1
campus	5	curia	1
quercus	4	frutex	1
pirus silvestris	4	ripa	1
fagus et mt	4	populus	1
sorbellus	4	populi frutex	1
via graminosa	3	alnus et mt	1
alveus	3	cserdumus	1
poinus	3	barkóca et mt	1
ortus	3	iuniper	1
fovea	3	iuniperis dumus et mt	1
berkenye et mt	3	ulmi rubus	1
tilia	3	cimiterium	1
tilia et mt	3	magyal et mt	1
magyal	3	arundinetum	1
pons	3	domus	1
lacus	2	truncus	1
stagnum	2	truncus et mt	1
dumus spinarum	2	pinus et mt	1
ilicis dumus	2	rubusculum	1
ilicis truncus et mt	2	cini silvestris rubus spinarum	1
pomus et mt	2	cini dumus et mt	1

mt = meta terrea.

MEDIUM AEVUM  
QUOTIDIANUM

46

KREMS 2002

HERAUSGEGEBEN  
VON GERHARD JARITZ

GEDRUCKT MIT UNTERSTÜTZUNG DER KULTURABTEILUNG  
DES AMTES DER NIEDERÖSTERREICHISCHEN LANDESREGIERUNG

**niederösterreich kultur**

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## Inhalt

Vorwort .....	5
Péter Szabó, Medieval Trees and Modern Ecology: How to Handle Written Sources .....	7
Krešimir Kužić, The Carving of the Solar Eclipse on a Medieval Croatian Tombstone .....	26
Alexandr B. Tscherniak, Der Fuchsschwanz. Einige Bemerkungen zum Schulgedicht <i>Videant qui nutriunt natos delicate</i> .....	34
Gerhard Jaritz, Fear and Fascination: Late Medieval German Perceptions of the Turks Revisited .....	40
Rezensionen .....	48
Anschriften der Autoren und Rezensenten .....	62

## Vorwort

Das vorliegende Heft von *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* widmet sich sehr unterschiedlichen Zugängen zu einer Geschichte des Alltags und der materiellen Kultur des Mittelalters, welche neuerlich den interdisziplinären Charakter des Forschungsfeldes deutlich machen sollen. Péter Szabó (Budapest) vertritt einen umweltgeschichtlichen Ansatz zur Analyse von ungarischen *perambulationes* und der in ihnen auftretenden Verwendung und Beschreibung von Landschaftselementen. Krešimir Kužić (Zagreb) beschäftigt sich mit astronomischen Erklärungsmodellen von Gestirnkonstellationen auf einem kroatischen Grabstein. Alexandr B. Tscherniak (Sankt Petersburg) bietet in einer literatur- und sprachhistorischen Analyse den Deutungsversuch des spätmittelalterlichen „Fuchschwanzes“. In einem Beitrag zum Türkenbild des Spätmittelalters in der schriftlichen Überlieferung werden unterschiedliche Konnotationsmuster in den Beurteilungen festgestellt. Alle vier Beiträge konzentrieren sich direkt oder indirekt stark auf verschiedene Varianten von Kontextualisierung, deren Berücksichtigung sich in der modernen alltagsgeschichtlichen Forschung des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit als unerlässlich erweist.

Die nächsten beiden Hefte unserer Reihe werden im Frühling bzw. Frühsommer 2003 als Sonderbände herausgegeben werden. Sonderband XIII/XIV wird eine neue Auswahlbibliographie zu Alltag und materieller Kultur des Mittelalters bieten. Seit Erscheinen der letzten derartigen Publikation in *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*–Newsletter 7/8 (1986) sind doch viele neue wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen aus unserem Interessensbereich erschienen, und eine Neuherausgabe ist damit notwendig geworden. Sonderband XV wird Untersuchungen beinhalten, die unter der Leitung bzw. Herausgeberschaft von Aaron J. Gurjewitsch von der russischen Forschung in Bezug auf die Analyse von Bildquellen für die Kultur-, Alltags- und Mentalitätsgeschichte des Mittelalters vorgelegt wurden. – Darüber hinaus befinden sich weitere Hefte in Planung, welche wieder alltagshistorische Beiträge beinhalten sollen, die bei den Internationalen Mittelalter-Kongressen in Kalamazoo und Leeds im Jahre 2003 vorgetragen werden.

Für die Jahre 2004/2005 sind zwei weitere Themenhefte geplant, welche sich interdisziplinär, überregional und komparativ mit den Problemkreisen von „Mittelalterlicher Alltag und das Phänomen der Verkehrten Welt“ bzw. mit „Mittelalterlichen Bewertungsstrategien von materieller Kultur“ auseinandersetzen sollen. Alle Mitglieder und Freunde von *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* sind

sehr herzlich eingeladen, an diesen Bänden aktiv mitzuarbeiten und uns bei diesbezüglichem Interesse so bald wie möglich darauf bezogene Themenvorschläge zu übermitteln.

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