

Social Stratification and Material Culture in 10th-14th Century Hungary

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The material culture is a complex feature, and its changes can be regarded as a result of different influences, e. g. environmental, economic, social, etc. However, material culture cannot be used automatically or directly in the reconstruction process of the structure of a given society.¹ Similarly misleading is the interpretation of the written sources which suggests that their positivist research can lead to a static picture of the social organization.² In this comparative study I am concerned with the transformation of social groups from the viewpoint of material culture. Therefore, we should also summarize the following theoretical questions:

1. Can we use the generally accepted historical categories in the course of our research, and can we employ them to describe the 10th-14th century Hungarian society?
2. According to the material culture of the given period, can we create new categories, which are more convenient in the reconstruction of the social structure?
3. Is it possible to use both methods and compare their data with each other?

SOCIAL STRUCTURE – HISTORICAL CATEGORIES

In the description of the 10th-14th century Hungarian society two different ways can be followed: on the one hand, according to the terminology of social groups of the contemporary written sources, to use these words in the

¹ I. Hodder, "Material Culture Texts and Social Change: A Theoretical Discussion and Some Archaeological Examples," *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 54 (1988), 67-75; id., *Reading the Past* (Cambridge, 1986).

² *From the Baltic to the Black Sea (Studies in Medieval Archaeology)*. Ed. D. Austin and L. Alcock (*One World Archaeology* 18) London et al., 1990; see especially the chapters by D. Austin, J. Thomas and T. C. Champion (9-91).

description; on the other hand, to create or to adopt historical categories (landlord, serf, peasant etc.) which can be connected with theoretical ideas and systems of the historical research. In the first case, we have to face the problems of the interpretation of medieval written sources. Although medieval charters, legends, chronicles contain a “bewildering plenty of titles and social levels”³, they are not consequent in their use. These written sources were not created for the reason of a historical interpretation, but to put the legal acts or stories on record. On the other hand, theoretically based historical categories and formations might cause misleading uniformization, in which the special features of the given social structure can be lost.

All these problems call for a new approach. One of the possible research strategies can be the investigation of the related problems of the material culture and the social structure.

The research of medieval material culture and everyday life has not been regarded as an independent discipline for a long time, but as a kind of illustration for the historical research of the Middle Ages. This trend was even recently supported by profit-oriented book editions. Representative pictorial books of the “Medieval World” used the tools, clothes, furniture, etc. of the period to make the presentation of historical ideas more splendid. The independent research of medieval material culture and everyday life changed this situation, and the institutes involved in these projects recently published their works being based on social, economic and political problems. In this process, medieval archaeology also played a prominent role, since the discipline was influenced by crucial, new theoretical and methodological ideas.

Medieval archaeology – or as it started, Christian archaeology – has been regarded as a tool for history and art history. Its role was to excavate buildings and materials to illustrate historical or art historical ideas, changes of style, etc. Archaeologists faced the problem, “If everything is written down already, why should we need archaeology in the medieval period?”⁴ This old-fashioned idea of historical archaeology has been rejected by the great expansion of medieval archaeology to historical fields since

³ C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages. Social Change in England c. 1200–1520* (Cambridge Medieval Textbooks) Cambridge, 1989, 10.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, note 2. See also: R. Hodges, “Method and Theory in Medieval Archaeology,” *Archeologia Medievale* 7 (1982), 7–38.

the 1960s. "The archaeologists have accumulated a mass of information, almost embarrassing in its sheer quantity, for the physical conditions of the past – called 'material culture' ... This refers not just to pottery, objects of bone, stone and metal, and to the remains of houses, but also to human bones (which yield valuable information about the age of death and disease) and to animal bones and plant remains."⁵

The other main feature of modern archaeology were the theoretical debates of the 1970–80s which are crucial from the viewpoint of our study. The revolution of the New Archaeology and the emergence of independent archaeological directions led also to publications involved in social problems. Anthropological archaeology, old archaeology, ethno-archaeology, etc. all have to face the problem of how to find connection between the differences of the material culture (i. e. the finds) of different peoples or groups and the social structure of the given society.⁶

This paper owes much to this growing importance of medieval archaeology and the theoretical debates of "social stratification" in archaeological material. The interpretation of the wealths of the new evidence is still continuing, and historians and archaeologists had to think again about some of their assumptions on medieval material culture and social structure.

10TH-14TH CENTURY SOCIAL STRATIFICATION.

A RECONSTRUCTION BASED ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Hungarian historiography has for a long time been pre-occupied with the structure of Hungarian society in the Conquest period and the Árpadian Age – the 10th–13th centuries.⁷ The positivist period of the close of the last century saw the extensive discussion of these problems, since the literary evidence, especially the critical edition of contemporary laws and charters, involved problems of interpretation: for instance the contemporary meaning of terms such as *liber*, *libertinus*, *servus*. This, necessarily, led to a reconstruction of the social structure. That problem always stayed in the foreground of Hungarian historiography, even though it was often approached from various angles. Following World War II, the Marxist, or very often vulgar-Marxist concept of class struggle was the basis of these

⁵ Op. cit., note 3, 3.

⁶ See note 1.

⁷ For the literature on these problems see: A. Bartha – Gy. Székely (ed.), Magyarország története. Előzmények és magyar történet 1242-ig (Budapest, 1984), 1625–1712.

studies.⁸ Nonetheless, there remained a problematic point in the study of formations because even though feudalism became stabilized in Hungary by the close of the 11th century, the emergence of classical class structures, e. g. the appearance of the serf class or the emergence of manorial system, can only be dated to the 14th century.⁹ It is similarly difficult to classify this period according to medieval orders since these had not fully evolved at that time.¹⁰ We could attempt a reconstruction of the social structure through a sociological approach, taking the “we”- or community-consciousness of various groups as a starting point. However, in this case the documentary evidence, basically of legal nature, is of very little help. Although there were legal acts of the social status in the 13th century, the sources of that transition period are not consequent in the use of terms like *nobiles*, *liber*, *libertinus*, and they had different meanings – as we shall see later.¹¹ The above clearly illustrated methodological and interpretational problems involved in an analysis based solely on the historical sources, in spite of the fact that even minor details of social evolution during the period in question have by and large been clarified.

If we review the history of research into the social evolution of medieval Hungary we can find considerable differences between the various periods which reflect the extent to which the reconstruction of the social scene was based on historical or archaeological evidence. The surviving written sources from the Conquest period practically offer no data whatsoever on contemporary social structure, aside from a few remarks about the duke and his immediate surrounding.¹² Later chronicles, on the other hand, tend to fill the gaps in their knowledge of the Conquest period

⁸ A good example for this way of interpretation is the volume: *Tanulmányok a parasztság történetéhez a 14. században*. Ed. Gy. Székely (Budapest, 1953), which, in other sense, is a remarkable work of Hungarian historiography.

⁹ I. Bolla, *A jogilag egységes jobbágyosztály kialakulása* (Budapest, 1983); J. Szűcs, *Megosztott parasztság – egységesülő jobbágyág. A paraszti társadalom átalakulása a 13. században* [Paysannerie divisée – intégration de la classe des serfs. Mutation de la collectivité programme au XIII^e siècle] *Századok*, 1981, 3–66, 263–320.

¹⁰ A. Kurcz, *Lovagi kultúra Magyarországon a 13–14. században* (Budapest, 1988), 17–65.

¹¹ See note 9.

¹² *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, I–II. Ed. E. Szentpétery (Budapest, 1937–38); Gy. Györffy, *A magyarok elődeiről és a honfoglalásról. Kortársak és krónikások hirdásai* (Budapest, 1986).

through the projection of considerably later conditions.¹³ This was one of the reasons why there emerged a totally mistaken construction, picturing the Conquest period Hungarians as an extremely wealthy, horse-mounted nomadic people with foreign slaves.¹⁴ The first extremely lavish Conquest period finds seemed to offer archaeological support to this romantic notion, fuelled in part also by 19th century poetry. The reports and accounts of Arabic and Persian travellers had partly modified this extremely one-sided picture of pre-Conquest Hungarian society¹⁵, but the reconstruction of the social structure of the Conquest period is fundamentally based on the new archaeological evidence, and primarily the analysis of cemeteries.¹⁶

By the end of the 11th century, however, the pagan burials and large cemeteries were usually no longer in use, and the poor finds from the church cemeteries are unsuitable for an analysis of this kind. On the other hand, laws have survived from the beginning of the 11th century which contain information regarding social stratification.¹⁷ The laws of the kings Ladislaus and Coloman, the increasingly frequent charters from the 12th century¹⁸ and the *Várad Regestrum*¹⁹, a register of ordeals in Várad, offer a fairly precise and accurate picture of social evolution in the 11th–13th centuries. Consequently, few attempts have been made at the social interpretation of archaeological finds.

There is an even greater wealth of literary evidence from the 14th–16th centuries and, thus, the basis of social reconstruction remained essentially the same. The model of orders or classes can be usefully applied from the 14th century, since the emergence of both the feudal orders and the legally uniform serfdom can be traced to this period. At the same time, contem-

¹³ Gy. Györffy, "Anonymus társadalmi szemlélete," *Eszmetörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról*. Ed. Gy. Székely (Budapest, 1984), 71–81.

¹⁴ The splendid ceremonies of the "Millennium" in 1896 gave a strong support for this kind of interpretation.

¹⁵ Gy. Györffy, *op. cit.* note 12.

¹⁶ For the archaeological literature see: I. Banner – J. Jakabffy, *Archäologische Bibliographie des Mittel-Donau-Beckens* (Budapest, 1954, 1961, 1968, 1981).

¹⁷ L. Závodszy, *A Szent István, Szent László és Kálmán korabeli törvények és zsinati határozatok forrásai* (Budapest, 1904).

¹⁸ *Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke I-II/1*. Ed. I. Szentpétery (Budapest, 1923–43).

¹⁹ J. Karácsonyi – S. Borovszky, *Várad-i tüzesvaspróba lajstrom (Regestrum Varadiense exaniminum ferri candentis)* Budapest, 1903.

porary tax assessments and testaments would indicate that a considerable financial stratification within the specific orders, legal units and classes was evolved and often transgressed these frameworks which is also amply reflected in the material culture.²⁰ This goes to show that it is impossible to draw a general picture of a complex system, such as Medieval Hungarian society, on the basis of randomly chosen factors, as there are legal unity or class, etc. This suggested the possibility of a similar approach to the investigation of related problems in the Árpadian Age, since we have seen that analysis based on archaeological evidence has yielded basically novel information both for the preceding and the ensuing periods.

One of the most widely discussed issues in contemporary analysis of social history is that of pre-classical class formations, i. e. communities which already show social stratification. The terms 'ranked and stratified societies' have mainly been reserved for prehistoric research and, thus, these social reconstructions are primarily based on the archaeological evidence.²¹ Similar social phenomena, however, have also been noted in the later periods, and the period preceding the emergence of feudal states show numerous related features. It may suffice to quote the analysis of the Anglo-Saxon period or medieval gateway communities.²² A comparison between the former and the social relations of the Árpadian Age reveals numerous similar traits, and, thus, a social reconstruction based on the archaeological evidence is undoubtedly justified.

Before surveying the social evolution in the 11th-13th centuries, let us review the social stratification of the Conquest period and Árpadian Age, and the methods employed in their study.

It was Gyula László who in the 1940s first attempted to reconstruct Conquest period society on the basis of excavated cemeteries. He had a concept of 'reanimating' these cemeteries, since he considered them to

²⁰ A. Kurcz, *op. cit.*, note 10; E. Fügedi, *Castle and Society in Medieval Hungary 1000-1437* (Budapest, 1986); A. Kubinyi, "Die Rolle der Archäologie und der Urkunden bei der Erforschung des Alltagslebens in Spätmittelalter," *Études historiques hongroises publiées à l'occasion du XVI^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques I* (Budapest, 1985), 615-644; K. Csilléry, "A lakáskultúra társadalmi rétegek szerinti differenciálódása [Die Differenzierung der Wohnkultur nach sozialen Schichten]," *Ethnographia* XCVI (1985), 173-211.

²¹ C. Renfrew - J. Shennan (eds.), *Ranking, resource and exchange* (Cambridge, 1982).

²² R. Hodges, "The evolution of gateway communities: their socio-economic implications," in: *op. cit.*, note 21.

have been accurate reflections of the contemporary life. However, only few cemeteries were known at the time, most of which had not fully been excavated. Nonetheless, there emerged an extremely interesting picture: the cemeteries containing an average of 25 burials situated in one or several rows suggested a social organization based on extended families. He also found ethnographic parallels to this, which led to the partly erroneous conclusion that this was the characteristic social unit of the Conquest period Hungarians.²³ The method itself proved to be extremely fruitful, and the number of well excavated and accurately observed cemeteries increased considerably. Béla Szőke's recognition that the poor cemeteries, containing several hundred – occasionally over a thousand – burials which had formerly been assigned to the Bielo Brdo culture should be associated with the Conquest period Hungarians, was based on these newly excavated cemeteries.²⁴ The role of those cemeteries was subject to heated discussions in which the main arguments were, unfortunately, of nationalistic or political nature. It is by now fairly clear that these cemeteries contain graves of 10th–11th century commoners, composed of a large population already subjugated by the time of the Conquest and the conquered local population of varying ethnicity.

The archaeological and anthropological analysis of these cemeteries clearly showed that the basic social unit of this population was the nuclear family.²⁵ This was furthermore supported by the excavated houses of the contemporary settlements.²⁶

A comparison of the various forms of burial in the 10th–11th centuries clearly outlined the main groups of social stratification. The graves of the members of tribal and clan leaders and their family are to be found singly, sometimes under a burial mound. The cemeteries with 10–30 graves contained the burials of the military retinue of the leading stratum. The

²³ Gy. László, *A honfoglaló magyar nép élete* (Budapest, 1944).

²⁴ B. Szőke, *A honfoglaló és kora Árpád-kori Magyarország emlékei* (Budapest, 1962).

²⁵ K. Ery, "Anthropological Studies on a Tenth Century Population at Kál, Hungary," *Anthropologia Hungarica* IX (1970), 9–62; id., "Reconstruction of the Tenth Century Population of Sárbogárd on Basis of Archaeological and Anthropological Data," *Alba Regia VIII–IX* (1967–68), 93–148; id., "Anthropological Examination of a Tenth Century Population at Tengelic, Hungary," *Anthropologia Hungarica* X (1971), 49–90.

²⁶ I. Balassa, *A parasztház évszázadai [Jahrhunderte des Bauernhauses]*. Békéscsaba, 1985.

commoners rested in the large cemeteries containing of many rows. The more detailed investigation of these cemeteries and the early toponyms also contributed towards a better knowledge of further stratification within the ruling elite and the specific form of social organization. Grown-up male children from wealthier families, e. g., moved away after marriage, and only the smallest boy remained at home, inheriting the patrimony. The burials of such male children succeeding their fathers have been unearthed in several places, and the practice of this custom has been amply documented in cemeteries. In other cases, the former household was run by the woman outliving her family, a custom likewise reconstructed from observations made in cemeteries. Polygamy was occasionally practised in the highest ranking layer. However, only the chief's wife was buried alongside her husband, lesser wives were usually buried near their former abode.

The burial grounds of the highest ranking families also include the graves of their personal servants, who were buried alongside the members of the family, usually at the edge of the grave rows or cemetery. These burials were rarely provided with grave goods and the deceased were sometimes buried in a contracted position.

Important observations were made about the structure of family in the cemeteries of the middle layer. It would appear that nuclear families also appeared alongside extended families. The largest numbers of burials were unearthed in the 'commoners' cemeteries. The analysis of these cemeteries definitely showed that there was further stratification also within this layer. The silver mounts, the silver, electron jewellery and lock rings suggested persons of higher rank, whereas burials with single bronze lock rings or without grave goods obviously represented the poorest layer of society. It is, nonetheless, extremely difficult to draw a general picture of stratification within the commoners. On the one hand, these cemeteries do not readily lend themselves to comparison with each other, and, on the other hand, significant changes occurred during the 200 years of their use. This obstacle to the reconstruction of the society could only be overcome with the precise dating of various grave groups, whereby they could be realistically compared. However, the difficulties in dating the various types of this period do not make this possible, owing to their long usage.

Consequently we cannot distinguish a single assemblage or find type for characterizing financial stratification within the 'commoners' cemeteries. It was formerly attempted to reconstruct the rank of the deceased on

the basis of arrowheads in his grave.²⁷ However, this is clearly unreliable because, even though the number of deposited arrowheads was undoubtedly related to the rank of the deceased, no absolute criteria or numbers can be established, since customs differed in this respect from community to community, and it would be misleading to assume a schematization to this extent in the contemporary social relations. The presence of silver lock-rings, dress ornaments or a mount-decorated belt is similarly unsuitable for drawing general conclusions.

In the course of the 11th century, especially in its second half, a general impoverishment regarding grave goods can be observed. This was formerly associated with the spread of Christianity, with the prohibition of pagan cults, resulting in the decrease of grave goods. A recent publication of an 11th century grave – part of a heavily destroyed cemetery – also supported this idea. In the grave at Rezi-Gyöngyösi csárda no grave goods were buried with the male deceased, but 57 silver coins of king Andreas I and of prince and later king Béla I from the second half of the 11th century were found. The coins were very close to the left tibia, and it has been suggested by the author of the publication that the coins must have been in the grave because the man put this sum of money in his clothes without the knowledge of his relatives before his death. According to this interpretation, the lack of grave goods does not show the low social status of the buried person in this period, but the growing importance of Christianity. The value of the coins was about the price of a draught animal, and we know some other examples, where not one piece of coin (*obulus*) was buried with the deceased but a great sum of money.²⁸ These examples clearly support the idea that the reconstruction of social stratification cannot only be based on the interpretation of grave goods in the 11th century cemeteries. However, the process of impoverishment regarding grave goods cannot be explained with the single factor of the influence of Christianity. It can be observed that grave goods associable with pagan rites, such as horse burials, the deposition of food and beverage in vessels, etc., do in fact decrease by the 11th century. Some of these customs transformed in the later period, e. g., horses were not killed in the burial process but were given to the church. However, the decrease in the number of the jewellery

²⁷ I. Dienes, *Hungarians cross the Carpathians* (Budapest, 1972).

²⁸ R. Müller, "XI. századi sir Rezi-Gyöngyösi csárdánál," *Zalai Gyűjtemény* 26 (1987), 75–81.

and dress ornaments can in no way be explained by the spread of Christianity since there is no ecclesiastic decree prohibiting their deposition, even more so, since these are not grave goods in the strict sense, but parts of the costume and coiffure, etc. Several paragraphs are devoted to the prohibition of pagan costumes in the 11th century laws, but these do not contain prohibitions of this kind.²⁹ It has been suggested that ecclesiastic prohibitions only extended to the custom of cremation. On the other hand, burial grounds with rows of graves – cemeteries of the commoners with a great number of graves from the 11th century, and in marginal areas even from the 12th century – have been regarded by archaeologists as pagan burials, while the graves in the cemeteries around the churches – i. e. consecrated area – were regarded as indication of the spread of Christianity from the beginning of the 11th century. Such cemeteries started also in the second half of the 11th century, and in marginal areas even in the 12th century.³⁰ Unfortunately, this clear picture, suggested by a former generation of scholars, can also be rejected, since neglected historical data and new archaeological excavations do not support such a one-sided interpretation. In the longer version of the *Legenda S. Gerhardi Episcopi* which contains important data on the life of the 11th century bishop, who played a significant role in the foundation of the Hungarian church, we can read about this problem: *Factum est autem, cum episcopus egredetur cum fratribus suis suam visitare dyocesim, ut consecraret eorum cymiteria, qui erant ecclesias constructuri [...]*.³¹ This clearly suggests that some of the cemeteries regarded by archaeologists as pagan burial grounds were consecrated cemeteries. The pagan uprisings of the 11th century very often destroyed the churches built by these communities, as it was recorded in late 11th century laws. Archaeological data also suggest that the ruins of these early churches can hardly be found because of their light structure. Thus, the clear distinction between burial grounds with rows of graves and cemeteries around churches, i. e. between pagan and Christian cemeteries, does not really exist. This conclusion makes it even more difficult to ex-

²⁹ Op.cit., note 17.

³⁰ I. Bóna, "Arpadenzeitliche Kirche und Kirchhof im südlichen Stadtgebiet von Dunaujváros," *Alba Regia XVI* (1978), 99–157.

³¹ Op.cit., note 12, II/495; *Kurze Geschichte Siebenbürgens*. Ed. B. Köpeczi (Budapest, 1989), 154–174, 700.

plain the impoverishment of grave goods in the 11th century cemeteries and the factors of this process.

An interesting parallel can be drawn in this respect with Anglo-Saxon development in the 7th century, where similar phenomena have been observed. Anglo-Saxon society underwent considerable changes in this period: On the testimony of the burials, members of the ruling elite amassed considerable fortunes, and they can be distinguished from the commoners buried in large communal cemeteries also on the basis of their burials. They were often buried in distinguished places within the church. Later on, however, some sort of impoverishment can also be noted among the burials of higher ranking persons, even though their burials still indicate a greater wealth than those of persons buried in other grave rows. Formerly, this phenomenon had similarly been associated with the spread of church power, but it would appear that other factors must also be considered since contemporary pagan mound burials show similar signs of impoverishment and since there is no indication whatsoever, whether the church exerted an influence on this matter.³²

It would appear that another explanation must be sought for these chronologically and spatially far distant, but essentially similar phenomena of impoverishment. We can probably assume a period of introversion following social changes and transformations in social stratification, perhaps coupled with the diminution or exhaustion of external resources and a general precariousness of life, affecting a large segment of population. Internal struggles and revolts, and also the late 11th century laws of Hungary are clear indications of this.³³

The implication of this process for the problems investigated in this paper is that detailed analysis of cemeteries as a research strategy for gaining information on the social structure is hardly useful in the study of periods following the second half of the 11th century. The burials of the 12th–13th centuries are too poor as to be suitable for social analysis.³⁴ Graves of the ruling elite are to be found in the distinguished spots within the church. Kings were usually interred in the Székesfehérvár basilica or

³² J. C. Arnold, "Stress and stimulus for socio-economic change: Anglo-Saxon England in the seventh century," in: *op. cit.*, note 21.

³³ *Op. cit.*, note 17.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, note 30.

in the church or cloisters actively supported by them.³⁵ There is evidence of the foundation of cloisters by noblemen with a similar purpose in mind already from the 11th century onwards. This practice later became almost general and a network of clan monasteries evolved throughout the land. These burials, however, seldom yielded significant grave goods, and the rank of the deceased is usually indicated by objects symbolizing their power: crowns, rings, etc. Likewise, gravestones offer little by the way of substantial information in this respect.³⁵

On the testimony of historical sources, Árpadian Age peasant society in the 11th–13th century was an intricately structured, strongly stratified formation. As it was common in medieval Europe, “contemporaries tended to describe their own society in terms of many subtle gradations of status, emphasizing vertical divisions, such as between clergy and laity, or between free and unfree. They also recognized the importance of horizontal stratification, as can be seen from their use of economic function (such as that workers in the three orders theory)”³⁷ In 11th–13th century Hungary the social status of individual persons and groups was determined by their legal status, the extent of their feudal servitude and personal bondage, and the possession of a private property. The diversity is further emphasized by the fact that, depending on their type of holding, the various categories denoted different relations. The royal castle estates, forming the basis of royal authority and administration, and the crown estates, which can be regarded as the sovereign’s private property, formed entirely separate systems. There are, likewise, considerable differences between the social forms of ecclesiastic and secular private estates. This complex system is further complicated by the fact that various terms had different meanings within various groups. The lowest layer was characterized by a service (*servus*) relation but, at the same time, members of the royal council were similarly in a servants’ relation to the king. The expression *serf – iobagio* – which from the 14th century onwards was used to denote one basic class of the feudal system, the peasants, is at this time used to denote a somewhat

³⁵ On the royal graves in popular style: I. Hankó, *A magyar királysírok sorsa* (Budapest, 1987).

³⁶ L. Gerevich, *A pilisi ciszterci apátság* [Die Zisterzienser Abtei von Pilis]. Szentendre, 1984.

³⁷ Op. cit., note 3, 35.

better position within a certain layer: the highest ranking group within the men of free legal status on royal estates.

The generic term *servus* covered men of highly diverse status: the lowest was the real servant of full bondage, who hardly enjoyed more rights than the slaves of classical antiquity. His lord could sell or purchase him as he pleased, his family ties remained unrecognized and they were assessed individually, not according to families. Another group had to render service “beside the plough”, thus their task was somewhat more precisely circumscribed, it did not extend to any kinds of work. There were also persons who were obliged to perform special duties – ploughman, vinedressers –, and *servi* appeared with their own house or landed property, who had transgressed the limits of servitude. The next large layer comprised the freed persons, the *liberti* and *libertini*. They bought their freedom or were manumitted by their lords to various degrees of freedom in exchange for a certain sum of compensation. The manifold interpretation of *libertas* is also to be found among the freeman, since the “freeman of the church” in fact enjoyed but limited freedom. On the other hand, persons who held important posts in the royal castle organization or persons who possessed relatively large estates, a village or part of a village and servant families, were similarly included in the category of *liber* legal status.

The mid 13th century saw large-scale social transformation. The political movements which led to the issue of the Hungarian Golden Bull were paralleled by the movements in the uppermost social layers. A specific reorganization or, more precisely, a tendency towards uniformization can be observed in the peasant population. The role of the middle layer became more important: a part of their personal bondage remained unaltered, but the nature of their bondage and their *conditio* were more precisely circumscribed. The *libertas* of *hospes* population increased and became a desirable goal for other layers. The growth of agricultural productivity, coupled with an emergent market economy and commodity production, gradually ousted the *predia*, based on *servus labor*, from the economic scene. The labour productivity could no longer be increased through this layer. The process led to the emergence of legal uniform serfdom in the 14th century which for certain formerly existing layers involved a rise in status, and for others a decline. However, this layer was already financially stratified at the moment of its emergence. At the same time, the uppermost layer of rural population rose to the rank of noblemen who by that time had organized their order. The social conditions of the mid-13th

century, thus, still preserved elements of the strongly stratified formations of the preceding Árpadian Age, in terms of legal status and bondage, but at the same time revealed the formative traits of a later uniformization.³⁸

It has been shown before that the evidence from cemeteries is unsuitable for refining the picture of contemporary society reconstructed on the testimony of written sources.³⁹

Other types of archaeological evidence, the coin hoards of the Árpadian Age, certain jewellery types, the material culture in general and especially the settlement pattern provide a further source of information. Former archaeological research has by and large neglected to exploit the possibilities offered by these sources and few analysis in this respect presented only tentative conclusions.

The most significant among these sources are the coin hoards, especially those from the 13th century. However, the scholars engaged in their study mostly focused on the numismatic evaluation of these hoards and possible conclusions about monetary history. Apart from Bálint Hóman's pioneering study, this latter aspect had also been mainly neglected.⁴⁰ Studies presenting possible social conclusions based on recently found or re-evaluated coin hoards are sorely lacking. Thus, in the following, only a few studies can be quoted in this respect.

N. Parádi analysed those medieval coin hoards which were buried in pots, and he also discussed certain related problems.⁴¹ This source of information is especially suitable for the reconstruction of social history, since coin hoards buried in pots can be generally regarded as closed assemblages, insofar as the find circumstances also support this. Taking them as separate units they can provide information on the financial situation of a person or a family. Parádi tried to determine the values of these hoards in relation to contemporary price conditions, and he drew the following conclusion: "We are uncertain about the owners of earlier periods, the 11th-12th century, but there are reasons for identifying them with members of the lower classes and layers (serfs, craftsmen, tradesmen) to the extent that they became engaged in the emergent commodity production and

³⁸ Op. cit., note 9.

³⁹ Op. cit., note 30.

⁴⁰ B. Hóman, *Magyar pénztörténet* (Budapest, 1916).

⁴¹ N. Parádi, "Magyarországi pénzleletes középkori cserépedények [Poteries médiévales hongroises contenant des monnaies]," *Archaeológia Értesítő* 90 (1963), 205-252.

money economy. All the same, the owners of Árpadian Age assemblages could hardly have belonged to the lower layers of society. The 12th–13th century assemblages, especially those hidden at the time of the Mongol invasion, definitely include the treasures of higher ranking persons. We also know of a few Árpadian Age finds, e. g. the Richárdpuszta assemblage from the 12th century, which definitely suggest a wealthy person, perhaps a rich merchant”.⁴²

N. Parádi also studied the 13th century jewellery hoards which consisted mainly of widely worn types, often buried together with coins, a feature which made them especially suitable for archaeological research. He also attempted to define the social status of their owners. These jewels are fairly uniform in the sense that they were wrought from precious metals, and in terms of their craftsmanship. They are easily distinguishable from the personal ornaments, often highlighted with stone inlays or enamel-decoration, of the ‘nobility’. Moreover, the latter were never buried together with money. The widespread use of the jewels contradicts to the possibility that they belonged to higher-ranking persons. At the same time, their worn conditions, indicating a long period use, argues against the possibility that they were part of a trade’s merchandise. The majority of these finds came to light in villages; consequently, their owners belonged to the rural segment of Árpadian Age society which already had contact with the emergent commodity production and money economy.⁴³

The same group of assemblages was later discussed by K. Mesterházy when he studied the precious metal variants of the commoners’ ornaments: the gold and electron S-terminalled lock rings. He suggested that these can in no way be associated with the attire of the commoners and, accepting N. Parádi’s conclusions, they neither can be linked to the nobility. He associated these finds with those peoples of unspecified status who are frequently mentioned in the *Várad Regestrum*. They cannot be regarded as members of the lower nobility, since that class had not evolved yet, but they were probably freeman possessing a smaller estate or village part with

⁴² Op. cit., note 41.

⁴³ N. Parádi, “Pénzekkel keltezett XIII. századi ékszerek. A Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharaszti kincslet [Münzdatierte Schmuckstücke aus dem 13. Jahrhundert. Der Schatzfund von Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharaszt],” *Folia Archaeologia XXVI* (1975), 119–163.

a few servant families. They can perhaps be identified with the lower layer of court or castle people.⁴⁴

A more detailed statistical analysis of Árpadian Age coin hoards can provide information on the further stratification of the rural population. However, certain prerequisites must be met, since, only in this case, the results thus obtained can be considered representative. On the one hand, a considerable high number of hoards is needed, and on the other hand it has to be proved that, in the period in question, money economy had flourished to such an extent that coin hoards formed the basis of thesaurisation among the rural population. Several coin hoards are known from the 11th-12th centuries, but their evaluation presents several difficulties because the value and the purity of the silver in these coins was under constant change, and, beside Hungarian copper coins, Byzantine copper and gold coins were also in circulation.⁴⁵ The comparison is not an easy task, and our knowledge of the price of various commodities is so scanty that the buying value of these coins is practically undefinable.⁴⁶ Nonetheless, it is fairly clear that there was no money economy – in general – in the 11th century, and there are only sporadic indications of such in the 12th century. At the same time, the constant depreciation of money in the 12th century resulted in the increasing use of pure silver, another disturbing factor in the evaluation of emergent money circulation. Contrarywise, the coin hoards of the 13th century offer an almost ideal analytical basis. A large number of hoards are known from this period which in themselves imply a large scale circulation. (Comparable rich hoards are known from 9th-10th century Scandinavia.) The majority of these hoards can be assigned to the Friesach hoard type, i. e. they mostly contained Friesach coins. Most of these hoards were buried at the time of Mongol invasion, thus they represent a specific chronological horizon and are readily comparable with each other in terms of value. As a consequence of the constant depreciation of money in the 12th century, Hungarian silver coins which in the 11th century reached extremely faraway markets, disappeared from exter-

⁴⁴ K. Mesterházy, "Köznepi ékszerek nemesfém változatai: arany S-végű hajkarikák [Edelmetallvarianten von Schmuckstücken des Gemeines Volkes: Goldene Schläfenringe mit S-förmigen Ende]," *Alba Regia* XX (1983), 143-153.

⁴⁵ I. Gedai, "Fremde Münzen im Karpatenbecken aus dem 11.-13. Jahrhundert," *Acta Archaeologica Hungarica* 21 (1969), 105-148.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

nal money circulation, and from the close of the 12th century onwards we witness the appearance of foreign coins in Hungary. Most numerous among those are the high quality silver coins, the so-called Friesach coins, minted in various mints of Styria by various persons. These became so widespread in the 13th century that even the Hungarian king demanded that certain sums must be paid with this money, rather than with the coins of inferior quality issued by himself.⁴⁷ One Friesach coin was found, e. g., in a 13th century deserted house of an isolated farmstead in the Great Hungarian Plain. The poor quality of archaeological material of this house can also support the conclusion that Friesach coins were used as exchange tools even by the poorest layer of society.⁴⁸ It yet remains to be established which social layer hid these hoards at the time of the Mongol invasion. One of the most valuable documents from this period, Rogerius' 'Song of Lamentations', contains the following passage when relating the siege of Esztergom: "The Hungarians, the Wallons and the Lombards, who were the lords of the city, upon seeing that they could no longer hold themselves [...] burnt countless precious textiles and garments [...] the gold and silver they buried in the earth, hiding all their valuables."⁴⁹ This passage would suggest that the persons burying these hoards belonged to the wealthiest layers or were rich merchants. I. Gedai, who devoted an exhaustive study to the circulation of foreign coins in Árpadian Age Hungary, was evidently of similar opinion since he associated these hoards with the major trade routes and trading centres.⁵⁰ Nonetheless, there is evidence indicating that this is a rather restricted view. Demographic analyses have clearly shown that there exists a phenomenon called 'inequality before death' in certain historical situations, e. g. times of war, the rage of an epidemic, etc., in which lower layers tend to be more affected by these plights.⁵¹ Likewise, at the time of the Mongol invasion, the highest ranking nobles had better prospects of escaping to the other countries, like the Hungarian king and his court escaped to an island of the Dalmatian coast. Widely-travelled merchants who had excellent sources of information about the Mongol invasion and good connections throughout the continent also found it easier

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Unpublished excavation at Tiszaug-Kisrépart.

⁴⁹ T. Katona (ed.), *A tatárjárás emlékezete* (Budapest, 1981), 144.

⁵⁰ Op. cit., note 45.

⁵¹ E. A. Wrigley, *Népesedés és történelem* (Budapest, 1973).

to abandon their homes. As the young *nobiles* escaped from the town in Bocaccio's Decameron in the time of epidemic, highest ranking people could easily run away with their coaches and horses carrying their most valuable things with them. On the other hand, the rural population who was strongly linked to the soil had fewer such possibilities. This population could, at the most, flee to nearby artificial or natural hiding places, burying their valuables before the flight. But they had to return from their hiding places after a short time, because the villages and the fields were the basis of their everyday life. This was especially characteristic of a somewhat wealthier layer that already possessed a larger sum of money or jewellery which could, e. g., be deposited into a pot and which would have hindered their flight. The insignificant riches of the poorest layer hardly exceeded an amount which could not have been carried along in a purse, and these, therefore, were rarely buried.

The historical evidence supports the assumption that the holders of these hoards included numerous peasants who had been actively engaged in money economy. By the mid-13th century a number of monasteries and private landowners demanded that certain deliveries be redeemed in money. This development most probably first occurred in and around major trading and craft centres⁵², as indicated by the 12th-13th century Friesach hoards. This appears to be a more likely explanation for the more frequent occurrence of hoards in these areas. The holders of those hoards need not necessarily have been merchants.

I made a study of social implications of these hoards with two basic objectives in mind: to establish whether certain groups can be statistically distinguished, and to estimate the value represented by the hoards. I obtained the following results in the case of hoards consisting exclusively of coins. The majority of the hoards, 60-70 %, range between 50 and 500 coins. Even though smaller hoards have also been found, it is doubtful whether all coins were collected. Several subgroups can be distinguished within this category: assemblages containing less than 100 coins, and assemblages containing 150-400 coins. Within the latter group, there is a weak internal borderline which can be drawn at around 250 coins. Assemblages containing over 500 coins constitute about 30-40 % of the hoards. One subgroup in this category ranges between 700 and 1500 coins, the next between 2000-2500 coins, the third around 4000 and the fourth around

⁵² Op. cit., note 45.

8000 coins. Those latter represent about the same proportion. This statistical compilation does contain certain sources of error since the majority of hoards were not retrieved to the last coin, and in some cases a part of the hoard remained in the hands of its modern finders. In other cases, ploughing displaced the coins and again only a part could be collected. Therefore, in order to control the above results, I also analysed those hoards which can be regarded as complete, either because their findspot was extensively investigated, or because they were found in intact pots and their finders can be trusted to have handed over all coins. This is not the occasion to list all these hoards and present their critical survey. The statistical analysis of the hoards revealed that the above subgroups according to the number of coins are by and large the same, the only difference being that the proportion of assemblages ranging between 50–500 coins to the others is 50 : 50 %. This appears to reflect more realistically the actual situation, since the incompletely collected hoards obviously raise the proportion of the subgroup with fewer coins.

Let us now review the contemporary value of these hoards. According to N. Parádi, who based his conclusions on B. Hóman's studies on the history of prices, the purchase value of some 13th century hoards was the following:⁵³

Abony	52 coins = 1 ox or 1 and half buckets of ale
Őrkénypuszta	57 coins = 1 cattle or 3 buckets of ale
Hajduszoboszló-Aranyszeg	770 coins = a place for mill with house plot and pasture
Nagytarcsa	4707 coins = 37 oxen or two coats of mail
Balkány-Abapuszta	7549 coins = 1 house in the town of Veszprém and 32 acres of land belonging to it

The smallest hoards represented the value of 1 or 2 draught animals, whereas larger ones were equivalent to the value of considerable holdings. The lowest category (50–400) at the most covered the costs of acquiring the necessary draught animals. On the other hand, the upper boundary of this category came near the average price of a servant. At the same time, the price of a war horse is comparable to the value represented by assemblages of 700–1500 coins in the next category.⁵⁴

⁵³ Op. cit., note 41.

⁵⁴ For the publications of the hoards see: F. M. Fejér – L. Huszár, *Bibliographia Numis-*

Another type of hoard contains coins and jewellery. If considering only the number of coins in the estimation of their value, we find approximately the same categories as in the case of coin hoards. The composition of these jewels, e. g. the proportion of male and female farrings, suggests that they were the valuables of a single family, even though they were probably also worn. They also played a thesaurational role.⁵⁵ This is, moreover, indicated by the presence of silver nuggets, jewellery fragments and polished gems in these hoards. I shall quote a few characteristic assemblages of this type:

The Abony find, already mentioned before, contained 2 silver buckles and 2 silver nuggets beside the coins. The Zalaszentgrót assemblage, which can be dated to the turn of the 14th century, contained 85 Viennese *pfennige*, 3 ornamented silver rings and buckles. These were the characteristic cheap jewels of the period, and can be simply regarded as the heirlooms of a less wealthy family. Most of these hoards were similarly family heirlooms amassed over a few generations. The dominance of money and jewellery varied in the middle category, but regardless of what dominated the hoard, their value was practically equal. The Nyáregyháza-Pusztópótharaszti hoard contained 1757 coins, a pair of silver and electron bracelets, several silver and electron rings, an electron lock ring, and polished rock crystal. It can thus be assigned to a wealthier group. Similarly rich hoards, but without coins, have also been recovered (Tiszaörvény). It would, nonetheless, appear that hoards with the highest number of coins contained relatively modest jewels, and the thesauration was based rather on money.⁵⁶

In associating these hoards with social layers, the most fruitful approach appears to be the study of the richest hoards. We have seen that these differ considerably from the jewels of the 'nobility' and they are basically more sophisticated variants of the trinkets of the commoners. Unfortunately, none of these can be linked to definite historical persons, the first such find comes from the 14th century. One of the silver discs of the Kiskunhalas-Fehértó hoard bears the inscription *Magister Sinka*, who is known to have been active at the beginning of the 14th century at the royal court. He was endowed with land in recognition of his services in

maticae Hungaricae (Budapest, 1977), 73-89, the publications in the "Numizmatikai Közlemények", and op. cit., note 45.

⁵⁵ Op. cit., note 43.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

war, and he belonged to the first generation of an emergent political power. Likewise, one of the finds in the Kelebia hoard reveals that its owner was the wife of Pal who, after holding several important posts, became the head of the queen's court.⁵⁷ The nature of these hoards differs from the 13th century ones, not only because there were changes in fashion, but also since they belonged to another social class. Similarly to the observations made regarding the precious metal variants of 'commoners' jewels or trinkets, it would appear that the owners belonged to a layer whose social designation – *liber* – did not adequately express the wealth in their possession as a consequence of their involvement in money economy. The owners of the hoards containing over 1000 coins can probably be sought in the groups of differing wealth of this layer, whose legal definition does present some difficulties. They were persons who, during the social upheavals of the 13th century, acquired considerable estates and become a distinct, but not the highest-ranking group of the later nobility.

The owners of hoards smaller than the above can be identified confidently with members of the rural population. The stratification reflected by these hoards, however, is by no means as complex and multilaterally subordinate as implied by the historical sources. Thus, the financial stratification did not necessarily express social status in classical sense. There is increasing evidence for similar phenomena in the later Middle Ages. At the same time, contemporary sources also offer examples of this phenomenon, since we know manumission where the former servant paid a sum of 5 marks for his freedom. In other words, in spite of being servant, he managed to acquire enough wealth which, in terms of hoard, would correspond to one of about 1000 coins. The dichotomy is even more striking considering that the gross production of an average peasant economy corresponded to about 1.5 marks.

This financial stratification among the middle and lower classes of the rural population in fact generated considerably less layers than implied by the legal terms employed in the written source. The same can be concluded from the study of the houses and the material culture of rural settlements.

A significant example for the complex problems of the 12th–13th century social stratification and for the related conditions of the material culture are the sources of the canonization process of Saint Margaret, the

⁵⁷ M. Zsámbéky, "14–15. századi magyarországi kincsletek [Schatzfunde aus dem 14.–15. Jahrhundert aus Ungarn]," *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 23 (1983), 105–129.

daughter of King Béla IV. According to the reports of the miracles, *Nicolaus de Tarnoch* lived in the village Nevegy in 1270. He had moved to this place from the woodland area of Nográd, and started to keep animals in the area of the village Nevegy. The animal husbandry must have been a good business for him, because vast areas of free greens and meadows were around the village. On the other hand, the market of Pest played an important role in the economic life of the region, thus Nicolaus could sell his animals there. He lived in a small one-roomed house nearby the village which was in the hand of *dominus* Veligh. The village consisted of five houses of the people of *dominus* Veligh, and they were in *servus* status. Nicolaus lived with his family on the edge of the village in his house which was as far from the other houses as *quantum posset sagittare unus homo cum arcu*. On the 11th of November 1271 his daughter died. She had a twin boy brother, one sister and another brother. Three weeks later the mother found that the twin boy, Sebastian, had died in the house in the middle of the night. She started to cry and her husband, *qui iacebam in curte, prope animalia nostra*, went into the house. The mother started to pray and asked Saint Margaret for help, and after some hours the boy became alive. He had been lying on the floor nearby the open fire place for these hours.⁵⁸

The story is very significant since it gives important details on the everyday life of Nicolaus. The house must have been very similar to the typical one-roomed house of the Árpadian Age, with an oven or an open fire place. However, we do not know whether it was a sunken hut or not. The animals must have been kept in farm buildings at night which are well known from ethnographic studies of the Great Hungarian Plain, and which were recently excavated in an isolated farmstead. The whole situation looks very similar to the house, open fire-place, oven, pen and other farm buildings and ditches excavated at Kengyel.⁵⁹

In the canonization process, Nicolaus and the members of his family were asked interesting questions which shed light on the complex social situation of this transformation period. Concerning the question of their social status they gave significant answers. Gunig, the wife of Nicolaus, *interrogata si est libera, vel ancilla, respondit: Libera et nobilis*, while

⁵⁸ Monumenta Romana Episcopi Vespremiensis, I. Ed. V. Fraknói, 325–330.

⁵⁹ J. Laszlovszky, "Einzelhofsiedlungen in der Arpadenzeit," Acta Archaeologica Hungarica 37 (1986), 227–257.

Nicolaus, *interrogatus, si est servus, vel liber, respondit: Non sum servus.* Their daughter Anguilla answered in a third way: *libera.* Similar differences can be seen in their answers of the questions about their financial status. The wife of Nicolaus, *interrogata, si maritus est dives, vel pauper, respondit: Satis dives.* The daughter answered: *Nec dives, nec pauper.* (She spoke about her husband, since she had already married.) Nicolaus answered again in a different way and said: *Non sum dives.*⁶⁰ He was, however, or became an extremely rich person, as we can follow his life from some charters. In 1297, *Nicolaus de Nevegy*, who must have been the same person, sold his land to the nuns of the Margaret Island for 27 marks, which is an extremely high price. Thus, in this microhistorical context of the personal life of Nicolaus, we can demonstrate the crucial social transformations of the late 13th century, but we can also make attention to the fact that the social and the legal status, the living standards and qualities and the material culture of a given person were not necessarily adequate to each other.

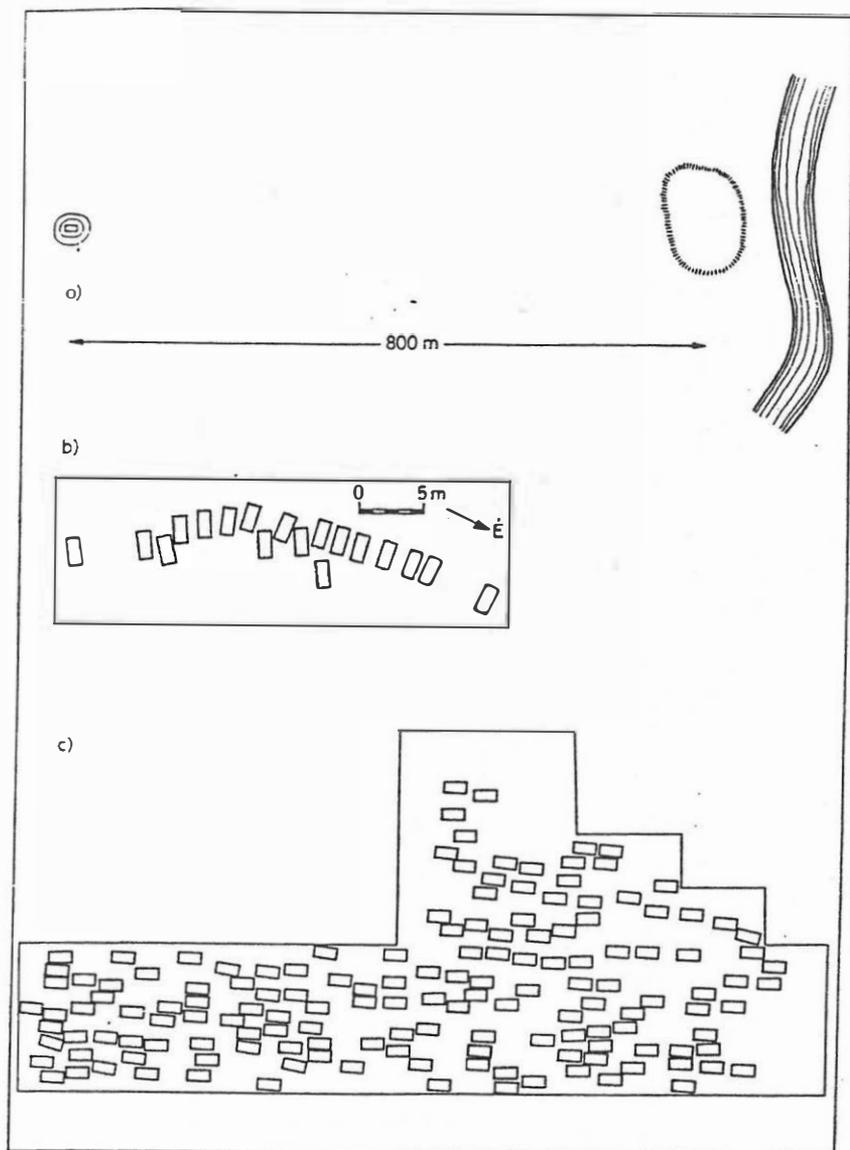
The same can be concluded from the study of the houses and the material culture of the rural settlements. The excavations conducted on settlements of the Árpadian Age have not revealed significant differences in domestic architecture on the basis of which houses of the *servus* population can be distinguished. This is all the more striking since contemporary written sources and the dimensions of excavated houses imply nuclear families, whereas a family structure can in no way be assumed for a part of the *servus* population.

The excavations of the early small, privately owned “castles” (motte-type buildings, early feudal private castles, small castles, castles without history, etc.) have also revealed a great number of new problems, since this type of building can hardly be connected with a given stratum of the late Árpadian Age society.⁶¹

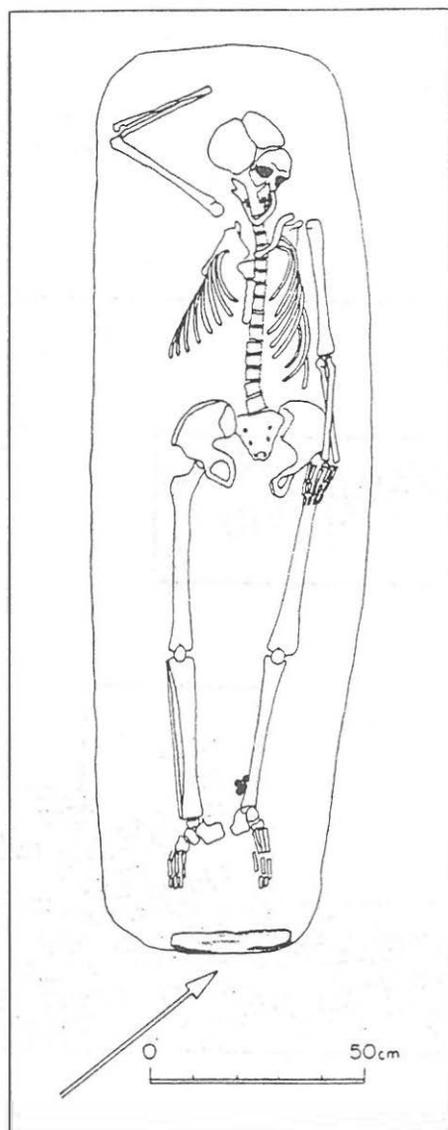
We can finally conclude that there is a growing need for studies based on various types of sources and for diverse approaches for a better understanding of the social structure of Árpadian Age society, since the analysis of written sources can only shed light on one single aspect of social stratification.

⁶⁰ Op. cit., note 58.

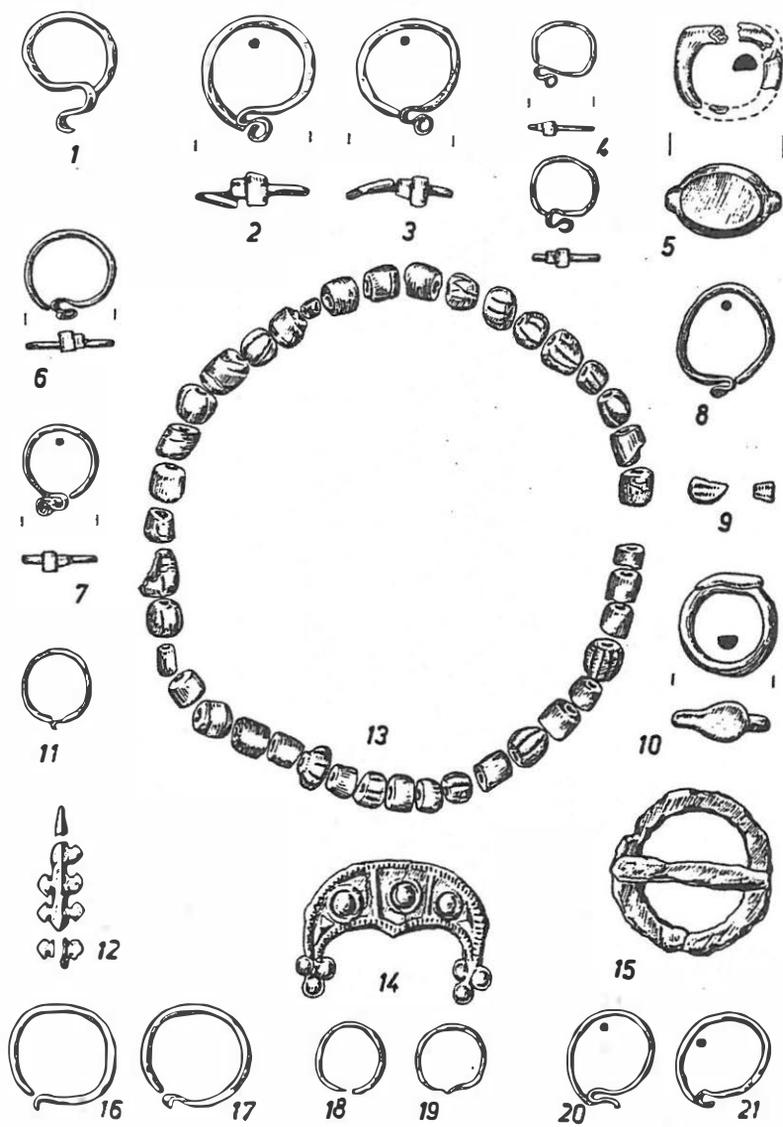
⁶¹ Castrum Bene. Várak a 13. században (Gyöngyös, 1990).



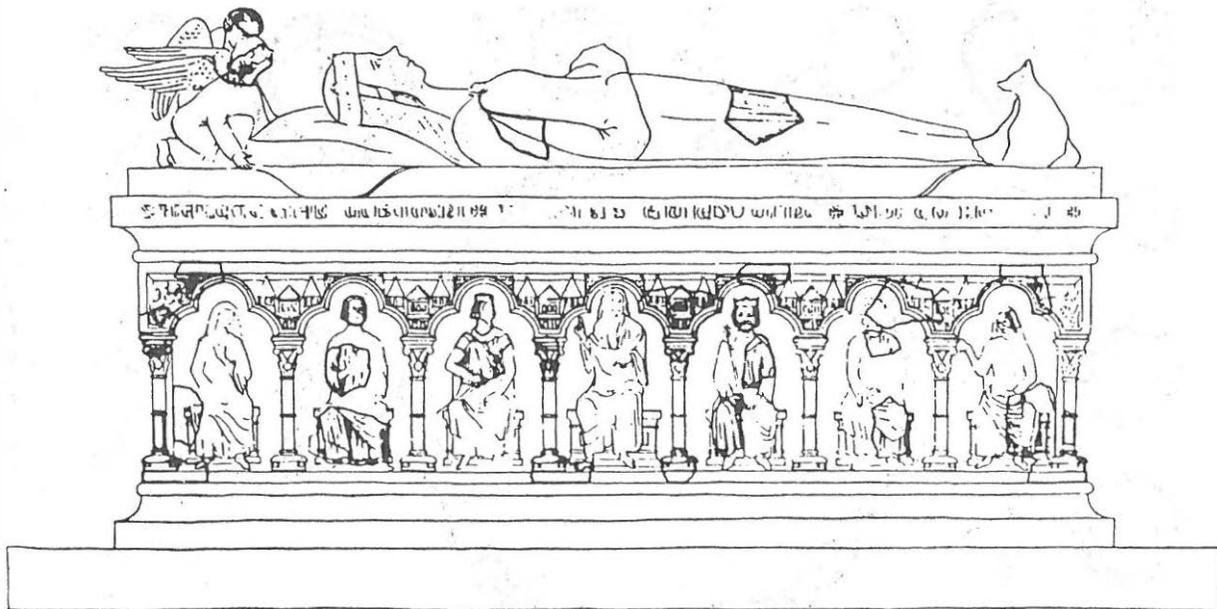
1. Conquest period cemeteries of the different social layers
(After Bartha - Székely, 1984)



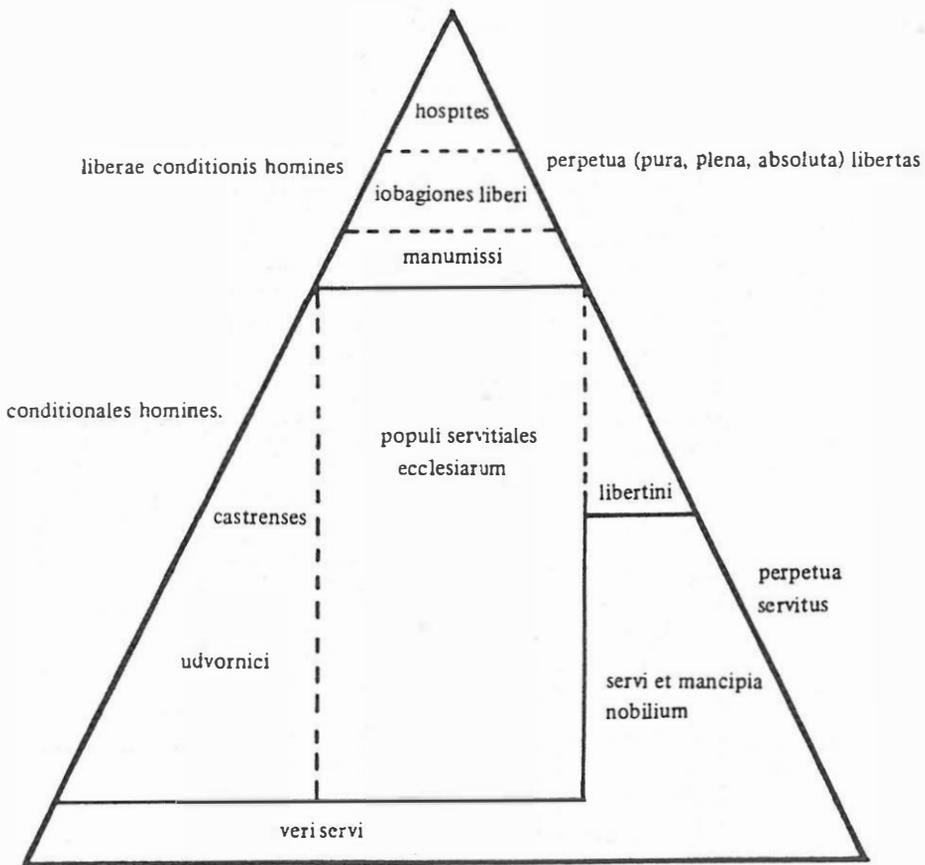
2. Grave at Rezi-Gyöngyös csárda (After Müller, 1987)



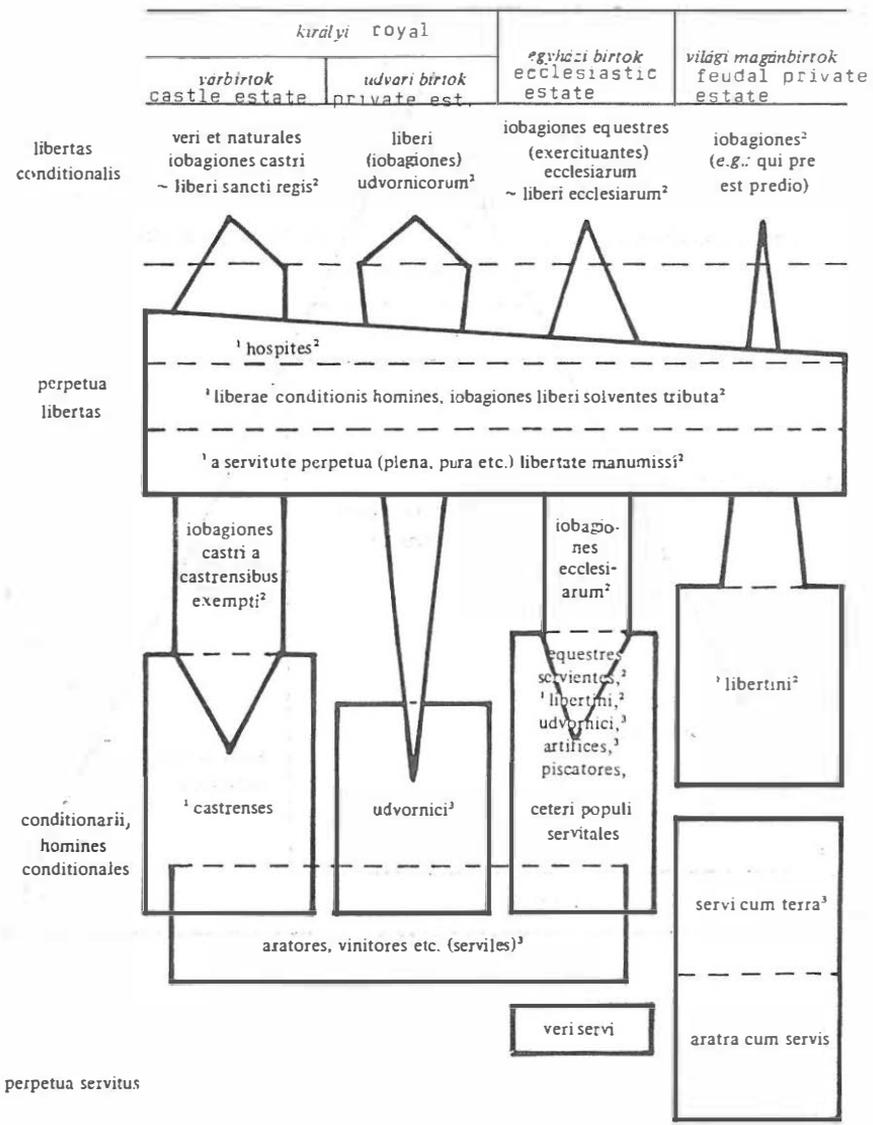
3. 12th century jewels from cemeteries (After Bóna, 1978)



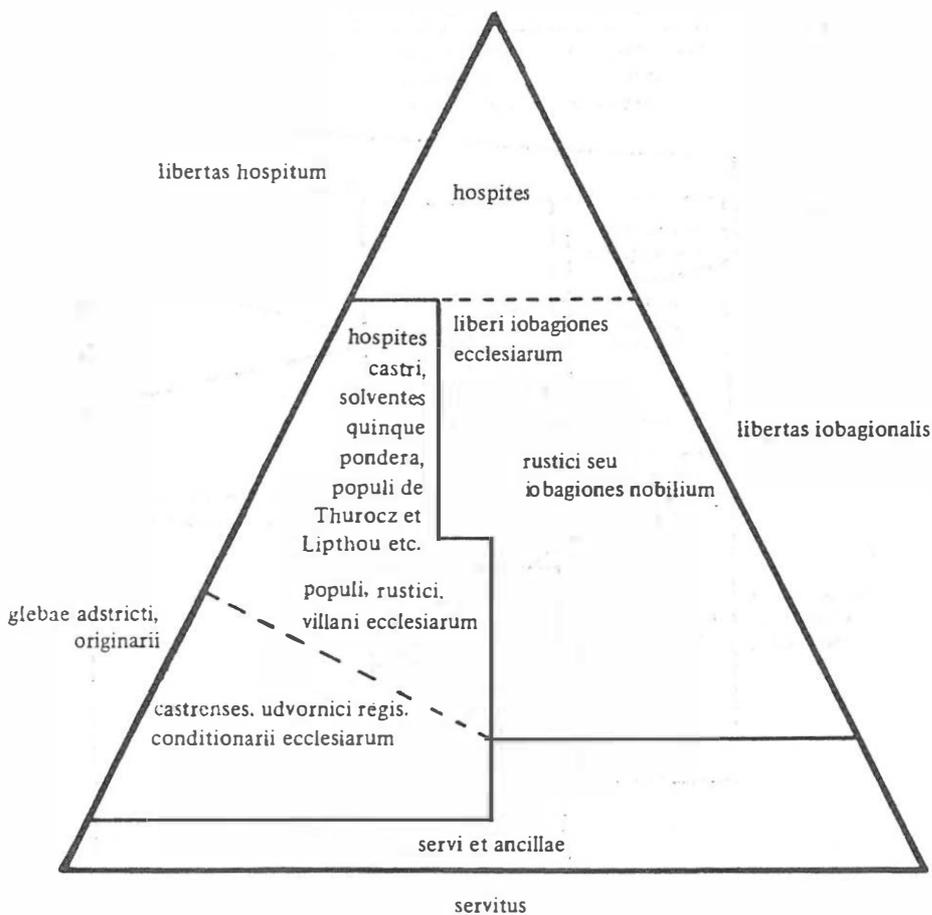
4. Reconstruction of the grave of Queen Gertrudis
from Pilis Abbey (After Gerevich, 1984)



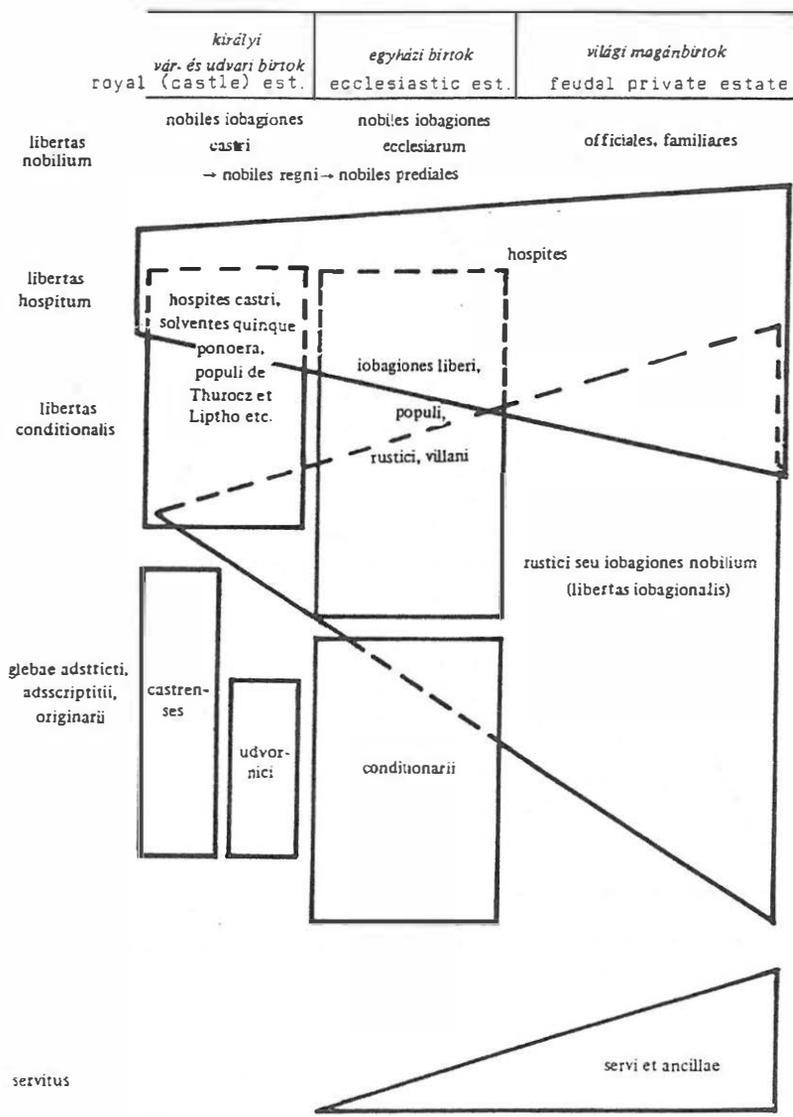
5. Social stratification of the peasant society around 1240
(After Szűcs, 1981)



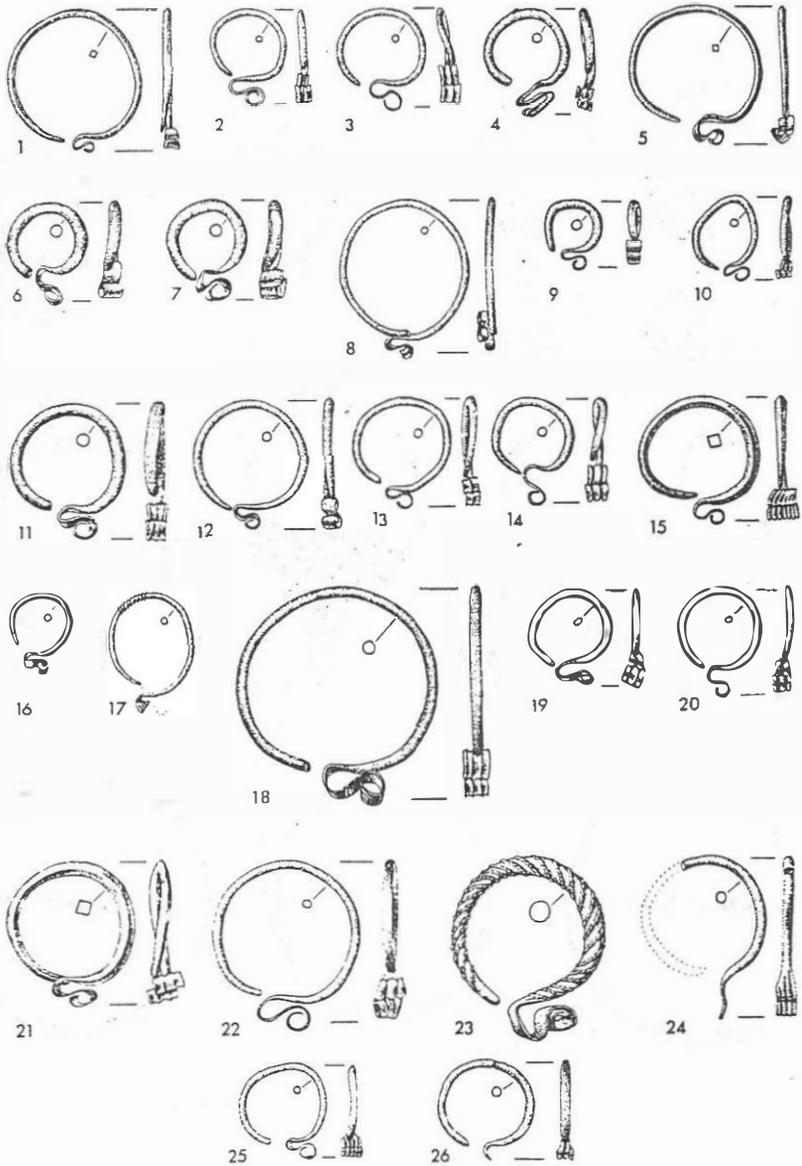
6. Social stratification of the peasant society around 1240
(After Szücs, 1981)



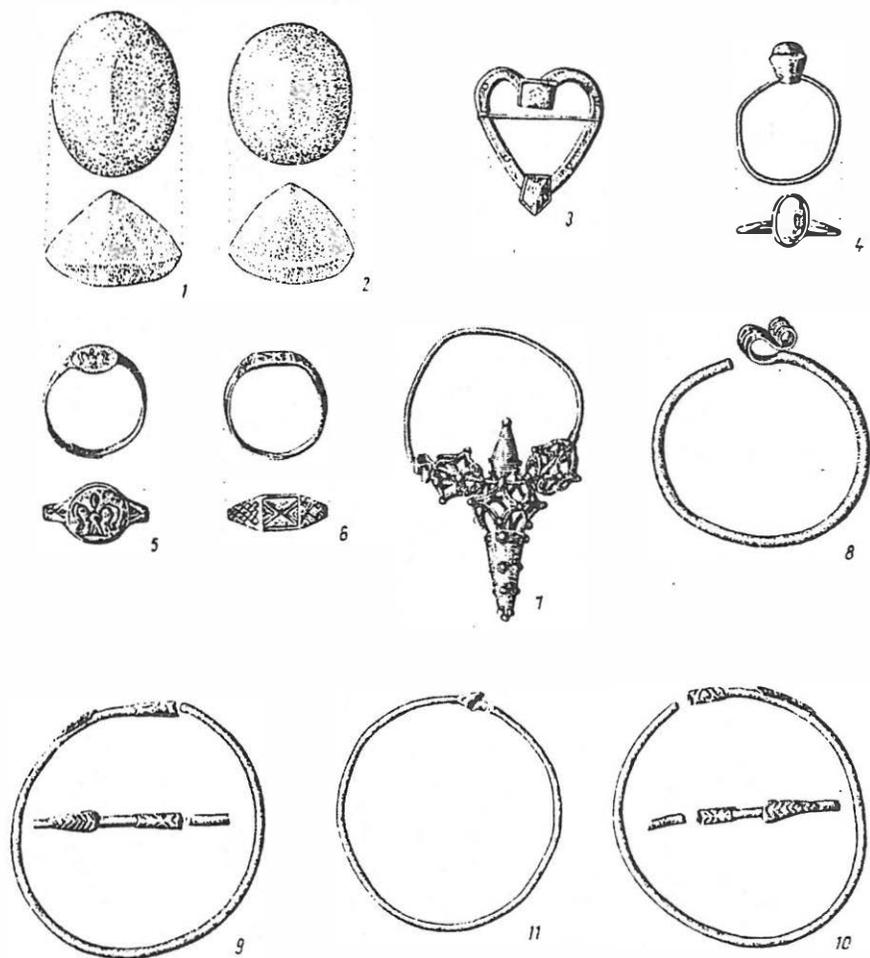
7. Social stratification of the peasant society around 1300
(After Szücs 1981)



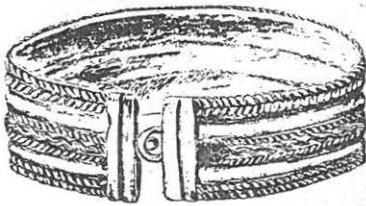
8. Social stratification of the peasant society around 1300
(After Szücs 1981)



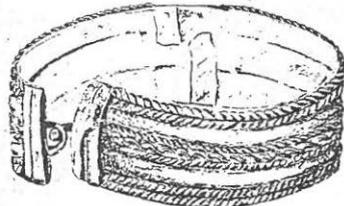
9. Gold and electron lock rings (After Mesterházy, 1983)



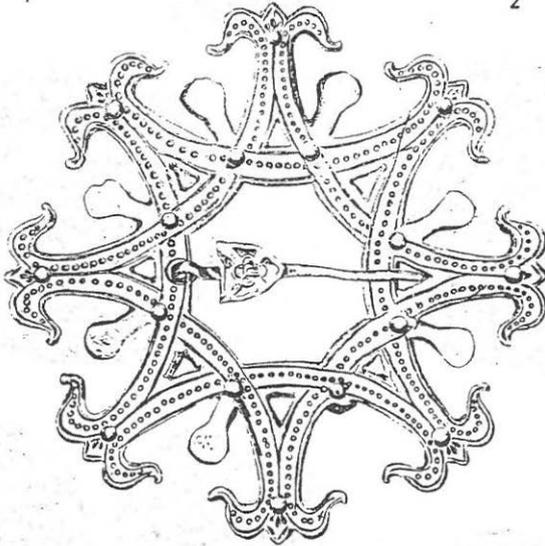
10. The Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharaszti hoard
(After Parádi, 1975)



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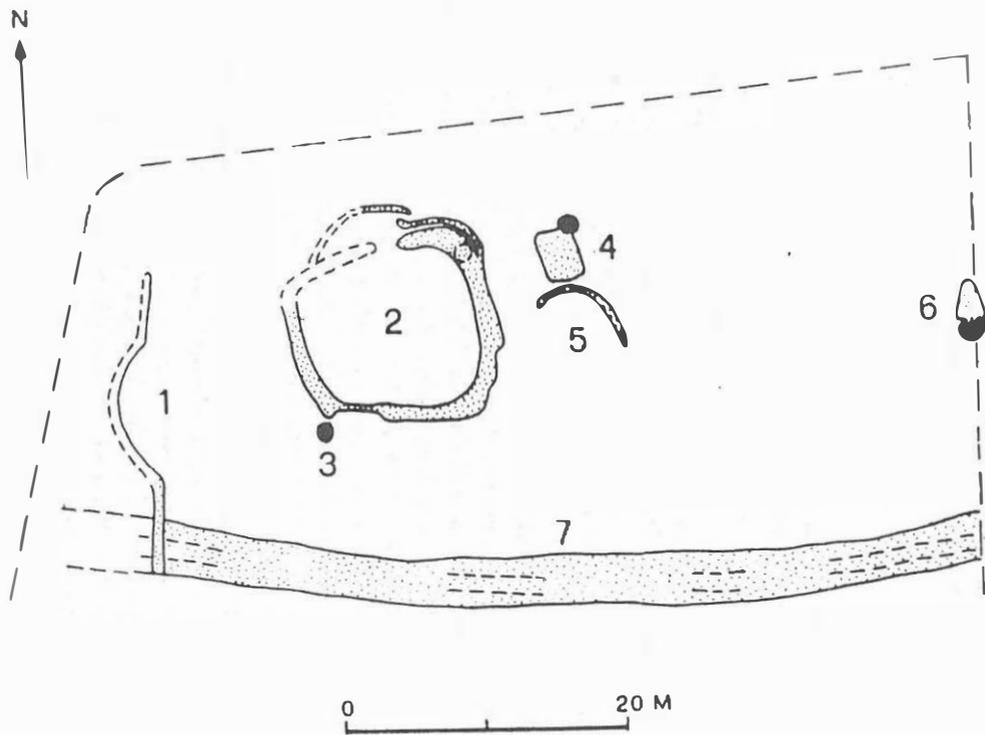


5

11. The Kelebia hoard (After Zsámbéky, 1983)



12. The Kelebia hoard (After Zsámbéky, 1983)



13. Isolated farmstead at Kengyel (After Laszlovszky, 1986)

MEDIUM AEVUM QUOTIDIANUM

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON GERHARD JARITZ

Alltag und materielle Kultur
im mittelalterlichen Ungarn

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON

ANDRÁS KUBINYI
UND
JÓZSEF LASZLOVSZKY

KREMS 1991

GEDRUCKT MIT UNTERSTÜTZUNG DER KULTURABTEILUNG
DES AMTES DER NIEDERÖSTERREICHISCHEN LANDESREGIERUNG

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Chronica Hungarorum. Brünn 1486.

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Vorwort

Der Lehrstuhl für mittelalterliche und frühneuzeitliche Archäologie an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Eötvös Loránd-Universität Budapest hat sich zum Ziel gesetzt, die Erforschung der materiellen Kultur Ungarns im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit zu fördern. Da eine große Anzahl von Sachgütern nur mit Hilfe der Archäologie erforscht werden können, gehört diese zu den wichtigsten Disziplinen, die sich mit der Untersuchung materieller Kultur beschäftigen. Im Sinne einer Interdisziplinarität sollen dabei auch Schriftzeugnisse und Bildquellen berücksichtigt werden.

Finanzielle Unterstützung zur systematischen Durchführung der geplanten Arbeiten erhalten wir vom ungarischen Wissenschaftlichen Landesforschungsfonds (OTKA). Diese ermöglicht uns, Tagungen zu organisieren, Ausgrabungen durchzuführen und das erforschte wissenschaftliche Material mit Hilfe von EDV zu verarbeiten. Im Sommer 1990 begannen wir mit der Ausgrabung der mittelalterlichen Dorfwüstung Sáp und der Marktwüstung Tiszavarsány. Daneben vergaben wir Themen zur Erforschung der materiellen Kultur als Diplomarbeiten und Dissertationen. Katalin Szende z. B. verglich die Soproner Bürgertestamente mit dem dortigen Ausgrabungsmaterial, Sándor Petényi bearbeitete mittelalterliches Spielzeug und stellte einen Katalog der bei Ausgrabungen gefundenen diesbezüglichen Objekte zusammen. Bisher wurde eine Tagung veranstaltet, für Herbst 1991 ist eine weitere zur materiellen Kultur der frühen Neuzeit geplant.

Dieser Band enthält die Vorträge der am 13. Dezember 1988 in Budapest abgehaltenen Tagung "Mittelalterliche materielle Kultur in Ungarn". Leider können nicht alle Manuskripte der Vorträge veröffentlicht werden, da zum Zeitpunkt der Drucklegung des vorliegenden Bandes drei Beiträge nicht eingelangt waren. Wir bedauern diesen Umstand sehr, da jene Abhandlungen wichtige Informationen zu unserem Thema sowohl in ethnographischer als auch archäologischer Hinsicht lieferten. Folgende Vorträge fehlen: Tamás Hofer, Die Erforschung der ungarischen mittelalterlichen

materiellen Kultur und die Ethnographie. – István Fodor: Unsere materielle Kultur in der Landnahmezeit. – László Selmeczi: Das Problem der materiellen Kultur und des Ethnikums im mittelalterlichen Ungarn.

Ich habe eine Studie meiner Schülerin Katalin Szende hinzugefügt, die sie an der Internationalen Konferenz zum 500. Todestag des Königs Matthias Corvinus im Oktober 1990 vorgestellt hat.

Schließlich möchte ich mich bei der Schriftleitung von *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* und besonders bei Gerhard Jaritz für die Publikation des Tagungsbandes bedanken.

Dank gebührt auch meinem Oberassistenten József Laszlovszky, der bei der Organisation der Tagung und der Einrichtung der Manuskripte wichtige Arbeit geleistet hat.

András Kubinyi