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Archaeolingua Central European Archaeological Heritage Series 8

# HOARDS, GRAVE GOODS, JEWELLERY

OBJECTS IN HOARDS AND IN BURIAL  
CONTEXTS DURING THE MONGOL  
INVASION OF CENTRAL-EASTERN EUROPE

**Mária Vargha**







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## Preface

Material objects affect us – their appearance, haptic qualities, taste, and smell induce reactions beyond rational consideration, and even more so, they trigger emotional impulses based on personal and culture-bound experience. Material objects offer “deals of interaction”, and humans evaluate what is being offered in light of their own needs and expectations. These facts are not only the basis for market analyses in contemporary economic systems, but in a broader sense also the basis for the analysis of premodern material cultures, particularly in archaeology. The main question we face, when holding an unknown, small find in our hands, is: “What is it?” – followed by: “What is it for?” Asking for the meaning of things in a historical context helps reveal the value of things – and the manifold archaeological contexts are the main sources to supply answers for both: they shed light on how things acquire value through cultural appropriation.

It is the defining merit of this publication that the author, Maria Vargha, highlights these considerations by emphasizing the relationship between human actors and their social goods, along with the materialized traces of this kind of interaction. Based on three main archaeological categories – hoard finds, burial goods and settlement finds – the author works out that each context category “produces” its own history of human actors and their objects of value. This kind of perspective is the precondition for further comparative analyses: Only by taking these context-oriented results seriously is it possible to produce an increasingly differentiated picture of the cultural phenomena of “treasures” as objects of value in a variety of personal, social, or culture-bound connotations. Based on these results Maria Vargha also reflects on the crucial importance of a context-related valuation of things for archaeological analyses: Even the potentials and problems with typochronological framing of small archaeological findings can be reconsidered by using the contextual comparative approach as worked out by Maria Vargha. Therefore this book may be warmly recommended not only to all scholars who are interested in the crucial questions related to dealing with material culture, but also to all archaeologists reflecting upon their own struggles to bring artefacts into a chronological scheme. Thus I wish this publication a broad dissemination and a positive reception from the academic community.

Krems, August 2015

Thomas Kühtreiber



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The present monograph in its first form has been my MA thesis written at the Medieval Studies Department at Central European University. I am by no means its sole contributor of this work in its present form. There are a number of people behind this study to whom I would like to give my thanks here.

First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to József Laszlovszky, my supervisor then and now, the initiative behind this book, of which he also became the lector. He has routinely gone beyond his duties to diminish my worries and concerns, and has worked to reassure my confidence in my work. Without his immense knowledge, enthusiasm, patience, constant support, and valuable guidance it would have never been possible to complete this book.

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I would like to give extensive gratitude to my colleagues, Gyöngyi Gulyás, Attila Jakab, Tibor Ákos Rácz, Ágnes Ritoók, Gábor Sz. Wilhelm, Magdolna Szilágyi, and Csaba Tóth, who kindly contributed to this book by allowing me to use some of their illustrations. I would like to extend great thanks to my colleagues and friends who have supported me during the process of writing up this book, and gave excellent advice on it. I have particularly much to thank Thomas Kühtreiber, for his enthusiasm towards my work, the thorough job he did reading the different versions of my text, giving excellent and amiable advice on it, and pointing out new directions to investigate; and Maxim Mordovin, for his tireless help and for his kind and calming answers to my unceasing concerns.

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Last, but not least, I wish to thank my friends and family for being patient and supportive while I spent more time with the dead than the living.





## Introduction

*For Where Your Treasure Is, There Will Your Heart Be Also*  
Matthew 6:21

As the biblical quotation in this introduction suggests, treasure is an immensely complex subject. Everyone *treasures* something, be it material or non-material, and ascribes a value to the accumulation of such objects and subjects. Regardless of whether the connection is spiritual or materialistic, the bond between people and their treasures is immensely important. To know the treasure is to know the people, and vice-versa, it seems. Such readings, however, rely on assumptions that this study probes as it examines similar types of jewellery (and dress accessories such as buttons) found in different contexts: burial goods, treasure hoards, and individual finds.

Though this study focuses on hoards connected to the Mongol invasion of Hungary in 1241-42, it is relevant beyond this specific context. Given that this work addresses issues concerning hoard finds and material culture, and examines how finds are related when found in different contexts (a hoard, a grave, or a settlement feature), the questions raised and conclusions reached are important for other medieval hoard finds. By comparing hoards related to a single historical event to a contemporaneous site – containing a village, a church, and a cemetery – that has been excavated in its entirety, assessments can be made regarding how hoards reflect social issues such as stratification, wealth, status, and fashion. By placing hoards in a larger perspective, more general conclusions (and concerns) about the interpretation of medieval treasures are made.

Whenever treasure is the topic of research, the first element that should be investigated is the relationship between the people and their treasure. Academic research has used a variety of means to explain medieval treasure. The disciplines used in this interdisciplinary research include literature, anthropology, sociology, economics, archaeology, and art history.<sup>1</sup> Even the depiction of treasure troves in medieval written sources has been scrutinised.<sup>2</sup> However, no comprehensive research has been done solely using archaeological methods for the Middle Ages in Central Eastern Europe. Hoard horizons, a series of hoards that can be connected to one historical event or to one particular ethnic or social group, are extremely diverse, spanning large geographies and time scales. Though the topic has been much examined in prehistory, archaeologists of the Middle Ages have paid less attention to the issue – particularly in certain regions of Europe where such questions have been neglected for reasons that will be discussed later.

This study examines one specific hoard horizon: those connected to the Mongol invasion of Hungary (1241-42). With this event, the historical context is both well known and

much discussed by contemporaries and modern scholars;<sup>3</sup> the rationale for hiding such assemblages is also quite clear. This opportunity to examine material that is connected to a sole event, but across a broad spectrum of geographical space and social class, is unique for hoard horizons in Hungary, and, for that matter, in Europe.<sup>4</sup> This uniqueness justifies their separate study, while also providing possible insights into other medieval hoards, hoard horizons, and other individual finds.

We must, however, be aware of potential differences in conceiving what treasure was to those who were contemporaneous to the finds, and to what modern archaeologists consider treasure. The notion of treasure for those in the Middle Ages clearly existed, and was widely used.<sup>5</sup> Written sources, both records and literature, confirm this. For a modern archaeologist, conceiving what *exactly* was considered treasure has difficulties owing to the material nature of the discipline. Typically, only non-degradable material is uncovered, which limits modern understanding of the medieval. Limitations, however, also occur with finds that survive. Objects that could have been considered treasure in medieval times can be subjected to different modern views. A modern discoverer can ignore a rusty find because it does not *appear* to be treasure. This can affect the scholar as well as a member of the general public. A prime example of such neglect is the amount of scholarly attention, when compared to finds of gold and silver, directed at iron hoards.<sup>6</sup> The reverse is also true: a button, found in a waste-pit, can be regarded as a valuable object for archaeological interpretation when it may have been little lamented by the last owner. Consequently, the analysis of such treasures is strongly connected to the value systems of the historical periods and to our present day understanding.

This posits the question ‘What is treasure?’ Treasure is an object that has value that can be recognised. The diversity of values is reflected in the diversity of what is considered treasure. Such values can include market, artistic, spiritual, emotional, and scholarly. Market value, when the object is made from a precious metal, can correspond to present sale

<sup>3</sup>For recent comprehensive views on the period, see *Historicizing the ‘Beyond’: the Mongolian invasion as a new dimension of violence?*, ed. Frank Krämer, Katharina Schmidt, Julika Singer (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2011).

<sup>4</sup>As a consequence of this rarity, the use of this material to address historical problems is scarce. One exception is the use of numismatic evidence to address heraldic questions in Tamás Körmendi, ‘A magyar királyok kettőskeresztes címerének kialakulása’ [The emergence of the double-crossed hatchment of the Hungarian kings], *Turul* 84 (2011: 3): 73-83.

<sup>5</sup>For a general synthesis see Thomas Kühtreiber, ‘Einführung’ in *Von Umgang mit Schätzen*, pp. 7-20.

<sup>6</sup>For exceptions see Stefan Hesse, ‘Der Schatz im Dorf – Bemerkungen zu Randphänomenen’ in *Von Umgang mit Schätzen*, pp. 247-68, and Róbert Müller, *A mezőgazdasági vaseszközök fejlődése a késővaskortól a törökör végéig* [The Development of Agricultural Iron Tools from the Late Iron Age until the end of the Ottoman Era] (Zalai Gyűjtemény 19; Zalaegerszeg: Zala Megyei Levéltár, 1982).

<sup>1</sup>Lucas Burkart (ed.), *Le Trésor au Moyen Âge. Discours, pratiques et objets*, (Micrologus Library 32; Florence: SISMEI, 2010).

<sup>2</sup>*Von Umgang mit Schätzen*, ed. Elisabeth Vavra, Kornelia Holzner-Tobisch, and Thomas Kühtreiber (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007).

value. Artistic likewise. By contrast, spiritual and emotional value may not be so readily apparent, nor, for that matter, as easy to distinguish (and may not originally have been distinct). Scholarly value can trump the previous categories, praising an object for its rarity or for being an anomaly, or for informing us of a specific detail, unconnected to the medieval value system. Treasure is not just wealth that stored and accumulated over time, or hidden in a hurry owing to a threat;<sup>7</sup> treasure is a broad subject. The ‘what is treasure’ question is further complicated by the issue of context. Though archaeology is based on the idea that objects are provided meaning and value by context, the three different types of context for treasure – hoards, grave goods, and individual finds – have, problematically, been given different levels of importance by scholars.

Hoards have been extensively studied. They are, to use a recent definition, “only those deposits which have been buried to be retrieved at a later time”.<sup>8</sup> For the economic value of a hoard, the easiest method to calculate its value is the coinage. If the hoard includes jewellery, potential value in addition to the raw material is given by the craftsmanship. The amount is important. Problematic however is the possibility that all the material was viewed as raw material. If the material is broken, the likelihood is greater. Research however has predominantly focused on the coinage, neglecting the information contained in the jewellery and overlooking the reasons behind the hoarding.<sup>9</sup> Research has either focused on a single or specific set of treasure trove(s) connected to a historical event,<sup>10</sup> or examined hoard horizons belonging to a particular ethnic or social group such as Anglo-Saxon,<sup>11</sup> Baltic,<sup>12</sup> and, the most studied, Viking.<sup>13</sup> The latter sort, using a time frame of centuries, can mean studying quite different

compositions of finds. For instance, Anglo-Saxon hoards can range from relatively few coins to the great wealth of the Staffordshire Hoard. In the most notable group of finds, like the Sutton Hoo burial, there are similar contents: gold coinage, diverse jewellery and dress accessories, and personal articles such as bowls and cutlery.<sup>14</sup> Likewise, Viking hoards are not homogenous but have re-occurring features: mainly compromising silver (often scrap – an implication of its role in the local economy), jewellery, and coins. Though frequently similar, the rationale behind each hoard may be as diverse as their varied dating: there is no clear reason for their existence.<sup>15</sup> Baltic hoards, habitually associated with Viking hoards, also include a thirteenth-century sub-category that can be connected to the northern crusades of the period. Though variable in date (and, consequently, not attributable to a single event), this group of hoards, containing coins and silver bars, is the best comparison to the subject of this study, the Mongol invasion hoards.<sup>16</sup> Unlike the Anglo-Saxon and Viking hoards, which can have religious connotations and ritual elements to their burial (and possibly were not meant to be recovered), the crusade-era subgroup of Baltic hoards and the Mongol invasion hoards have a clear reason behind their burial: the goods were buried to be recovered later.

To be clear: the rationale behind hoarding is important. In addition to religious beliefs, earthy explanations can be enumerated: hiding of looted objects, covering of goods by smugglers or merchants to avoid tolls, and burial of family valuables in fear of future crises. The agency of hoarding is vast. It can communicate socioeconomic issues, illuminate local events, and sometimes inform about local beliefs and/or conflicts. In each case, the reason can be diverse, and consequently the hoard’s possible agencies can be different as well. If more hoards could be connected to a well-known and easily detectable event – such as a crisis – they can provide more information as a collection than as individual finds. For example: coins found together with dress accessories provide an opportunity to investigate the relationship between adornment and identity, and possessions and social class.

Equivalent materials – particularly in regards with jewellery – to that is found in hoards is found in burials. It is important to note the similarities and differences between these two contexts. In early medieval, pre-Christian eras, such burials marked the social position of the deceased: grave goods – including jewellery and dress accessories – had economic and symbolic value.<sup>17</sup> With Christian burials, this is not the case. In the first centuries following the conversion of a society, the gradual impoverishment of graves can be observed even if no regulation is known prohibiting grave goods, personal adornments, and fine clothing. This, it has to be noted, is a highly antinomic issue: it frequently appears in the research of different periods if the disappearance of grave goods in cemeteries dating from a period can only be connected to the spread of Christianity.<sup>18</sup> This makes the study of such artefacts difficult, as archaeological investigation of jewellery and dress accessories has predominantly relied on finds recovered

<sup>7</sup> Michele Tomasi, ‘Des Trésors au Moyen Âge: enjeux et pratiques, entre réalités et imaginaire’, *Perspective* 1 (2009): 137-38.

<sup>8</sup> Florin Curta and Andrei Gândilă, ‘Hoards and Hoarding Patterns in Early Byzantine Balkans’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 65-66 (2011-2012): 45-111 (p. 45).

<sup>9</sup> The work of Nanoushka Myrberg is the exception: see ‘The social identity of coin hoards: an example of theory and practice in the space between numismatics and archaeology’ in *Coins and Context I*, ed. Hans-Markus von Kaenel and Fleur Kemmers (Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike 23; Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur: Mainz, 2009), pp. 157-71, and ‘The Hoarded Dead: Late Iron Age Silver Hoards as Graves’ in *Döda Personers Sällskap: Gravmaterialens identiteter och kulturella uttryck* [On the Treshold: Burial Archaeology in the Twenty-first Century], Ing-Marie Back Danielsson et al (Stockholm Studies in Archaeology 47; Stockholm: Stockholms Universitet, 2008), pp. 131-45.

<sup>10</sup> Recent, representative examples are *Der Schatzfund von Fuchsenhof*, ed. Bernhard Prokisch and Thomas Kührtreiber (Linz: Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, 2004); *Der Schatzfund von Wiener Neustadt*, ed. Nikolaus Hofer (Vienna: Verlag-Berger, 2014); *Treasures of the Black Death*, ed. Christine Descatoire (London: Wallace Collection, 2009); Kevin Leahy and Roger Bland, *The Staffordshire Hoard*, (London: British Museum Press, 2009).

<sup>11</sup> A comprehensive study of Anglo-Saxon is still awaited, but for an overview see Helen Geake, ‘Accidental losses, plough-damaged cemeteries and the occasional hoard: the Portable Antiquities Scheme and early Anglo-Saxon archaeology’ in *Studies in Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology: Papers in Honour of Martin G. Welch*, ed. Stuart Brookes, Sue Harrington and Andrew Reynolds (BAR British Series 527; Oxford: Holywell Press, 2011), pp. 33-39.

<sup>12</sup> For a comprehensive study of a particular hoard, see Tatjana Berga, *Piltenes Depozīts: Naudas apgrozība Kurzemē 13. gadsimtā* [The Piltene Hoard. Coinage circulation in Courland in the 13th century] (Riga: Zinātne, 2014).

<sup>13</sup> For the hoards of the Nordic areas (Scandinavia, the Baltic nations, and Northern Poland), see Brigitta Hårdh, *Silver in the Viking Age: A Regional-Economic Study* (Acta Archaeologica Lundensia 25; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1996)

<sup>14</sup> David A. Hinton, *Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 62 and 67.

<sup>15</sup> Hårdh, *Silver*, pp. 13-15.

<sup>16</sup> Berga, *Piltenes Depozīts*, pp. 9-11.

<sup>17</sup> Heinrich Härke, ‘Grave goods in early medieval burials: messages and meanings’, *Mortality* 19. 1 (2014): 1-21.

<sup>18</sup> For example Hinton, *Gold*, p. 97.

from burials. The small amount of treasures from everyday people that appear less frequently in the graves of the poor in the High Middle Ages cannot be tracked in such a way. This is an important feature to note when comparing the Mongol invasion hoards with grave goods, as jewellery and dress in graves is not a question of pagan-Christian relations, but other factors. This includes the emotional agency of the treasure: a representation of the identity of the deceased or the living mourners, and a potential reflection of attitudes towards the afterlife. As a consequence, burial goods are characteristic of personal beliefs, even if they are not, owing to their lesser number of goods, comparable in economic terms to hoards. Interpretation of such finds however is mostly based on what was recovered; as a consequence, the burial gives context to the artefacts, and the tendency towards circular arguments occur. Added to this is the difficulty of connecting such burial goods to historical events that could illuminate contemporary hoards. In the case of the Mongol invasion hoard horizon, this issue is resolved by the findings of the twelfth and thirteenth century churchyard cemetery in the former village of Kána, on the south-west border of modern Budapest. Careful excavation and analysis focused on the site as a whole – a unique excavation of a 12-13th century settlement that included along with the village (and its church) nearly 1100 graves – rather than merely pondering on the grave goods. This site can be placed alongside other less-known and less studied cemeteries of a similar date. This permits a study of the hoard horizon within this historical – and, potentially, geographical – context. As such, it is one of the few occasions that material goods from a living context can be compared goods found among the dead.

This leads to the last, but not least, type of treasure that are comparable to hoards: finds from contemporary settlements. This typically means artefacts that have been lost while they were being used (such as a piece of jewellery that broke), but it also includes finds from destroyed settlements, where an entire site has been made a time capsule owing to an incident of violent destruction. Though the most noted value of modern metal detecting has been in the discovery of spectacular hoards – and this is likely to be the impetus for its continuing popularity – it has been of great use in the discovery of numerous small finds. These loose artefacts – small treasures – are rather rare finds in traditional archaeological excavations, and, consequently, are underappreciated and underused in scholarship. Though cataloguing such finds

is variable (the Portable Antiquities Scheme is the most organised and efficient example), attention towards such finds is increasingly important. They provide examples of contemporary fashion that are quite rare in excavations. With regards to the other context, that of destroyed settlements, this also provides important information that is not typically uncovered in usual excavations. To use the example of a building that collapsed because it was deliberately burnt with the residents still inside, the artefacts can be found among the dead without any tampering by the culprits or later generations. These two contexts, the individual and isolated finds and the destroyed settlements, show the artefacts as contemporary people used them and establish the fashions of the time.

In order to achieve these goals, the study focuses on the following issues. Firstly, with the complex relationships between finds plotted above, it shows to the archaeological and non-archaeological reader the possibility to interpret such treasures using archaeological techniques. Secondly, it investigates the twelfth and thirteenth century, a period not known for such archaeological interpretation of treasures. Different archaeological contexts and associations may indicate different social, economic, and even chronological characteristics of these objects. As the most frequent artefacts in such treasures are dress accessories and jewellery, research can reveal a finer typochronology and provide a sociological and economic evaluation of these objects. In addition to providing an insight into the historical event, such studies also illuminate the personal values and the social and economic situation of the owners. The study is divided into three chapters. The first reviews past and present day interpretations of comparative finds from different contexts (including field cemeteries, churchyard cemeteries, hoards, and destroyed settlements). The second takes a more detailed look at jewellery types of the period, examining the various types from a chronological, typological, and functional type of view. This establishes what kind of jewellery is associated with which context. The final chapter, evaluating the social and economic aspects of all types of finds – including a comparison with iron depots – in graves, hoards, and settlements, concludes the study. This research, examining what treasure meant to people, investigates these concerns in relation to the past, and addresses issues for academic research in the present and the future.



## CHAPTER ONE

### Jewellery of the High Middle Ages: Problems with research

Jewellery can be a great resource for understanding social history. In Western Europe, owing to the availability of written sources, jewellery found in hoards have been neglected as sources to understand economic and social issues. In Central Eastern Europe, owing to the paucity of written sources, the opposite holds: the lack of textual evidence led researchers to alternative methods of assessing hoards.<sup>19</sup>

Found jewellery dated to the last centuries of the Middle Ages (13-15th) are generally regarded as both being less common and being of lesser quality than those dated to the eleventh century. Several explanations have been proposed. For the Anglo-Norman context, it has been suggested that the increasingly secure position of the barons meant the need to express social status in such a manner declined.<sup>20</sup> This however does not explain a similar decrease in quality in jewellery belonging to the lower levels of society. This decline, and scholarly neglect, is particularly prevalent in Central Europe. Though the eleventh century also marks the end of the Anglo-Saxon age and, to a great extent, the Viking age, both of which have received large scholarly interest, little attention has been paid on the two centuries that follow. Comprehensive works on medieval jewellery, such as David Hinton's study, claim that jewellery (such as brooches) belong to the higher layers of society in the High Middle Ages, with the commoners supposedly absent from such displays of social and economic status. This argument from absence is owing, perhaps, to the prevailing habit of scholars publishing separately individual discoveries, cemetery excavation reports, and hoard finds. A more precise typochronology of jewellery is required.

Creating such a typochronology, however, is difficult. Basing such a study on the sparse records of partially excavated cemeteries is not feasible. A broader range of data is required. This aim is made more problematic by an object-orientated method of interpretation. Though the spatial distribution of objects and jewellery types have been mapped, and their European relations investigated, the individual context of the finds are not analysed.<sup>21</sup> Some spectacular hoard finds – such as Fuchsenhof and Wiener Neustadt – alerted scholars to the complex characteristics of specific treasure troves while also noting the importance of the Central European region. A similar corrective trend can be observed in the research of late medieval hoard finds in Hungary, particularly in the works of Gábor Hatházi,<sup>22</sup> which, however, have not received international attention. This work, therefore, cannot attempt to focus on the whole European context; it will concentrate on the Central European finds. Despite this limitation, it must be stressed that the methods and results of this study can be used for a later, broader investigation.

The High Middle Ages in Hungary corresponds to the reign of the Árpád dynasty. The conversion of a tribal society and the establishing of the Christian kingdom is the predominant feature of these three centuries popularly labelled the 'Arpadian age'. Consequently, scholarly research into this period has focused on key issues: chronology, ethnicity regarding finds, and, owing to the latter, interest into the material culture of the commoners. Investigation of the latter has long focused on cemeteries and their grave goods. A good example of such research is the study of one of the most common types of jewellery of the period under investigation: S-ended lock rings. Heated debate concerned their chronological, ethnic, and social purpose. This scholarly discussion was both charged and distorted by contemporary concerns: the modern nation states of the Carpathian basin have long used the political (mostly nationalistic) connotations of such findings for modern disputes.

A brief examination of the historiography of the subject will show these issues. Debates on Arpadian-age jewellery began with the influential work of József Hampel, who identified field cemeteries containing a large number of graves,<sup>23</sup> a few – only a few – of which contained cheap trinkets and lock rings (interpreted as a particularly Slavic type of jewellery) that suggested they were the funeral places of the tenth-century Slavic population.<sup>24</sup> This idea fitted in with the romantic ideal of Hampel's contemporaries, who saw the conquering Hungarians as horse-riding warriors. The research fitted the archaeological findings to that idea.<sup>25</sup> Though Hampel himself noted doubts about his interpretation – and his work displays

<sup>23</sup> This type of cemetery, a "row cemetery" (Hungarian: *soros temető*; German: *Reihengräberfeld*), receives its name from the arrangement of the graves. Grenville Astill, dealing with Anglo-Saxon examples in the liminal time between burial with graves goods to the start of churchyard burials, calls them "open ground cemeteries", "traditional lay cemeteries", and, more often, "field cemeteries". Although there are some chronological differences, the process was similar to the Hungarian context. Astill states that the lay of the land and its use was strongly connected to change in burial customs: from having a common identity from the fields (and therefore fields being possibly the most appropriate place to bury the deceased), a new field system, coinciding with the emergence of local parishes, restricted burials to churchyards. In Hungary, churchyard burials coincided with the stabilising of settlements near churches. For Astill's ideas, see his 'Anglo-Saxon Attitudes: How Should Post-AD 700 Burials Be Interpreted?' in *Mortuary Practices and Social Identities in the Middle Ages*, ed. Duncan Sayer and Howard Williams (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2009), pp. 223-231.

<sup>24</sup> József Hampel, *Újabb tanulmányok a honfoglalási kor emlékeiről* [New studies on the material culture of the Conquest Period] (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1907), pp. 12-14. This is in stark contrast to the chronological approach Hampel used in his earlier work *Alterthümer des früher Mittelalters in Ungarn* (Braunschweig: Friderich Vieweg and Son, 1905).

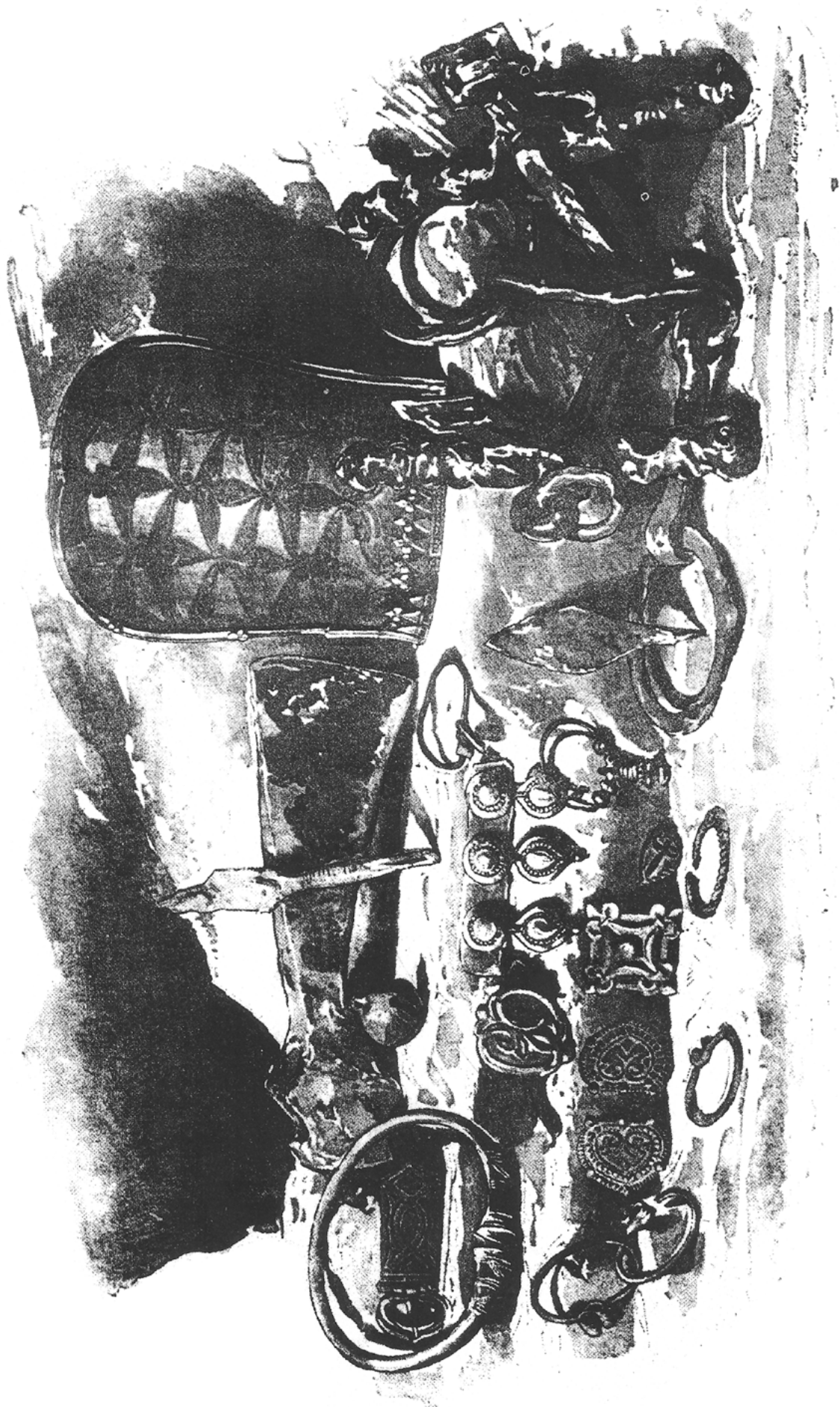
<sup>25</sup> For a detailed analysis of the historiography of the research, see Péter Langó, *Amit elrejt a föld... A 10. századi magyarság anyagi kultúrájának régészeti kutatása a Kárpát-medencében* [What is hidden by the earth... Archaeological research into the material culture of tenth-century Hungarians in the Carpathian basin] (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2009), and, in English, Péter Langó, 'Archaeological Research on the Conquering Hungarians: A Review', in: *Research on the Prehistory of the Hungarians: A Review*, ed. Balázs Gusztáv Mende, Varia Archaeologica Hungarica 18 (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 2005), pp. 175-340.

<sup>19</sup> Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Late Middle Ages. Social Change in England c. 1200-1520*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 178. fn. 37.

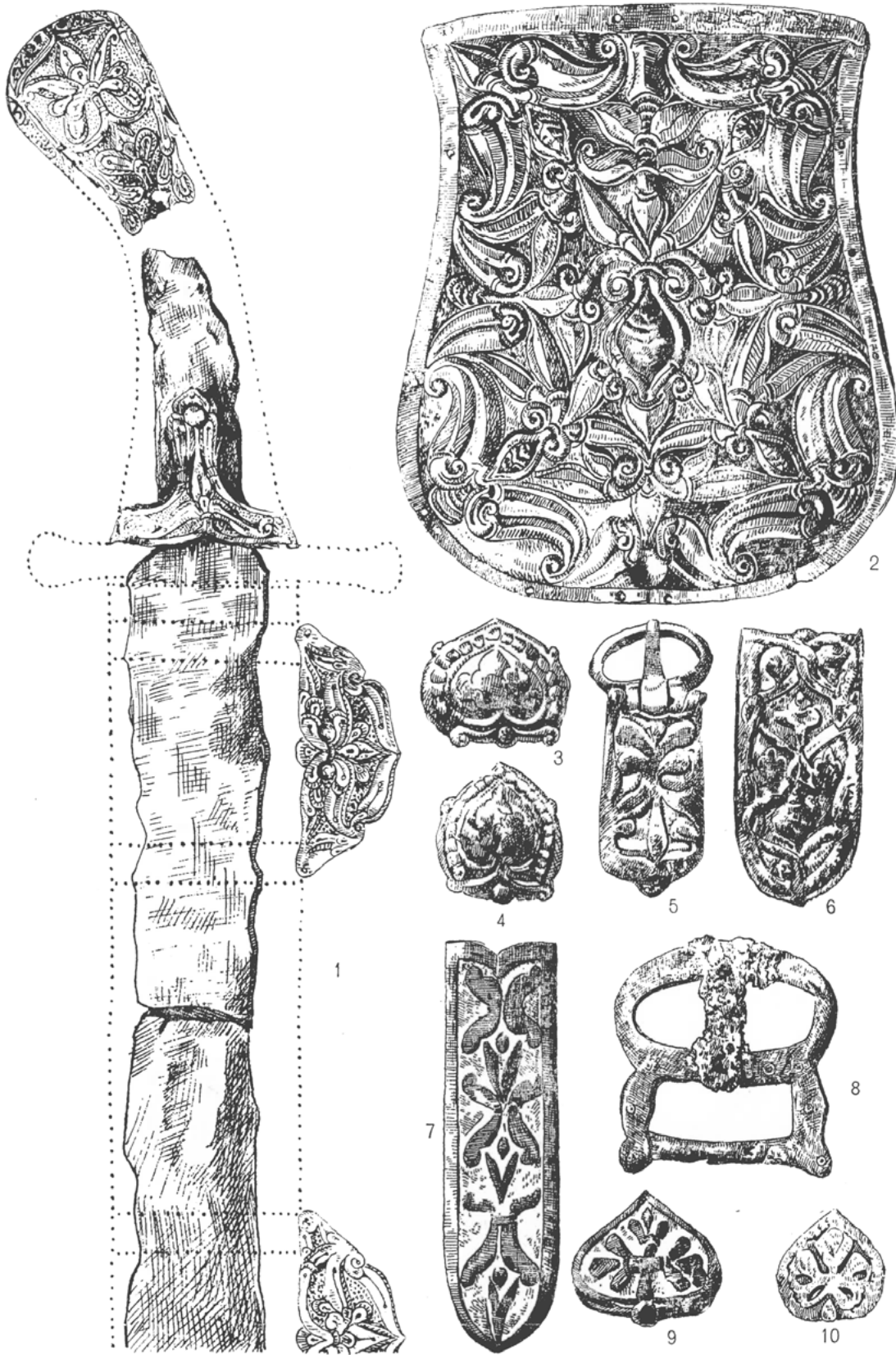
<sup>20</sup> Hinton, *Gold*, pp. 171-172.

<sup>21</sup> For example Sabine Felgenhauer-Schmiedt, *Die Sachkultur des Mittelalters im Lichte der archäologischen Funde* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1995).

<sup>22</sup> Gábor Hatházi, *A kunok régészeti emlékei a Kelet-Dunántúlon*. [The Archaeological Remains of the Cumans in the Eastern Transdanubian Region] (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2004).



*Fig. 1. An example for the romantic display of the material culture of the conquering Hungarians.  
Marcali, A magyar nemzet története, p. 58.*



1. Geszteréd. — 2. Szolnok—Strázsahalom. — 3–6. Gádoros. — 7–10. Kecel

Fig. 2. Academic display of the most representative Conquest period finds.  
Szőke, A honfoglaló és kora Árpád-kori magyarság régészeti emlékei. Tab. III.



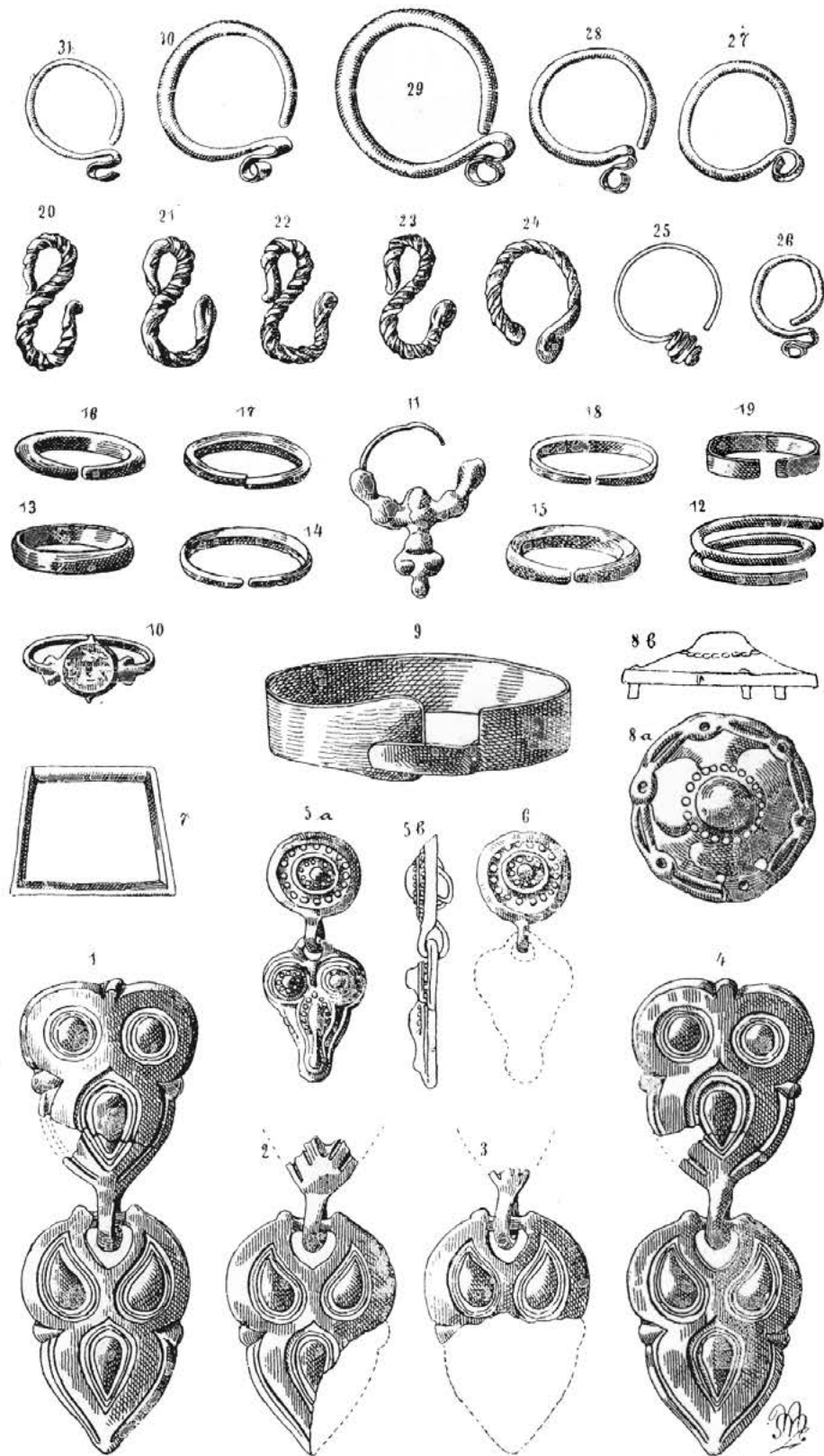


Fig. 3. Typical finds of the uppermost layer of commoners identified in field cemeteries.  
Hampel, Újabb tanulmányok a honfoglalási kor emlékeiről. p. 145.



clear weaknesses (such as uncritically using previous research and ignoring the data that contradicted his theory), this ethnic interpretation became ingrained in later research. Lubor Niederle created the concept of the 'Bijelo Brdo culture'.<sup>26</sup> This term became the official name of the artefacts connected to these cemeteries, and research on the jewellery from these locations – particularly the most commonly found type, the lock rings – became subsequently strongly associated with Bijelo Brdo culture.

There is no need to discuss the Bijelo Brdo debate in detail, only to stress its dominance of scholarly research.<sup>27</sup> In the text that follows, the findings of the most recent researcher of the Bijelo Brdo concept, Csanád Bálint, have been summarised to show the conflicting views of the Hungarian and non-Hungarian scholars.<sup>28</sup>

Jan Eisner and Nándor Fettich supported Niederle's concept, making the interpretation more popular.<sup>29</sup> Though there were studies that reached different conclusions, such as Kálmán Szabó's important argument that denied any ethnic interpretation of lock rings while also establishing such a jewellery type existed in a much broader time period (10th to 14th century),<sup>30</sup> such findings were ignored for two decades. The studies of Alán Kralovánszky, again, examining the ethnic and chronological elements of the S-ended lock ring, rejected the type being a marker of ethnicity, but did not deny it being such before the eleventh century.<sup>31</sup> In addition to this stance, Kralovánszky, using graves dated by coins, established that this type of lock ring appeared in the Carpathian and Czech basins in the second half of the tenth century.<sup>32</sup> This was followed by Béla Szőke's publication on the archaeological data of the Conquest and early Arpadian age Hungarians. Szőke regarded this type of lock ring as a local development, pointing out the relationship between late Avar sites where multiple S-ended lock rings were found and the early Arpadian age sites where comparable rings were found. As a result, Szőke viewed the Arpadian S-ended lock rings as a subtype of late Avar jewellery that emerged in the Carpathian jewellery around 960-970, and saw it as the jewellery of commoner of a mixed ethnic background.<sup>33</sup> Surveying the current concept of the Bijelo Brdo culture, Szőke tried to separate the material culture of the Slavs from the incoming Hungarians. Identifying the ninth-century population of the Carpathian basin as Slavs, whose appearance and material culture was Avar, he noted that the ethnic component of the

area was already complex.<sup>34</sup> Using finds from cemeteries, Szőke compared the social stratification of the Avaro-Slav and Hungarian society to identify the typical finds of each social layer of the Hungarians. He distinguished the difference in the material culture of the common populace, which he divided in two parts: from the Conquest to the last third of the tenth century, and from that time to the twelfth century.<sup>35</sup>

Non-Hungarian scholars also entered into the scholarly debate. One such scholar was Zdeňek Váňa. Basing his work on data collected accurately, Váňa's work is problematic for its generalisation. Imagining the conquering Hungarians as a group with a unified material culture, Váňa led himself to interpret as indicators of Hungarian ethnicity objects such as Arabic dirhams and some types of mounts that were not characteristic only of Hungarians, and, it must be stressed, not characteristic for all Hungarians. Váňa also presented a revised chronology of Bijelo Brdo culture, and suggested an earlier beginning: the mid-tenth century. In contrast, Anton Točík's position was similar to Hungarian arguments. He connected the spread of the "culture" to the mass arrival of Hungarian commoners, and stated that the material culture connected to the Bijelo Brdo culture likewise represents the Hungarians. He has one notable difference: Točík regarded the culture disappeared at the beginning of the eleventh century, at the time of the appearance of the *obolus*.<sup>36</sup>

In Bálint's synthesis of the scholarship, analysing their problems, and re-analysing the various interdisciplinary relations of the material to the Hungarians, he concluded that the so-called Bijelo Brdo culture is the material remains of the Hungarian commoners, with a possible, though to a small extent, possible mixing with the local Slavic population in the middle of the country.<sup>37</sup>

A detailed analysis of the material of the Bijelo Brdo culture was made by Jochen Giesler. Giesler changed the chronological interpretation of Bijelo Brdo culture by suggesting two distinct phases: Bijelo Brdo I, the early phase, from the middle of the tenth century until first third of the eleventh century, and Bijelo Brdo II, which started in the mid-eleventh century and lasted until the start of the twelfth.<sup>38</sup> Agreeing with the view that in the eleventh century in an area of the Kingdom of Hungary a widespread pattern of interment occurred, Giesler however emphasised that the origin of the "culture" cannot yet be defined, and though desiring an ethnic interpretation, noted it was not yet possible.<sup>39</sup>

This debate, briefly plotted above, had a serious impact on research into jewellery of the High Middle Ages in East-Central Europe. Researchers concentrated on the material from the earlier half of the period at the detriment of material from the second half. A consequence of this narrow focus meant when an artefact was recovered that appeared similar

<sup>26</sup> Csanád Bálint, 'A magyarság és az ún. Bjelo-Brdo kultúra' [Hungarians and the so-called Bijelo-Brdo culture], *Cumania* 4 (1976): 225-254 (p. 226).

<sup>27</sup> For a detailed synthesis of the historiography of Bijelo Brdo culture, see: Bálint, 'A magyarság', and Attila Kiss, 'Zur Frage der Bjelo Brdo Kultur. Bemerkungen zu den ethnischen Verhältnissen des heutigen Slawonien und Syrmien im 10–11. Jahrhundert', *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 25 (1973): 327-340.

<sup>28</sup> Bálint, 'A magyarság'.

<sup>29</sup> Bálint, 'A magyarság', pp. 225-226.

<sup>30</sup> Kálmán Szabó, *Az alföldi magyar nép művelődéstörténeti emlékei: Kulturgeschichtliche Denkmäler der ungarischen Tiefebene* (Kecskemét: Városi Múzeum, 1938), pp. 28-29.

<sup>31</sup> Alán Kralovánszky, 'Adatok az ún. S-végű hajkarika kialakulásának és időrendjének kérdéséhez' [Data on the emergence and spread of the so-called S-ended lock rings], *Archeologiai Értésítő* 84 (1957): 175-183.

<sup>32</sup> Alán Kralovánszky, 'Adatok az ún. S-végű hajkarika etnikumjelző szerepéhez' [Data for the ethnic-marker role of the so-called S-ended lock rings], *Archeologiai Értésítő* 83 (1956): 211-212.

<sup>33</sup> Béla Szőke, *A honfoglaló és kora Árpád-kori magyarság régészeti emlékei* [Archaeological remains of the Conquest period and early Arpadian age Hungarians] (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1962), pp. 86-89.

<sup>34</sup> Béla Szőke, 'A bjelobrdoi kultúráról' [About the Bijelo Brdo culture], *Archeologiai Értésítő* 86 (1959): 32-47 (pp. 34-35).

<sup>35</sup> Szőke, 'A bjelobrdoi kultúráról', pp. 36-44.

<sup>36</sup> Bálint, 'A magyarság', pp. 229-230. For more detail, see Zdeňek Váňa, 'Mad'ari a Slovane ve světle archeologických nálezů X-XII století' [Magyars and Slavs in the light of archaeological finds of the tenth to the twelfth century], *Slovenská Archeologia* 2 (1954): pp. 51-97, and Anton Točík, 'Flachgräberfelder aus dem X. und XI. Jahrhundert in der Südslowakei', *Slovenská Archeologia* 19 (1971): pp. 135-276.

<sup>37</sup> Bálint, *A magyarság*, pp. 248-249.

<sup>38</sup> Jochen Giesler, 'Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Bijelo Brdo-Kultur. Ein Beitrag zur Archäologie des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts im Karpatenbecken', *Praehistorische Zeitschrift* 56 (1981): 3-167 (pp. 151-152).

<sup>39</sup> Giesler, 'Untersuchungen zur Chronologie', pp. 154-155.



1. Tápé—Malajdok. — 2. Rusovce (Oroszvár). — 3. Tápé—Malajdok. — 4. Szentés—Nagyhegy. — 5. Ptuj. — 6. Gimbaş (Marosgombás). — 7. Tiszabездé. — 8. Székesfehérvár—Demkóhegy. — 9—10. Piliny—Sirmányhegy. — 11. Kecskemét. — 12. Székesfehérvár—Demkóhegy. — 13. Kecskemét. — 14—15. Piliny—Sirmányhegy. — 16. Győr. — 17—20. Bjelo Brdo. — 21—26. Szentés—Szentlászló

*Fig. 4. Typical finds of field cemeteries of the commoners I. Rings, earrings, pearls, pendants, buttons.*  
 Szőke, A honfoglaló és kora Árpád-kori magyarság régészeti emlékei. Tab. X.



73. ábra. Majs. Fülbevalók, gyöngyök típusablaja I : 484. sír, 2: 894. sír; 3: 14. sír; 4: 219. sír; 5: 223. sír; 6: 475. sír; 7: 259. sír; 8: 67. sír; 9: 1038. sír; 10: 491. sír; 11—12: 484. sír; 13: 94. sír; 14: 764. sír; 15: 267. sír; 16: 491. sír; 17: 878. sír; 18: 267. sír; 19: 878. sír; 20: 13. sír; 21: 53. sír; 22: 228. sír; 23: 303. sír; 24: 472. sír; 25: 874. sír; 26: 764. sír; 27: 533. sír; 28: 361. sír; 29: 528. sír; 30: 418. sír; 31: 43. sír; 32: 878. sír; 33: 7. sír; 34: 472. sír; 35: 878. sír; 36: 13. sír; 37: 13. sír; 38: 222. sír; 39: 53. sír; 40: 298. sír; 41: 58. sír; 42: 498. sír; 43: 222. sír; 44: 498. sír; 45: 13. sír; 46: 7. sír; 47: 53. sír; 48: 53. sír; 49: 595. sír; 50—51: 58. sír; 52: 7. sír; 53: 74. sír; 54: 13. sír

Fig. 5. Typical finds of field cemeteries of the commoners II: Majs-Udvari rétek. Lock rings, earrings, pearls, buttons. Kiss, Baranya megye X-XI. századi sírleletei. p. 160.





74. ábra. Majs. Lunulák, csörgők, keresztek típusábrája 1: 53. sír; 2: 603. sír; 3: 505. sír; 4: 551. sír; 5: 505. sír; 6: 506. sír; 7: 785. sír; 8: 120. sír; 9: 94. sír; 10: 588. sír; 11: 343. sír; 12: 53. sír; 13: 408. sír; 14: 108. sír; 15: 456. sír; 16: 385. sír; 17: 685. sír; 18: 275. sír; 19: 1031. sír; 20: 234. sír; 21: 770. sír; 22: 626. sír

Fig. 6. Typical finds of field cemeteries of the commoners II: Majs-Udvari rétek. Pendants and mounts. Kiss, Baranya megye X-XI. századi sírleletei. p. 161.

to the so-called Bijelo Brdo culture, such as an S-ended lock ring, researchers uncritically dated these cemetery fragments to an earlier period (tenth-eleventh century). Though research has started to correct this issue,<sup>40</sup> the same paradigm was present in both field cemeteries and churchyards. Excavation of these sites has typically only been partial, and, influenced by the Bijelo Brdo debate, provided with inadequate dating. Though studies investigating hoards in the 1970s pointed out that lock rings are unsuitable for dating burials because they were in use from the tenth to at least the end of the thirteenth century,<sup>41</sup> researchers have been prone to use them to support early dating of various features. Regarding the artefacts themselves, there have been several studies on particular types of object – such as lyre-shaped buckles,<sup>42</sup> rhombus-shaped buckles,<sup>43</sup> seal rings,<sup>44</sup> and lock rings with flaring ends<sup>45</sup> – there has been no overall analysis of the material comparable to the studies on early Arpadian age jewellery.

### *The intention and methodology of this study*

Jewellery found in hoards are a great resource for understanding the economic and social aspects of Arpadian era rural society; the methodology previous used for such analysis however has been problematic. This research responds to this issue by doing a joint investigation of finds from hoards, cemeteries (particularly those datable by coins) and settlement features; this study compares the finds from diverse contexts with the well-excavated cemetery at Kána village as the benchmark.

Though some of the objects remain undated, the size, complexity, and careful study of the excavated graves at Kána provide us with a meticulously clear chronology of the phases of the churchyard, giving us a stable chronology to assist our investigation. When supported with data from other archaeological excavations, more trustworthy dating is possible. This permits comparisons with finds from a variety of settlement types, with jewellery from hoards dated to the

Mongol invasion, and with other churchyard settlements in the Kingdom of Hungary, and leads to new conclusions.

In discussing the strengths and weaknesses of finds from burials and from the hoards, the investigation aims to make the dating of the objects of the period more accurate and, in some cases, clarify the socioeconomic interpretation of the finds. For example, by comparing the hoards which contained jewellery with those that contained agricultural tools, it is possible to argue not only the profession of the person that hid the hoard, but also that the work tools were as appreciated as the trinkets and savings of the family. Likewise, by investigating the environment and context of each hoard, more information will emerge about the possible owners.

### *The medieval village of Kána: the state of the research*

As the most fully excavated Arpadian era village in the Carpathian basin,<sup>46</sup> Kána, located in the XIth district of Budapest, is the ideal starting point for an investigation into jewellery of the High Middle Ages. Just as today, the village was centrally located: it is situated in the heart of the *Medium Regni*, located next to the notable road that connects the royal centres of Székesfehérvár, Óbuda and from there, Esztergom.

György Terei directed the 2003-2005 excavation, a rescue operation carried out prior to the construction of a new housing estate. The whole settlement was excavated: 200 houses, 4 huge storage pits, a large number of other archaeological features, including the village church and churchyard that contained nearly 1100 burials. The scale of the project was exceptional, as it examined a medieval village in its entirety. Though Hungarian archaeology concerned with the High Middle Ages has from the start focused on villages,<sup>47</sup> previously detailed excavations – such as those at Tiszafüred-Morotvapart<sup>48</sup> or Tiszaörvény<sup>49</sup> (including the church and cemetery, and, in one case, a hoard) – the excavation at Kána surpassed its predecessors by its thoroughness. In addition to the wealth of material (and, it should be noted in contrast to a

<sup>40</sup> On this topic see the works of Ágnes Ritoók, 'A magyarországi templom körüli temetők feltárásának újabb eredményei' [New results of excavations of churchyard cemeteries in Hungary], *Folia Archaeologica* 46 (1997): pp. 165-169., and 'A templom körüli temetők régészeti kutatása' [Archaeological investigations of churchyard cemeteries], in *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon* [The archaeology of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age in Hungary], ed. Elek Benkő and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Régészeti Intézet, 2010), pp. 473-495.

<sup>41</sup> Nándor Parádi, 'Pénzekkel keltezett XIII. századi ékszerek. A Nyáregyháza-pusztapótharaszti kincslelet' [Thirteenth century jewellery dated by coins. The hoard of Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharaszti], *Folia Archaeologica* 26 (1975): 119-158 (pp. 151-152), and István Bóna, 'Arpadenzeitliche Kirche und Kirchhof im südlichen Stadtgebiet von Dunaújváros', *Alba Regia. Az István Király Múzeum Közleményei* 16 (1978): 125-139.

<sup>42</sup> László Révész, 'Lira alakú csatok a Kárpát-medencében' [Lyre-shaped buckles in the Carpathian basin], *Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 27 (1989): 513-542; Mária Wolf, 'Niello díszes bronz csat Edelény-Borsodról' [A buckle decorated with niello from Edelény-Borsod], *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 43 (2004): 139-161.

<sup>43</sup> Gábor János Ódor, 'Anjou-kori öntőforma Majsról (Adatok a 13-15. századi viselettörténehez)' [Angevin period mould from Majs (Data for fashion history of the thirteenth to fifteenth century)] *Communications Archaeologicae Hungaricae* (1998): 123-137.

<sup>44</sup> Zsuzsa Lovag, 'Árpád-kori pecsétgyűrűk I' [Arpadian age seal rings I], *Folia Archaeologica* 31 (1980): 221-237.

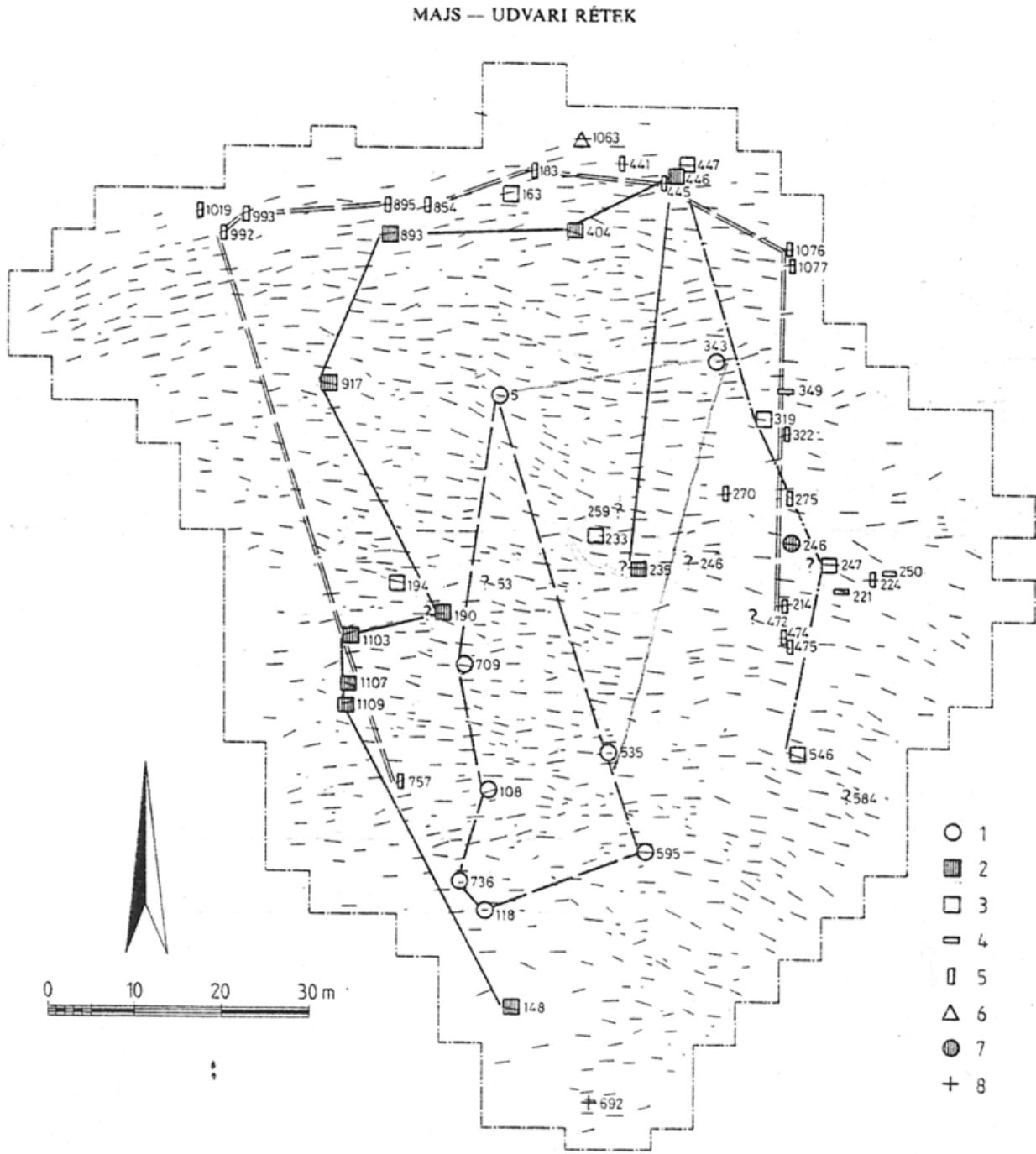
<sup>45</sup> Mihály Kulcsár, 'Néhány megjegyzés az Árpád-kori karikaékszerek viseletének kérdéséhez. Az ún. köpús záródású karikák' [Some remarks of the wear of the Arpadian-age lock rings. The so-called lock rings with flaring ends], *Savaria* 22, no. 3 (1996): 249-275.

<sup>46</sup> György Terei, 'Előzetes jelentés a Kőérberek-Tóváros-lakópark lelőhelyen folyó Árpád-kori falu feltárásáról – Preliminary report on the excavation of a village from the Arpadian Period on the territory of the Kőérberek-Tóváros residential district', *Régészeti Kutatások Magyarországon – Archaeological Investigations in Hungary 2004* (2005): 37-72 (pp. 37-39); see also: György Terei, 'Az Árpád-kori Kána falu' [The Arpadian age Kána village], in *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon* [The archaeology of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age in Hungary], ed. Elek Benkő and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Régészeti Intézet, 2010), pp. 81-112 (p. 81).

<sup>47</sup> For example, Kálmán Szabó, *Kulturgeschichtliche Denkmäler der Ungarischen Tiefebene* (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1933), and the works of István Méri. For a synthesis on the archaeology of Medieval villages see Mariann Bálint, József Laszlovsky, Beatrix Romhányi, Miklós Takács, 'Medieval Villages and their Fields' in *Hungarian Archaeology at the turn of the Millennium*, ed. Zsolt Visy, (Budapest: Ministry of National Heritage, Teleki László Foundation, 2003), pp. 383-388.

<sup>48</sup> János Cseh and Béla Kriveczky and József Laszlovsky, 'Településnyomok és temetkezések az őskortól a későközépkorig a tiszafüredi Morotvaparton' [Settlement and burials from the Prehistory to the Late Middle Ages at Tiszafüred-Morotvapart], *Múzeumi Levelek* 47-48 (1985): 3-27, and József Laszlovsky, 'Árpád-kori és későközépkori objektumok' [Settlement features from the Arpadian and Late Middle Ages] in *Régészeti ásatások Tiszafüred-Morotvaparton* [Archaeological excavation at Tiszafüred-Morotvapart], ed. László Tóth and László Madaras, (Szolnok: Damjanich János Múzeum, 1991), pp. 317-384.

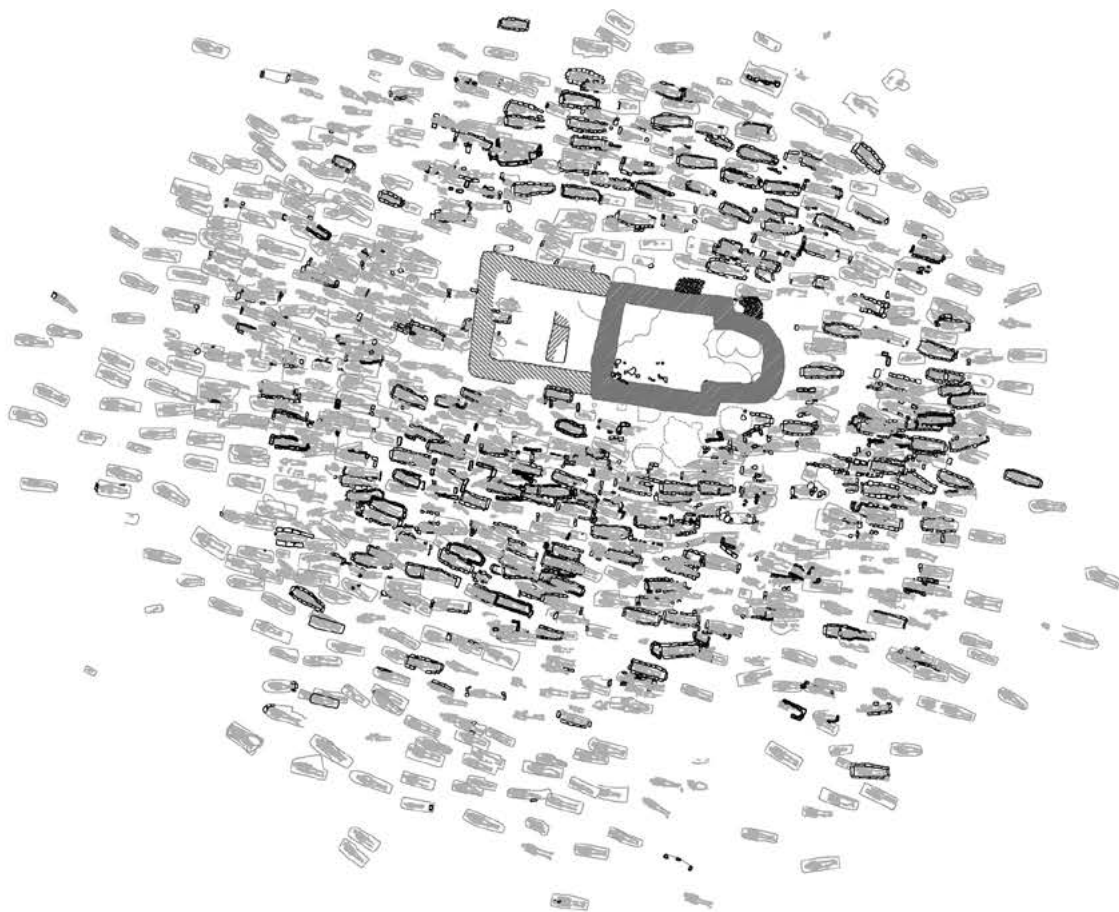
<sup>49</sup> Béla Horváth, 'Előzetes jelentés a 1965-68. évi tiszafüredi feltárásokról' [Preliminary report about the excavations at Tiszaörvény between the years 1965 to 1968], *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 97 (1970): 126-133.



89. ábra. Majs. Temetőterkép. Érmek elterjedési térképe 1: római, átfűrt érmek, 2: I. István (1000–1038), 3: Péter (1038–1041, 1044–1046), 4: Aba Sámuel (1041–1044), 5: I. Endre (1046–1061) és Béla dux (1048–1061), 6: Béla rex (1061–1063), 7: Salamon (1063–1074), 8: I. László (1077–1095) denarja

Fig. 7. A typical field cemetery, Majs-Udvari rétek, and a method for analysis: coins.  
Kiss, Baranya megye X-XI. századi sírleletei. p. 177.





*Fig. 8. Graves of a typical rural churchyard cemetery: Kána*

Central European failing, detailed publications), the research at Kána was aided by previous excavations of a nearby abbey,<sup>50</sup> providing an opportunity to examine the connection between that feature and the village.

The dating of settlement was unproblematic, though questions remain. A coin of Béla II (1131-1141), found on the underlying level of the walls, dates the church to the second third of the twelfth century.<sup>51</sup> As the area within the churchyard – including the narrow zone around it – contains no settlement features from the medieval period, it is possible that the foundation of the village and the church coincided. Analysis of the cemetery and the churchyard has previously been made,<sup>52</sup> providing a relative, and to some extent, complete chronology of each phase of the graveyard from the finds uncovered there. Kána, with more than a thousand graves and a large number of finds, is a highly representative sample. The date the cemetery, and the settlement, ceased being used unfortunately cannot be determined to the same accuracy: coins dating after the Mongol invasion were not recovered, and the material culture of the settlement can be roughly dated to the twelfth and thirteenth century, with some sporadic fourteenth century artefacts. Regarding the cemetery, the latest finds, such as belts from the most recent graves, are roughly datable to the end of the thirteenth, early fourteenth century. Despite the coins, minted in an earlier period, the other finds show continuity after the Mongol invasion. The probable conclusion is that the settlement, with its church and churchyard, was deserted in the second half or the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>53</sup>

The fortunate situation of having a completely excavated settlement and cemetery, with the latter thoroughly analysed, and having historical data clarified by archaeological data, makes interpretation of the social connotations of the excavated objects feasible. Parts of the settlement's history are known from written sources. Landscape analysis confirms that the village was situated within the boundaries of the property of Kána Abbey. Though the social status of villagers would have been as diverse as any village, the settlement had a clear upper echelon – the ecclesiastical landlord: the abbey. The economic opportunities for the villagers are also known: textual and archaeological data refer to vine cultivation in the area, highly profitable at that time. This, however, is also the probable cause for the abandonment of the settlement, since the expanding viticulture made apparent by charter evidence was continuous in the area even in the late Middle Ages.<sup>54</sup>

### Hoard

After noting the importance of sites like Kána for understanding hoards, it is now worthwhile to turn to the hoards themselves. The reasons for hiding valuable goods are

diverse; the act of burying goods does not necessarily have the same agency. Consequently, with the exception of hoard horizons such as the one connected to the Mongol invasion, individual hoard finds should be investigated separately. The reason behind the hiding can have a serious impact on the composition of the hoard, in both the type of objects and their dating; it can also have an impact on the circumstances of the hiding and whether recovery was an intention. Hoards connected to a crisis are a response by owners of actual and available valuables to a perceived danger; these can hardly be seen as comparable to goods hidden by merchants to avoid tolls, or loot hidden by a robber. Obviously, in each case, the selection of objects would differ.<sup>55</sup>

To reach a broad understanding of hoards, focus must accommodate the diverse circumstances for their creation. Likewise, the events that triggered their creation may have caused a variety of responses by different levels of society. Location, similarly, affects the response, and, of course, the composition of the hoard. The last dated coins provide a loose dating of hoard, which, in most cases, can be connected to a historical event that is typically an insecure political situation that is either local or regional. Though some hoards are discovered during archaeological excavations, most hoards come to light unintentionally frequently during agricultural work. These hoards may contain coins, jewellery, and, in some cases, iron tools (mainly sickles) or other tools related to agricultural work, or a mixture. Examining the spread of such hoards of a particular age and in a particular space and time permits suitable conclusions to be reached about the treasure troves and the characteristics of specific hoard horizons.

There are many problems with interpreting hoards. To begin with, the accidental discovery of this type of find raises issues. In many cases, finds are fragmented, and the original size and content is unknown. Allied to this is the difficult question of deciding whether a hoard is intact or fragmented – this need not just mean whether all the artefacts were excavated, but also whether all the artefacts reached the museum. There is no perfect solution for this issue. However, if research takes into account the potentially fragmented nature of hoards, removing the presumption of completeness, false results are less likely. Reconsideration of old finds is important: examples exist of a repeat excavation of a site leading to a complete recovery of a hoard.<sup>56</sup> This can affect the research on the spread of the finds. The basis of nearly all of the problems is that the hoards were hidden in response to a critical situation. A crisis like the Mongol invasion happens quickly, and, therefore, there is little time to prepare for it. Nor do people behave in a standard, normal manner. Consequently, hoards reveal a moment of crisis, and not a contemporary standard. As discussed above, it is difficult to know whether whoever hid the hoard had other possessions that could not be hidden, and whether the option of turning possessions into money was a possibility. The relatively large number of known hoards can compensate

<sup>50</sup>Katalin H. Gyürky, *A Buda melletti kánai apátság feltárása* [The excavation of Kána abbey near Buda] (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1996).

<sup>51</sup>I would like to thank Márton Kálnoki-Gyöngyössi, Péter Schmidt and Tamás Csanádi for identifying the coins.

<sup>52</sup>Mária Vargha, 'Kána falu templom körüli temetője' [The Churchyard Cemetery of Kána Village] (unpublished master's thesis, Eötvös Loránd University, 2012).

<sup>53</sup>Terei, 'Az Árpád-kori Kána falu', p. 108.

<sup>54</sup>Charter nr. DL 98067, issued by the bishop of Veszprém for the abbots of Kána and Telki, leased a piece of land owned by the abbots to the burghers of Kána and Telki of *Pest Maior* for cultivating grapes. The charter is visible online at the Database of Archival Documents of Medieval Hungary at <http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf/opt/a110505htm?v=pdf&q=JELZ%3D98067&s=DAT&m=0&a=rec>.

<sup>55</sup>For an example of the numismatic and archaeological context of a hoard, and the terminology and interpretation of such materials, see 'Die metallenen Trachtbestandteile und Rohmaterialien aus dem Schatzfund von Fuchsenhof', in *Der Schatzfund von Fuchsenhof*, ed. Bernhard Prokisch and Thomas Kühtreiber (Linz: Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, 2004): p. 295. I would like to thank Thomas Kühtreiber for drawing my attention to the diversity of reasons for hoarding.

<sup>56</sup>Attila Jakab, 'Tatárjárás kori kincslelet Tyukod-Bagolyvárról' [Hoard from Tyukod-Bagolyvár from the age of the Mongol invasion], *A Nyíregyházi Jósza András Múzeum évkönyve* 49 (2007): 247-296.



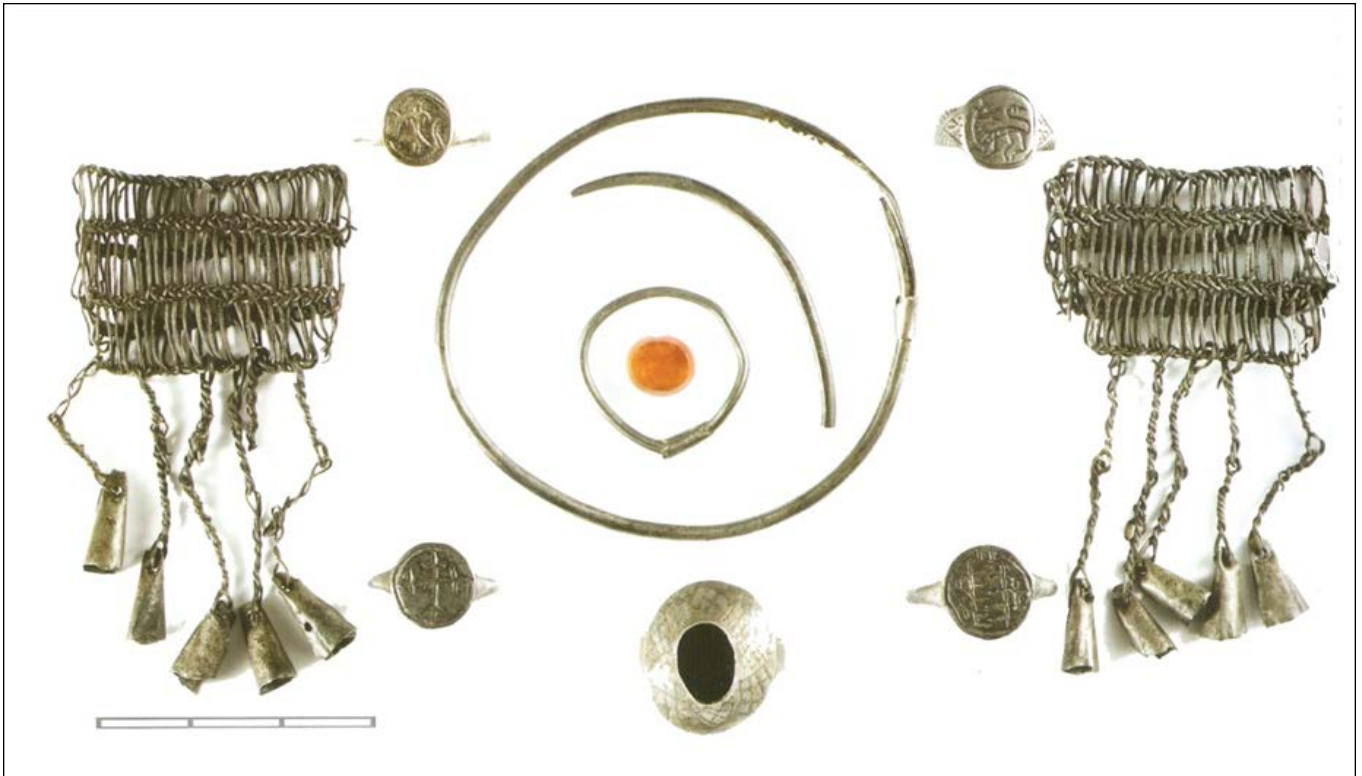


Fig. 9. Jewellery from the hoard of Pátroha – Butorka dűlő  
Jakab and Balázs, *Elrejtett kincsek titkai*. p. 24.

for this problem. A hoard only representing a tiny proportion of the wealth of its owner may have been true in individual cases, but does not heavily influence a broader interpretation of hoards. More pertinent questions concern differences between social and economic status, the uncertainty regarding social and legal status, and the fact that not all individuals in a village were of the same status.<sup>57</sup>

The earliest hoards of the Arpadian age, from the first half of the eleventh century, are not numerous. More hoards are associated with the second half of the eleventh and the twelfth century.<sup>58</sup> The coin that most frequently appears in these hoards comes from this period: a denarius minted during the reign of Béla II (1131-1141).<sup>59</sup> Given that the Mongol invasion of Hungary (1241-1242) affected the whole country and the whole of society, these group of hoards are more suitable for analysis. The hoards hidden in the earlier periods can, in some cases, be connected to local incidents. Owing to trade routes and monetary systems, the hoards of the eleventh and twelfth centuries do not contain western coins, but rather those of Hungarian kings and Byzantine rulers.<sup>60</sup>

By the end of the twelfth century, Hungarian trade with Western Europe was stabilising, and requiring more coinage. This, with the lack of silver at the end of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century, had an impact on the content of the hoards. From the thirteenth century onwards, a more developed economy emerged: landlords, for instance, demanded payment in coins. Hungarian currency however could not satisfy local needs: Hungarian monarchs minted new coins that increasingly contained less silver. To raise an income for the ruler, these new coins were exchanged for the older coins. As a consequence of this decline in value, it is not surprising that most the coins found in the hoards from the Mongol invasion feature not local Hungarian coins, but foreign ones: the Friesach denarius, containing a constant amount of silver.

#### *Friesach coins*

Various secular and ecclesiastical leaders minted their own coins, similar in quality and style, but differing in look. Because of their similarity, they were titled “Friesacher Pfennig”. The early, from the first half of the twelfth century, were minted by the archbishop of Salzburg in Friesach and the prince of Carinthia in St. Veit. As Hungarian trade became increasingly orientated towards the west, the spread of the well-minted Friesach coins, following the Danube to the whole of the Kingdom of Hungary, increased as Hungarian could not satisfy the market. In the thirteenth century, territorial rulers in the Holy Roman Empire – such as princes of Andechs Meran, the bishops of Bamberg in Villach, and the counts of Görz in Lienz<sup>61</sup> - established new mints. The mining

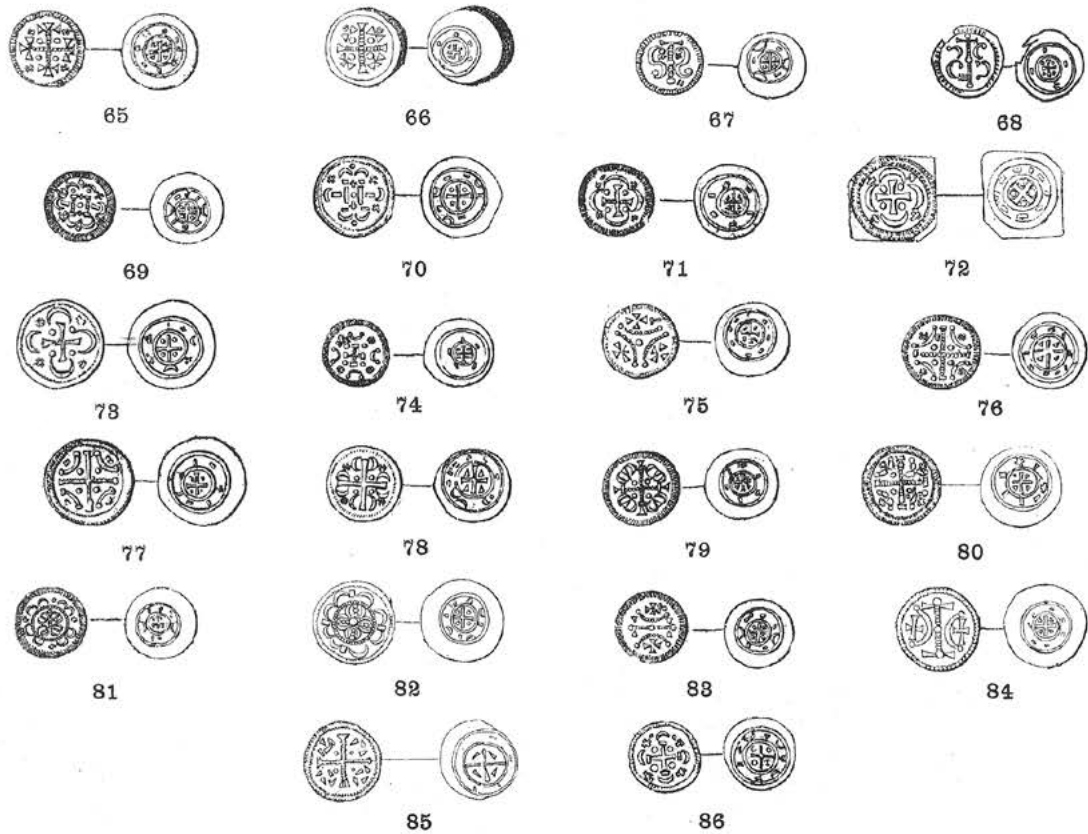
<sup>57</sup> József Laszlovszky, ‘Social Stratification and Material Culture in 10th-14th century Hungary’, in *Alltag und materielle Kultur in mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, ed. András Kubinyi and József Laszlovszky (Krems: Niederösterreichischer Landesregierung, 1991), pp. 32-67 (pp. 51-54). A good example of the latter problem, where several hoards from one site have different values, is Szank; for which, see Tóth, ‘A tatárjárás korának pénzzel keltezett kincsleletei’, pp. 86-87.

<sup>58</sup> Parádi, ‘Pénzekkel keltezett XIII. századi ékszerek’, p. 128.

<sup>59</sup> Ernő Saltzer, *A történelmi Magyarország területén fellelt 156 Árpádházi éremkincslelet összefüggő áttekintése* [Synthesis of the 156 Arpadian age coin hoards from medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Szinovszky és Társa, 1996.)

<sup>60</sup> István Gedai, ‘Fremde Münzen im Karpatenbeckes aus den 11-13. Jahrhunderten’, *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 21 (1969): 105-148 (p. 111). See also Saltzer, *156 Árpádházi éremkincslelet*.

<sup>61</sup> Gedai, ‘Fremde Münzen’, pp. 111-113.



1



2

Fig. 10. Coins in 12-13th century Hungary. 1: 12th century anonym denars. Réthy, Corpus Nummorum Hungariae. Tab. 5. 2: The spread of Friesach coins in Hungary. Gedai, Fremde Münzen im Karpatenbecken aus den 11-13. Jahrhunderten. p. 145.

II. Endre (1205—1235).

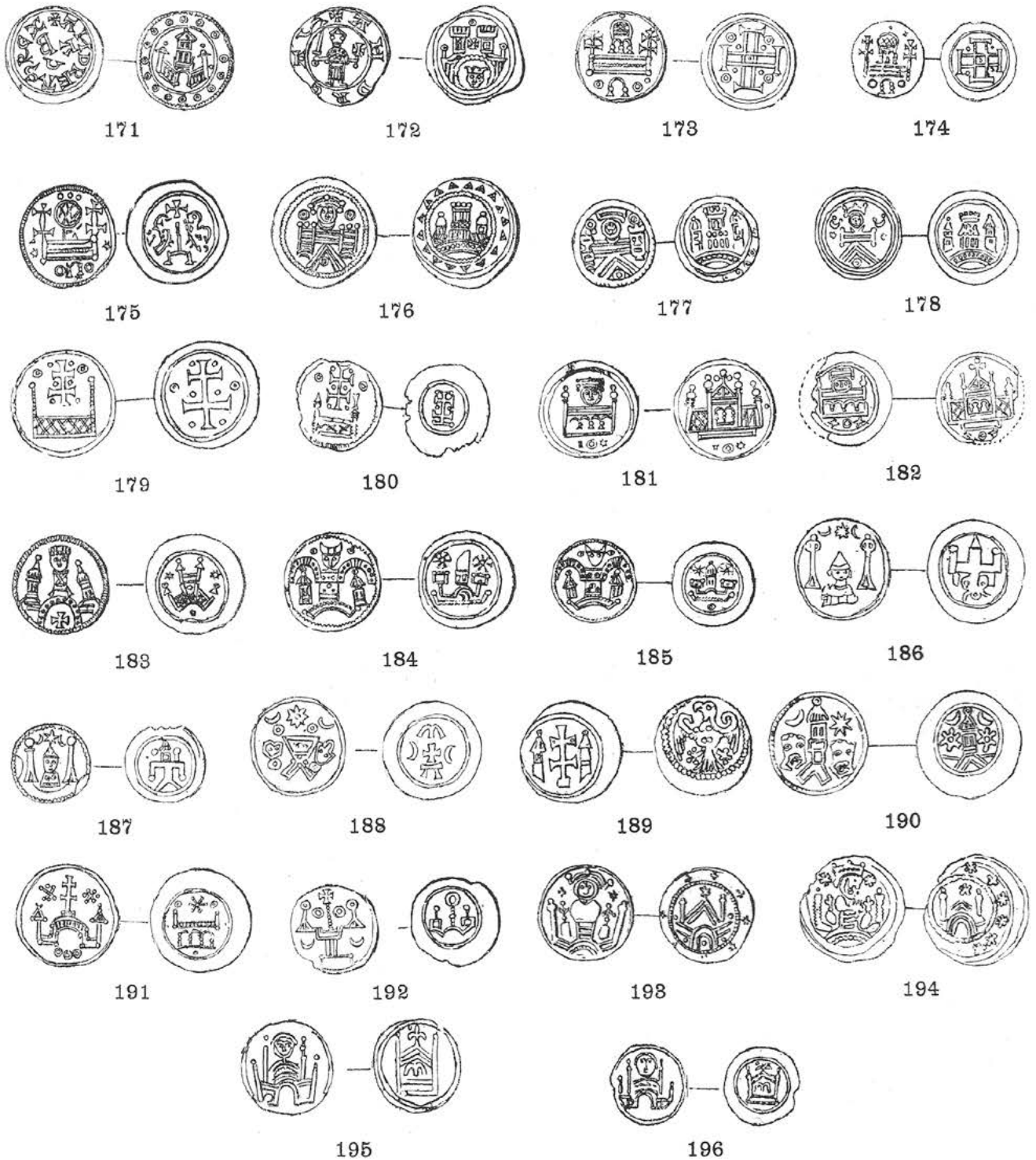


Fig. 11. 13th century Hungarian coins. The imagery of the coins is influenced by Friesach-type denarius Réthy, Corpus Nummorum Hungariae. Tab. 11.

in the Friesach area, and the collapse of rival mines in Britain and the Harz region, resulted in an increase in production of Friesach coinage. These were only mines, and only mints, that produced coins that had a stable value; others were affected by a scarcity of silver and bullion in the first half of the thirteenth century.<sup>62</sup> From the end of the twelfth century, reaching the height of popularity in the first half of the thirteenth, everyday trade in Hungary used local currency, while for savings the stable “Friesach Pfennigs” were used.<sup>63</sup> Consequently, in the hoards of the Mongol invasion, Hungarian coins are less represented. In some cases, the proportion of Hungarian to foreign coins is equal, in others, there are no Hungarian coins at all. Of these, the most common are anonymous *bracteates*, typically regarded as from the reign as Béla III (1172-1196) (though, given their relatively large numbers, could also be related to Béla IV (1235-1270)). The Friesach coins, by contrast, are typically from the mints of Eberhard II, archbishop of Salzburg (1200-1246) and Bernhard, prince of Carinthia (1202-1256).<sup>64</sup>

Even among the rural population, the circulation of money – particularly the silver *denarius* – played a greater role in retail trade by the thirteenth century. Though wealth and property took other forms, such as land or animals, the large number of hoards, this circulation, allied to the large number of hoards in a variety of locations, makes a social-economic interpretation of the hoards possible.<sup>65</sup>

Research on hoard finds has typically focused on sites outside of medieval Hungary. As noted earlier, this study cannot review all such work, but it can highlight key sites that are important both methodologically and for their position in economic issues of the broader region. One such site, having coins from the same mints of the Hungarian monarchs, is the Fuchsenhof hoard, notable for its size, complexity, and the careful study performed by researchers.

### The Fuchsenhof hoard

Containing around 7000 coins, more than 360 pieces of jewellery in various states of completion, and a diverse range of raw materials, the Fuchsenhof hoard, discovered in 1997 near the town of Freistadt in Upper Austria, is one of the largest hoards ever found. The high number of jewellery has been connected to one or more workshops.<sup>66</sup> Coins, including pieces minted during the reign of the Hungarian monarch

Ladislaus IV (1272-1290), provided a date for the hiding.<sup>67</sup> The large amount of jewellery permitted different avenues of research from the standard numismatic method: a detailed technical analysis, and an accurate evaluation of the finds, was possible. Using written sources about precious metals, stones, and jewellery, scholars determined the economic value of the material and the jewellery, and, from their appearance in literary sources, the social value connected to them.<sup>68</sup> For further comparison, the researchers investigated analogous appearances of jewellery in sources of later periods (late fourteenth and fifteenth century) and different contexts (France and Spain).<sup>69</sup> Given that the materials available were greater in range and number than those accessible to Hungarian researchers, different problems were faced. Most of the sources were from the fourteenth century, and from a royal environment; the more accurate texts, fourteenth-century account books of the counts of Holland, likewise represent the upper echelons of society.<sup>70</sup>

The interdisciplinary investigation into the Fuchsenhof find is exemplary. Though the analysis of that study is less relevant to this examination of the hoards of the Mongol invasion owing to a variety of factors – the materials (finds and sources) being later in date, the discovery being an individual treasure trove rather than part of a hoard horizon, and it being from a manorial context rather than a variety of predominantly rural locations – it is still worthwhile comparing it to hoards of the Mongol invasion.

### Spatial interpretation of hoards

As noted above, analysing hoards across time and space can provide general conclusions. By changing the focus to a particular hoard horizon (or location), the widely used archaeological method of studying spatial distribution can be more accurate and more meaningful. The technique has been used in the Carpathian basin to study Bronze Age hoard horizons; in a medieval context, there is the advantage of being able to compare spatial distribution to written sources and settlement networks.

Study of the hoard horizon of the Mongol invasion allows interesting conclusions to reach. In the preliminary research performed by Csaba Tóth, 87 hoards were identified as being from this date. Though Tóth stressed that this is only the first stage of research (with fragmented finds, from the same period, requiring investigation),<sup>71</sup> it should be noted that in most cases, if such finds reached a museum, they are likely to have been catalogued and published. Tóth’s research revealed that while hoards have been found across the whole kingdom of medieval Hungary, more were found on the east

<sup>62</sup> Ian Blanchard, *Mining, Metallurgy and Minting in the Middle Ages* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001), pp. 708-710.

<sup>63</sup> József Laszlovszky, ‘Tatárjárás és régészet’ [Mongol invasion and archaeology], in *Tatárjárás* [The Mongol invasion], ed. Balázs Nagy (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), pp. 453-468 (pp. 459-460).

<sup>64</sup> Csaba Tóth, ‘A tatárjárás korának pénzzel keltezett kincsleletei’ [The hoards of the age of the Mongol invasion, dated by coins], in *A tatárjárás* [The Mongol invasion], ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Éva Garam (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2007): 79-90 (p. 79). See also the recent study on the peculiarities of the mints of Mongol invasion age hoard finds: György V. Székely, ‘Tatárjárás és numizmatika – Egy történelmi katasztrófa pénzforgalmi aspektusai’ [Mongol Invasion and Numismatics – Effects of a Historical Catastrophe on Coin Circulation], in *‘Carmen miserabile’. A tatárjárás magyarországi emlékei* [‘Carmen miserabile’. The Remains of the Mongol Invasion in Hungary], ed. Szabolcs Rosta and György V. Székely (Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014), pp. 331-344.

<sup>65</sup> Laszlovszky, ‘Tatárjárás és régészet’, pp. 460-461.

<sup>66</sup> Bernhard Prokisch and Thomas Kühtreiber, ‘Vom Fund zum Forschungsprojekt’, in *Der Schatzfund von Fuchsenhof*, ed. Bernhard Prokisch and Thomas Kühtreiber (Linz: Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, 2004), 11-18. (pp. 11-12).

<sup>67</sup> Michael Alram, Hubert Emmerig, Bernhard Prokisch, and Heinz Winter, ‘Der numismatische Anteil des Schatzfundes von Fuchsenhof’, in *Der Schatzfund von Fuchsenhof*, pp. 43-92 (p. 92).

<sup>68</sup> Gertrud Blaschitz and Stefan Krabath, ‘Schmuck im mittelalterlichen Alltag unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Schatzfundes von Fuchsenhof’, in *Der Schatzfund von Fuchsenhof*, pp. 735-851 (pp. 738-741).

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 751.

<sup>70</sup> Blaschitz and Krabath, ‘Schmuck im mittelalterlichen Alltag’, pp. 745-746.

<sup>71</sup> Tóth, ‘A tatárjárás kincsleletei’, p. 79 fn. 1. György V. Székely, in ‘Megjegyzések a késő Árpád-kori éremleletek keltezéséhez’ [Notes for the dating of late Arpadian age coin finds], in *A numizmatika és a társtudományok* [Numismatics and its disciplines], ed. Ádám Nagy (Szeged: Móra Ferenc Múzeum, 1994), pp. 115-124 (p. 118), claims there are more than a hundred and fifty hoards from the period. Tóth, however, is the only detailed catalogue of such hoards.



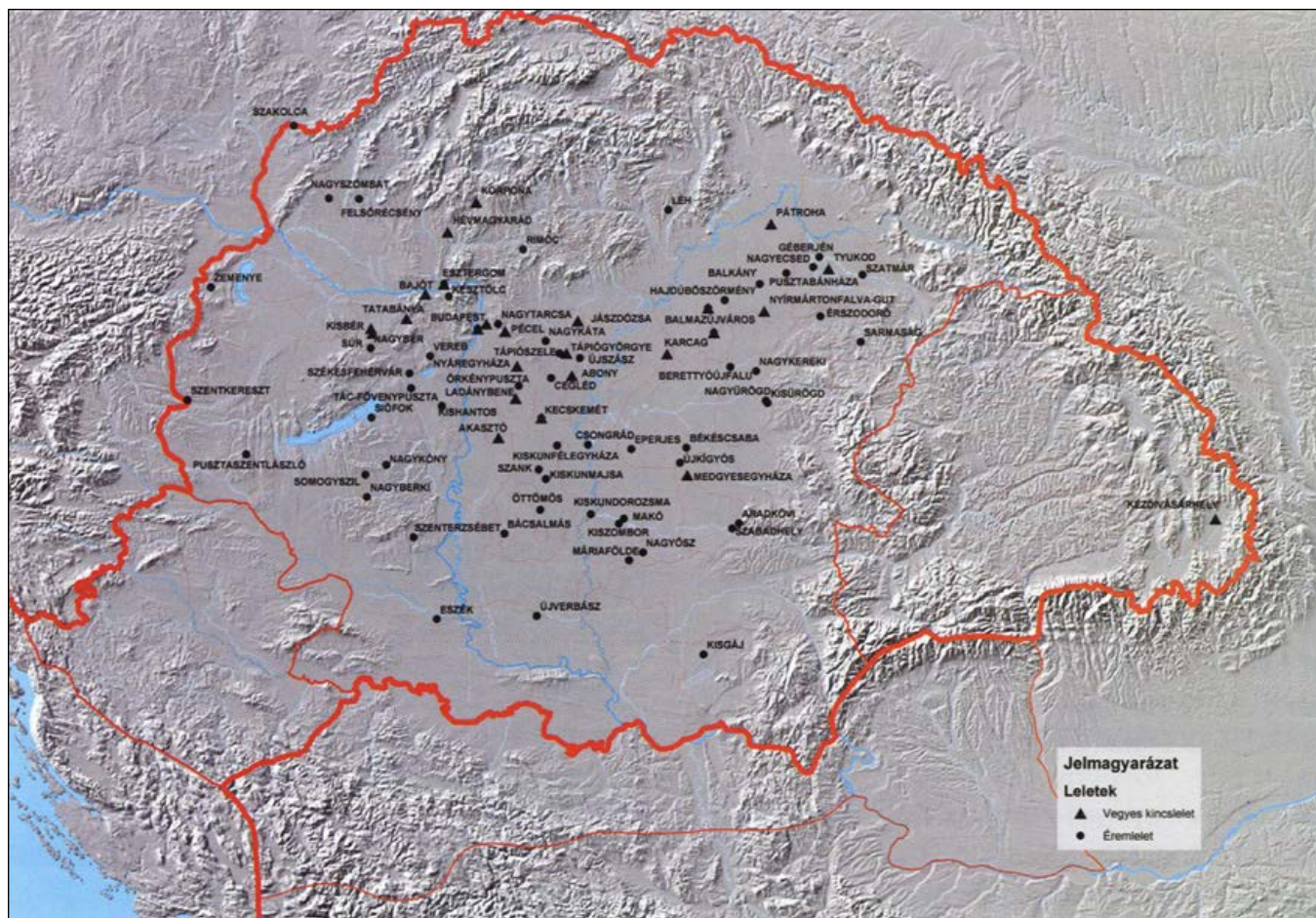


Fig. 12. The distribution of hoards connected to the Mongol invasion of Hungary by Csaba Tóth Tóth, 'A tatárjárás kincsleletei' p. 81.

of the Danube. This corresponds to the location of much destruction. Three areas had the greatest concentration of hoards: Northeast Hungary, in the Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg region, the east in Hajdú-Bihar County, and, in the middle of the country, between the Tisza and the Danube (today's Pest and Bács-Kiskun counties). The probable explanation for this state of affairs is that news the invasion provided time for valuables to be hidden, while the intensity of the violence and the destruction of the settlements meant the owners could not return to collect their goods either due to death or other circumstances. The level of destruction may have been similar to areas where hoards are less common, though whether the lack of hoards indicates a surprise attack or a less frenzied response is difficult to determine. Likewise, the development of a market economy, in which fortunes were in money and goods other than jewellery, means the archaeological record may be affected by irretrievable possessions.

The notable absence of hoards in the eastern part of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary is likely owing to another cause: the state of research in Transylvania, present day Romania.<sup>72</sup>

#### Hoard in dating jewellery

The basic understanding of these hoards is that people hid them in a time of crisis. This is an advantage to the archaeologist, as numismatic research makes it possible to date each hoard

to a 5-10 year interval,<sup>73</sup> which is not typically the case with jewellery. With regards to the hoard under investigation, the incident that led to the hoarding can be identified even more precisely (1241-42), meaning that the jewellery was either in use (discernable by marks of wear and tear), and/or kept as a means of thesaurisation during this period. Of course the date the jewellery was hidden does not define exactly the date of the jewellery (though, in some cases particularly when surviving in mint condition, a date can be assumed), it strongly suggests that such jewellery was in contemporary use and, consequently, production of such objects continued.<sup>74</sup> The explanation for this may be that coins and jewellery were collected as treasure, but served a different function. Coins, while providing a *post quem date* for the modern archaeologist, were hoarded regardless of date because they could be easily spent if a need arose, while jewellery was less suited for this purpose. In contrast to the hoarding of coins regardless of date, jewellery then reflects contemporary fashions.<sup>75</sup>

This reading is supported by another feature of the hoards: even in the largest hoards, the number of coins is greater than the amount of jewellery. Consequently, hoards probably contained the trinkets that were in current use. However, given the context

<sup>73</sup> Tóth, 'A tatárjárás kincsleletei', p. 79.

<sup>74</sup> The period of production and the length of use should, logically, be the same since as long as the object is in use, or in fashion, there is a market for it, which would require production.

<sup>75</sup> Though Friesach coins were collected for their stable value (and thus could be older than the actual date of hiding), the constant flow of such coins into Hungary, and the similarity of minting dates in the hoards, suggest that the thesaurisation of Friesach coins was constant.

<sup>72</sup> Tóth, 'A tatárjárás kincsleletei', pp. 79-80.





Fig. 13. *The hoard of Tyukod-Bagolyvár. Jewellery and precious metal pieces.*  
Jakab and Balázs, *Elrejtett kincsek titkai*. p. 12.

of the market economy and the decline in silver in the period, the *Gewichtsgeldwirtschaft* phenomenon should be noted. Since the coins could have been used as weighed silver rather than actual minted coins,<sup>76</sup> valued only for their silver rather than their currency (as, in certain cases, the hoard of Fuchsenhof showed),<sup>77</sup> it is also possible that jewellery could have been kept simply as precious metal. This is probable in those cases where fragmented pieces of jewellery appear in the hoards.

#### *Churchyard cemeteries*

Given that much material originates from churchyard cemeteries, the problems involved in this source requires attention. The majority of jewellery and dress artefacts originate from graveyards than any other context. Metal artefacts found in settlements are always rare, as in the majority of cases they are lost pieces (given the valuable nature of material even if the artefact itself is broken), and there are few hoards from this period. In contrast, burials frequently contained such artefacts owing to the widespread tradition of burying valuables with the deceased. Though this situation changed somewhat in the second half of the Arpadian era (as a result of changing burial practices, and the appearance of hoards during the Mongol invasion), the amount of material from cemeteries is significant. Research that compares hoards and cemetery goods are rare,

despite the dating of objects in most cases relying on parallel artefacts found in cemeteries. This state of affairs is made more problematic by the lack of detailed analysis of excavated cemeteries, and scarce publication of these findings. In the Carpathian Basin, only ten cemeteries have been excavated completely and (partly) dated to the Arpadian period: Ducové, Moravany nad Váhom, Krasno, Főnyed-Gólyásfa, Esztergom-Zsidód, Zalavár-Kápolna, Hajdúdorog-Szállásföldek, Kána,<sup>78</sup> Perkáta-Nyúli dűlő<sup>79</sup> and Paks-Cseresznyés;<sup>80</sup> of these, only

<sup>76</sup> Ágnes Ritoók, 'A templom körüli temetők felfedezése' [The discovery of churchyard cemeteries] in *Arhitectura religioasa medievala din Transilvania - Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben - Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania* 4, ed. Péter Levente Szöcs and Adrian Andrei Rusu (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2007), pp. 249-271 (p. 255).

<sup>79</sup> Gábor Hatházi and Loránd Olivér Kovács, 'Árpád-kori falu és kun szállás Perkáta-Nyúli Dűlő lelőhelyen – Falu, templom és temetők' [Arpadian Age Village and Cuman Settlement at the Site of Perkáta-Nyúli dűlő – Village, church and cemeteries], in 'Carmen miserabile'. *A tatárjárás magyarországi emlékei* ['Carmen miserabile'. The Remains of the Mongol Invasion in Hungary], ed. Szabolcs Rosta and György V. Székely (Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014), pp. 241-270.

<sup>80</sup> István Oláh, Sándor Kele and Zsófia Ács, "Természetes és mesterséges építőanyagok Paks-Cseresznyés (M6 autópálya T018) régészeti lelőhelyéről-The natural and artificial building material of the site Paks-Cseresznyés (M6 motorway, site T018)", *Évkönyv és jelentés a Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Szakszolgálat 2008. évi feltárásairól. - 2008 Field Service for Cultural Heritage Yearbook and Review of Archaeological Investigations*, ed. Judit Kvassay (Budapest: Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Szakszolgálat, 2010), pp. 197-248 (pp.197-200).

<sup>76</sup> Székely, 'Tatárjárás és numizmatika', p. 333.

<sup>77</sup> Alram et al, *Der numismatische Anteil von Fuchsenhof*.

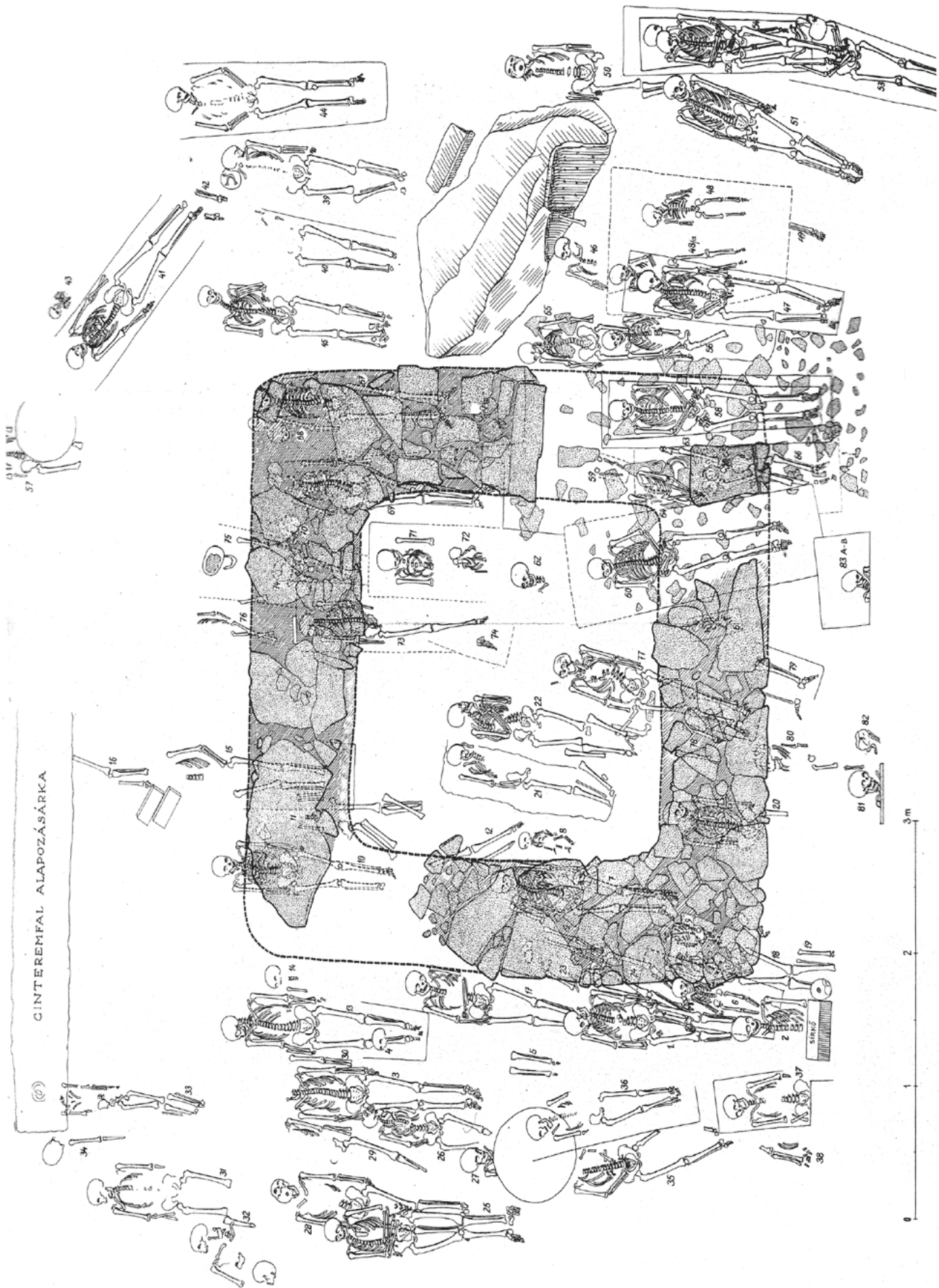


Fig. 14. An early example for a precise documentation of a churchyard cemetery by István Méri at Kide, in 1942. Méri, 'Kide', Pic. 4.

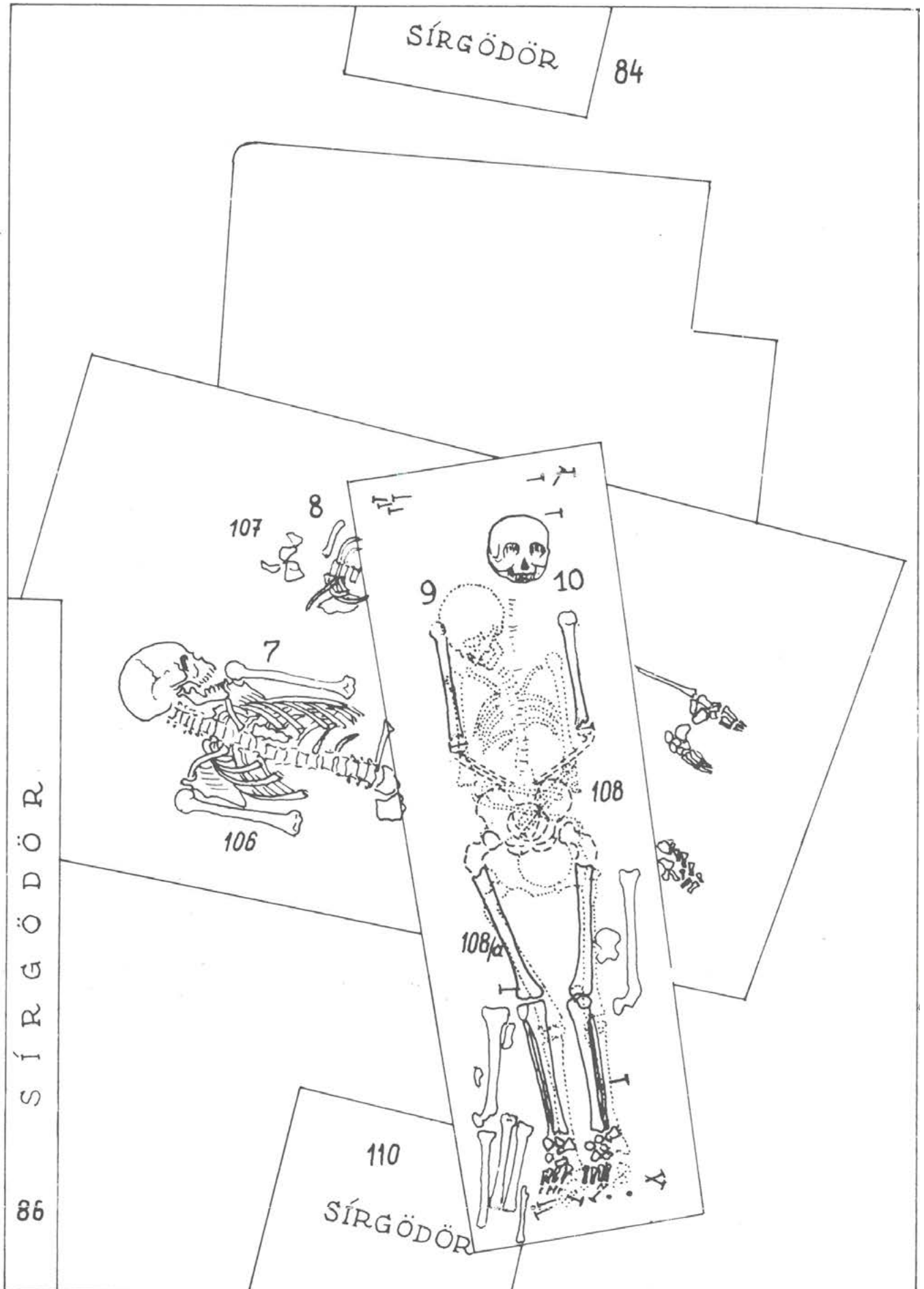


Fig. 15. Documentation of the superpositions of the graves at the cemetery of Kide.  
Méri, 'Kide', p. 32.



Zalavár-Kápolna,<sup>81</sup> Ducové<sup>82</sup> and Kána have been studied closely, and detailed publications have yet to appear.<sup>83</sup>

The greater precision in dating objects from hoards is advantageous, as material excavated from cemeteries do not necessarily represent everyday fashion. Concerning the Arpadian period, research has yet to address this issue. The ceremony, held by those grieving, represents the attitude (and laws and customs) of the living towards the dead; likewise, the contents of the burial may not necessary have been the decision of the deceased, but rather the choice of the mourners (possibly after dialogue with the dying).<sup>84</sup>

Dress accessories reveal the manner in which the dead were buried: whether clothed or in a shroud. With the former, the question that emerges is whether the dead were buried in regular, or better quality, clothes, or in garb specific for burials. Archaeology cannot usually answer this question as in most cases only the dress accessories and the jewellery remain. Artefacts present in the grave are subject to similar questions: the goods may not have belonged to the deceased, and, if it did, it may have been an inherited heirloom rather than a recent fashion. As a result of this dilemma, though they may have been everyday clothing and objects, the dress accessories of the deceased should always be regarded as 'grave-cloths'. In the period in question, objects buried with the dead did not define the rank of the deceased; subsequently, jewellery from the graves can be considered as reused objects that might no longer have been used in everyday life. This may be connected with the more extensive use of shrouds: the actual cloths and accessories of the deceased – if there were any – were passed on, and the used, less valuable items were placed in the grave. This is the likely explanation for when a child is buried with old, worn jewellery and clothing, which

cannot have belonged to the deceased infant. Comparable cases with adults are likely to exist, but it is close to impossible for archaeologists to recognise. As such, the usage length of some objects can be extended,<sup>85</sup> while, at the same time, used heirlooms should be regarded as specific objects that linked the deceased to social ties deemed important by the living.

This dichotomy can be dissolved by providing a double dating for each artefact: the first being the period when a particular type of jewellery was most probably made and used, and the second being when the type was last used (but is likely to have long ceased production). The period of use can be tracked by finds from cemeteries, meaning that this research issue can be resolved by information collected from graves from which both coins and jewellery are recovered. As it will be demonstrated later, the composition of hoards implies that there is a gap in the dating of finds from graves and finds from hoards. By comparing jewellery from hoards and cemeteries, a difference can be seen. The most common jewellery found in hoards – such as lock rings with flare ends or seal rings – can also be found in churchyard cemeteries, but in graves given the uncertain dating of the 13th and 14th centuries (that is, later than Mongol invasion).

#### Destroyed settlements

Another archaeological source for the Mongol invasion are destroyed settlements. As such sites have different characteristics to sites that were ruined and rebuilt, destroyed settlements provide unique opportunities for archaeologists with regards to dating and materials. Though untouched evidence of destruction is rare – as people who returned to such settlements would have buried the dead and rebuilt the destroyed infrastructure – in some exceptional circumstances no one could return, leaving the site as a palimpsest of violence.

Large-scale excavations, particularly those carried out prior to motorway constructions, have uncovered more examples of such sites.<sup>86</sup> Each of the destroyed settlements preserves the moment of crisis in a different way. Some of the settlements contain houses and pits with corpses inside. Magdolna Szilágyi has collected materials about rural sites,<sup>87</sup> which can be associated with equivalent sites at Hejőkeresztúr-Vizekköze,<sup>88</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Ágnes Ritoók, 'Zalavár-Kápolna: egy temető elemzés lehetőségei és eredményei' [Zalavár-Kápolna: possibilities and results of a cemetery analysis] in: "... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok". *A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása - A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2003. május 13-16. között megtartott konferencia előadásai* ["... I am walking in the valley of the shadow of death." Research into medieval churchyard cemeteries. Presentations of the conference held in the Hungarian National Museum between 13-16th of May], *Opuscula Hungarica 6* (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005), pp. 173-183.

<sup>82</sup> Alexander Ruttikay, 'Mittelalterlicher Friedhof in Ducové, Flur Kostolec, Bez. Trnava: Beitrag zum Studium der Beziehungen zwischen den sog. Reihengräberfeldern und Kirchenfriedhöfen vor dem 13. Jahrhundert', in *Etnische und kulturelle Verhältnisse an der mittleren Donau vom 6. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert*, ed. Dana Bialeková and Jozef Zabožník (Bratislava: Veda, the Academy of Slovakia, 1996), pp. 391-409.

<sup>83</sup> A publication on the churchyard of Kána is, as of 2016, forthcoming. Perkáta and Paks, the latest two sites, are currently being investigated; the latter is the subject of a PhD dissertation at Eötvös Loránd University by Zsófia Mesterházy-Ács.

<sup>84</sup> Such behaviour is apparent in examples where dress accessories were obviously made for someone other than the deceased. This phenomenon can be observed in many contexts, and are easiest to recognise in child burials. Late medieval examples, of a large belt designed for an adult appearing beside a young boy, appear in the churchyard cemetery of Dabas – see Tibor Ákos Rácz, 'Dabas középkori temploma és temetője – The Medieval Church and Churchyard of Dabas' in *Múltunk a Föld Alatt – Our Past Under the Earth*, ed. András Rajna (Szentendre: Ferenczy Múzeum, 2014), pp. 107-117 (p. 111) – and in Kiszána – see János Gyöző Szabó, 'Gótikus pártadóvek a kiszánai vár temetőjéből. - Spätmittelalterliche Prunkgürteln aus dem Burg-Friedhof von Kiszána', *Egri Múzeum Évkönyve 8-9* (1970-1971): 57-90 (p. 61). A tenth century example is the noble grave of Gnadendorf, where the worn items, possibly indicating social position, could not have belonged to the deceased fourteen year old; see Falko Daim and Ernst Lauerermann (ed.), *Das frühungarische Reitergrab von Gnadendorf* (Mainz: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, 2006).

<sup>85</sup> This could also have occurred with hoards, but as of this date, no hoards connected to the Mongol invasion has contained jewellery dating from a significantly early period. Many pieces, however, show signs of wear. This is in contrast to hoards of later centuries, which show usage in some cases of significant lengths: see Gábor Hatházi, 'A déli Kiskunság 14-15. századi kincsletei és azok lehetséges kun vonatkozásai' [The fourteenth and fifteenth century hoards of the Southern Kiskunság and their possible Cuman relations], in "*Kun-kép*" *A magyarországi kunok hagyatéka* ["Cuman-picture" The remains of the Cumans of Hungary], ed. Rosta Szabolcs (Kiskunfélegyháza: Bács-Kiskun Megyei Önkormányzat Múzeumi Szervezete, 2009), pp. 67-111 (p. 74).

<sup>86</sup> Laszlovszky, 'Tatárjárás és régészet', pp. 457-48.

<sup>87</sup> Magdolna Szilágyi, 'Perished Arpadian-age village at Dunaföldvár', *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 63 (2012): 156-179 (pp. 174-175).

<sup>88</sup> Mária Wolf, 'Árpád-kori település Hejőkeresztúr határában' [Arpadian age settlement in the boundaries of Hejőkeresztúr], in *A népvándorláskor fiatal kutatói 8. találkozásának előadásai* [The presentations of the 8th meeting of young researchers of the migration period], ed. Ágota S. Perémi (Veszprém: Veszprém Megyei Múzeumi Igazgatóság, 1999), pp. 166-178 (pp. 169-170).



1



2



3

*Fig. 16. Typical remains of the destruction of the Mongol invasion. 1-2: People hid in an oven of a sunken house, Sz. Wilhelm, 'Szank', pp. 101. Pic. 5. 3: Cegléd. Disturbed remains of people sought refuge in a house which was burnt down Gulyás, 'Elpusztult ház', pp. 49. Pic. 3.*

Cegléd,<sup>89</sup> Dunaföldvár-Ló hegy,<sup>90</sup> Szabolcs-Kisfalud,<sup>91</sup> and, two new locations connected to the Mongol invasion, Orosháza-Bónum<sup>92</sup> and Szank.<sup>93</sup> Though these sites included complete houses, only Hejőkeresztúr has had a detailed reconstruction of a house published.

Such features in destroyed settlements are useful to the modern archaeologist because they represent an otherwise transient moment in everyday life. The bodies found in houses, along with their clothes and accessories, present an existence that is missing in hoards and cemeteries.<sup>94</sup> In exceptional cases, destroyed settlements can be regarded as being akin to a hoard. At Szank, part of a destroyed house was unearthed during an excavation. It revealed that the inhabitants of the village – not just the residents of the house – had sought refuge in the house, only for it to be set on fire with them inside. A more detailed excavation of the ruins made it clear that the unfortunate people had sought refuge in this house with their valuables: consequently, the golden headpiece that was discovered is unlikely to have belonged to the owners of the house.<sup>95</sup> Written sources about the Mongol invasion provide more information to comprehend urban contexts. Roger's *Carmen Miserabile* provides a vivid account of people's behaviour during the Mongol siege of Esztergom. The stone castle was successfully defended, but the city outside the castle walls was destroyed. The inhabitants, according to Roger, hid their valuables, killed their horses, burnt their houses,

and fled.<sup>96</sup> This corresponds to the archaeological evidence. In addition to a hoard of a small amount of money and some jewellery, an accidental discovery made during construction work in the 1950s graphically shows the event. Workmen found the body of a goldsmith who had unsuccessfully tried to hide himself and his possessions in a grain pit.<sup>97</sup> Owing to the different context, such evidence should be interpreted differently to that described above.

### Summary

Combining an investigation of finds from hoards with those from churchyard cemeteries and settlements results in the dating of objects of the period being both more accurately dated the socio-economic interpretation of the finds being more accurate. A precise typochronology requires different sources, as each type of source has its own strengths and weaknesses, in order to highlight different aspects of the finds.

Different hoards provide different insights. A hoard that contains agricultural tools implies the profession of the hoarder, and suggests that the tools were as appreciated as the jewellery and the savings that were hoarded alongside.<sup>98</sup> Contextualisation is important for each individual hoard.<sup>99</sup> Hoards themselves are great sources of social and economic information of rural Arpad society. Given that such findings are connected to a crisis, such findings are problematic. To resolve these problems, the best solution is to investigate stray finds – those that were lost or thrown away<sup>100</sup> – to have a different type of deposition. Such finds would more clearly represent the actual fashion of the period studied.

<sup>89</sup> Gyöngyi Gulyás, 'Egy elpusztult falu Cegléd határában' [A destroyed settlement on the edge of Cegléd], in *A tatárjárás* [The Mongol invasion], ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Éva Garam (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2007), pp. 52-53. For a more detailed study, see Gyöngyi Gulyás, 'Egy elpusztult tatárjárás kori ház Cegléd határában' [A destroyed house on the edge of Cegléd], in *'Carmen miserabile'. A tatárjárás magyarországi emlékei* ['Carmen miserabile'. The Remains of the Mongol Invasion in Hungary], ed. Szabolcs Rosta and György V. Székely (Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014), pp. 29-56.

<sup>90</sup> Szilágyi, 'Perished village', pp. 161-164.

<sup>91</sup> István Fodor, 'Vorläufige Bericht über die Ausgrabung des Dorfes Szabolcs-Kisfalud am Jahre 1971-73', *Folia Archaeologica* 26 (1975): 171-182 (pp. 176-177).

<sup>92</sup> Attila Gyuha and Zoltán Rózsa, "'Egyesek darabokra vágva, egyesek egészben' – A tatárjárás nyomainak azonosítási kísérlete egy dél-alföldi településen" ['Ones cut in pieces, ones as a whole' – An Attempt to Identify the Remains of the Mongol Invasion on a Settlement of the Southern Great Plain] in *'Carmen miserabile'. A tatárjárás magyarországi emlékei* ['Carmen miserabile'. The Remains of the Mongol Invasion in Hungary], ed. Szabolcs Rosta and György V. Székely, (Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014), pp. 57-68.

<sup>93</sup> Gábor Sz. Wilhelm, "'Akiket nem akartak karddal elpusztítani, tűzben elégették' – Az 1241. évi pusztítás nyomai Szank határában" ['Those, whom they don't wanted to perish by sword, they burnt in fire' – The traces of the destruction of the year 1241 on the edge of Szank], in *'Carmen miserabile'. A tatárjárás magyarországi emlékei* ['Carmen miserabile'. The Remains of the Mongol Invasion in Hungary], ed. Szabolcs Rosta and György V. Székely, (Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014), pp. 81-110.

<sup>94</sup> Though the more extensive use of shrouds could explain the absence of grave goods, it should be noted that in human remains in destroyed settlements often similarly few accessories can be found. The valuable finds are likely not to have been worn in daily life, but rather were quickly grabbed possessions. Though people are unlikely to wear a great number of adornments in moments of crisis, if the catastrophe was sudden, it would suggest that those items people wore every day such as lock rings (that appear in many cases), should be there. Therefore it is possible that jewellery found in hoards were, despite clear signs of wear, not worn on a daily basis.

<sup>95</sup> Wilhelm, 'Szank', pp. 81-93.

<sup>96</sup> Martyn Rady, László Veszprémy, János M. Bak, *Anonymi Bele Regis Notarii Gesta Hungarorum - The Deeds of the Hungarians: Magistri Rogerii Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione regni Hungarie per Tartaros facta - Epistle to the sorrowful lament upon the destruction of the kingdom of Hungary by the Tartars* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010), pp. 216-219.

<sup>97</sup> Laszlovszky, 'Tatárjárás és régészet', pp. 458-461.

<sup>98</sup> For an example of the hoard of Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharasz, see Parádi, 'Pénzekkel keltezett XIII. századi ékszerek', p. 119.

<sup>99</sup> For an outstanding example for such an investigation see: Jakab, 'Tatárjárás kori kincslelet Tyukod-Bagolyvárról', pp. 266-269.

<sup>100</sup> Except for the cases where the action of conscious deposition cannot be doubted, the relatively greater value of such artefacts (and the value of their raw material) means they should be considered as lost pieces.





## CHAPTER TWO

### Typochronology of the Finds

As the previous chapter made clear, a more precise chronology of certain types of finds can be established by analysing hoards. Information gained from such sources can be compared with materials found in other contexts that permit systematic analysis. Comparing the chronologies, it is possible to reveal not only the cycle of use for the artefacts, but also the period in which they were fashionable. One of the best research possibilities is a completely excavated and closely studied cemetery. Grave goods from such a site can be compared to hoards, and, to some extent, to individual finds from diverse environments.

Consequently, this chapter will review the most characteristic types of jewellery and dress accessories found at Kána. For precise dating, objects not characteristic for the village but present in the twenty-three hoards containing coins and jewellery will be included.<sup>101</sup> To avoid lengthy explanations about changing burial customs, methodologies, and ongoing scholarly debates, materials from contemporary churchyard cemeteries will be used for comparisons rather than earlier eleventh- and twelfth-century field cemeteries.

The basis of the typochronology is the chronological phases of the Kána village cemetery. The methodology of the chronological reconstruction of its usage will be briefly summarised. 1029 graves, containing 1075 skeletons, were excavated. Based primarily on superposition and then supported by the orientation, the burials could be divided into eight chronological phases. In cases where these details provided no clear categorisation, the level – the precise elevation, the vertical position – of the grave was used.<sup>102</sup> This could be understood in relation to the church. As a result of this methodology, eight hundred and eighty graves could be placed into categories. Dividing the graves by their superposition revealed a pattern about orientation. This fortunate situation made the analysis feasible, as it made possible to identify graves whose superposition in the chronology was not immediately apparent (such as those that were not affected by later activity in the graveyard).<sup>103</sup> Owing

to either a fragmented and/or disturbed condition, or owing to their location, one hundred and forty-nine graves were unable to be categorised chronologically. These included graves located at the edge of the cemetery, where orientation may have been influenced by external features (such as the border demarcation) and where later reusing of the places for burial were less frequent. In a few individual cases, the orientation did not correspond to any of the phases. These problematic graves however are of little influence for the typochronology of grave goods, owing to only four of the one hundred and forty-nine graves contained any jewellery and dress accessories. By establishing eight chronological groups of graves by superposition and notable features of the graves, circular arguments based heavily on the age of grave goods are avoided. The new dating is assisted by the potential to use the church and the completely excavated village for chronological purposes.<sup>104</sup> As a result, it is possible to use the dating of each chronological phase and the finds in them to assess the traditional dates used to determine the general typochronology of the artefacts.

The phases of the cemetery revealed changes to the inner structure and the extension of the churchyard (*Fig. 8*). In the first four phases, the size of the churchyard was more or less the same. The appearance of architectural elements – stone carvings from pillars and such reused to frame the graves – in the graves of the fourth phase indicates the extension of the church occurred around that time. Following this are two unusual phases, both consisting of a lesser amount of graves in a small area east of the chancel. These graves had a reversed orientation.<sup>105</sup> The reason behind this feature is unclear. Correlation with the rebuilding of the western part of the church is possible, but this does not explain the alteration to orientation. The change, suggestive of an abnormal situation for the settlement, occurred around the mid-thirteenth century. A connection to the Mongol invasion is possible, but, as there is no clear evidence for destruction in the village, cannot be certified. With the final two phases, while the orientation and spatial pattern of the graves followed their earlier form, the churchyard was rearranged with its area constricted.

<sup>101</sup> Abony, Akasztó-Pusztaszentimre, Bajót, Balmazújváros I., Budapest, Esztergom-Szentkirály, Hajdúszoboszló-Aranyszeg, Jászdózsajászapáti határ dűlő, Karcag, Kecskemét-Nyír, Kislér, Korpona, Ladánybene-Hornák-domb, Medgyesegyháza-Bánkút, Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharaszt, Nyírmártonfava-Gut, Pátroha-Butorka dűlő, Pécel, Tápiógyörgye, Tatabánya-Bánhida and Tyukod-Bagolyvár. Collected by Csaba Tóth, in Tóth, 'A tatárjárás kincsleletei', pp. 81-87.

<sup>102</sup> This information is related to the original depth of the graves. Since construction work altered the record before archaeologists were involved, the original depths of the graves cannot be determined. However – considering that the ground surface had little noticeable difference – the depths of the graves would generally have been similar. This would mean that the information given by the elevation, a feature noted by modern scholars that is not likely to have been considered at the time of burial, remains relevant for the chronological relationship of the graves.

<sup>103</sup> Though not all of the graves could be dated to a certain period with confidence, it must be stressed that all of the graves that were in clear superposition with each other supported the pattern of orientation (with no data that contradicted this reading). It should also be noted that those graves that could have belonged to one or more phase, and those that had little or fragmented evidence, were not categorised as a phase.

<sup>104</sup> To clarify to what extent the cemetery and village co-existed, a few comments are required. The church and churchyard are very likely to have been founded at the same time as the village, as they are not in superposition with any settlement feature (there is, by contrast, a circle around it in which there are no features such as pits, houses, and such). Regarding the end of the village and cemetery, the evidence is less clear. There is no sign, however, of significant usage of the cemetery or the village in the fourteenth century (either by traditional dating or by the method described above). Though in some cases after a village was deserted parish rights remained with the priest of that parish, it seems unlikely that the churchyard was used later than the village, since surrounding villages had their own corresponding church (typically from their founding). Had there been nobility or rich burghers at the rural Kána, given their relationships to the parish clergy, the evidence would be noticeably different.

<sup>105</sup> Fifteen graves belonged to the fifth phase, sixteen to the sixth. In contrast to the W-E or NW-SW orientations of the graves that preceded and followed them, these graves were orientated SW-NE. The difference between the fifth and the sixth phase was determined by superimposition

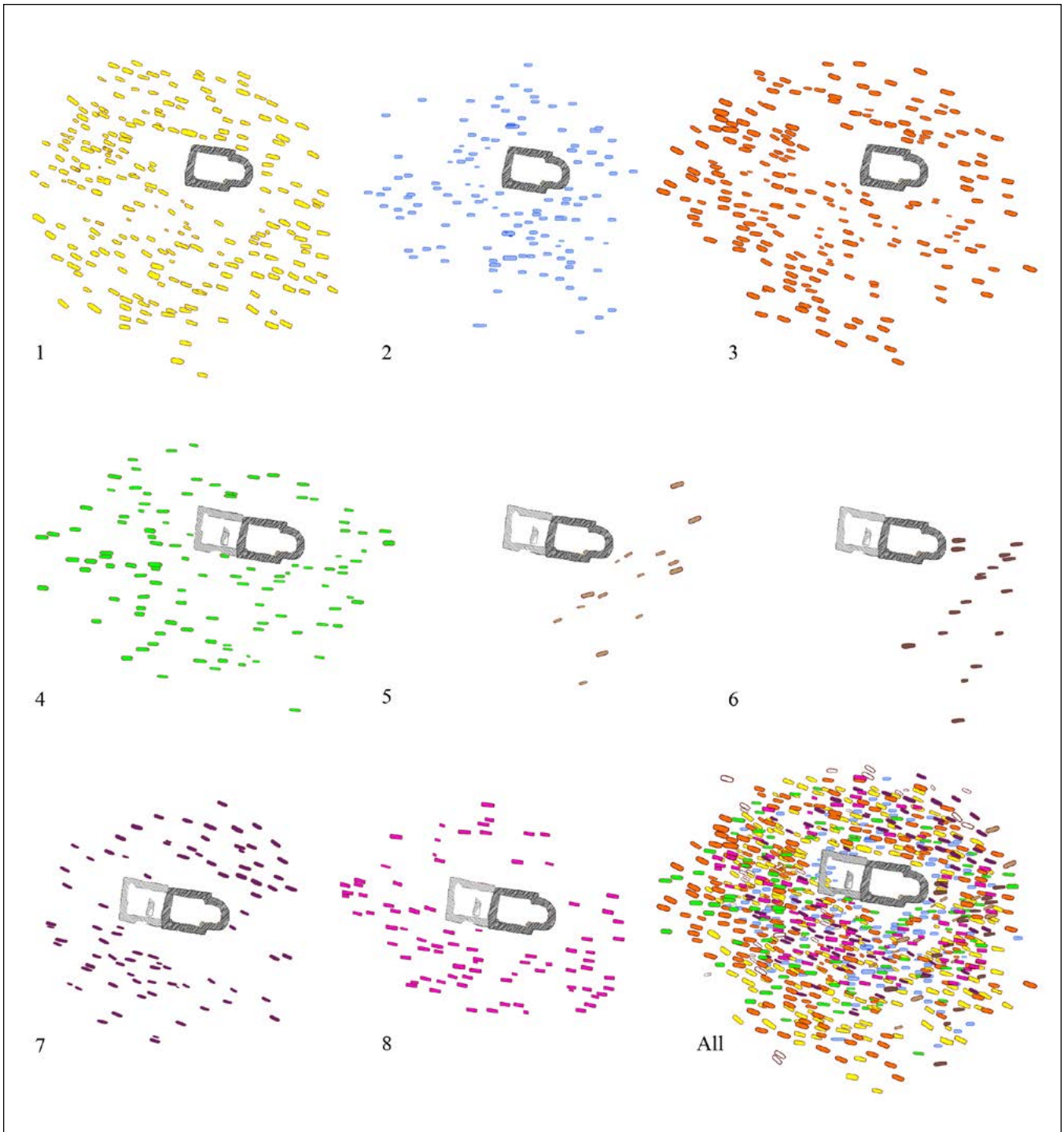


Fig. 17. The phases of the cemetery of Kána.

A clear chronology of the cemetery cannot be established by coins. The sample of eleven pieces, found in the graves, is too small. As noted earlier, the church and churchyard can be safely dated to the second third of the twelfth century owing to a coin of Béla II (1131-1141) being found in the underlying level of the walls of the church.<sup>106</sup> The end of the

<sup>106</sup> As there is a slight difference in orientation of the first phase graves to that of the church, the issue of which was first emerges. Since the church did not disturb any graves, and, also, there being no sign of an earlier church, it suggests that if the church was not already standing when the first graves were dug, then construction had started. Nothing in the graves, however, suggest this situation. Rather, because only the last phase of the cemetery has similar orientation to the church, this difference may not be significant. It is therefore highly probable that no phase of the cemetery existed prior to the church.

cemetery and the village cannot be dated so precisely. Coins with a post-Mongol invasion date were not found in the excavation. More detailed analysis of the finds would result in a more confident and more precise dating of the settlement to one half of the thirteenth century. The significant number of white – and in a few cases painted – Austrian type pots and some iron finds such as rowel type spurs imply that the village existed, in some form, in the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>107</sup>

This pattern corresponds with the cemetery. During the known periods of settlement, the number of graves and the

<sup>107</sup> György Terei and Antónia Horváth, 'Az Árpád-kori Kána falu vasleletei II' [The iron finds of the Arpadian age village of Kána], *Budapest Régiségei* 41 (2007): 215-246 (p. 168)



approximate usage of the cemetery can roughly determine the length of each phase.<sup>108</sup> This, it must be stressed, is an inexact estimation. This method overlooks the anomalous graves not grouped into a phase, and assumes a constant death rate that, in all likelihood, was not present.<sup>109</sup> It should also be noted that the eight phases plotted by analysis may have overlapped somewhat, and resulted in a 'grey zone' where the seemingly distinct burial customs of each phase could have been blurred. This means that the clear-cut time periods provided below should be understood along these lines. Calculation is only feasible if the entire cemetery has been excavated. The length of each phase can be calculated by the annual death rate – number of individuals of the phases divided by approximate years of cemetery use (in this case: 880/160), multiplied by the number of the individuals of each phase. This gives the following results: the first phase 1140-1180, second 1180-1200, third 1200-1240, fourth 1240-1260, the fifth and sixth co-existed for a maximum of six years – the soundest option with these blurred periods is to place them together between the fourth and seventh phases – with the seventh 1260-1275, and the eighth 1275-1290.

These dates, it must be stressed, are approximate. In some cases, there may be a variation of two, if not three, decades. Evidence from coins does not contradict this chronology, but neither does it really provide a confirmation. Six out of the eleven pieces of coin are from the reign of Géza II. Not only were these found in graves likely to have belonged to the first phase, they were found in those associated with the last phase of the cemetery. The problem here is the issue of continued circulation of coins long after their minting. Hoards are good proof for this, as in some cases the time between the earliest and latest minted coin can be decades.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>108</sup> The length of the settlement – both village and cemetery – was calculated to be one hundred and sixty years. The coin of Béla II (1131-1141) discovered at the foundation level of the church (that corresponded with the earliest material from the settlement). The lack of certain finds assisted this calculation. Though it is hard to date material within the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, artefacts from the beginning of the twelfth and the fourteenth century are easy to distinguish – and none of them appeared at Kána. Therefore, assuming that the village existed from the mid-twelfth century until the end of the thirteenth century, the estimate of one hundred and sixty years seemed plausible.

<sup>109</sup> Previous research, predominantly dealing with life expectancy, mortality rates, and with general paleodemographical issues, has typically been based on anthropological material from cemeteries. Though aspects of these works are dated, their conclusions remain important (particularly that graveyards cannot be analysed solely by demographic models). Gyula Acsádi and István Nemeskéri, 'La Population de la Transdanubie. Nord-Est.' *Annales Historico-Naturales Musei Nationalis Hungarici* 50 (1958): pp. 359-392; Kinga K. Éry, and Alán Kralovánszky, 'Analyse paléosociographique des cimetières des environs de Székesfehérvár. X et XI siècles', *Annales Historico-Naturales Musei Nationalis Hungarici* 52 (1960): pp. 497-522; György Acsády, János Nemeskéri, *History of Life Span and Human Mortality* (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1970). For an example of recent scholarship, combining new methodology and social concerns with the old questions, see see Lajos Hüse, 'A Tiszántúl Honfoglalás- és Árpád-kori népességének szociodemográfiája' [The sociodemography of the Conquest period and Arpadian age population of the area East from the Tisza River] (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Debrecen: 2003), accessible online at [http://ganymedes.lib.unideb.hu:8080/dea/bitstream/2437/78896/3/de\\_2448.pdf](http://ganymedes.lib.unideb.hu:8080/dea/bitstream/2437/78896/3/de_2448.pdf). Last accessed: 05. 2015.

<sup>110</sup> For extreme cases, such as a thirteenth century Friesach denarius appearing with a coin of Ladislaus I, see Tóth, 'A tatárjárás kincsleletei', pp. 81-87.

### Lock rings

Lock rings are the most common type of Arpad-age jewellery. They frequently appear in graves of both field and churchyard cemeteries. In Kána and other sites, these rings seem to have been attached to a strip of textile that was then braided into the hair of the deceased.<sup>111</sup>

The lock ring, with all its variants, is a common find. Though, as the last chapter noted, there is a low incidence of grave goods in churchyard burials, nearly every excavation of a churchyard cemetery uncovers at least one lock ring that is said to represent the jewellery of the period. Subgroups of lock rings are categorised by the type of end: simple open-end lock rings, S-ended lock rings (either ribbed or plain), and lock rings with a flaring end or ends. Another variable feature is the shape of the cross-section of the wire: this can be round, diamond shape (appearing like an oval in worn pieces), or twisted. The material can also vary: though commonly made of copper alloy, there are numerous silver examples, and a few lead lock rings exist.

During the thorough excavation of Kána, eighty-four lock rings were discovered. Eight were stray finds, six were from a variety of settlement features, and the remaining seventy were found in the graves. All types of locks rings were present. Given the number and variety of artefacts, and the completeness of the excavation, the finds at Kána are an excellent source for investigation.

Firstly: the type of ends. Eight of the pieces were unable to be examined owing to damage. Of the remaining seventy-six lock rings, eight have simple open ends. Of these eight, two are large rings made from copper alloy (*Fig. 17/1*) and one is a small pear shaped silver ring made from a thick four millimetre wire (*Fig. 17/7*). Only one of the eighty-four has a flaring end (*Fig. 17/3*). The majority of the finds – sixty-seven pieces – have S-ends. Two of these sixty-seven pieces originally had multiple S-ends (such as the one and a half S-end). Thirty-four of the S-ends are the simple flat-hammered variety, and the other thirty-three are ribbed.<sup>112</sup>

Next: the type of cross-section. Sixty-three of the eighty-four pieces have the common round type. The remaining rings fall into two nearly equal groups. Eleven pieces have twisted wire (*Fig. 17/6*) and ten have diamond or oval shaped wire. Only two of the lock rings have unusually thick wire: the aforementioned pear-shaped silver piece, and a copper alloy ribbed S-ended one that has a diamond shaped four millimetre wide cross section that tapers towards the end (*Fig. 17/4*).

Now: the material. Of the eighty-four lock rings, fifty-nine were made of copper alloy. Twenty-five were made of silver, of which fifteen had ribbed S-ends and only seven had flat S-ends. With the exception of two medium sized twisted wire S-ended pieces,<sup>113</sup> the silver lock rings were all rather small.<sup>114</sup> This is probably due to the more expensive raw material. Six of the simple open-ended rings were made of copper alloy, and only

<sup>111</sup> The usual arrangement for a pair of lock rings in a grave is one either side of (or one underneath) the skull. In a few of the graves in Kána, textile strips were oxidised to the lock rings.

<sup>112</sup> Unlike some studies, this work will not be going into details about the number and shape of the ribs at the end of the lock rings. These aspects of the artefacts can easily be made by various tools by the smith, making their number and the shape barely relevant.

<sup>113</sup> They are approximately three centimetres in diameter.

<sup>114</sup> The average diameter is two centimetres; the average thickness of the wire is one millimetre.





Fig. 19. The common position of lock rings, examples from the cemetery of Kána. Graves 838, 1013, 1038.



Fig. 20. Lock ring types of Kána village.

1: K/1037, 2: K/337, 3: K/633, 4: K/1977, 5: K/177, 6: K/2966, 7: K/2794, 8: K/2973, 9: K/2612.

two – including the pear-shaped piece – were made of silver. The only lock ring with flaring ends was made of copper alloy. Examining the cross-sections provides even more conclusive results. All of the lock rings with diamond shape cross-sections were made of copper alloy. Ten of the eleven twisted wire lock rings were made of silver. There is a strong correlation between the material and the type of cross section.<sup>115</sup>

Lock rings are often used for dating cemeteries. This is despite the arguments of István Bóna and Nándor Parádi made in the 1970s. They stated the most frequent type of lock ring, the S-ended, should not be used for dating since the type was in use from the second half of the tenth century until the turn

of the thirteenth century.<sup>116</sup> Examining hoards from the time of Mongol invasion, Parádi added the qualifier that larger rings were used in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Other features have been seen as evidence for dating: twisted wire, thick diamond cross sections, tapered wire, a pear shaped form, large open-ended rings, one and a half S-ends, and a flaring end. One such characteristic of the twisted lock rings is that the S-end was ribbed in six cases and flat in only three. The chronological phases of the cemetery at Kána provide an opportunity to test the dating assertions of earlier research.

<sup>115</sup> Since silver is softer and more pliable than copper alloys, the reason behind this may be practical.

<sup>116</sup> Bóna, 'Arpadenzeitliche Kirche', pp. 125-139; Parádi, 'Pénzekkel keltezett ékszerek', pp. 151-152.



Lock rings with twisted wire have been regarded as eleventh- and twelfth-century goods.<sup>117</sup> This idea is supported by the hoards: none of them contain such jewellery, presumably because they were no longer fashionable.<sup>118</sup> The grave goods at Kána show that this opinion is generally true. The majority of this type of lock ring were found in the graves from the first phase of the cemetery dated roughly to the middle of the twelfth century. One piece was found in a grave of the third phase, which may be datable to either the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. More problematic was the lock ring, made of copper alloy, found in the penultimate phase of the churchyard. This find indicates that this type of lock ring was still in use in the second half of the thirteenth century, though the signs of damage on the object suggest that it was an heirloom.

The thick diamond cross-sectioned S-ended piece (Fig. 17/4) is somewhat early. The closest parallel is a ring found in a grave at the 10-11<sup>th</sup> century field cemetery of Visonta-Felsőréti.<sup>119</sup> The dating of such lock rings is closely bound to similar rings that do not appear in later graves.<sup>120</sup> The example found at Kána however was from a fourth phase grave, probably dating to the first third of the thirteenth century. Even considering the elderly age of the deceased woman, this date is rather late for the object. Until further comparative lock rings are found, the Kána example should be regarded as an exceptional anomaly.

Another representation of an early type of lock ring is the small thick pear-shaped example (Fig. 17/7). In Giesler's chronology (Fig. 6), this type is deemed typical of the late Bijelo-Brdo period, and was thus dated from the second half of the eleventh century to the beginning of the twelfth.<sup>121</sup> The Kána piece was found in a late example of a first phase grave. In contrast to previous research that concentrated on the S-end variant of this type of jewellery that regarded it as typical for the eleventh century,<sup>122</sup> its location dated it to the second half of the twelfth century. Though numerous comparable pieces appear in the hoard of Nagyharsány,<sup>123</sup> hidden around 1010, the closest parallel to the Kána example was a pair of lock rings excavated from a tenth- and eleventh- century field cemetery at Szegvár-Oromdűlő.<sup>124</sup> The pair was found together with the remains of a leather pouch next to the elbow of the deceased. At Kána, there was a different usage. Though the skull was missing, the lock ring was found together with another S-end where the skull would have resided, strongly suggesting that they were being used for the standard role of embellishing the head and the hair.

Large open-ended copper alloy rings were previously regarded as having gone out of use in the eleventh century.<sup>125</sup> Recent research revealed the type was still in use in the twelfth century.<sup>126</sup> At Kána, this type of lock ring (Fig. 17/1) is present in the third, fourth, and seventh phases of cemetery, meaning they were in use until the mid-thirteenth century. In comparison with the views of Nándor Parádi, who asserted that large variants of such lock rings were typical in the late Arpad era,<sup>127</sup> it is clear that though this type is frequent, given the presence of various forms and sizes making such large pieces a minority, it cannot be regarded as the norm.

Another problematic type of lock rings are those with one and a half S-ends (Fig. 17/5). Modern scholarship regards them as appearing in late Avar cemeteries of the ninth century,<sup>128</sup> and disappearing by the end of the tenth.<sup>129</sup> Although these look similar to their early (and late) Arpad era equivalents, there is a significant difference. In the early pieces, the end of the wire was simply bent to form an S-shape; in the later ones, the end was flattened, and, in some cases, ribbed. Two examples of the latter were found in the churchyard cemetery of Zalavár-Vársziget-Parkoló. Both had ribbed S-ends and were made of silver; one had a twisted wire. They have been dated to the twelfth century.<sup>130</sup> A comparable find from the eleventh century field cemetery in Sellye is unfortunately only known from a drawing.<sup>131</sup> In the Arpad era field cemetery at Békés-Povádzug, two examples were found with a coin of Ladislaus (1077-1095).<sup>132</sup> At Timur utca in Budapest, a large ribbed S-end with the wire made from thick silver, datable by its details, was found in an excavated field cemetery.<sup>133</sup> Also closely parallel is a piece found at the churchyard cemetery in Főnyed-Gólyásfa, dated to the twelfth to thirteenth century,<sup>134</sup> and the example from Kána, found in a grave from the third phase of the cemetery, and therefore dated to the turn of the twelfth century. Unlike their Avar predecessors, despite similarities between these rings, lock rings with multiple, flattened, or ribbed S-ends do not represent a subgroup for this type of jewellery in the Arpad era, nor are they significant for dating. Their sporadic appearance may owe to the ease at

<sup>117</sup> Levente Szabó, 'Árpád-kori templom és temető Mezőcsát határában' [An Arpadian-age church and churchyard on the edge of Mezőcsát], *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 45 (2006): 25-90 (p. 40).

<sup>118</sup> Diamond and round cross section examples are however present, see Parádi, 'Pénzekkel keltezett ékszerek', p. 151.

<sup>119</sup> For the ring, from grave 4, see László Révész, *Heves megye 10-11. századi temetői* [The tenth-eleventh century graveyards of Heves county] (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 2008), p. 367.

<sup>120</sup> Révész, *Heves*, p. 402.

<sup>121</sup> Giesler, 'Untersuchungen zur Chronologie', pp. 107-108.

<sup>122</sup> Sarolta Tettamanti, 'A zalavár-községi I. számú XI. századi temető' [The eleventh-century cemetery of Zalavár-Község I], *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 98 (1971): 79-123 (pp. 216-219).

<sup>123</sup> István Gedai, 'XI. századi kincslelet Nagyharsányból' [An eleventh-century hoard from Nagyharsány], *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* 17-18 (1972-73): 85-91 (pp. 88-89).

<sup>124</sup> Grave 378, in Lívia Bende and Gábor Lőrinczy, 'A szegvár – oromdűlői 10-11. századi temető' [The tenth- and eleventh- century cemetery of Szegvár-Oromdűlő] *Studia Archaeologica* 3 (1997): 201-242 (p. 209).

<sup>125</sup> Béla Miklós Szőke and László Vándor, *Pusztaszentlászló Árpád-kori temetője* [The Arpadian age cemetery of Pusztaszentlászló], (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1987), pp. 53-54. See also Giesler, 'Untersuchungen zur Chronologie', pp. 105-106. Though Giesler instigated early dates for such lock rings, he also noted that large sized examples can also be found in thirteenth-century hoards.

<sup>126</sup> Révész, *Heves*, p. 402.

<sup>127</sup> Parádi, 'Pénzekkel keltezett ékszerek', p. 150.

<sup>128</sup> Béla Miklós Szőke, 'Die Beziehungen zwischen dem oberen Donautal und Westungarn in der ersten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts', in *Awarenforschungen II. Archaeologia Austriaca Monographien* 2, ed. Falko Daim. (Vienna: Böhlau, 1992), pp. 938-965.

<sup>129</sup> Grave 40 in Rusovce (Slovakia), and grave 527 in Halimba, are the latest graves in the early type. See Szőke, *A honfoglaló*, p. 44.

<sup>130</sup> The two examples are from graves 60/96 and 170. This part is indebted to Ágnes Ritoók, who provided unpublished data from her excavation at Zalavár-Parkoló.

<sup>131</sup> Attila Kiss, 'A sellyei Árpád-kori temető' [The Arpadian age cemetery a Sellye], *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* 1967 (1968): 69-74 (p. 72).

<sup>132</sup> Grave 32, in Ottó Trogmayer, 'X-XII. századi magyar temető Békésen' [X-XII<sup>th</sup> century Hungarian cemetery at Békés], *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve 1960-1962* (1962): 9-18 (p. 14).

<sup>133</sup> Grave 50, in Katalin Iráné Melis, 'Árpád-kori temetők a pesti határában, 11-13. század' [Arpadian age cemeteries on the outskirts of Pest, 11-13<sup>th</sup> centuries], *Budapest Régiségei* 31 (1997): 41-78 (pp. 58-59).

<sup>134</sup> Grave 381, in Csilla M. Aradi, 'A főnyed-gólyásfai Árpád-kori temető és település eddigi ásatásának összegzése' [Summary of the excavations at the Árpád-aged cemetery and settlement of Főnyed-Gólyásfa], *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 13 (1998): 113-154 (pp. 121, 136).

which they could be created: if the artisan made the wire too long, it could easily be turned into another loop at the terminal of the ring. Such objects then should be considered as normal S-ended lock rings, and not be related to the multiple S-ended lock rings of the ninth and tenth centuries.

The most interesting find is the lock ring with the flaring end. Only one example of this type was found at Kána (*Fig. 17/3*), in a second phase grave datable to the last third of the twelfth century. This variant was regarded either as a lock ring or an arm ring until Mihály Kulcsár examined the context of such finds and argued they were used as a lock ring. Because the objects were for a long time only known from hoards – with no indication of how it was worn – scholars followed the assumption of the influential researcher József Hampel that owing to their large size they were wristlets.<sup>135</sup> Kulcsár dated the use of these lock rings to beginning of the twelfth to the first decades of the fourteenth century.<sup>136</sup> Such objects, however, are rare in cemeteries of the period. Only one field cemetery, in Pusztaszentlászló, is known to have contained such a find. Likewise, lock rings with flaring ends were recovered from only sixteen churchyard cemeteries: Baracs, Bészob, Budapest Belvárosi plébániatemplom, Cegléd, Csengele, Csepreg-Szentkirály, Ducové, Eger, Hódmezővásárhely-Kútvolgy, Kaposvár, Krásno, Nagyecséd, Zenta<sup>137</sup> and Kána. This small amount is striking given that lock rings with flaring ends made of silver are the most common find in hoards. Unlike other trinkets, they occur in nearly all hoards that contain jewellery.<sup>138</sup> Four such pieces were found in the Szank find complex, in the house used for refuge that was burnt down by the Mongols.<sup>139</sup> They also sporadically appear as finds contemporary to the invasion from settlements, such as the piece found in Bugac.<sup>140</sup> This situation is even more complicated if one takes into account the occurrences of S-ended lock rings. These are found in nearly every cemetery of the period (in more than a hundred and fifty churchyard cemeteries alone), but are not commonly found in hoards (so far those from Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharasz, <sup>141</sup> Akasztó-Pusztaszentimre, <sup>142</sup> Karcag, <sup>143</sup> Tyukod-Bagolyvár<sup>144</sup> and Tiszaörvény-Templomdomb).<sup>145</sup> All of the S-ended lock rings were made of electron, a natural alloy of silver and gold.

Examining these issues of chronology, it is clear that the dating of lock rings with flaring ends is problematic. Though

generalised dates can be made, they do not fit every case. This difficulty may be due to the nature of the burials, and to the value of the artefacts. There are differences in the material used for the jewellery between the graves and the hoards. All of the hoards contain objects made from precious metal, typically silver, though, in two cases, electrum or gold.<sup>146</sup> One exception is an item found in Tápiógyörgye, which is gilded bronze.<sup>147</sup> Artefacts from cemeteries present a different picture. Though in most cases there are only one or two lock rings with flaring ends – with Kaposvár and Krásno being exceptions with sixteen and eight being found respectively – and assessment is difficult owing to publications not mentioning their contents, the research at Kána provides more information. The example from Kána is made of copper alloy. The Kaposvár ones are either lead or silver-plated bronze.<sup>148</sup> Those from Krásno are either silver or bronze.<sup>149</sup> The examples from Cegléd-Madarászhalom,<sup>150</sup> Szob-Bészob, and Csengele are bronze. The Téglás piece is silver alloy.<sup>151</sup> Significantly more precious was the gold-plated silver piece found at Hódmezővásárhely, and the electrum pair from Eger.<sup>152</sup> It seems that bronze is more common than silver in cemeteries, and gold and electrum is extremely rare.

Though no synthesis has yet been written about the distribution of the material of lock rings with flaring ends, it is quite similar to that of the others. At Kána, twenty-five pieces (30% of all the lock rings) were silver; all the others were made of copper alloy. In graves, gold or electrum S-ended rings are rare; in hoards, given their value, such artefacts made from precious materials are common, with copper and lead ones rarely present. Size may be an important factor in this dichotomy. In Kána, most of the uncovered silver S-ended or open lock rings are small, with a diameter around two centimetres. The flaring-ended lock rings are larger, with an average four to five centimetres diameter, and subsequently would be more valuable. This difference may explain why the flaring-ended silver lock rings were hidden. This does not however explain the scarcity of such jewellery in graves. Regarding Bugac, Szabolcs Rosta noted, during the examination of the phases of the cemetery and the settlement, the perverse absence of silver items datable to the second half of the twelfth to the first half of the thirteenth century given the significant amount of gilded bronze pieces. He attributed this situation to changes in the economy and to the dearth of silver in the period.<sup>153</sup> In a comparable manner, most of the silver items at Kána can be dated to the twelfth century, and the finds from the settlement are predominantly made from copper alloy. The appearance of silver items in hoards testifies

<sup>135</sup> Mihály Kulcsár, 'Néhány megjegyzés', pp. 249-250.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 258-259.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 270.

<sup>138</sup> After this type, the most frequent finds are rings, typically seal rings, see: Parádi, 'Pénzekkel keltezett ékszerek', pp. 148-149. Of the twenty-six hoards that contained jewellery, eighteen featured lock rings with flaring ends: Akasztó-Pusztaszentimre, Bajót, Balmazújváros, Budapest-Rákosszentmihály, Geszti, Hajdúszoboszló-Aranyaszeg, Karcag, Ladánybene-Hornyak domb, Medgyesegyháza Bánkút, Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharasz, Nyírmártonfalva-Gut, Oros, Pátróha-Butorka dűlő, Pécel, Tápiógyörgye, Tatabánya-Bánhida, Tiszaörvény and Tyukod-Bagolyvár. See the aforementioned Parádi, pp. 128-148, and Tóth, 'A tatárjárás kincsleletei', pp. 81-87.

<sup>139</sup> Sz. Wilhelm, 'Szank', p. 88.

<sup>140</sup> Szabolcs Rosta, 'Pétermonostora pusztulása' [The Devastation of Pétermonostora] in *'Carmen miserabile'. A tatárjárás magyarországi emlékei* ['Carmen miserabile'. The Remains of the Mongol Invasion in Hungary], ed. Szabolcs Rosta and György V. Székely, (Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014), pp. 193-230 (p. 206).

<sup>141</sup> Parádi, 'Pénzekkel keltezett ékszerek', p. 124.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>146</sup> The two cases being Karcag and Oros; see Parádi, 'Pénzekkel keltezett ékszerek', pp. 134 and 138-140.

<sup>147</sup> Tóth, 'A tatárjárás kincsleletei', p. 87.

<sup>148</sup> Edit Bárdos, 'Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában' [A medieval church and churchyard cemetery on the outskirts of Kaposvár], *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 3 (1978): 187-232 (p. 193); Edit Bárdos, 'Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II' [Medieval church and churchyard cemetery on the outskirts of Kaposvár II], *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 14 (2000): 5-81 (p. 17).

<sup>149</sup> Oldrich Krupica, 'Stredoveké Krásno' [Medieval Krásno], *Zápádné Slovensko* 5 (1978): 169-333 (pp. 301-329).

<sup>150</sup> Judit Topál, 'Árpád-kori temető és templom Cegléd-Madarászhalmon' [Arpadian age church and churchyard at Cegléd-Madarászhalom], *Studia Comitatus* 1 (1972): 53-96 (p. 62).

<sup>151</sup> Kulcsár, 'Néhány megjegyzés', p. 266.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 252, footnote 3; p. 256.

<sup>153</sup> Rosta, 'Pétermonostora', pp. 205-206.

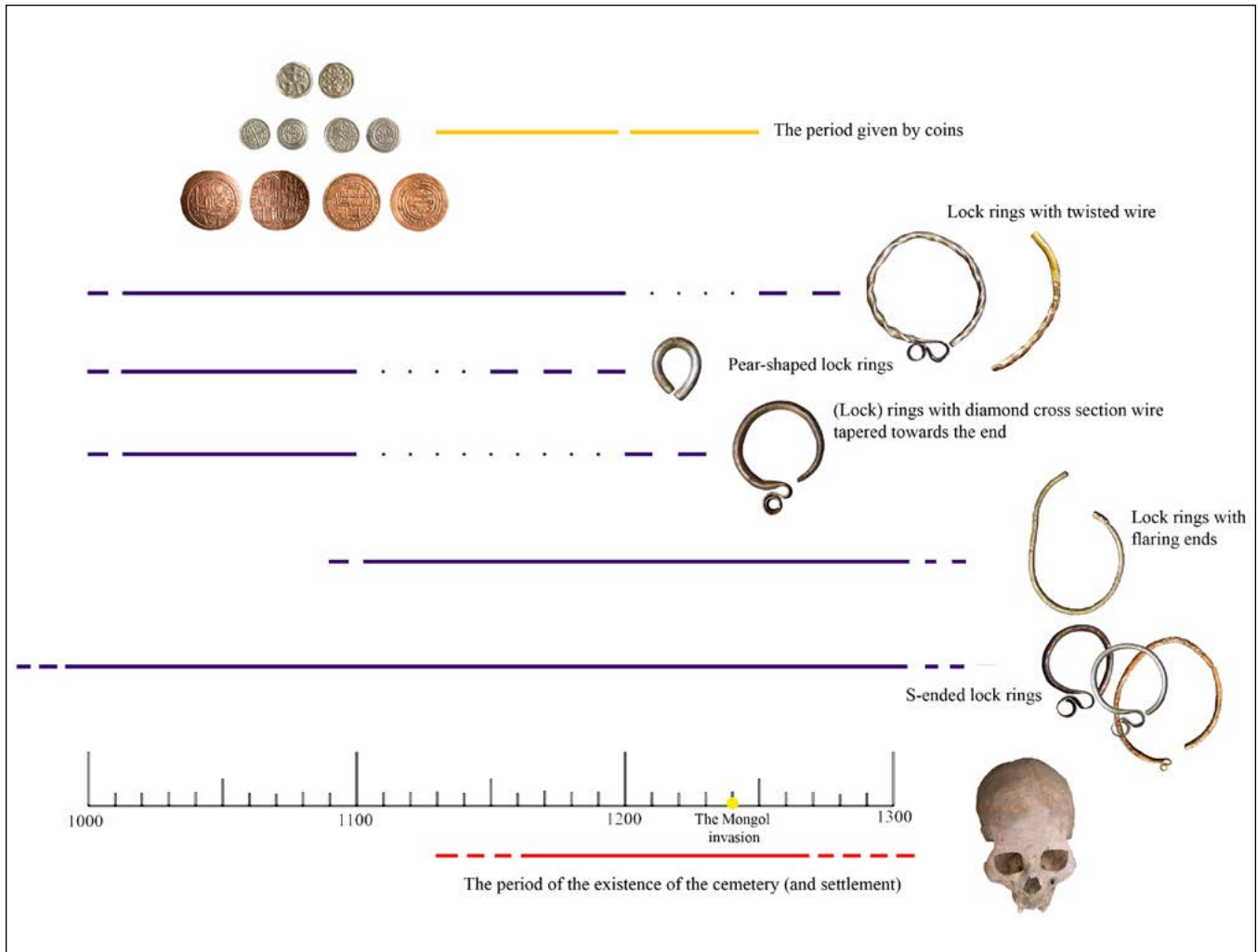


Fig. 21. The occurrence of lock rings in graves, hoards and settlement features

to the use of the material during that era, but the distribution requires comment. The appearance in hoard finds reflects its importance, but the absence in graves may indicate the lack of value attached to using such materials for burials.

As noted above, it is notable that at Kána the deceased were often buried with items that were older, sometimes by decades, at times maybe even by a century, than the burial itself. This reveals an important point. Artefacts in graves are behind contemporary fashion. This can be because the object had been used for a long time, because less valuable pieces were buried, or because they had personal associations. In contrast, hoards do not reflect contemporary fashions in the same way; they reflect the moment the goods were hidden.

There is firm evidence for this for two types of lock rings and in two periods. A previously mentioned example is the pear-shaped ring. The twenty-three pieces found in the eleventh-century hoard in Nagyharsány suggest it was then the fashion; the single example found in Kána was by contrast an outdated piece of jewellery. Consequently, lock rings with flaring ends in later graves from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century should be expected. However, dating graves without an analysis of the cemetery or with associated finds in the same grave – which are rarely published – is difficult. Definite examples though do exist. In the cemetery of Kaposvár, one grave contained fourteenth century headgear, and another featured a signet ring with a *fleur de*

*lis* (which, type and decoration, appears often in hoards but rarely in graves).<sup>154</sup> Kaposvár and Krásno are prime examples that the largest number of lock rings with flaring ends is found in cemeteries that were in constant use between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>155</sup> The sporadic appearance of this type in later graves can be viewed also as a change in fashion. From the fourteenth century onwards, hairstyles changed. This is noticeable in the appearance of hairpins and, most tellingly, coronets.<sup>156</sup> The old rings were therefore less likely to be used in burials, and so consequently do not appear in the graves. The change in fashion however was not sudden. The earliest types of coronets are present in the second half of the thirteenth century, and there are lock rings from the beginning of the fourteenth century. According to Mihály Kulcsár however, no lock rings are associated with coins of Louis the Great (1342-1382).<sup>157</sup> The fashion, it seems, changed over a shorter period than what is implied by the early lock ring types.

One grave from the last phase in Kána – in which phase diverse lock rings also were found – shows this change. In the

<sup>154</sup> Graves 22 and 249 respectively, in Bárdos, 'Középkori templom', pp. 205, 210.

<sup>155</sup> A counter-example is Ducové, where usage continued, but only two lock rings of this kind were found.

<sup>156</sup> Bárdos, 'Középkori templom', p. 194.

<sup>157</sup> Kulcsár, 'Néhány megjegyzés', p. 259.

grave of a young girl, fragments of a type of headgear typical for later centuries were discovered. The poor condition meant the original shape or form cannot be determined. Given the shreds predominantly covered the scruff, the most probable interpretation would be a kind of mob-cap. The delicate close-woven textile may however indicate a coronet. This artefact is proof of a parallel existence of different hairstyles. A comparable example, also fragmentary, was found in the Arpad era phase of cemetery at Perkáta. Likewise, the exact style cannot be determined.<sup>158</sup> Given the surviving fragments of such pieces due to gold stapling, these pieces draw attention to the possibility that textiles and other organic material may have been originally placed in the grave.

### Rings

Finger rings were less prevalent than lock rings in the cemetery at Kána. Only eight pieces were found. Six were discovered in the graves,<sup>159</sup> one in a pit near the church,<sup>160</sup> and one in a work-pit in the settlement that can be connected to two external ovens.<sup>161</sup>

All the rings found in the cemetery – including the one in the nearby pit – are different types of simple band rings. Two were made of copper alloy: one of semicircular wire (*Fig. 20/1*) and the other a flat surface (*Fig. 20/2*). Though both have open ends, the latter is unusual: one end of the ring has been shaped so the edges are narrowed. No parallel for this piece is known. However, it should not be regarded as a unique type, as the difference may be explained by the shape of the metal sheet from which it was formed or due to alterations from later shape. Simple, undecorated, open-ended wire and band rings were frequent in the late Avar period, and were in use until the end of the eleventh century.<sup>162</sup>

The other five are made of silver. Of these, three are cast (*Fig. 20/4, 20/6, 20/7*), and two are silver plate (*Fig. 20/3, 20/5*). The latter two have narrow open ends. One is made of a thin silver plate, and, while having no decoration, has the top of the ring broadened into what was originally a rhomboid shape. Similar pieces, decorated and undecorated, are a common find in Arpad era cemeteries (such as at Homokmégy-Székes, Biharudvari, and Rétköz)<sup>163</sup> and in graves in churchyards (such as Mezőcsát, Főnyed-Gólyásfa, and Krásno) whose usage enters the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>164</sup> A similarly dated piece was found in Gilău.<sup>165</sup>

The open-ended silver band piece (*Fig. 20/3*) is rather worn. Though found in the grave of a twelve-year old, the size of the artefact (too large for the child) and the condition of the artefact means it must have belonged to another person. The ends, therefore, are likely to have been altered to fit the child. Also suggesting an earlier date is the superposition of the graves. The youngster's grave belonged to the first phase of the cemetery, datable to the second half of the twelfth century. The condition of the artefact suggests that it was made considerably earlier.

The second open-ended silver ring (*Fig. 20/5*) is slightly thicker than the previous example. The artefact, narrowing from the middle of the ring, has a geometric '> <' punched decoration and a cross within a rhombus in the middle of the ring. Only one exact parallel is known, which, unfortunately, lacks any context to aid interpretation.<sup>166</sup> However, this style of ring – narrowing, open-ended – was widespread, albeit more common in wire or braided rings. Comparable objects exist. One was found in the tenth/eleventh century field cemetery of Tiszabercel-Újsor.<sup>167</sup> Though the decoration differs, similar pieces were discovered among other finds in cemeteries in modern day Slovakia. In the churchyard of Krásno, a band ring with narrowing ends has a punched '>' decoration across the whole surface of the object.<sup>168</sup> In his plotting of the phases of the cemetery in Ducové, Alexander Ruttkay, using numismatic finds and characteristic jewellery, dated these simple finger rings with narrowing open ends and band finger rings with geometric decoration, to the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>169</sup> This dating fits with second open-ended silver ring.

Two of the three cast rings (*Fig. 20/4, 20/7*) are simple unadorned band rings. The other (*Fig. 20/6*), with a worn but still visible tiered top, is decorated with a cross in the middle, horizontal lines on the sides, and vertical lines in the joints of the tiers. The two types of cast rings came from different time periods. Giesler viewed simple cast band rings as the last artefact types of the Bjelo Brdo culture, used from the last third of the eleventh century.<sup>170</sup> In contrast, in Ducové, closed finger rings with various types of decoration are datable to the first half of the twelfth century, and were used until the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>171</sup> A similar piece recovered from the Conquest period cemetery of Dunajváros-Öreghegy,<sup>172</sup> and one found in the tenth/eleventh century cemetery of Nagytőke-Jámborhalom,<sup>173</sup> suggest the later type may have an earlier dating.

<sup>158</sup> Hatházi-Kovács, 'Árpád-kori falu', pp. 255, 268.

<sup>159</sup> Grave no. 327 (Tab. 4/4), 394 (Tab. 4/5), 601 (Tab. 4/1), 664 (Tab. 4/6), 861 (Tab. 4/2) and 947 (Tab. 4/3)

<sup>160</sup> SE-810 (Tab. 4/7)

<sup>161</sup> SE-7154 (Tab. 4/8)

<sup>162</sup> Szőke and Vándor, *Pusztaszentlászló*, p. 68. See also Révész, *Heves*, p. 420.

<sup>163</sup> Zsolt Gallina and Gabriella Hajdrik, '10-11. századi temetőrészlet Homokmégy-Székesen' [Tenth-eleventh century cemetery fragment from Homokmégy-Székes], *Cumania* 15 (1998): 133-178 (pp. 146, 157); Károly Mesterházy, 'A sárrétudvari (Biharudvari) X-XI. századi temetők' [The tenth and eleventh century cemeteries of Sárrétudvari (Biharudvari)], *A Bihari Múzeum Évkönyve* 2 (1978): 29-43 (p. 33); Eszter Istvánovits, *A Rétköz honfoglalás és Árpád-kori emlékényaga* [The material remains of the Conquest period and Arpadian age Rétköz] (Nyíregyháza: Jónás András Múzeum, 2003), p. 303.

<sup>164</sup> Szabó, 'Árpád-kori templom', p. 45; Aradi, 'A főnyed-gólyásfai', pp. 117, 122; Krupica, 'Stredoveké Krásno', pp. 288-289.

<sup>165</sup> Adriana Isac, Erwin Gáll, and Szilárd Gál, 'A 12<sup>th</sup> century cemetery fragment from Gilău (Cluj county) (Germ.: Julmarkt; Hung.: Gyalu)', *Ephemeris Napocensis* 22 (2012): 301-311 (pp. 303-307).

<sup>166</sup> The parallel is part of the J. G. Kiss Collection. Thanks are due to Dr. József Géza Kiss, vice president of the Hungarian Association of Numismatists, for allowing research into his collection, permitting publication of this item, and for providing information.

<sup>167</sup> Istvánovits, *Rétköz*, p. 202. Many pieces that had ends bent over each other presumably had similar narrowing ends, but publications typically do not note this information. Giesler considered this type characteristic for the second phase of the Bjelo Brdo culture, and therefore dated it to the second half of the eleventh century, see Giesler, 'Untersuchungen zur Chronologie', p. 113, and table 53.

<sup>168</sup> Krupica, 'Stredoveké Krásno', p. 301, table XVIII/17.

<sup>169</sup> Ruttkay, 'Mittelalterlicher Friedhof', pp. 397, 405.

<sup>170</sup> Giesler, 'Untersuchungen zur Chronologie', p. 113, and table 53.

<sup>171</sup> Ruttkay, 'Mittelalterlicher Friedhof' p. 405.

<sup>172</sup> Jolán Horváth, 'A Dunajváros-öreghegyi honfoglalás kori temető' [The Conquest period cemetery from Dunajváros-Öreghegy], *Alba Regia* 17 (1978): 275-296 (p. 284).

<sup>173</sup> Attila Szemán, 'X-XI. századi filigrános mellkeresztek' [Pectorals with filigree decoration from the tenth and eleventh centuries], *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve* 1 (1989): 75-94 (p. 92).





Fig. 22. The common position of rings, examples from the cemetery of Kána. Graves 601, 861, 427, 947.

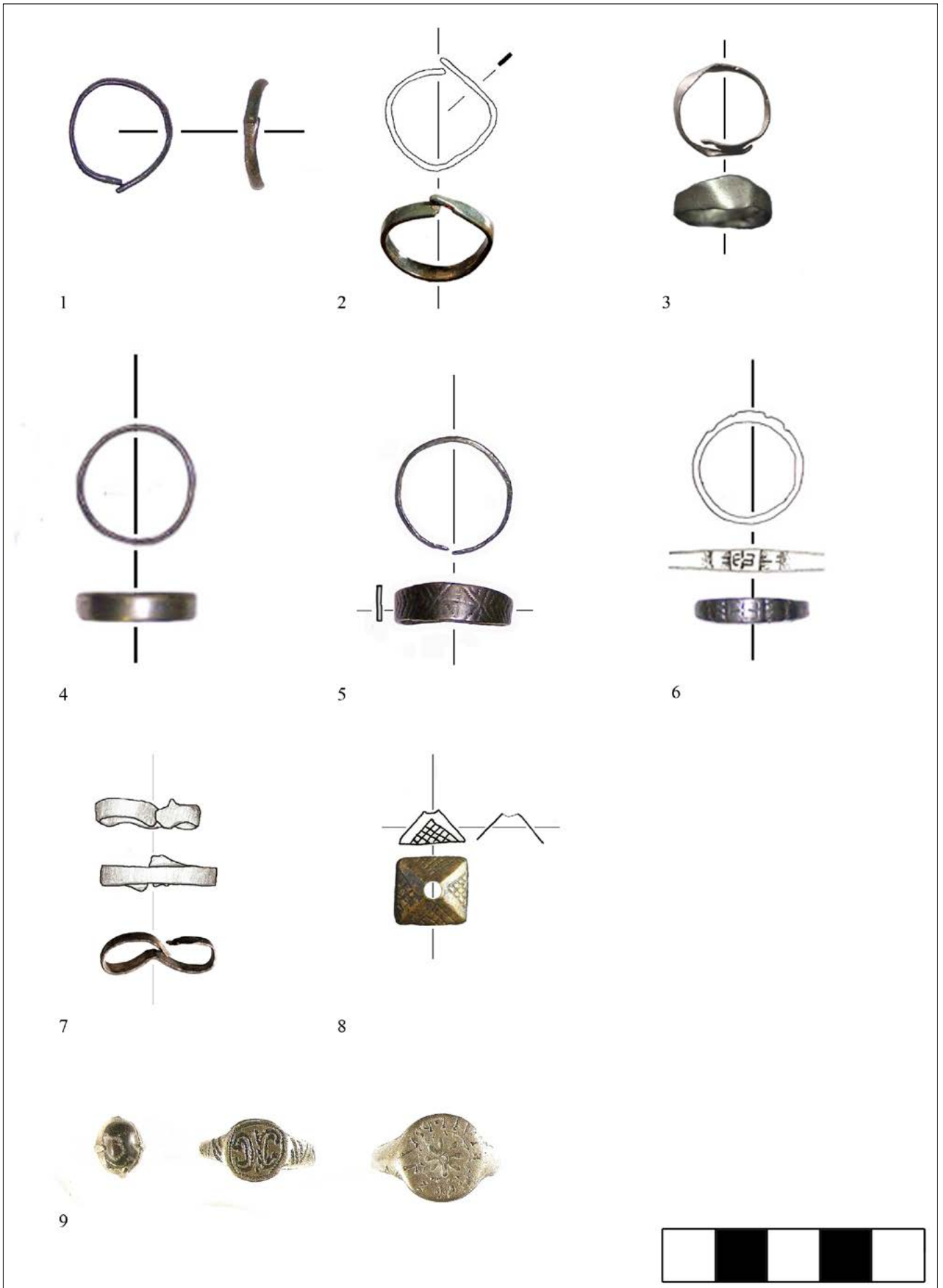


Fig. 23. Ring types of the period.

1-8: Kána, 1: K/1794, 2: K/1777, 3: K/2778, 4: K/1821, 5: K/1732, 6: K/2600, 7: K/2100, 8: K/1976, 9: Tyukod-Bagolyvár, typical ring types of hoards – seal rings and rings with inset stones, Jakab and Balázs, *Elrejtett kincsek. titkai*. p. 12.



The chronology of tier-topped rings has divided researchers. Gyula Török suggested a period from the second half of the tenth century to the start of the eleventh.<sup>174</sup> Béla Szőke, given the rarity of these objects, dated them to around the turn of eleventh century.<sup>175</sup> Giesler, by contrast, dated them from the beginning to the middle of the eleventh century.<sup>176</sup> In addition to the piece from Kána, there are similar objects from the tenth/eleventh century cemetery of Kiszombor,<sup>177</sup> Újkígyós – Skoperda Tanya,<sup>178</sup> and, slightly later in date, Csanádpalota.<sup>179</sup> Differing from the Kána piece, these finds have punched ring-and-dot decoration, and have more detached tiers. The Kána piece however is heavily worn and in poor condition; the original shape may have been different.

More fragmentary is the only piece that was not found in the cemetery (Fig. 20/8). The pyramid-shaped ring top made of copper alloy, decorated on the sides with an incised crosshatch pattern, was found in an external oven complex. The object has a hole on the top that likely held a now-absent glass insert. Comparable near-contemporary rings with a pyramid-shaped top have been found. The churchyard cemeteries of Mezőcsát,<sup>180</sup> Perkáta,<sup>181</sup> and Főnyed-Gólyásfő<sup>182</sup> each contained one such piece. Two were found in Ducové, one in a part of the cemetery dated to the second half of the twelfth century, and the other, in a grave with a pair of lock rings with flaring ends, in a section dated to the first half of the thirteenth century.<sup>183</sup> In the churchyard cemetery of Krásno, though a piece with a similar incised crosshatch pattern was found with a coin of Stephen V (1270-1272),<sup>184</sup> nine other such rings were discovered and dated from the second half of the twelfth to the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>185</sup> Another piece, from the hoard of Pátroha - Butorka Dűlő, was hidden at the time of the Mongol invasion.<sup>186</sup> Though this type was in fashion from the eleventh to the thirteenth century in Western Europe,<sup>187</sup> in Hungary (in the area of modern Slovakia) such rings appeared late – found in graves dating from the second half of the Arpad age – and remained rare.

Two types of ring that are frequently present in Mongol invasion hoards but rare in contemporaneous cemeteries are silver seal rings and rings – typically made of electrum or gold, rarely silver – with inset stones (Fig. 20/9). Twelve hoards from this date contain such kind of ring in various numbers.<sup>188</sup> No such ring was found in the graveyard in Kána. A few seal rings were found in the cemetery at Kaposvár, but are difficult to date: with the exception of one grave, which contained a lock ring with flaring ends (a rare find as noted above), the others lacked other finds that would aid dating.<sup>189</sup> The commonest seal ring, with the *fleur de lis*, appears in fourteenth century contexts (two graves at Karcag-Orgondaszentmiklós,<sup>190</sup> one grave at Szer,<sup>191</sup> and from the area of Kecskemét<sup>192</sup>). These pieces are usually well worn. In cemeteries from the area of modern-day Slovakia, seal rings are more common. In Ducové, they appear as early as the second half of the twelfth century, and are continuously present from then on.<sup>193</sup> The cemetery at Krásno is similar.<sup>194</sup> A mid-thirteenth century grave of a Cuman woman of noble rank in Balotapuszta provides a contrast that reveals differences between the burial customs of different ethnic groups. Interred along with many other artefacts (earring, torques, pair of arm rings, rock crystal pendant, fragment of a chalice, and many other silver dress accessories such as mounts, and a Byzantine gold coin issued between 1222-1254) is a seal ring, albeit one dated to the end of the twelfth century.<sup>195</sup>

An overarching analysis of rings cannot be reached. Those that according to contemporary hoards are typical for the thirteenth century rarely appear in churchyard cemeteries in Hungary. In addition, since the cemeteries of Krásno and Ducové contained such rings in a fair number, regional differences are likely to have existed. Kána, likewise, has a different chronology. Two of the rings found in the cemetery (Fig. 20/3, 20/6) probably belonged to a grave from the first phase of the cemetery. The very worn piece was therefore deposited in the mid-twelfth century. Another ring (Fig. 20/5) appears datable to the second phase of the cemetery around the second half of the twelfth century. Two pieces (Fig. 20/1, 20/4) are probably earlier than the third phase of the cemetery, making them likely to have been buried in the twelfth century. Only one piece (Fig. 20/2) can be associated with a later phase

<sup>174</sup> Gyula Török, *Die Bewohner von Halimba im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1962), p. 82.

<sup>175</sup> Szőke, *A honfoglaló*, p. 98.

<sup>176</sup> Giesler, 'Untersuchungen zur Chronologie', table 53.

<sup>177</sup> Béla Kürti, 'Kiszombor X-XI. századi lelőhelyeiről' [About the tenth and eleventh century sites of Kiszombor], *Múzeumi Kutatások Csongrád Megyében* 2006 (2007): 103-120 (p. 105).

<sup>178</sup> Pál Medgyesi, 'Az Újkígyós, Skoperda-tanyánál feltárt 10-11. századi temetőrészlet' [Partially excavated tenth and eleventh century cemetery at Újkígyós – Skoperda tanya], *A Békés Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 23 (2002): 145-218 (p. 154).

<sup>179</sup> The location of the latter find is unknown. It was purchased by the museum at the beginning of the twentieth century; the only context is that it was found in a cemetery where a reliquary cross and a coin of Coloman (1095-1116) were found, not necessarily together, in the same grave. Later research concluded the artefact was found in a churchyard cemetery datable to the second half of the eleventh century. See Imre Szatmári, 'Bizánci típusú ereklyetartó mellkeresztek Békés és Csongrád megyében' [Byzantine type reliquary crosses from Békés and Csongrád county], *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve: Studia Archaeologica* 1 (1995): 219-256 (p. 240).

<sup>180</sup> Szabó, 'Árpád-kori templom', p. 45.

<sup>181</sup> Hatházi and Kovács, 'Árpád-kori falu', p. 268.

<sup>182</sup> M. Aradi, 'A főnyed-gólyásfői', p. 117.

<sup>183</sup> Graves 642 and 1823 in Ruttkay, 'Mittelalterlicher Friedhof' pp. 400-401.

<sup>184</sup> Grave 168 in Krupica, 'Stredoveké Krásno', pp. 210, 304.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291.

<sup>186</sup> For example, Pátroha-Butorka dűlő, see: Attila Jakab, 'Pátroha-Butorka dűlő', in *A tatárjárás* [The Mongol invasion], ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Éva Garam (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2007), p. 97.

<sup>187</sup> Szabó, 'Árpád-kori templom', p. 45.

<sup>188</sup> The twelve hoards being Akasztó-Pusztaszentimre, Balmazújváros I, Esztergom-Szentkirály, Geszti, Hajdúszoboszló-Aranyaszeg, Karcag, Medgyesegyháza-Bánkút, Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharasz, Nyírmartonfalva-Gut, Pátroha-Butorka dűlő, Pécel, Tiszaörvény and Tyukod-Bagolyvár; see Parádi, 'Pénzekkel keltezett ékszerek', pp. 128-148 and Tóth, 'A tatárjárás kincsleletei', pp. 81-87.

<sup>189</sup> Bárdos, 'Középkori templom', pp. 209, 210, 216.

<sup>190</sup> László Selmeczi, 'A karcag-orgondaszentmiklői kun szállásteremtő régészeti kutatásának néhány tanulsága' [A few remarks about the archaeological research at the Cuman field cemetery of Karcag - Orgondaszentmiklós], in 'Kun-kép' *A magyarországi kunok hagyatéka* ['Cuman-picture' The remains of the Cumans of Hungary], ed. Rosta Szabolcs (Kiskunfélegyháza: Bács-Kiskun Megyei Önkormányzat Múzeumi Szervezete, 2009), pp. 17-32.

<sup>191</sup> Ferenc Horváth, 'Szer plébániatemploma és a település középkori története' [The parish church of Szer and the medieval history of the settlement], *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve 1974-75* (1975): 343-374 (pp. 354, 356).

<sup>192</sup> The first major researcher on hoards noted these pieces are mostly dated to the fourteenth century. See Parádi, 'Pénzekkel keltezett ékszerek', pp. 149-150, footnote 35.

<sup>193</sup> Ruttkay, 'Mittelalterlicher Friedhof' p. 405.

<sup>194</sup> Krupica, 'Stredoveké Krásno', p. 290-291.

<sup>195</sup> András Pálóczi-Horváth, 'A Balota pusztai középkori sírlelet' [The medieval grave from Balota pusztai], *Cumania* 11 (1989): 95-148 (p. 125).

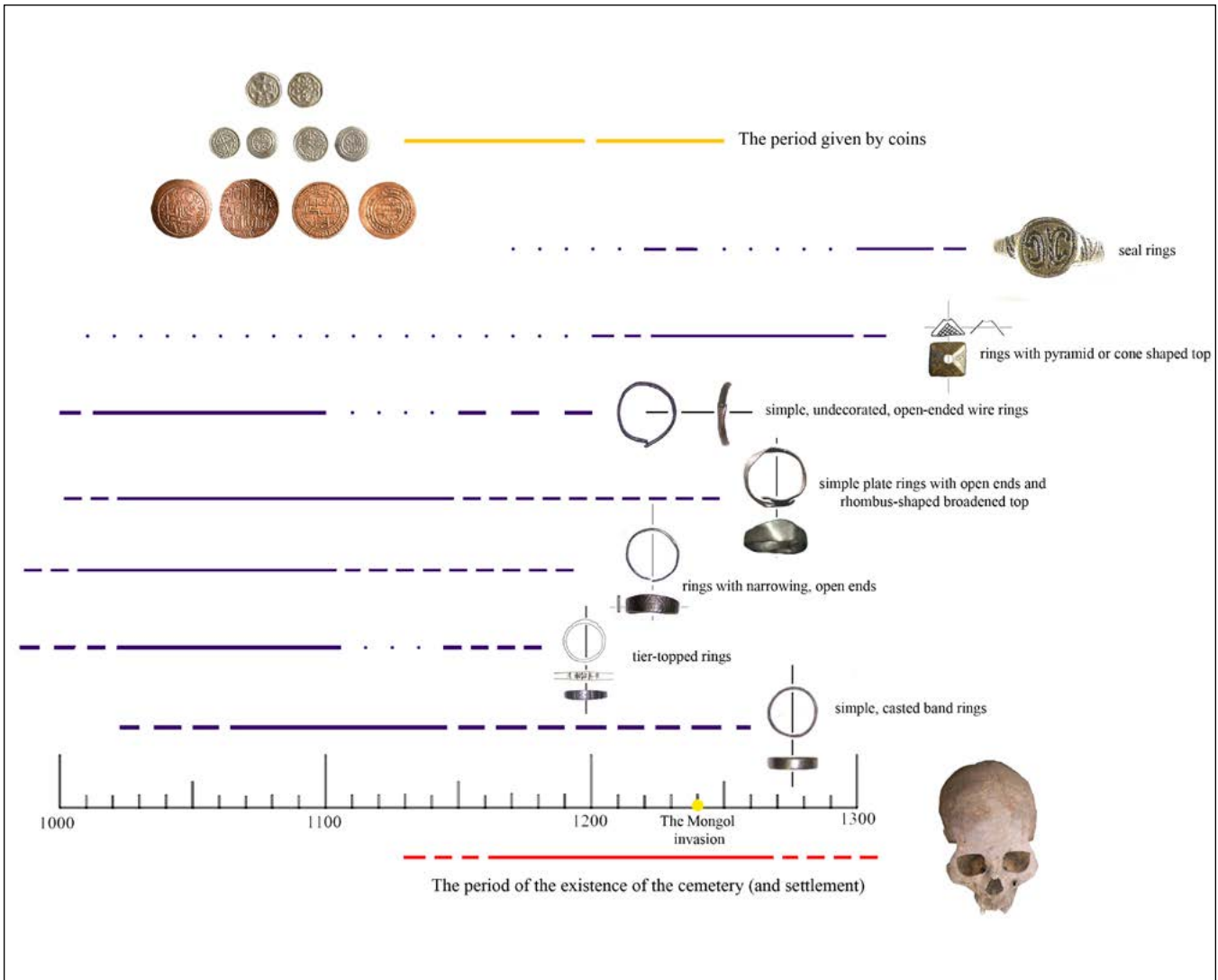


Fig. 24. Occurrence of finger rings in graves, hoards and settlement features.

consisting of graves with a reversed orientation (WSW-ENE). This however is likely to be a telling anomaly: a simple design made from copper alloy, probably from a leftover piece, fits the conclusion that the fashionable thirteenth century types of ring are missing from the cemetery. The discovery of a ring with a pyramid-type top suggests that such rings were worn, but, for some reason, were not put into graves during the thirteenth century. Given the value of silver, this absence suggests such jewellery was no longer in use in the mid-thirteenth century.

Though a twelfth century date for the rings found in the graves at Kána would be acceptable, the condition of the finds must be noted. All the rings, the silver ones especially, were found very worn, suggesting that they were used by successive generations. This implies these pieces were in the second half of the twelfth century already heirlooms, with production of such goods having ceased in the eleventh century. Two points support this theory. Firstly, such rings do not appear in the hoards deposited around the Mongol invasion. Given the value of silver, this absence suggests such jewellery was no longer in use in the mid-thirteenth century. Secondly, the decoration of these objects featuring crosses can be connected as a direct expression of Christianity. When such rings were created, the religion was not widespread. In the twelfth century, it was the state religion.

### Brooches

The most recent detailed investigation of brooches concerned the Fuchsenhof treasure that contained many variations of the artefact. This was one of the many researches that have examined the emergence and distribution of brooches in Europe by using graves dated with coins. This data suggested that brooches appeared as early as the end of the twelfth century and became widespread in the first half of the thirteenth century.<sup>196</sup> Despite the regular appearance of brooches, a comprehensive study of such objects in medieval Hungary has only been made for the rhombus and star-shaped varieties.<sup>197</sup> The others typically appear in the literature as individual items.

Four brooches were discovered at Kána. None of them were found in graves. Three were from settlement features, the other a stray find. The four can be sorted into the following categories. Two are circular ring brooches (Fig. 22/1, 22/2), one a rhombus-shaped brooch (Fig. 24/1), and the final one an open-framed bird-shaped brooch (Fig. 23/1).

<sup>196</sup> Stefan Krabath, 'Die metallenen Trachtbestandteile und Rohmaterialien aus dem Schatzfund von Fuchsenhof', in *Der Schatzfund von Fuchsenhof*, ed. Bernhard Prokisch and Thomas Kührtreiber (Linz: Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, 2004), pp. 231-306. (p. 250).

<sup>197</sup> On this type, see Ódor, 'Anjou-kori öntőforma', pp. 123-134.

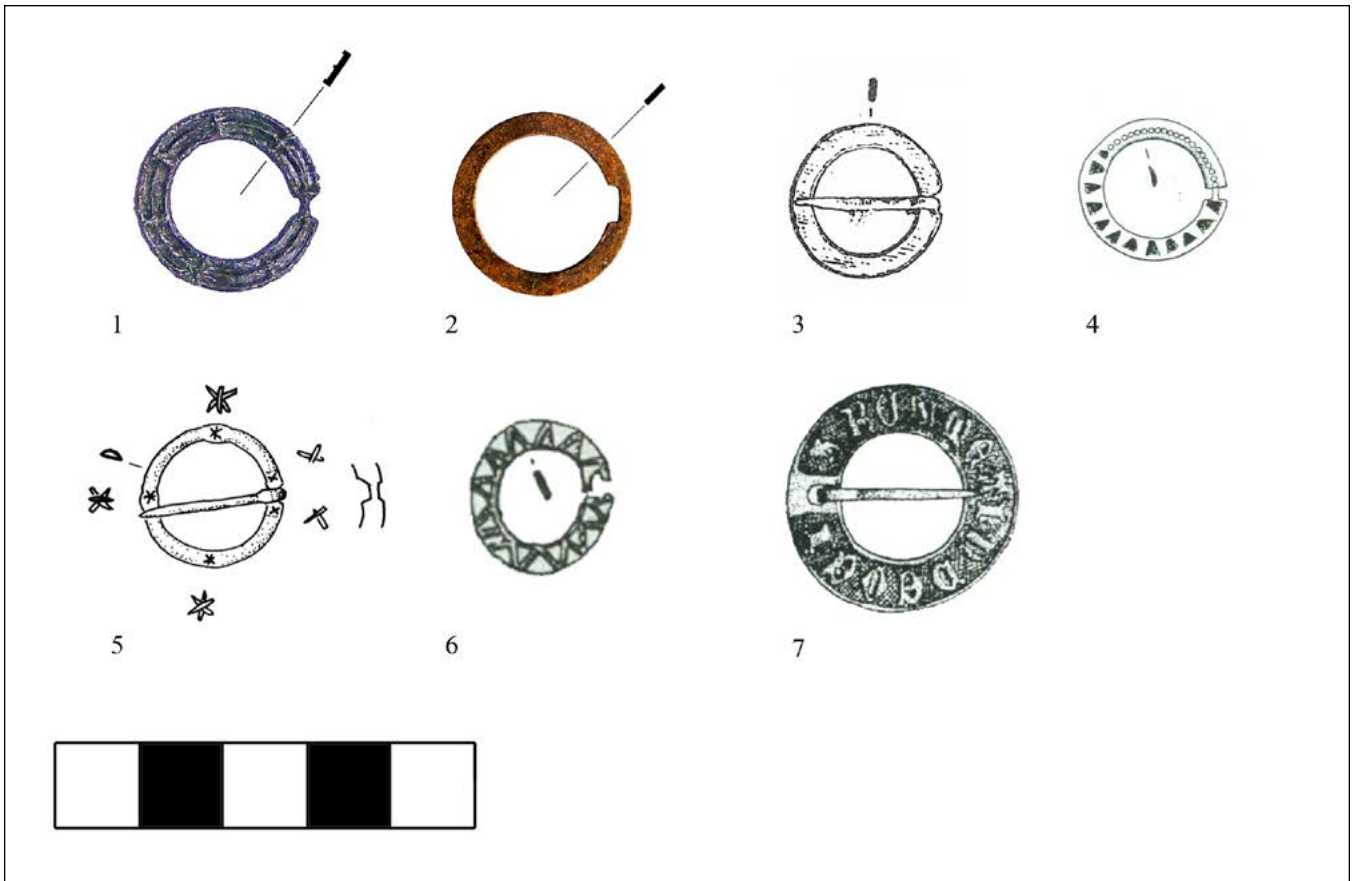


Fig. 25. Circular brooches.

1-2: Kána, K/ 14 and K/462, 3: Krásno, 4: Skalka nad Váhom, 5: Balota puszta, 6: Ducové, 7: Nitra-Dražovce

### Circular brooches

One of the circular ring brooches from Kána is an undecorated piece made of copper alloy (Fig. 22/2).<sup>198</sup> It was discovered with a metal detector in the vicinity of the medieval settlement. The exact original context is unknown. The other circular ring brooch (Fig. 22/1), made from silver alloy, was found in a pit inside a house. The find has a front decorated with three concentric circles interrupted by crossing spokes. No exact parallel is known. Given the great variety of the forms and decoration of annular brooches in the thirteenth century, comparisons can illuminate. Circular brooches are rarely present in cemeteries of the era. Only two are known from thirteenth-century burial contexts: a fragment in a grave in Eger cathedral,<sup>199</sup> and in the aforementioned rich Cuman grave in Balotapuszta (Fig. 22/5).<sup>200</sup> The otherwise richly endowed cemeteries in what is now modern Slovakia share this paucity in regards to brooches in contemporary graves. One piece

found in Krásno (Fig. 22/3)<sup>201</sup> and one piece found in Skalka nad Váhom (Fig. 22/4)<sup>202</sup> can be dated to the thirteenth century. The pieces excavated in Ducové (Fig. 22/6)<sup>203</sup> and Nitra-Dražovce (Fig. 22/7)<sup>204</sup> were found in excavations of fourteenth-century contexts.

A subtype of the circular brooch is connected to issues related to ethnicity in the Carpathian basin. These widely found pieces are brooches that feature diverse inscriptions. Their origin has been dated to the first half of the thirteenth century,<sup>205</sup> and the majority are found in the northern parts of Europe (modern day Germany, Poland, Scandinavia, and the Baltic). Most bear religious inscriptions, mainly from the Angelus (such as AVE MARIA, AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA, and, in abbreviated forms, AVEMA, AVE MARI GRACI). Some of these inscribed brooches have secular inscriptions. In some areas, such as Britain and France,

<sup>198</sup> These ring brooches should be distinguished from circular buckles. Circular buckles have, in most cases, a circular cross section (usually made of iron, rarely from precious metals), and appeared as early as the Conquest period. Ring brooches have a flat rectangular cross section, are typically made of copper alloy or silver (or, in sophisticated pieces not associated with rural contexts, gold). Problematically, circular buckles appear in Arpad age cemeteries and settlements, and publications frequently do not indicate their type, making it difficult to distinguish between the two types.

<sup>199</sup> Károly Kozák, 'Az egri vár Árpád-kori temetőjének feltárása I' [The excavation of the Arpadian age cemetery of Eger castle], *Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve* 16-17 (1978-1979): 157-182 (p. 164).

<sup>200</sup> Pálóczi-Horváth, 'A Balota pusztai', p. 126.

<sup>201</sup> Grave 1574 in Krupica, 'Stredoveké Krásno', pp. 272, 329.

<sup>202</sup> Milan Hanuliak and Tamara Nešporová, 'Rekonštrukcia stredovekého osídlenia v Skalke nad Váhom' [Reconstruction of the medieval settlement in Skalka nad Váhom], *Archaeologia Historica* 26 (2001): 324-342 (p. 335).

<sup>203</sup> Ruttkay, 'Mittelalterlicher Friedhof' p. 405. See also Alexander Ruttkay, 'Prvky gotickej módy v odevu a ozdobách dedinského obyvateľ'stva na území Slovenska' [Elements of the Gothic fashion in clothes and decoration among the rural population in the area of the Slovakia], *Archaeologia Historica* 14 (1989): 355-378 (p. 370).

<sup>204</sup> Alexander Ruttkay, 'Archeologický výskum kostola sv. Michala v Nitre, časť Dražovce a v jeho okolí- informácia o výsledkoch' [Excavations in Nitra-Dražovce, in St. – Michael's church and its environment], *Archaeologia Historica* 22 (1997): 1-19 (p. 18).

<sup>205</sup> Krabath, 'Die metallenen', p. 245.

worldly texts outnumber the religious ones.<sup>206</sup> A different pattern occurs in Hungary. Such objects appear in the second half of the fourteenth century. In many cases, they were used as buckles and not brooches. They also often appear in Cuman burials.<sup>207</sup> Connecting the circular brooches at Kána to Cumans cannot be supported; the objects were found not in the graves but in the settlements, testifying only that they were worn in the garments of the living (and not as grave clothes).

### *Bird shaped brooches*

A specific group of medieval ring brooches, found in various parts of Europe, are those designed to resemble birds. Given their geographical spread, their rarity, and their complex chronology, the bird shaped brooches and their function will be discussed in greater depth than the types of other brooches.

Brooches of this group share similar features, differing in decoration. Each piece, made from copper alloy, has a head, a tail, and a D-shaped body. Only six are known: one found in a pit in the Arpad era settlement Kána (*Fig. 23/1*), one a stray find in an urban excavation at Lüneburg (*Fig. 23/6*)<sup>208</sup> and one, likewise, at Leicester (*Fig. 23/5*),<sup>209</sup> and three uncovered by metal detectors in England at Lympne (*Fig. 23/2*),<sup>210</sup> Aslacton (*Fig. 23/4*),<sup>211</sup> and Greetwell (*Fig. 23/3*).<sup>212</sup> Consequently, the chronology is not exact. Owing to being found in a pit along with twelfth and century pottery, only the piece at Kána can be dated without doubt to a short time period.<sup>213</sup> The others, having been dated by distant parallels, should be dated by their decoration. The tail is either elaborate or simple. The brooches from England share a similar decoration: punched dots in rows on the D-shaped body and one on the head to suggest an eye. The pieces from Lympne and Greetwell are so similar in shape and decoration that they were possibly made in the same workshop. The Kána piece differs from the English ones by having a punched chevron (< >) pattern along the body of the brooch rather than punched dots. Both types of punched alterations are possible in the thirteenth century, a period of diverse decoration. The Lüneburg example differs greatly in that it has inset glass beads instead of punched

decoration. A scholar working on this find has asserted such decoration is most common in fourteenth century brooches.<sup>214</sup> Given the similarity of the Kána piece with the English examples, a thirteenth or, at most, a fourteenth century dating is more likely than the later dates stated on English webpages.

Though the bird shape is unusual for brooches of the period, popular variants existed in earlier contexts.<sup>215</sup> Anne Pedersen, analysing bird-shaped brooches of the tenth to twelfth centuries, stated that these artefacts were widespread in Scandinavia, and particularly in Denmark.<sup>216</sup> She also plotted chronological changes in the styles. The first period involves two styles: the Ringerike, emerging in the late tenth century, and the Urnes, in the mid-eleventh. These two are characterised by their interlacing, flowing lines. In contrast, the next period Pederson noted was marked by a naturalistic representation of features: beaks, feathers, and even claws appear on the objects. This second type is dated from the eleventh to the beginning of the twelfth century. The last group, appearing in the second half of the eleventh century and remaining in the first half of the twelfth, have only the bird stylised.<sup>217</sup>

Though not present to the same degree as in Denmark, bird-shaped brooches appeared elsewhere too. In Norway, their distribution is restricted to the much shorter period between c. 1050 to 1100.<sup>218</sup> A few examples from Sweden and England have been dated to the eleventh century.<sup>219</sup> Pedersen examined the possible meaning of the bird-shaped brooches, and noted that after the ninth century bird-shaped brooches can be found in Western and Central Europe in many undoubtedly Christian contexts (such as graves near cathedrals in Germany), and, furthermore, some of these bird-shaped brooches also contain a depiction of a cross. Since not all of the birds on the brooches are similar, it is likely they depicted different species. In the majority of cases, the bird brooches have been interpreted as eagles, peacocks, and doves. These have Christian connotations. The weakest interpretation is the peacock. Though peacock bones from the period have been found, they were not widespread; they were a symbol associated with the elite.<sup>220</sup> The brooches, however, were common objects, with most of them made cheaply from copper alloy, and, when identifiable, not connected to the upper echelons of society. This also weakens the reading that these

<sup>206</sup> Ottó Fogas, 'A gótikus feliratos csatok európai elterjedése' [The spread of gothic brooches with inscriptions in Europe], in *'Kun-kép' A magyarországi kunok hagyatéka* ['Cuman-picture' The remains of the Cumans of Hungary], ed. Rosta Szabolcs (Kiskunfélegyháza: Bács-Kiskun Megyei Önkormányzat Múzeumi Szervezete, 2009), 147-174 (pp. 147-148). See also Hinton, *Gold*, pp. 190-192.

<sup>207</sup> Fogas, 'A gótikus feliratos', p. 156. See also, Hatházi and Kovács, 'Árpád-kori falu', pp. 257, 269.

<sup>208</sup> Jan Stammer and Ines Wullschläger, 'Petschaft und Fürspan. Ein Einblick in die frühe Geschichte der Hansestadt Lüneburg', in *Denkmalpflege in Lüneburg 2010*, ed. Edgar Ring (Lüneburg: Lüneburger Stadtarchäologie, 2010), pp. 7-12. I would like to thank Gyöngyvér Biró for calling attention to this piece, and Ines Wullschläger for providing details about the artefact.

<sup>209</sup> [http://www.le.ac.uk/ulas/services/small\\_finds.html](http://www.le.ac.uk/ulas/services/small_finds.html) Last accessed: 05. 2015. Thanks are due to László Ferenczi for calling attention to this artefact.

<sup>210</sup> <http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/392099> Last accessed: 05. 2015.

<sup>211</sup> <http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/220759> Last accessed: 05. 2015.

<sup>212</sup> <http://www.ukdfd.co.uk/ukdfddata/showrecords.php?product=32621> Last accessed: 05. 2015.

<sup>213</sup> For the detailed description of the pottery found together with the brooch see: György Terei and Mária Vargha, "Madár alakú bronzcsat az Árpád-kori Kána faluból" [Bird shaped brooch from the Arpadian age Kána village], *Budapest Régiségei* 46 (2013), 151-153 (pp.151-166)

<sup>214</sup> Stammer and Wullschläger, 'Petschaft und Fürspan', p. 12. Without questioning the dating of the artefact, it should be noted that brooches decorated with inset stones appear in Mongol invasion hoards such as Bajót and Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharasz. See Parádi, 'Pénzekkel keltezett ékszerek', pp. 124, 132.

<sup>215</sup> Mária Vargha, 'Medieval Bird-shaped Brooches' in *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU 20*, ed. Katalin Szende and Judith Rasson (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2014), 75-78 (pp. 71-80).

<sup>216</sup> Anne Pedersen, 'Rovfugle eller duer. Fugleformede fibler fra den tidlige middelalder - Birds of prey or doves. Early medieval bird-shaped brooches', *Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie* 1999 (2001): 19-66 (p. 65). Thanks are due to Katalin Szende for assistance with the literature.

<sup>217</sup> Pedersen, 'Rovfugle eller duer', pp. 62-63.

<sup>218</sup> Ingunn Marit Rastad, 'En fremmed fugl: 'Danske' smykker og forbindelser på Østlandet i overgangen mellom vikingtid og middelalder - A strange 'bird': Danish brooches and affiliations in Eastern Norway in the Viking and Medieval Ages', *Viking. Norsk arkeologisk årbok* 75 (2012): 181-210 (p. 204).

<sup>219</sup> Pedersen, 'Rovfugle eller duer', p. 64.

<sup>220</sup> On peacocks in such an environment, see Andres Siegfried Dobat, 'Viking stranger-kings: the foreign as a source of power in Viking Age Scandinavia, or, why there was a peacock in the Gokstad ship burial?' *Early Medieval Europe*. 23/2 (2015): 161-201 (pp. 192-194).



Fig 26. Bird-shaped brooches. 1: Kána, 2: Lypnye, 3: Greetwell, 4: Aslacton, 5: Leicester, 6: Lüneburg

artefacts depict falconry and hunting. A Christian reading is supported by coins of Danish rulers: on one side similar birds are depicted, on the other, an *Agnus Dei*. In addition, it should be noted that the spread of Christianity coincided with the appearance of bird-shaped brooches.<sup>221</sup> Though interpretation of these designs cannot be certain, and the issue of how the wearing of such an object could influence meaning cannot be addressed, it seems most probable that bird brooches had religious connotations.

Though none of the Scandinavian brooches are exact parallels for the later bird-shaped brooches such as the one found at Kána, they share similarities. They have a naturalistic style with the important features (the head, beak, and tail) all carefully formed in similar ways. The main difference is the absence of claws (another indication that they are unlikely to depict birds of prey). The continuity of the form through time and space may similarly indicate a shared symbolic meaning. Though the later artefacts are rare, and therefore distribution cannot be strongly defined, the location of the Kána piece is peculiar given the rest were found in Northwest Europe, where the tradition of bird-shaped brooches was stronger.

Another area where such bird-shaped brooches were widespread in what is present-day Russia and Ukraine. These

brooches however have a different shape and meaning to those discussed above. Owing to a tradition of zoomorphic amulets dating back to prehistoric times, many amulets depicting creatures that were the target of hunts began to appear around the sixth century in neighbouring areas to Finno-Ugric territories such as in Oka and Mokai. In the tenth century, such objects were frequent along the Ladoga river and, later, around Novgorod. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the variety again increased. A new chicken-like form appeared around Smolensk, Moscow, and St. Petersburg, and remained in fashion until the fourteenth century.<sup>222</sup> Despite the close connections that existed with Scandinavia, Pedersen sees these West Russian bird brooches as altogether different from the Scandinavian variety with no apparent connection.<sup>223</sup> Though a shared symbolic meaning is unlikely, a Scandinavian borrowing of the bird-shaped imagery for their own purposes may be a possible explanation.

To understand the symbolic and chronological aspects of bird-shaped brooches, an examination of contemporaneous

<sup>221</sup> Pedersen, 'Rovfugle eller duer', pp. 65-66.

<sup>222</sup> В. А. Колчин and Т. И. Макарова, *Древняя Русь. Быт и культура*. Ред.: Борис Александрович Колчин - Татьяна Ивановна Макарова [Drevniaia Rus': Byt i kul'tura - Ancient Russia. Way of life and the culture] (Moscow: Nauka, 1997), pp. 156-159. Thanks are due to Maxim Mordovin for assistance with the literature.

<sup>223</sup> Pedersen, 'Rovfugle eller duer', p. 65.



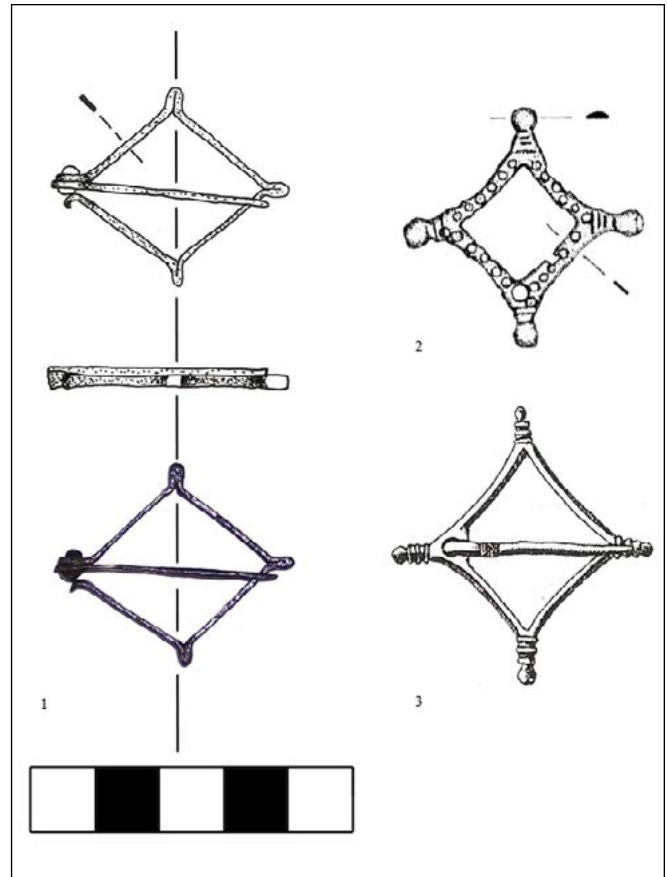
brooches is required. The six bird-shaped brooches belong to the group of ring/opened framed brooches. This type, of which the simplest and most common are circular ones, first appeared at the start of the thirteenth century and became popular from the Pyrenees to Transylvania, from Scandinavia to Italy.<sup>224</sup> In addition to this basic form, a variety of different forms spread locally in different regions from the thirteenth century. These included rhomboid, drop-shaped, star-shaped, octagonal forms, and individual pieces such as a heart-shaped brooch<sup>225</sup> and others where the object had additional molded decoration. Given the time that these forms appeared, and the evidence from Kána, it appears that bird-shaped brooches were already in use in the thirteenth century.

The meaning and agency of these brooches is more difficult to surmise. The easiest to understand are those with an inscription. As noted above, the texts could be liturgical or secular,<sup>226</sup> making the meaning specific to the type. Comparable to this issue are brooches that visually illustrate something, such as a handshake, praying hands,<sup>227</sup> or, as one unique example shows, a couple.<sup>228</sup> These interpretations, however, are modern suppositions: the hands may not be in prayer, the couple may be too worldly an explanation, and the handshake motif is uncertain. Though typically interpreted as a symbol of loyalty, one piece carries an inscription 'OMNIA AMOR VINCIT'.<sup>229</sup> Given the variations of the open-framed brooches were already common in the thirteenth century, it is understandable that the same type of brooch can in one context symbolise religiosity and in another more worldly concerns. Bird-shaped brooches are similar in being open to two uses. If understood to be doves, they can be read as a depiction of the Holy Ghost or as lovebirds.

The earlier spread of bird-shaped brooches may indicate a continuation of a Christian meaning in these artefacts. Given the other themes present in other brooches of the thirteenth century, alternative interpretations of bird-shaped brooches should not be excluded. The likeliest explanation is that the objects originally had a religious meaning, but later usage resulted in varied meanings. However, since these bird-shaped brooches were found with little context to support such claims, the soundest reading is that however such brooches were interpreted, the motif and the form were appreciated enough to be used continuously for centuries.

#### Rhombus-shaped brooches

The third type of brooch found in Kána is a cast rhombus-shaped copper alloy brooch (*Fig. 24/1*). Recent studies have examined the emergence and dissemination of this type of brooch. Besides a single piece found in a cemetery of Mezőcsát-Csicske, dated to the second half of the thirteenth century onwards, without any more precise determination of its chronology (*Fig. 24/2*),<sup>230</sup> and several in hoards from the Mongol invasion (Esztergom – Szentkirályi földek (*Fig. 24/3*), Karcag, Soltszentimre and Tiszaörvény-



*Fig. 27. Rhombus-shaped brooches.*  
1: Kána, 2: Mezőcsát, 3: Esztergom-Szentkirály

Templomdomb), and despite appearing in visual sources,<sup>231</sup> there is no archaeological find that can be dated to the thirteenth century. Though this absence from cemeteries is notable, the appearance of rhombus-shaped brooches in hoards indicates they had been in use from the mid-thirteenth century.

Researchers working on the Fuchsenhof hoard revealed the spatial aspect of this type of brooch. In contrast to the widespread popularity of circular brooches, the rhomboid-shaped type is predominantly found in the Carpathian basin (typically in the western part). With the exception of those mentioned above, the majority of these brooches – including those found in modern-day Slovakia - have been dated to the fourteenth century.<sup>232</sup>

These details lead to a clear conclusion. The piece discovered in the settlement of Kána indicates that the typical thirteenth century jewellery depicted in visual representations did feature in everyday life. However, given such pieces – less valuable than other items – were also in use among the rural population (who are not usually depicted with such jewellery), these are likely to have been used in a similar manner to the more fashionable lock rings with flaring ends and finger rings types of expensive varieties. This would explain why such brooches likewise are not found in contemporary graves until the fourteenth century.<sup>233</sup>

<sup>224</sup> Krabath, 'Die metallenen', p. 236.

<sup>225</sup> Nándor Parádi, 'Pénzekkel keltezett ékszerek', p. 124.

<sup>226</sup> Fogas, 'A gótikus feliratos', pp. 147-148.

<sup>227</sup> Krabath, 'Die metallenen', pp. 245-246; Hinton, *Gold*, 190.

<sup>228</sup> Imre Szatmári, 'A békéscsabai későromán kori arany mellű' [The late Romanesque golden brooch from Békéscsaba], *Archaeologiai Értésítő* 130 (2005): 195-203 (p. 195).

<sup>229</sup> Krabath, 'Die metallenen', p. 246.

<sup>230</sup> Szabó, 'Árpád-kori templom', p. 46.

<sup>231</sup> Ódor, 'Anjou-kori öntőforma', pp. 129-130. See also Krabath, 'Die metallenen', p. 239.

<sup>232</sup> Krabath, 'Die metallenen', pp. 238-239.

<sup>233</sup> For the view that brooches belonged to the more noble layers of society, and not peasants, see Hinton, *Gold*, pp. 171, 178.

Pins

Pins were another method of attaching garments worn on the upper body. In the cemetery of Kána, one whole pin (Fig. 25) and a fragment of the same sort<sup>234</sup> were uncovered. Both were made of copper alloy. The whole piece – a long narrow pointed pin with a spherical head – was soldered from two hemispherical pieces. The fragment consists of only the lower hemispherical part of the head.

The Kána pins fit with the standard date for such artefacts. István Bóna, examining the finds in the graveyard at Dunaújváros, dated similar pins by using the accepted ages of other finds. He stated pins were characteristic for the twelfth century and, at the latest, the beginning of the thirteenth.<sup>235</sup> The fragmented pin found at Kána supports Bóna's assessment, for it was found in a disturbed grave of a four-year-old child datable to the second phase of the cemetery. Though the undamaged pin is harder to date, its superposition in a grave earlier than the third phase of the cemetery agrees with the suggested dating. Though these finds do not contradict Bóna's timeframe, it should be noted that pins rarely appear in churchyard cemeteries.

Erwin Gáll has studied the dissemination of pins. After collecting parallels for a piece from a graveyard in Doboka-Vártérség (Dăbâca Castle in Romania), Gáll noted the spread and number of such objects in cemeteries. The pins, used mainly as hair pins, were mainly made from bronze. A silver piece from Kisnána was a notable exception. Pins appear frequently in Transylvanian cemeteries in present-day Romania. In addition to the aforementioned Doboka-Vártérség, Gáll recorded parallels in Malomfalva-Csittfalva (Morești), Doboka-Boldogasszony (Dăbâca Church), Kolozsvár-Főter (the main square in Cluj-Napoca), Marosvásárhely (Tîrgu Mureș), Gyulafehérvár-Székesegyház (the cathedral in Alba Iulia) and Kányád (Ulieș).<sup>236</sup> In collaboration with Zsolt Nyárádi, Gáll added four more sites to the list (Bădești, Sângeorgiu de Mureș, Sibiu, Sânvășii, Avrămești) taking the number of graves where a pin was found with the deceased up to twenty-four. All were dated to the twelfth century.<sup>237</sup> This significant number is important considering that few pins are known from the territory of present-day Hungary. In addition to Kána, one piece was found in Kisnána,<sup>238</sup> another in Békés,<sup>239</sup> and several in Kaposvár.<sup>240</sup> No pin has yet been found in the richly adorned cemeteries in present day Slovakia. Nor have such items appeared in hoards. This distribution may have affected the dating of these artefacts. Though there is no data suggesting any other date than the twelfth century, few pins have solid proof for this dating. Coins, as a later discussion will make clear, are not as reliable in the thirteenth century as

in the preceding and subsequent centuries. Also problematic is that from the fourteenth century onwards, pins became popular as headgear accessories. It seems more likely that this fashion was a development of hairpins, rather than a sudden renewal after a century. Without more precisely datable artefacts, these issues cannot be addressed.

A different type of pin being used for different purposes is an underexplored possibility. Unlike the majority of the finds which were found near the skulls (indicating use as a hair pin), the pieces from Kána and Kisnána were found positioned in the grave that suggested use as a bosom pin. In two graves dated to the twelfth century in the cemetery in Doboka-Vártérség, one pin with a hollow head was found on the chest of a buried skeleton (with a hollow skull), while another pin, with a solid head, was clearly used as a hairpin. As Gáll noted, the use of even seemingly simple pieces of jewellery is more complex than the usual typologies would suggest.<sup>241</sup> Archaeologists often do not consider such objects

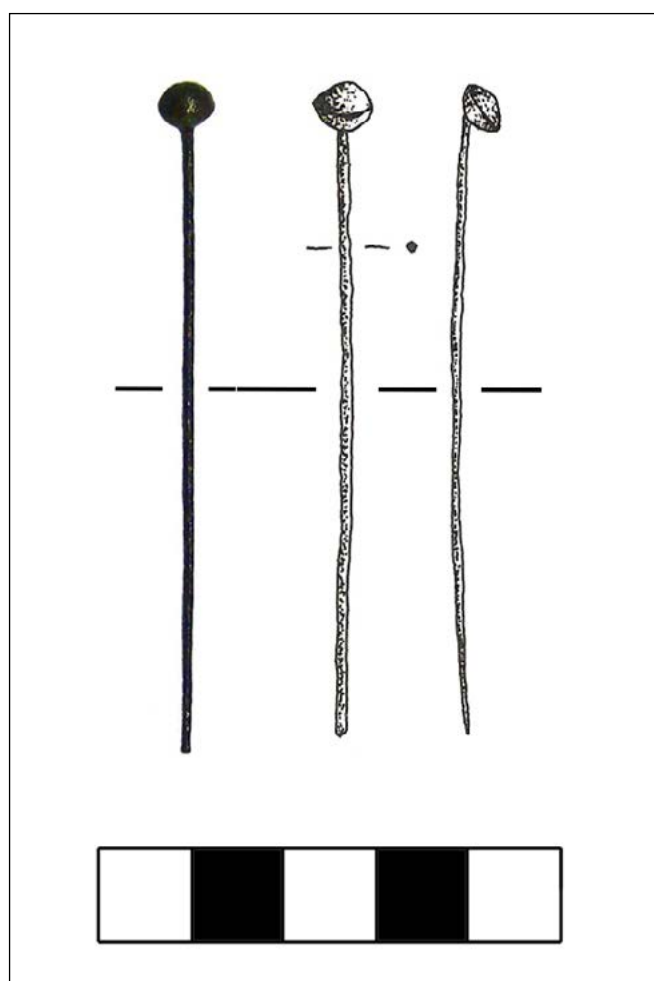


Fig. 28. Pin from Kána, K/2667

capable of being used for different purposes at the will of the previous owner for the simple reason that surviving evidence does not suggest any deviation from the norm. These pins are a rare example of such possibilities existing.

<sup>234</sup> K/2667

<sup>235</sup> Bóna, 'Arpadenzeithliche Kirche', pp. 136-137, 140.

<sup>236</sup> Erwin Gáll, *A Doboka – IV. Vártérség templom körüli temetője* [The churchyard cemetery of Doboka-IV. Vártérség] (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2011), pp. 41-42.

<sup>237</sup> Zsolt Nyárádi and Erwin Gáll, 'The 'westernisation' of the Transylvanian Basin. Migration and/or acculturation? Wearing hair pins in the 12th century Transylvanian Basin', *Vjesnik Journal of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum* 48 (2015), in press.

<sup>238</sup> János Győző Szabó, "Gótikus pártáövek a kishánai vár temetőjéből" [Gothic decorated belts from the cemetery of Castle Kisnána], *Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve* 8-9 (1972): 57-90 (p. 59).

<sup>239</sup> Grave 75 in Trogmayer, 'X-XII. századi magyar temető' pp. 13, 22.

<sup>240</sup> Bárdos, 'Középkori templom', p. 195.

<sup>241</sup> Gáll, *A Doboka*, pp. 41-42.



Buttons

Six buttons were discovered in Kána, all outside the cemetery. One piece was found in a ditch (Fig. 26/6), one in a work pit of an external oven (Fig. 26/2), and the rest were stray finds found by metal detectors while examining the spoil bank of the settlement features. Of the six, two are thick slightly domed discoid forms made of lead (Fig. 26/4 and 26/5). The piece found in the ditch, which has a more pronounced dome, is made of thin embossed lead sheet. The remaining three buttons are made of copper alloy. One has a gilded hemispherical top (Fig. 26/3). Another is spherical and hollowed, owing to being brazed of two parts of domed metal sheet (Fig. 26/1). The final piece, damaged on one side, is in the shape of a rosette made of a slightly domed metal sheet.

Though buttons (shank-backs) were present in both the Conquest period and in early Arpad era graves, researchers have typically focused on their use in later periods. This has resulted in the assumption that the gap between early and late medieval was occupied by a button-free era. Owing to a change in the fourteenth century towards tight-cut garments (which required buttons), scholars have asserted that buttons only

occur in cemeteries from the fourteenth century onwards.<sup>242</sup> The grave of the noble in Balotapuszta,<sup>243</sup> and the Jazygian cemetery in Négyszállás (where many of graves contained a variety of buttons)<sup>244</sup>, are exceptions to this rule. As these graves belonged to different ethnicities than Hungarian, they may differ greatly from the Hungarian dress. However, since these graves have not been analysed in depth, they have nonetheless made little impact on the chronology of buttons.

This problematic understanding of the chronology of buttons also appears in England. Buttons have similarly been understood as emerging from changing fashions in the fourteenth century, though recent research has shown that plain cast buttons can be dated from the early thirteenth century (with domed metal sheet ones from the end of the fourteenth century). The earlier type was mostly made of

<sup>242</sup> László Gerevich, 'A csúti középkori sírmező' [The Medieval graveyard of Csút], *Budapest Régiségei* 13 (1943): 103-166 (pp. 139-140). For the impact of this research, see Márta Vizi and Zsuzsa Miklós, 'Előzetes jelentés a középkori Ete mezőváros területén végzett kutatásokról' [Preliminary report of the investigation in the area of town Ete], *A Wosinszky Mór Múzeum Évkönyve* 21 (1999): 207-269 (p. 224).

<sup>243</sup> Pálóczi-Horváth, 'A Balota pusztai', p. 126.

<sup>244</sup> László Selmeczi, *A négyszállási I. számú jász temető* [The Jazygian cemetery of Négyszállás I.] (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 1992), p. 92.



Fig. 29. Button types of Kána. 1: K/458, 2: K/2292, 3: K/456, 4: K/1170.1, 5: K/1170.2, 6: K/357

tin, the latter of copper alloy.<sup>245</sup> The different material meant different methods of production. Though these results are specific to medieval England, and consequently should not be projected onto medieval Hungary, they should prompt further investigation with the Hungarian finds.

The pieces found at Kána confirm the presence of buttons in everyday life prior to the fourteenth century. This is important, considering that buttons do not appear in the hoards dating to the Mongol invasion. Later variants, made of precious metal, which contemporary written sources state were treasured, do however appear in hoards of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>246</sup> Since buttons can be found sporadically in Arpad era settlements suggests that the use of buttons be given an earlier date than the usual fourteenth century dating, and given their absence in Mongol invasion hoards, their popularity should be dated to the second half of the thirteenth century.

This conflicting appearance and absence of buttons in the archaeological record requires explanation. Since buttons are a frequent find in graves dating to the tenth, eleventh, and sometimes the early twelfth century, and given their appearance at Kána confirms their use in the thirteenth century, it is difficult to assume that the use of such buttons stopped only to be restarted a century later. Even taking into account the changing tightness of garments, and the difference in rural fashions, this fluctuation seems extreme. It is more likely that these small artefacts were not recovered in the excavations of the few sites dated to the twelfth century. This is in part due to the rarity of the excavation of a total site (as what took place at Kána), and due to the absence of metal detectors. Also, since buttons are functional objects, there is little change in appearance that would aid dating. The absence of buttons in hoards datable to the Mongol invasion, and their appearance in later ones, suggests that buttons were not yet viewed as treasure. Buttons, it seems, were regarded as functional dress accessories at least up to the mid thirteenth century. Their absence from graves, but presence in other sites, is likely influenced by usage of shrouds (which do not require buttons) for the dead.

The buttons that do seem to have been treasured typically feature decorative elements (at times containing artistic depictions). Such buttons can be dated at the earliest to the second half of the thirteenth century. The pieces from Kána show a transitional type between the simple early pieces datable to the tenth to twelfth centuries and the ornamented buttons of the late medieval period. As the table concerned with buttons shows, their size is larger than the earlier pieces. As further evidence for their transitional style, though the buttons cannot be compared to the detailed ornamentations of the later buttons, the Kána pieces do display artistic stylisation such as the rosette-shaped example.

Written sources may assist in dating this change in attitude to buttons. The Hungarian word for button, *gomb*, appears in a thirteenth century gloss on a text by Petrus Comestor. This manuscript, likely to have originated from a Venetian monastery where Hungarian scholars studied, shows that given the terminology existed, the use of such objects before the fourteenth century can be assumed.<sup>247</sup>

<sup>245</sup> Geoff Egan and Frances Pritchard, *Dress Accessories 1150-1450*, (London: Museum of London, 2002), pp. 278-280.

<sup>246</sup> Hatházi, 'A déli Kiskunság', p. 81, footnote 66.

<sup>247</sup> Előd Nemerikényi, 'Cathedral Libraries in Medieval Hungary', *Library History* 20 (2004): 7-17 (pp. 9-10), and 'Medieval Hungarian Glosses in MS. Lyell 70.', *Bodleian Library Record* 16 (1999): 503-508.

## Belt Buckles

In total, twelve belt buckles and buckle fragments were found in Kána.<sup>248</sup> Five were found in the graves, two fragments were found in the vicinity of the cemetery, two pieces were discovered in pits, one next to the church, one in the village, and two were stray finds in the area of the village.<sup>249</sup> Different buckle types were represented, as will be discussed below.

Though the stray finds cannot be dated precisely (only approximately to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries), they help with the dating by increasing the sample size. One stray piece (*Fig. 27/7*) represents a rare type of buckle. Because it is a fragment, its original shape was unknown until parallels were found at Ecseg castle (*Fig. 27/9*) and at Héhalom-Templomdomb (*Fig. 27/8*).<sup>250</sup> Though these pieces have not been restored, their similarity with the Kána example is recognisable in regards to size and decoration. All of them are made of copper alloy, with the frame and the plate cast together. With each piece, the oval shaped frame, grooved on the inner side, has a line cut into the surface running along the outer part. Likewise, when casting a hole was deliberately made in the inner side of the trapezoid plate for the pin to use, and, at the end of the plate, a rectangular hole for the strap. For this type of buckle, the dating is dependent on these three examples. Since the unbroken buckle (*Fig. 27/9*) found at the castle that was in use after the Mongol invasion of Hungary,<sup>251</sup> these pieces should be given a provisional date of the second half of the thirteenth century. These buckles are similar in their shape and in the method the strap was connected to the buckle to earlier conquest period trapezoid buckles. The frames of the earlier examples, however, were not cast together with the plate but connected by a joint.<sup>252</sup>

The other stray find (*Fig. 27/2*) and the piece that was found in a pit in the vicinity of the settlement (*Fig. 27/1*) represent similar types that unfortunately lacks widely-accepted terminology. In English language publications, they are deemed oval frames with ornate outside edges.<sup>253</sup> Hungarians have recently begun to use an expression – *karéjos tagolású*

<sup>248</sup> Other types of buckles that are not belt buckles were found in the vicinity of the settlement. This study focuses on belt buckles.

<sup>249</sup> These stray finds were discovered in the spoil-banks of various Arpad era settlement features by metal detectors.

<sup>250</sup> This information is indebted to Maxim Mordovin, who kindly shared his unpublished data from his metal-detecting investigations of Ecseg-Vároldal and Héhalom in April 2013.

<sup>251</sup> An earlier date for this object is unlikely as no early Arpad style artefacts have been discovered in the castle's vicinity. Written sources support the later date: the first recorded mention of the castle occurs in 1314, when the king confiscated it from the owner because of treason. See Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457 I.* [The secular archontology of Hungary 1301-1457 I] (Budapest: História, 1996), p. 307. The layout of the castle, and the manner in which it was built, also suggests an earlier date around the second half of the thirteenth century. For the chronology of castles in this period, see Erik Fügedi, *Castle and Society in Medieval Hungary* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986), pp. 50-62.

<sup>252</sup> Károly Mesterházy, 'Bizánci és balkáni eredetű tárgyak a 10-11. századi magyar sírleletekben' [Artefacts of Byzantine and Balkan origin in 10-11<sup>th</sup> century Hungarian graves], *Folia Archaeologica* 41 (1990): 87-115 (pp. 88-92). See also Péter Langó and Attila Türk, 'Honfoglalás kori sírok Mindszent-Koszorús dűlőn. Adatok a szíjbefűzős bizánci csatok és a délkelet-európai kapcsolát egyszerű mellkeresztek tipológiájához.- Landnahmenzeitliche Gräber in Mindszent-Koszorús dűlő. Angaben zur Typologie der trapezförmigen Byzantinischer Schnallen und einfachen Brustkreuze mit Südosteuropäische beziehungen', *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica* 10 (2004): 365-457 (pp. 377-385).

<sup>253</sup> Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, p. 76.





Fig. 30. The common position of buckles, examples from the cemetery of Kána. Graves 44, 903.





Fig. 31. Belt buckles.

1-7 Kána, 1: K/731, 2: K/1170, 3: K/2392, 4: K/2789, 5: K/1731, 6: K/143, 7: K/465, 8: Héhalom, 9: Ecseg-Vároldal

*csatok* – that is unclear even in Hungarian.<sup>254</sup> In Europe, Ilse Fingerlin, author of the most thorough synthesis of medieval European belts, gave them the name *Profilierte Schnallen*.<sup>255</sup> Given this type of buckle has a variety of subtypes, Fingerlin's term is the most appropriate as it makes clear the most common feature: the frame. The examples from Kána, of the same type that features a cylindrical metal shell attached to the front frame that is fixed in place by lateral knobs, would, according to Fingerlin's work, have been in use from the second half of the thirteenth century. The first buckle, made of copper alloy, is fragmentary. The other, surviving complete, is made from a folded sheet of brass. In one case textile fragments were found oxidised to the buckle frame,<sup>256</sup> indicating this type could have been used without a buckle plate (which would be easily recognisable because of their long narrow shape). Similar pieces to the Kána ones were found in graves dated from the end of the thirteenth to the fourteenth century at Négyszállás,<sup>257</sup> Ducové,<sup>258</sup> and Krásno,<sup>259</sup> and, datable to the fourteenth and fifteenth century, two pieces at Szer found with diverse mounts.<sup>260</sup> An artefact found at Nitra-Dražovce has the earlier date of the second half of the thirteenth century,<sup>261</sup> and an even earlier piece was found in the Esztergom-Szentkirályi földek hoard contemporary to the Mongol invasion.<sup>262</sup> The thirteenth century date for the finds at Kána cannot yet be made more precise, as, unfortunately, the two plate fragments (Fig. 27/3 and 27/5) were not discovered in graves but during the scraping of the surface.

Given that they were discovered in graves, more information is known about other finds. The earliest piece is a lyre-shaped buckle (Fig. 27/6) that was found in one of the cemetery's oldest graves. This type is considered characteristic for the Conquest period. After studying lyre-shaped buckles of the Carpathian basin, László Révész concluded that this type was in use until the end of the eleventh century, and, outside of the Carpathians, into the twelfth. The subtype to which the Kána examples belong is the most common type. This subgroup spread in the territories conquered by the Hungarians, and consequently can be found in tenth and eleventh century graves of both nobles and commoners.<sup>263</sup> In addition to belts, lyre-shaped buckles could also be used in various horse fittings.<sup>264</sup> After analysing the origin and dissemination of these objects, Mária Wolf argued that in many cases lyre-shaped buckles are connected to the Pechenegs and, within the Carpathian basin, dated from the second half of the eleventh to the beginning of the twelfth century.<sup>265</sup> The Kána example probably belonged to the first group of lyre-shaped buckles, those not likely to

have appeared in the mid-twelfth century. Since the piece, showing signs of heavy wear, was recovered from the grave of a four to five year old child, the artefact should be interpreted as an heirloom. This is an important piece, for it shows that while the general dating of this type is correct, an assumption that the object would accurately date the context of the grave would result in error.

The other pieces that were found in graves are later types that were found in the last and penultimate phases of the cemetery, dated to the second half to the end of the thirteenth century. Two similar pieces are among the simplest (Fig. 28/1 and 28/2): round iron belt buckles with rectangular cross-sections. One of these, fragmented, was found with a coin of Andrew II (1205-1235). Such buckles, sometimes with a different cross-section, are found in graves as early as the Conquest period (as in Sárrétudvari-Hizóföld),<sup>266</sup> but also

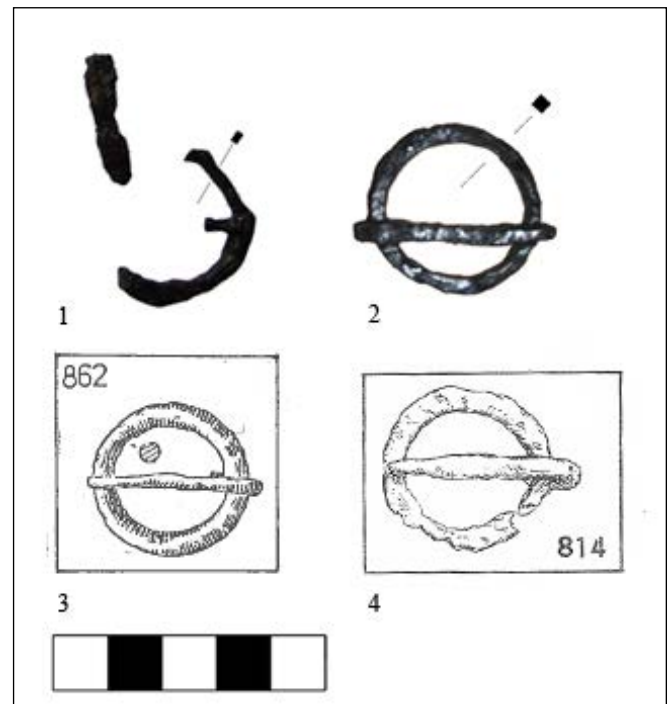


Fig. 32. Round, iron buckles.

1-2: Kána, K/1783, K/182, 3: Ducové, 4: Krásno

appear in twelfth and thirteenth century churchyard burials in Szentgyörgy-Kismacs,<sup>267</sup> Ducové (Fig. 28/3),<sup>268</sup> and Krásno (Fig. 28/4).<sup>269</sup>

The two remaining pieces found in situ both have folded sheet plates containing rough textile fragments. The frames, and their quality, however differ. One is of high quality (Fig.

<sup>254</sup> Gábor Hatházi, *A Kunok régészeti emlékei a Kelet-Dunántúlon*, Opuscula Hungarica 5 (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2004), p. 107.

<sup>255</sup> Ilse Fingerlin, *Gürtel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*. (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1971), p. 58.

<sup>256</sup> Grave 104 in Krupica, 'Stredoveké Krásno', p. 302.

<sup>257</sup> Graves 70 and 238 in Selmecezi, *A négyszállási*, pp. 25, 50.

<sup>258</sup> Graves 983/72 and 89/75 in Ruttkay, 'Prvky gotickej', p. 363.

<sup>259</sup> Grave 104 in Krupica, 'Stredoveké Krásno', p. 302.

<sup>260</sup> Horváth, 'Szer', pp. 353-355.

<sup>261</sup> Ruttkay, 'Archeologický výskum', p. 18.

<sup>262</sup> Viktor Récesey, 'Római castrum Tokodon és újabb régészeti leletek Esztergom- és Hontmegyében' [Roman castrum in Tokod and new archaeological finds from Esztergom and Hont county], *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 14 (1894): 65-70 (pp. 69-70).

<sup>263</sup> Révész, 'Líra alakú csatok', pp. 526-527.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 530-537.

<sup>265</sup> Mária Wolf, 'Nielló díszes bronz csat Edelény-Borsodról' [A buckle decorated with niello from Edelény-Borsod], *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 43 (2004): 139-161 (pp. 149-152).

<sup>266</sup> Graves 29 and 257 in Ibolya M. Nepper, *Hajdú-Bihar megye 10-11. századi sírleletei I* [Tenth and eleventh century grave finds of Hajdú-Bihar county] (Budapest-Debrecen: Déri Múzeum, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2002), pp. 301, 349.

<sup>267</sup> Ibolya M. Nepper and György Módy, 'Szentgyörgy (Kismacs) Árpád-kori templomának feltárása – A falu a XIII-XIV. Századba' [The excavation of the church of Szentgyörgy (Kismacs) – The village in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries], *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* 1983-84 (1985), 91-130 (p. 103).

<sup>268</sup> Graves 862 and 241 in Ruttkay, 'Mittelalterlicher Friedhof', pp. 400, 402. The first piece is dated to the second half of the twelfth century, the second to the second half of the thirteenth.

<sup>269</sup> Graves 276, 814, 1140, 1343, and 1417 in Krupica, 'Stredoveké Krásno', pp. 308, 320, 323, 325.

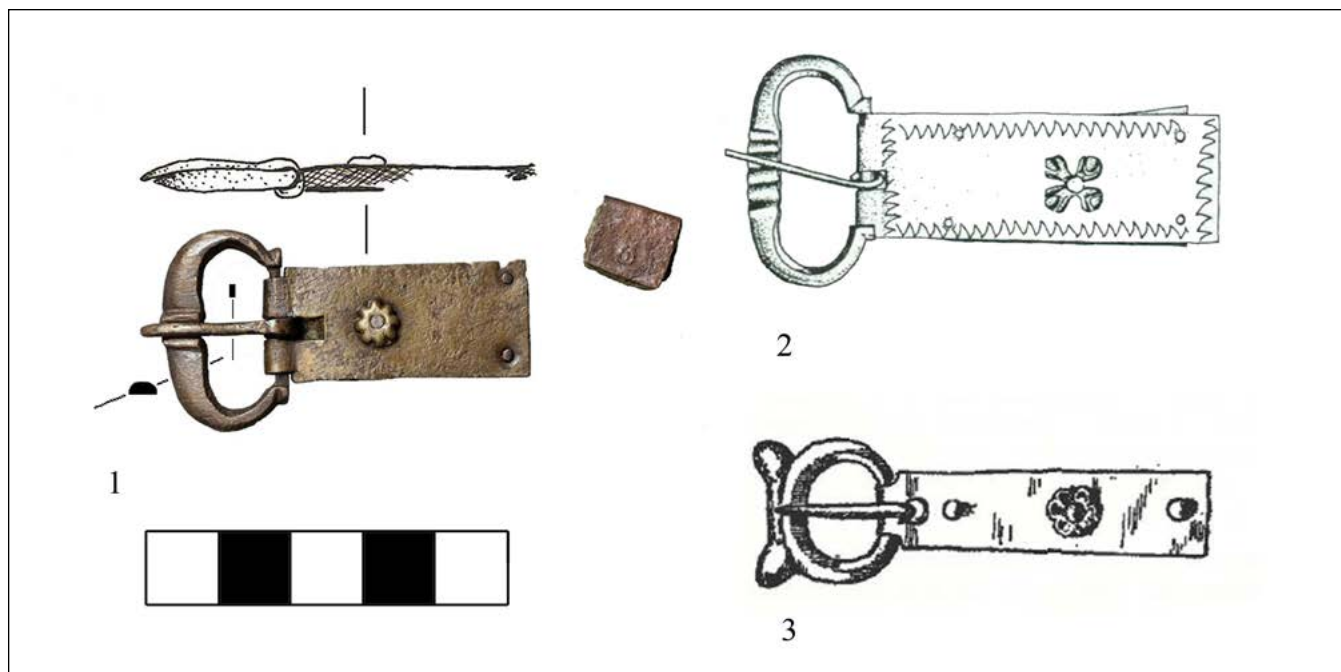


Fig. 33. Belt buckles decorated with flower applications. 1: Kána, K/94, 2: Nitra-Dražovce, 3: Egisheim

29/1) and requires further comment. It is made of copper alloy, and has a nicely cast D-shaped buckle frame and a rectangular plain sheet plate (decorated only with a small flower design at the rivet that connected the sheet plates together). D-shaped buckles rarely appear in hoards (only one was found in a Mongol invasion hoard),<sup>270</sup> and are subsequently usually given a post-fourteenth century date.<sup>271</sup> Similarly, they are not frequently found in cemeteries and, when they are found, the absence of analysed cemeteries makes their dating uncertain. Fortunately, the Fuchsenhof hoard contains one – only one – belt buckle of a similar type (a D-shaped frame with folded sheet plates) but made of silver. This was the first proof for dating such buckles to the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>272</sup>

The flower decoration is also rare and, likewise, requires comment. A distant parallel is a belt buckle from Nitra-Dražovce (Fig. 29/2), which has a slightly more ornate oval frame and a somewhat narrower buckle plate, dated to the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>273</sup> Another comparable find is the artefact, made of silver with an oval frame (with a grooved notch in the middle for the pin), found in the Esztergom-Szentkirályi földek hoard (Fig. 30)<sup>274</sup> that is connected to the Mongol invasion. This suggests the decoration appeared earlier than commonly assumed. A belt buckle of a different type (with an oval frame with two significant knobs and a very narrow sheet plate, more similar to the one found at Dražovce), found at Egisheim (Fig. 29/3),

has an applied flower decoration in the same place as the Kána example. First interpreted as Roman, various visual evidence and comparable finds from hoards revealed that this object dated from much later – from the second half of the thirteenth to the fourteenth century.<sup>275</sup> A fragmented buckle plate from London of the same type, albeit with a sexfoil mount design applied at the middle rivet,<sup>276</sup> shows that variations in buckle plate decoration were widespread.

The last belt buckle found in Kána's graveyard also has an oval frame with small knobs on the outer edges (Fig. 27/4). Despite the gilding of this copper alloy artefact, the workmanship is rather rough. The lack of quality is of little concern, for the piece is important in establishing the chronology of decorated belts. The folded-sheet plate was decorated with swirling motifs made by punched dots around the rectangular iron rivets. Both the vulnerable plate and the frame of the buckle are worn. Given this condition, it is unlikely that the piece originally belonged to the fourteen or fifteen year-old girl in whose grave it was found.<sup>277</sup> The burial dates to the last phase of the cemetery, around the end of the thirteenth century. Along with the buckle, a copper alloy sexfoil mount and a rivet with a circular collar were interred. The rough belt buckle has no exact parallel. The date of the grave does however match the date of diverse variants of this buckle type (dated from mid-thirteenth century).<sup>278</sup> The sexfoil mount has no parallels from the thirteenth century, and is generally assumed to be typical for the fourteenth and fifteenth century.<sup>279</sup> At Krásno however such a type is dated from the second half of the thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>280</sup> Fingerlin dated them to the mid-fourteenth century, noting that rosettes are often

<sup>270</sup> The hoard being Esztergom-Szentkirályi földek; see: Récsey, 'Római castrum', pp. 69-70. As a functional dress accessory, belts, or, rather, belt buckles, need to be long lasting. As a consequence, silver is not an appropriate material (particularly for the pin of the buckle). Their probable use even in times of crisis, and their lack of economic value, may explain their absence in hoards.

<sup>271</sup> Krabath, 'Die metallenen', p. 259.

<sup>272</sup> Krabath, 'Die metallenen', p. 259. See also Stefan Krabath and Birgit Bühler, 'Katalog der nichtmonetären Objekte' in *Der Schatzfund von Fuchsenhof* ed. Bernhard Prokisch and Thomas Kühtreiber (Linz: Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, 2004), 426-734 (p. 540).

<sup>273</sup> Ruttkay, 'Archeologický výskum', p. 18.

<sup>274</sup> Récsey, 'Római castrum', pp. 69-70.

<sup>275</sup> Fingerlin, *Gürtel*, pp. 75-77.

<sup>276</sup> Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, p. 113.

<sup>277</sup> An exception would be if she had worn it since her early childhood.

<sup>278</sup> Fingerlin, *Gürtel*, p. 77.

<sup>279</sup> Ferenc Horváth, "Csengele középkori temploma" [The medieval church of Csengele], *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve* 66 (1976): 91-126 (p. 112).

<sup>280</sup> Krupica, 'Stredoveké Krásno', p. 294.



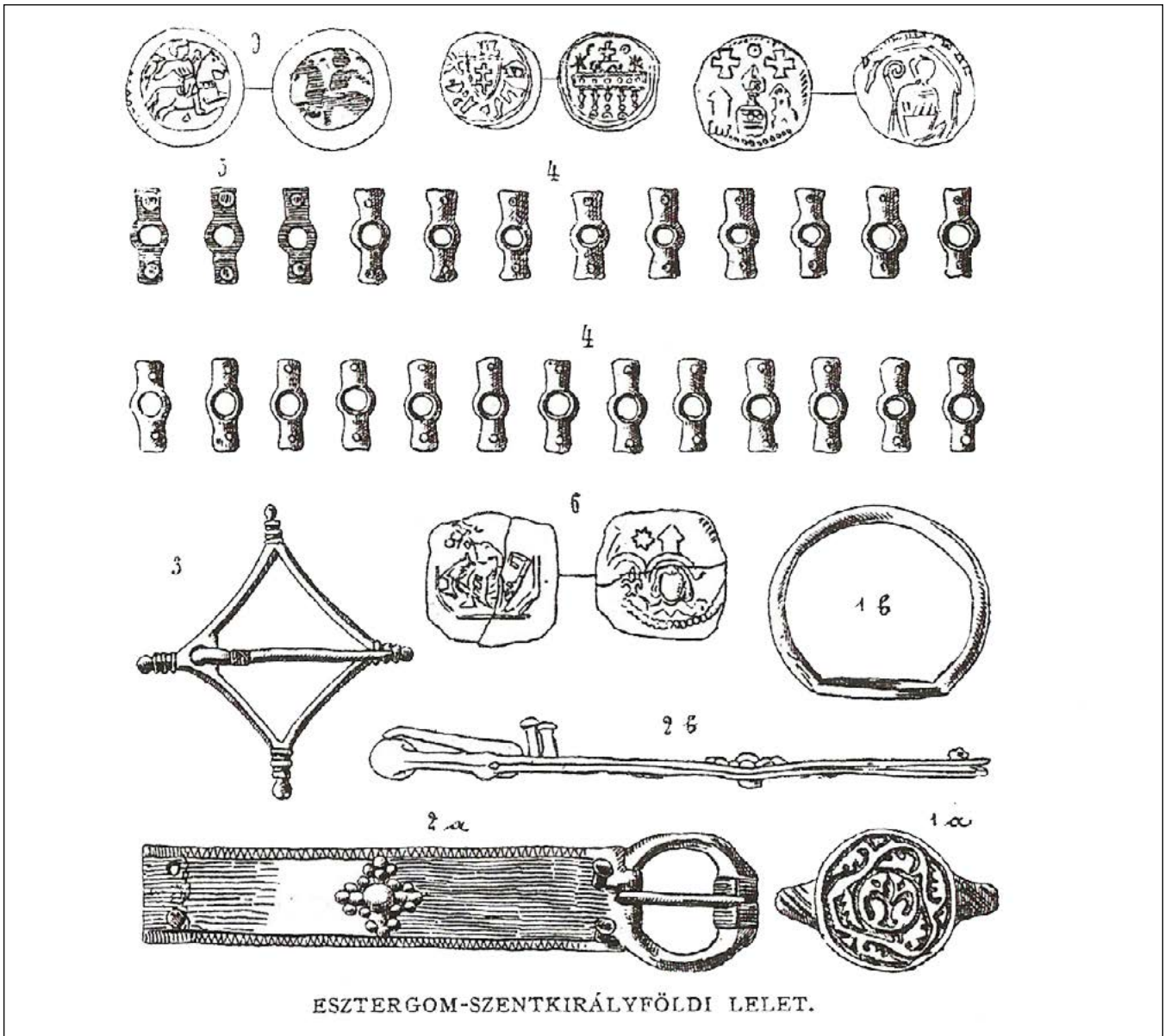


Fig. 34. The hoard of Esztergom-Szentkirályi földek.  
Récsey, 'Római castrum' p. 69.

mounted singularly on a belt (mass appearances being rare).<sup>281</sup> Sheet copper alloy mounts, however, already appear in early thirteenth-century deposits in England.<sup>282</sup> The Kána belt buckle is important in clarifying this issue. Though it has just one mount, the piece is important because it can be considered one of the first such decorated belts discovered in a grave. Along with the Fuchsenhof hoard – which, in addition to containing a buckle, included some small vertical mounts (shaped as lilies) and three sexfoils crafted in a variety of ways interpreted as belt fittings – the find at Kána supports a new date of the end of the thirteenth century for the appearance of such decorated belts.<sup>283</sup>

This earlier date for decorated belts is supported by other finds. In addition to a buckle (and other jewellery), the Esztergom-Szentkirályi földék hoard contained twenty-five small propeller-shaped mounts made of silver. Though András Pálóczi-Horváth corrected the mistake,<sup>284</sup> these objects have continued to be interpreted as a necklace.<sup>285</sup> Recently, Ágnes Ritoók has suggested this find, and the rosette-decorated belt buckle from Kána, were most likely to be early examples of decorated belts already in use from the first half of the thirteenth century.<sup>286</sup> Though the find from Esztergom supports this interpretation, it must be noted that such belts are absent from graves of the thirteenth century. It should also be noted that the Kána example Ritoók includes (Fig. 29/1) is not the artefact most likely to be such a belt: that is the roughly made one with little knobs on the buckle

<sup>281</sup> Fingerlin, *Gürtel*, p. 90.

<sup>282</sup> Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, p. 162.

<sup>283</sup> Krabath, 'Die metallenen', pp. 259-261. See also Krabath and Bühler, 'Katalog', pp. 541-557. For a comparative study on the appearance of decorated belts in diverse context see: Kármén Anita Baráth, 'Archaeological and Pictorial Evidence for the Belt in Late Medieval Hungary' in *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU 21* ed. Katalin Szende and Judith Rasson (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2015), pp. 64-84.

<sup>284</sup> András Pálóczi-Horváth, 'A felszentkirályi kun sírlelet' [The Cuman grave of Felszentkirály], *Cumania 1* (1972): 177-204 (p. 197).

<sup>285</sup> Récsey, 'Római castrum', pp. 69-70. It is still labelled a necklace in Tóth, 'A tatárjárás kincsleletei', pp. 82-83

<sup>286</sup> Ritoók, 'A templom körüli temetők régészeti kutatása', pp. 475-476.

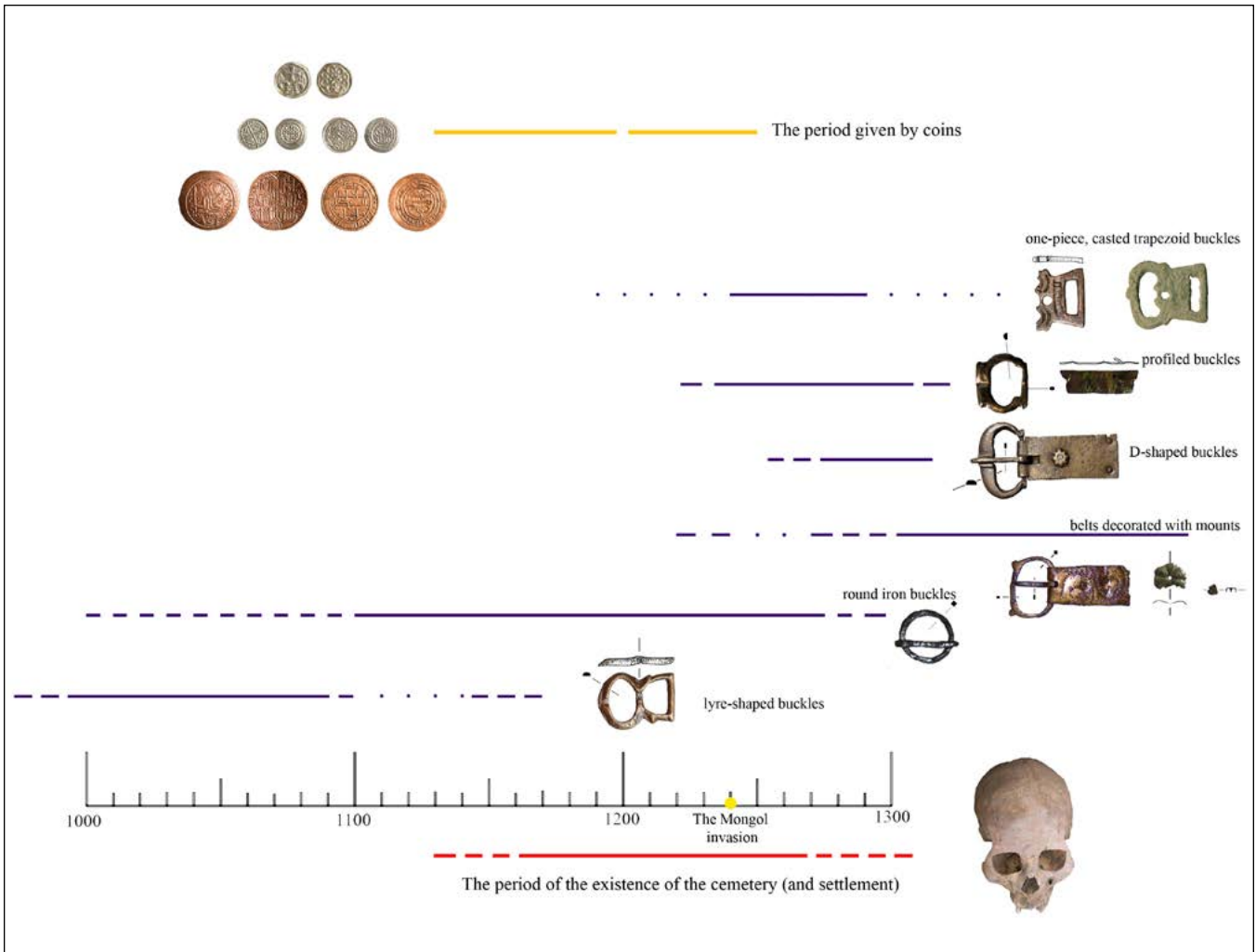


Fig. 35. The occurrence of buckles in graves, hoards and settlement features

and a sexfoil (Fig. 27/4). However, both of these potential examples of an early decorated belt at Kána cannot be dated later than the end of the thirteenth century. A conditional date, to the first half of the thirteenth century, has been given to a stray find: a comparable copper alloy belt from the churchyard cemetery at Nagykőrös-Ludas. This D-shaped buckle, with folded sheet plates decorated with a figure of a horseman, has a belt decorated with a simple narrow stick-like rectangular shaped mount.<sup>287</sup> The dichotomy - between the use of the decorated belts in the mid-thirteenth century and their appearance in graves near the end of the thirteenth century - can probably be explained by changes in burial customs around this era.

This study of belt buckles has shown that contrary to previous understanding, in the first half of the thirteenth century, a diverse array of buckles – including decorated belts – was probably in fashion. Such items, however, do not appear until much later in graves. This raises new questions. The value of the object may be important: taking an example from an urban context, the Esztergom piece is made from

silver, while equivalent later pieces from fourteenth and fifteenth century rural cemeteries (and ones like Kána) are usually made of copper alloy. Given the latter are also typically simpler in style, this poses the question whether the belts were connected to the elite and were copied by the commoners, and also asks how long it took for the fashion to disseminate. The decorated buckle from Nagykőrös-Ludas, clearly belonging to a person from a lower social class, found in a context that proves that it was being worn, suggests that it possibly did not spread from the elite. This level of complex questioning is in stark contrast to the typically superficial judgments concerning fashion and social class. The dichotomy between date of use and the date of an object's appearance in a burial raises deeper questions about burial customs. Assumptions about fashion in how the deceased were dressed overlook features such as shrouds: this type of characterless garb would possibly permit wearing of jewellery, but not necessarily the eternal donning of a belt. The appearance of belts, with or without mounts, in graves at the end of the thirteenth century therefore is not simply a change in fashion, but rather a cultural shift in the treatment of the dead. Since all types of buckle, with the exception of the lyre-shaped variant and the iron types, are dated to the thirteenth century, the absence of belt equipment from the twelfth century graves in Kána posits the question of what can be said about the earlier buckles.

<sup>287</sup> László Simon, 'Egy 13. századi bronzcsat Nagykőrös-Ludasról' [A 13<sup>th</sup> century bronze buckle from Nagykőrös-Ludas] *'Carmen miserabile'. A tatárjárás magyarországi emlékei* ['Carmen miserabile'. The Remains of the Mongol Invasion in Hungary], ed. Szabolcs Rosta and György V. Székely, (Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014), 295-312 (pp. 297-298, 302).

Mounts

Besides graves, mounts – a term that describes a variety of studs and fittings, typically decorative, attached usually by rivets to textiles and leather – were found in the area of the settlement.<sup>288</sup> The context in which these artefacts were found does not remove all doubt from possible identification: the pieces may have decorated a belt, some parts of dress, or, in some cases, been a completely different object. Since there is the possibility that these pieces could have been used as dress accessories, discussion is required. The depiction of a monarch on one of these items leads to questions about the role and meaning of such image and such an object in a medieval community like Kána.

Two finds at Kána, without decoration, made of copper alloy sheet, have holes for rivets in the corners. One has a rectangular shape, the other a shield form (Fig. 36/4). Because of its simplicity and the context in which it was found (a shallow pit with no other object to assist dating), the first provides little information regarding mounts as a dress or belt accessory for the period. Though a stray find, discovered during a search of the spoil bank of various features of the settlement, the second shield-shaped artefact can be understood with a comparative object. A more sophisticated belt, found in grave of a Cuman noble at Felsőszentkirály, shares both the shield-like design and the date as the Kána piece. Both are dated to the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>289</sup> It should be noted that the Felsőszentkirály object represents a different part of medieval Hungarian society to that of Kána.<sup>290</sup>

A small rosette mount (Fig. 36/3), with a domed centre and lobes with a hold for a rivet, was also found by a metal detector search of the spoil bank. This find has an exact parallel with an embossing plate that was dated to the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>291</sup> Another parallel suggests a different possible use: a piece of leather, found in London, with a lobed edge with each lobe decorated by such a mount.<sup>292</sup> The Kána example may also date from the early fourteenth century, but given the dating of the sexfoil from the belt in the cemetery, it seems more likely that such an object can also be dated earlier to the second half to the end of the thirteenth century.

An oven in a sunken house at Kána held one of the most vivid finds. The object found was a small (21.6 mm in diameter) mount made from a 0.25mm thin copper alloy sheet, slightly damaged but with the original shape still visible (Fig. 36/2). This almost-circular mount featured what appears to be a quatrefoil bordering a depiction of a man sitting on a throne holding an orb in his left hand and, not quite visible, probably a sceptre in the other. Though the presentation of the monarch's drapery is detailed, the portrayal as a whole is very schematic. Comparisons to contemporary seals are illuminating. Owing to the inclusion of a border, the sceptre of the Kána monarch is not depicted in its entirety in comparison to the depictions in the seals. The Kána portrayal is also an inversion of what



Fig. 36. Mounts from Kána. 1: K/312, 2: K/467, 3: K/2523

appears on seals. The image therefore matches with a print of such a seal.<sup>293</sup>

There is though a more clear parallel to the Kána find held in a private collection: the only known comparable mount (Fig. 36/1).<sup>294</sup> Other than it being discovered in the nineteenth century somewhere in the region between Oradea and Timișoara, little is known about its original context. In addition to being of a similar size (22.3 mm), the piece is shares many features with the Kána example: a quatrefoil frame, an accurate detailed depiction of a king wearing a crown, sitting on a throne, holding an orb in his right hand, and rivet holes on the edge of the top and bottom lobes.

<sup>288</sup> For a more detailed explanation of mounts, see Egan-Prithard, *Dress Accessories*, p. 162.

<sup>289</sup> Pálóczi-Horváth, 'A felsőszentkirályi', p. 201.

<sup>290</sup> In addition, the Cuman context may have given the object, western and courtly in appearance, a different meaning than what the community of Kána had for their comparative object.

<sup>291</sup> Zsuzsa Lovag, *Mittelalterliche Bronzegegenstände des Ungarischen Nationalmuseums*, (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1999), pp. 102, 238 (no. 280).

<sup>292</sup> Egan and Prithard, *Dress Accessories*, pp. 192-193.

<sup>293</sup> On the depictions of kings on seals see Géza Érszegi ed., *Sigilla Regum – Reges Sigillorum. Királyportrék a Magyar Országos Levéltár pecsétgyűjteményéből* [Portraits of kings from the seal collection of the Hungarian National Archive] (Budapest: Magyar Képek, 2001).

<sup>294</sup> The object is part of the J.G. Kiss Collection. Thanks are due Dr. József Géza Kiss for both allowing study of the find and permitting publication.



The comparative piece is of better quality, is much thicker (0.9 mm), and, consequently, is larger than the than the Kána mount. Kána's king has both arms raised; the piece in private hands had only the right hand lifted, the other resting on his lap holding a faint depiction of a sceptre.

The similarities between the two pieces pose many questions. The context of Kána, and the quatrefoil frame, dates the pieces to the thirteenth century. The seemingly imitative connection with official representations of kings with their insignia (as visible on royal seals) suggests that these were not mere decorative pieces, but an indication of royal authority. Though the piece from Kána, with its less distinct image and its reflected depiction of the monarch (in comparison to the other piece and the seals), may have been less official – or an imitation – than the comparative example, the shared features – even the construction of the frame – implies that this depiction was connected to a meaning, an action, or a group.

To understand the possible functions of such an item, an examination of different depictions of rulers in various contexts is required. Contemporary royal portraits appear in a few specific items: coins, seal rings, and seals (royal, citation, and, infrequently, ecclesiastical). Citation seals are somewhat related to the aforementioned royal seals. Though belonging to the seneschal or the king, citation seals were used in the High Middle Ages for summons – not as actual seals, but rather, judging by the hook on their top and their worn or plain back – as badges hung on the chest of the summoners. Known from law codes dating from the eleventh century, five of them survive. Three are royal, with two depictions of the monarch in a position to the Kána mount, one ecclesiastical (depicting St. Michael), and one, a stray find, belonging to a judge bearing the inscription *Sigillum Lazari Iudicis*.<sup>295</sup> Though belonging to the seneschal or the king, citation seals were used in the High Middle Ages for summons – not as actual seals, but rather, judging by the hook on their top and their worn or plain back – as badges hung on the chest of the summoners. A plausible explanation of the mounts would be that they could have acted as badges for the summoners. However, no unambiguous data supports this theory. Such symbolism regarding the king also appears on seals of ecclesiastical foundations. The monarch represented in pieces from the cathedral chapter of Zagreb (1323, 1371, and one dated more broadly to the twelfth to

thirteenth century) and from the Hospitaller Convention of Esztergom-Szentkirály (dated to 1242-1245) is the canonised King Stephen of Hungary. In each case, the ruler, the patron saint of the institution, is depicted on his throne with the royal insignia.<sup>296</sup> This though may be more an indication of his saintly attributes (or an assertion of the institution's royal foundation) rather than a statement of kingship. The potential religious overtones of such an image raises the possibility such mounts were a kind of pilgrim badge, but this is unlikely.<sup>297</sup> A more frequent depiction of a monarch, and one that would have been more familiar to the population of Kána than such seals, are coins. Probably under the influence of Friesach-type coins, a change in Hungarian coinage can be observed in the thirteenth century with the inclusion of royal portraits and insignia.<sup>298</sup> Given that the Hungarian monarch had the exclusive right to mint coins, no detailed explanation is required for how such coins served to propagate royal power.

Given the variety of cases where such a depiction was used to emphasise the authority of royal power, the most plausible explanation for mounts with such depictions is that they were somehow connected to this rather than merely a fashionable decoration. Though complex, the imitative aspect to the Kána piece is possible testament to the sway of such an image. Though the use of such an object for summoning seems the most likely, the exact role cannot yet be determined.

#### A Pectoral Cross

A pectoral cross is not a usual find in a late Arpad era churchyard cemetery. In Kána, a well-worn small Greek cross (Fig. 32), made of antler, decorated on the front with three circle-and-dot decorations (one on each side of the crossbar, and one in the middle), was found in a disturbed grave of an infant. The unusual artefact lay on the child's chest along with a rubbed piece of bronze (presumably once a Roman coin).

The grave was discovered next to the northern wall of the nave, and likely belonged to the earliest phase of the cemetery. This fact, allied with the likelihood such an object is an heirloom similar to the rings decorated with crosses described earlier, explains the slightly late occurrence of such an artefact. The author of the first major synthesis on pectoral crosses, Zsuzsa Lovag, suggested a date of the first half to the end of the eleventh century for the more common – but still rare – bronze pectoral crosses. In the same work, Lovag identified an exception from the beginning of the twelfth century.<sup>299</sup> A recent chronology of simple cast or metal sheet pectoral crosses extended this date to accommodate early

<sup>295</sup> Four are royal seals: two of Andrew I (1046-1060), depicting the king in a similar position, one belonged to Béla II or III (1131-1141 or 1172-1196), depicting the *Agnus Dei*. One, unfortunately now lost but suitably described, was of Solomon (1063-1074). Zsuzsa Lovag, 'I. András idézőbillójának második példánya' [The Second Exemplar of the Citation Seal of Andrew I] *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 117 (1990): 189-201 (pp. 196-197). See also György Györffy, 'Adalbert király idézőpecsétje' [The Citation Seal of Adalbert], *Tanulmányok Borsa Iván tiszteletére*, ed. Enikő Csukovits. (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1998), pp. 77-80; András Kubinyi, 'Isten bányát ábrázoló törvénybeidézõ pecsét (billóg)' [Citation Seal Depicting the Paschal Lamb] *Folia archaeologica* 35 (1984): 139-159; István Paszternák, 'Régészeti adatok Salamon magyar király szentesi idézőpecsétje hitelességének kérdéséhez' [Archaeological Data on the Authoritativeness of the Citation Seal from Szentes of King Solomon of Hungary] *Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve* 4 (1998): 237-252; Bernát L. Kumorovitz, *A magyar pecséthasználat története a középkorban*. [The Medieval History of the Use of Seals in Hungary] (Budapest: privately printed, 1993), pp. 16-19; Mária Wolf, 'Abaújvár' [Abaújvár] in *Europas Mite um 1000. Studienband zur Ausstellung*, ed. Alfred Wiczorek and Hans-Martin Hinz, (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2001), pp. 588-589. This section is indebted to Zsolt Hunyadi, who knowledgeably elucidated the problematic evidence of citation seals and summoners.

<sup>296</sup> Imre Takács, *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei* [The Medieval Seals of Hungarian Chapters and Conventions] (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Intézet, 1992), pp. 60, 98-99.

<sup>297</sup> Two aspects of the mounts reject such a reading. The first is that the artefacts are made of copper alloy. Pilgrim badges are typically made of lead. Secondly, as noted, the image from Kána was copied from an actual item. For a pilgrim badge – an object reliant on being a visible sign of proof – such an act of imitation, whether it be for admiration or for fraudulent purposes, would make little sense.

<sup>298</sup> Csaba Tóth and János B. Szabó, 'Insignumok a magyar és erdélyi pénzekben' [Insignia on Hungarian and Transylvanian coins], *Numizmatika és a társtudományok III* [Numismatics and the Auxillary Sciences III], ed. Péter Németh, Attila Ulrich and Sarolta Lakatos (Nyíregyháza: Josa András Múzeum, 1999), pp. 213-220.

<sup>299</sup> Zsuzsa Lovag, 'Bronzene Pektoralkreuze aus der Arpadenzeit', *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1980): 363-372 (pp. 371-372).

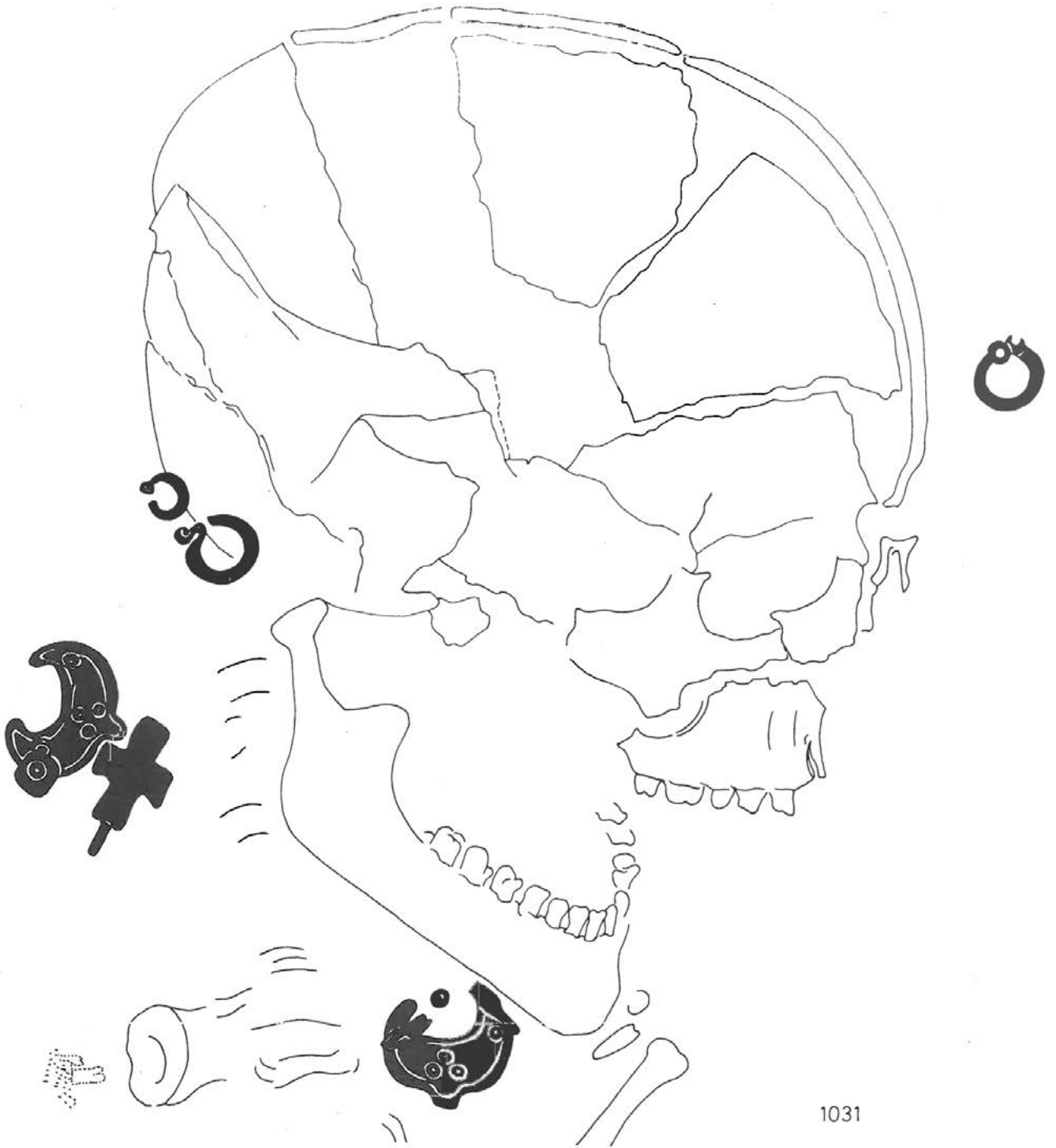


Fig. 37. An example for the use of pectoral crosses as part of a necklace in the 10-11th centuries, from Majs. Kiss, Baranya megye, p. 144.





Fig. 38. Pectoral cross from Kána, K/1725

examples appearing in graves in the mid-tenth century, and late pieces being present in burials dating to the start of the twelfth.<sup>300</sup> With this noted, it is not surprising that the closest parallels of the Kána example are those belonging to the earlier period.

Though the form of the Kána piece is common for pectoral crosses of the tenth to twelfth centuries, the decoration is rare. Researchers have assumed that pieces with this type of decoration, representing one of the earliest types of pectoral cross, imitate the more sophisticated pieces with inlaid gemstones.<sup>301</sup> Péter Langó and Attila Türk, examining pectoral crosses in the southeast regions, recorded three pieces decorated in this manner: Tiszakeszi-Szóda domb, Vatyá and Szob-Kiserdő. Only the last one was dated precisely, with the aid of a coin, to the second half of the tenth century.<sup>302</sup> None of the pieces with this decoration however have similar shapes. Given that this decoration spread far in space and time, such a design may not indicate an early date or a connection with the southeast.

The context of the Kána piece however matches a uniform pattern. Langó and Türk noted that in most cases pectoral crosses have been discovered in children's graves.<sup>303</sup> The religious belief of the community however varied. Some graves revealed pagan rites (with the pectoral cross included, most likely, as an amulet),<sup>304</sup> others Christian, and some a mixture of the two. The trauma of a child's death may have been an influence in the continuation of an earlier fashion for a need to visualise Christianity. This reading however has to be somewhat revised to accommodate a later appearance of such artefacts owing to reuse of the objects by new ethnic groups in thirteenth-century Hungary. In addition to contemporary styles of reliquaries, in the Jazygian cemetery of Négyszállás are simple bronze and iron crosses in thirteenth-century graves. Also noticeable was the high percentage of rings decorated with crosses. These features have been interpreted as a society, having recently converted to Christianity, asserting its new beliefs.<sup>305</sup> This is comparable to the earlier Conquest period graves, in which

one had both a simple iron cross with an *ongon* (a shamanistic amulet). This mixing of two beliefs may indicate a hedging of bets, or, more likely, an appreciation and appropriation of the totemic power of the recently witnessed foreign religion. As such, a diverse array of amulets can be found in Cuman and Jazygian graves.<sup>306</sup>

The interring of a pectoral cross along with a (probable) Roman coin is earlier another burial tradition that the grave at Kána seems to adhere. The pectoral cross, given its worn condition, likely to date from the second half of the eleventh century, was buried in a Christian cemetery at a time when the religion was already widespread. A comparable pectoral cross, buried with a Roman coin, was found in a field cemetery at Ikervár, dated to the second half of the eleventh century.<sup>307</sup> At the same site, another Roman coin was found with necklace beads, dated to the end of the tenth to the first half of the eleventh century.<sup>308</sup> Excluding the Cuman and Jazygian pieces, the Kána example is one of the latest examples of such an artefact in a cemetery. Consequently, the pectoral cross and Roman coin found at Kána is – like the lyre-shaped buckle – a remnant of a previous era.<sup>309</sup>

A final point should be made about pectoral crosses, both generally and in relation to the Kána example. In many cases, these crosses were part of a necklace usually made of beads.<sup>310</sup> In Kána, only one single blue glass paste spherical shaped bead was discovered. It was found in a grave dated to the fourth phase of the cemetery in the grave of an elderly woman. Date wise, the grave is datable from the twelfth to the beginning of the thirteenth century. Such glass paste beads, though, have been dated to the second half of the eleventh century.<sup>311</sup> This difference, between date of the object and date of the grave, corresponds not only with the occurrence of the pectoral crosses, but also with the problematic simplification of dating graves by their goods and vice versa.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid, pp. 29, 87-88.

<sup>307</sup> Langó and Türk, 'Honfoglaláskori sírok', p. 389.

<sup>308</sup> Zsolt Petkes, 'Sárszentágota kora Árpád-kori temetője' [The Early Arpadian Age Cemetery of Sárszentágota], in *A honfoglalás kor kutatásának legújabb eredményei* [The Latest Results of the Research of the Conquest Period], ed. László Révész and Mária Wolf (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régészeti Tanszék, 2013), 275-298 (pp. 210, 214).

<sup>309</sup> This statement refers to simple pectoral crosses, not to the later reliquary Kievan types. For example, while Hungarian pectoral crosses in Bohemia mainly date to the tenth and eleventh centuries, Kateřina Horníčková has shown that in twelfth and thirteenth centuries, local production in this area continued to produce reliquary pectoral crosses. See her 'Between East and West: Bohemian Reliquary Pectoral Crosses as Testimony to Religious and Cultural Exchange', in *Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe: Archaeological and Historical Evidence*, ed. Salamon, M. Wołoszyn, A. Musin, P. Špechar, M. Hardt, M. P. Kruk, A. Sulikowska-Gąska (Kraków et al: Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas and others, 2012), pp. 157-171.

<sup>310</sup> Langó and Türk, 'Honfoglaláskori sírok', p. 387, footnote 136. A pectoral cross, together with beads and shells, was found in grave 60 in Szob-Kiserdő. The burial is not likely to have been Christian. See Kornél Bakay, *Honfoglalás- és Államalapításkori temetők az Ipoly mentén* [Cemeteries along the Ipoly River from the Conquest period and the age of the foundation of the state] (Szentendre: Pest Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1978), pp. 132-133. In a graveyard at Majs-Udvari rétek, a similar piece was found in a similar context, with lunulas (crescent shaped pendants), see Attila Kiss, *Baranya megye X-XI. századi sírleletei* [The Tenth-Eleventh century grave-goods of Baranya County]. (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1983), pp. 143-144.

<sup>311</sup> Szőke and Vándor, *Pusztaszentlászló*, p. 63. For the typochronology of beads, see Katalin Szilágyi, 'Perltypen aus dem X-XII. Jahrhundert in Ungarn und ihre archäologische Bedeutung' *Památky Archeologické* 85 (1994): 75-110.

<sup>300</sup> Langó and Türk, 'Honfoglaláskori sírok', p. 397.

<sup>301</sup> Lovag, 'Bronzene Pektoralkreuze', p. 371.

<sup>302</sup> Langó and Türk, 'Honfoglaláskori sírok', pp. 391-392.

<sup>303</sup> Langó and Türk, 'Honfoglaláskori sírok', p. 397.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid, pp. 398-400.

<sup>305</sup> Selmeczi, *A négyszállási*, pp. 83, 91.

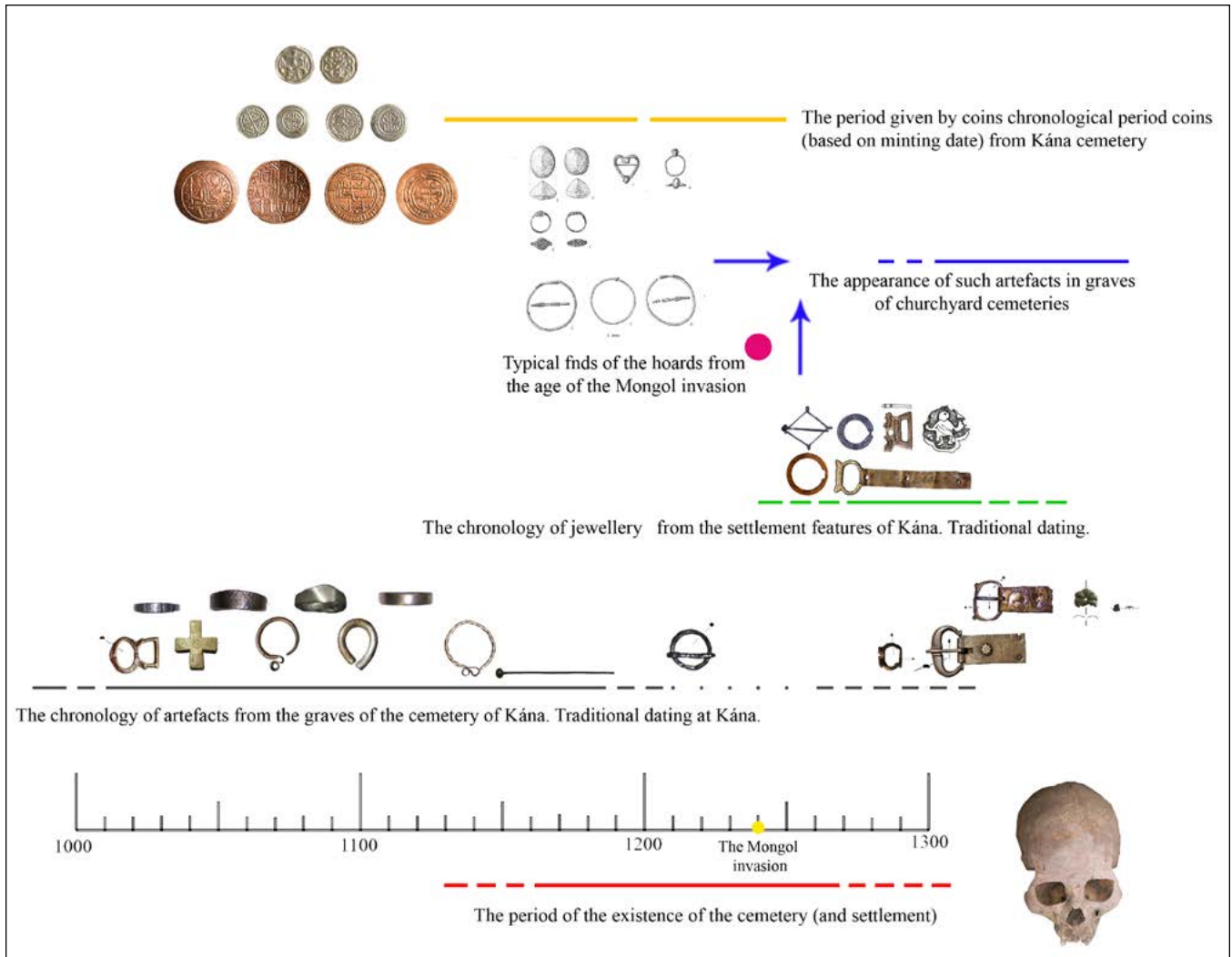


Fig. 39. The comparative chronology of the artefacts.

### Conclusion

This chapter has shown how following received wisdom about individual finds can be misleading in terms of dating, while careful attention can reveal the nuances of the site. The finds from the excavation at Kána, which included both the entire cemetery and the whole village, show how uncovered dress accessories and jewellery – which are typically few in archaeological digs – can result in a misconstruction of the chronology of the site. The findings reiterate the importance of being cautious in dating the founding or the end of a church and churchyard on a small collection of objects.

The evidence collected at Kána also raises concerns about the history of fashion. Dating a grave by its contents, and vice-versa in a circular argument, provides a false sense of certainty. Each object had a ‘life’ – it was made when it was fashionable, and possibly was continued to be used after this date. Though the two time-spans, fashion and use, overlap, dating a site solely on the former neglects to take into account the length of the latter. Objects can be stored, reused, or, by contrast, immediately deposited. To draw clearer conclusions, and to clarify the chronology, archaeologists require sequences of such data to be more precise. A brief recap of the types of finds at Kána will reiterate the chronological issues the excavation revealed.

Because of the popularity and range of types of lock rings, their chronology is complicated. Comparative analysis of this accessory shows in some cases a fifty, or even a hundred, year gap can be noted between the typical dating of a type and its last appearance. Furthermore, questions arise concerning the relationship between hoards and cemeteries regarding fashion. Hoards from the time of the Mongol invasion suggest that lock rings with flaring ends were the most fashionable type. Such lock rings, however, appear sporadically in graves – occurring mostly as well worn items in burials dated to the turn of the thirteenth century. This tendency was observed with the other types of lock ring that were analysed with the aim of providing more precise dating.

This custom, of interring a much older item with the deceased, is more drastic with regards to rings and brooches. Owing to their appearances in hoards, rings are regarded as fashionable for the period; they hardly, however, appear in contemporary graves. The excavation at Kána revealed the use of early Arpad era types as burial goods for this period. Early type rings appear in twelfth century graves, while no finger ring was discovered in the thirteenth century burials. This analysis of the cemetery findings has revealed this more nuanced burial characteristic. This is supported by the similar findings regarding brooches. Though not fashionable in the first two centuries of the Arpad era, brooches were popular

among all layers of society in the thirteenth century (as noted by their frequency in contemporary settlements and hoards). Such items however only appear regularly in graves from the fourteenth century.

Smaller clothing accessories support or go against this pattern. Buttons share the tendency. Though found in settlements of the period (and absent from the hoards), buttons should be dated from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards. Despite this, they are present in graves from the fourteenth century. In contrast, pins, which may have had the same function as buttons and brooches, are the anomaly. Unlike the other jewellery pieces that were fashionable in the middle of the Arpad era, the pins discovered at Kána appear to agree with the accepted chronology. However, being counter to the assumed view that pins are characteristic of the twelfth century – they may have been used continuously albeit in a different manner (i.e. as a hair pin or a bosom pin) – this analysis calls for a re-evaluation of the dating of these items in publications.

The chronology of belt buckles should be divided into three parts according to their type. Simple iron buckles are difficult to precisely date. Though rarely found, they are discovered in graves dating to all periods of the Arpad era. At Kána, all the graves that contained buckles provided the finds with a thirteenth century date. The lyre-shaped buckle follows the same tendency of late appearance in burials. The D-shaped buckles and those with oval frames with ornate outside edges (*Profilierte Schnallen*), in a similar fashion to brooches and buttons, appearing in a variety of forms, are from their appearance in settlements (and in a few cases in hoards) considered typical for the thirteenth century. Such items however appear sporadically in graves from the very end of the thirteenth century, becoming typical in the fourteenth century.

The clearest example of the tendency was the most unique find. The pectoral cross that was discovered at Kána should be regarded as one of the latest appearances (mid-twelfth century) of an earlier artefact (originally dated to the tenth or eleventh century) in a cemetery.

The weight of these findings prompts an examination of the frequent method of dating dress accessories and jewellery. Given that coins are not frequently found in twelfth and thirteenth century cemeteries, their use for dating is somewhat problematic. The finds at Kána presents a good example of how misplaced faith in this method can be. Only eleven coins were found in the one thousand and twenty nine graves. Six were coins from the reign of King Géza II (1141-1161), five were from the following kings up to Andrew II (1205-1235), with the remaining one coin being a foreign Friesach denarius. This would suggest that the cemetery was in use from the mid-twelfth century to around the time of Mongol invasion. This date range however does not provide accurate dates for several types of artefact: the pectoral cross, the lyre-shaped buckle, the bead, the pear-shaped thick lock ring, the lock ring with the diamond cross-section and a pointed end, and the finger rings are all earlier than the date range suggested by the coins.<sup>312</sup> The only artefacts that whose original date corresponds with the coins are the two pins and the lock rings with twisted wire. In short: most of the jewellery is not of the same age as the coins.

A clearer and more nuanced understanding of the cemetery is achievable by studying the chronology of the graves. Such a method would quickly reveal that something was amiss with the simple date of coin equals date of grave interpretation as two of the coins of Géza II (1141-1161) appeared in the first phase of graves and another featured in a burial from the last phase of the cemetery. While the finds of Kána followed the rule that no object appeared earlier than the phase that it should occur, the complex assessment of phases allowed the later usage of earlier artefacts to be noted.

Reasons for the phenomenon of early objects appearing in later graves are threefold. One refers to recent archaeologists, one to a reoccurring human trait, and the last is particular to the thirteenth century context. The first is owing to previous incorrect dating of artefacts to the fourteenth century, when such items had already appeared in graves of the first and second half of the thirteenth century. The second is that certain items could be considered heirlooms, and thus explain their appearance in periods much later than the eras in which they were in fashion. The third is the lack of jewellery in thirteenth century graves. This absence of objects of value, it should be noted, also includes coins.<sup>313</sup> The silver famine rife in their period may be a factor, though most of the contemporaneous artefacts that were not found in graves but rather outside the cemetery are made of copper alloy. More likely is that this absence reflects a change in burial customs. Many of the skeletons found in Kána were discovered in a position that indicated burial in a tight shroud. The appearance of belts, suggesting burial in clothes rather than a shroud, appeared in the last phase of the cemetery.

Medieval Hungarian cemeteries in modern day Slovakia present a somewhat different picture. Not only do the graves appear to have more objects interred with the burial, the date of the items more closely correspond with the date of the grave. This raises the question whether this reflects twelfth and thirteenth century regional differences in burial customs, or is owing to differences in the state of research. It should be noted that studies concerning churchyard cemeteries and jewellery in Slovakia regarding this period are the most advanced in the whole of the Carpathian basin. Scholars are assisted in their work by finding more coins in the grave, allowing more reliable dating.<sup>314</sup> In contrast, in Transylvania, the other side of medieval Hungary, this type of research was neglected and little data published until recently.<sup>315</sup> The complete excavation of the medieval settlement and graveyard of Kána has raised concerns about the accepted chronology and the assumed method of dealing with dress accessories and jewellery. More data, from more thorough excavations, would confirm if the findings of Kána were local or larger variations.

<sup>312</sup> By contrast, the belt buckles would traditionally be dated to a period long after the date range suggested by the coins.

<sup>313</sup> The reason for the two absences may differ: jewellery from the second half of the thirteenth century was found in the settlement, but not coins.

<sup>314</sup> This is in part owing to the work of Alexander Ruttkay, and, in the case of jewellery, Milan Hanuliak.

<sup>315</sup> Old and recent excavations, particularly those by Erwin Gáll, are now being published. Though Transylvania is still little known in scholarly research, a tendency to publish reports of churchyard cemeteries is emerging.



## CHAPTER THREE

### The Material Culture of Hoards: A Socio-Economic Interpretation

By analysing the contents and exploring their agency, hoards can provide information regarding social and economic issues. Hoards can support investigations into money and, to some extent, thesaurisation habits of different social groups. In the specific context of hoard horizons – such as the one connected to the Mongol invasion – there is the possibility to compare the size, content, and context of multiple find complexes, allowing a greater appreciation of the material culture in a moment of time.

Research into material culture has predominantly focused on the value of objects that were found to be associated with coins. These can vary from high quality jewellery, to iron tools that have frequently been overlooked by scholars. After summarising what is known about the social stratification of the rural population of medieval Hungary from written evidence, this chapter investigates in detail the material evidence for such divisions. By examining the frequency such objects appear in hoards, and by comparing this to their occurrence in settlements and burials, it is possible to connect material evidence from different types of archaeological sites to different social groups.

#### *The division of rural society visible in written sources*

During the first three centuries of Christian monarchy, the rural population of the Kingdom of Hungary underwent a complex series of transformations. Using charters, law books, and hagiographical literature from the early eleventh century, Hungarian historians have studied these changes. At first, the social division was simple: people were either free or were subject to an unfree status (that is, serfdom). In the last quarter of the eleventh century, serfdom was received a new category. This grouping, concerned with people who were free within certain conditions (*conditionarius*), appeared in connection with all varieties of property – ecclesiastical, royal, and secular – from the twelfth century.<sup>316</sup> The number of people remaining as serfs was relatively small.

The position of the *conditionarius* on the social stratum varied. Though the situation of the *conditionarius* was dependent on the type of property to which they were connected, even with these contexts they were not equal. Common characteristics of their servitude in regards to the property they were tied however existed. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, significant parts of landed estate belonged to the royal domains; subsequently, the majority of people in the *conditionarius* category lived on such properties. The most powerful of this group were allowed to possess property and receive a significant income, were permitted their own servants, and were sometimes able to free themselves from their servitude. People held in conditionally free status in

an ecclesiastical property (*familia ecclesiastica*) lived lives like those who lived on royal domains but with one major difference. Members of this variety were likewise grouped and subject to a hierarchy based what service they were required to do. Possession of farmland within the ecclesiastical property was a possibility. Unlike those connected to the royal estates, those affiliated with ecclesiastical properties were regarded as serving the religious patron (i.e. the saint to whom the church or monastery was dedicated) rather than an individual person. As a consequence, they could not be freed from their servitude. Those of the *conditionarius* who lived on secular lands fared the worse. They lived in common lodgings, had no plot of their own to plough, and had no special duties. Such people were used whenever and however they were needed.<sup>317</sup>

Since the Hungarian monarchs developed the habit of giving away large segments of the royal estates in to secure support, the system that was typical for eleventh and twelfth centuries became greatly weakened by the turn of the twelfth. The change was greatly accelerated by the Mongol invasion, which resulted in the abandoning of many of these domains. This was the second major period of change in rural society. Commoners either became part of an emerging section of the nobility, or part of the tenant peasantry that was developing.<sup>318</sup> A growth in the number of notable people who were free but not noble created tension with the established lesser nobility who had been prominent in rural society.<sup>319</sup>

#### *Socio-Economic Division and Hoards*

The difficulty with an historical interpretation of a past society is the relationship with the surviving material culture. József Laszlovszky, investigating the use of such evidence to understand social stratification, noted the problematic use of legal terms in the written sources. In addition to the terms not being used consistently in the written sources, he noted that evidence in the records of the canonisation process of Saint Margaret makes it clear that contemporary people were uncertain of the meaning of such terminology. The text revealed members of the same family having different answers regarding their social status. To counter this, Laszlovszky suggested using coin hoards of the period to illuminate social differences in the rural population. As noted in the discussion in previous chapters, he concluded that such material evidence would reveal significant differences

<sup>317</sup> Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok*, pp. 201-210.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid, pp. 201-206 and 211-212. See also Jenő Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok* [The last Arpadians] (Budapest: MTA TTI, 1993) and Jenő Szűcs, 'Megosztott parasztság, egységesülő jobbágyosság. A paraszti társadalom átalakulása a XIII. században' [Divided Peasantry – Unified Serfdom. The Transformation of the Rural Society in the Thirteenth Century], *Századok*, 115 (1981): 3-65, 263-319.

<sup>319</sup> On the changes in rural society in the late Arpadian age, see: Ilona Bolla, *A jogilag egységes jobbágyosság kialakulása* [The emergence of legally unified serfdom] (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1983) and Szűcs, 'Megosztott parasztság'.

<sup>316</sup> Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és alattvalóik* [The Arpads and their Subjectdom] (Debrecen: Csokonai Kiadó, 1997), pp. 199-200; see also Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), pp. 66-82; Attila Zsoldos, *The Legacy of Saint Stephen* (Budapest: Lucidus, 2004), pp. 15-122.



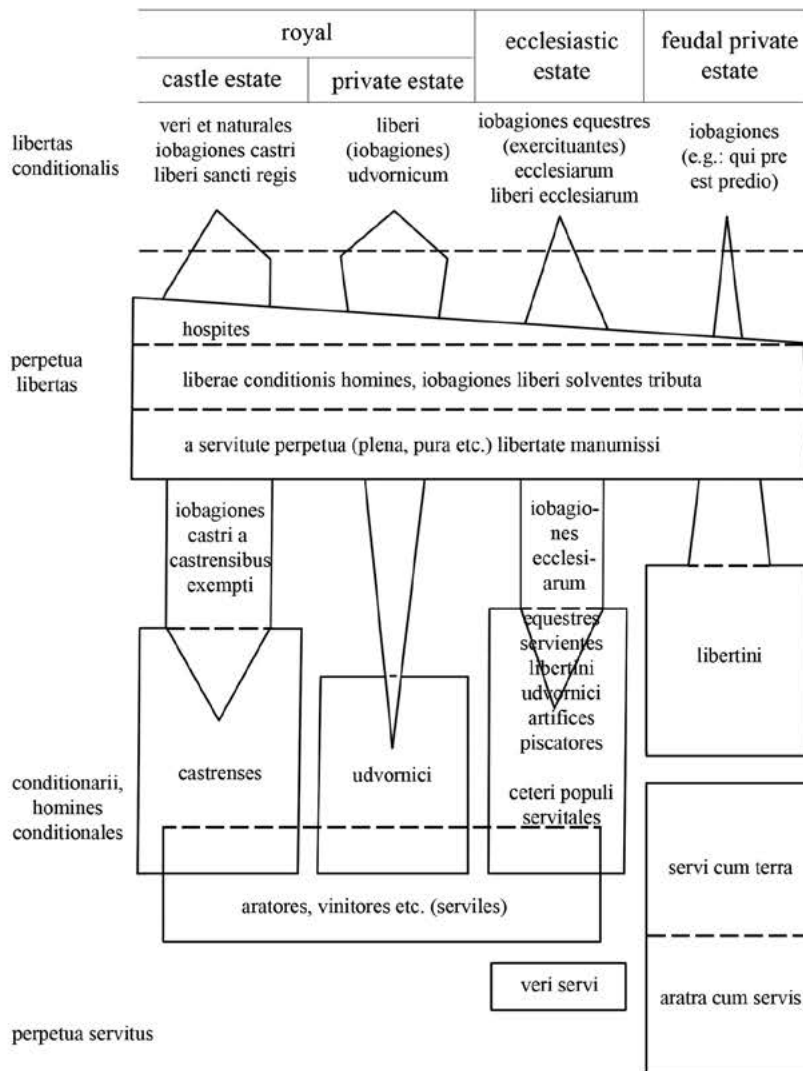
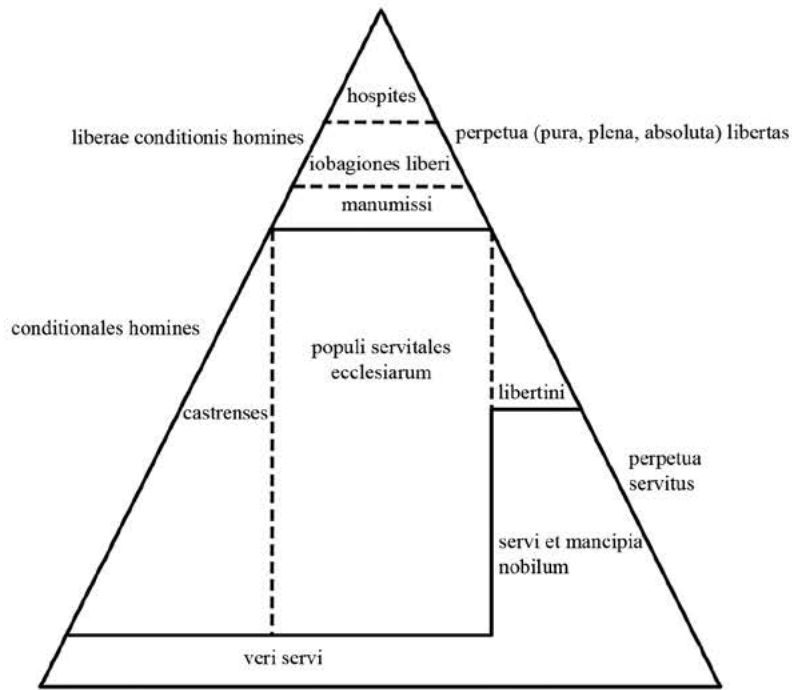


Fig. 40. Social Stratification of the Rural Society around 1240. Laszlovszky, 'Social Stratification', pp. 59-60.

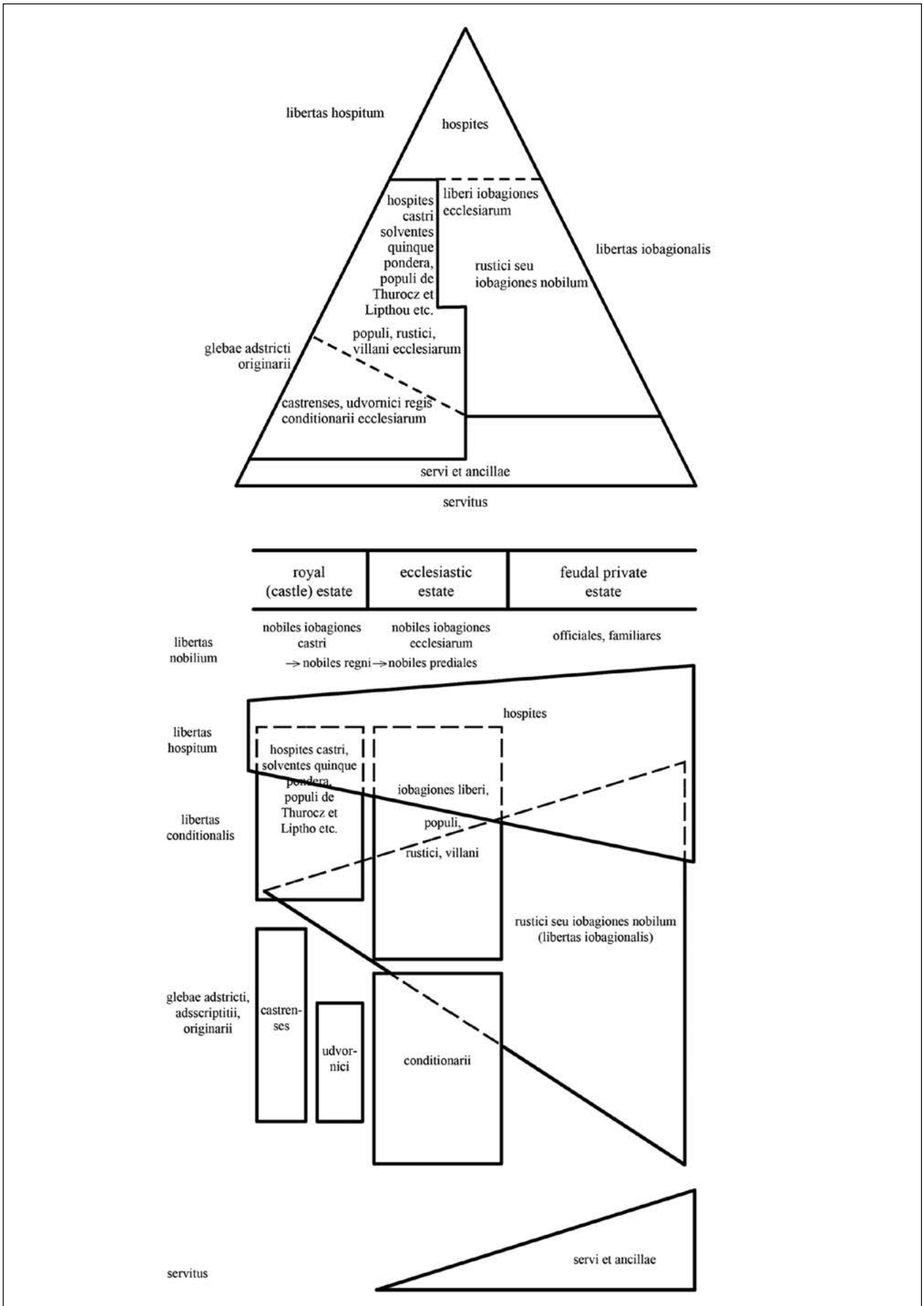


Fig. 41. Social Stratification of the Rural Society around 1300. Laszlovszky, 'Social Stratification', pp. 61-62.

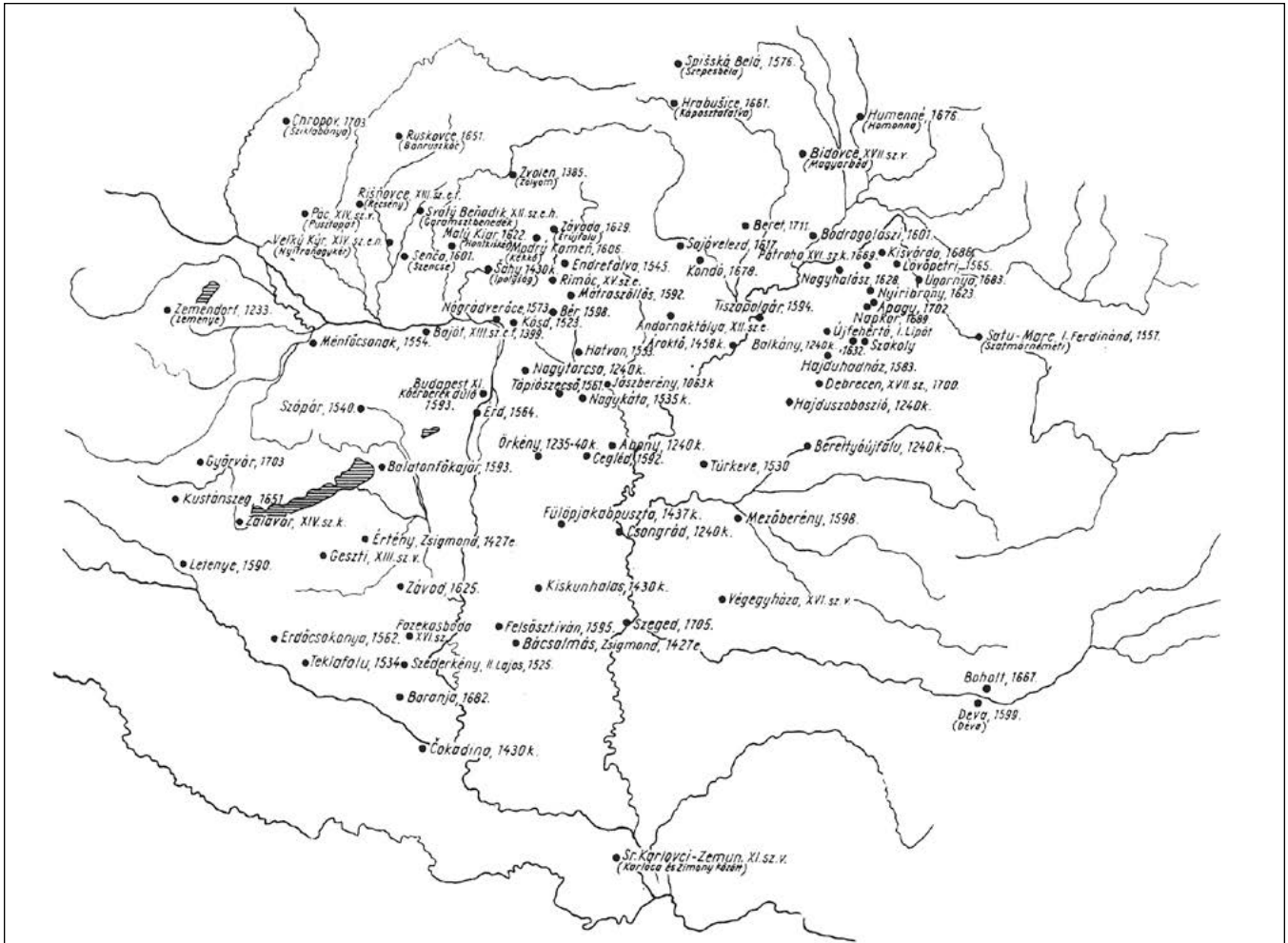


Fig. 42. Map of Medieval Clay Pots Found with Coins. Parádi, 'Magyarországi pénzleletes', p. 220.

within society, even if not showing such rigidity as seen in the written evidence.<sup>320</sup>

Hoards are a notable source for investigations into the socio-economic divisions of societies. Research has frequently examined the containers of the hoard finds in addition to the hoards themselves. Consequently, these containers, usually clay plots, are the plausible choice for making the dating of hoards more precise. Though it is difficult to examine social divisions based on such artefacts, Nándor Parádi was the first to attempt an investigation into their spatial and social relations.<sup>321</sup> Studying a complete hoard horizon – such as that connected to the Mongol invasion – provides a much more nuanced understanding of social divisions. From such hoard horizons, the hoards that contain jewellery are important because the relationship between economic status and jewellery type can be examined. In addition, in some cases, as with the research on the pottery, it can make the dating of such

artefacts more precise. The logical development from Parádi's investigation of the clay containers of hoards was detailed study of the jewellery in connection to the other contents.

An important study was Parádi's research on the Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharaszti hoard. For comparative purposes, Parádi collected the jewellery hoards – both those with and without coins – hidden around the time of the Mongol invasion, and examined hoards from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that contained coins and jewellery. In doing so, Parádi was able to chart the characteristic jewellery of this age of a period, paying special attention to the pieces hidden at the time of the Mongol invasion. In addition to noting the closest parallel for these artefacts as being those found in Arpad era cemeteries for the commoners, Parádi argued that the brooches found in the hoards indicate changes in clothing. By examining the material and quality of the jewellery, he explored what the hoards reveal about the society that produced them. Parádi noted that most of the jewels in the hoards were made of silver, and, in some cases, electrum; gold and gilded pieces were rare. The most common type of jewellery in these hoards were lock rings with flaring ends, with finger rings with inset stone or with a carved plate the next most frequent. A small number of the hoards contained brooches; fewer contained S-ended lock rings. As most parallels to these objects were found in churchyards of different villages, and the hoards were found in or near contemporary villages, Parádi connected

<sup>320</sup> Laszlovszky, 'Social Stratification' pp. 45-54. See also József Laszlovszky, 'Fama Sanctitatis and the Emergence of St. Margaret's Cult in the Rural Countryside. The Canonization Process and Social Mobility in Thirteenth-Century Hungary' in *Promoting the Saints: Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period: Essays in Honor of Gábor Klaniczay for his 60<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, ed. Ottó Gecser and József Laszlovszky and Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebök and Katalin Szende (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011), pp. 103-123 (pp. 105-107).

<sup>321</sup> Nándor Parádi, 'Magyarországi pénzleletes középkori cserépedények' [Medieval clay pots with coin finds from Hungary], *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 90 (1963): 205-251 (p. 219).

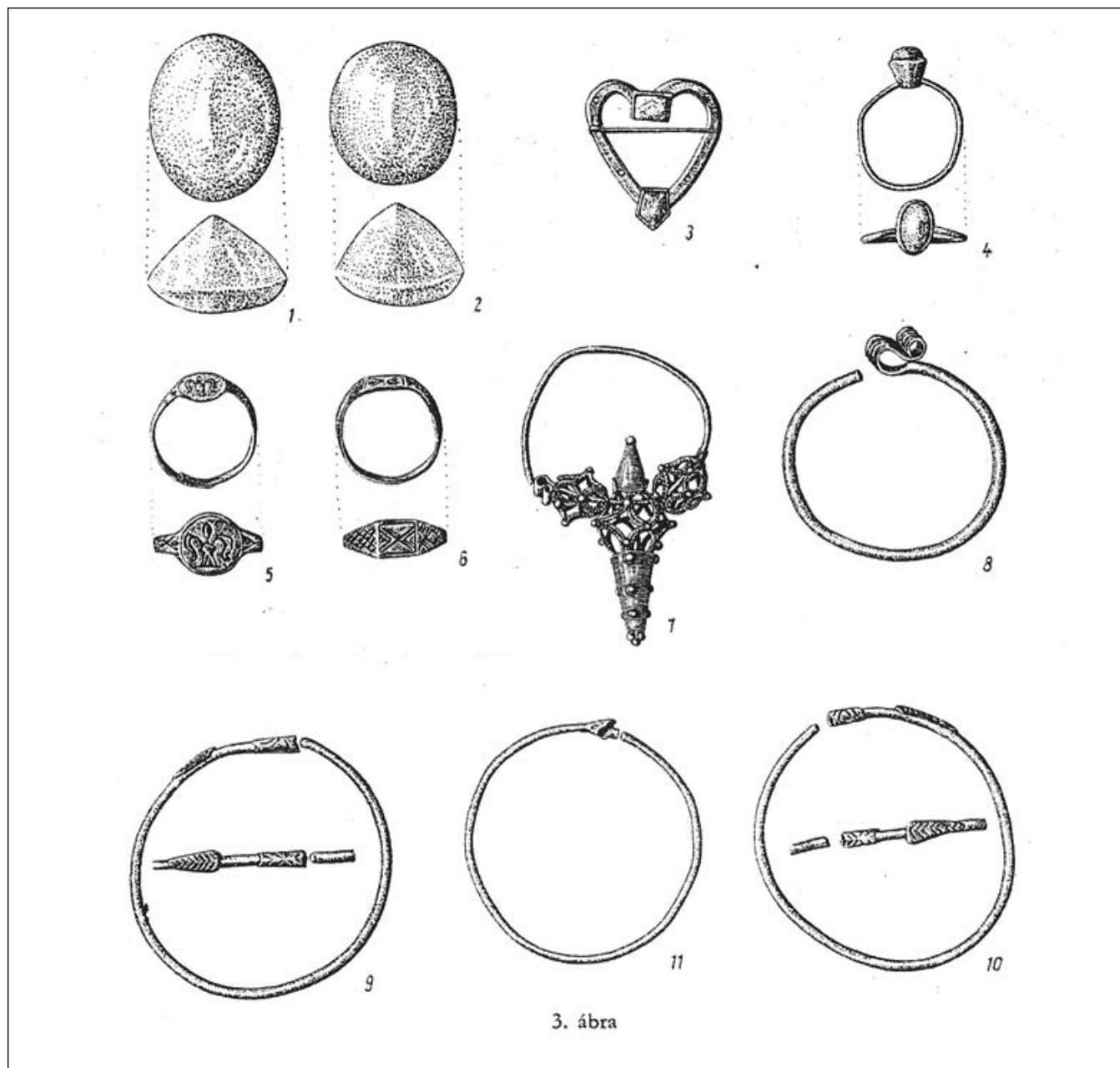


Fig. 43. Jewellery from the Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharaszti Hoard. Parádi, 'Pénzekkel keltezett', p. 123. *Archaeologica* 26 (1975): 123.

such hoards to the rural population. As this type of society participated in commodity production, some members of the rural population owned a significant amount of money. Given that the hoards contained contents of similar quality and from similar materials, Parádi viewed them as representing more or less the same layer of society.<sup>322</sup>

Károly Mesterházy, following a similar train of thought when investigating the S-ended lock rings made of gold, reached a different conclusion. Having identified twenty-four sites, Mesterházy noted that four of them were churchyards of private monasteries (*ecclesia propria*) connected to the high nobility. The jewellery, he argued, should be associated with the upper layers of society. From this position, Mesterházy continued by asserting that similar finds from hoards and village churchyard and field cemeteries could not be connected with the common people. Finds of the thirteenth

century – all from hoards connected to the Mongol invasion – were consequently seen as a distinct group among the finds. Though Mesterházy stated that the owners of such objects could not have been low class, he agreed with Parádi's assessment that such finds, especially those from the thirteenth century, associated with rural environments, belonged to local inhabitants. Mesterházy connected the former owners (and creators of the hoards) with the free men who appeared in *Várad Regestrum* without a label of social status. This text, stating who could be called to court by whom and who could judge them, provides an indication of their social rank. This class of free men typically owned a village or part thereof, though some only held a small piece of land while others may have been in charge of castles or royal domains. Given these people inhabited a similar economic and social class within a rural environment in which they themselves were invested, it is probable that this class had the finances to afford the

<sup>322</sup> Parádi, 'Pénzekkel keltezett ékszerek', pp. 138-155.

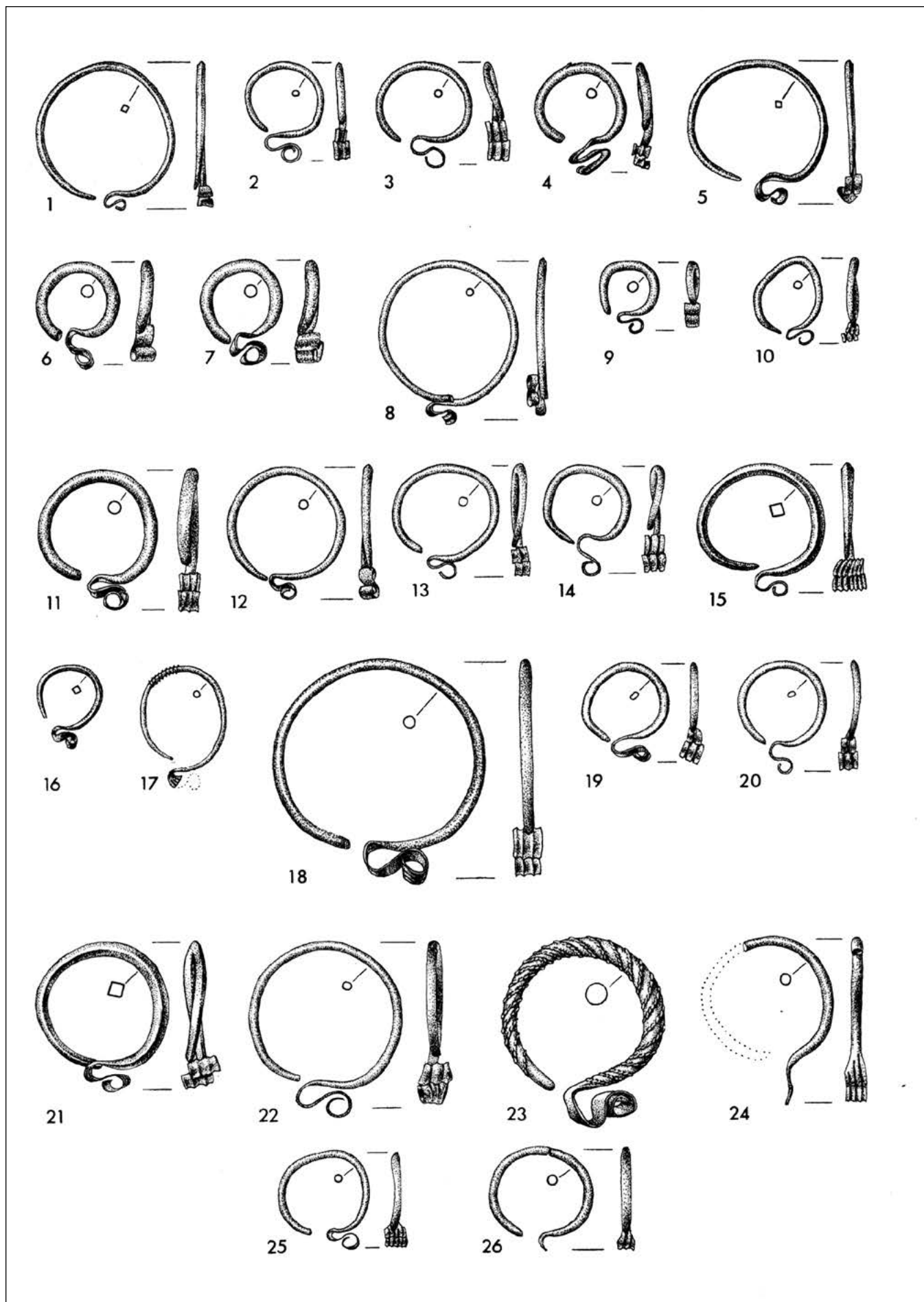


Fig. 44. Gold S-ended Lock Rings.  
Mesterházy, 'Köznepi ékszerek', p. 151.



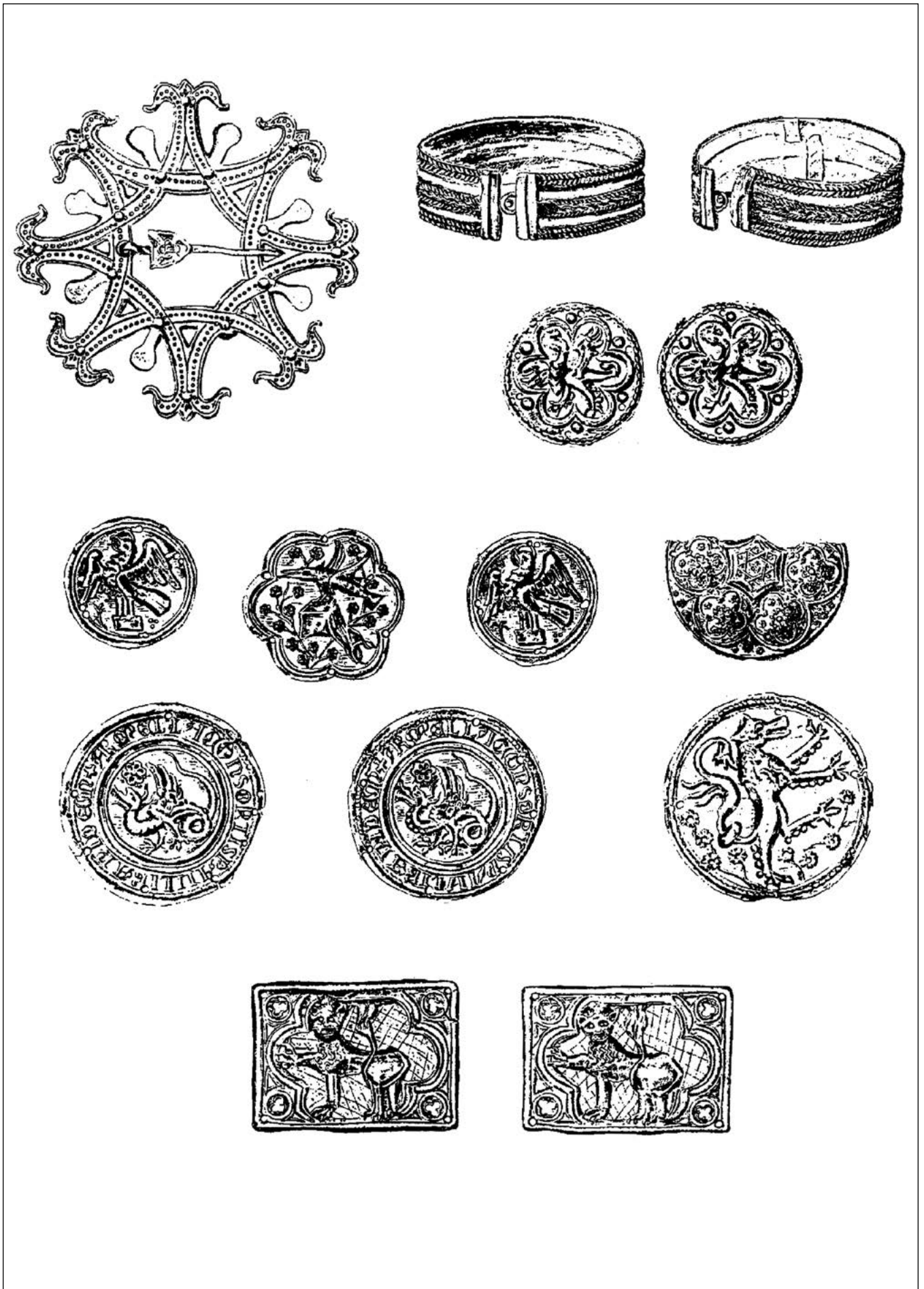


Fig. 45. An Example for Late Medieval Treasure: The Kelebia Hoard.  
After Zsámbéky, 'XIV-XV. századi kincsleletek', pp. 105-128.

luxury objects – and the money – that frequently occur in the hoards.<sup>323</sup>

Recent research supports the interpretation that one set of jewellery in a given hoard is likely to be the holdings (and, with the coins, the probable inheritance) of a single family. The distinct and individual pieces, typically found in much larger hoards, are indicative of a higher stratum of society likely to have been the uppermost layer of rural society (if not lesser nobility). Jewellery, it seems, can reveal like coins a highly structured society in regards to economic and financial status (albeit one more unified than the complicated legal structure presented in the written sources). This potential contrast means that it is worth stressing that financial position of a person and his or her legal status were not necessarily the same.<sup>324</sup>

Scholars have recently examined the contemporary financial value of hoards. József Laszlovszky noted that 60-70% of hoards contained 50 to 500 coins, and 30-40% contained more than 500. He then established the following subgroups: less than 100 coins, 150-400 coins (with its own subgroup of hoards containing around 250 coins), then those with 700-1500, 2000-2500, around 4000, and around 8000 coins.<sup>325</sup> Using the pioneering studies of Bálint Hóman regarding prices in medieval Hungary, Laszlovszky proceeded to identify the market value of the hoards. The majority of hoards, containing 50-500 coins, corresponded to one or more draught animals that averaged in price around 50 coins. 500 coins was the average price of a slave. 770 coins was the cost of land that accommodated a mill, a house, and pasture. 700-1500 coins was the price of a war horse, and 2000-2500 was a coat of mail. One of the largest hoards, containing 7549 coins, was the value of a house in Veszprém and 32 acres of land.<sup>326</sup> Csaba Tóth, using four categories (up to 500, 1000-2000, 2000-4000, around 8,000 coins), reached similar conclusions.<sup>327</sup>

Though outside of the chronological period of this study, research on fourteenth century Hungarian society has used grave finds, hoards, and written sources (including, in some instances, ethnic identity), to create a nuanced reading of social and economic divisions.<sup>328</sup>

### Socio-Economic Division and Jewellery

The clearest, and easiest method to investigate the link between jewellery found in hoards and their social and economic meaning would be a simple comparison between the type of jewellery and the amount of money that were found together. This information, compared with similar data from finds from settlements and burials, would provide a stable indication of

value. This simple method however is problematic. In many cases the hoards contained a variety of coinage, of which only the Friesach Pfennig had a stable value. The potential solution to this issue – the weight of the combined coinage (resulting in the amount of silver) – is often not available owing to the absence of this detail in many publications. Up to a limit, this method however can be used to explore important questions.

This method can be applied to the rarest find in the hoards: brooch-pairs. Since no part of this type of jewellery can be associated with fastening, they were not used as brooches but rather as cloak ornaments.<sup>329</sup> The two examples found come from hoards in Budapest and Tyukod-Bagolyvár. Both pieces are gilded silver, open work pieces decorated with inset stones. Though the exact location of the Budapest hoard is not known (making the completeness of the hoard uncertain), it was found with nine hundred and thirty one Friesach Pfennigs (and thirty five other coins), along with a setting for a stone, a piece of glass paste, and around 140 grams of gilded silver fragments. Given the circumstances of the find, though original owner cannot be identified, the location, albeit imprecise, suggests that he or she was higher in rank than a peasant. Beside the fragmented brooch-pair, the complete hoard of Tyukod-Bagolyvár contained two electrum S-ended lock rings, one silver lock ring with flaring ends, four finger rings (two silver seal rings, a gilded silver ring top, and a gold ring with an inset stone), two fragmented silver drop earrings with chains and pendants, an electrum circular ring brooch, three hundred and eighty-four Friesach Pfennigs, and nine hundred and ten Hungarian bracteates.<sup>330</sup> Attila Jakab, who examined the location of the find, tentatively identified the owner of the hoard as a member of the Gutkeled family, who owned the nearby monastery of Sárvár.<sup>331</sup> Though by the number of coins alone these hoards are not immediately associated with a wealthy social group, the location and, in the Tyukod-Bagolyvár example, the jewellery discovered indicate that whoever hid these hoards belonged to the upper echelons of society.

The drop headpieces with chains and pendants found in the Tyukod-Bagolyvár hoard provide another example to test the coin and jewellery hypothesis. The one gold piece and two fragments of a pair of silver ones are the same type of jewellery that has often been interpreted as earrings.<sup>332</sup> A comparable piece, made of silver, was discovered in a fragmented hoard at Nyírmártonfalva-Gut.<sup>333</sup> Because this hoard is fragmented, and not yet published in detail, the only information that can assist interpretation of social relations is that it also contained rings, a fragment of a lock ring with flaring ends, and one hundred and five Friesach Pfennigs.<sup>334</sup> A slightly different headpiece pair, found in the Pátroha-Butorka dűlő hoard, has a rectangular body of braided silver wire from which chains with cone-shaped pendants dangled. The hoard itself is important for its completeness: with the headpiece were three silver and one bronze seal rings, a silver ring with

<sup>323</sup> Károly Mesterházy, 'Köznépi ékszerek nemesfém változatai: arany S-végű hajkarikák' [Precious metal variants of the jewellery of the commoners: gold lock rings with S-ends], *Alba Regia. István Király Múzeum Közleményei* 20 (1983): 143-151 (pp. 144-145).

<sup>324</sup> Laszlovszky, 'Tatárjárás és régészet', pp. 460-461 and 'Social stratification', pp. 51-52.

<sup>325</sup> Laszlovszky, 'Social stratification', pp. 49-50.

<sup>326</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50. Some hoards – not many – contained the mintings of Hungarian kings, but because of the yearly debasing the identification of the value of these coins is much more problematic than those which (mainly) contained Friesach denars.

<sup>327</sup> Tóth, 'A tatárjárás kincsleletei', p. 80.

<sup>328</sup> For example see Hatházi, 'A Kiskunság kincsleletei', and also Gábor Hatházi, *Sírok, kincsek, rejtélyek : híres középkori régészeti leletek Kiskunhalas környékén - Graves, treasures, mysteries: famous medieval archaeological finds around Kiskunhalas* (Kiskunhalas: Thorma János Múzeum, 2005).

<sup>329</sup> Jakab, 'Tatárjárás kori kincslelet', p. 260.

<sup>330</sup> The relatively small percentage of Friesach Pfennigs can probably be explained by the distance of the site from the *Medium Regni*, and thus from the centre of money economy and markets.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 267.

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 250, 252-253. Researchers often call this type of jewellery earrings, but recent research has shown that it could be worn in several ways. On the possible uses, see: Hatházi, 'A Kiskunság kincsleletei', pp. 75-76, footnote 37.

<sup>333</sup> Jakab, 'Tatárjárás kori kincslelet', pp. 257-258, footnote 11.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 258. See also Tóth, 'A tatárjárás kincsleletei', p. 85.



Fig. 46. Golden Headpiece Found in a Burnt Down House at Szank.  
Sz. Wilhelm, 'Szank', p. 101.

a cone shaped top, two complete and one fragmented lock rings, and seven thousand and four hundred and thirty-nine coins. Though the number of Freisach Pfennings is unclear, the total weight of the coins is known: 1.9 kg.<sup>335</sup> This quantity of coins is marked by a conspicuous lack of gold and electrum. All three of these cases, where sophisticated jewellery is found with a seemingly small amount of coins, come from a small area of northeast Hungary. A recent comparative piece was discovered in Szank, in the south of the country. As mentioned earlier, this site, a house that was burnt with people inside, could be interpreted as akin to a hoard. Though the social position of the owner of the comparative piece cannot be identified, the presence of such a headpiece with golden mounts suggests that at least one person occupied a high position in the social-economic strata.<sup>336</sup> Given the difficulty of identifying these Byzantine-style headpieces as either local products or imported goods,<sup>337</sup> the limited distribution of such artefacts makes comparison with other hoards of the period difficult.

Similar concerns about social interpretations occur with other types of valuable artefacts. Two other important types of jewellery that were predominantly made from either of the valuable materials of electrum and gold are S-ended lock rings and finger rings with inset stones. As noted above, Károly Mesterházy argued that the former was associated with the upper layers of society. Both types were found in

hoards from Tyukod-Bagolyvár, Akasztó-Pusztaszentimre, Karcag, Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharasz, <sup>338</sup> and Tiszaörvény-Templomdomb.<sup>339</sup> With the exception of the Tyukod-Bagolyvár hoard, which has been discussed already, it is worthwhile examining the content and context of the other hoards.

The Akasztó-Pusztaszentimre hoard, discovered in the late nineteenth century due to ploughing, included a pair of electrum S-ended lock rings, a pair of silver lock rings with flaring ends, two silver and two electrum seal rings, one circular and two rhombus-shaped silver brooches, two hundred and forty-seven Freisach Pfennings, and a some Hungarian bracteates. These artefacts were found with some iron tools and a ceramic cauldron. In Nándor Parádi's opinion, these two groups of items did not belong together: the valuable jewellery and coins, he suggested, was hidden within the settlement and, owing to ploughing, were found with the iron objects and the cauldron.<sup>340</sup> The issue of whether the two groups of objects are connected is crucial to the social interpretation of the artefacts. The two groups are likely to be connected: the discovery of a hoard and two spurs, iron buckles and bands and a ceramic pot all within four meters requires an awful amount of luck if they were not connected. Parádi's argument that the shards of the ceramic cauldron were merely

<sup>338</sup> Tóth, 'A tatárjárás kincsleletei', pp. 81-87.

<sup>339</sup> Mária Wolf, 'A Tiszaörvényi-lelet' [The find of Tiszaörvény], in *A tatárjárás* [The Mongol invasion], ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Éva Garam (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2007), pp. 98-99.

<sup>340</sup> Parádi, 'Pénzekkel keltezett ékszerek', pp. 128-130.

<sup>335</sup> Attila Jakab, 'Pátroha-Butorka dűlő', pp. 96-97.

<sup>336</sup> Sz. Wilhelm, 'Szank', pp. 87-88.

<sup>337</sup> Hatházi, 'A Kiskunság kincslelete'i', pp. 75-77.



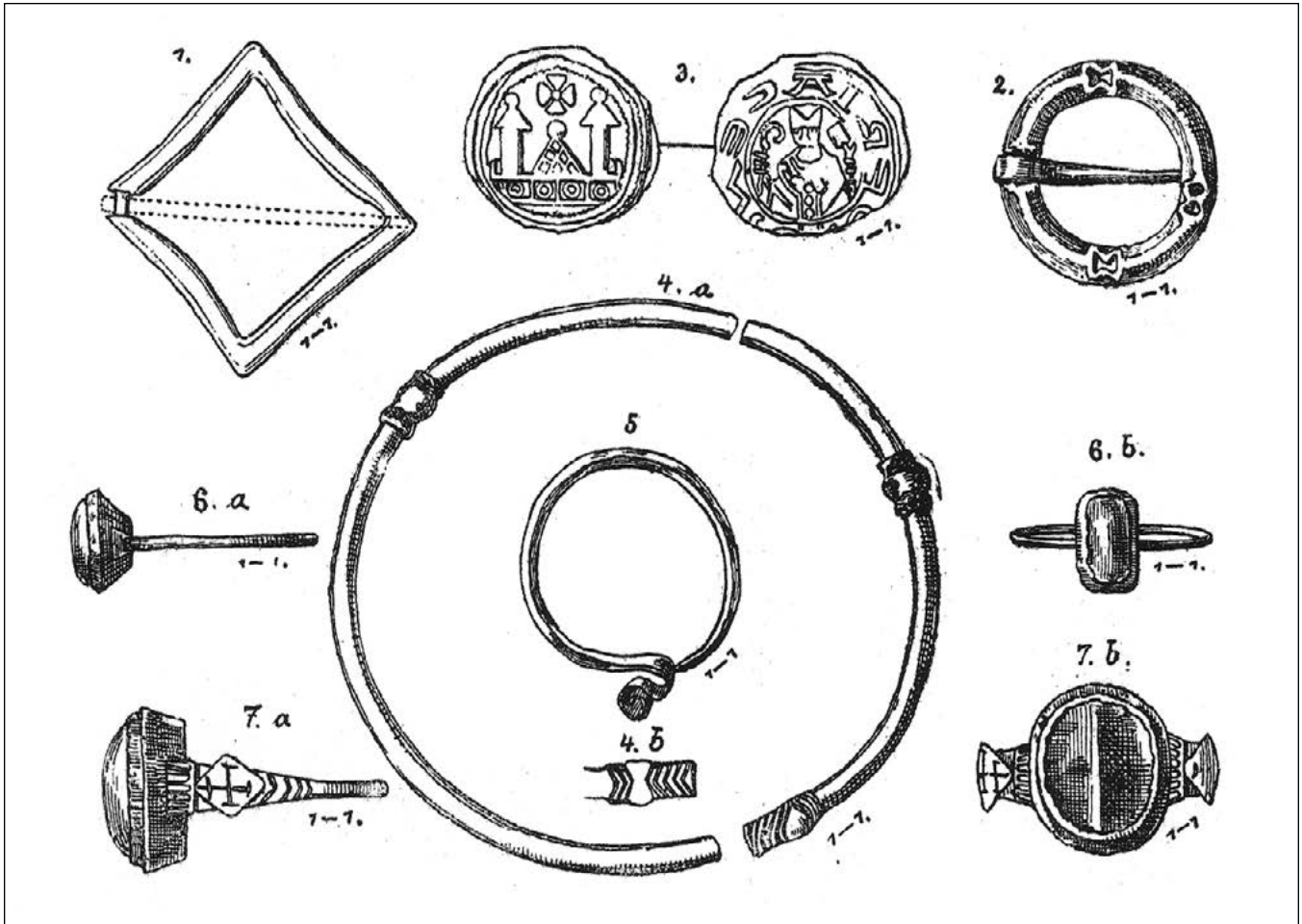


Fig. 47. The Karcag Hoard.  
Hampel, 'A m. n. érem- és régiségtár', p. 148..

pottery fragments from the village also seems unlikely, given that there other types of pottery were not recorded. As with the hoards previously discussed, despite the small number of coins, the quantity and quality of the jewellery suggests that the original owner belonged to the upper layers of society – the presences of spurs suggesting military.

The Karcag hoard, another nineteenth century discovery, also has questions regarding completeness. Two hundred and eighty-three Friesach Pfennigs, one electrum lock ring with an S-end, two electrum lock rings with flaring ends, three electrum finger rings with inset stone, one circular and one rhombus-shaped silver brooch reached the museum.<sup>341</sup> If the known content is more or less accurate, then the hoard fits the pattern of having a quantity of quality jewellery (including electrum pieces) while having a small number of coins.

By contrast, the Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharaszti hoard contained a significant number of coins: nine hundred and seventy-seven Friesach Pfennigs and seven hundred and seventy nine other coins (mostly Hungarian bracteates). Hidden with the money were significant pieces of valuable jewellery: one electrum S-ended lock ring, one electrum and two silver lock rings with flaring ends, two silver seal rings, one electrum ring with an inset stone, a heart-shaped brooch with an inset stone, a silver earring, and a cut rock crystal.<sup>342</sup> Given the considerable distance from the village – nearly 4.5 km – the hoard of iron

tools consisting of four sickles found four metres away from the jewellery and coins is likely to have been hidden by the same person.<sup>343</sup> If this is the case, the original owner of the two hoards was someone who possessed expensive jewellery while making a living from agriculture. The possibility that these two hoards are incomplete should be noted. Potentially lost, or not collected, coins would mean that the hoards were even larger in size, thus making the owner an even richer figure in society.

There are exceptions to the rule of expensive electrum and gold S-ended lock rings and finger rings with inset stones and less frequent coins. The Tiszaörvény-Templomdomb hoard, hidden in a what appears to be a bronze lavabo bowl found between houses of a village, contained one electrum S-ended lock ring, two silver lock rings with flaring ends, one silver seal ring, one gilded bronze and one gold finger ring with an inset stone, one silver rhombus-shaped brooch, and an oval rock crystal, but no coins. The Ladánybene-Hornnyák domb hoard consisted of one thousand one hundred and forty-nine Friesach Pfennigs in a fragmented pot with a pair of silver lock rings with flaring ends and a sickle.<sup>344</sup> A hoard found at in a pot in Bajót contained one gold and one gilded silver finger ring with inset stones, two silver lock rings with flaring ends, one circular gilded silver brooch with frames for stone insets and corals, a circular electrum brooch, thirty-four Friesach

<sup>341</sup> Ibid, pp. 134-136.

<sup>342</sup> Ibid, pp. 123-126.

<sup>343</sup> Ibid, pp. 119, 156.

<sup>344</sup> Tóth, 'A tatárjárás kincsletei', p. 84.



Fig. 48. Golden Drop Headpiece from Tyukod-Bagolyvár.  
Jakab and Balázs, *Elrejtett kincsek titkai*. p. 15.

Pfennigs, and fifty-five other coins. Though the number of coins is small, the Bajót hoard is considered complete.<sup>345</sup> It is worthwhile to note for comparison that simple silver rings and lock rings with flaring ends – the most common finds in hoards – appear in largest and smallest of hoards. At Balmazújváros I, two silver lock rings with flaring ends and a silver ring with a pyramid-shaped top were found with ninety-seven Friesach Pfennigs in a pot. In vivid contrast, at Tatabánya-Bánhida, two silver lock rings with flaring ends were found with approximately two thousand six hundred Friesach Pfennigs (and one thousand three hundred other coins), and at Gödöllő-Babat two silver rings with rhombus-shaped tops were found with four thousand and sixty coins.<sup>346</sup>

The comparison between the amount of coin and the quality of the jewellery leads to the following conclusions. The category of hoard that features the largest amount of coins – over eight thousand – do not feature jewellery. The previously mentioned Pátroha-Butorka dülő hoard, with has only seven thousand and four hundred and thirty-nine coins, is an exception. The next category, hoards containing around four thousand coins, were typically found with only a few pieces of jewellery (Gödöllő-Babat, Jászdózsa-Jászapáti határ, Tatabánya-Bánhida). Smaller coin hoards that contained only a few pieces of jewellery should be considered in many cases as fragmentary hoards (Abony, Budapest-Rákosszentmihály,

Hajdúszoboszló-Aranyszeg, Nyírmártonfalva-Gut, Pécel, Tápiógyörgye).<sup>347</sup> Regarding the quality of the jewellery, the hoards that contained the highest number of significant pieces such as gold and electrum artefacts were found either with one of two thousand coins (Budapest, Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharasz, Tyukod-Bagolyvár) or a negligible amount (Akasztó-Pusztaszentimre, Bajót, Karcag). From this, it should be noted that hoards containing both coins and jewellery were frequently of a high value solely due to the jewellery – making simple conclusions about the correlation between the value of the coins and the value of the jewellery difficult to support.

Points can be made regarding the hoards reflection of social rank. Hoards containing cloak ornaments (Budapest, Tyukod-Bagolyvár), the most sophisticated type of jewellery, are likely to have belonged to the upper echelons of society (albeit not to the rural setting in which most hoards are found). The discovery of multiple hoards in a single settlement reveals more nuanced picture of socioeconomic differences in a community. Nearby the previously discussed Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharasz hoard, two other hoards were found in a complete state: one contained twenty-two coins, the other twenty-four.<sup>348</sup> Likewise, in the destroyed settlement in Szank, a complex picture emerges. In the house where people sought refuge, a variety of jewellery was found: fragments of iron buckles, a

<sup>345</sup> Parádi, 'Pénzekkel keltezett ékszerek', pp. 129-132.

<sup>346</sup> Tóth, 'A tatárjárás kincsleletei', pp. 82-87.

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 81-87.

<sup>348</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.



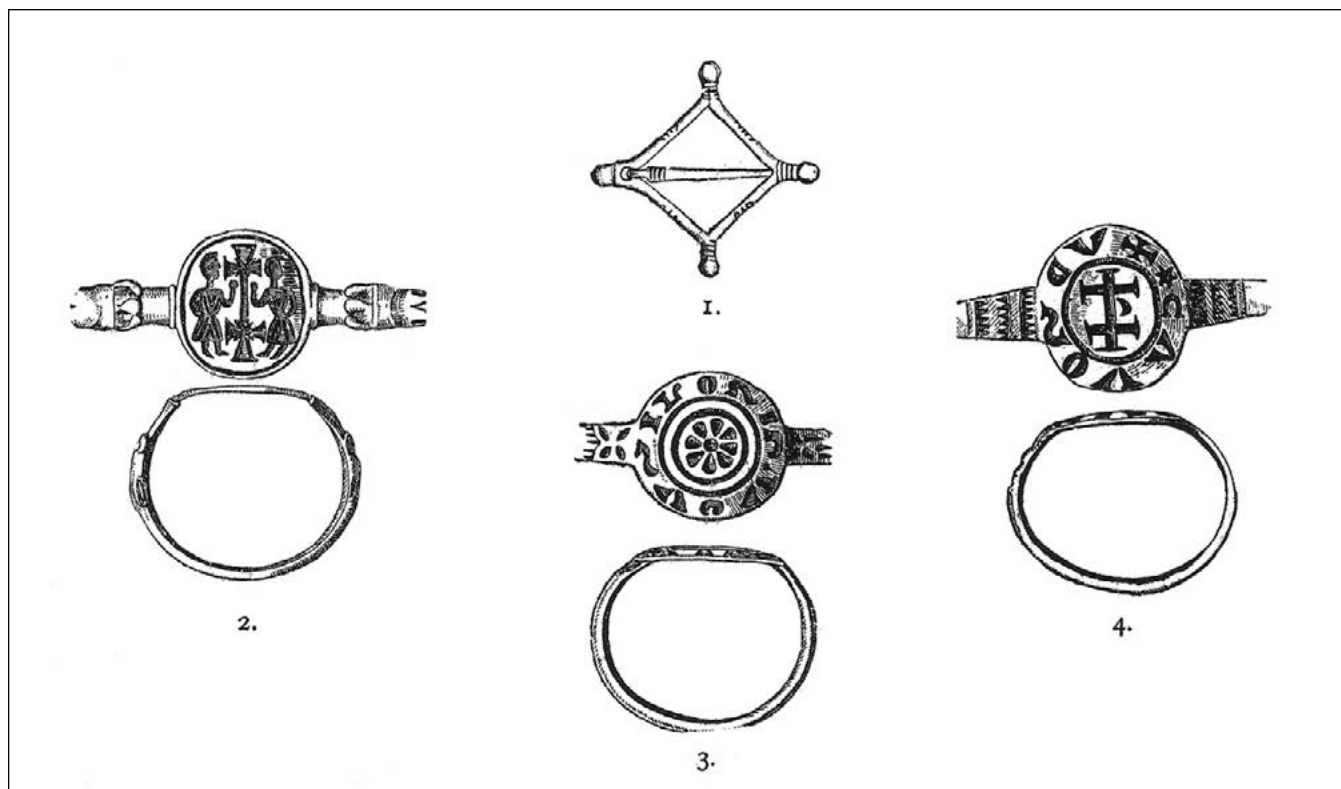


Fig. 49. An Example for the Characteristic Jewellery of Smaller Hoards: Zalaszentgrót. Kúhn, 'Középkori temetőről'. p. 183.

circular bronze brooch, two bronze bracelets, two silver lock rings with flaring ends, and also spurs and a spear. Some finds can be associated with an upper social layer: a scale for money changing, a fragment of a gold headpiece comparable to examples from Tyukod-Bagolyvár and Nyírmártonfalva-Gut, a gold ring with an inset stone, a headpiece/coronet (*párta*) with thirty-four gold mounts, two rock crystals, and many glass beads.<sup>349</sup> In the vicinity of the house, two coin hoards were discovered containing distinctly different sizes: one containing one hundred and thirteen Friesach Pfennigs, and the other, found in a fragmented state, featuring one thousand one hundred and eighty-three coins (of which three hundred and twenty-six were Friesach Pfennigs).<sup>350</sup>

Broadly speaking, the widely held opinion that hoards belonged to the highest layer of rural society is correct. Connected to this is the view that smaller hoards were connected to lower sections of society. The comments above regarding jewellery can refine this judgment. Hoards that contained either numerous pieces of jewellery and few coins, or few pieces of jewellery and a considerable amount of coins, or, in rare cases, a considerable amount of both jewellery and coins, should be regarded as belonging to the upper echelons of society. This category however is broad. Hoards containing the most sophisticated types of jewellery (cloak ornaments and gold headpieces) and/or a large number of coins suggest a very high level of social standing indicative of the emerging lesser nobility. Smaller hoards, containing jewellery of a more common type (such as silver lock rings with flaring ends and finger rings) and in lesser number, suggest a general fashion that was affordable to a wider section of society.

#### The Economic Value of Jewellery

Though the precise contemporary value of such jewellery – particularly in regards to gold and electrum pieces – cannot be precisely known owing to a lack of written sources, comparison with the weight of Friesach Pfennigs provide an estimate for the raw value of the silver pieces. Given the regular occurrence of raw silver in hoards, the value of such material should be considered.

Estimating the value however is difficult. A recently proposed method is problematic. Owing the different qualities of the coins, a suggestion was made that the value of a hoard should be measured in comparison to the mark (mk), a contemporary unit used in this area that weighed either 233.3 or 24.5 grams.<sup>351</sup> Given the slight weight of the jewellery, the weight of the mark is too large. A more useful comparable measurement is the weight of Friesach Pfennigs, weighting between 0.6 and 1.2 grams.<sup>352</sup> For estimating the value of the raw material of the jewellery, the frequent weight of 0.8 grams should be used. The weight of the jewellery is likewise problematic. Since most publications do not provide the weight of the artefacts, the finds from Tyukod-Bagolyvár have to be regarded as the average. The weights of some artefacts are easy to calculate: the lock ring with flaring end is typically the same size, weighing 5.1 grams.<sup>353</sup> Others require averages: seal rings, ranging in weight at Tyukod-Bagolyvár from 2.6 grams to 7.5 grams,<sup>354</sup> can be said to average 5 grams. With these values, it can be said that the raw material of a pair of lock rings with flaring ends – or two seal rings – had the value

<sup>351</sup> Jakab, 'Tatárjárás kori kincslelet', pp. 289-290.

<sup>352</sup> Ibid, pp. 290-291.

<sup>353</sup> Ibid, p. 249.

<sup>354</sup> Ibid, pp. 250, 252.

<sup>349</sup> Sz. Wilhelm, 'Szank', pp. 86-88.

<sup>350</sup> Tóth, 'A tatárjárás kincsletei', p. 87.

of twelve and a half denarius, nearly equivalent to the price of half a bucket of ale.<sup>355</sup> Even after taking into account the price for craftsmanship (which is typically not of high quality), it seems likely that the value of such pieces of jewellery were little higher than the value of their raw material. The frequency that such objects such as seal rings and lock rings with flaring ends appear in hoards of varying sizes is therefore explained by their probable value. However, this leads to the problematic conclusion that these objects, given they had no significant economic value, are likely to be of little use in determining the social ranking of the deceased when found in a burial.

This method of estimating the raw value of jewellery reveals that social interpretations of such artefacts are limited. Typically most that can be achieved is an impression of the economic opportunities open to the contemporary owners; in some cases, a probable identification of a larger social group to which the owners would have belonged can be made. Since the period of the Mongol invasion featured a significant transformation in society, assessments made on artefacts datable to the middle of the thirteenth century should be treated with even greater caution.

#### *Iron Tools, Socio-Economic Division, and the Material Culture of Hoards*

In addition to jewellery is another previously mentioned group of finds that can play a crucial role in the social interpretation of hoards. Some find complexes that feature jewellery and iron tools (Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharasz, Ladánybene-Hornyák-domb, and, as discussed earlier, possibly Tiszaörvény-Templomdomb) indicate that rural people who likely made their living from agriculture and animal husbandry could wear fashionable jewellery and follow contemporary tastes. Because of this, it is worthwhile to examine hoards that typically feature iron as a point of comparison.

Since all levels of rural society used such tools – including wealthier contexts such as Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharasz – the spread, composition, and, particularly, the context of the iron hoards can illuminate social divisions. Unlike hoards containing jewellery, iron hoards have been overlooked by researchers and neglected by the general public. When placed in comparison with the more popular coin and jewellery hoards, such collections can play a significant role in interpretation – both for understanding social characteristics and, in some cases, illuminating a critical situation. Despite this tantalising possibility, research on such items have concentrated mainly of the development of tools (particularly in regards to agrarian techniques), with questions concerned to social issues seemingly deemed less important.

Though the connection between iron tools with coin and jewellery hoards has previously been mentioned, the association is not frequent. Iron tools would be easier to interpret if many finds were discovered with coins. Two hoards – discussed previously but which are summarised below – contain both coins and/or jewellery. No other parallel find complex from the time period in question has been found. In such cases, the contexts of the sites can reveal important information about the attached value of the iron tools and help identify the social group to which the owners would have

belonged – replacing the immediate assumptions that coins in hoards would easily provide.

The hoard found at Ladánybene-Hornyák domb, containing more than 1100 Freisach type coins, belongs to the smaller layer of the larger category of hoards. As noted earlier, this size is not insignificant: the value of the coins could purchase a mill with a house plot and pasture and have money remaining. Two silver lock rings with flaring ends were the sole jewellery that was found. The hoard, hidden in the area of a onetime village (likely near the owner's housing plot), contained in addition to the coins and the lock rings with flaring ends a sickle.<sup>356</sup> Given that it seems highly probable that the three elements were hidden together,<sup>357</sup> the hoard illustrates two important issues: the accumulation of wealth in rural society, and the participation of such a society in the economy (particularly in regards to the circulation of coins). The presence of the modest amount – but of a fashionable type – of jewellery further colours the picture.

The hoard found at Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharasz presents a contrast. Along with more than seven hundred Hungarian bracteates and nearly one thousand Friesach-type coins were jewellery; a few meters away, buried separately, was an iron deposit consisting of four sickles.<sup>358</sup> Given the location, the two hoards are likely to have belonged together. The onetime owner's wealth is suggested by the large amount of coins and – in contrast to the Ladánybene-Hornyák domb hoard – large number of quality jewellery pieces. The fashionable forms (such as the heart shaped brooch) and the material (such as electrum) stress that this hoard belongs to the most valuable category of hoards. The presence of agricultural tools – in both cases sickles – demonstrates the importance attached to a type of object valued in rural life.

Though presenting different images of iron hoards, the two sites show how such everyday objects – while not as much of a 'treasure' as gold or silver – were well regarded owing to their necessity in rural economies despite what would be suggested by their actual economic value. Consequently, one would expect these finds to be more frequent; this however is not the case. A large-scale investigation into the iron depots would aid understanding of this issue. Connecting this potential research with an investigation of sites showing the destruction of the Mongol invasion would allow identification of the characteristic site types and contexts of such iron finds. Problems however have to be noted. Besides the aforementioned two hoards that contained both iron tools and coins (and jewellery), there is no other site with such telling context. Without coins, and often without context, dating the age of iron objects within the three centuries of the High Middle Ages is difficult. As problematic is the small sample with which to analyse. There are only nine depot assemblages currently dated between the eleventh and thirteenth century in the medieval territory of Hungary. This is tiny, and hardly enough for an examination of spatial distribution, particularly when one considers that coin hoards (including some also containing jewellery) dated solely to the

<sup>356</sup> The sickle was found in a fragmented state, most probably owing to the continuous ploughing of the site.

<sup>357</sup> György V. Székely, '13. századi kincslelet Ladánybene-Hornyák dombról' [13<sup>th</sup> century hoard find from Ladánybene-Hornyák domb] in *A tatárjárás* [The Mongol invasion], ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Éva Garam (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2007): pp. 92-93 (p. 93).

<sup>358</sup> Parádi Nándor, 'A Nyáregyháza-pusztapótharaszti sarlólelet' [The Sickle Find from Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharasz] *Folia Archeologica* 27 (1974): 171-182.

<sup>355</sup> Laszlovszky, 'Social Stratification', p. 50.

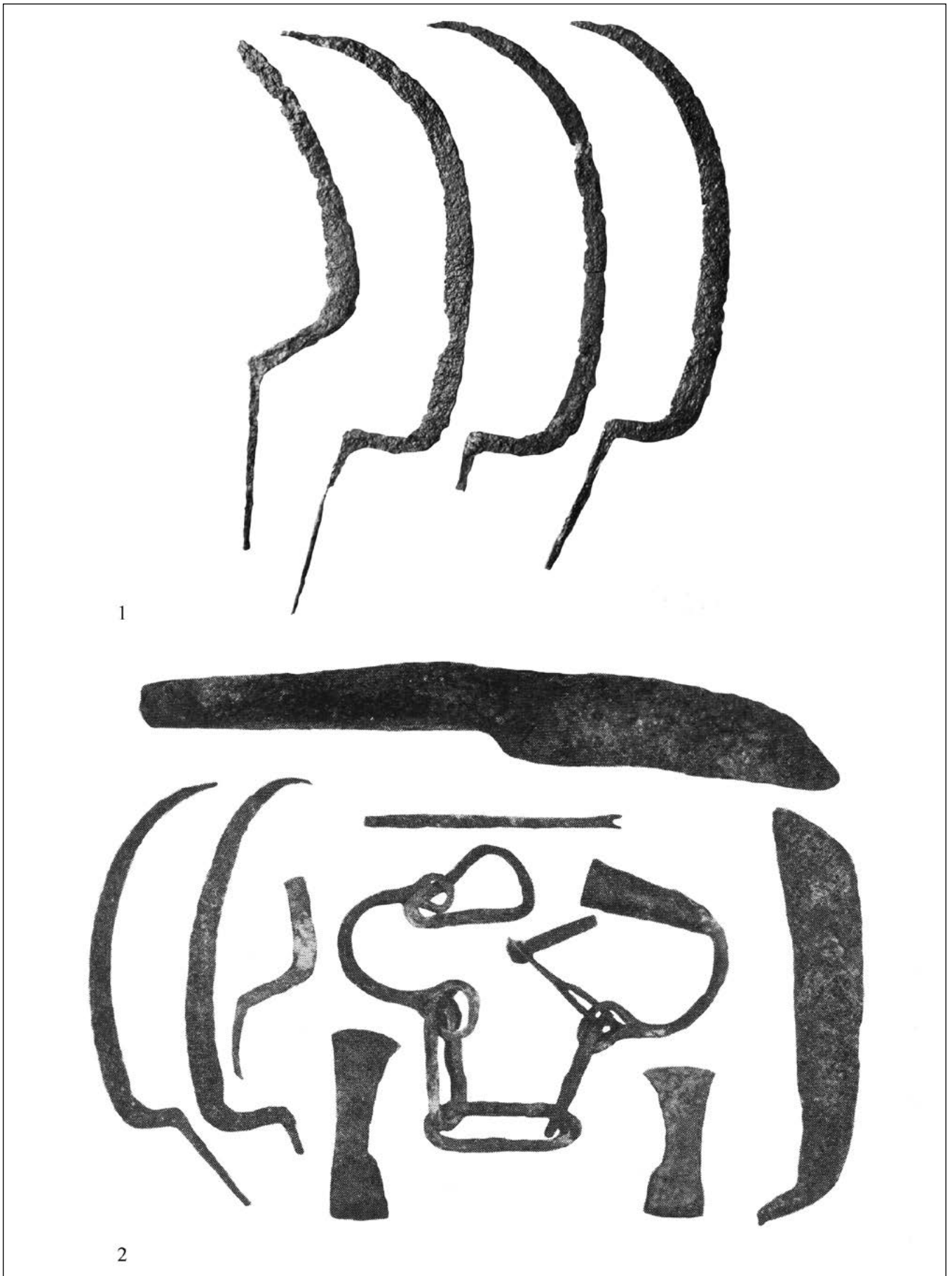


Fig. 50. An Example for the Different Composition of Iron Depots. 1: Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharasz, Parádi, 'A Nyáregyháza-pusztapótharasszi sarlóélet', p. 173  
2: Cegléd-Madarászhalom, Topál, 'Árpád-kori temető', p. 86.

age of the Mongol invasion (1241-1242) according to recent research number eighty-seven – a number that is likely to rise as study continues.<sup>359</sup> Despite their obvious similarities, there is a clear gap in evidence between coin hoards and iron depots. This difference is likely to be due to the actual material of the artefacts. The presence of iron objects in the average household must have been as frequent as coins (and more frequent than jewellery), and, given that some considered such objects valuable enough to be hidden, the number of such depots should not so significantly differ from coin, precious metal, and jewellery hoards. As a consequence, any conclusions regarding iron depots must consider this problematic ratio of recovery.

The small number of iron depots is due to the limitations of the current state of research. It should be noted that in the fundamental work of Róbert Müller, who in a comprehensive synthesis of the development of agricultural iron finds in Hungary from the late Iron Age to the Ottoman period, on three of the nine known depots appear.<sup>360</sup> The other depots that have been published consist of individual sites typically associated with rural sites. Eight of the nine were found in a village context (Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharasz, <sup>361</sup> Cegléd-Madarászhalom, <sup>362</sup> Tiszaeszlár-Bashalom, <sup>363</sup> Csemő-Gerjehalom, <sup>364</sup> Nagycsere-Újlak, <sup>365</sup> Kána, <sup>366</sup> Bonyhádvarasd, <sup>367</sup> Ófehértó-Farkasmaró<sup>368</sup>), and the other linked to a castle (Abaújvár<sup>369</sup>). Given that such finds usually found in areas connected to agricultural activity, it is notable – and somewhat troubling – that the area of the Great Plain, a significant location for intensive agricultural labour, is not included. This, also, is likely to be due to the recovery of iron depots.

Despite the small sample, slight differences in the circumstances regarding the hidings can be noted. Some of the village depots – Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharasz, Kána, Tiszaeszlár-Bashalom, and, probably, Nagycsere-Újlak – were

hidden in pits within contemporary settlements. In Csemő-Gerjehalom, the objects were hidden in the oven of a sunken house. The castle example also shares a similar context: the artefacts were found deposited in a pit in the inner side of the boarded mound. No information has been recorded regarding the contexts of the Bonyhádvarasd and Ófehértó-Farkasmaró depots. An absolutely unique situation is presented in the Cegléd-Madarászhalom depot. The publication provides no detailed context or description of the iron tools, but states that most of them were deposited in piles next to the walls of the church. Though this can be regarded as storage, it is more likely to be interpreted as a response to a crisis: the people of the village gathering tools in a notable location to be used for defence in preparation against a possible attack. Here it is important to note the ambiguity of such objects: agricultural tools – sickles, scythes, and axes and such – can also be used as weapons. Consequently, the compositions of the iron depots are important: ploughshares, for instance, cannot be interpreted in this manner.

The composition of the depot finds is also important for social interpretations of such finds. Different artefacts can represent different professions and walks of life. With the exception of Cegléd-Madarászhalom, all the mentioned depots, including the castle one, mostly consisted of basic agricultural tools – sickles, hoes, scythes, and ploughshares and such – hidden in a pit. At Cegléd-Madarászhalom, the composition of the depot supports a different interpretation to the context. While the context suggests a response to a crisis, the content – in the four piles were many fragments of iron mountings (and, perhaps, chest braces), fragments of knives, nails, a drill, a shackle, a stirrup, a key (and a fragment of a key), a lock, a loop, a mace head, and some agricultural tools (such as sickles, axes, and a small scythe). Found closer to the wall was a bronze bowl, possibly used for liturgical purposes.<sup>370</sup> Unlike the other depot, this depot at Cegléd-Madarászhalom appears to be the product of a local community, rather than an individual or a family.

The issue of composition is even more important in the case of finds from comparable destruction sites. Some, such as those found at Hejőkeresztúr-Vizekköze, are closely connected to the actual battle, and thus contain in addition to iron household objects various weapons.<sup>371</sup> Others present specific contexts. At Szank, as with the range of jewellery, a variety of iron objects from everyday tools to scale designed for money changing reveals the social range of those who sought refuge in that house.<sup>372</sup> In a pit in the village of Dunaföldvár-Lóhegy, likely to have been destroyed by the Mongols, were found the remains of two women and two children along with eleven sickles, the iron handles of tools, a nail, a knife, and an axe.<sup>373</sup>

<sup>359</sup> Tóth, 'A tatárjárás kincsleletei', 79, footnote 1. Some researchers mention a larger number of hoards: György V. Székely asserts there are more than one hundred and fifty hoards from the period. No other study however has a detailed catalogue of the hoards. See György V. Székely, 'Megjegyzések a késő Árpád-kori éremleletek keltezéséhez' [Notes for the dating of late Arpadian age coin finds], *A numizmatika és a társtudományok* [Numismatics and its disciplines], ed. Ádám Nagy (Szeged: Móra Ferenc Múzeum, 1994), 115-124 (p. 118).

<sup>360</sup> Róbert Müller, *A mezőgazdasági vaseszközök fejlődése Magyarországon a késővaskortól a törökök végéig*. [The Development of Agricultural Tools in Hungary from the Late Iron Age to the end of the Ottoman Period] (Zalaegerszeg: Zalai Gyűjtemény. Közlemények Zala megye közgyűjteményeinek kutatásaiból 19/2, 1982).

<sup>361</sup> Nándor, 'A Nyáregyháza-pusztapótharaszti sarlólelet'.

<sup>362</sup> Judit Topál, 'Árpád-kori temető és templom Cegléd-Madarászhalmon' [Arpadian Age Church and Churchyard at Cegléd-Madarászhalom] *Studia Comitatus I* (1972): 53-97. For Müller's revised dating of the complex Topál's work, see Müller, *A mezőgazdasági vaseszközök*, p. 49.

<sup>363</sup> Júlia Kovalovszki, *Településátadások Tiszaeszlár-Bashalmon* [Settlement Excavations at Tiszaeszlár-Bashalom] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1980), pp. 35-36.

<sup>364</sup> Róbert Müller, Csemő-Gerjehalom. In Sz. Burger Alice (ed.): *Régészeti Füzetek* 1/28. [Archaeological Booklets 1/28.], pp. 91-92.

<sup>365</sup> László Szolnoki, 'A nagycseri vaseszközlelet' [The Iron Tool Find from Nagycser], *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* 2005 (2006): 216-237.

<sup>366</sup> György Terei - Antónia Horváth, 'Az Árpád-kori Kána falu vasleletei I' *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae* 2007, 215-245., and György Terei - Antónia Horváth, 'Az Árpád-kori Kána falu vasleletei II' *Budapest Régiségei* 41 (2007): 153-192.

<sup>367</sup> Müller, *A mezőgazdasági vaseszközök*, pp. 236-237.

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 284-285.

<sup>369</sup> Judit Gábor and Gyula Nováki, *Ausgrabung in der Erdburg von Abaújvár*, *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 28 (1976), pp. 425-434. See also Müller, *A mezőgazdasági vaseszközök*, p. 25.

<sup>370</sup> Müller, *A mezőgazdasági vaseszközök*, p. 49.

<sup>371</sup> Mária Wolf, 'Régészeti adatok a Muhi csata történetéhez' [Archaeological Evidence on the History of the Battle of Muhi], in 'Carmen miserabile': *A tatárjárás magyarországi emlékei* ['Carmen miserabile': The Remains of the Mongol Invasion in Hungary], ed. Szabolcs Rosta and György V. Székely, (Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014), pp. 69-80 (p. 69).

<sup>372</sup> Sz. Wilhelm, 'Szank', pp. 83-85.

<sup>373</sup> Magdolna Szilágyi and Gábor Serlegi, 'Nád közé bújtak?... Egy a tatárjárás során elpusztult település maradványai Dunaföldvár határában' [Hidden in the Reed?... Remains of a Settlement Destroyed by the Mongol Invasion on the border of Dunaföldvár], in 'Carmen miserabile': *A tatárjárás magyarországi emlékei* ['Carmen miserabile': The Remains of the Mongol Invasion in Hungary], ed. Szabolcs Rosta and György V. Székely, (Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014), pp. 127-140 (pp. 131-133).





Fig. 51. An Example for Irons as Treasures at the Destroyed Village of Dunaföldvár-Ló hegy. Szilágyi and Serlegi, 'Nád közé bújtak', pp. 138, 140.

The quality of the objects is an important feature when understanding the value and social agency of such finds to assist comparisons. Unlike jewellery, the quality of iron tools is not something frequently discussed or easy to define. The artefacts from the sites in the last paragraph lack any kind of maker's mark. No general statements can be made either, as publications omit any description of the quality of the material. To understand the social context of iron depots, an investigation into their composition along with the quantity of objects was a more achievable and useful area for research. Though most of the sites had a similar context (and thus a similar composition), it was clearly visible that different types of sites were associated with different types of tool complexes. In village contexts, the number of artefacts is small, and agricultural tools – mainly sickles and ploughshares – dominate. In rural sites, the agricultural tools found in pits represent the layer of rural society who treasured such items because they were important in providing their livelihoods. This is stressed in sites such as Dunaföldvár-Ló hegy that were created by destruction: here, such objects appear to have been the most valuable objects owned by the family. However, as the Nyáregyháza depot showed, such objects also held significant value for a wealthier layer of the rural population. The different social context of the iron depots can be noted from the exact finding situation of each depot. For instance, the assemblage found at Cegléd-Madarászhalom differs in its composition – being locations to store objects for everyday use (such as tools) – than in sites where storage was intended to be temporary.

The frequency of iron depots in rural locations has multiple consequences on modern understanding of such finds. Most, frequently consisting of household tools, were discovered accidentally, and often not by experts, and subsequently the context went unrecorded. The possibility that such objects were hid like other kinds of hoards – with the option of being recovered at a later date – is difficult to assess without such information. This, in turn, leads back to the problematic issue of the gap in evidence between precious metal – and coin – hoards and iron depots. Regarding the taphonomy of iron depots, the division of the diverse assemblages remains important. Storages appear to be the rarest category. Because of their function, they typically remain within features that provide a greater chance for a full archaeological recovery. However, since such depositions were intended only to be temporary, such survivals exist only because of an unexpected catastrophe. Iron depots should, consequently, be a frequent type of object hidden in advance of an expected event. Owing to the present market value of iron objects, such finds are usually disregarded by amateur metal detectorists and treasure hunters. With the historical artefacts seemingly appearing just like rusty modern equipment to the unfamiliar eye, such finds are seldom recovered (let alone reach a museum). On the rare occasion that they do, the difficulties of dating and the lack variety in forms has resulted in a lack of academic interest and, as a consequence, a decline in the scientific value of the objects. As a result, the taphonomy of iron tools, owing to social trends and research issues, is significantly different to that of precious metals.

However, even with a small sample significant results regarding the social agency of iron tools can be reached, and their connection with jewellery and coin hoards can be examined. Using mainly the evidence from sites formed in

moments of destruction, slight differences appear in the comparison between the hoards and the depots. In cases such as Dunaföldvár-Ló hegy, where people appear to have grabbed their valuables and gone into hiding, the iron depots – consisting only of iron tools – may have belonged to a lower level of rural society. The similarity with the assemblages in regards of composition (in every case represented the basic tools of agriculture) and context (a desired hiding) support this interpretation. It must be stressed however that when economically valuable treasures are found hidden with iron tools, it is apparent that even those who possessed other a notable amount of coins and jewellery considered the iron tools valuable. This phenomenon is most likely owing to a common feature of rural society. Regardless of position in the economic hierarchy, all received income from agriculture. In times of conflict, the cost of replacing such tools would have been substantial. As such, their actual value may have been much greater than one would expect.

#### *Socio-Economic Division and Burials*

In addition to objects, other contextual features have been used to determine social rank of the deceased. A frequent commonplace in scholarship is that the location of the grave within a churchyard reflects the social position of the dead. As with the repeated phrases concerning grave goods, such a bold pronouncement can be countered by more thorough research of well-analysed cemeteries.

The churchyard at Kána provides one such counter-argument to this repeated assertion. Each phase of the churchyard shows that people were buried in a concentric pattern. The exceptions to this rule were a few child burials, which were interred in earlier graves. Rather that location of the burial, the social position of the deceased appears to be connected with another feature. Thirty percent of the graves were framed with ashlar. These stone-framed graves likewise are not clustered within a small area of the church. (Most of these burials also question another commonplace: the majority of graves that included jewellery were not framed with ashlar). The only other example for this burial pattern is found in Zalavár, which had a longer Christian tradition than the average Arpad-era village. The norm for Arpad age settlements was for villages to concentrate near their churches from around the thirteenth century.<sup>374</sup> The evidence from Kána shows that the positioning of graves around the church only became important from the thirteenth century onwards. Fitting with the Arpad-era feature of not having graves within the church - let alone near the altar – the manner of burial at Kána shows the repeated claim to be unsuited for the Hungarian context. The ashlar framed graves, spread across the churchyard, make similar assertions regarding status being reflected in the position within the cemetery problematic. The rather patternless character of the cemetery may resemble the similarly scattered structure Arpadian age settlements. A comparative analysis of the development of rural churchyard cemeteries and settlements might lead to interesting conclusions about medieval Hungarian village societies.

<sup>374</sup> Tibor Ákos Rácz, 'Social Differences within 10<sup>th</sup> – 14<sup>th</sup> Century Rural Settlement Types in the Central Area of the Hungarian Kingdom,' in *Hierarchies in rural settlements. Ruralia IX.*, ed. Ian Klápště (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 423–435.





Fig. 52. Ashlar Framed and Simple Earth Graves from Kána Village. Graves 43, 373, 268, 84.



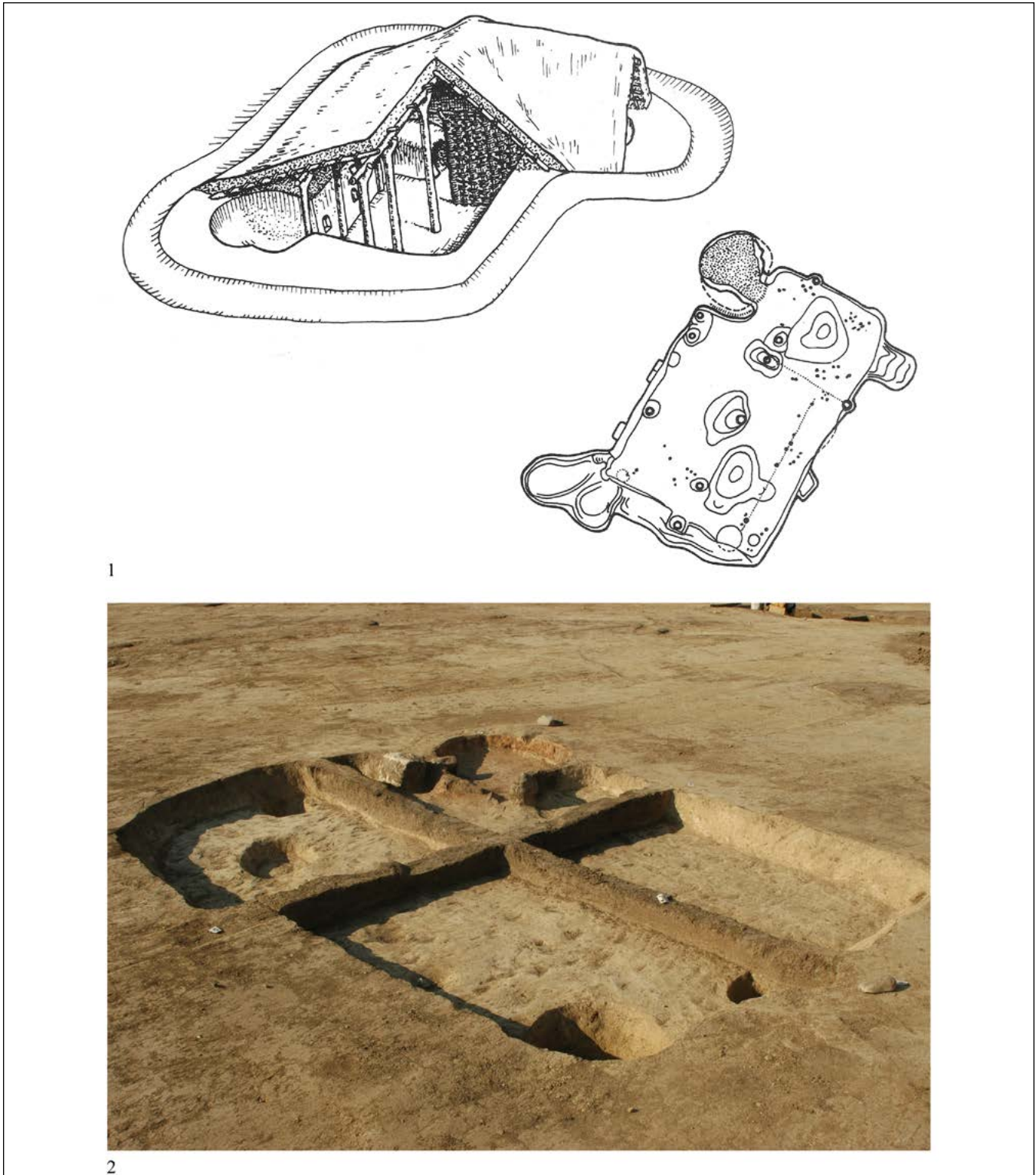


Fig. 53. A Characteristic House Type for the Arpadian Age. 1: Reconstruction of a House in Kardosút. After Méri, *Árpád-kori népi építkezésünk*, Pic 3 and 4. 2: A typical house from Kána Village.

#### Socio-Economic Division and Settlements

There is a final element worth exploring in the discussion of socio-economic differences in rural society with regards to material culture, and that involves a large-scale investigation of settlements. In theory, the differences in structure could reveal the social divisions of the inhabitants. Recently, Tibor Ákos Rácz examined settlement patterns and differences in housing in tenth to fourteenth century rural Hungarian society.

He concluded that though in legal terms the social status of the inhabitants was diverse, in appearance rural settlements shared the same character nearly all relied on agriculture and animal husbandry before the thirteenth century.<sup>375</sup> The growing market economy towards the close of that period resulted in a change in settlement patterns: villages became increasingly concentrated around their churches, and divisions appeared

<sup>375</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 426-427.

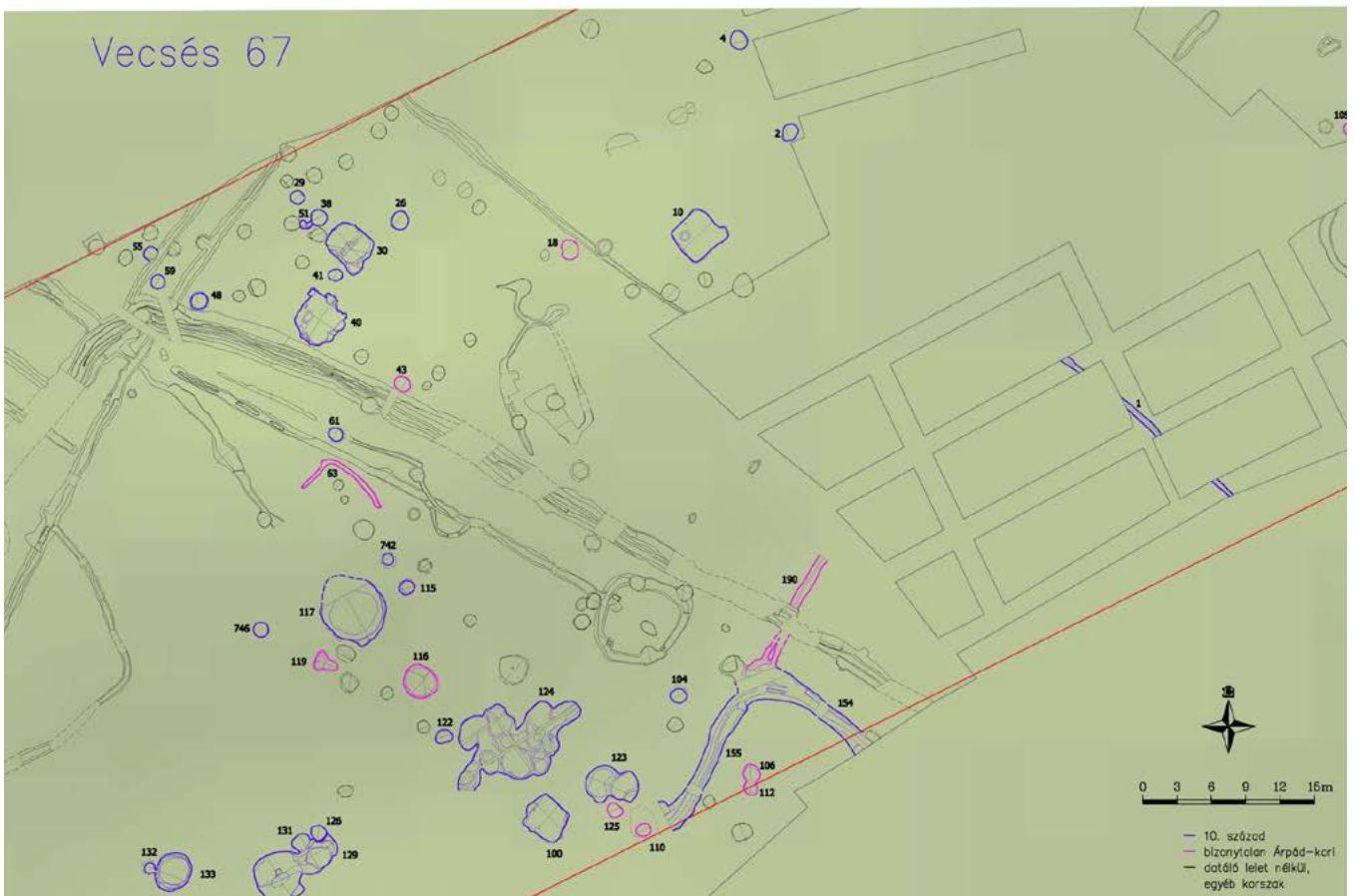
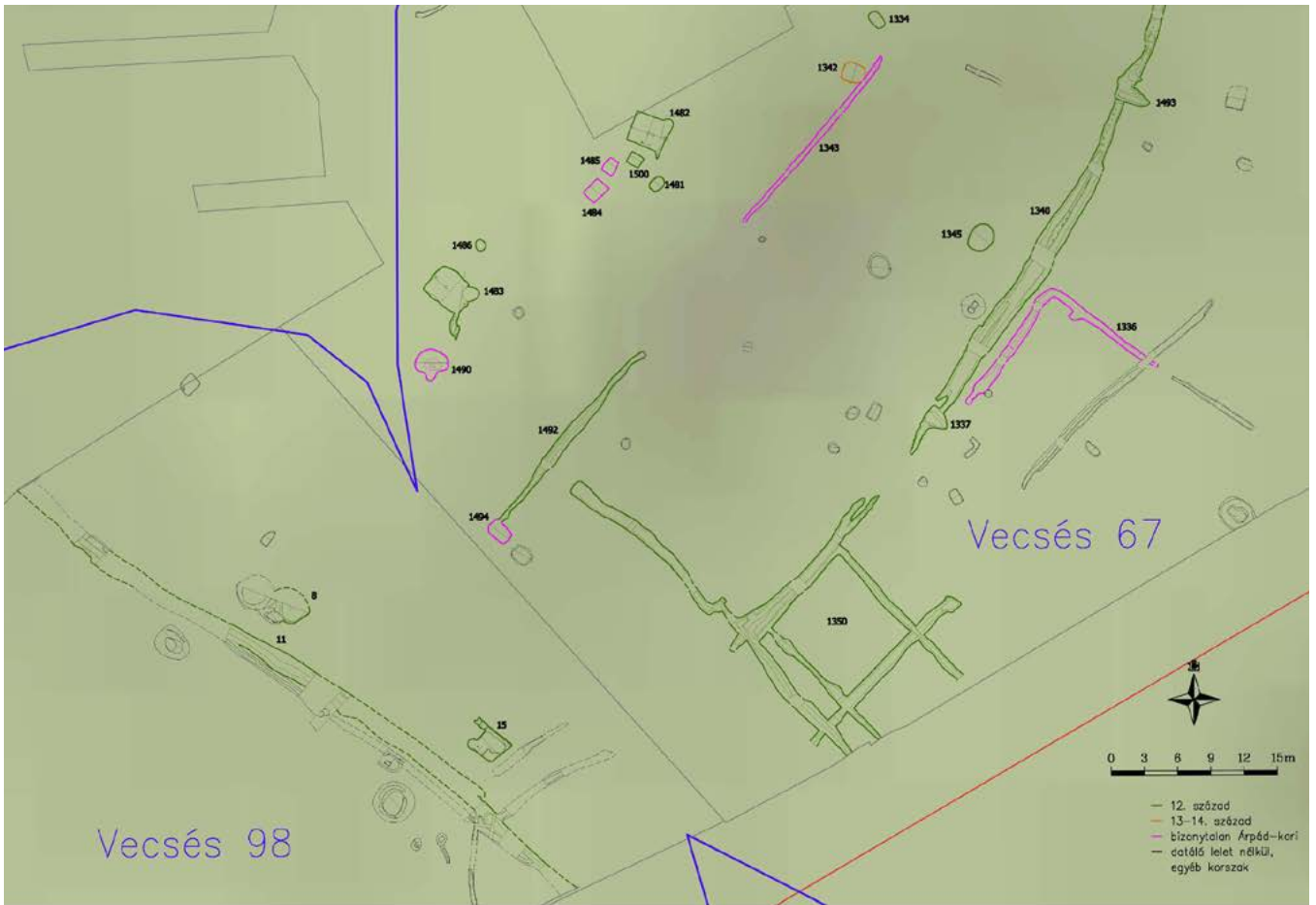


Fig. 54. Typical Arpadian Age Settlement Structures I. The Layout of the Sites Vecsés 67 and 98, with Chronologically Distinguished Features.

Rácz, 'Az Árpád-kori települési formák', pp. 183-184.



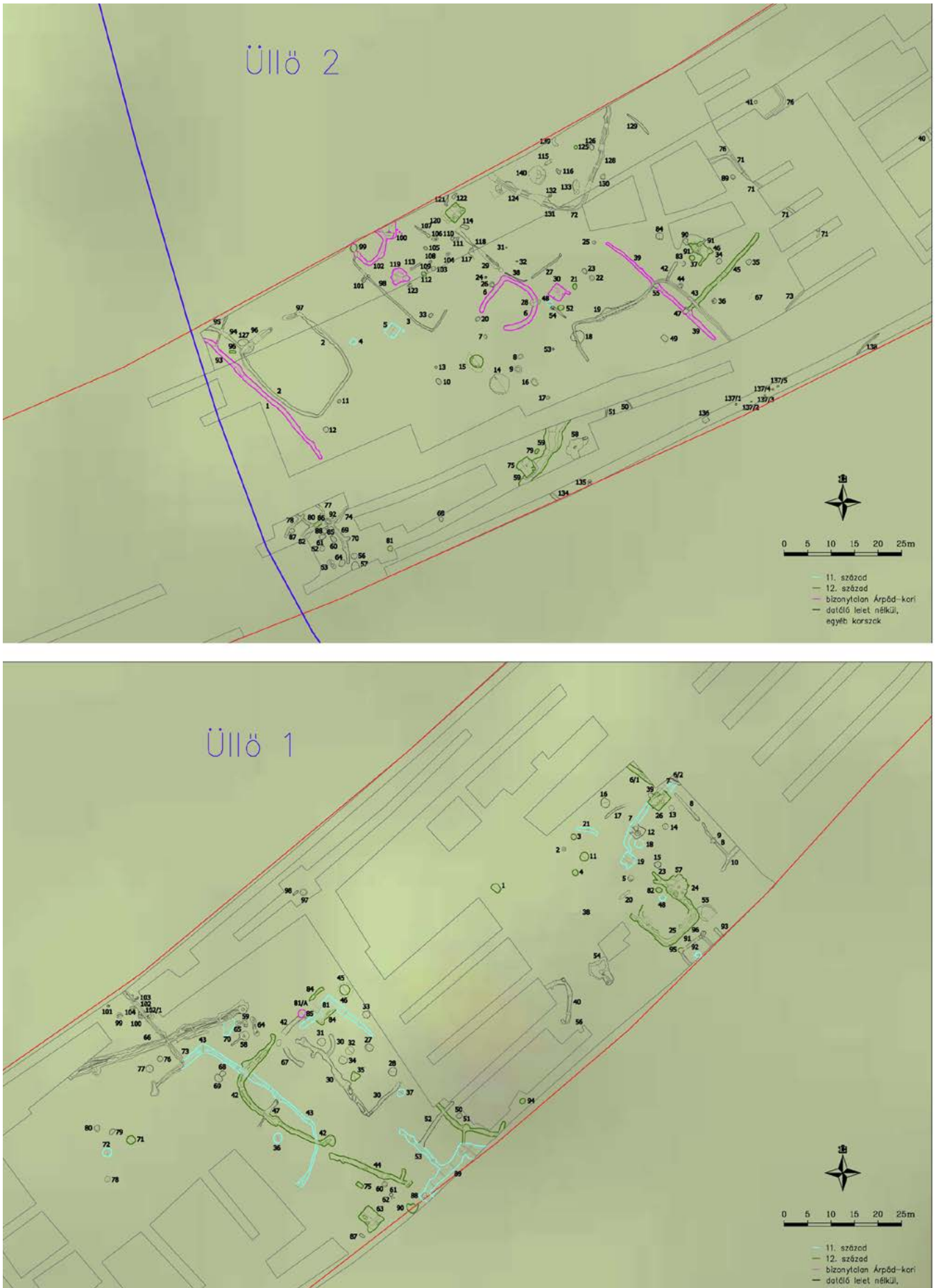


Fig. 55. Typical Arpadian Age Settlement Structures II. The Layout of the Sites Üllő 1 and 2, with Chronologically Distinguished Features.

Rácz, 'Az Árpád-kori települési formák', p. 180.

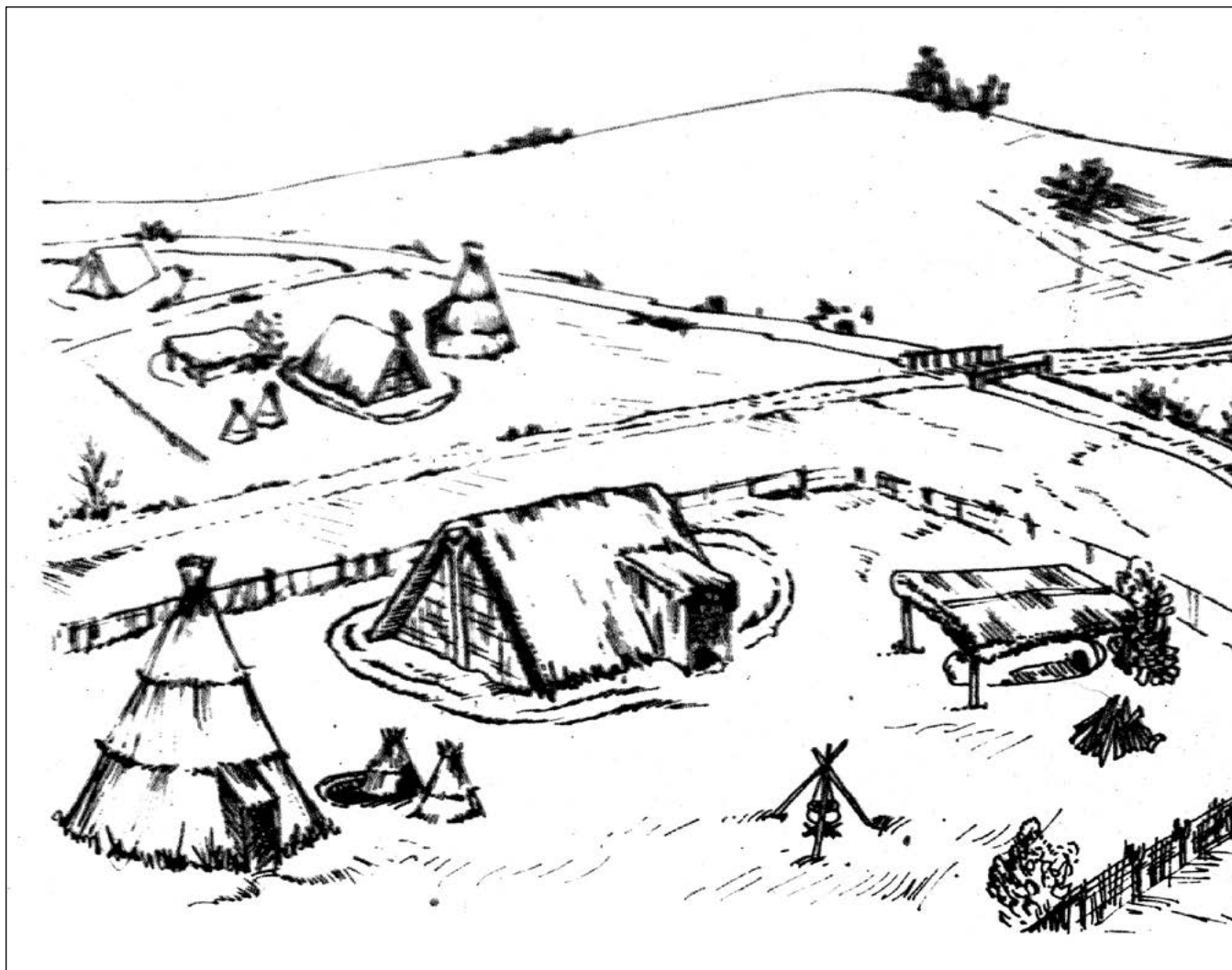


Fig. 56. Reconstruction of a Typical Village Scene, Based on the Excavations at Tiszaeszlár-Bashalom.  
After Kovalovszky, *Településásatások Tiszaeszlás-Bashalmon*.

in housing. It seems quite probable that social stratification and emerging social groups can be identified on the basis of developments in vernacular architecture at the turn of the fourteenth century. Excavation revealed houses that were built in a more sophisticated manner than the average dwelling of such settlements. This change can also be interpreted as a sign of social and economic transformations occurring in rural society.<sup>376</sup>

### Conclusion

The first and most important outcome of this analysis of the potential socio-economic investigations of hoards and depots is that the objects themselves – be they jewellery or iron tools – should not be connected to a single strata of society because such items can be associated with both the poorest and the wealthiest layers of rural society. This is even more important when considering burials.

Certain types of finds however – particularly specific types of jewellery – can be identified as belonging to the highest layer of society. Not surprisingly, these finds are not often found. When such objects are discovered, they are usually

found in the context of a hoard, and not to the more frequent context of a burial or from a settlement.

The intricate social stratification visible in the written sources that was characteristic for the first half of the thirteenth century is not reflected in the hoards. This is connected to two issues. Firstly, the Mongol invasion hoard horizon may reflect a society that has already to some degree transformed in a process that was finalised at the turn of the fourteenth century. Secondly, financial status – like social status – was a subjective notion. In the previously mentioned records of the canonisation process of Saint Margaret, a husband and wife, making a living from agriculture, in addition to providing different answers regarding their legal status give different responses about their wealth. The husband stated they were not rich; the wife claimed otherwise.<sup>377</sup> In addition to relying more on the context of the finds than merely the objects themselves, archaeological interpretations of socio-economic aspects of finds should always be aware of such discrepancies in perception.

<sup>376</sup> Laszlovszky, 'Fama Sanctitatis', pp. 108-118.

<sup>377</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 118-119.

## Conclusion

This study examined the concept of treasure and its relation with people within the context of twelfth and thirteenth century medieval Kingdom of Hungary. By examining and comparing the different contexts where treasure can be found – hoards of the Mongol invasion, burials, and settlement remains – diverse attitudes and value systems regarding such items can be observed as being dependent on the economic and social connotations of the deposition and character of each artefact.

To achieve this result, this study examined the chronology – of both the date of production and the era of use – of jewellery and dress accessories of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Socioeconomic aspects were explored through comparison of finds from different contexts: burials, hoards, destroyed settlements from the Mongol invasion, and stray finds. To avoid circular arguments, control-dating for the artefacts – based on the thorough excavation of the cemetery at Kána, established by analysis of the whole site – was employed to provide a stable dating for the artefacts.

In addition to revealing the problematic issues regarding the accepted dating of several types of artefact, the study examined two important phenomena found in burials of the period. The findings shall be briefly summarised below.

Firstly, concerning the lack of thirteenth-century artefacts in graves and, subsequently, the absence of graves dated to the thirteenth century – this was due to both contemporary burial customs and the state of research. The appearance of significantly earlier types of jewellery in graves, likely to be heirlooms, has given the absence of goods contemporaneous in date to the skeleton, has negatively influenced the chronology. Likewise, the small number of thoroughly analysed cemeteries has also led to artefacts being dated erroneously to the fourteenth century. This study has addressed this error

that has been repeated in scholarship with little concern for accuracy (or some such statement).

Secondly, with regards to the socioeconomic interpretations of hoards, this study has presented a more nuanced reading of the finds. The value of such items was made more recognisable by examining the type of jewellery, the amount of coins, the possible owners, and the context of the find. In taking account of these factors, this research determined which types of jewellery were common and which indicated a higher social class. The study also questioned the frequent interpretation concerned with hoards that contained both jewellery and coins: rather than determining the value from the coins, as commonly done, the presence of numerous jewellery items was a mark of value.

When examined alongside data from hoards, destroyed settlements, stray finds, and other excavated cemeteries, the evidence from Kána – while raising questions about modern scholarly assumptions regarding the interpretation of archaeological finds – also reveals a clearer picture of burial customs. While furthering the probing of these two problems, future research is likely to show while clarifying the chronology more subtle regional differences in burial customs. Though this study concentrated on Medieval Hungary with a particular focus on the hoard horizon connected to the Mongol invasion, the methods and the conclusions can be associated with a general phenomena occurring in medieval Europe. Further investigation of churchyard cemeteries, and patterns of burial, would provide more information to assess to what extent Kána was typical or the exception that proved the rule. This increase in knowledge would allow a bountiful comparison with artefacts from other European hoard horizons, enriching understanding of the relationship between people and their treasures.





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