

# POSSIBILITIES AND METHODS FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SETTLEMENT STRUCTURE OF MEDIEVAL BODROG COUNTY

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## *Introduction*

Researches studying the changes of medieval settlements and administration of Bács-Kiskun County have been undertaken by the Katona József Museum of Kecskemét since 2011<sup>1</sup>. The project has already included a series of extensive data and field studies aiming at the complex historical-geographical reconstruction of the former counties (Fejér, Bodrog, Pest, Outer-Szolnok, Csongrád) and the Cuman districts (Halas, Mizse, Kecskemet and Hantos District) [Fig. 1]. The Solt district (the later Solt County) was first investigated, and the findings have recently been published in a historical overview<sup>2</sup>.

The academic research on Bodrog County started in parallel with that of Solt District. Our aim was to summarize the general history of both counties, in particular to analyze the medieval and early modern administration and to observe the changes in the settlement boundaries.

We are also planning to publish the data collected about the settlements of the counties into a modern, historical geographic repository that corresponds to today's requirements and is well-illustrated with maps. The essence of our research is well reflected in Paul Harvey's thoughts: "It is a salutary experience for the local historian to draw a detailed historical map of his area. The map is a remarkably uncompromising medium for conveying information. When he writes, the historian will obviously write a lot about the things he knows and

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<sup>1</sup> Pányá 2017a, 91.

<sup>2</sup> Pányá 2017b, 135; Pányá 2017c, 84.

much less about the things he does not know. Whether deliberately or not, he will usually avoid drawing attention to the gaps in his knowledge, leaving his readers, and often himself, with the impression that he knows more than he really does, and that the gaps are unimportant or even non-existent. The map will have none of this. It gives equal emphasis to every part of the whole and there can be no sliding over doubtful points. ...Faced with the questions posed by any reconstruction on a map one realizes just how imprecise one's knowledge is, how many gaps there are that on the map will have to be represented by blank spaces or the most hesitant outlines"<sup>3</sup>.

In the first round, our aim is to publish a printed repository, and then we would like to deploy an online, extensible and scalable geospatial (GIS) database, which can be accessed in everyday life by civilian users as well as by professionals. The data can thus be used for purposes varying from local history education to the planning of archaeological works and the preparation of various tourist developments.

In this study, I intend to summarize the Bodrog County part of this extensive research. After a brief review of the literature, the methods used in the research are highlighted. I will then outline the history of the county from the beginning to the first half of the 18th century. Finally, the central elements of the research, the examination of the external boundaries and the cores of the settlements are to be presented. Hopefully, this will be useful for those who work on the historical geographic research of the southern counties of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.

### *Literature review*

The southern part of the Danube-Tisza Interfluvium, and especially the historical region of the united Bács and Bodrog Counties (later Bács-Bodrog County) is documented very extensively and colourfully. From the 18th century onward countless books and articles have been written about the history, geography and society of these two united counties. Especially during the period of Dualism, a vibrant cultural life developed in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary. In the period from the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867 to the First World War, a number of summary works were published, synthesizing the history and society of Bács-Bodrog<sup>4</sup>. At that time, Dezső Csánki published the multi-volume historical geographical repository, which included the 15th century settlements of Bodrog and Bács counties; further-

<sup>3</sup> Harvey 1985, 33.

<sup>4</sup> Radics 1876; Fridrik 1885; Dudás 1896; Jankó 1896, 34; Borovszky 1909; Bél 1982, 69; Kőhegyi, Solymos 1973; Papp, Rajsli 2006.

more Frigyes Pesty released his book about the old counties of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom<sup>5</sup>.

During the period of Dualism, cultural associations and societies were established nationwide to cultivate the local past and the historical monuments. One of the most active examples of these was the Historical Society of Bács-Bodrog County founded in 1883. The company's yearbook was published annually between 1885 and 1917 with four volumes per year, containing mostly short announcements about the united counties<sup>6</sup>. One of the most active members of the society was István Iványi, a teacher from Szabadka (Subotica, Serbia) who conducted extensive research to discover the past of Bács-Bodrog County. In addition to his smaller and large publications, Iványi published the county's geographical name repository, collected the historical literature of the united counties, and participated in the writing of the Bács-Bodrog County Monograph, which was published by Borovszky Samu in 1909<sup>7</sup>. After the First World War, the southern part of the former Bodrog County was ceded to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later Kingdom of Yugoslavia) by the treaty of Trianon, and the northern part was ceded to Hungary. The former lively cultural life ceased as a result of the border change.

New developments in literature took place in the decades after the war. György Györffy published a multi-volume work about the 11–14th century settlement, which is similar to Dezső Csánki's repository but this database also contains short descriptions of the settlements. However, it is important to point out that data of the medieval borders can also be found here, which were displayed on map sketches<sup>8</sup>. Basic works and repositories were also published during this period which are essential for researchers who are interested in the early modern settlement and social geography processes<sup>9</sup>.

In contrast, far less archaeological literature has been written about Bodrog County. In those parts of Bodrog County, which remained in Hungary after the Treaty of Trianon only small-scale researches were conducted. Systematic large-scale archaeological topographical studies have not been carried out<sup>10</sup>. Erika Wicker has carried out an investigation on the population of the area during the Ottoman period, and the tangible memories of the Slavic-Vlach population that moved to the area previously inhabited by the medieval Hungarians<sup>11</sup>. Until

<sup>5</sup> Pesty 1880, 219; Csánki 1894, 184.

<sup>6</sup> Mák 2017, 75; *A Bács-Bodrog Megyei Történelmi Társulat Évkönyve*, Zombor 1885–1917.

<sup>7</sup> Iványi 1890, 46, 90, 142; Iványi 1891, 89, Iványi 1907–1909.

<sup>8</sup> Györffy 1966, 695.

<sup>9</sup> Djurdjev-Zirojevic 1988; Káldy-Nagy 2008; Vass 1980; Hegyi 2001, 1255.

<sup>10</sup> Bondár 2017, 119.

<sup>11</sup> Wicker 2004; Wicker 2006; Wicker 2008.

the second half of the 20th century, only few medieval researches had been conducted in the southern parts of the former Bodrog County that were part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia<sup>12</sup>. Among the few publications the work of László Szekeres stands out, which summarizes the developments of the settlements during the Middle Ages, and describes the villages of the north eastern part of Bachka<sup>13</sup>.

The CD-Rom map publication of Engel Pal, which encompassed the entire territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, including Bodrog, was particularly interesting for our research<sup>14</sup>. This work was highly modern in its own day. However, based on our in-depth analysis, it was found that the border conditions indicated by Engel and cited by the later scientists without criticism were often inaccurate. In many cases, it shows only the approximate topological conditions and from a topographical point of view it is extremely sketchy. Nevertheless, it was one of the publications that has inspired us in the initial period of our research.

This brief overview shows that the volume of specialised literature on the southern part of the Danube-Tisza Interfluve is extensive. However, the number of works dealing explicitly with Bodrog county is small. On the other hand, there are more publications about the Bács and Bodrog counties, which were re-established and united as Bács-Bodrog during 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries. This incomplete documentation of Bodrog County was another incentive for our investigations, while the lack of documentation is also the reason for the fact that a historical geographical overview and the release of a related repository is planned.

### *Methodology*

Several historians have emphasised that the intensive research of the history and historical settlement geography of the southern half of the Kingdom of Hungary is experiencing serious difficulties<sup>15</sup>. Therefore, it is perhaps not surprising that it has caused serious problems for Dezső Csánki to draw the exact settlement network of Bács and Bodrog counties<sup>16</sup>. Due to the events of history with its overwhelming abundance of devastation, we have to reconstruct the history of the area from fragmentary data, which often can only be found in a multitude of archives, and from the data bits and pieces encountered during field research. This is why our research has been conducted in an interdisciplinary way from the outset, using the tools and results of archaeology,

<sup>12</sup> Takács 2006, 147.

<sup>13</sup> Szekeres 1983.

<sup>14</sup> Engel 2001.

<sup>15</sup> Engel 1997, 297; Thim 1895, 566.

<sup>16</sup> Csánki 1894, 131.

history, ethnography, linguistics, cartography, remote sensing, geography and GIS<sup>17</sup>. The methodological elements presented below are based partly on our own experience and partly on previous researches<sup>18</sup>.

In recent years, we have carried out extensive research, which, on the one hand, aimed to sketch the history of the Bodrog County and its settlement network. On the other hand, to get more insight into the results and weaknesses of previous historical geographical research. Our investigations covered a period of about five hundred years from the 13th century to the mid-18th century. Reliable data suitable for modelling the historical landscape and the settlement network could be collected for this entire period. The previous, resource-poor 11–13th period of Bács-Kiskun County is investigated in a separate research<sup>19</sup>.

It is important to emphasize that during the development of the proposed repository the emphasis was primarily on collecting interesting and valuable data about settlement geography. For example, data about estate descriptions, settlement boundaries, settlement structure and landscape details from medieval charters, were particularly important to us. Other data, e.g. about the ownership of settlements and praediums, general affairs of families, kinship, lawsuits, and various transactions of estates played a less important role in the reconstruction of the settlement network. Although, we believe that the present article and the proposed historical geographical repository may be useful to researchers of estate and family history, for example by the interpretation of the medieval geographical space.

For our research the manuscripts and printed maps were particularly important. Their relevance and their role in historical geographical reconstructions have been emphasized by many researchers<sup>20</sup>. In addition, the archive aerial photographs of the Hungarian HM Military History Institute and Museum and the [www.Fentrol.hu](http://www.Fentrol.hu) online archive photo database were also examined, and furthermore numerous settlement-structure observations were made. The evaluation and comparison of the various images and maps as well as the above mentioned boundary descriptions and geographical sources could not have been effectively carried out by traditional paper-based methods. For this purpose, we have developed a unique, scalable GIS system, optimized for geographical modelling of settlements. The core of the system consists of georeferenced manuscript and printed maps from the past 300

<sup>17</sup> Pánya-Rosta 2015, 243–246; Pánya 2017a, 93–97; Pánya 2017b, 135–136.

<sup>18</sup> Wolf 1989, 7; Tari 2000, 5; Szatmári 2005, 13; K. Németh 2006, 11, K. Németh 2011, 35; Stibrányi 2015, 7; Rosta 2014, 14; Pálóczi Horváth 2020.

<sup>19</sup> Rosta, Pánya 2018, 50; Rosta 2018a, 186; Rosta 2018b, 151–196.

<sup>20</sup> Zoltai 1925, 7; Mesterházy 1982, 104–105; Bodnár, Sárközi, Szolyák 2000, 87–89; B. Huszár 2002;

years, surface models, archival and contemporary aerial photographs, as well as vector datasets (archaeological sites, roads etc.). Combining all these sources, it was possible to interpret the boundary descriptions from medieval and early modern manuscripts, and to identify countless boundary elements (hills, lakes, ports, marshes). Furthermore, the comparison of the sources and the maps led to a conclusion about the medieval landscape, as well as to the identification the locations of rivers, lakes, forests and arable lands.

As far as it could be determined from the literature review, no systematic archaeological research was carried out in Bács-Kiskun County. Due to the scarcity of human resources, we neither did have the opportunity to do so. Instead, we used the so-called “targeted archaeological research”, which had been used elsewhere in the country with great success<sup>21</sup>. During our research, we tried to narrow down the number of sites worth investigating through database research, analysis of maps and aerial photographs; therefore, we thoroughly researched only the places worth investigation. The fieldwork was partly done by amateur archaeologists. Their work played a huge role in the exploration of the medieval village sites, because on ploughed surfaces it was possible to collect a lot of scattered finds, which are important for analysis, and can provide grounds for conclusions and further research. The use of licensed metal detectorists, known as ‘social archaeology’ in Western Europe, has become widely accepted by Hungarian museums and research institutes since the early 2010s<sup>22</sup>. The cooperation with the detectorists has proven to be very successful. As an example, just the collection of the Katona József Museum of Kecskemét alone has expanded by about 13–14 thousand items during the first 7–8 years of this cooperation.

During the fieldworks, we tried to identify, as far as possible, the boundary lines and boundary points known from written and visual sources. Unfortunately, this did not always yield sufficient results, due to the landscape changes that have taken place during the last centuries. Boundary markers, border ditches, border trees and other border-marking objects (stones, pillars, stakes, reeds, sedges), mentioned in medieval sources, were partly conquered by nature, partly destroyed by intensive farming and human landscape alteration in most places.

The greatest successes were achieved by identifying the inner areas (tofts and crofts) of the settlements. With the low cost methods described above, we have tried to draw a sketchy picture of the structure and extent of the built-up areas of the settlements and the location of its main buildings (church,

<sup>21</sup> K. Németh 2011, 3.

<sup>22</sup> Mordovin 2013, 272; Újhelyi 2016; Bíró, Katona, Kiss, Rózsa 2018.

courtyard, castle) [Fig. 2–4]. Research was greatly hampered by the fact that currently much of the land is under intensive agricultural cultivation. As a result, many surface objects (remains of former buildings, trenches, ditches, hills), and boundary markers have been removed over time by ploughing. In comparison, some other parts of Europe, such as England, have a lot more medieval settlement traces on the surface (ruins, ditches, fishponds, embankments, etc.)<sup>23</sup>. In the Great Plain (Hungary, Serbia and Romania), most of these traces have been destroyed due to cultivation, and they can only be found by aerial exploration, geophysical research (GPR, magnetometer) and archaeological excavation. There are also some interior areas of the settlements that can hardly be researched due to various factors (afforestation, current built-up areas). These areas can usually only be examined during archaeological research related to estate development.

### *Historical Overview*

Bodrog County is located in the southern part of present-day Hungary and in the northern part of present-day Serbia. The size of the county has changed several times during its slightly more than five-centuries-long existence. Between the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries, its area stretched from the Danube to the Tisza River in an east-west direction, and from the present Kiskunhalas in the north to the Verbász (Vrbas, Serbia) and Szenttamás (Srbobran, Serbia) in Bačka in the south<sup>24</sup>. According to Gyula Kristó, Bodrog County originally did not reach the Tisza River in the east, only during the expansion of the Árpád Age, at the expense of Bács County, it was able to annex Zenta and Adorján (Senta, Adorjan, Serbia)<sup>25</sup>.

The royal Bodrog County is one of the earliest established counties in the Kingdom of Hungary<sup>26</sup>. Together with Bács, Bihar, Pozsony and Sopron counties, it was one of the most important counties of the Kingdom in terms of area and political weight before the Great Tartar invasion of Europe<sup>27</sup>. We have only modest knowledge of the early settlement network. In the northern part of Bodrog, belonging to Hungary, systematic archaeological research has not been carried out yet. Thus, we know of only a few Árpád-age sites. This mainly causes problems in identifying the settlements to the east of Baja. The situation is similar in the southern part of Bodrog, which belongs to Serbia. The north-eastern part of Serbian Backa, which for the most part belonged to the his-

<sup>23</sup> Everson, Taylor, Dunn 1991; Beresford, Hurst 1990

<sup>24</sup> Kristó 2003, 103.

<sup>25</sup> Kristó 2003, 37–38.

<sup>26</sup> Kristó 2003, 101.

<sup>27</sup> Tringli 2009, 24; C. Tóth 2010, 324.

torical Csongrád County, is relatively well known, but the north-western part, which contains the southern part of Bodrog, has hardly been surveyed<sup>28</sup>. This is mainly due to the fact that Serbian archaeological research did hardly concern itself with the Arpad-age (and late medieval) villages of the North-Backa<sup>29</sup>. The situation is similar with written sources. Although some boundary descriptions from the 11th–13th centuries have been preserved, they are very short and contain modest topographic data; therefore unfortunately they are of little use for border reconstruction<sup>30</sup>.

In spite of the shortcomings listed above, some of the features of the settlement network can be inferred from the known written and material sources. The Hungarians, who settled here, like in other areas of the Carpathian Basin, preferred the areas close to rivers. Thus, the areas along the Danube and Tisza River were densely populated, while the Telecska loess plateau was hardly inhabited<sup>31</sup>.

The centre of the royal county was the town of Bodrog (Hungarian “Bodrogyvár”, Bodrog-castle), the exact location of which is unknown. It probably existed near the Danube, somewhere below Bezdán (Bezdan, Serbia), near the present Monostorszeg (Bački Monoštor, Serbia)<sup>32</sup>. The estate of Bodrog Castle was scattered partly across Bodrog County and partly across the neighbouring Baranya and Bács counties. During the Mongol invasion, its population and settlement structure was seriously damaged. We do not have accurate data, we can only estimate a 50–70%, or in some places up to 90–100% of devastation, especially in the middle sandy area of the Danube-Tisza Interfluve, which later became populated by Cumans<sup>33</sup>.

Around 1245 King Béla IV of Hungary, fearing another Mongolian campaign, invited the Cumans into the country. Approximately 60–70,000 of Cumans were settled in the deserted areas of the Danube-Tisza Interfluve, in the Valley of the Zagyva River, in the Tiszántúl region, and along the Körös, Maros and Temes Rivers. It is known from previous historical research and from medieval sources that the central part of the Danube-Tisza Interfluve was occupied by the Csertán clan (Latin “generatio Chertan”)<sup>34</sup>. The exact boundaries of the area settled by the Cumans are currently unknown, nevertheless the available fragmentary data suggest that they cover the middle, sandy ridge areas

<sup>28</sup> Szekeres 1983, 4.

<sup>29</sup> Takács 2006, 148.

<sup>30</sup> Győrffy 1966, 696; DL 87079, Sebők 2007, 171, DL 87205; ZO I, 101.

<sup>31</sup> Takács 2000 1112; Takács 2013, 656.

<sup>32</sup> Takács 2000, 1111; Mindszenty 1831, 38; Kristó 2003, 101.

<sup>33</sup> Szabó 1966, 177.

<sup>34</sup> Hatházi 2000, 174–175; Pálóczi Horváth 1996, 25.

of Bodrog County, the region of Szabadka (Subotica, Serbia) and the area to the east of Szabadka<sup>35</sup>.

The transformation following the Mongol invasion also affected the economy and the territory of the county. In the second half of the 13th century, Bodrog County slowly revived. Contemporary records show the names of many former estates of Bodrog castle that had been empty since the devastation caused by the invasion. Many of these former estates became inhabited once again by secular landlords during the second half of the 13th century<sup>36</sup>. The privatization of these castle estates started the conversion of the royal county into a noble one.

The area of Bodrog County (ca. 7,500 km<sup>2</sup> in the Árpád Age) decreased by two-thirds (to 2,500 km<sup>2</sup>) by the mid-14th century. Its eastern border shifted westwards from the Tisza River to the line of today's Szabadka (Subotica, Serbia), most of its former eastern parts became a part of Csongrád County and smaller parts belonged to Bács County [Fig. 5]. Nevertheless, by the end of the 15th century it was one of the moderately populated counties of the Kingdom of Hungary<sup>37</sup>. A similar process took place in the northern neighbour of Bodrog County, in the Solt District of Fejér County, where the sandy ridge territories, populated by Cumans, got isolated from the county and its borders shifted more or less to a westward direction<sup>38</sup>. The adjacent Csongrád County also became "slimmer", losing much of its sandy ridge areas after the Cumans moved into its western parts<sup>39</sup>.

From the beginning of the 14th century to the beginning of the 16th century, a large number of written sources are present for Bodrog County. Most of these records are from some of the larger family archives: the Töttös-Várdai family charters, which have been preserved in the Zichy family archives and mainly are about the northern and central parts of the county, and the archives of the Czobor (Pálffy) and Révay families, which contain valuable charters relating to the central and southern parts of the county<sup>40</sup>. Besides, several smaller family archives, as well as archives of places of authentication (Latin *locus credibilis*) have survived, for example the archives of Cathedral chapter of Kalocsa.

The most valuable part of the medieval source material for us are the

<sup>35</sup> Pálóczi Horváth 2017, 19; Györffy 1990, 300.

<sup>36</sup> MOL OL DL 97856, DL 58464, DL 87153

<sup>37</sup> Kubinyi 1996, 159.

<sup>38</sup> Pánya 2017b, 156.

<sup>39</sup> Kristó 2003, 149–150.

<sup>40</sup> MNL OL Archives of Duke branch of the Esterházy family, Repositorium (Q 67), Czobor family (Q 382); Slovakian National Archive – Central archive of Révay family – Charts (U 587), Central archive of Pálffy family – Charts (U 505)

charters, which contain complete and/or partial boundary descriptions of settlements and estates. Also, there are numerous charters which contain sporadic geographic data, e. g. about lakes, forests, meadows, mills, orchards, etc. These data can be used to create a more accurate picture of the medieval settlement network, public administration, the population and settlement geography of the settlements, as well as the environment and land-use of this period.

In terms of ethnicity, the remained documents reveal a picture of a county with a purely Hungarian population<sup>41</sup>. However, not only Bodrog but also Bács County, to the south of Bodrog, had a Hungarian majority until the migration of the South Slavs in parallel with the Turkish expansion<sup>42</sup>. For the Slavic population in Bodrog County the earliest data are from the early 16th century. In charters dating from 1509, military peasants (*vojniki*) around Czoborszentmihály (Sombor, Serbia) are mentioned<sup>43</sup>. Military peasants with a similar role (*hussar*, river flotilla man) also served in the surrounding counties before the Battle of Mohács (1526)<sup>44</sup>. At the beginning of the 16th century, the Turkish-Hungarian warfare revived, as a result, the settlement network of the southern part of the neighbouring Bács County and the nearby Szerém and Valkó County slowly began to deteriorate<sup>45</sup>. As far as we know, Bodrog County was not reached by Turkish raiders, but many refugees from the combat-affected counties arrived to the area<sup>46</sup>. After the fall of Nándorfehérvár (1521) the relocation of the nobility from the southern counties to the northern areas began. For example, the Várdai family, the most prominent owners of the upper part of Bodrog County, transferred their archives to Kisvárd, Szabolcs County in 1524 because of the Turkish danger<sup>47</sup>.

Bodrog's fate was sealed after the Battle of Mohács. After the conquest of Buda, the victorious Sultan Suleyman returned to the Balkans via the Danube-Tisza Interfluve. His army was split in two, the western Suleyman-led corps passed through Bodrog's most densely populated area next to the Danube River, and its soldiers robbed and plundered the villages. The other part of the army marched from Buda to Szeged and then to Pétervárad (Újvidék/Novi Sad,

<sup>41</sup> 1364: ZO III, 244; 1413: ZO VI, 282; 1413: ZO VI, 282; 1448: ZO IX, 201; 1453: MNL OL DL 81111, ZO IX, 368; 1453: ZO IX, 379; 1454: ZO IX, 449; 1472: ZO XI, 120; 1499: Kőfalvi 2006, 419, MNL OL DL 88832; 1499: MNL OL DL 88830; 1509: Tringli 2008, 354, MNL OL DL 71105; 1509: MNL OL DL 71109, Tringli 2008 360, MNL OL DL 46909; 1513: MNL OL DL 71125, Tringli 2008, 375; 1525: Engel 1995, 353.

<sup>42</sup> Bukurov 1978, 26; Kocsis 1996 79; Kocsis 2006 127; Takács 2006 160; Blazovich 1999, 37.

<sup>43</sup> MNL OL DL 46895

<sup>44</sup> Kubinyi 1996, 148.

<sup>45</sup> Szabó 1966, 181; DL 37163; DL 37328

<sup>46</sup> Gulyás 2011, 175., 186., 189.

<sup>47</sup> MNL OL DL 89189

Serbia), destroying the eastern villages of the county. We know of numerous successful and less successful attempts to resist the Turks in the Hungarian Kingdom<sup>48</sup>. Residents of villages and towns attempted to defend themselves in Bodrog and Bács counties, but apart from the town of Szabadka (Subotica, Serbia).they all failed.<sup>49</sup>

In the turbulent period following the battle of Mohács, a Serbian soldier known as the Black Man (Latin *Homo Niger*, Serbian Ivan *Nenad/Cserni Jovan*) in Hungarian sources, appeared on the scene. In area of Lippa, the Black Man formed an army consisting of thousands of Slavs who had escaped from the Turks and afterwards had come to the Hungarian territory<sup>50</sup>. János Szapolyai the Voivode of Transylvania, later King of Hungary, invited the Black Man to Tokaj, where Jován pledged him his loyalty. "Then, János Voivode gave him horses, money and other goods, and ordered him to ride across the Tisza River, to the abandoned land of Bács County, because in Bács County there is still a lot of food throughout the villages, stoked, unthreshed grain and derelict cattle's. That is how he let him go. And Jovan rode fast across the Tisza River with his Slavic army"<sup>51</sup>. The county of Bács mentioned by Szapolyai may have meant the lower half of Bodrog and Csongrád, as well as the whole area of Bács County. After Jovan arrived to the area that he received by him from the Voivode, he made his headquarters in Szabadka (Subotica, Serbia)<sup>52</sup>. Meanwhile, many of the nobles and peasants having fled earlier from the Turkish devastation returned to the Southern part of the Duna-Tisza Interfluve, but they were not allowed to return to their estates<sup>53</sup>.

What did happen to the administrative officers of Bodrog County at that time? Some of them died in or after the Battle of Mohács, or were captured by the Turks. However, part of them may have survived, and however slowly, the county started to function again. Half a year later, in March 1527, Lajos Sulyok of Lekse and Mihály Várdai of Bátmonostor appeared at the parliament (Latin *diet*) proclaimed in Buda by King János Szapolyai. Interestingly, Balázs Sulyok of Lekse and Miklós Drágy also appeared from the destroyed Bács County<sup>54</sup>. However, the Black Man's appearance in the South hindered not only the return of the population but also the reorganization of the county. After the fall of the

<sup>48</sup> Pánya 2017b 148, Pfeiffer 2017, 85–88, Thúry 1896, 170.

<sup>49</sup> Bárányi 2017, 312.

<sup>50</sup> Stojkovski 2015, 74.

<sup>51</sup> Szakály 1979, 227–228; Barta 1995, 2–3; Pfeiffer 2017, 90; Szerémi 1857, 126–128., 141–142; Szerémi 1979, 127.

<sup>52</sup> Szerémi 1979, 150–151.

<sup>53</sup> Szerémi 1979, 141.

<sup>54</sup> Fraknói 1874, 100–101.

Black Man, the Turks started new campaigns into the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary in 1528 and 1529. As a result, by the early 1530s, the organization of the county had basically disintegrated<sup>55</sup>. The administration of the county was not restored during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and some of the remaining Hungarian settlements (Szeremle, Csanád), which had since become Protestants, were taken over by the officers of the neighbouring Solt (later Pest-Pilis-Solt) County.

The Turkish conquest caused irreparable damage not only to the administration but also to the demography of the county. The Ottoman historian Şemseddin Ahmed, better known as Kemalpaşazâde, stated that “in that region, commonly known as Bácska County, and famous for its great strengths, castles, cities, villages, and cultivated lands, which were swarmed with the conquering army. The strong-rooted tree of the miserable Hungarians’ fortune was also torn from this province by the strong arm of the majestic Pasha, the irresistible bastion of the great castle of the glorious and fortunate Sultan”<sup>56</sup>. Kemalpaşazâde did not exaggerate, the Hungarians of the Bács and Bodrog Counties virtually disappeared as a result of the events following the Battle of Mohács. The lucky ones fled, but many were killed or became enslaved in the Turkish Empire<sup>57</sup>.

After the Ottoman Hungarian Province was set up, the area of Bodrog County became part of the Sanjak of Szeged<sup>58</sup>. The changes in the settlement network and in population can be traced relatively well on the basis of Ottoman cadastral tax censuses (*defter*). From these *defters*, it turns out that during the turbulent period following the Battle of Mohács most of the settlements in the South became depopulated, and by the 1540s most of them remained uninhabited. In populated settlements, apart from the Slavic and Wallachian majority, Hungarians were hard to be found. By 1560–61, there were fewer uninhabited settlements due to the increasing number of settlers in the Balkans, however, despite the continuous immigration, the population of the villages was relatively sparse<sup>59</sup>.

Half a century after the Battle of Mohács, large Hungarian groups remained only in Küllőd (Kolut, Serbia), in Szeremlén (today Szeremle) and Bátmonostor, and in the northwestern part of the county along the Danube (Besenyő, Csepcs, Csanád)<sup>60</sup>. There was also a smaller Hungarian population in Berjeg (Béreg/

<sup>55</sup> Pánya-Rosta 2015, 247; Vass 1980, 21–22.; Pfeiffer 2017, 86–87, 90–91; Barta 1995, 3.

<sup>56</sup> Pfeiffer 2017, 89–90; Thúry 1896, 296.

<sup>57</sup> Pesty 1880, 240.; Kőhegyi 1993, 159.; Engel 2000, 281; Hegyi 2001, 1282; Kocsis 2006, 129; Crusius 1584, 487; Acsády 1897, 289; Busbecq 1582, 67.

<sup>58</sup> Wicker 2008, 22.

<sup>59</sup> Hegyi 2001, 1284–1285; Szalay 1857, 290; Németh 1903, 174–175.

<sup>60</sup> Káldy-Nagy 2008, 87, 137., 168., 171–173, 235; Hegyi 2001, 1286.

Bački Breg, Serbia) and Szabadka (Subotica, Serbia)<sup>61</sup>. Most of the medieval population has survived in more protected settlements in the Danube flood-plain, and it is likely that these smaller communities had merged into the new Slavic population or had moved by the end of the century.

The situation was similar in the neighbouring Bács and Csongrád counties. In Bács in 1570 most Hungarians were still living in Bács (Bac, Serbia) and Szonta (Szond/Sonta Serbia) towns and smaller groups in Bökény (Bukin/Mladenovo, Serbia) village<sup>62</sup>. Hungarians in the southern part of Csongrád were present only in Martonos (Martonoš, Serbia)<sup>63</sup>. The loss of the Hungarian population in the southern counties was estimated at about 400,000<sup>64</sup>.

The Hungarians were replaced by spontaneous migration, partly of Islamic and partly of Orthodox Christian Slavic and Wallachian population, which changed several times during the Turkish occupation. We have data about targeted deployment, for example, to the south of Baja. In the vicinity of today's Gara – Vaskút – Bácsborsód military peasants were assigned to oversee the roads and protect travellers from the soldiers of the castles of Baranya County and from the plundering Hajduks<sup>65</sup>.

As a result of the expansion of the South Slavs, the Hungarian-Slavic language border reached the line of Dusnok – Kiskunhalas – Szeged by the middle of the 16th century<sup>66</sup>. The Slavic population (mostly referred to in Hungarian sources as *rác*, latin *rascian*) appeared not only in the Danube-Tisza region, but also in the neighbouring Transdanubian counties<sup>67</sup>. After the occupation of Szigetvár in 1566, more and more Slavic settlers gradually arrived in Baranya County, and later also in Somogy and Tolna counties<sup>68</sup>. In the 17th century, the Slavs lived in the hilly areas southeast of Lake Balaton, in the vicinity of Ozora, Tamási and Fok (Siófok)<sup>69</sup>. South Slavic settlers also appeared sporadically to the east of the Danube-Tisza Interfluve. In the second half of the 16th century, insulated spots of Slavic people appeared near Szentés, in and around Derekegyháza<sup>70</sup>. The expansion of the Rascians is well illustrated by the fact that from the middle of the 16th century the former Bács and Bodrog counties,

<sup>61</sup> Káldy-Nagy 2008, 231, 237.

<sup>62</sup> Káldy-Nagy 2008, 199, 251., 258, 264, 281; Hegyi 2001, 1286.

<sup>63</sup> Káldy-Nagy 2008, 24; Hegyi 2001, 1287.

<sup>64</sup> Zorn 1990, 326.

<sup>65</sup> Wicker 2004, 33; Wicker 2008, 22–23; Hegyi 2001, 1287–1289.

<sup>66</sup> Káldy-Nagy 2008, 168–169, 171–172; Hegedűs 1997, 166; Vass 1989, 171–172.

<sup>67</sup> Hegyi 2001, 1272.

<sup>68</sup> Hegyi 2001, 1296.

<sup>69</sup> Fenyvesi 1985, 199–200, 203–206; Máté 2018, 373.

<sup>70</sup> Káldy-Nagy 2008, 58–61.

and later Tolna County, was called “Rácország” (Latin Rascia, Country of the Rascians in English) in Hungarian sources<sup>71</sup>.

In Bács, Bodrog and the southern part of Csongrád County most settlements kept their medieval Hungarian names until the end of the 16th century, although some names underwent slight changes. Rim (today Rém), Borota (today Borota), Baja (today Baja) remained virtually unchanged. Szabadka changed to Subotica (today Subotica, Serbia), Büked to Bikity (today Bácsbokod), Szántó to Szantova (today Hercegszántó), Csomoklya to Csonopla (*Čonoplja*, Serbia), Küllőd to Kolut (today Kolut, Serbia), and Czoborszentmihály became Zonbor (today Zombor/Sombor, Serbia). Some settlement names have completely changed, for example Tárnokmonostor became Csatal Kilisza (today Csátalja)<sup>72</sup>.

It is known that the Hungarian feudal estates regarded the Turkish occupation as temporary, thus retaining their right to occupied territories, even though the population had changed and the villages and towns had been destroyed. Although the Turks occupied the country, the sale and inheritance of the possessions and the collection of taxes from the peasants was continuous since the start of the occupation<sup>73</sup>. It is likely that the soldiers doing the “dirty work” (the collection of taxes) may have contributed indirectly to the temporary survival of the settlement names and boundaries. From the mid-16th century, the soldiers of the fortresses of Szigetvár, Gyula and Eger went to Backa to collect taxes<sup>74</sup>. Among the soldiers there were people from Bodrog, Bács and Csongrád counties who knew the settlements and their borders well. One such was Mihály Bácsmegyei, the soldier of Szigetvár, who taxed the villages of the former Bodrog and Bács counties<sup>75</sup>.

From the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, the shrinking Kingdom of Hungary was increasingly less able to control the territory of Bodrog County. While tax collection continued, the soldiers from the border-castles also led raids repeatedly into the southern territories. However, the county administration and the local – loyal – society were missing. From the mid-16th century, the administrative officers of the neighbouring Solt County directed the life of the county from Eger. Numerous documents survived, stemming from collection of taxes to settling land disputes<sup>76</sup>. The remainder of the Hungarian kingdom received increasingly less accurate data about Bodrog County, and as a result, topo-

<sup>71</sup> Wicker 2004, 7; Wicker 2008, 27; Máté 2018, 372; Szakály 1981, 25, 34, 266–273.

<sup>72</sup> Káldy-Nagy 2008, 178–179; Wicker 2008, 30.

<sup>73</sup> Pesty 1880, 222; Szakály 1981, 45.

<sup>74</sup> Szakály 1981, 52, 67, 418; Hegyi 2001, 1279–80, 1282, 1289.

<sup>75</sup> Szakály 1981, 70–71, 78., 89; Németh 1903, 174–176.

<sup>76</sup> Pánya 2017b, 149–150.

graphic errors in the records became more common. It happened very often, that settlements of Bodrog were mentioned as settlements of Bács County<sup>77</sup>. Besides, the Hungarian officers assigned the settlements of Bodrog County to the Cumanian District (Latin *Cumania Minores*). In 1572, Borsod (now Bácsborsód) and Mátyusháza (now Mátételke), situated in the north-eastern part of Bodrog County, were listed together with neighbouring Cuman settlements and it was also noted that they were all inhabited by Rascians<sup>78</sup>.

We do not have any data on the border conditions of the period, since neither the Hungarian nor the Turkish archives contain documents from the time of the Ottoman occupation, that would have information about the settlements of Bodrog County. However, in the Code of the Sanjak of Szeged from 1570 (to which Bodrog and Solt Counties belonged in the Turkish period), the boundaries of settlements are mentioned in many places<sup>79</sup>. The question is what was meant by the administrative boundary of a village which populated by South Slavs. In these turbulent times, it often happened that settlements were abandoned and new inhabitants arrived. The Ottoman cadastral tax census of 1570 (*defter*) mentioned “noble border certificates” in some settlements, but they no longer describe their content. We do not know whether these certificates describe the medieval boundaries or the boundaries established by the new Slavic inhabitants. In other counties, some Turkish border descriptions have survived. For Solt County (Bodrog’s neighbour), we know of the existence of a “border certificate made under Muslim law” that ended the boundary dispute between the villages of Fajsz and Halász<sup>80</sup>. We also have a record from Bács County recording the border of a grange in Lower Mende (Dolna Mende) village<sup>81</sup>. Both sources resemble medieval Hungarian border descriptions. From the sparse data it is inferred that it was important for the Turkish administration to maintain the boundaries of settlements and estates. However, while in Tolna County the preservation of the medieval borders can be proved in the villages occupied by the Slavic population, but in Bodrog we have no exact data<sup>82</sup>. It is noteworthy that in the Ottoman cadastral tax census of 1570, many boundary features with Hungarian names also appear in many places in the areas of Bodrog and Bács, which are populated purely by the Slavs<sup>83</sup>. It is likely that the

<sup>77</sup> Szakály 1981, 268; Szakály 2001, 390–391.

<sup>78</sup> Jerney 1842, 170.

<sup>79</sup> Káldy-Nagy 2008, 7., 116., 159., 258., 279.

<sup>80</sup> Káldy-Nagy 2008, 275.

<sup>81</sup> Káldy-Nagy 2008, 257.

<sup>82</sup> Máté 2017, 308.

<sup>83</sup> Káldy-Nagy 2008, 183. Island of Szabó Márton next to Zombor (Zombor/Sombor, Serbia), 224–225. Hót-Duna lake next to Apos (to the north of Szond/Sonta, Serbia), 200. Baba, Sós,

medieval boundary lines and features were known to the earliest arriving Slavs, and they may have used them. However, it is also likely that over time, by the turn of the 16–17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the recollection of the medieval borders had faded. Besides, as the population changed and new settlements with Slavic names were founded, the old boundaries were presumably obliterated forever.

The liberation wars brought changes again; many settlements were abandoned by their inhabitants and the population of the remaining villages reduced<sup>84</sup>. Simultaneously, masses of Catholic Serbs, also known as Bunjevci (Hungarian “bunjevác”), arrived in several waves in the liberated southern area of the Danube-Tisza Interfluve<sup>85</sup>. The state of the environment deteriorated. The contemporary sources provide an illustration of a wild, swampy, tree-poor desert<sup>86</sup>. Similar processes took place in other areas of the Kingdom of Hungary which came under Turkish rule, such as Bács, Temes and Torontál counties<sup>87</sup>.

After the end of the Turkish occupation the reorganization of Bács and Bodrog counties began, which was very difficult because of the destruction of the Hungarian population and the settlements in the Turkish period, and the loss of numerous property right charters. The Habsburg imperial government had no interest in thoroughly exploring the estate affairs of the Hungarian nobles, since the government was free to own the estates left unattended. In the area of Bodrog County, many settlements were left uninhabited, which were managed by the Court Chamber (Hungarian “udvari kamara”, German “Hofkammer”).

In the liberated areas the reorganization of the counties took place in a peculiar way. In 1699, Bács County was re-established in the former Bodrog County territories<sup>88</sup>. In the same year, Bodrog County was rebuilt in the area of former Bács County, around Dunabökény (Bukin, Serbia), Futak (Futog, Serbia), Titel (Titel, Serbia), and Verbász (Vrbas, Serbia)<sup>89</sup>. Legal disputes between the two counties lasted for decades, until the county of Bács-Bodrog was formed in 1802, which existed until the end of the First World War<sup>90</sup>. At the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, after the liberation wars and the Rákóczi's War of Independence, most of the settlements of the former Bodrog County became

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Kövecse fishponds next to Nagyszonta (Sonta, Serbia), 201. Vajas fishpond next to Budinofcse in Bács County (Bogyán/Bodani, Serbia), 339. Mortova, Solmos, Rég and Nyárló-fishponds next to Mosorin in Bács County (Mozsor/Mošorin, Serbia), 330–331. Egrös, Vár, Foka fishpond next to Zsablyák in Bács County (Zsablya/Žabalj, Serbia)

<sup>84</sup> Iványi 1885, 25.

<sup>85</sup> Bellosics 1907, 412–413; Iványi 1913, 22.

<sup>86</sup> Kőhegyi 1998, 187.

<sup>87</sup> Magina 2015, 115.

<sup>88</sup> Apró 2011, 88.

<sup>89</sup> Borovszky 1909, 133–134.

<sup>90</sup> Apró 2011, 88.

depopulated. Most of the Christian Slavs living here left their homes during the fights between the allies and the Turks and fled further south<sup>91</sup>.

As a result of the movements that started after the Rákóczi's War of Independence, Hungarians, Slavs, Slovaks (Hungarian "tót") and Germans moved in spontaneous migration swells to the abandoned western settlements of Bodrog County<sup>92</sup>. Despite the constant infiltration of new people, much of the former Bodrog area remained uninhabited for decades. In 1762, Maria Theresa ordered the colonization of Bács County, mainly with Catholic Germans loyal to the Emperor<sup>93</sup>. Counsellor Anton Cothmann began surveying the uninhabited villages owned by the Imperial Chamber and summed up the estates on December 28, 1763. Most of the names on the list are Slavic, only a few can be connected to the settlements mentioned in the medieval charters (e.g., Páka, Sára, Keresztúr)<sup>94</sup>.

### *Reconstruction of settlement boundaries*

The proposed historical overview illustrates that Bodrog County has undergone several social changes since the beginning of the 16th century in such way, and these changes have radically transformed the image of public administration, settlement and, ultimately, landscape.

The question arises what had been remained of the medieval settlement structure in the early 18th century. According to Dezső Csánki, in the mid-15th century there were 225 settlements (12 cities and 213 inhabited and uninhabited villages) in Bodrog County<sup>95</sup>. During the period following the Battle of Mohács, many settlements were destroyed, and many deserted villages dating back to the 15th century are no longer found in Ottoman sources. This decline is well illustrated by the fact that in the Ottoman cadastral tax census of 1570 approximately 140 inhabited and uninhabited settlements were listed<sup>96</sup>. During the second half of the Ottoman occupation in the 17th century, the majority of the medieval names slowly disappeared. This disappearance may be a result of the fact that the first settling Rascian-Wallachian population, which partly took over the Hungarian settlements and thus the recollection of the border names, disappeared and emigrated after a short stay<sup>97</sup>. The Rascians were replaced by a growing Slavic population, and in parallel new Slavic village names

<sup>91</sup> Bárh 1989, 441.

<sup>92</sup> Papp 1997, 325.

<sup>93</sup> Paládi Kovács 2008, 9.

<sup>94</sup> Iványi 1913, 24–25; Iványi 1911, 128.

<sup>95</sup> Csánki 1894, 212.

<sup>96</sup> Káldy-Nagy 2008

<sup>97</sup> Wicker 2008, 212–215.

appeared. The decline of the settlement network is well illustrated by maps from the 18th century. According to these maps, after the Ottoman period there were ca. 100 inhabited and uninhabited settlements in the former Bodrog County<sup>98</sup>. [Fig. 6]. In terms of quantity, the number of settlements decreased by half in a time span of two hundred years.

How do the boundaries of these 18<sup>th</sup> century settlement relate to the ones of old medieval settlements? We may get a little closer to the answer by confronting Bodrog County with its close neighbor, where similar processes took place during the Ottoman expansion. Solt County, mentioned several times already, was the northern neighbour of Bodrog. The border between the two counties was near the area of today's Dusnok, Nemesnádudvar, and Jánoshalma. In the central and northern half of Solt County, many settlements became depopulated during the Ottoman campaigns, but many other settlements remained along the Danube. The most prominent of these are the villages that served as a gathering place and refuge for the inhabitants of many smaller ones, such as Fajsz, Foktő, Dunapataj, Solt and Dömsöd. The abandoned villages, however, did not remain unowned, since the inhabitants regularly returned to the former villages, where they took care of their land and cultivated the gardens, used their fields, meadows and forests<sup>99</sup>.

Residents who took care of the abandoned villages, as well as shepherds whose herds were grazing in the wilderness, preserved the memories of the borders. Thus the borders of the villages that were destroyed at the beginning of the Ottoman era (e.g., Ágasegyháza near Kecskemét) were preserved for decades or even a century. János Bárh called this process of population redistribution and partial survival a "landscape continuity"<sup>100</sup>. After the end of the Turkish occupation, these abandoned settlements were partly repopulated, and partly merged into newly formed villages within the original medieval borders. It is particularly important to us that the boundaries of settlement of medieval origin were recorded on numerous estate maps of the 18th century. Unfortunately, there are relatively few medieval boundary descriptions of the settlements in Solt County, but these have been found to fit very well to the boundaries of modern maps. It is a bit of an exaggeration to say that the medieval settlement structure of Solt County can be roughly drawn from 18th-century maps. There are areas where some smaller or larger settlements have been merged during the Middle Ages or during Turkish times, thus containing only an outline of their former borders, but the majority can be clearly distinguished. However, the situation was

<sup>98</sup> OSZK TA 183, TK2511; MNL OL S11 505/1, S11 No221, S11 0830/105, MNL OL S11 830/106; MNL PML IV1d 1721 No6/1

<sup>99</sup> Pánya 2017a, 156–158.

<sup>100</sup> Bárh 1974, 286; Bárh 1995, 306; Havassy 2002, 463.

different in the southern part of Solt County, where by the second half of the 16th century the medieval population had disappeared and many settlements had become Slavic. Throughout the Turkish era these areas were relatively close to the above-mentioned “collecting settlements” with Hungarian population, thus we can expect that despite the population change, the borders may have been partially preserved. As we move away from these more populous settlements, we have found that borders are increasingly unclear, more difficult and less accurate to identify than in the northern parts of Solt County<sup>101</sup>.

Settlement conditions in Bodrog County changed in the same way as in the southern part of Solt County. In the southern part of the Danube-Tisza Interfluvium (Bodrog, Bács and Csongrád counties), Slavic inhabitants appeared almost immediately after the Battle of Mohács. In most of the remaining Hungarian settlements in Bodrog County, the population changed during the Ottoman occupation. By the end of the liberation wars, only a few Hungarian villages remained in the north-western part of the former county. Despite the change of population, most of the settlement names kept their original form (e.g., Hetes, Baja, Baracska) or turned into Slavic equivalent (Szántó>Santova, Haraszti>Harasztina, Apáti>Opatin, Szabadka>Subotica) until the end of the 16th century. Although sporadically, some of the medieval names still appeared among the boundary names of the 1570 Ottoman cadastral tax census (*defter*)<sup>102</sup>. However, the *defter* also shows that in addition to the medieval names, new settlement names were brought by the Rascian-Vlach settlers (Iszlokra/Zlokruš next to Nagybaracska, Izvidar next to Zombor [Sombor, Serbia]) and new border names appeared in the southern part of the Danube-Tisza Interfluvium<sup>103</sup>.

It is likely that the change of population also resulted in a change of settlement boundaries. The landscape continuity here could only occur in language islands along the Danube (Szeremle, Csanád), the medieval borders elsewhere were probably completely forgotten by the early 17th century. One hundred years later, maps made in the first half of the 18th century captured a sparsely populated and deserted landscape with few medieval names<sup>104</sup>. In addition, on the maps created during the 16th century, there are many Slavic settlement names (Kupuszina, Nenadics, Ivanovoszelo, Kernaja, Militics, Bratyevics, Merkopnye around Zombor [Sombor, Serbia], Bubanya, Mironity, Krusevlye,

<sup>101</sup> Pánya 2017a, 158.

<sup>102</sup> See footnote 83<sup>rd</sup>.

<sup>103</sup> Káldy-Nagy 2008, 262. Duga bara and Mucska fishponds next to Paflavce (Palánka/Bačka Palanka area, Serbia), 281. Plavna, Korotna, Zsotrog fishponds next to Plavna (Palona/Plavna, Serbia), 331. Pavlatiste, Zibora fishponds next to Zsablyák (Zsablya/Žabalj, Serbia), 334. *Takcsin and Talacska fishponds next to Kuzsdin (Káty/Kać, Serbia)*

<sup>104</sup> See footnote 91th.

Godecsovo around Hercegszántó Perlekovity, Radunity, Roglaticza around Katymár and Bácsalmás). Besides settlement names, we can see a plethora of new Slavic border names on maps from the mid-18th century<sup>105</sup>.

It can be observed that due to the lack of landscape continuity there are very few similarities between the medieval and early modern/modern settlement network of Bodrog County. However, geographical data extracted from medieval charts can help us outline the medieval settlement network. Currently, there are 130 medieval charters in Bodrog County which contain geographic information. 62 of these charters contain boundary descriptions, and 68 contain topographically interesting data (forests, meadows, fish ponds, boundary markers, etc.). Medieval written sources are currently being explored and translated, therefore the number of sources may increase in the near future. The documentary sources of the neighbouring of Solt County is also under exploration. Presently for this area, 31 border descriptions from medieval times and 14 border descriptions from the early modern age are known. In comparison, for Tolna County, András K. Németh has encountered about 60 charters, and Máté Stibrányi mentioned 83 charters for Fejér County<sup>106</sup>. From the large area of the Halas District (Latin *sedis Halas*) we only know one medieval boundary description<sup>107</sup>. In comparison, the number of the remaining boundary descriptions of settlements in Bodrog County is very good.

There are many examples of the hypothetical sketching and mapping of geographical data from charters<sup>108</sup>. In the case of Bodrog County, due to the social changes presented above, it is possible to draw hypothetical maps. During this process, a sketch is made on the basis of the spatial data from charters, showing the interconnecting lines of border markers, the distances, and directions between border points, and terrain objects (rivers, lakes, forests, fields, pastures, hills).

The next step of the reconstruction process is to compare the data of the neighbouring settlements, followed by the clarification of the topological relations of the formed settlement groups. This is a difficult progress because most of the charters only contain a description of a small border section and not the entire administrative boundary of the settlements. As a result, we usually do not obtain an accurate picture of the exact size of each settlement. Matters are further complicated by the fact that there may be a large distance in time between

<sup>105</sup> Tronanicza next to Bajmok (Bajmok, Serbia); Bila-bara and Prispa lakes next to Katymár; Babina dola next to Baja, Jankó 1896, 34.

<sup>106</sup> K. Németh 2015; Stibrányi 2015, 27.

<sup>107</sup> Pánya 2017a, 156; MNL OL DL 15122

<sup>108</sup> Major 1959, 4; Rosta 2014, 53–57; Stibrányi 2015, 124, 127–129.

individual documents, as they date from the 12th century to the first third of the 16th century.

In the final step, based on the available Hungarian and Serbian archaeological data, the spatial location of the outlined settlements is determined. In the northern of Bodrog County, presently belonging to Hungary, there is a possibility to validate the hypothetical border reconstructions by field inspections. Due to intensive farming, most of the landmarks have disappeared, and many of them cannot be traced anymore. However, larger terrain forms mentioned in medieval charters, such as meadows, hills, watercourses, lakes can probably still be identified in the present cultural landscape.

### *Reconstruction of built-up area of settlements*

During the research of the medieval settlements the key issue is to search and discover the interior area of the settlements. However, in Bodrog County, not only the exploration of borders but also that of the built-up areas encounters many problems. We can understand the situation of Bodrog more readily by comparing it again with examples from neighbouring Solt County. It has already been mentioned above that the remnants of abandoned villages were preserved in Solt County due to the landscape continuity. In many places we meet the names of the plot (“telek”), the village place (“faluhely”), the old village (“régí falu”), and the chapel/church/stone hill/mountain/forest/flat/meadow. Maps from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries make it easier to draw medieval boundaries, thus pairing settlement centers with the exact settlements.

Due to the lack of landscape continuity in Bodrog County, the toponyms that refer to villages are missing. There are many places on the maps that have names like “staro selo”, “seliste”, which generally refer to an old village. There are also names that refer to churches, for example “crkva”, “klissa”, “gradina”, “kloster”<sup>109</sup>. In contrast to the Solt County examples, we cannot clearly determine to which medieval settlement the village and/or church shown on the map once belonged.

Research of the interior areas of the medieval settlements is hampered by the fact that relatively little archaeological researches has been conducted in the northern part of Bodrog County, which belongs to Hungary. For example, in the 77.52 km<sup>2</sup> area of Bácsborsód village we know of only 15 sites, of which only one is a medieval village. We have data about a total of 8 sites in the 59.96 km<sup>2</sup> area of the neighbouring Gara village, none of which is a medieval settlement. At least 2–3 medieval settlements are assumed to have existed in both areas, but it is not possible to determine their exact location until further research has been

<sup>109</sup> Wicker 2006, 5.

carried out. By comparison, there are 222 sites in Kecel village (114,48 km<sup>2</sup>) in Solt County, which comprises all medieval settlements that existed on the outskirts of the village<sup>110</sup>.

During the research of the built-up areas of the settlements the question arose whether the Slavic population moving to the earlier Hungarians villages settled down in these medieval villages. In earlier literature, Slavs were described as mobile, pastoral nomads, a community without fixed habitation that regularly moved to and from the same areas. In Ottoman cadastral tax censuses, such nomadic behaviour is mentioned several times<sup>111</sup>. Most of the Slavs, however, lived in permanent settlements, and engaged in agriculture, grain and fruit growing, viticulture, fishing, and stock breeding<sup>112</sup>. Based on the results of the research of Tolna County, the Slavs probably did not settle in the abandoned Hungarian villages, but instead in the surroundings of these villages. There is also evidence from Tolna County that the built-up areas that had been destroyed during the raidings were rebuilt at other, more protected, and hidden locations within the boundaries of the settlements<sup>113</sup>.

In Bodrog County, in the case of larger settlements, such as Czoborszentmihály (Sombor, Serbia), Apáti (Apatin, Serbia), Baja, and Szabadka (Subotica, Serbia), we know for sure that the Rascians occupied and continued to use the built-up areas of the former Hungarian settlements. We know less about smaller villages. Based on archaeological findings, written sources and maps, it could be inferred that in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries the Slavs lived in the medieval towns of Hercegszántó, Dávod and Kákony (next to Baja)<sup>114</sup>.

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<sup>110</sup> Biczó 1984, 19.

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## POSIBILITĂȚI ȘI METODE DE RECONSTITUIRE A STRUCTURII AȘEZĂRILOR ÎN COMITATUL MEDIEVAL BODROG

### *Rezumat*

Comitatul Bodrog este unul dintre comitatele cu destin tragic din regatul Ungariei. Are o istorie particulară, cu o populație și o rețea a locuirii aproape complet distruse în secolul al XVI-lea și cu dispariția celor mai multe dintre resursele din perioada medievală. Din aceste motive, cercetarea geografică a comitatului Bodrog este o provocare majoră.

Scopul cercetării mele este de a reconstitui rețeaua medievală a locuirii în comitatul Bodrog, respectiv, de a prezenta succint istoria generală a comitatului, cu o preocupare specială față de administrația medievală și din epoca modernă timpurie, respectiv, față de schimbările granițelor comitatului. Cercetarea multidisciplinară se bazează pe informații scrise, imagologice și cercetări de teren arheologice, etnografice, istorice și geografice. Cel mai important element al cercetării este Sistemul Informațional Geografic (SIG) dezvoltat în vederea figurării geografice a așezării, coroborând date de arhivă și de teren; pasul următor a fost coroborarea și evaluarea diferitelor date singulare și datelor cartografice. Așa-numita „arheologie socială” a constituit un alt element singular al cercetării, care oferă a mulțime de date în timpul investigației arheologice de teren.

Faptul că fostul comitat Bodrog este localizat atât în sudul Ungariei de astăzi cât și în nordul Serbiei de astăzi a făcut și mai dificilă cercetarea. Suprafața comitatului s-a schimbat de câteva ori de-a lungul celor mai mult de cinci secole de existență. Acesta se întindea, între secolele al XI-lea și al XIII-lea, de la Dunăre la Tisa, pe direcția est-vest, și, la nord, de

la actulul oraș Kiskunhalas, la Verbüsz (Vrbas, Serbia) și Szenttamás (Srbobran, Serbia), în regiunea Bačka, la sud.

Din această cercetare a rezultat o bază de date privind așezările medievale din comitatul Bodrog, incluzând hărți și imagini aeriene, disponibile pentru cercetarea arheologică și literatura de specialitate de astăzi. În același timp, am demarat realizarea bazei de date pentru tipar și distribuire online. Scopul prim este de a pune la dispoziția specialiștilor și tuturor celor interesați această bază de date.

Cercetarea a arătat că multe dintre izvoarele scrise ale comitatului Bodrog s-au pierdut de-a lungul vremii. Și totuși, comparativ cu unitățile similare înconjurătoare, mai sunt multe documente medievale ce conțin o mulțime de informații geografice care se pretează în figurarea locuirii în acest comitat.

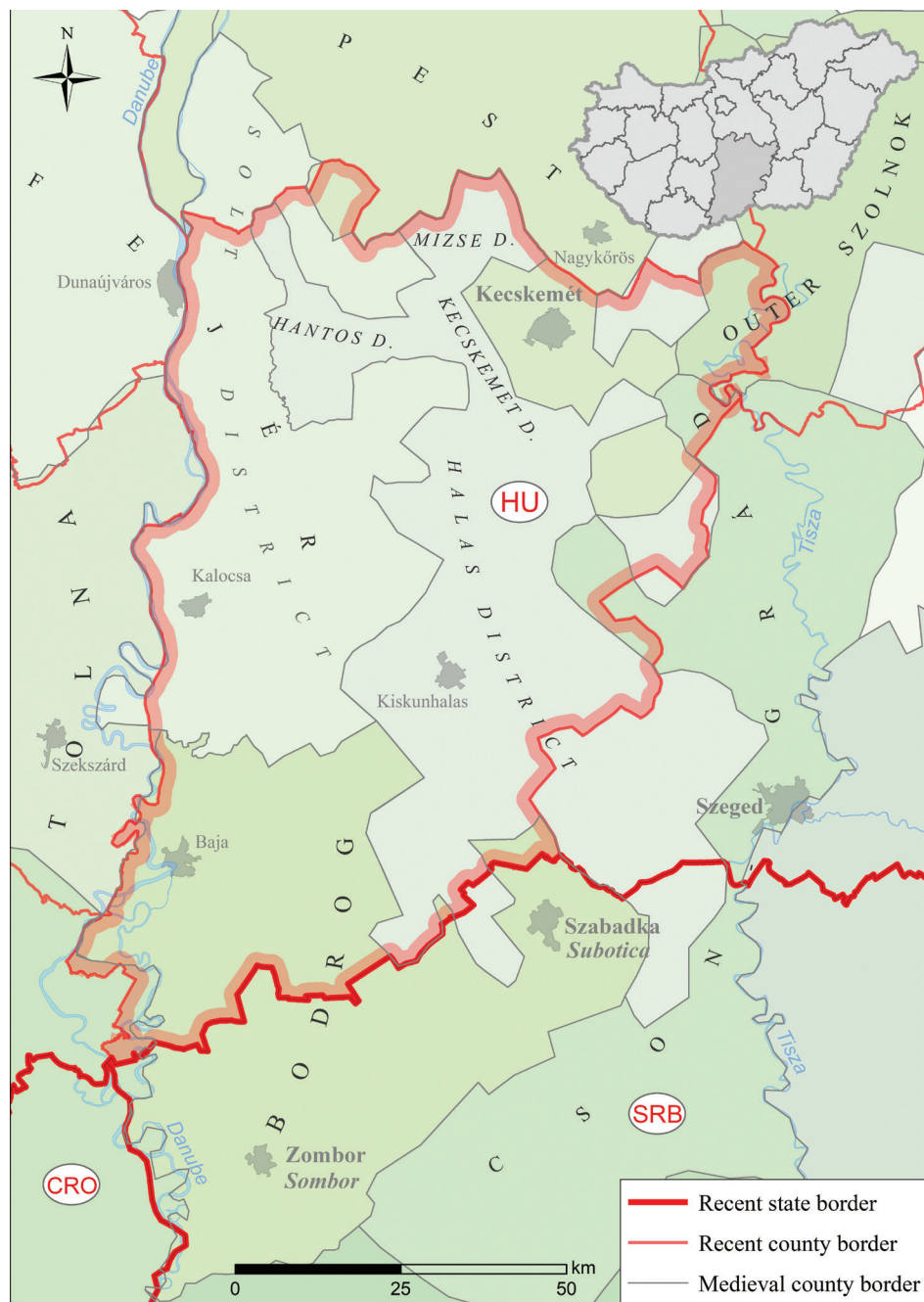


Fig. 1. The former medieval counties and districts (mid-15th century) superimposed on the area of present-day Bács-Kiskun County. / Fostele comitate și districte medievale (mijlocul secolului al XV-lea), suprapuse în zonă de județul Bács-Kiskun.

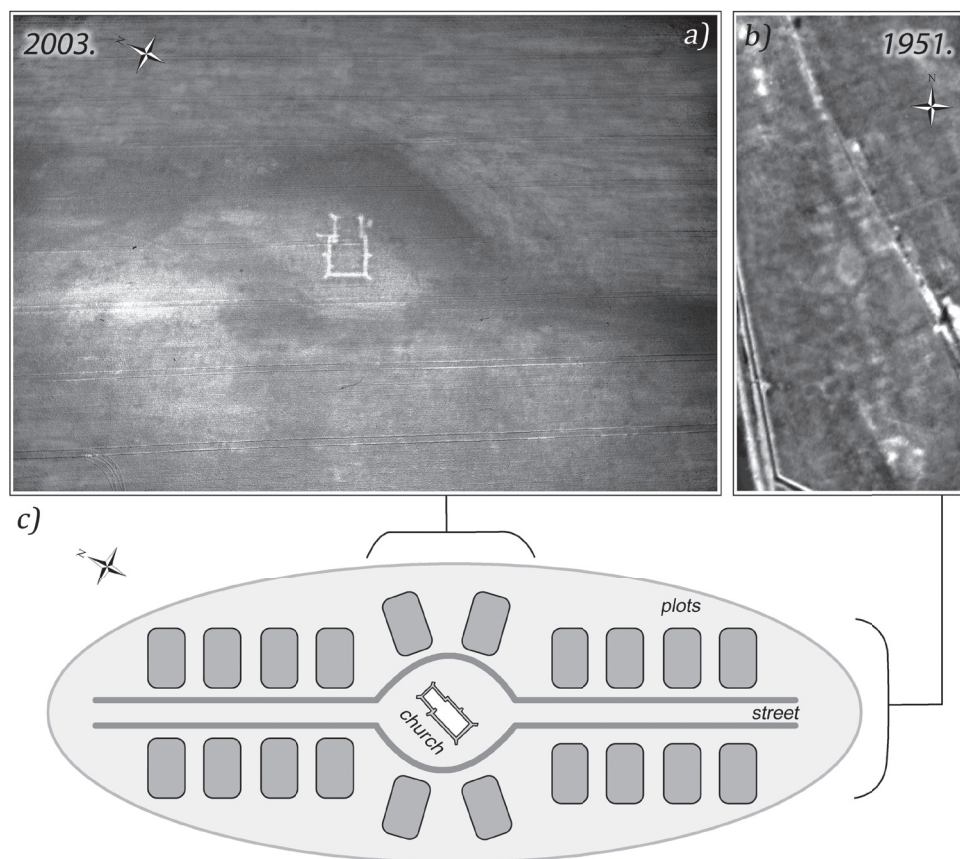


Fig. 2. Aerial photographs of the medieval Arany village near Vaskút (a-b), the settlement structure has been derived from the photos (c). / Fotografii aeriene ale satului medieval Arany, în apropiere de Vaskút (a-b); structura aşezării a fost obţinută în baza acestor fotografii (c).

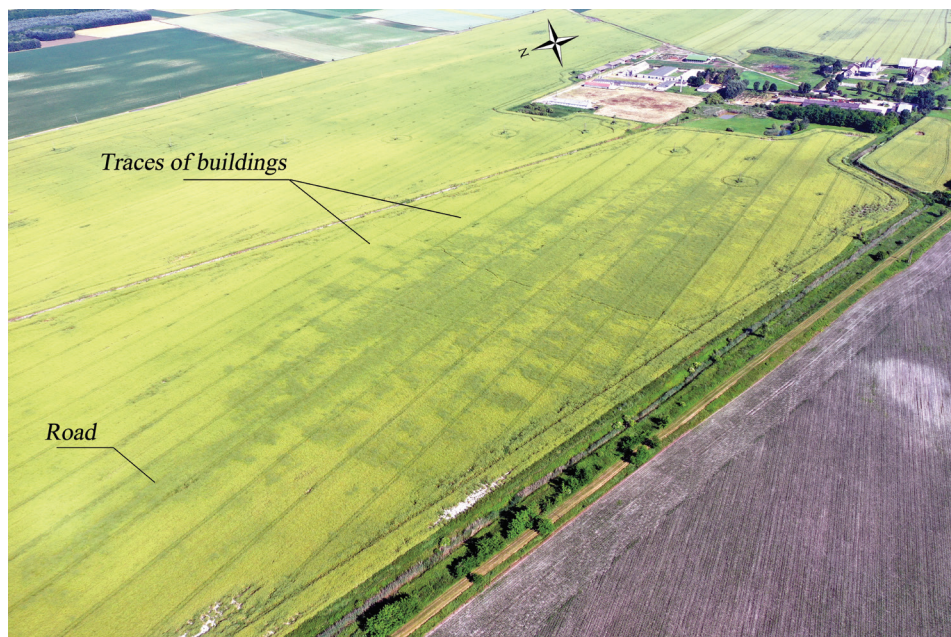


Fig. 3. Oblique aerial photograph of Arany village, the settlement structure is clearly visible. / Fotografie aeriană înclinată a satului Arany; structura aşezării este clar vizibilă.

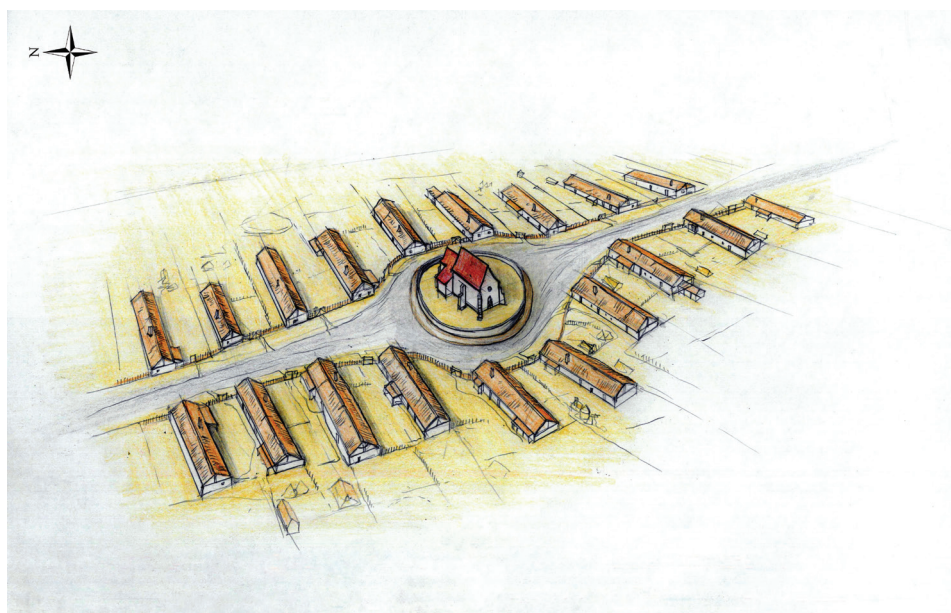


Fig. 4. Hypothetical reconstruction of Arany village (Frigyes König). / Reconstrucție posibilă a satului Arany (Frigyes König).

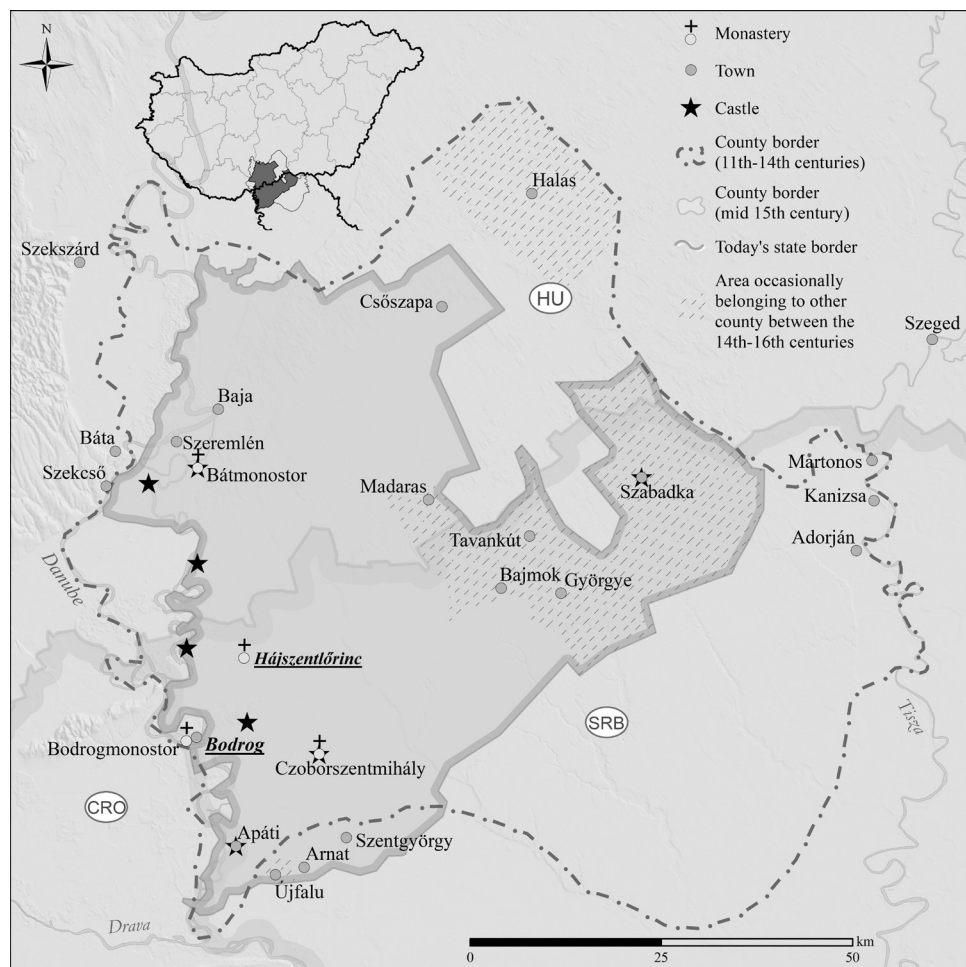


Fig. 5. The changes in the medieval borders of Bodrog County between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. / Modificările hotarelor județului Bodrog, între secolele al XIII-lea și al XV-lea.

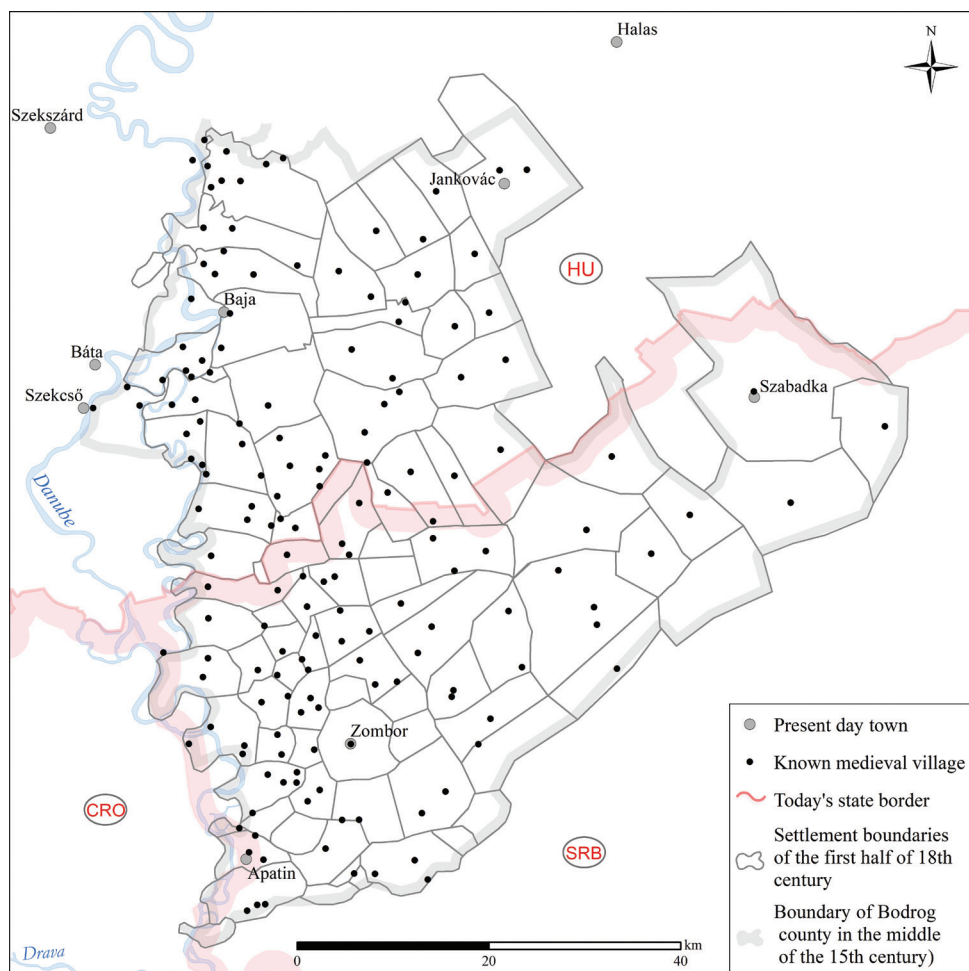


Fig. 6. Settlement boundaries in the area of the former Bodrog County in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. / Hotarele așezării în teritoriul fostului comitat Bodrg, în prima jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea.