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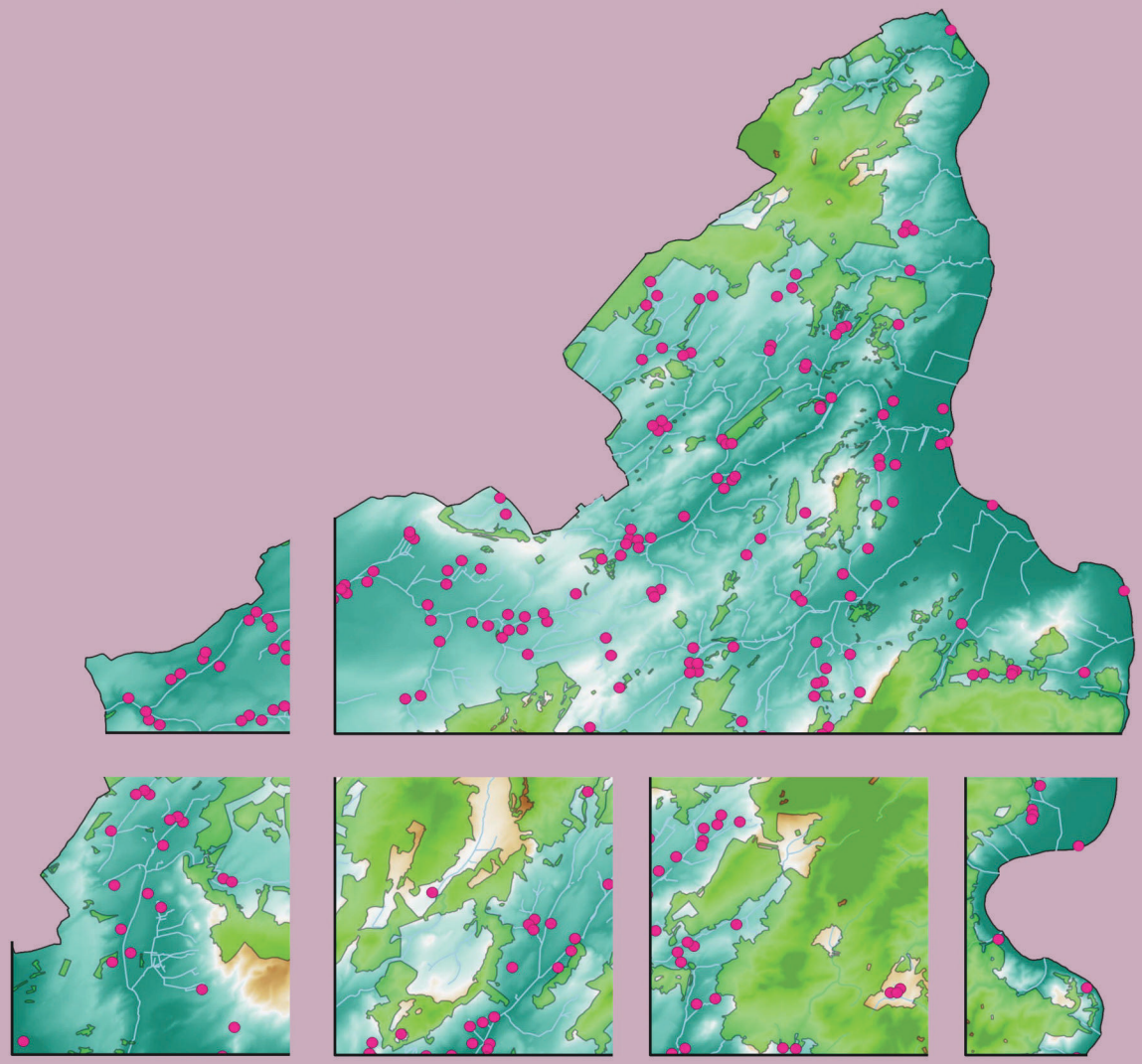

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Contents

Articles

Field Reports

Thesis Abstracts

Beneath the Marketplaces

Árpádian Age (10th–13th century) settlement traces from the city centres of Pápa and Győr, Western Hungary[1]

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Abstract

The paper deals with the evaluation and comparison of the Árpádian Age (10th–13th century) settlement fragments beneath the present day main squares of two towns located in the centre (Győr) and on the periphery (Pápa) of the so-called Kisalföld region of Hungary. The archaeological works were carried out on a 900 m² area between 1968 and 2009 at the first, while 1771 m² were excavated in 2011 at the other site, resulting in 38 and 91 objects from the discussed period. The description of the more important archaeological features and the ceramic find material are presented in the contexts of regional characteristics and the historical data known about the two settlements' role in the economy and administration of the early Hungarian state.

1. Introduction

As in many Hungarian towns in those years, the opportunity emerged for the municipalities of Győr (seat of Győr-Moson-Sopron County) and Pápa (Veszprém County) in the end of the 2000's to reconstruct their main squares. The plans have included the renewal of infrastructural features, the prohibition of traffic from the squares and the complete renovation and/or replacement of paving, fountains and other decorations. This has made preliminary excavations and archaeological supervision necessary, which have been carried out by the local museum of Győr (2008–2009); while at Pápa, they have been accomplished partly by the museum of Veszprém (2010) and partly by the Institute of Archaeological Science of the Eötvös Loránd University (2011).[2]

It has been apparent from a relatively early phase of the 2011 season at Pápa that the medieval period of the two sites shows resemblances to each other. As the two settlements have had relatively well documented economical and historical ties since the Medieval Era,[3] the comparison of their earliest periods after the Hungarian conquest – that can mostly be studied by archaeological means – seemed to be suited.

1 This paper is part of the research carried out within the HAS RCH Institute of History's "Momentum – Medieval Hungarian Economic History" research group (LP 2015-4/2015).

2 Leaders of the excavations: Szilvia Bíró (Győr), Márton Szvath (Pápa, 2010), Maxim Mordovin (Pápa, 2011).

3 Gecsényi 1996, 44–47.

Besides the mapping of similarities and differences between the two settlements, our study presents the description of the excavated objects and the evaluation of the find material from both sites.[4]

2. Geographical situation; the sites before the medieval era

Both towns are situated in the so-called Northern Transdanubian Region of Hungary, which means that they lie westwards from the Danube and northwards from Lake Balaton *(Fig. 1).*

Győr is located in the centre of the so called Kisalföld ("Small Plains") area by the Rába–Rábca–Mosoni-Danube Interfluve at the intersection of the south-north and west-east directed main land-routes of the area. This auspicious situation has made the settlement an important military outpost, trade hub and administrational centre since the antiquity. Its core is on the sandy hills trailing along the river banks that made crossing possible through the surrounding floodplains and marshes[5] *(Fig. 2).*

Fig. 1. The location of the Kisalföld-region, Győr and Pápa in Europe and in Hungary.

Pápa lies on the borderline of Kisalföld and the Bakony Mountains on the plains called Pápai-síkság, in the now dried up and aggraded bed of the Tapolca stream. The latter had a significant role in the formation of the medieval settlement network, as it did not freeze during wintertime due to its warm springs, and thus its bank was a favourable place to establish watermills[6] *(Fig. 3).*

4 This paper contains the evaluation of the 2011 findings from Pápa, while we have also had access to the documentation and find material of the excavation seasons 1968–1969; 1998–1999 and 2008–2009 at Győr-Széchenyi tér. We would like to thank Szilvia Bíró, Dénes Gabler and Péter Tomka – the leaders of the works in Győr – and Maxim Mordovin – the leader of the 2011 excavation in Pápa – for giving us their permissions.

5 Somfai 2001, 23.

6 Ila – Kovacsics 1964, 315–342.

Fig. 2. The geographical situation of Győr on the First Military Survey of Hungary (1763–1787).

Both sites have been inhabited since the prehistoric times; the first finds come from the Copper Age at Pápa[7] and from the Bronze Age in downtown Győr.[8] While only few traces of Roman Age settlements can be found in the outskirts of the former mentioned town, an important auxiliary fort and civilian settlement named Arrabona existed on the central Káptalan Hill and in the surrounding area between the 1st–5th centuries AD on the latter location.[9] The contrary is true regarding the following period, as it seems to be probable that the vicinity

Fig. 3. The geographical situation of Pápa on the First Military Survey of Hungary (1763–1787). The red dot marks the Main Square.

7 Ilon 1994, 20.
8 Bíró et al. 2010, 41–42.
9 Ilon 1994, 21–22; Gabler et al. 1990, 9–22.

of Pápa has been an important settlement area of the Avars (6th–9th centuries), whereas they have used the territory of Győr less intensively.[10] As we will see, these precedents have undoubtedly influenced the later inhabitation patterns.

3. The formation of Pápa and Győr

The archaeological records show that the Hungarians, who had conquered most of the Carpathian Basin in the second half of the 9th century, settled on these territories by the middle of the 10th century at the latest. It is noticeable though that the earliest traces of habitation (mainly cemetery-fragments) could be identified in the peripheries of the modern towns.[11]

The leaders of the forming new realm have soon recognised the favourable geographic situation at Győr and have established a regional centre on the Káptalan Hill by the end of the 10th century as it is mentioned in a written source.[12] It is much debated whether the ruins of the Roman fort could play a role in their decision as the results of two small scale excavations have shown that the walls of Arrabona had been completely covered by debris on those parts. The remains of large structures, probably warehouses have also been found on the hill, one of them was in superposition with an earlier, small house.[13] Győr has been made the seat of the bailiff *(comes)* by King Stephen I (1000–1038) by the latest and an episcopal centre. Fortifications around the hill have been erected and/or reinforced and the building of the bishopric cathedral has begun shortly afterwards. This period marks the beginnings of the suburbia around Győr, where the settlement fragments brought to light on the Széchenyi Square also belonged.[14]

The situation of the written sources is less fortunate in Pápa, as researchers lack them regarding the Árpádian Age settlement-structure of this area. The first informative charters are available from the 13th century. The name 'Pápa' appears in a document dated back to 1214, in the context of mentioning a road that started from the town.[15] Another record deals with an archdeacon who held his seat in Pápa in the 13th century.[16] The fact that the medieval archdeaconate of Pápa had belonged not to the Győr, but to the Veszprém episcopate, raised an issue among the historians. It seems to be possible that this territory wasn't inhabited when the archdeaconate was established, though it should be kept in mind that the Bakonyalja (the hilly woodland between the plains of the Kisalföld region and the Bakony Mountains) was originally a separated administrational unit.[17] Another exemption appears with the parish church of the settlement; the church – dedicated to St. Stephen the first martyr – was under the authority of the Esztergom archiepiscopate from the year 1397.

10 Ilon 1994, 22; Tomka 1976, 404, 408.
11 Ilon 1994, 22; Horváth 2014, 40–60.
12 A 14th century chronicle mentions that a piece of a revolting lord, Koppány – whom King (then Prince) Stephen I had defeated, killed and sentenced to be cut in four – was sent to the Győr gate and exhibited in 997 AD. Chronicon Pictum, 98 (*Képes krónika – Chronicon Pictum.* Translated by Geréb, L. Ed.: Mezey, L. Budapest 1964). It is undecidable though, whether this expression refers to the gate of the castle in Győr, or to a gate of Székesfehérvár, leading to Győr.
13 Tomka – Némethné 2000, 5; Szőke et al. 1976, 110–111 Taf. 51.
14 Kolláth – Tomka 2017, 553–554.
15 Solymosi 1996, 31–32.
16 Kristó 1996, 17.
17 Kubinyi 1994, 75–76.

The appearance of an archdeaconate in Pápa raises the questions about the location of its church, but unfortunately the building hasn't been located yet.[18] Still, assumptions can be made based on historical evidence. According to András Kubinyi's theory, some archdeaconates were established in the vicinity of former courthouses that belonged to the king or the queen. His hypothesis is also supported by the parish church's exemption and although there is no direct proof for an early royal residence in Pápa, archaeological or historical traces of these early royal curiae are particularly scarce. Royal service people and servants appear in the 13th century written sources. Due to the etymology of the nearby village-names, the vicinity of Pápa was inhabited by shepherds, blacksmiths, stablemen, cooks, and bakers. [19] The rural settlement excavated in 2010–2011 on the Main Square of Pápa, could have fitted in this system.

4. The excavations

The first excavations on the Széchenyi Square of Győr, when medieval entities were identified, have been carried out in 1968–1969 with the supervision of Dénes Gabler and Péter Tomka. Two rows of rectangular sections had been opened then on the northern side of the square on a circa 255 m^2 area and quite a few Árpádian Age objects were found.[20]

The next archaeological works began 30 years later in 1998–1999 and were led by Péter Tomka and Eszter Szőnyi. A long trench had to be excavated in these two seasons, with a wider, rectangular section opened at its northern end on a 200 m^2 area in its entirety. The Árpádian Age features could be found at this widening part of the surveyed area, as earlier layers had been destroyed by a 16th century cellared building and 18th century phenomena southwards.[21]

The most recent excavations were carried out in 2008 and 2009 conducted by Szilvia Bíró, previous to the Széchenyi Square's renovation. Six surfaces have been opened in the first season. Their shape and depth have been defined by the building works' prospected disturbance. The pavement should have been replaced with a constant archaeological supervision in the following year on the full extents of the square. However, contrary to the previous negotiations and against the official conditions the building company has scraped almost the whole area in a depth of 140 cm, thus demolishing most of the medieval features. The archaeologists could save only fragments of the site through rescue excavations.[22]

All in all, about 900 m^2 were uncovered in the past 60 years of the square's roughly 6000 m^2 area, mostly on its northern and eastern side.[23] We have had access to the documentation and find material of all three excavations *(Fig. 4.1)*.

The situation has been more fortunate in the case of Pápa-Fő tér (Main Square). In 2010 trial trenches were opened by Márton Szvath and László Pintér. The preliminary excavation was continued next year with the leadership of Maxim Mordovin and Ágnes Kolláth. The current study contains the elaboration of the Árpádian Age settlement features and ceramic vessels

18 Kubinyi 1994, 100.
19 Kubinyi 1994, 76–78.
20 The findings about the Roman period of the site have been published already: Gabler 1971.
21 Szőnyi – Tomka 2002, 206–208.
22 Bíró et al. 2010, 40.
23 Bíró et al. 2010, 40.

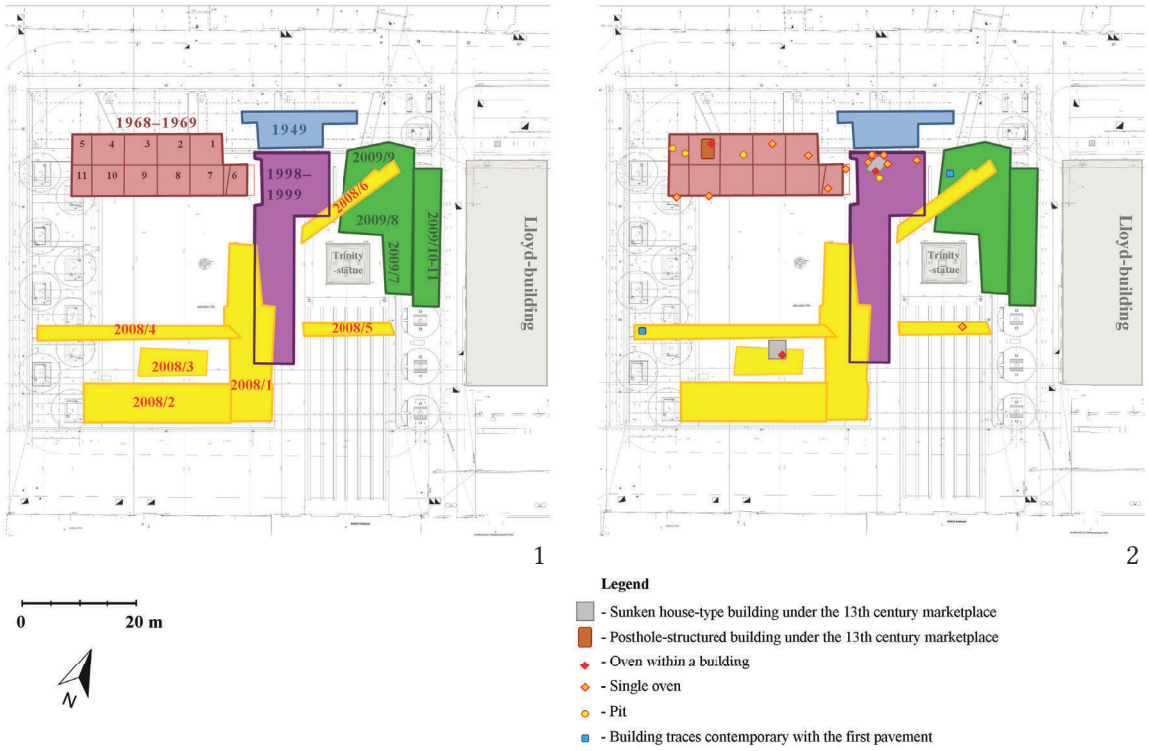

Fig. 4. 1 – The excavated area on the Széchenyi Square in Győr, 2 – Árpádian Age objects on Győr-Széchenyi Square.

which were unearthed in the year 2011, when a 1771 m^2 area was excavated. It took the form of 3 m wide trenches along the edges of the square, of a grid pattern on its central area and of probes of various dimensions surrounding the baroque parish church[24] *(Fig. 6.1).*

It has to be emphasised, that these areas have been inhabited from the Roman Age in Győr and from the early Árpádian Age in Pápa to the present, so the medieval layers were often destroyed by younger features *(Fig. 6.2).* Therefore, the oldest, Árpádian Age settlement structures can only be seen as a mosaic picture, but the situation seemed to be more promising than in most cases anyway.

5. 10th–11th–13th century settlement objects[25]

The phenomenon, which has made plausible the comparison of the two sites from some point during the 2011 Pápa excavation, was that the establishment of the marketplaces – that had continued to evolve into the towns' present day main squares – had meant a functional change and therefore an end to the structures formerly existing there. These events could be dated

24 See Mordovin 2016a for further details!

25 According to Péter Tomka, the early Árpádian Age pottery found on the Széchenyi Square shows similarities not with the earliest, but with the following, second period ceramics from the nearby very early (9th–11th centuries) settlements, like Győr-Káptalandomb, Ménfőcsanak-Széles dűlő or Bácsa-Szent Vid domb, therefore the 11th century dating in this case. (For the find material see Szőke et al. 1976, Taf. 51; Merva 2012 and Tomka – Merva 2016.) The appearance of ceramic cauldrons even in the earliest objects of the Széchenyi tér also supports this, as this vessel type seems to be lacking in the 9th–10th century settlement phases in this region. In the case of Pápa, no such early materials are known from the close proximity and some superpositions render the 10th century dating possible, hence our wording of this subtitle.

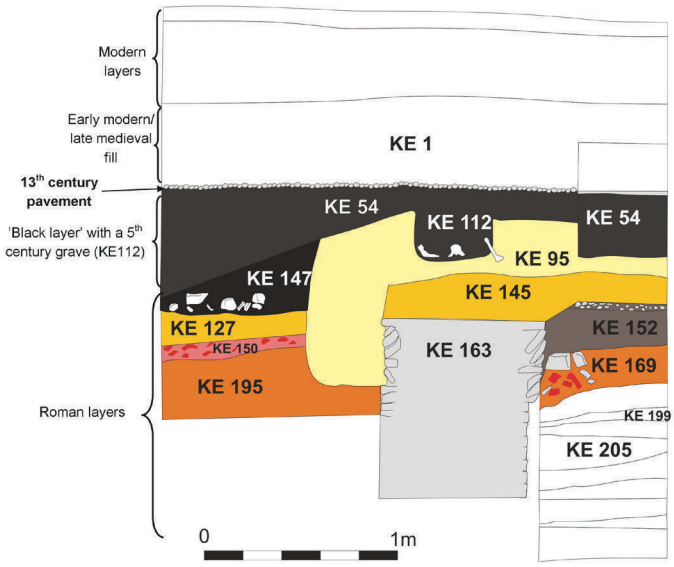

Fig. 5. The stratigraphy of Győr-Széchenyi Square in the NW-profile of section 6/2008–2009.

to the turn of the 13th–14th centuries at the latest in Győr and to the 14th century in Pápa and rendered the study of these earlier features easier than in most urban excavations.[26] This was especially true for Pápa, where the area of the market had changed less, thus the younger objects had not destroyed as much of the previous periods as in Győr.

5.1. Győr

At this site, the creation of an even surface required vast levelling works. Their extent can be best assessed on the emergence of 5th century graves that have originally lay under a thick, dark fill (the so-called "black layer") that has developed between the Late Roman and the Medieval periods and another, also dark fill layer connected to the Árpádian Age settlement that could be hardly separated from the earlier one.[27] However, on the eastern part of the square, the skeletons could be found 10 cm under the pebbled surface of the marketplace, which means the removal of at least 30–40 cm from these earlier layers. This could also be observed on the northern side in 1968–69, where only the lowest parts of Árpádian Age features could be identified under the pebbled surface[28] *(Fig. 5).*

On the whole, 38 features could be dated surely to the Árpádian Age, before the establishment of the marketplace or contemporary with its construction. 19 free-standing ovens and fireplaces, two posthole-structures and one with foundation-trenches, two sunken house-type buildings, ten single postholes, furthermore four pits could be counted here. There were also numerous further postholes on the 1968–1969 area that the archaeologists have noticed only under the pavement, but as their structure fits into the later medieval period, their find-material contains some younger shards and there are some side-notes in the excavation journal saying that in some cases they could see on the section walls that the holes have started above the pebbled surface, we do not evaluate these objects in further detail this time *(Fig. 4.2).*

26 Kolláth – Tomka 2017, 560–561, with earlier literature. Mordovin 2016a, 246; 2016b, 30.
27 Bíró – Tomka 2013, 521–524; 2017, 55–56.
28 Bíró – Tomka 2017, 56, Abb. 3; Gabler 1971, 8.

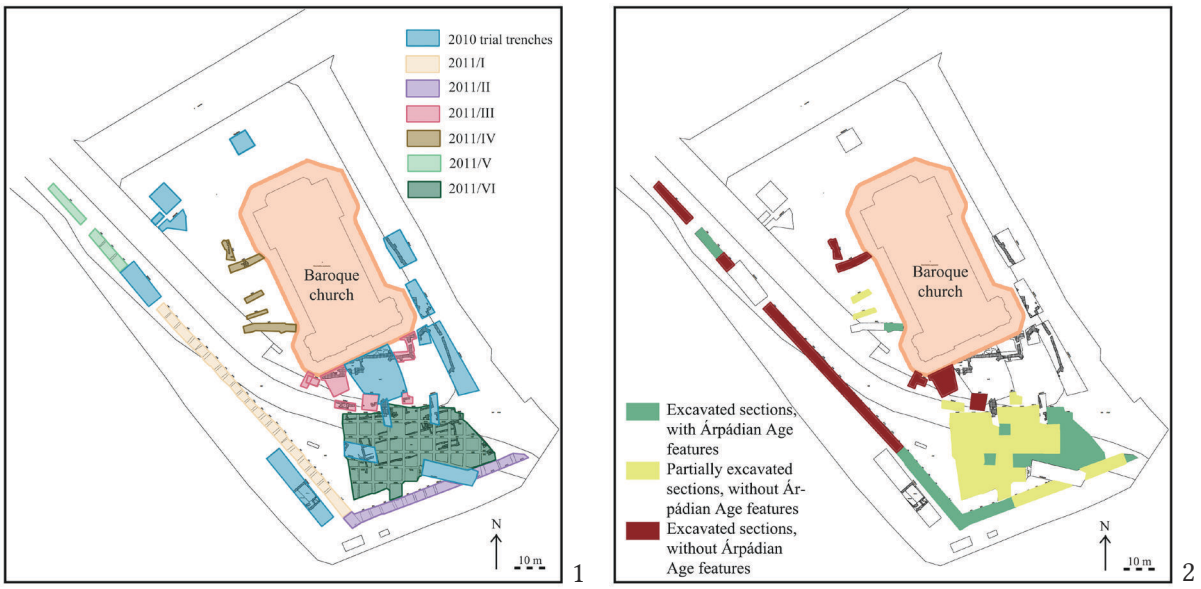

Fig. 6. 1 – Plan of the excavated areas on the Main Square at Pápa, 2 – Plan of the excavated sections in 2011, regarding the Árpádian Age features.

The earliest features have concentrated on the north-eastern part of the modern square. Just above the ruins of a Roman building, a single oven could be identified (object 76/1998–1999). It did not have datable find material, but one of the sunken house-type buildings (object 36/1998–1999) had been built above them in the 11th century, as the ceramic shards found in this object have shown. This building was in superposition with another single oven's ember pit (object 52/1998–1999) as well *(Fig. 12).*

The pit of the house itself could be observed on a 490×440 cm's, rectangular area and it was 110 cm's deep at its lowest point, measured from its appearance level. The pit had been dug out gradually, with a wider platform running around its walls. Its inner size, with traces of a plastered pavement was roughly 300×252 cm's; the entrance could not be identified. It had an oven built of stones in its south-eastern corner, its roof was held by two posts, one at each of its shorter sides. A small pit has also been found in its middle and it also had some kind of smokestack, as seen from the various sized postholes around its oven *(Fig. 13.1–3).*

Later, after its abandonment, free-standing, single ovens were built on this area. In one sure (object 34/1998–1999) and one uncertain (object 2/1998–1999) case their makers followed the rather wide-spread trend of using deserted houses as "work-pits" for the fireplaces, and another one (object 58/1998–1999) was deepened into the fill of the house.[29] The latter means that the pit of the house had been filled in completely by that time *(Fig. 12, Fig. 14.1, 2, 3).*

We know of another object that could surely be dated by pottery to the 11th century, an oven fragment (KE [research unit] 046/2008–2009) on the east side of the square. Only a part of its hearth and a small section of its vault could be excavated. Its stratigraphy was also interesting, as a late medieval fill surrounded its remains and a late Roman layer lay underneath. This strange situation could be the result of later building works that completely destroyed its

29 Tomka – Némethné 2000, 8–9; Méri 1963, 273.

surroundings. The oven itself was possibly dug out tilting downwards from a bigger pit, as it was observable by some of these objects of that time.[30]

The next phase could also be identified mainly on the northern side of the Széchenyi Square. The ovens (objects 1; 2; 34; 35a–b; 58/1998–1999) younger than the aforementioned pit-house (object 36/1998–1999), seven other ovens in the 1968–69 area (objects 6; 7; 8/1968; ovens A; B/1969; an oven without nomination southwards of section 11/1969 and an oven only visible in the southern wall of section 10) and a posthole-structure (in section 4/1968, without further nomination) belong here. All of the fireplaces were free-standing, carved partly in the soil with vaults and hearths of clay, sometimes with stones embedded in the hearth. Some of them have also had ember-pits in front of their opening (objects 2; 34; 35a–b/1998–1999). One fireplace in the 1969 area had been renewed once, using a Roman tubus in its first and a brick in its second period built in the hearth (oven B/1969). Its find material contained a large amount of charcoal and burnt, unidentifiable bits of iron objects. Another oven in the north-eastern corner of the 1998–99 area had been renewed twice, Péter Tomka concluded from its larger proportions and massive construction that it may have been used for industrial purposes (object 1/1998)[31] *(Fig. 14.4, 6).* In the layer surrounding these ovens the coin of King Béla III (1172–1196) was found.

The posthole-structured house was located in the middle of the 1968 area (section 4), near the northern edge of the square, where 14 posts have bordered an approximately 300×500 cm area. Remains of its clay plastered floor with a burnt part marking the location of its fireplace have also been found. Two 19th century pits had done much damage to this construction and only its bottom part could be identified, with the last 10–15 cm-s of its postholes because of the 13th century levelling works. Its floor was roughly on the same level as the remains of the free standing ovens, which means that it had to be a construction with a somewhat sunken floor. Its find material consisted of a few uncharacteristic Árpádian Age shards mixed with a larger amount of Roman pottery *(Fig. 15.1–2).*

A sunken house-type building (KE 243/2008–2009) on the west side of the square could not be exactly dated within the Árpádian Age, because a late medieval cellar demolished the surface that had belonged to this building. Furthermore its pit had been filled in with the "black layer"; therefore it could not be noticed for a time on the excavation. It could be documented only on the last 40 cm of its full depth in surface, while it could be seen later on the northern section wall that its remaining part (not destroyed by the late medieval building) was 100 cm deep. Consequently, most of its find material is mixed with that of its surroundings, where everything was present from the Roman to the Late Árpádian Ages *(Fig. 16.1–3).*

The northern part of the house was outside the section's boundaries; thus its excavated size was 280×180 cm. Its plan has been probably rectangular, but its exact shape remained unknown. Its floor was plastered with yellow clay and seemingly walked on. The round, burnt-through area of its oven was found in the south-eastern corner. It could have been built of stones and clay, but this was indicated only by a few scattered rocks and small remains of the plastering.

30 Takács 1994, 35–38.

31 Tomka – Némethné 2000, 9; Szőnyi – Tomka 2002, 207.

Considering its structure, the building was a so-called "deep pit-house", as it was dug more than a meter straight down in the soil.[32] A larger posthole was found in the middle third of the southern wall and a smaller one in the south-eastern corner. A further, smaller post could have been erected in the south-western corner, as a Roman wall was cut through by the building of the house and it was carved out in a semi-circular shape there. More even smaller round, dark colorations with diameters of circa 10 cm could be identified on the excavation photos as well, one by the eastern, one by the western, two by the southern walls and three in a group some 20-30 cm north-west from the oven. These were probably also traces of poles.

The smaller posts along the walls could have served the reinforcement of the house's structure. Namely, as mentioned above, the house's pit was rather deep even in its damaged condition, so the strengthening of the earthen walls with planks might have been needed and these posts could have hold the lining in place.[33] The poles lying north-west from the oven might have been parts of a smoke drawing construction. Bearing in mind that ovens were often built opposite the entrance by this type of houses, it is possible that one could enter the building on the unexcavated northern or north-western side. The fact that it was filled up with the "black layer's" soil might mean that its demolition happened simultaneously with the levelling works on the area. That would mean that it could be dated to the 13th century, but as this kind of sunken house-type buildings is known from the whole extent of the Árpádian Age and due to the lack stratigraphy and find material, it would not be wise to date it more precisely within the 11th–13th centuries.

The next phase in the settlement's life was the establishment of the marketplace. Coins from the time of the Austrian interregnum (1236–1239; 1246–1251) mark the beginning of its use and a historic source also supports this dating, as Győr has got its urban privileges in 1271.[34] Two structures are probably contemporary with this feature as they are on the same level and the pebbled pavement is missing in their interior. Only small fragments are known of them, in one case, again in the north-eastern part of the square, details of a plastered floor and a few postholes could be attested to a building (KE 388–391; 396; 399; 403/2009), while one house on the western part of the area had a structure of base-trenches (KE 254/2008). *(Fig. 17.1–2)* The latter is the earliest of the constantly renovated and rebuilt houses that can be seen as the end of the "Árpádian Age-type", more or less dispersed settlement on the Széchenyi Square. They mark the beginning formation of the plot-system on the area, which seems to have been gradually expanded, taking more and more space away from the market square.[35]

The northern part of the site has developed differently. New objects have started to appear there soon after the creation of the marketplace too. Not counting the aforementioned building, they were mostly smaller posthole-structures in the middle-northern part and can be interpreted as market-stalls.[36] A ditch (KE 108/2008–2009); a few single ovens (for example

32 Sabján 1999, 137–139.

33 According to Miklós Takács, the darker, brownish coloration between the main post and the smaller ones could be another trace of such a wooden construction. We would like to thank hereby for his help! Similar traces could be observed by the walls of a 10th–11th century, larger building in the outskirts of Székesfehérvár, the pit had been most likely reinforced by a wattle-lining in that case. Orha et al. 2016, 39, with further similar objects.

34 Szőnyi – Tomka 2002, 207. For the diploma describing the privileges: Fügedi 1971.

35 This tendency can be followed then as late as the 16th century, when the whole arrangement of the settlement was changed. Kolláth – Tomka 2017, 565–567.

36 It is unsure in many cases, if the postholes were dug in the pavement or in the fill above, therefore we do not deal with them this time.

KE 394; 400/2008–2009) and some pits (for example KE 134/2008–2009) have also belonged to this period, so as one of the town's main roads has crossed through here in a west-east direction, it is not surprising that further levelling works were needed soon after the original paving. This time, the area has been filled up. This thick, brownish layer has still contained mostly 13th–14th century finds, and also a coin of Louis I (1342–1382) on this part of the square. From an archaeological viewpoint, this fill can be seen as the final closure of the marketplace's first period on the site, as the late-medieval stone and brick buildings that could be identified on the northern boundaries of the Széchenyi Square seem to have been adjusted to this elevated surface.[37]

5.2. Pápa

Meanwhile on the Main Square, the excavation yielded 91 Árpádian Age settlement features in 2011. Here, the most frequent type was the pit (33) – probably used for storage or clay extraction – followed by traces of ditches, whose exact functions in some cases remained unknown (21). The ovens inside the buildings and the outside standing single ovens have represented an unusually large proportion of the total (22). Besides these, 7 posthole-structures, 6 sunken house-type buildings and two graves were excavated. The Árpádian Age settlement horizon is easily detectable, as its features had been dug into the subsoil and a 30–40 cm thick ashy and coaly layer overlaid them all *(e.g. Fig. 18)*.[38] In this thick layer pot rims from the 13th–14th centuries were found *(Fig. 27.7–8, Fig. 28.1–8)* – their closest analogues are known from the published layers of the Sopron city wall.[39] The appearance of the jugs also confirms a late 13th, early 14th century dating *(Fig. 29.11–19)*.[40]

The features lying under the above mentioned layer contained numerous ceramic shards and animal bones, but not a single metal find; therefore it was not possible to date it more precisely by coins or metal artefacts. Furthermore, exact dating is difficult as some of the characteristic forms of pottery in the 10th to the 13th centuries were used for a longer time, which allows researchers only to date in longer chronological frames. Additionally, 74 out of the 91 settlement features didn't contain any shards, or just some uncharacteristic ones, which are no help for exact dating. Still, a few features were datable to shorter chronological phases: 12 features could be assigned to the 10th–11th century (sunken house-type building 2/ hearth 13, posthole-structured building 1/ hearth 15, posthole-structured building 2, hearth 14, hearth 19/ pit 22 and pit 11, 14, 17–18). As one can see, all of the settlement feature types are present at the Main Square's early settlement phase except the ditches. It has to be emphasized, that these features concentrated on the south-western corner of the excavated area *(Fig. 7.1)*.

Five settlement features contained pottery from the 11th–13th century (hearth 4/ pit 3, hearth 18, pit 21, 23). Some of them were found north-west from the above mentioned 12 earlier features, thus it is probable that the settlement extended that way by time *(Fig. 7.2)*. Although in my opinion, this amount of information is not suitable to determine strictly divided settle-

37 Lővei 1991, 16.

38 The illustrations regarding the excavated Árpádian Age features on the Main Square at Pápa, are marked with various colours, in order to help distinguish the different types of features and layers. Some of the postholes, which couldn't be interpreted as separate structures, but were in connection with other features, are labelled with the feature's name and a number (e.g. a posthole cutting ditch 19 is labelled D19/1).

39 Holl 1973, 27. kép.

40 Holl 1973, 203; Takács 1996a, 173–174.

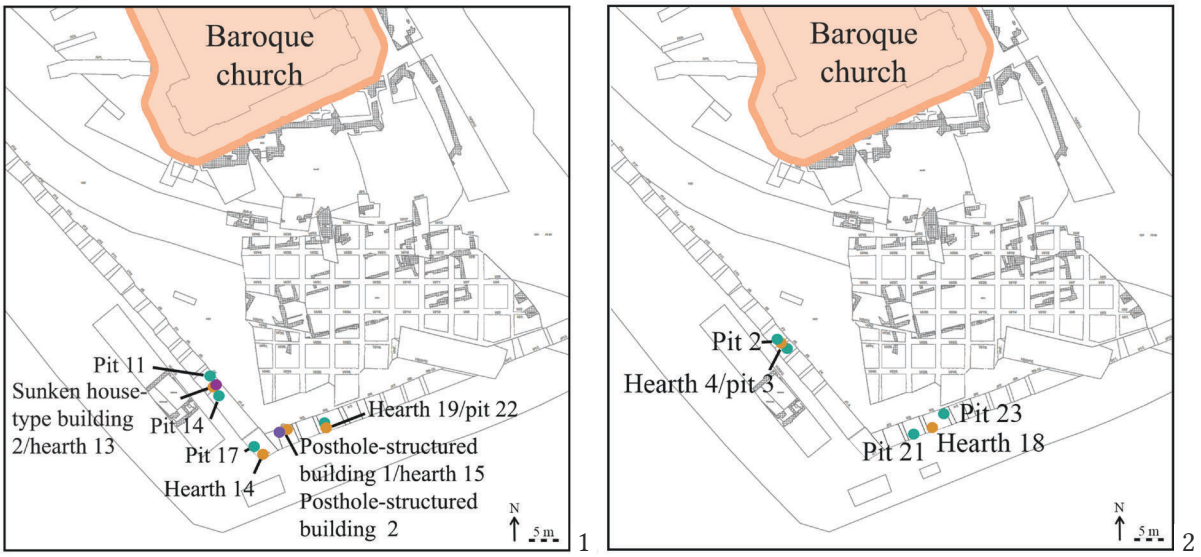

Fig. 7. Pápa-Main Square. 1 – Plan of the location of the 10th–11th century features, 2 – Plan of the location of the 11th–13th century features.

ment horizons. All of the excavated Árpádian Age features in this location contained rather similar fill: ashy-coaly, brownish grey soil, occasionally with small, burnt wattle-and-daub fragments, overlaid by the late 13th, early 14th century layer, mentioned above. The infillings usually contained ceramic assemblages dated to longer time phases within the Árpádian Age, therefore I assume, they were lying open for a longer time, providing place for the domestic waste. The infillings date the abandonment of the feature, rather than the usage of it, and in my opinion, that might be also the case on the Main Square of Pápa. In the following of the paper I will briefly describe the settlement features in order of their frequency.

As in any other Árpádian Age settlement, the most frequent type of feature was the pit. Nine (pit 4, 5, 12, 16, 18–19, 22, 28–29) had rounded, four (pit 14–15, 23, 27) sub-rectangular and one triangular shape. Only one pit (pit 18) had clay plastering on its side, which allows us to consider it as a grain storage *(Fig. 21.2)*. Out of the 33 features seven could be used to deposit burnt waste from the hearths (pit 1, 3, 9–10, 20–21, 31) *(e.g. Fig. 18, Fig. 19.1, Fig. 20.1)*. The exact functions of the other unearthed pits with various diameters and depths remain unknown. According to Takács's opinion archaeologists reveal rather the secondary usage of these pits, than the primary, as after their abandonment all of them were used as waste deposits. Originally they had been often dug out to store[41] or to extract clay.[42]

On the Main Square the pits were followed by traces of ditches in frequency. Altogether the excavation yielded 21 ditches which could be divided by their width and depth into two main groups: the ditches 10–20 cm wide and 30–40 cm deep belong to the first one (ditch 2–3, 8–17, 19–21) *(e.g. Fig. 21.1, Fig. 22, Fig. 23.1, Fig 24.6)*. At this point one must add, that some of these features couldn't be excavated, just recorded at the level of their appearance – due to the limited opportunities of a rescue excavation – so their depths can be just estimated.[43] Two

41 Takács 1994, 34–35.
42 Méri 1952, 61.
43 These undug ditches had the same widths and characteristics as the excavated ones thus it's highly probable, that these narrow features belong also to the above mentioned first group.

of these narrow and shallow ones are running parallel (ditch 2, 3) and 6 of them intersecting approximately at right-angles (ditch 13–16, 20–21) *(Fig. 22.2, Fig. 23.1)*.The second group contains six wider – 40–150 cm – and deeper – 60–300 cm – ditches (ditch 1, 4–7, 18) *(e.g. Fig. 18.1, Fig. 21.1, Fig. 23.3)*.

The widest and deepest one (ditch 7) is the only ditch that runs slightly curved among the other straight ones. It measured 150 cm in width and up to 300 cm in depth, but it was damaged by several later features *(Fig. 23.3)*. Altogether, it runs along four excavated sections, therefore its length could have been at least 25 m *(Fig. 24.5)*. The ditch had a "U" shaped profile and a fill with overlapping layers. At the bottom, a loamy, greyish layer was found mixed with yellowish-reddish stripes coming from the sandy, yellowish subsoil. This oldest layer contained Árpádian Age pottery[44] but also some shards dated to the Late Middle Ages, so presumably the ditch was open for a long time. If the ditch – whose course seems to encircle the Late Middle Age church – had been constructed in the Árpádian Age, the possibility of an earlier sacral building can't be neglected, especially if we take the two uncovered graves (described later) from this period in consideration.

All of the unearthed ditches had "U" or "V" shaped profile, though in my opinion, the archaeological remnants rarely present the original shaping of the sides due to the weathering. To find out the functions of these settlement features one must observe their slope: on the Main Square five ditches (ditch 1, 5–7, 9) had a slight slope towards the south-western and south-eastern area therefore it is possible to interpret them as drainage ditches.

The excavated settlement is characterised by various ovens and fireplaces. They were placed inside the sunken house-type and posthole-structured buildings, and also stood outside under some wooden roofs. In one case, the yard surface could be observed right next to the hearth, covered with burnt waste of the firing activity *(Fig. 18.1–2)*. Unfortunately only seven (hearth 2, 4, 5–6, 9–10, 22) out of the total 22 were unearthed in their full extensions, the others lay outside the limit of the excavation or had been damaged by later features. 13 outside-standing, single ovens could be recognised (hearth 1–2, 4, 7–8, 10–12, 14, 17–19, 21), cut into the subsoil and plastered with clay or built from clay, in one case maybe from stones (hearth 15) *(Fig. 21.2–3)*. Five out of them had rounded, or oval (hearth 1–2, 7–8, 19), four had sub-rectangular or elongated (hearth 10–12, 21) and two had rectangular (hearth 14, 17) shape. Their diameters or the longest sides measured between 60 and 100 cm. In four cases (hearth 1–2, 4, 14) one-time renewals of the firing surfaces could be observed. On the east side of one of these renewed hearths, a 10×15×8 cm burnt wood, – according to the field excavator's observation, cutting the oven – could be documented. It is hard to decide, whether this wooden feature was part of the construction or not *(Fig. 18.3)*. Some of the firing surfaces of the single ovens were covered by pebbles or stones (hearth 14/2nd period, 17–19) *(Fig. 19.3, Fig. 20.1–2)*. This kind of construction is known from other territories of the Kisalföld from the same period. In agreement with Takács's investigation, it seems to be a regional custom,[45] while covering the firing surfaces with ceramic shards is more frequent in other parts of the Carpathian Basin. Only one hearth's surface was covered by pottery shards dated to the 10th–11th century due to its carved line-bands and wavy line-band decoration (hearth 15) *(Fig. 31.1–3)*. This feature

44 Unfortunately these early fragments have been inaccessible as yet.
45 Takács 1994, 36.

was located inside a posthole-structured building (posthole-structured building 1), right next to its wall *(Fig. 21.2–3)*. Another special construction is worth mentioning: a single oven with a canopy, which could be dated also to the 10th–11th century (hearth 19) regarding the pottery found in its fill *(Fig. 33.5–7)*. The oven was cut into the subsoil and its firing surface was covered by pebbles. After the extension of its mixed, coaly, brownish soil fill, a 20 cm deep and 20 cm wide slot could be identified starting from the top of the vault, also carved into the subsoil *(Fig. 20.1–2)*. We are aware of some similar features at the Árpádian Age sites from Dunaújváros,[46] Fertőszentmiklós[47] and Ete,[48] but none of them had quite the same structure.

Pits were attached to seven single ovens, in order to gather the burnt waste of the hearths (hearth 4/ pit 3, hearth 11/ pit 9, hearth 16/ pit 20, hearth 19/ pit 22) *(Fig. 18.1, Fig. 19.1, Fig. 20.1)*. These had various shapes (oval, rounded, sub-rectangular and elongated) and most of them connected to the ovens from the southern, or south-western directions, only one was attached to the northern part of the oven (hearth 19/ pit 22). These similar arrangements can be caused by the wind-chart. The described great variety of the shapes and structures of the single ovens and the attached pits is parallel to a nearby Árpádian Age site called Keszthely-Fenékpuszta.[49] In four cases the excavation yielded small, shallow, into the subsoil deepening depressions, filled by ash and coal fragments. Their bases were burnt, but there were no traces of any clay plastering or built constructions (hearth 5–6, 9, 22). In my opinion, these features could be the archaeological remains of some temporarily used open fireplaces *(Fig.19.1–2, Fig. 23.3)*. Three of them were located very close to each other (hearth 5–6, 9).

It is worth drawing attention to the positions of the above mentioned hearths within the settlement. The single ovens and open fireplaces were concentrated in the south-western corner of the researched area, some of them were constructed only 1 or 2 meters away from one another, and often were dug into the earlier ones, after they had been filled in (hearth 2–3, 7–8, 11–12, 18–19). Shorter time-phases must be taken into consideration while talking about the dating of these features, because the remnants of the older hearths had to be still visible at the time of the construction of the new one. The same situation was observed on an Árpádian Age site called Hács-Béndekpuszta. That excavation yielded a group of single ovens in superpositions, which contained very similar pottery assemblages.[50] At Keszthely-Fenékpuszta Jankovich also recorded two single ovens, in their fills, ceramic shards belonging to the same vessels were found.[51] The single ovens and open fireplaces on the Main Square were often surrounded by postholes – which might have held some wooden roofs – and located in shallow, depressed areas (hearth 4–12, 16–19). These features together suggest that this area may be interpreted as the place where the flammable activities within the settlement were concentrated deliberately. *(Fig. 18.1, Fig. 19.1, Fig. 20.1)*

Although only 6 sunken house-type buildings were identified, a large number of postholes (more than two hundred) were brought to light; therefore it is probable that these – hardly detectable and interpretable – wooden structures played a significant part in the Árpádian Age settlement's life. Some of the structures given by the postholes have been already mentioned

46 Bóna 1973, 44.
47 Gömöri 2002, 171.
48 Miklós – Vizi 1999, 226–227, 25. kép
49 Jankovich 1991, 199.
50 Parádi 1967, 30.
51 Jankovich 1991, 186.

at the description of the single ovens. I have interpreted them as the archaeological remains of wooden roofs, above the working spaces, as István Méri did in his exemplary paper.[52]

However, numerous postholes were excavated, which didn't surround any other settlement features. Their exact dating within the Árpádian Age is questionable, since most of them were not accompanied by any finds. Furthermore, superpositions also couldn't be observed. Nevertheless, in seven cases I tried to interpret the concentration of the postholes as wooden structures, although this was rather hypothetical. One of the most interesting structures is a 50 cm thick, wattle-walled building, with an inside oven, already mentioned above (posthole-structured building 1/ hearth 15). The wall – consisted of 18 similar, into the subsoil deepening postholes close to each other – was running approximately in three parallel lines, on a 150 cm long path. On both sides of the remnants of the assumed wall, traces of fire could be observed. Unfortunately, only a part of this building could be uncovered *(Fig. 21.2–3)*. After the excavation of this building – dated to the 10th–11th century – some other, into the subsoil deepening postholes were brought to light in the same place (posthole-structured building 3). Three, approximately south/north row of postholes were found here. The features were cut into shallow and narrow foundation-trenches, which lay 50 cm from each other. In the middle of every foundation-trench three bigger postholes were detectable *(Fig. 21.4)*. Similar structures could be observed in the vicinity, on Pápa-Hanta,[53] and on Lébény-Bille-domb[54] sites. In both cases the researchers interpreted the features as fences. Another similar foundation-trench with two rectangular postholes was also found on the Main Square (posthole-structured building 5) *(Fig. 22.1)*. Four more gatherings of the postholes could be interpreted as structures: an oval shaped one, with an ashy-and coaly layer within the enclosed territory (posthole-structured building 4) *(Fig. 24.6)*, and three rectangular ones (posthole-structured building 2, 6–7) *(Fig. 21.2, Fig. 22.2)*. The 6th structure was divided into two partitions by five postholes in the middle axis, and its postholes were cut into the lower lying, late Árpádian Age layer. After the removal of this layer, the 7th posthole-structured building was brought to light. It consisted of smaller postholes forming a bigger, rectangular enclosure *(Fig. 22.2)*.

Unfortunately none of the sunken house-type buildings could be uncovered to their full extension; [55] thus it is not possible to draw any exact conclusions regarding their ground-plans or functions. Out of the six buildings, two had ovens in their corners (sunken house-type building 1–2), therefore a living-function could be assumed. The mouth of the rounded ovens faced to the longer sides of the buildings and their diameters measured 75–100 cm. They were dug into the subsoil and plastered with clay *(Fig. 18.1, Fig. 19.1)*. Traces of floor surface couldn't be found in any buildings, and one can only presume remains of the entrance in the 1th feature. From the same building an elongated slot (measuring 80 cm in length and 20 cm in width) was reaching out in a western direction *(Fig. 19.1)*. The researchers often interpret these features – located usually opposite to the ovens – as canopies.[56] Inner postholes were brought to light in sunken house-type buildings 1–2, 4 and 6 *(Fig. 18.1, Fig. 19.1, Fig. 21.1)*, although only the last one had the usual appearance with two postholes located opposite to each other along the shorter sides.

Two Árpádian Age graves were excavated – among the numerous medieval and early new age

52 Méri 1970, IV. tábla/B
53 Ilon 1996, 300.
54 Takács 1994, 35.
55 The main parts of sunken house-type buildings 5–6 were uncovered by the trial excavation in 2010.
56 Molnár 2001, 114–120.

ones – in the northern part of the excavated area, in the vicinity of the baroque church. The parish had had a medieval antecedent; its 15th century gothic apse was unearthed during the archaeological investigation of the Main Square *(Fig. 24.5)*.

The first deceased was deposited in southwest-northeast direction and was destroyed by several younger features. On the two sides of the jaw a pin with spherical head and a ribbed, S-ended lock ring (both made of copper alloy) were found in situ *(Fig. 24.1–4)*. Both types of jewellery appears around the 12th century. According to Béla Szőke's observations, the ribbed ended lock rings can be dated from the second half of the 11th century,[57] and pins appear from the 12th century.[58] The second, also disturbed burial lay in the same position. Although it didn't contain any grave goods, it was superimposed by a late Árpádian Age layer *(Fig. 24.6)*. It is rather apparent that these human remains are to be dated to the discussed period, since older features were not discovered at this site. The two excavated burials suggest the existence of an Árpádian Age cemetery and even a church close to the settlement.

The settlement in the centre of Pápa was inhabited from the 10th–11th centuries to the end of the Árpádian Age. The features were filled, and the area was graded at the same time, but there weren't any clues of any violent activities that could have ended the life of the settlement. However, above the thick planing-layer from the 13th–14th century, the first pebble-cover of the market square dated to the 14th–15th century was unearthed. This change of function can be connected with a written source from the year 1339, which gives information about foreign hospes people. The appearence of hospeses usually can be connected to the urbanisation of the settlement.[59]

6. Comparison of the ceramic find materials

In the case of Győr, the evaluation of the ceramic finds has been problematic for more than one reason. First of all, the Árpádian Age features had deepened into Roman layers, thus their material had mixed with each other, so our first task was to separate them. It is usually easy, as most of the Roman pottery is of a much higher quality, but some simple household ceramics had been possibly made from the same clay and of similar standards as of the medieval vessels and this complicated the process. The second problematic case was the fill layer above the first paving of the marketplace. This was partly a deliberate, 14th century filling on the north-eastern side of the square, but no consistent pavement was laid on top of it, so it has thickened further naturally.[60] It could not be separated on the excavation from the similar, natural fill in other sections on the site either. These circumstances have resulted in an extremely mixed find material, dating from the antiquity to the 15th–16th centuries or even later in some areas. However its evaluation was also worth for this paper, due to the rich late 13th–14th century material. In the end, after studying more than 2000 pottery shards from the features datable through their stratigraphy to the period in question, circa 1000 pieces could be identified as Árpádian Age pottery. As most of them are layer-material, they are very fragmented and rarely match. Only one vessel's full profile could be reconstructed.[61]

57 Szőke 1962, 89.
58 Bárdos 1978, 240; Nyárádi – Gáll 2015.
59 Kubinyi 1994, 81.
60 A later, 14th century pebbling could be observed in patches on the northern side in all three excavations, but it seems to be rather a weak attempt to repair the existing paving, than a complete renewal.
61 Inv. Nr. 2017.1.7.46.1–7 (at the Rómer Flóris Museum for Art and History in Győr).

The two most wide-spread types were the pot and the cauldron; furthermore we could identify some fragments of bottles, part of a lid, the handle of a skillet and some jug-fragments from the very end of this era. Three periods could be detected in the material: the 11th century fragments, the 12th–13th century material beneath the marketplace and the late, 13th–14th century pottery from above the paving.

Considering technology, most of the vessels have been thrown or at least finished on a slow-turning potter's wheel. In the case of the youngest pieces the technique is more developed, but the usage of the fast-thrown wheel can be proved first on the definitely 14th century material. The firing in oxidising and reducing atmosphere have been both present from the earliest stage, but the latter is rather infrequent.

The firing of the 11th century fragments is quite even, although two- or three-coloured fragment-surfaces do occur. Their colour differs from a bold brownish red to yellow, occasionally dark, brownish grey. They contain pretty much sand and mica, furthermore some of them tiny pebbles and brick-coloured, small grains. The identifiable pieces were mostly pot-fragments; their rims can be bent out sharply, almost horizontally or only mildly, with rounded, straight cut or thinning ends. Their decoration was the richest in the whole material: incised straight, wavy and zigzag lines, combed in straight and wavy line-bands, triangular and rectangular pattern-stripes made by a stamp-wheel. Some cauldron-fragments could be found as well, their material was similar to that of the pots', although a bit coarser. The rims showed mostly the "Takács B" shape, which had been the most generic in this region, while the "Takács A" and "Takács C" types (considered early variants) appeared only in the mixed material from above the paving of the market square *(Fig. 9.7–9)*.[62] These pieces have close similarities to those already published from the northern part of the Kisalföld region and some cauldron rim-variants typical for the Pápa-material showed up as well.[63]

There was also a rounded rim-fragment of a bottle. It had been coiled by hand of sandy, rather fine clay and fired to a yellowish red colour. The traces of its building could be observed on the inside, while its outer surface had been smoothed well. The rim-fragments of a so-called "vessel with a cylindrical, ribbed neck" have also come to light. This had been fired to a light red colour; its material contained a small amount of sand and grit *(Fig. 26.6, Fig. 25.8)*.

The most unusual object was a thick, almost straight side-fragment, with a rib on its outer side. It was fired to a brownish colour, its inner surface was left rough, while its outside was smoothed and it even shows a strange, golden glimmer. Some darker dots are also visible on this side that might be considered as painting *(Fig. 8.1)*.[64]

The 12th–13th century fragments differ strongly from that of the previous period. Their firing is often uneven, usually reddish brown. Grey patches on their surface and three-coloured, 'sandwich'-like fragment-surfaces are common. The few reducing fired pieces show a more uniform coloration. They barely contain sand or talc, but a considerable amount of smashed quartz and feldspar (appearing as small, white or brownish grains) were added to the clay.

The majority of them had belonged to pots in this case as well. The rims showed more diversity, as "notched" varieties had appeared beside the simple bent-out forms. Some of the

62 Takács 1996a, 171, Abb. 16.
63 Merva 2016a, 463–476; Herbst 2016, 210, 14. tábla.
64 Inv. Nr. 2017.1.1.16 (at the Rómer Flóris Museum for Art and History in Győr).

Fig. 8. Győr-Széchenyi Square. Imported pottery from the 11th–14th centuries.

fragments had lid-holder grooves, but this feature was not very wide-spread. We also have to call attention to the great number of cauldron-fragments. Many of the rim-fragments could be identified as "Takács B" type and "D" forms, while the Pápa-type variants with triangular cross-sections have also appeared often *(Fig. 9.8–12)*.[65] The decoration had become less rich, the line-bands had disappeared, the incised, usually straight lines and the stamp-wheeled patterns became more common. As tableware, fragments of bottles and polished liquid-holders could be identified *(Fig. 26.5)*.

The first surely distinguishable trade-goods had also appeared in this period. Some fragments of early type vessels with added graphite in their material[66], the handle of a skillet,[67] a full profile-fragment of an oil lamp[68] and a lid-fragment[69] could be identified as probably imported wares from the west and the north, while a few fragments of the 13th century "Buda white pottery" point to the central area of the country *(Fig. 8)*.

The latest period from above the marketplace's pavement showed a rather smooth transition to the late medieval ceramics. The material, the main types and the decoration had remained the same for a while in the late 13th– early 14th century, while their technical quality had risen considerably. The firing had become more even, resulting mainly in reddish brown and medium grey colours, depending on the atmosphere. The vessels' walls were well formed, smoother, but probably still thrown on slow-turning wheel in most cases. The cauldrons had been present, although in a decreasing number, but their walls were especially thin, their rims characteristically articulated, showing mostly the T-shape of the "Takács D" type. The appearance of fast-thrown jugs and pots with collared rims of triangular cross-sections marked the beginning of a new era. The fragment of a small "Buda white pottery" cup could also be seen as a sign of changing tastes. A few pieces of the so-called "classic Austrian type reduction-fired" pots with arched-out rims had also appeared in the fill above the pavement *(Fig. 8–9)*.

The 92 Árpádian Age settlement features and layers in Pápa contained 1200 ceramic shards, but not a single intact vessel *(Fig. 27–36)*.[70] The fragmentation of the material makes it difficult to examine the forms of the different vessel types. Lacking that, the best option to come to a conclusion on the full number of excavated earthenware is the analysis of the rims that certainly belonged to various pottery forms; at least 213 vessels (109 pots, 2 vessels with ribbed neck, 3 beakers, 88 cauldrons, 5 bottles, 6 jugs) could be counted. Chronologically, the pottery can be divided into two major periods; an early (10th–11th century), and a late (12th–13th century, in some cases reaching even the first half of the 14th century) In the earlier periods the clay material is finer and sandy, often intensely micaceous and the surfaces are characteristically greasy *(e.g. Fig. 28.9,12, Fig. 33.5, Fig. 36.7)*, while the later shards contain coarser sand and they have a rougher surface *(e.g. Fig. 28.1–7, Fig. 31.5–6)*. All of the fragments were thrown on a slow turning potter's wheel in both time periods, and have a dappled, brownish-greyish colour, although in the late Árpádian Age some bright orange, yellowish and lighter greyish ceramics appeared.

65 Takács 1996a, 171 Abb. 16.
66 Merva 2016b, 525, 2. kép 1, 529, 4. kép 5, 535.
67 Holl 1963, 342, 373, 71. kép 4.
68 Holl 1963, 342, 373, 71. kép 8, 9.
69 Holl 1963, 341, 372, 70. kép 3, 4.
70 The ceramic material from the main square of Pápa is discussed in details in another publication: Herbst 2016.

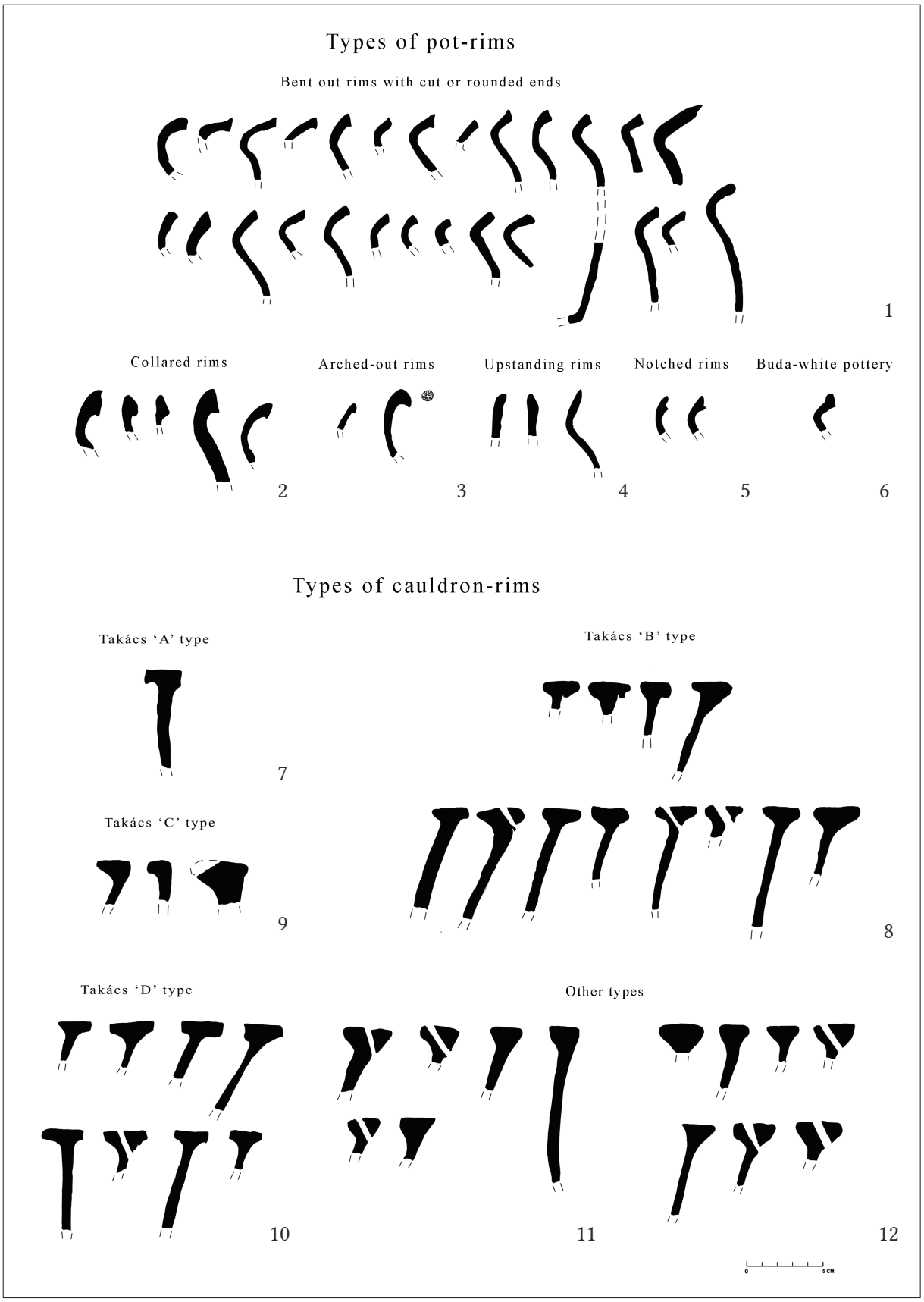

Fig. 9. Győr-Széchenyi Square. 1–6 – Types of Árpádian Age pot-rims, 7–12 – Types of Árpádian Age cauldron-rims.

The overall characteristics of the two find materials show close similarities, it is without doubt that they have belonged to the same wider region of pottery making traditions. Analogous changes in material handling and firing, the development of technique can be followed on both sites through the Árpádian Age. The main vessel types also match, though some differences are observable; for example, pots with collared rims are frequent in the Pápa-material, while they only rarely occur in Győr. The number of cauldrons compared to pots is rather high in both locations, opposing to find materials from other parts of Hungary.[71] When investigating the early Árpádian Age ceramics in county Veszprém, Takács has already drawn attention to the excavated pottery material of the Basin of Pápa, where the appearance of cauldrons are more frequent than in the Bakony Mountains or in the Balaton-felvidék (a terrace that lies on the northern shore of Lake Balaton). This phenomenon also appears in the later periods of the Árpádian Age.[72] Takács has explained this with the significance of herding and therefore the need of cooking above open fireplaces, depending on the geographical situation. This theory can also be considered for Győr, as it lies on open plains too. However, we must keep in mind that both sites belong to settlements on the way to urbanisation, which fact itself questions this concept, especially as we can speak about a tendency observable through the 10th–11th–13th centuries. Perhaps it had been true at the beginning of the era and then the more frequent usage of cauldrons became a mere tradition in the area. *(Fig. 9–11)*

Another characteristic vessel of this region is the bottle with ribbed neck.[73] We have an early piece from Győr and five shards from the late Árpádian Age in Pápa *(Fig. 29.7–10, Fig. 35.2)*. We would also like to mention a rare type of vessel which was brought to light by the latter excavation: a pot with ribbed neck. The shaping of the ribbing and the bell-mouthed, bent out rim is unlike to the classic vessels with ribbed neck– its yellowish-greyish colour and limy raw material is also unique in the ceramic material of Pápa *(Fig. 35.8)*. In agreement with Takács's research in the region it is presumable that this type of pottery – dated to the 12th–13th century – differs from the early Árpádain age vessels with ribbed neck.[74]

Considering decoration, it is noticeable that although the potters had used the same techniques on both sites, there are less decorated pieces in the Győr material. This might be just a sheer coincidence, as the pottery of Pápa is not unexpectedly richly ornamented.[75] However, it has been noted already in connection with the so-called "Homokgödrök" site in Győr that its material had been rarely decorated.[76] Nevertheless, a rather specific regional feature could be observed, as signs of polishing are visible on the surface of some brownish side fragments in both the Main Square and the Széchenyi Square find materials *(e.g. Fig. 29.5, Fig. 30.7)*. According to Takács's investigation they belong to liquid container vessels and they are typical in the Kisalföld region, though they are rare in the excavated material. These finds should be dated to the 13th century and because of their fine texture and firing Takács consi-

71 The same regional phenomena are observable in the 13th–14th century find material of Móricdomb-Faluhely, which lies roughly halfway between the now discussed locations. It is notable though that the pot-rims show closer resemblance to the Pápa-material. Tomka 2011, 324–325, 339, 346–357, 1–12. tábla.

72 Takács 1996b, 336–337.

73 Takács 1996a, 170–173.

74 Takács 1996a, 156–157.

75 Herbst 2016, 191.

76 Takács – Paszternák 2000, 267.

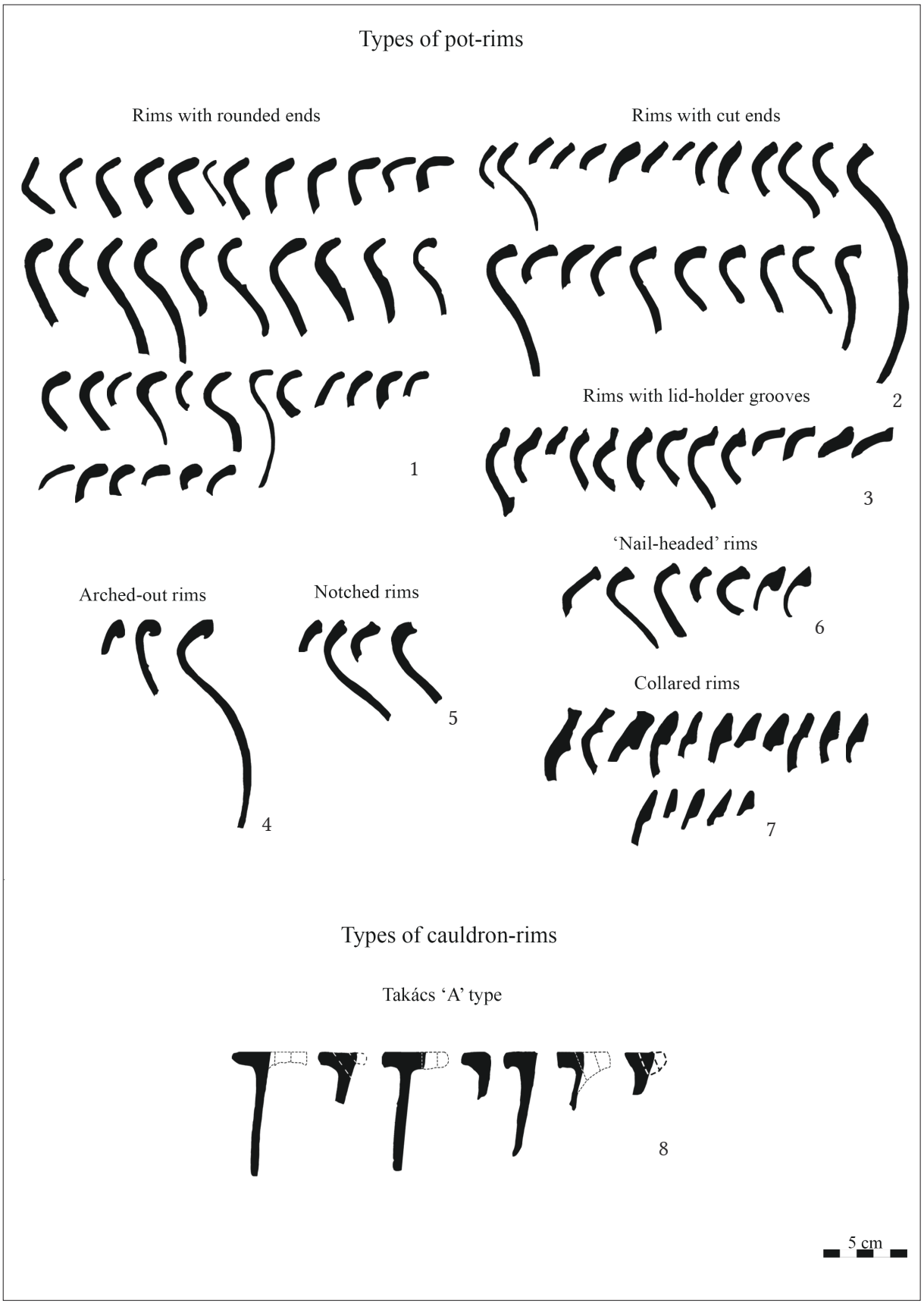

Fig. 10. Pápa-Main Square. 1–7 – Types of Árpádian Age pot-rims, 8 – Types of the Árpádian Age cauldron-rims.

dered it highly probable that they were made in urban workshops.[77] It is not unusual for this region either that no bottom marks could be identified at all.[78]

Although the development of local pottery at the two locations is more-or-less parallel to each other, they show significant differences considering the trade goods. While no imported vessels could be identified in the Pápa material, we have a few from the Széchenyi Square. The earliest of them is most probably the shimmery; painted (?) fragment of a larger storage jar with a strengthening rib, as it came from the find material of the 11th century sunken house (object 36/1998–1999) and it differs completely from the other finds. The early type graphite containing pot-fragments are also prominent, though it is widely debated, if the artefacts themselves or just the graphite have been imported. In either case, we can look for their origins in Austria, or, following the newest research, perhaps on the territory of the modern Czech Republic, as some of the accessible graphite-sources are located there.[79]

The best parallels of the skillet-handle and the oil lamp can be found in Austrian materials, for example in Vienna.[80] This and the presence of the "Buda white pottery"-type ceramics both point to the importance of trade along and on the Danube. It is also to be noted that in the find material of other sites in Győr – namely on the central Káptalan-domb and in the eastern outskirts, on the sites named "Homokgödrök", "Újszállások" and "Vagongyár" (where possibly the foreign, western *hospes* had lived until the 13th century) – the proportion of imported pottery was much higher.[81] Pápa was probably less integrated in the commercial network at the early phase of its formation, hence the lack of non-local ceramic goods. It is to be noted that imported pottery appears in the younger find material of the Main Square in increasing numbers.[82]

7. Conclusions

As we can see, the formation process of the two sites was truly rather similar, but the execution of the levelling before establishing the marketplaces and the later building works were more fortunate from archaeological viewpoint in Pápa, as more Árpádian Age features remained evaluable.

The first surely datable medieval objects were from the 11th century in Győr, while some superpositions hint at a somewhat earlier beginning in both cases, especially in Pápa.[83] It also has to be noted that earlier, 10th or even 9th century settlement traces are known in both towns but from sites that lie in the outskirts of the later medieval (and the modern) cores.[84] This phenomenon points to a shift in their structure that can be related to the establishment of the administrational centres that became the seat of the bailiff and the bishop on the Káptalan-domb in Győr and possibly a royal courthouse and/or the archdeaconry in Pápa.

77 Takács 2000, 25–33.
78 Herbst 2016, 191.
79 Merva 2016b.
80 Harl 1983, 34, 64.
81 Szőke et al. 1980, 139; Takács – Paszternák 2000, 270; Tomka 2007, 70, 76–78.
82 Mordovin 2016b, 39; Kolláth 2013, 161, 168–169.
83 In lack of find material it is unsure though, if they were earlier, but also 11th century features, or could be dated back to the 10th century.
84 Ilon 1994, 22; Horváth 2014, 40–60.

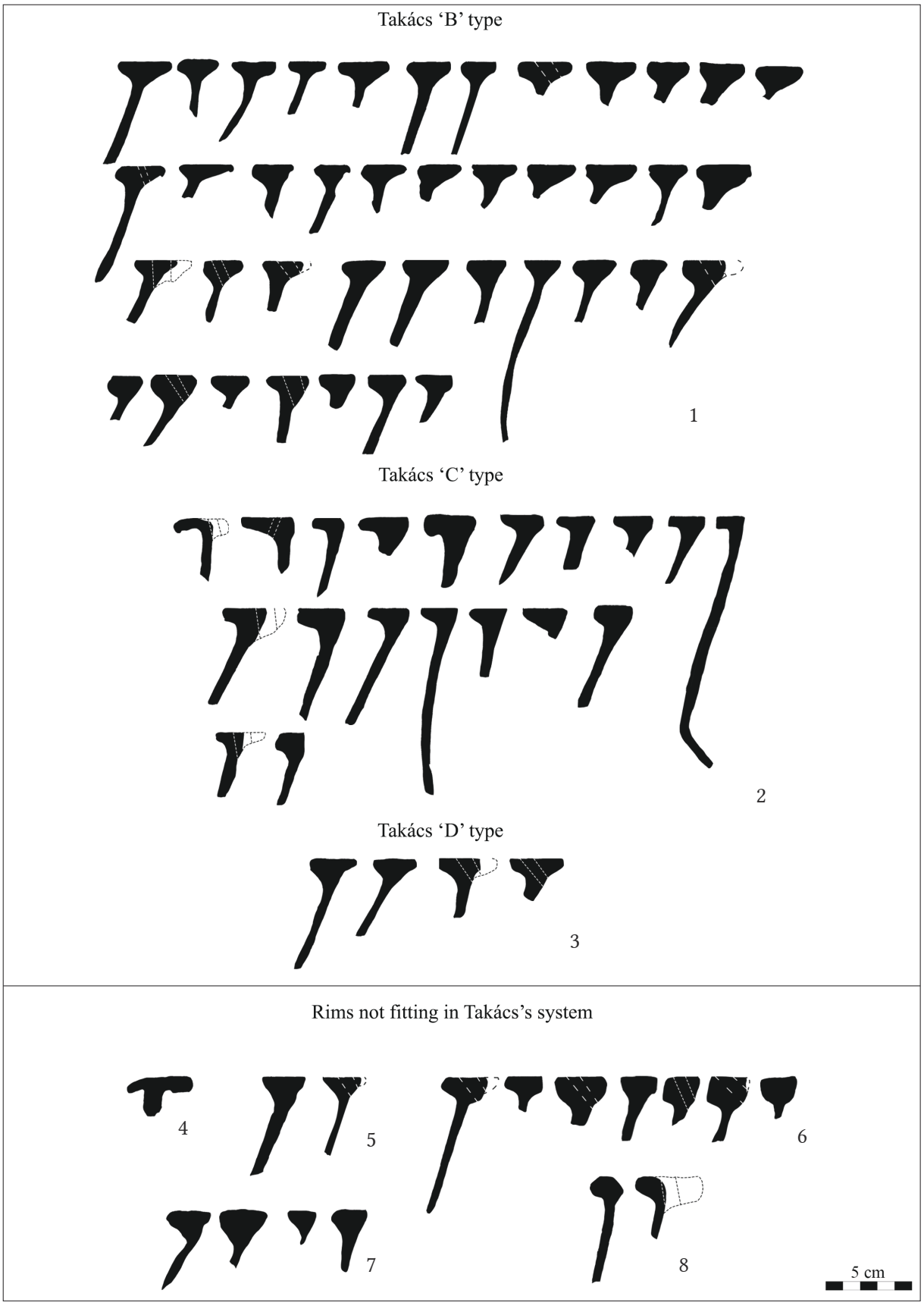

Fig. 11. Pápa-Main Square. Types of the Árpádian Age cauldron-rims.

Further periodization within the later period of the Árpádian Age is only possible in Győr, as some 12th–13th century coins could be found and the pavement itself is also somewhat earlier than in the other town. The fill and some objects above the paving also contained mainly 13th–14th century find material.

Considering the excavated objects, while their functions were similar, their numbers and structures show differences. In both cases, the sunken house-type buildings were present through the whole era, but the significance of posthole-structured non- or barely sunken houses is evident, from the 12th century at the latest. In her study, Mária Wolf pointed out the importance of wooden architecture in the Árpádian age Carpathian Basin, and she also noted that not only foreign *hospes* and higher ranked people could have afforded such buildings.[85]

The fireplaces show differences as well as similarities. While almost all of them were deepened in the soil and pugged with clay or built of clay in Pápa, the ovens inside the houses were made of stones plastered with clay in Győr. This may be the result of the usage of more easily accessible raw materials, as good quality clay can be found some 50 cm under the subsoil in Pápa, while it is simpler to get river ballast in the surroundings of Győr. It is common for both sites and for the whole region though, that the hearths of the ovens were usually just plastered with clay. They were sometimes inlaid with pebbles, or with Roman bricks in one case in Győr, while the usage of ceramic shards could be observed only once in Pápa. As most of the ovens on the Széchenyi Square were severely damaged due to the levelling and other building activities, further comparing would not be suitable.

As for other objects, it is interesting that while many pits have been excavated in Pápa, their number in the periods preceding the marketplace was low in Győr and they mostly belonged to the free-standing ovens. This may be partly incidental, as there were quite a few such features dug in the late Árpádian Age pavement that could be interpreted as storage pits and also ash pits for the fireplaces. It is possible though that the lack of the usual, large, irregular hollows for mining clay is the result of the Roman ruins and layers below the settlement that were less suitable for this purpose.[86] The difference in the number of ditches, again in the favour of Pápa, may be explainable by the characteristics of the sites as well.[87]

When evaluating both sites from the viewpoint of the inner settlement structure, the positions of the houses are worth mentioning at the first place. In the southwest corner of the excavated area at Pápa, three buildings were uncovered in superposition and one more in a few meters away from this group *(Fig. 19.1)*. István Méri has already written about a similar phenomenon when discussing the settlement structures of Tiszalök-Rázom. According to his opinion these renewed features – lying so close to each other in certain areas – represent some kind of an inner system in the Árpádian Age diffused rural settlements.[88] Takács also observed the same structure in the nearby Kajárpéc-Pokolfadomb.[89] One can't be sure, whether the geomorphology or an inner order causes this phenomenon. Méri considers it as the

85 Wolf 2013, 36–38.
86 It is also remarkable that Roman building stones, bricks, tegulae etc. were rarely reused on this area.
87 Considering the small ditches, the originally sandy subsoil with the thick Roman layers above in Győr seems to have a better water drainage than the subsoil with a clay layer underneath in Pápa.
88 Méri 1962, 5.
89 Takács 1993, 202.

archaeological remains of family- boundaries.[90] The situation is more obvious in Győr, as we can witness the solidification and expanse of an urban plot-system on the middle and southern side of the Széchenyi Square, starting at the end of the Árpádian Age.

The situation of free-standing ovens is also remarkable. Although our data are very fragmented from Győr, they seem to be more concentrated on the northern part of the square before the establishment of the marketplace and on the eastern part afterwards. They came to light within the confines of a smaller area on the south-western side of the Main Square in Pápa. It is also supposable that some of these objects were built for industrial purposes (for example oven B/1969 and oven 1/1998–1999 in Győr). It seems to be logical, that a certain area was used for flammable activities, preferably on the edge of the built in area (although in our cases, this only seems to be valid for Győr), which raises the possibility of some kind of a conscious settlement-planning and that both market squares have had their antecedents. However, as our data is nearly non-existent from the middle of both sites, this remains a suspicion for the time being. This leads us towards the formation process of the towns that we now know as Győr and Pápa.

The slow centralization of the originally dispersed communities around the newly established focal points can be followed in both cases. These cores were the castle on the Káptalandomb and the Martyr Saint Stephen's parish church eastwards from the Széchenyi Square in Győr.[91] This patron saint hints at an early founding, namely to the reign of Stephen I (1000–1038). As 10th–11th century settlement traces were found under Árpádian Age graves from its cemetery, it is possible that people have settled here separately from the other inhabitants that had chosen the proximity of the Káptalan-domb and they had to move elsewhere, as the graveyard had been established.[92] As we talk about the distance of a few modern house-blocks, it is also possible that there was only one suburb that formed between the two important institutions, along the west-east directed main route. It seems though, that based on the density of features, the settlement traces excavated on the Széchenyi Square have not belonged to the most intensely inhabited part in either case. As we know almost nothing about the square's western side or about the area between the location of the parish church and the square, the question remains undecidable.

What we can see from the archaeological reports is that the aforementioned main route seems to become more and more permanent by the end of the Árpádian Era. This process has archaeological traces, as two wide bands of line tracks could be excavated on the first paving of the square, furthermore the shift in the location of the free-standing ovens and the need of another fill on the northern side all point to this.

The question of extension also arises at Pápa, as numerous Árpádian Age sites are located in the vicinity of the Main Square. The two closest ones were excavated by Gábor Ilon in Korvin Street[93] and Sándor Mithay in the courtyard of the baroque Eszterházy castle, which had been built using partly the walls of its medieval predecessor.[94] One could not be sure whether these partly-known settlements have belonged together or have been separate, but the togetherness

90 Méri 1962, 5.
91 It has been localised in the Liszt Ferenc street 13.
92 Tomka 1999, 141–143.
93 Ilon 1992, 62–64.
94 Mithay 1998, 44, 47–49.

with the Korvin Street settlement-fragment is more feasible, based on their distance and geomorphology. It seems to be sure though that the focal point of this neighbourhood was the parish church dedicated, again, to the first martyr, Saint Stephen.[95]

It is also disputable at this site, whether the royal service people's and their servants' presence is reflected on the archaeological remains or not. We are aware of their other, excavated settlements from the Carpathian Basin from this period. At Dömös Gerevich mentions some huge ovens, which he interpreted as the bakehouses of the royal servants.[96] According to Lázár, the wooden-structured buildings at Esztergom-Szentgyörgymező belonged to wealthier owners and represent an early urban architectural character.[97] In the case of Pápa there are several problems with this issue. The exact location of the royal service people mentioned in the records is unknown. If it is assumed, that the here presented, central-lying Árpádian Age settlement was inhabited by them, then one can examine the type of the settlement features were excavated on the Main Square. Numerous wooden-structures and ovens were uncovered, similarly to the two mentioned analogous sites. The presence of watermills located on the banks of the nearby hot-watered Tapolca stream is known, so hypothesizing an area of breadbakers in the vicinity would be obvious.

All things considered, the beginnings of the two towns were kind of similar. Both of them had started off as a loose cluster of village-like settlements that began to concentrate more and more around the secular and ecclesiastical hubs, founded almost surely by Stephen I (1000–1038), the first Christian king of Hungary. Dispersed settlement structures are a common phenomenon in the Carpathian Basin in the discussed period, meaning that the centrums of the inhabited areas were earlier surrounded by several settlement units – occasionally with their own sacral buildings – which later were deserted and merged into the largest central settlement units.[98]

The aforementioned early attention from the central administration points to their favourable geographical location, their closeness to the king's seats and their role in the road-system. Yet the most important difference can also be discovered here, as Győr lied by one of the main water- and land-routes of the country, leading to foreign lands, which factor played an important role in the town becoming one of the early royal administrational, ecclesiastical and economical centres. Pápa, on the other hand, is located at the boundaries of two diverse geographical regions and it had rather a local importance. At the now discussed sites, this is only visible in their find material, as traces of a remarkable money circulation and imported goods from this era could only be found in Győr. In any way, both settlements seem to have had a strong support from the royal court during the Árpádian Age and for a time in the Angevin Period (1301–1382), which reached its peak with the issuance of their privileges (1271; 1339). We can see the establishment of the marketplaces as the archaeological manifestation of these acts. Their later development was less fortunate from a legal viewpoint, as both towns have lost the king as their landlord and became assets of various secular and ecclesiastical owners. This did not stop either of them to thrive economically, but that is a topic of another study.

95 The main road's course can also be followed here starting from the 14th century establishment of the market square.
96 Gerevich 1983, 402–408.
97 Lázár 1998, 77.
98 Haris 1994, 43–44.

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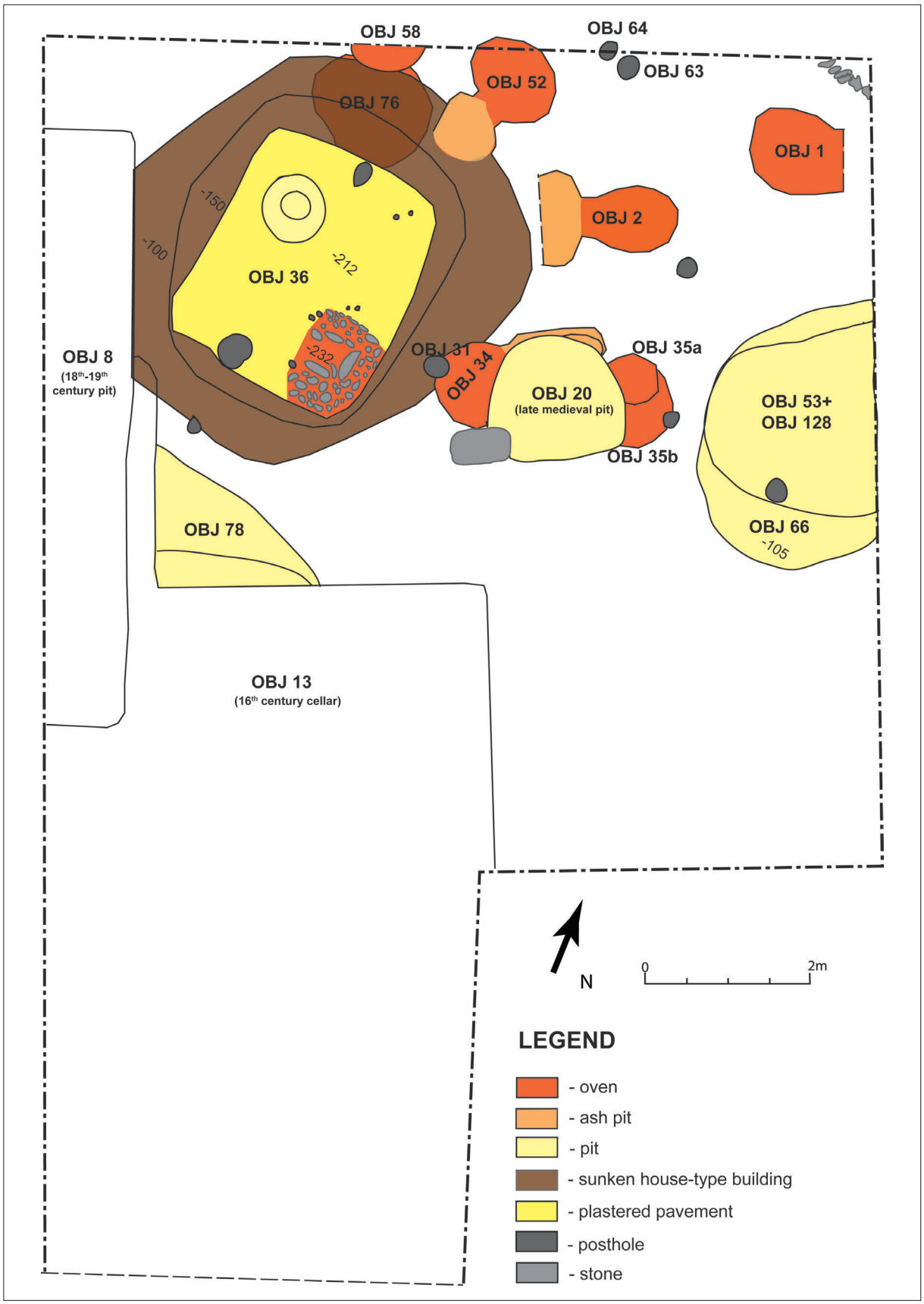


Fig. 12. Győr-Széchenyi Square. The sunken house-type building (object 36/1998–1999) and single ovens excavated in 1998–1999.

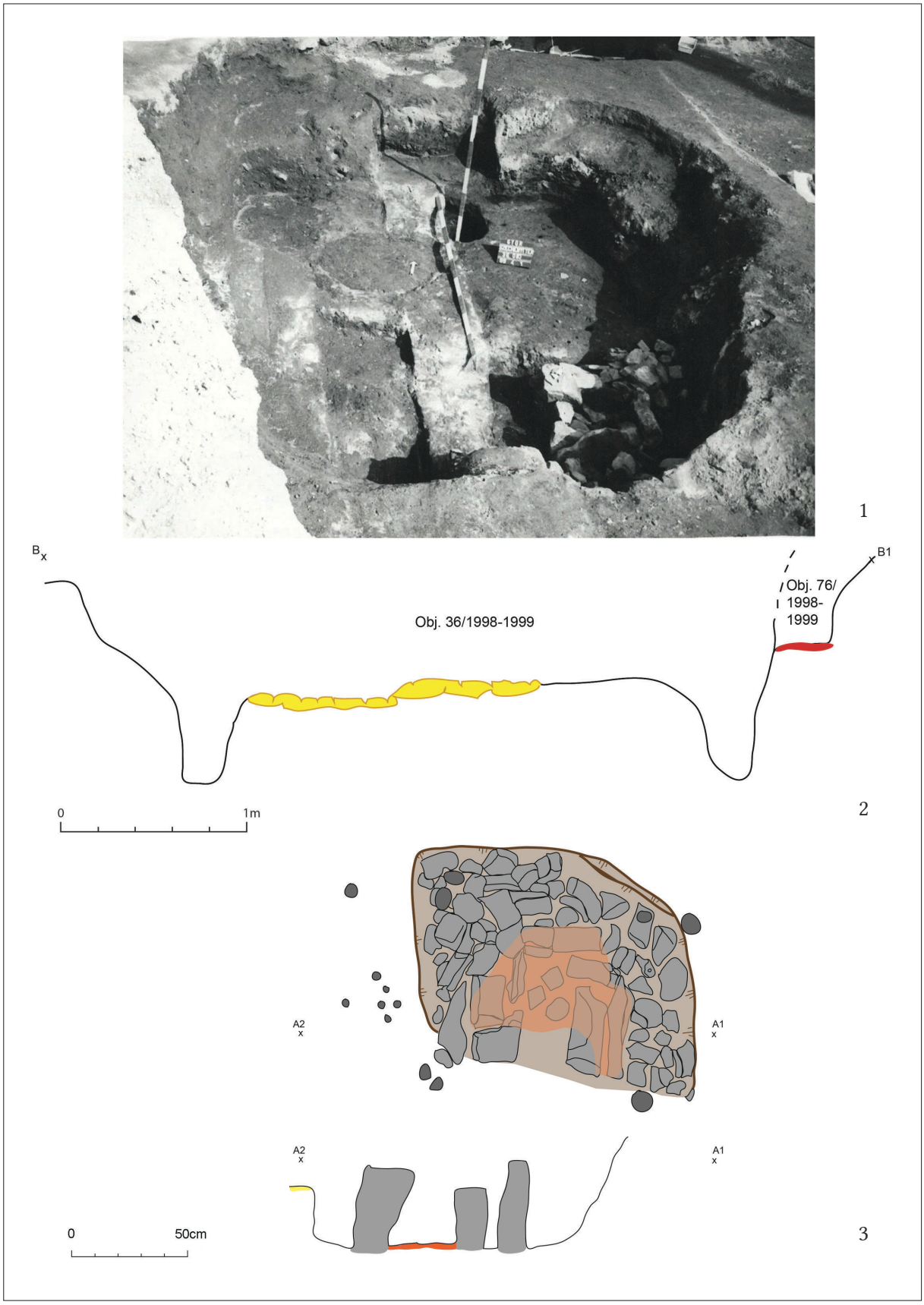


Fig. 13. Győr-Széchenyi Square. 1 – Photo of the sunken house-type building 'object 36/1998–1999', 2 – Profile drawing of the sunken house-type building 'object 36/1998–1999' with an earlier oven (object 76/1998–1999), 3 – The oven of the sunken house-type building 'object 36/1998–1999'.

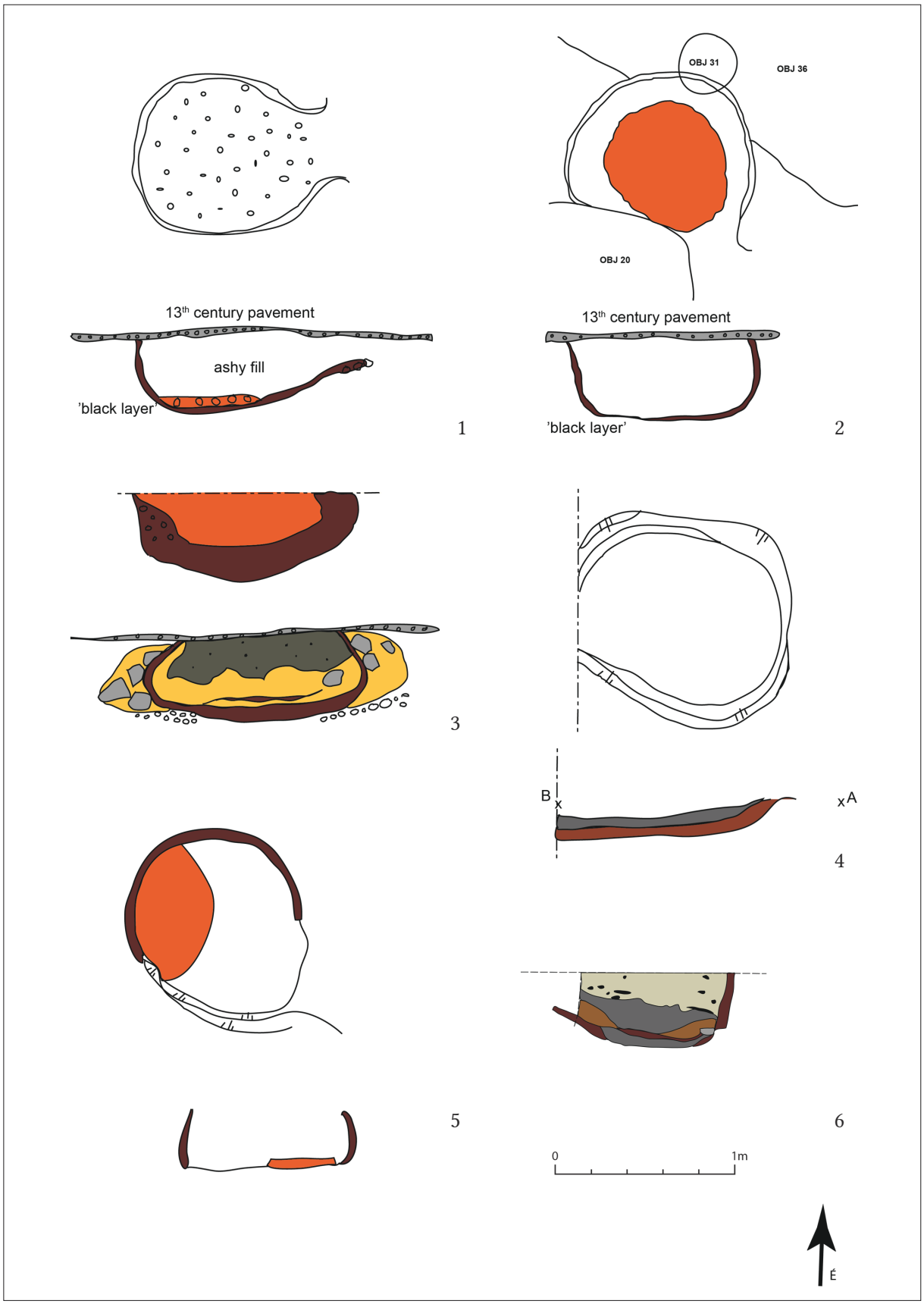
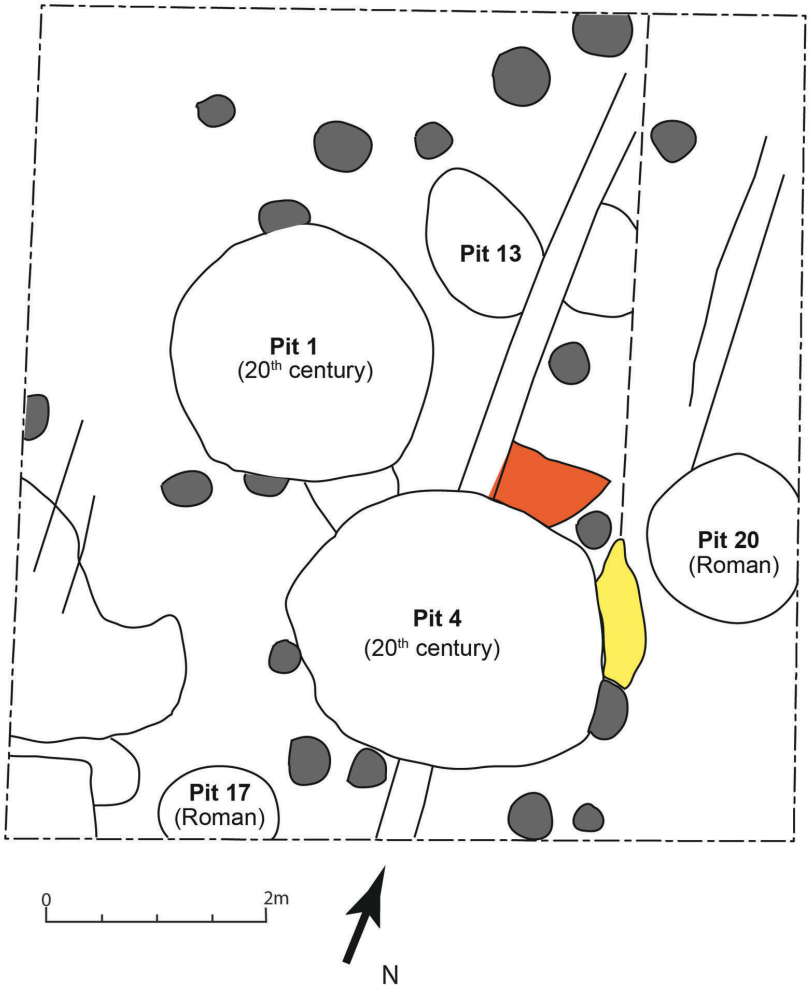


Fig. 14. Győr-Széchenyi Square. Single ovens: 1 – Object 2/1998–1999, 2 – Object 34/1998–1999, 3 – Object 58/1998–1999, 4 – Object 1/1998–1999, 5 – Object 52/1998–1999, 6 – Oven 'B'/section 6/1968–1969.

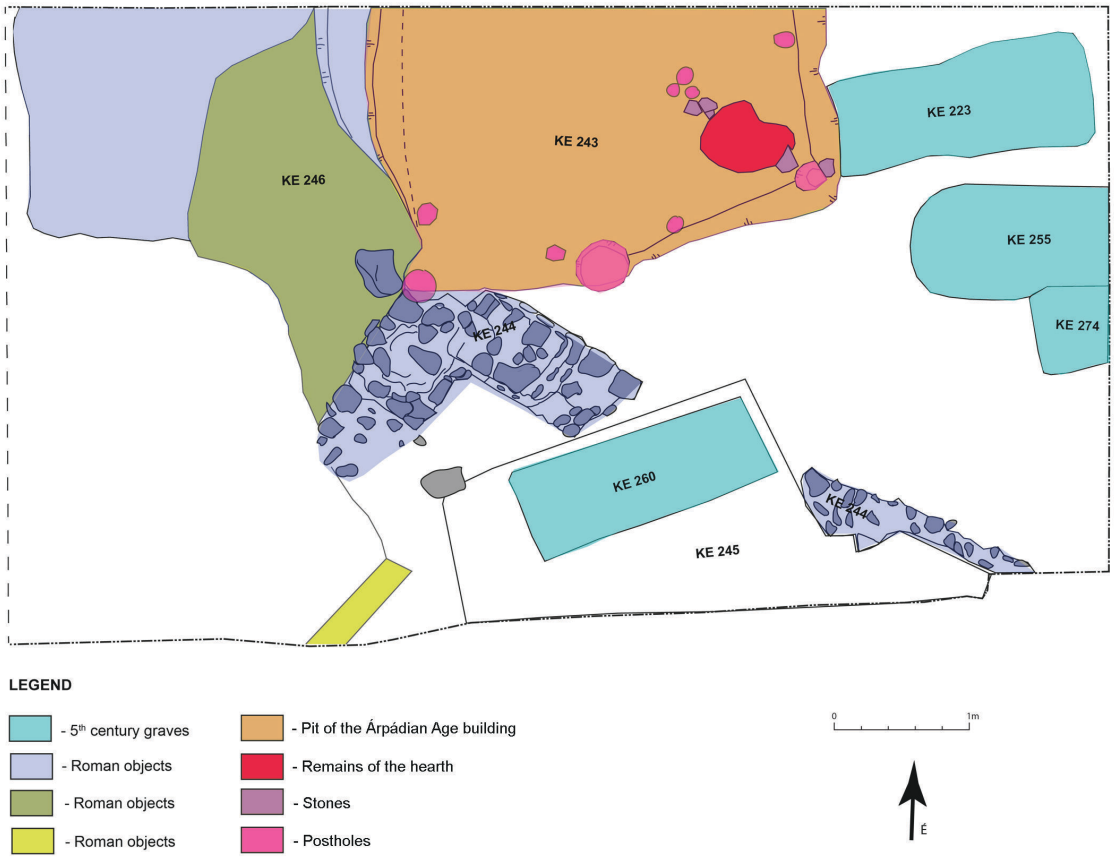
1



2

Fig. 15. Győr-Széchenyi Square. 1 – Photo of the posthole-structure building of section 4/1968, 2 – The surroundings of the posthole-structure building of section 4/1968.

1



2

Fig. 16. Győr-Széchenyi Square. 1 – Photo of the sunken house-type building KE243/2008–2009, 2 – The surroundings of the sunken house-type building KE243/2008–2009.

1

2

Fig. 17. Győr-Széchenyi Square. 1 – Fragments of a 13th century building in section 9/2008–2009, 2 – Fragments of a 13th century building in section 4/2008–2009.

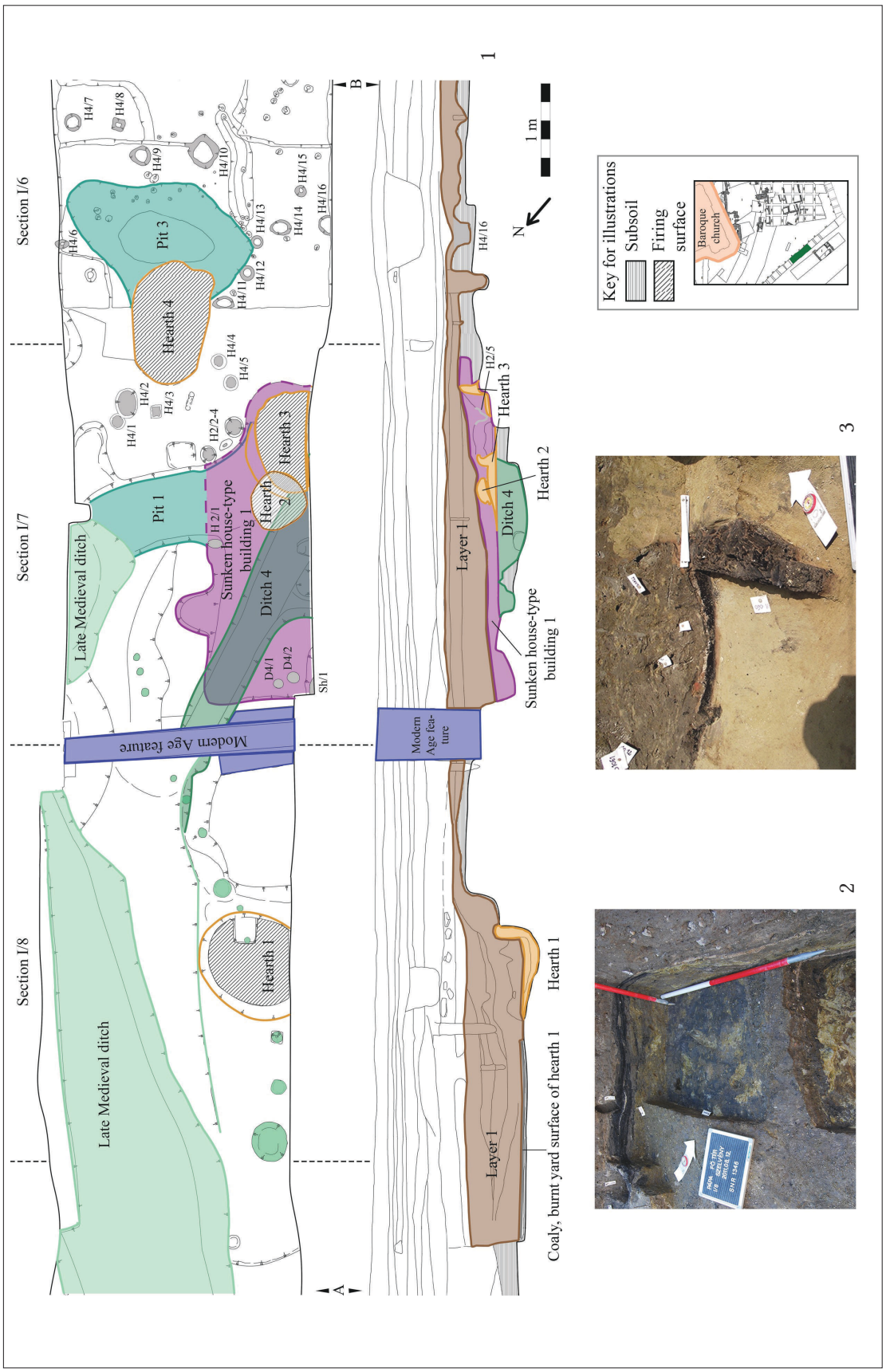


Fig. 18. Pápa-Main Square. 1 – Plan of sunken house-type building 1; hearth 1–4; pit 1, 3; ditch 4 and western cross-sections of section I/6–8, 2 – Ground surface around hearth 1, 3 – Hearth 4.

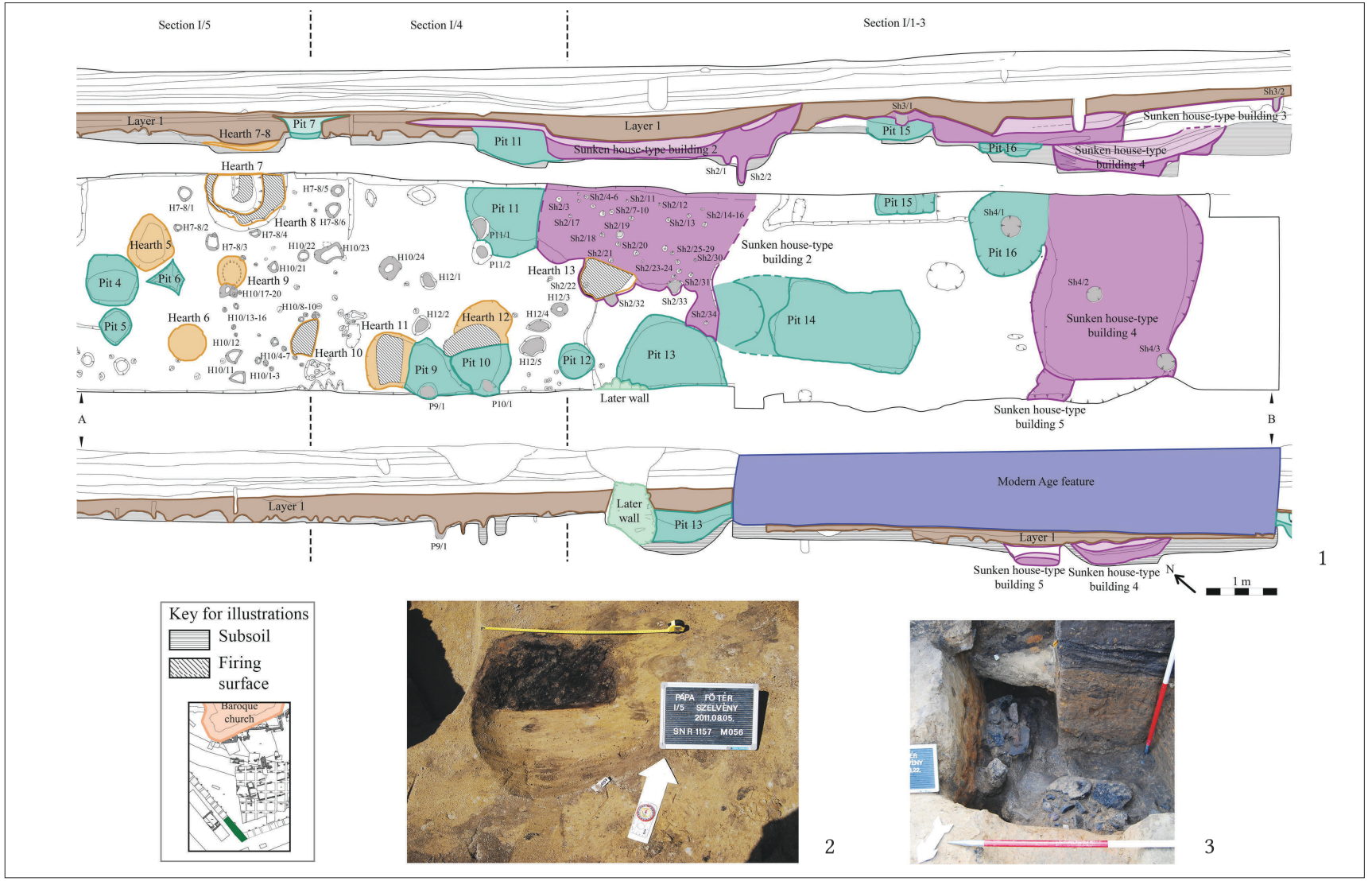


Fig. 19. Pápa-Main Square. 1 – Plan of sunken house-type building 2–5; hearth 5–13; pit 4–16, and western cross-sections of section I/1–3, 2 – Hearth 5, 3 – Second period of hearth 14.

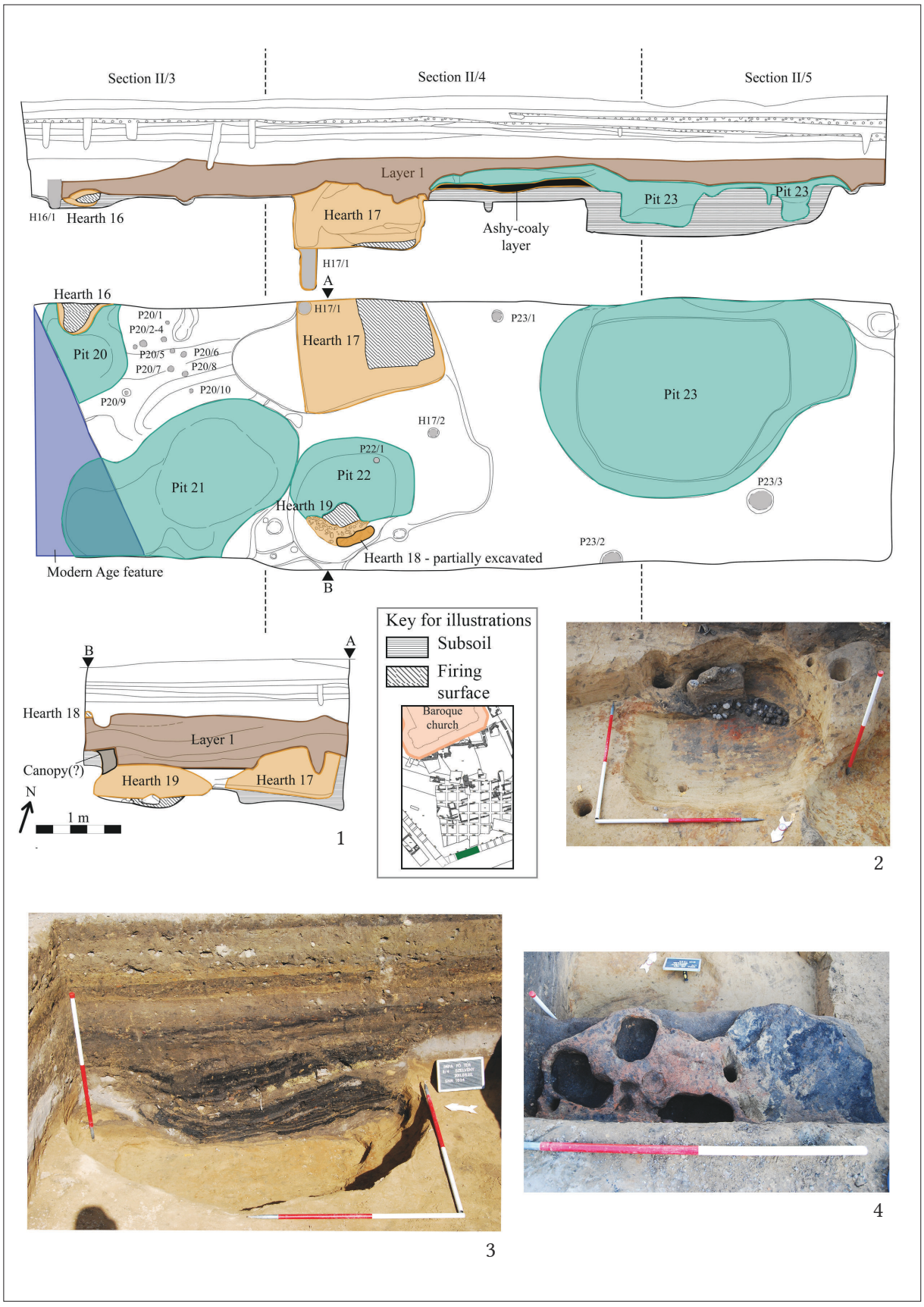


Fig. 20. Pápa-Main Square. 1 – Plan and cross section of hearth 16–19 and pit 20–23, 2 – Photo of the firing surface of hearth 19, 3 – Photo of the eastern cross-section of pit 23, 4 – Photo of the firing surface of hearth 18.

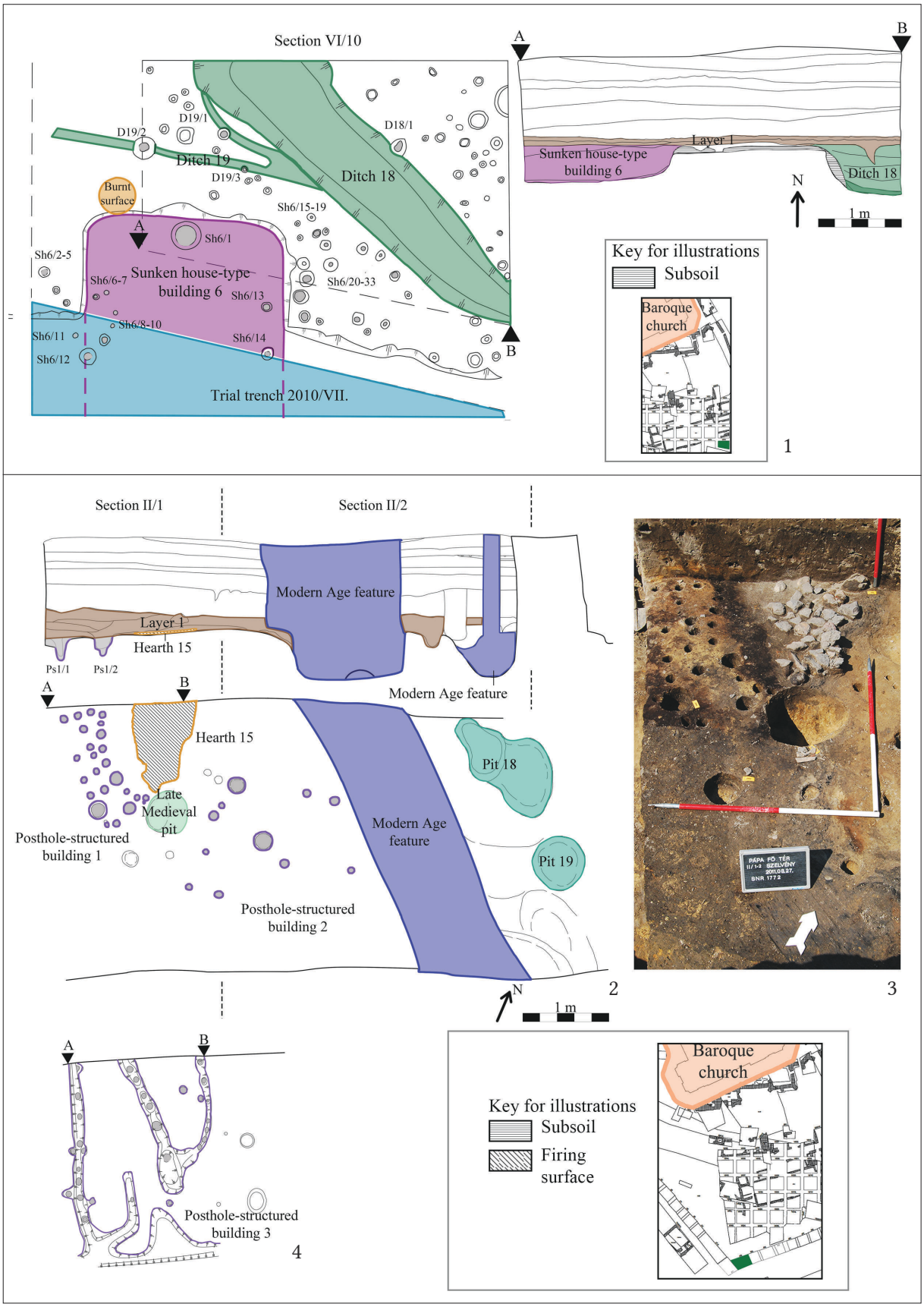


Fig. 21. Pápa-Main Square. 1 – Plan and cross-section of sunken house-type building 6; ditch 18–19, 2 – Plan and cross-section of posthole-structured building 1–2; hearth 15; pit 18–19, 3 – Posthole-structured building 1; hearth 15, 4 – Plan of posthole-structured building 3.

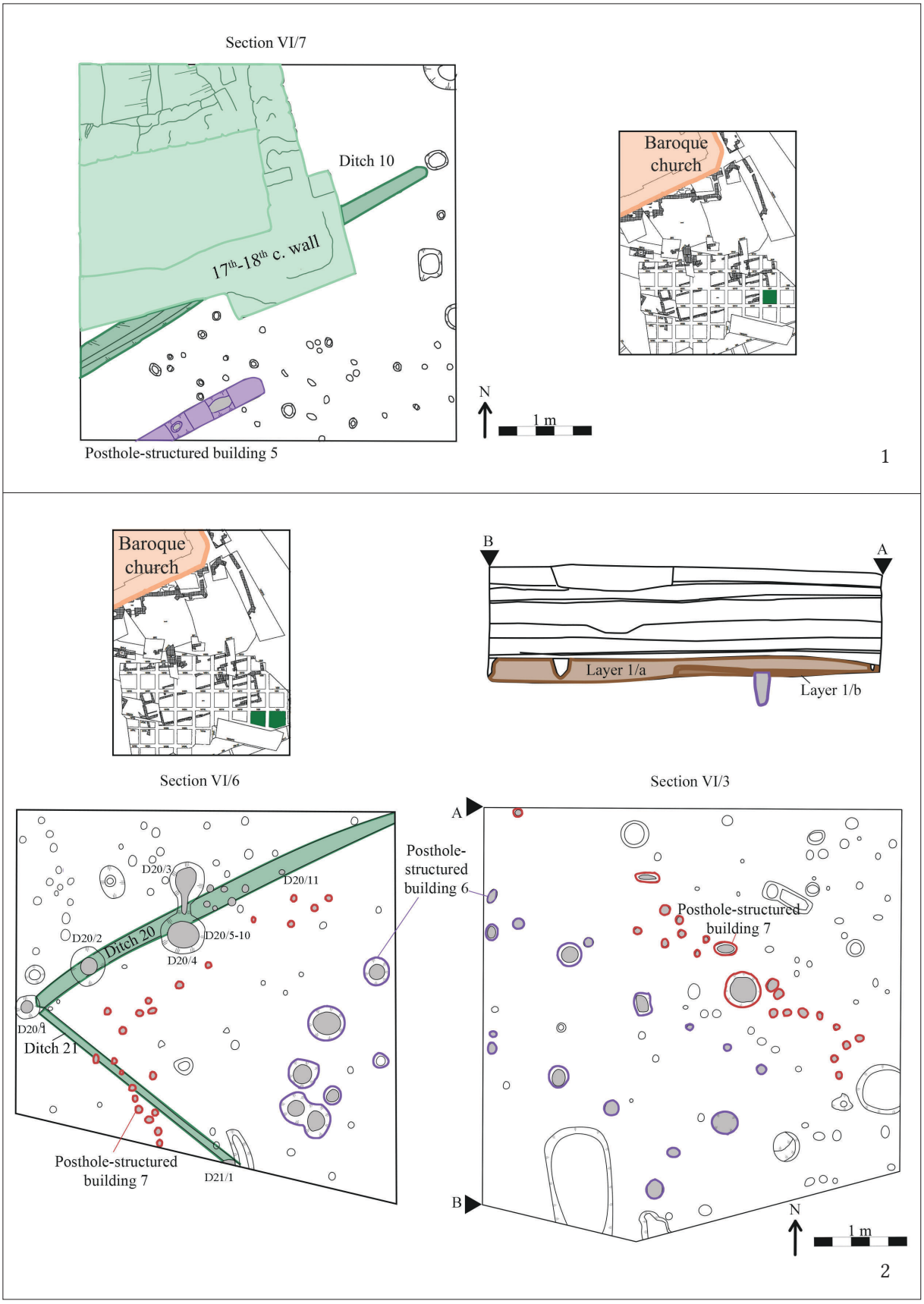


Fig. 22. Pápa-Main Square. 1 – Plan of ditch 10 and posthole-structured building 5, 2 – Plan of ditch 20, 21; posthole-structured building 6, 7 and cross section of the west side of section VI/3

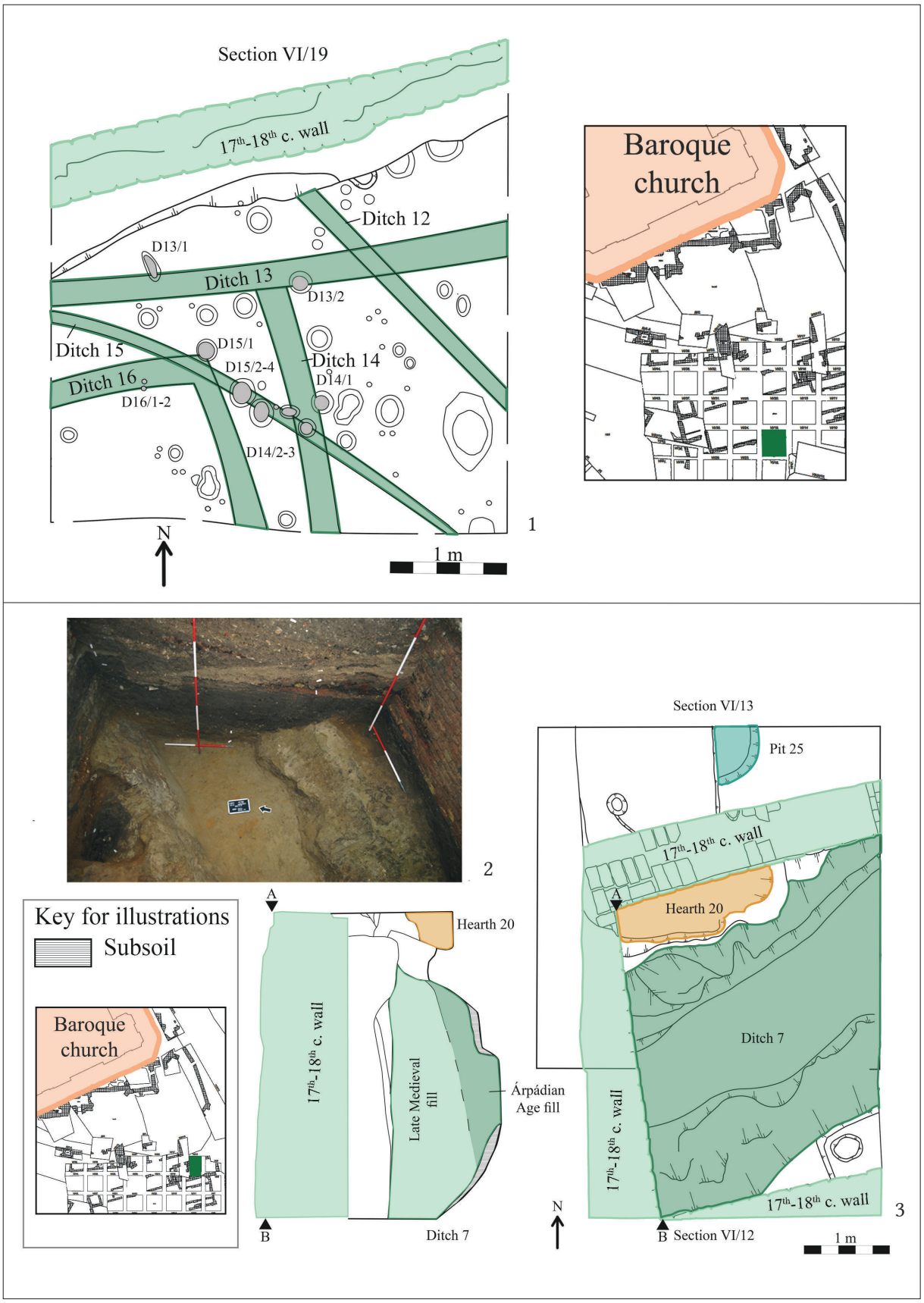


Fig. 23. Pápa-Main Square. 1 – Plan of ditch 12–16, 2 – Photo of the eastern cross-section of ditch 7, 3 – Plan and cross-section of hearth 20 and ditch 7.

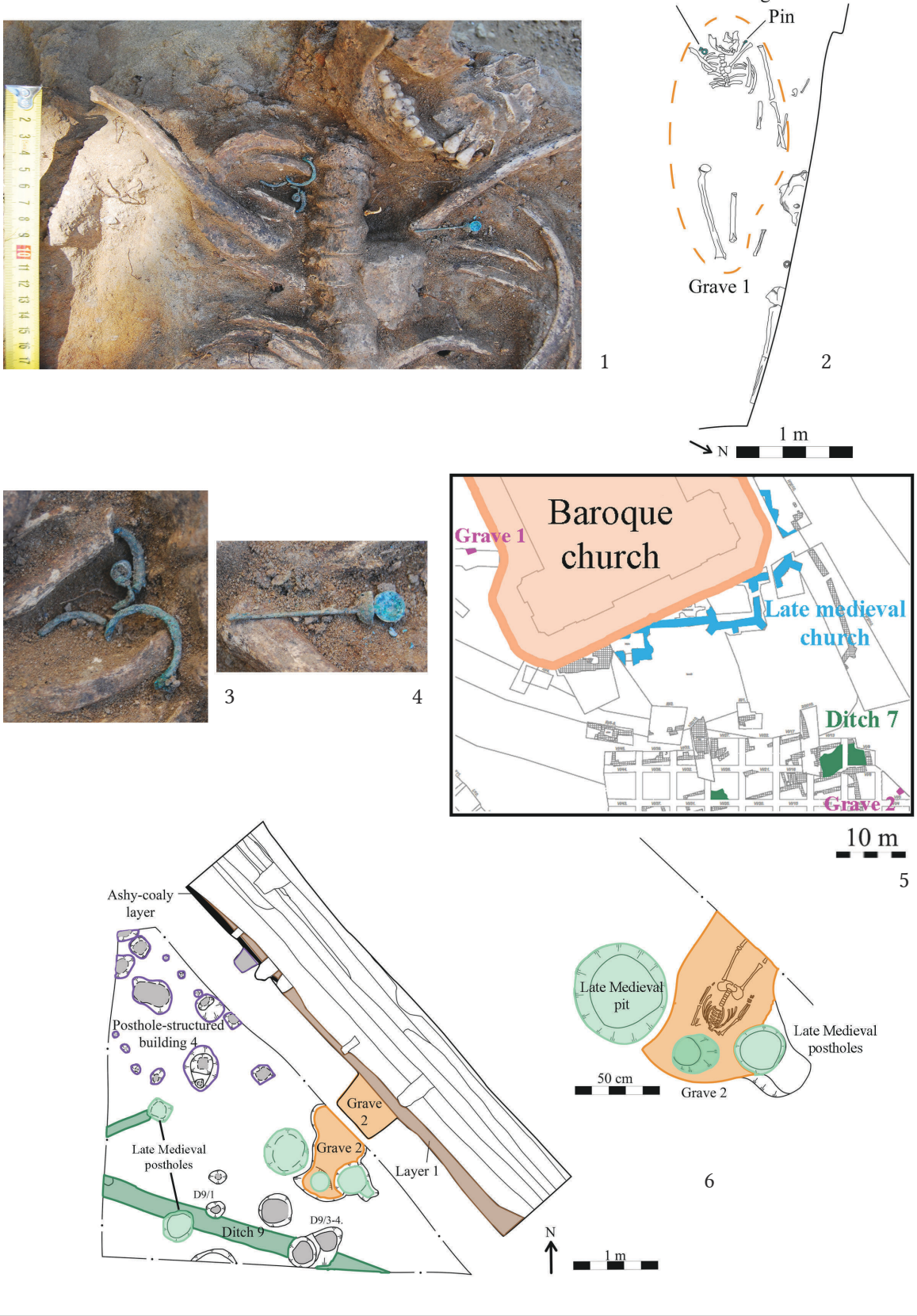


Fig. 24. Pápa-Main Square. 1,2 – Photo and plan of grave 1. 3 – Photo of the S-ended lock ring from grave 1. 4 – Photo of the pin from grave 1. 5 – Plan of the location of the graves and ditch 7. 6 – Plan and cross-section of grave 2; posthole-structured building 4; ditch 9.

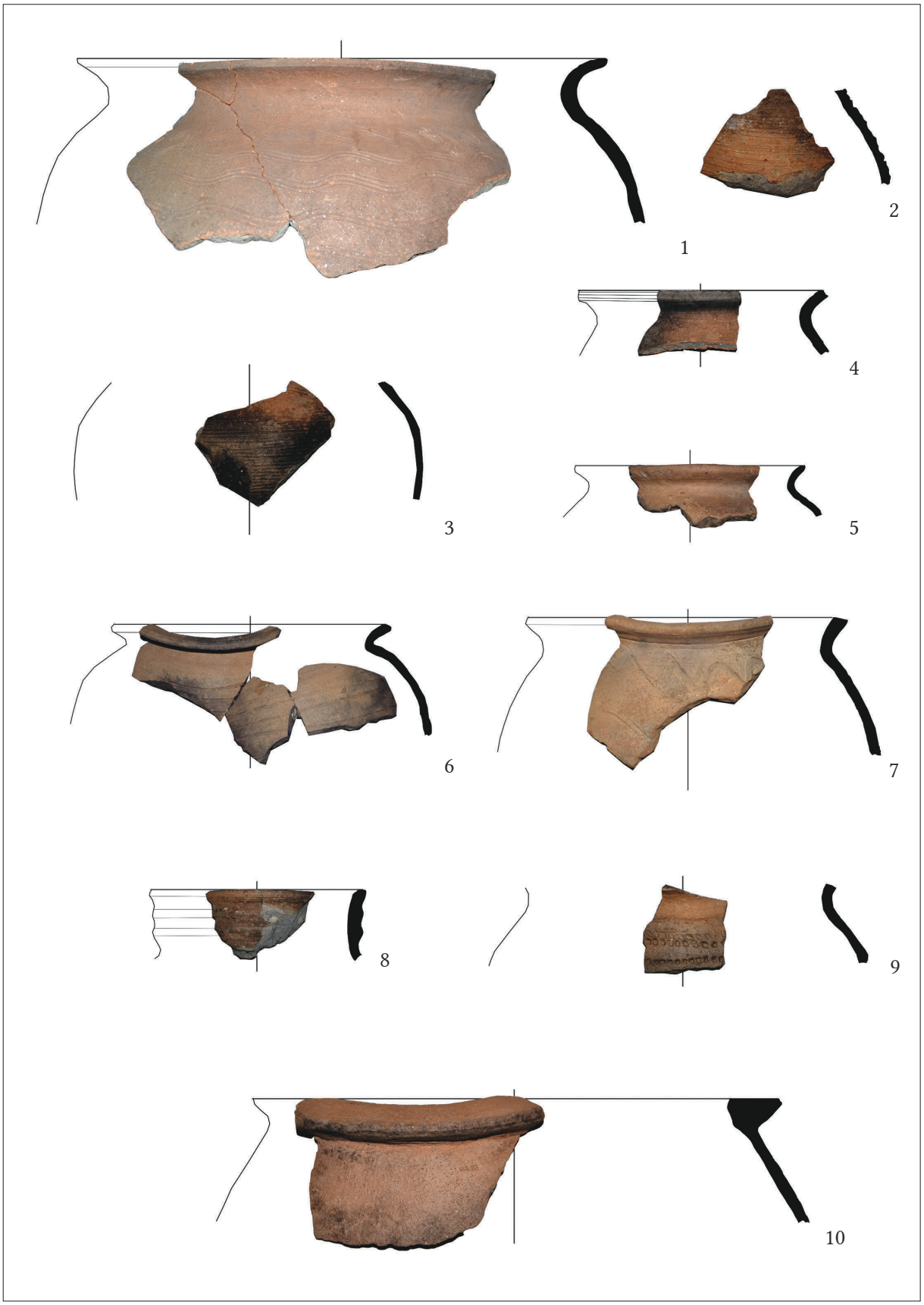


Fig. 25. Győr-Széchenyi Square. Ceramic find material from 'object 36/1998–1999'.

Fig. 26. Győr-Széchenyi Square. Árpádian Age ceramic finds.

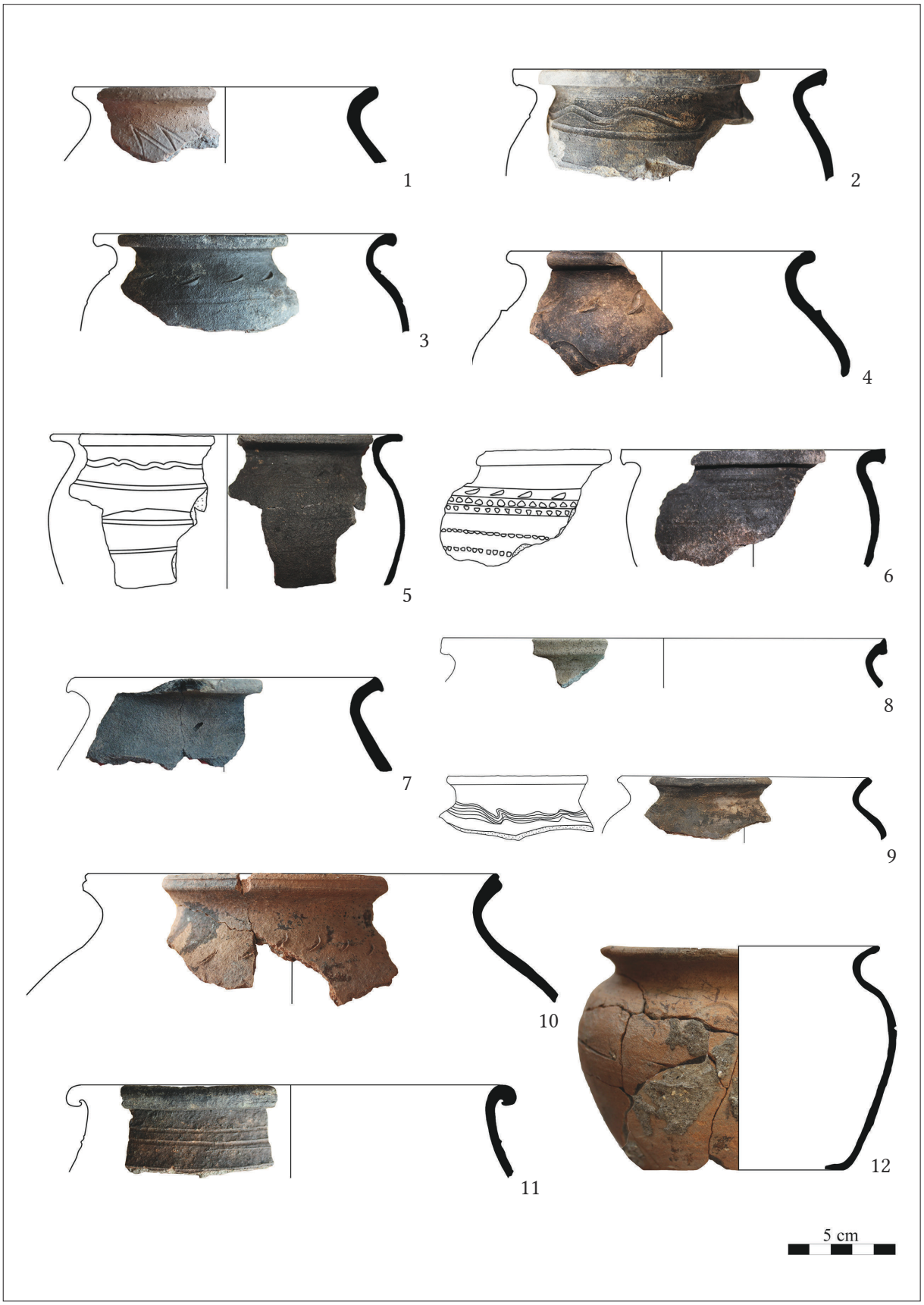


Fig. 27. Pápa-Main Square. Pottery from layer 1.

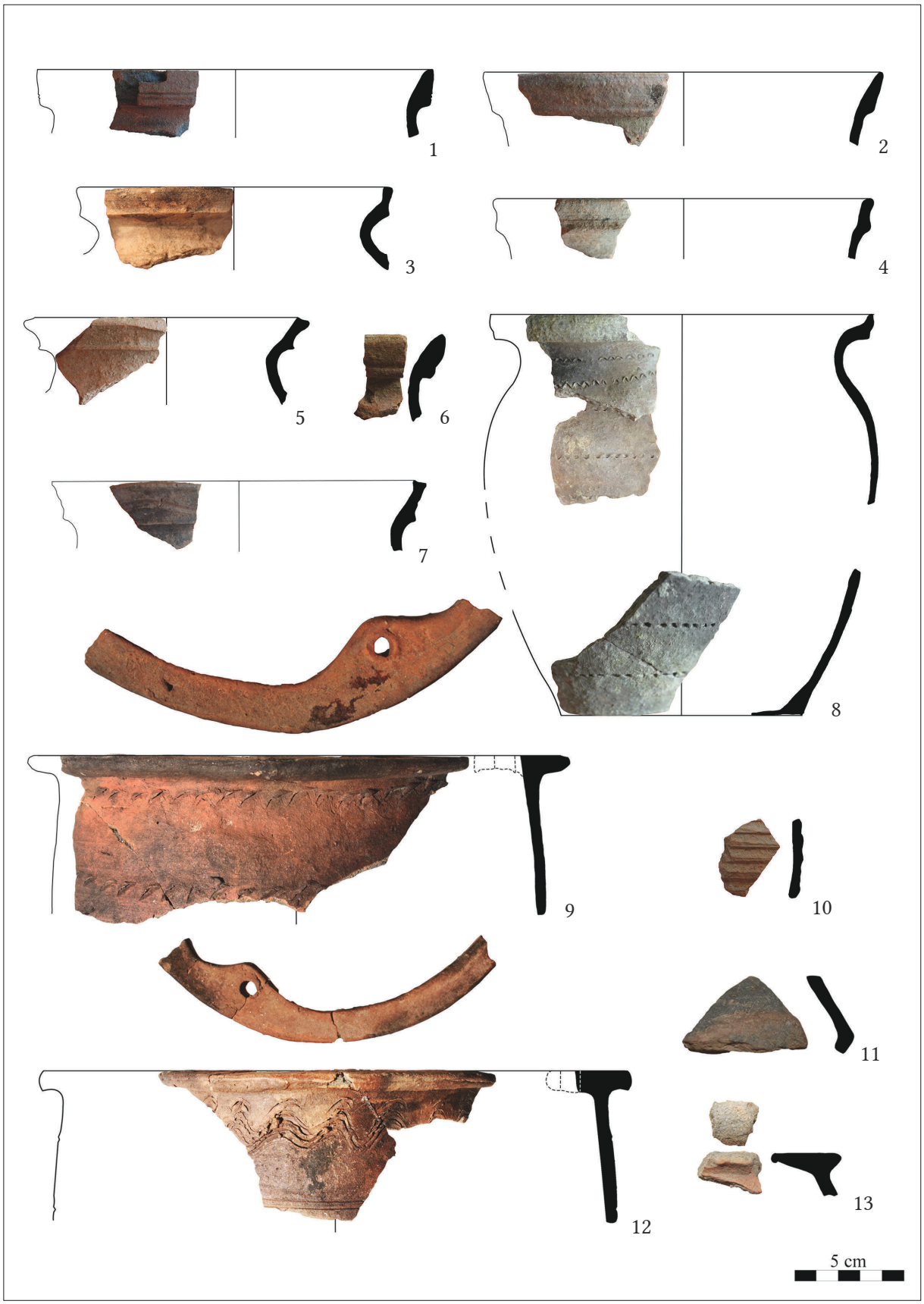


Fig. 28. Pápa-Main Square. Pottery from layer 1.

Fig. 29. Pápa-Main Square. Pottery from layer 1.

Fig. 30. Pápa-Main Square. 1–4 – Pottery from layer 1, 5–7 – Pottery from sunken house-type building 2, 8–13 – Pottery from pit 13.

Fig. 31. Pápa-Main Square. 1–3 – Pottery from hearth 15, 4–7 – Pottery from pit 3, 8–10 – Pottery from pit 2.

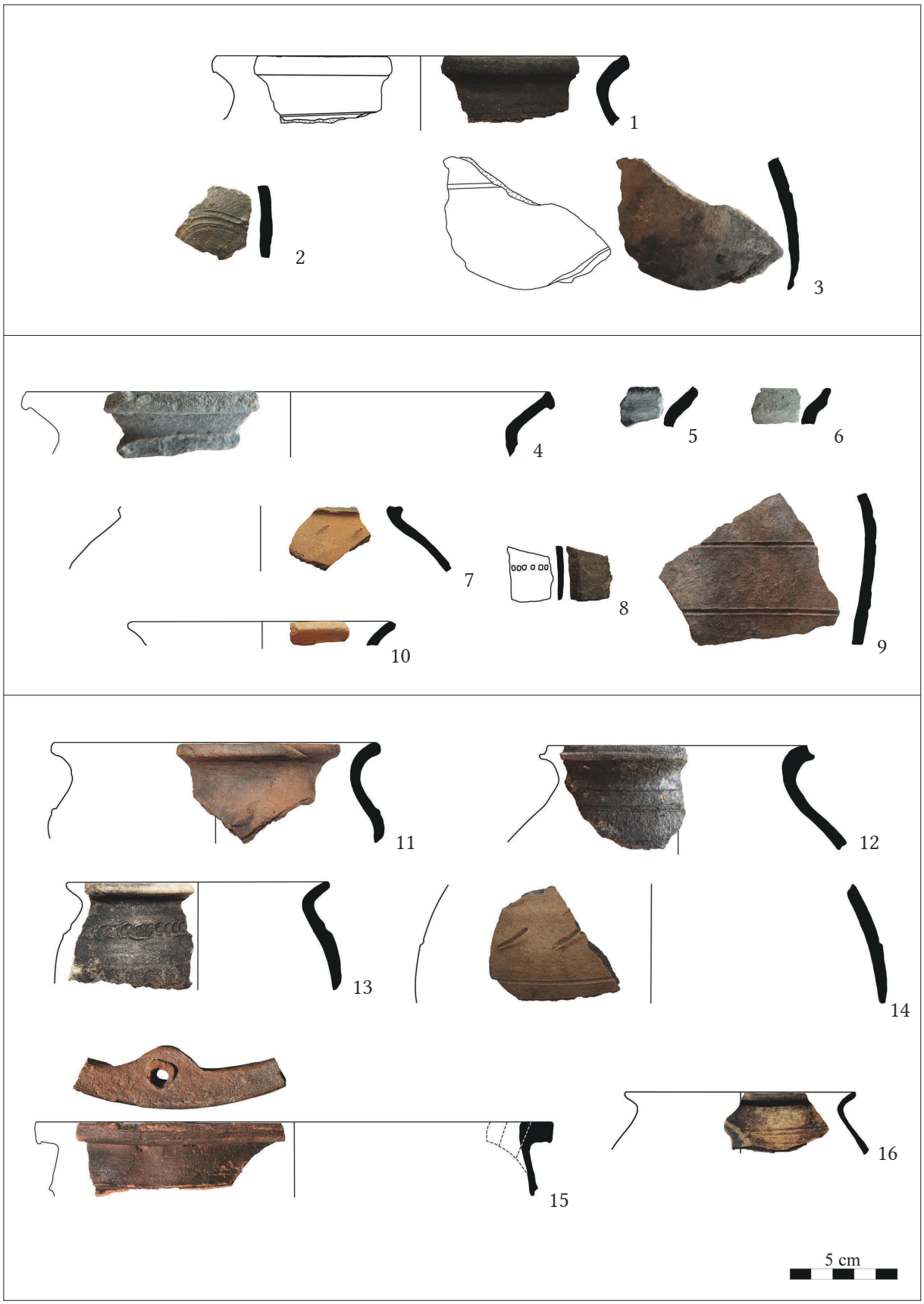


Fig. 32. Pápa-Main Square. 1–3 – Pottery from hearth 14, 4–10 – Pottery from hearth 18, 11–16 – Pottery from pit 21.

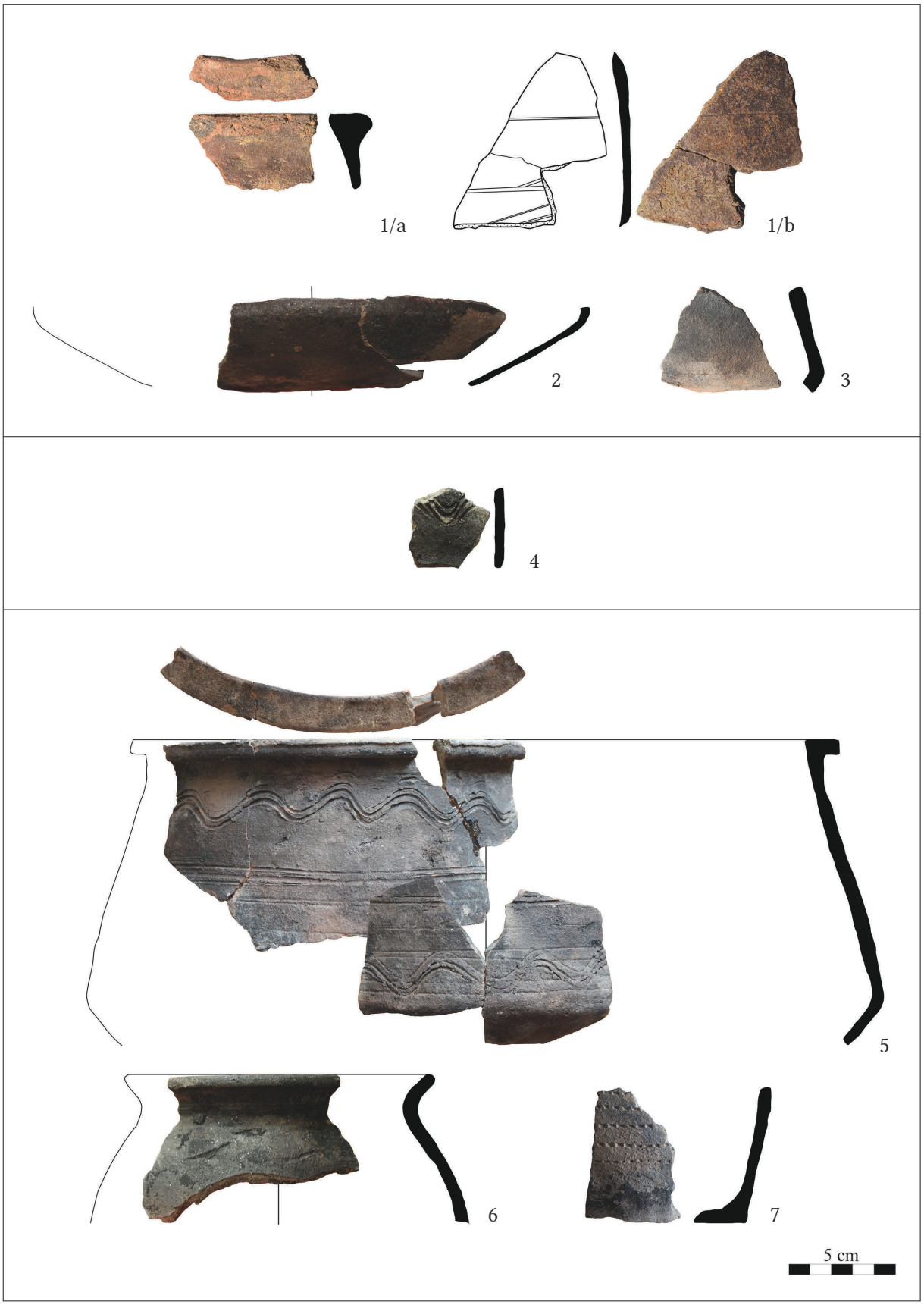


Fig. 33. Pápa-Main Square. 1–3 – 21 Pottery from pit 21, 4 – Pottery from pit 18, 5–7 – Pottery from hearth 19.

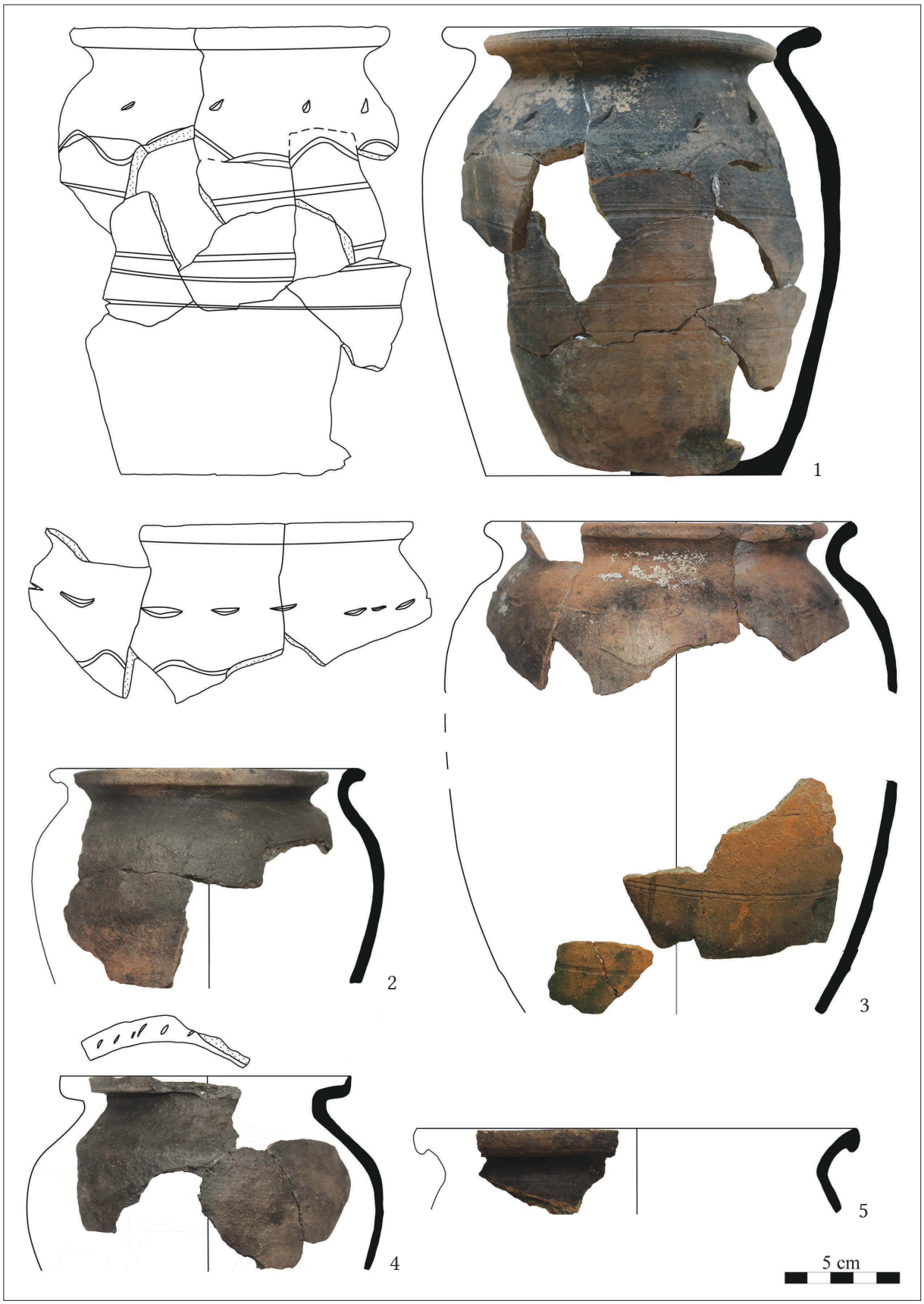


Fig. 34. Pápa-Main Square. Pottery from pit 23.

Fig. 35. Pápa-Main Square. Pottery from pit 23.

Fig. 36. Pápa-Main Square. Pottery from pit 23.