TRACES OF A CHURCH AND FORTRESS BUILT PRIOR TO THE HUNGARIAN CONQUEST FOUND IN A BENEDICTINE MONASTERY
New Discoveries in Kaposszentjakab

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The ruins of the former Benedictine Abbey of Zselicszentjakab can be found in the eastern part of Kaposvár, in the Kaposszentjakab district. The walls, which had previously only survived almost completely under the ground surface, were excavated in the 1960s under the direction of Emese Nagy. The archaeological park created in this beautiful natural environment is one of the finest medieval monuments in the area. The monastery’s church is of particular value. With its walls that rise to 2–2.5 meters high in some places and its stone carvings, it is one of the most important monuments of 11th-century Hungarian architecture (Figs 1–3). This is Hungary’s first known privately founded (non-royal) monastery. We have also learned about the circumstances of its foundation, including the existence of a church that used to stand here from the text of a transcription of the deed of foundation. Despite all this, the site has received relatively little attention for decades. Only short publications were published about the excavation. These merely clarified the construction history and layout of the monastery in broad strokes, while the church that had previously stood here was not identified. In 2014 and 2016, we were able to perform new excavations, which significantly expanded and clarified our previous knowledge (MOLNÁR, 2014; MOLNÁR, 2015; MOLNÁR 2018). Since the most important new results are related to the period before the foundation of the monastery, I will introduce these first, and then I will briefly discuss the history of the construction of the monastery.

Fig. 1. Drone photo of the abbey ruins (photographed by Balázs Borzavári)
Fig. 2. Ruins of the monastery church
Fig. 3. Carved column base preserved in its original location in front of the sanctuary of the church

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THE MONASTERY AND ITS ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

The monastery was built at the northern end of a steep hill where the forested hills of the Zselicség area and the valley of the Kapos River meet. Important roads ran nearby, there was a ford at the river, and there was a line of settlements to the north. At the same time, the most important factor in choosing the location of the abbey was not the favorable geographical location, but an earlier church that stood here. The text of the deed of foundation was preserved in later charters. From these we know that Otto (Atha) from the Győr clan – the comes of Somogy county – founded a monastery on the hill of St. James in 1061, where there was a church that stood in ruins due to its overly antique and neglected state (Kumorovitz, 1964). The monastery received large donations, and its consecration – which took place in the presence of King Solomon and Prince Géza, probably in 1067 – was also commemorated by the Chronicon Pictum. Its founder, who was referred to as Atha, was already a palatine. The abbey was one of the most important Benedictine monasteries in the Southern Transdanubian region during the Middle Ages. The founder ordered that the monastery should be entrusted to the care of the king after his death, but later it came under the patronage of his descendants, the Szerdahelyi family from the Győr clan. The abbey received a permit of indulgence in 1392, which may be related to construction at that time. We know from a visit by the Benedictines in 1508 that six monks, including the abbot, lived in the buildings, and these buildings were still in good condition at the time. Due to the Turkish threat, the monks left the monastery and were replaced by soldiers. The building complex functioned as a border fortress for a short time, and then in 1555 it fell into Turkish hands together with the castle of Kaposvár. It was not rebuilt after the wars of liberation, and its remains were hidden under the surface (Hervay, 2001, 527; M. Aradi 2016, 178–180).

Between 1960 and 1966, archaeological excavations under the direction of Emese Nagy were carried out in the area. Participants had to remove huge amounts of soil to reveal the remnants of the walls. Unfortunately, only brief accounts of the excavation were produced, in which Emese Nagy stated that the monastery church had largely survived in its form from the 1060s. The construction of the monastery garth dates back to the turn of the 15th century, while the construction of the church with a centralized plan north of the monastery church dates back to the end of the 13th century. She wrote about the early church mentioned in the deed of foundation, stating that traces of it could be discovered in some places, but its layout could no longer be precisely identified. It was also stated that the church was built in the time of St. Stephen, on the basis of a coin found in one of the graves (Nagy, 1973; Nagy, 1978; Nagy, 1994).

Nearly half a century later there was an opportunity for further archaeological research before the conservation work and the construction of the planned visitor center. The costs of the excavation, which was carried out by the staff of the Rippl-Rónai Museum, was provided by the Municipality of Kaposvár (Hungary). As a first step, we had to remove the recent soil cover, which for the most part had been placed there in the 1960s. Intact archaeological layers of various thicknesses, graves and objects were found below this soil cover. The main purpose of the excavation was to document the foundation walls and to distinguish the successive periods of construction. In 2014, the monastery church was excavated again and we found that its walls were constructed in at least three distinct periods (Molnár, 2014; Molnár, 2015). In 2016, we opened trenches in the area of the monastery. At that time, we identified the buildings belonging to the period prior to the construction of the Gothic monastery garth and also found traces of an early fortress (Molnár 2018).

THE EARLY PERIODS OF THE SITE

The medieval construction projects and burials destroyed the previous structures for the most part, so the periods of the Transdanubian Encrusted Pottery and Urnfield cultures are mainly indicated by secondary context finds. However, only the bottoms of the former pits could be excavated. We did not find any Roman features, but a Roman building may have stood somewhere nearby (even on an unexcavated part of the hill), as Roman bricks and stone were reused in part for later construction and a large number of Roman coins as well as relatively little Roman pottery were found in a secondary context. A route from the Kapos Valley to the later Somogyvár area ran nearby as early as Roman times (Csizmadia & Németh, 2016, 136, 156).
THE FORMER CHURCH MENTIONED IN THE DEED OF FOUNDATION

When excavating in the monastery church in 2014, we found the remains of the church that was already at the site when the abbey was established and was also mentioned in its deed of foundation. The structure’s foundation was easily distinguishable. It was comprised of two to three rows of raw stones of 20 to 60 cm that were set using little or no mortar, and three to four rows of masonry consisting of large bricks that were 40 to 50 cm long and 8 to 10 cm thick (Fig. 4). The rows of bricks must have been used to construct the foundations in the 1060s, but it is also possible that they were located above the surface in the past. Foundations such as this could be observed on the inner walls of the monastery church, and thus on the inner side of the side galleries on the north and south sides, and on the adjoining part of the eastern wall. The walls of the sanctuary of the monastery church had destroyed the foundations there, which were made in a similar way with slightly more mortar. The west wall of the early church was inside the monastery church, and therefore it was damaged by the digging of later graves. However, we did manage to find the location where the wall began in the north and south, as well as a short wall section in the middle. From the remains, the form of a 7.5×12–13 meter large, single-nave church with a straight apse emerges. The wall sections of this church were used in the construction of the monastery church. On the northern side of the church interior, the remains of the ascending walls of the early church that were laid with large bricks can still be seen today (Fig. 5).

The age of the first church is indicated by the graves excavated next to it, which were then intersected by the foundation walls of the monastery church built in the 1060s (Fig. 6). Obviously, a significant portion of the early cemetery was destroyed by later burials and constructions projects. In addition, only those graves without finds that were destroyed by the 11th-century walls can be identified with certainty. It is important to emphasize that the early church was certainly not built on an even earlier cemetery, as its foundation walls do not intersect burials anywhere, and
the shallow foundations would not have removed evidence of them. There is no trace of earlier graves in the parts of the monastery church that were not used for burials, either under the choir screen, the triumphal arch or the rood screen.

In 2016, Isotoptech Ltd – Atomki Laboratory of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences performed carbon isotope dating on bones from three graves that were destroyed by wall construction (DeA-8902, DeA-8903, DeA-10069). Based on the results obtained, the graves have a 95% (2 sigma) probability of the following values: Grave No. 32: 775-886, Grave No. 55: 680-859, Grave No. 111: 721-883. According to these results, the burials definitely date from before the Hungarian conquest. They can be dated within the 8th–9th century, and therefore the church must have been standing at that time.

EARLY FORTRESS

We also managed to examine the remains of a fortress that was constructed earlier than the monastery. Unfortunately, the buildings and graves of the abbey as well as the excavations and restorations of the 1960s largely destroyed the fortress. Therefore, we could only reveal isolated sections of varying sizes, from which we had to reconstruct its form to the extent possible. We only excavated a small section of it in 2014, but we managed to clarify its structure in 2016.

The northern end of the steep hill – where the abbey was later built – is separated from the rest of the hill by a deep ditch-like depression. Archaeological research has unfortunately not been conducted there, and therefore we do not know whether it is a natural or artificial formation or how old it is if the latter is the case. At least two rows of berms that were 1.5–2 meters deep, had horizontal bases and had roughly vertical walls were dug into the sloping hillside, and a wooden structure was built atop them (Figs 7–10). The rampart, consisting of sections that were approximately straight, may have surrounded the northern area separated by the ditch. The upper level, consisting of 2–2.5-meter-wide berms, follows the line of the hill, and moving south, it extends deeper and deeper. The sections of the lower level, consisting of 3.5–4-meter-wide berms, were lined up more or less at the same height. The difference between the two levels in the south is only 1.8–2.3 meters, and they are staggered behind one another. At the southern end of this section, the upper berm ends, since from here there is only room for the lower one on the slope of the hill. Heading north, towards the higher part of the hill, the difference in the levels of the berms increases and they move further apart. In the middle areas of the east wing, between the berms where the difference in their levels is almost 3 meters, the original slope of the hillside was uncovered in a length of

![Fig. 7. Remains of berms dug into the hill during the construction of the early rampart](image)

![Fig. 8. Evidence of charring on the wooden structure on the lower berms](image)
1–1.5 meters. In the area in front of the church, the difference in the levels may have been almost four meters. An intermediate level could even have been formed here, but later construction destroyed the area in question unfortunately.

There were a few charred beams left of the wooden structure itself (Fig. 11). The fact that the beams are pressed into the loess soil and the sides of the berms in several places aids in reconstruction. Due to this, the beams that lie horizontally are indicated by long, small ditches with curved bottoms, while the standing beams are indicated by shallow, circular depressions or by curved remains on the sides of the berms. The constructed panels were approximately 1.8–2 meters wide and approximately 3.5–4 meters long. There was only one row of these on the upper level, while two panels could fit on the lower level, but we found clear evidence of only one panel that stood against the wall in the area that was investigated. The wooden structure was connected to the bottom and sides of the berms in several places, the former being indicated by postholes with a diameter of 25–40 cm, and the latter by horizontal pole slots carved 30–40 cm deep into the wall (Fig. 12). In addition, rows of horizontal beams that lay atop one
another were placed 80–100 cm deep in the hillside. On two occasions, we found the traces of the beam rows in pairs, starting slightly above the bottom of the berms. In these places, curved protrusions were left in the loess wall between successive berm sections that lie on the same level. Several panels could have been connected in front of them, and the structure was connected here with rows of poles (Fig. 13). These allowed the straight berm sections to meet at a slight angle. Evidence of rows of poles above the upper level were found on the hillside, and this was also observed between the two berms. The internal row of poles of the structure built on the berms could have been connected to these on the hillside.

There is a fortress in Hont, Hungary that is quite similar to this one. There, narrow coffered ramparts were connected to the hillside using horizontal beams and were also built on a straight berm formed on a sloping hill (MORDOVIN, 2013). Also similar are the early ramparts of Kiev from the 9th–10th century, where the grid-like wooden structure built on staggered berms leaned against the sloping hillside, and the ramparts were connected there by rows of beams (MIHAJLOV, 2010).
The relative rarity of similar fortresses can be explained by the fact that following the destruction and the filling of the berms few traces of their ramparts with a similar construction are left. There were no visible signs in Szentjakab until the archaeological excavations, and many fortresses constructed in a similar way can presumably be hidden on steep hillsides. The rampart, which was probably several meters high and emerged under the hilltop, could have served as a very effective defense together with the steep hillside.

Determining the age of the fortress is not easy. When it burned down, the soil filling the wooden structure slipped down the hillside for the most part, and then the berms began to fill up like ditches. Therefore, the layers that are discovered were formed later than the ramparts were destroyed (Fig. 14). In the lower part of the inclined, outwardly sloping stratum, which is 3–4 meters thick in some places and only 30 cm thick in other places, we can find layers related to the destruction. Above this are the replenished layers, and then the Árpád period and late medieval finds. Based on the examination of the ceramic material in the lowest layers, we find mainly ceramics from the (8th or) 9th century, while in later layers, which have been deposited over this, there is an increasing number of ceramics from the early Árpád period, from the 10th–11th century (Fig. 15).

Isotoptech Ltd - HAS Atomki Laboratory performed carbon isotope dating (DeA 9495) on a sample from one of the charred beams (Fig. 11). Based on the examination, the sample dates back to 694–861 with a 95% probability. According to this, the structure (or the part of it that was examined) cannot be earlier than the 8th century. The time at which the ramparts were destroyed is determined by the plants that were burnt at the time of destruction. Remains of a significant portion of processed millet and a pear (seeds, charred residue of the core and fruit pulp) were found in the destruction layer (the plant remains were identified by Ferenc Gyulai, and I would hereby like to express my gratitude to him). The carbon isotope measurement was performed by Isotoptech Ltd – HAS Atomki Laboratory (DeA 10089, 10091). There is a 95% proba-
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Possibility that the samples date back to 776-964 and 776-967. Based on the dating, the rampart must have been destroyed before the last third of the 10th century.

After the rampart was destroyed, furnaces were dug into the side of the partially filled berms, which were later buried during further filling. Mihály Pethő performed archaeomagnetic dating for the last use of the furnaces on the plates of two of these furnaces, and received the following results: 897 +/- 17 years and 899 +/-17 years. Therefore, the most recent period of destruction dates back to the decades around the Hungarian conquest.

If we accept the results of the scientific investigations, the fortress can be dated back somewhere between the 8th–9th century, but we have no information on when and how long it was used.

**POSSIBLE INTERPRETATIONS FOR THE EARLY EDIFICES**

Based on the data available to this point, it seems that the church and the fortress date back to before the Hungarian conquest, somewhere between the 8th and 9th centuries. We can assume that they are at least partially contemporaneous, although it is possible that they were not built entirely at the same time. Given the uncertainties of the \(^{14}C\) studies (BAJKAI & KOLOZSI, 2017, 114–115), I believe that we have to accept that this dating ranges within a rather wide time period. The latest possible dates for the burials are all 100–150 years earlier than the time of St. Stephen, which was previously considered the age of the construction of the church. In addition, the values obtained at the fortress are earlier than the final third of the 10th century.

The building materials of the rampart, which took a great deal of effort to construct, and the church also point to this being a significant place, as evidenced by the gold objects found in the fill of the berms (a small gold ring and a golden jewelry fragment) (Figs 16–17). There may have been other buildings on the hill, but the evidence of these may have been destroyed during the construction of the abbey and the digging of the graves, or they may emerge on an uninvestigated part of the hill (an earlier origin could be considered in the case of the building built later that is in the southern monastery wing, but it seems more likely that the building dates back to the Árpád period).

A significant concentration of population can be observed in the Kapos Valley starting in the 8th century (KÖLTÖ & VARGA, 2019, 181–189). We know three contemporaneous cemeteries in the immediate vicinity of the site, at locations clearly visible from the hill. Eugénia Szimonova and then Edith Bárdos excavated a section of a cemetery at the Kaposvár guardhouse No. 40 site that lies 2–2.2 km east of the
monastery, while a section of a similar cemetery was excavated at the Kaposvár-Fészerlakpuszta site under the supervision of Eugénia Szimonova. According to the researchers, these cemeteries were first used in the 8th century and continued in use in the 9th century (Szimonova, 1997; Bárdos, 1978a; Bárdos, 1985, 11). A huge late Avar metallurgical site (Kaposvár-Fészerlak site No. 19) close to the Fészerlakpuszta cemetery can be found as well, which may have been used starting from the final third of the 7th century and presumably operated even into the 9th century (Gallina, 2002). Edith Bárdos excavated a cemetery dating from the beginning of the 9th century at the Kaposvár Route 61 site, located approximately one kilometer north-northwest of the monastery (Bárdos, 1985) (Fig. 18). The center located on the hill was presumably built by the leader of the population using the cemeteries. It is not yet possible to determine more precisely when the people moved to the hill, when exactly the hill was fortified, and when the church was built. The results of the scientific studies could even allow a date from the final period of the Avar empire, but it is more likely that the cemetery and especially the church date to the 9th century. It is most likely to hypothesize a Carolingian manor house, the destruction of which can presumably be linked to the Hungarian conquest or to the preceding period of war.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE MONASTERY AND THE EARLY CONSTRUCTIONS

Furnaces built after the destruction of the rampart indicate the partial survival of the settlement. We know from the deed of foundation that people were still living on the hill in the middle of the 11th century. This was presumably not a stray, “unentitled” population that lived here, as they were moved to land that they received from the founder. The hill was named after St. James, the patron saint of the church, and the monastery also took his name. The locals also remembered the name – probably preserved as a geographical name –, and it could also have been registered in ecclesiastical documents. Atha was given the idea of founding a monastery on the site of the old church from “spiritual fathers, sages” (apparently from educated churchmen). Of course, practical reasons may have led him to this decision as well, since the contemporary road network played a major role determining locations of the early Benedictine monasteries (Romhányi, 2015, 13–14). The more immediate area of the monastery must have been inhabited at the time of its foun-
dation, as people were already buried with coins of
St. Stephen in the cemetery opposite the monastery,
which was situated 50 meters from the aforemen-
tioned 9th-century cemetery and was in use until
the Turkish period (Bárdos, 1978b; Bárdos, 1987).
The church is considered to belong to the village of
Keszi (later Apáti) mentioned in the deed of founda-
tion (timár, 2016, 233–234, 254).
Zalavár-Recéskút (mordoviN, 2011) and Pécs
(Tóth, 2017; Buzás & Tóth, 2019) are known examples of the (re)use of 9th century churches in the 11th
century, however, 9th century finds have been excavated in many locations of the first Benedictine abbeys and
early ecclesiastical and secular centers (Szöke, 2020, 303–407; Buzás et al, 2017; Tóth, 2017; Buzás, 2017).
The walls on the northern and southern sides of the old church were used for the building that was conse-
cratated in 1067. The 1–1.4-meter-deep foundation of the newer walls was easily distinguishable, consisting
of mortar-covered stone and brick elements, on top of which there are three rows of horizontal or one row of
oblique bricks. An 18.5×12.5-meter building with a semi-circular apse divided by lesenes was erected atop
its walls and had entrances on the west and the south. Inside the building, galleries were built on the nor-
thern and southern sides and a tower or a pair of towers probably stood above the west gallery. In the center of
the building, four deep columns standing on foundations made of ashlar supported a tower above a vaulted
area. The column bases with palmette decorations in front of the sanctuary may have been a part of the
chancel arch, and the shallow foundation between the two large pillars in the west may have belonged to a
choir screen (Molnár, 2015, 189–191). Gergely Buzás concluded that the building most closely resembles
the contemporary architecture of Dalmatia, while also highlighting that the building shares similarities with
the nearly contemporary Benedictine monasteries of Szekszárd and Feldebrő in Hungary (Buzás, 2018).

We can also assume that there was a hilltop sloping to the south of the church and a steep hillside to the
east in the early stages of the monastery’s existence. The berms of the former rampart were rehabilitated,
but the depression (ditch) that lies in the parking lot may have been even deeper than it is today.
We used to have hardly any knowledge about the buildings that existed before the construction of the
Gothic monastery garth, although we managed to identify several of them in 2016 (Molnár, 2018, 145–
151) (Fig. 20). There was a building with two rooms that was erected as early as the Árpád period in the
northern part of the later western monastery wing. It was attached to the south wall of the church and its foundation consists of layers that were tamped and were about 1 meter thick and topped with 3 rows of bricks laid in a yellow clay-loess layer. It has been possible to reconstruct the northern room that has interior dimensions of 12×5.5–6 meters relatively well. The exact size of the southern room cannot be determined due to the poor condition of its walls, although it may have been about 6×4–5 meters. A fireplace was discovered in the northern section in 1962, which can be identified as an underground brick-ribbed hypocaust. In the southern wing, we found the remains of an earlier brick building with at least two rooms, measuring 6.5×9.5 meters, the foundation of which consisted of rows of bricks with yellow loess-clay layers tamped between them. The floor level of the building was lower than that of the later monastery and its floor was adapted to the natural slope of the hill.

Since much of the already steep hillside was occupied by the loose fill of the berms of the former ramparts, the soil of the hill slide down several times over the centuries, and many signs of this were discovered during excavations. The instability of the area may have been the reason for the construction of a retaining wall on the hillside east of the church, which was later reinforced with buttresses. This wall, which still collapsed, was demolished and then a chapel was constructed that was built partially into the hillside using the remains and buttresses of the wall as a base. This brick building had relatively high walls and was once vaulted. It consisted of a nave with interior dimensions of nearly 5×5 meters and a straight apse with interior dimensions of 3.3×3.3 meters. A partially surviving staircase was discovered on the wider south wall, and this ran from the entrance in front of the sanctuary in the eastern end of the nave. Unfortunately, due to the poor condition of the building, we do not know if it had a room upstairs that might have been roughly on the same level as the other buildings of the monastery. At that time, there were no buildings standing on the steep hillside to the south of the chapel, at the site of the later eastern wing of the monastery.

No traces of earlier walls were found in the monastery courtyard or in the cloister of the garth. It seems that the buildings of the late Árpád period monastery were already organized around a somewhat irregular, trapezoidal courtyard. The buildings were not built at the same time and we cannot fully determine their exact functions. Presumably, the southern two-chamber building could have been the early monastery building; the western two-chamber building could have been designed as a refectory, calefactory or kitchen in the Árpád period; and the chapel in the eastern wing may have been built in the 13th–14th century.

An octagonal church with a sanctuary that was closed off on five sides of the octagon was located about 20 meters north of the monastery church and probably dates back to the end of the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th century. An octagonal church with a sanctuary that was closed off on five sides of the octagon was located about 20 meters north of the monastery church and probably dates back to the end of the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th century. An octagonal church with a sanctuary that was closed off on five sides of the octagon was located about 20 meters north of the monastery church and probably dates back to the end of the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th century. An octagonal church with a sanctuary that was closed off on five sides of the octagon was located about 20 meters north of the monastery church and probably dates back to the end of the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th century.

**LATE BUILDINGS OF THE MONASTERY**

The monastery underwent a significant transformation in the Late Middle Ages, which may have taken place after a fire. At that time, the monastery garth with a cloister arcade was built and the church was also rebuilt. During the excavation, we found a layer of charcoal overlaying the Árpád period pits, above which there was a yellow loess layer containing ceramics from the 14th century and that was used to even the hill. This layer was intersected by the new buildings. Stratigraphic observations confirm an earlier reconstruction that was mainly done using stone materials, dating to the turn of the 15th century (NAGY, 1973, 338).

By this time at the latest, the central pillars and the tower supported by them had been demolished in the church. A ribbed cross vault was built in the nave, and the inner walls of the side galleries were extended to the west for this. The floor level of the nave was lowered, its sanctuary was raised, and a sanctuary staircase was constructed (MOLNÁR, 2015, 191–192).

We found indications that the monastery garth was built in several stages. First, the buildings around the courtyard and the north wing of the cloister – the section alongside the church – were completed. Then, in the next phase, the other wings of the cloister were built and the eastern part of the south wing of the monastery was rebuilt. The former buildings were incorporated into the monastery on the west, south, and north-
east sides. There was no room on the lower level of the east wing south of the chapel at the bottom of the hill, so the hill was only filled to build a relatively regular monastery cloister.

There are difficulties in identifying the rooms of the monastery. It is likely that the kitchen and the refectory remained in the west wing, where the hypocaust was replaced by a tiled stove at some point. The chapter house might have been in the northern part of the east wing, above the chapel, while the dormitory of the monks might have been to the south of this or in the south wing. A sacristy was formed north of the sanctuary of the church. The entrance to the monastery was on the eastern part of the northern side, while there was a room outside the monastic garth to the east of the church that was presumably an abbot’s house and guesthouse.

It was also possible to observe phenomena related to the late period of the monastery and its operation as a fortress. A furnace was built in the cloister ambulatory, and the chapel at the bottom of the hill was filled in. It was probably at this time that a large object, a fountain or cistern, was built in the monastery courtyard. Many graves were destroyed during the excavation related to this construction project (Molnár, 2018, 151–155).

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Fig. 21. A gold object found in the ground with a metal detector in the 1960s
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