



THE SEQUENCE OF ROMAN AND MEDIEVAL COMMUNICATION ROUTES IN TRANSDANUBIA¹

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Introduction

The towns and settlements of Transdanubia² were not isolated entities either under the Romans or in the Middle Ages. They were connected by roads and rivers, the veins of social and economic life. Roads were opened in both periods to enable the effective operation of government and administration, forceful military defence, fast and safe trade, and convenient communication. Here I investigate the sequence of the nature and role of Roman and medieval communication patterns through examples of shipping on the Danube and of two Transdanubian roads in the Carpathian Basin with Roman and medieval pasts.

The first Roman roads of Transdanubia were built for military use and later the administrative system and the imperial postal service (*cursus publicus*) also made use of them.³ It was part of Roman military strategy to build roads as soon as a region was occupied and pacified. These roads aided movement for the Roman troops and their supplies between the military camps of the conquered territory and Italy. This was likewise the case in Transdanubia.⁴ The construction of the roads began soon after Emperor Tiberius (AD 14–37) had annexed Transdanubia and the territory between the Drava and Sava rivers into the Roman Empire as Pannonia province. The first two roads of Pannonia, the road along the Drava River, and the so-called Amber Road, enabled contact

¹ This paper is based on the poster “Change and Continuity of Towns and Road Network in Medieval North Transdanubia” presented at the “Urbes Extinctae: Archaeologies of Abandoned Classical Sites” conference held in Leicester on 13 May 2006. I wish to thank Katalin Szende for her kind and unceasing support, Balázs Nagy for all his advice, and József Laszlovszky for his suggestions.

² Transdanubia is the western part of modern Hungary that is “across the Danube” viewed from Pozsony/Bratislava, the capital of the country while Buda was occupied by the Ottomans.

³ Endre Tóth, “The Roman Roads of Pannonia,” *The New Hungarian Quarterly* 24 (1984): 177–178 (hereafter cited as Tóth, “The Roman Roads of Pannonia”).

⁴ Sándor Soproni, “Roads,” in *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*, ed. Alfonz Lengyel and G.T.B. Radan (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó; Lexington: The University of Kentucky, 1980), 207 (hereafter cited as Soproni, “Roads”).

Magdolna Szilágyi

with Italy. The third main road of the province was constructed on the Danubian frontier in the early second century as part of a great military road that connected the Balkan provinces with Gaul⁵ (Fig. 1).

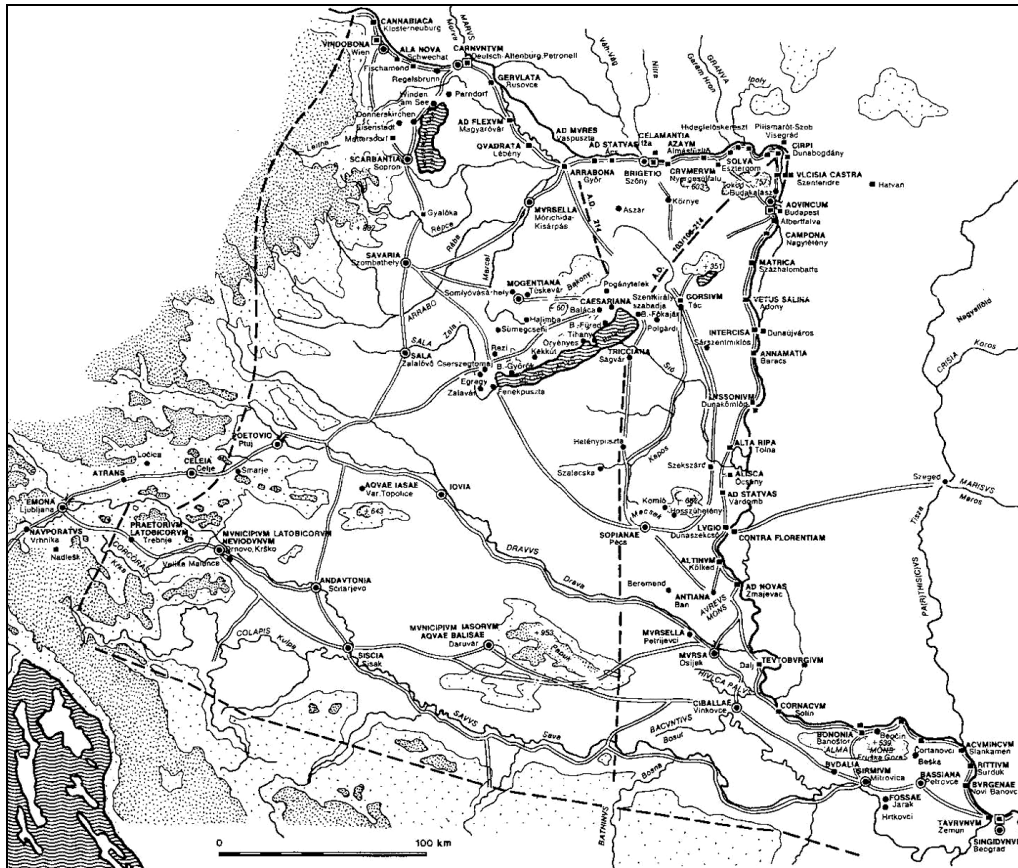


Fig. 1. The main roads of Pannonia. Map by András Mócsy.

⁵ For the main routes of Pannonia, consult András Mócsy and Mária Szilágyi, “Úthálózat” (Road network), in *Pannonia régészeti kézikönyve* (The archaeological handbook of Pannonia), ed. András Mócsy and Jenő Fitz (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), 118–121; Endre Tóth, “Roman Roads in Transdanubia” in *Hungarian Archaeology at the Turn of the Millennium*, ed. Zsolt Visy (Budapest: Ministry of National Cultural Heritage, 2003), 218–221 (hereafter cited as Tóth, “Roman Roads in Transdanubia”); Endre Tóth, *Itineraria Pannonica, Római utak a Dunántúlon* (Roman roads in Transdanubia) (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2006) (hereafter cited as Tóth, *Itineraria Pannonica*).



The Sequence of Roman and Medieval Communication Routes in Transdanubia

The Romans constantly maintained the well-constructed roads of Pannonia, which thus remained in good condition for centuries even after the territory ceased to be part of the Roman Empire. The roads built by the Romans determined the migration of barbarian peoples who invaded Transdanubia from the north and east in the fifth century.⁶ Early Avar cemeteries discovered in the proximity of Roman roads demonstrate that these roads remained in use into the seventh century.⁷ Furthermore, there is evidence even for Carolingian-period use of Roman roads in western Transdanubia.⁸ Sections of Roman roads were still visible in the Middle Ages, particularly in Western Transdanubia, and they were either used for communication or for indicating the boundaries of properties.⁹

The earliest roads of medieval Hungary were military roads put into use in the tenth and eleventh centuries. King Stephen I (1000–1038), the founder of the Hungarian state, divided the kingdom into forty-eight counties, administrative units with well-defined boundaries, subject to the supreme authority of counts (*comes*). The earthwork fortifications of the counts were the administrative and military centres of one or more counties¹⁰ that needed to be connected by a sequence of roads. Thereafter, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, an increase in the exchange of goods also brought about the opening of a growing number of trade routes.¹¹ These roads enabled trade not only between the towns and marketplaces of Hungary, but they also enabled movement for foreign merchants who arrived in Hungary more frequently in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries¹² (Fig. 2).

⁶ Tóth, “The Roman Roads of Pannonia,” 178–179.

⁷ Soproni, “Roads,” 213.

⁸ Tóth, “Roman Roads in Transdanubia,” 221.

⁹ Tóth, “The Roman Roads of Pannonia,” 179.

¹⁰ György Györffy, *István király és műve* (King Stephen and his work) (Budapest: Gondolat, 1977), 204–210 (hereafter cited as Györffy, *István király és műve*).

¹¹ For the medieval trade routes of Transdanubia, consult Lajos Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata” (The medieval road network of Transdanubia), *Századok* 63–64 (1929–1930): 138–167, 257–285 (hereafter cited as Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata”); and the relevant chapters on the history of counties in György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* (The historical topography of Hungary in the Árpadian period) 4 vols. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963–1998), (hereafter cited as Györffy, *AMF*).

¹² For long-distance trade routes in general, see Ambrus Pleidell, *A nyugatra irányuló magyar külkereskedelem a középkorban* (Hungarian foreign trade towards the west in the Middle Ages) (Budapest: Budavári Tudományos Társaság, 1925) (hereafter cited as Pleidell, *A nyugatra irányuló magyar külkereskedelem*) and András Diószegi, *A Magyarországon keresztülvezető kereskedelmi utak az Árpád-házi királyok alatt* (Trade routes through Hungary

Magdolna Szilágyi

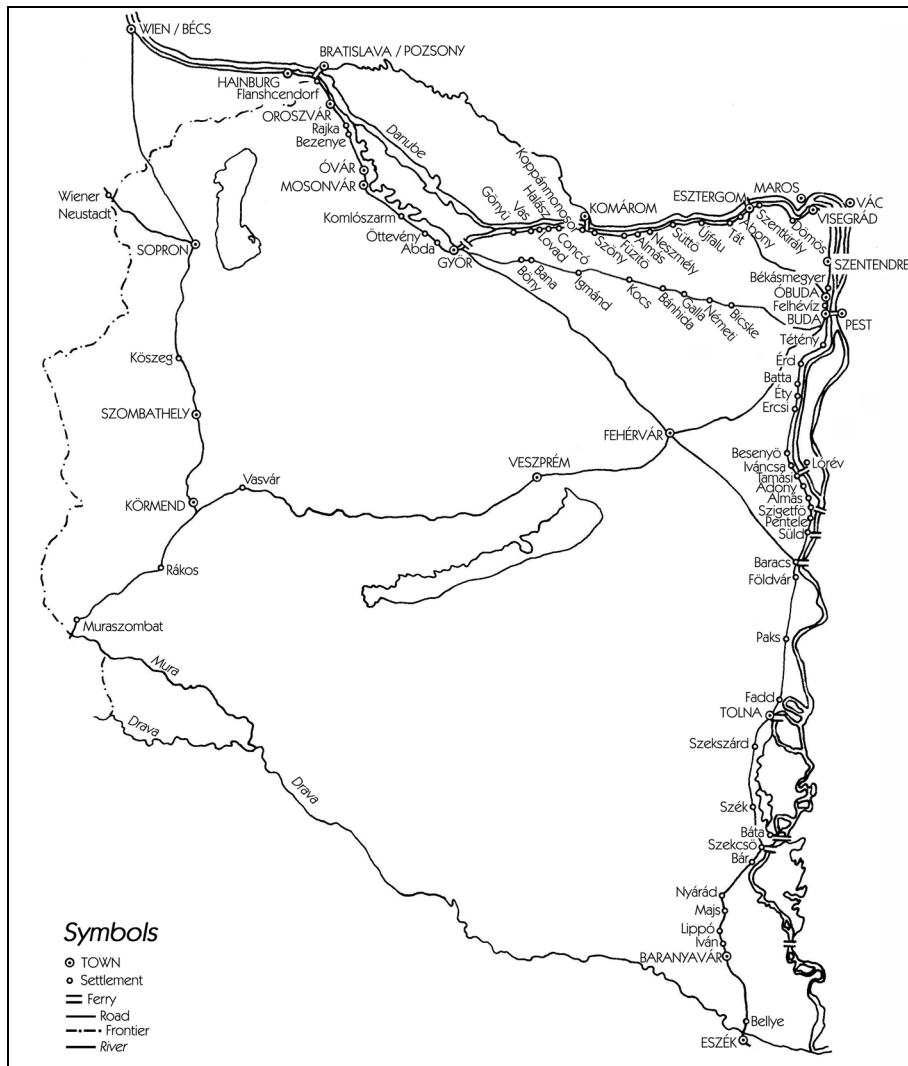


Fig. 2. The highways of Medieval Hungary. Map by Magdolna Szilágyi after Lajos Glaser (1929–1930) and György Györffy (1963–1998).

during the reign of the Árpáds) (Kolozsvár: Stief Jenő könyvnyomdája, 1909) (hereafter cited as Diószegi, *A Magyarországon keresztülvezető kereskedelmi utak*).

Shipping on the Danube

The waterway of the Danube was a means of military¹³ and commercial¹⁴ communication through a number of Roman provinces from Sigmaringen to the Black Sea. The Pannonian section of the Danube was guarded by the *triremes*¹⁵ of the *Classis Pannonica* that had moved up from the Sava River at some uncertain date. The first record of the Danubian fleet is from AD 50, when it transported Vannius across the Danube to Roman territory.¹⁶ After Pannonia was split into two provinces in 107, the fleet of the middle Danube was officially assigned to Pannonia Inferior and its naval base was located at Taurunum (Zimony/Zemun),¹⁷ a strategic point close to the junction of the Sava and Danube.¹⁸ In addition, the legionary fortresses of the province, Aquincum (Óbuda, Budapest),¹⁹ Brigetio (Szőny),²⁰ Carnuntum (Deutsch Altenburg-Petronell), Vindobona (Wien/Vienna),²¹ must have all had military ports, too. As attested by the *Notitia dignitatum*, the formerly united Pannonian fleet was divided into several units in the late Roman period. The unit of the Danubian

¹³ For navigation of the Roman fleet on the Danube in Pannonia, consult Gábor Téglás, “A rómaiak hadihajószolgálatára Pannonia és Moesia területén” (Roman military service on warships in the territory of Pannonia and Moesia), *Magyar Mérnök- és Építész Egylet Közlönye* 44 (1910): 155–171; Margit Balogh, “A dunai hajózás történetéhez” (The history of navigation on the Danube), in *Dolgozatok Békefi Remig egyetemi tanári működésének emlékére* (Studies in memory of the professorship of Remig Békefi), ed. Jenő Pintér (Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda, 1912), 44–60.

¹⁴ For trade on the Danube in Pannonia, consult Gábor Téglás, “A rómaiak kereskedelmi hajózása Pannóniában,” (Roman commercial shipping in Pannonia), *Magyar Mérnök- és Építész Egylet Közlönye* 45 (1911): 449–457.

¹⁵ Theodor Mommsen, ed., *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* vol. 3, *Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Europae Graecarum, Illyrici Latinae* (Berlin: Reimer, 1873), 4025 (hereafter cited as *CIL* 3); *CIL* 3, 4319.

¹⁶ Tacitus, *Annales*, in *P. Cornelii Taciti Annalium Libri XI–XII*, ed. Horst Weiskopf (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau, 1973), [12.30] 81–82.

¹⁷ *CIL* 3, 10675: bricks with the stamps of the Classis Flavia Pannonica (CL.F.P) were discovered at Taurunum.

¹⁸ Chester G. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy, 31 BC–AD 324* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960), 139–140.

¹⁹ Klára Póczy, *Aquincum. Budapest római kori történelmi városmagja* (Aquincum. The Roman historical city centre of Budapest) (Budapest: Enciklopédia Kiadó, 2004), 25.

²⁰ Barnabás Lőrincz, “Zur Erbauung des Legionslagers von Brigetio,” *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27 (1975): 349.

²¹ Alfred Neumann, *Vindobona, Die Römische Vergangenheit Wiens* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1972), 64.

fleet became the *Classis Histrica* with naval bases at Vindobona, Carnuntum, Florentia (earlier Lugio, modern Dunaszekcső), and Mursa (Eszék/Osijek).²² Trading on the Danube started only after the safety of shipping was secured by a series of military camps built along the right bank of the river in the mid-first century.²³ Roman trade ports have been discovered at Vindobona,²⁴ and Carnuntum,²⁵ and others are conjectured at Arrabona (Győr),²⁶ Crumerum (Nyergesújfalu),²⁷ and Aquincum²⁸ on the basis of inscriptions. Further indirect evidence for trade on the Danube is the late third-century coin hoard discovered with the remains of a lead casket in the riverbed near Intercisa (Dunaújváros) where a ship may have sunk.²⁹

In the Middle Ages the only evidence for the military use of the middle Danube can be attributed to the Crusaders, who shipped their food supplies and equipment through Hungary. Odo de Deogilo recorded for 1147 that the Crusaders of King Louis VII of France collected their food supplies at Barancs (Braničevo), transported mainly from Hungary on the Danube.³⁰ In 1189 Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa also led his army to the Holy Land through Hungary. When his troops reached the Morava River, the emperor received several carts of wheat and other presents from King Béla III (1172–1196), and

²² *Notitia Dignitatum* 32,52; 33,58; 34,28, in *Notitia Dignitatum omnium tam civilium quam militarium*, ed. Otto Seeck (Berlin: Weidmann, 1876); Barnabás Lőrincz, “Classis” in *Pannonia régészeti kézikönyve* (The archaeological handbook of Pannonia) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), 82–83.

²³ András Mócsy, Mária Szilágyi, “Vízi utak” (Waterways) in *Pannonia régészeti kézikönyve* (The archaeological handbook of Pannonia), ed. András Mócsy and Jenő Fitz (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), 116.

²⁴ Alfred Neumann, *Der Raum von Wien in ur- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit* (Vienna: Hollinek, 1961), 28.

²⁵ Erich Swoboda, *Carnuntum, Seine Geschichte und seine Denkmäler* (Graz: Böhlau 1964), 88, 271.

²⁶ *CIL* 3, 10.179=4363: altar stone dedicated to Neptune.

²⁷ *CIL* 3, 3662: altar stone dedicated to Neptune.

²⁸ *CIL* 3, 10430: altar stone dedicated to Neptune by the *collegium negotiarum*; *CIL* 3, 3416: altar stone from Óbuda Island dedicated to *Danuvius defluens*.

²⁹ Mária R. Alföldi, “Intercisa pénzforgalma” (The money circulation of Intercisa), in *Intercisa* vol. 1, *Archaeologia Hungarica* 33, ed. László Barkóczi, et al. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1954), 119, n.5.

³⁰ Odo de Deogilo, *De profectione Ludovici VII regis Francorum in Orientem*, lib. 2–3, in *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungariae*, ed. Albin Ferencz Gombos (Budapest: Academia Litterarum de Sancto Stephano Nominata, 1937–1938), 1721 (hereafter cited as Gombos, *Catalogus*).



The Sequence of Roman and Medieval Communication Routes in Transdanubia

in return he gave the Hungarian king all the ships that had escorted him from Regensburg.³¹

The political consolidation of the Hungarian Kingdom during the reign of King Stephen I enabled peaceful passage for foreign merchants through Hungarian territories. The products of the towns of the German and Austrian territories (Regensburg, Cologne, Zurich, Augsburg, Strassburg, and Vienna) were shipped on the Danube to Esztergom,³² where they were transferred on carts and transportation continued overland to Kiev.³³ In 1221 Vienna received a staple right; however, it did not prevail in practice and German merchants continued travelling to and through Hungary in the second half of the thirteenth century.³⁴ The political disarray following the death of King Andrew III in 1301 and the renewed staple right of Vienna in 1312 caused a decrease in transit trade through Hungary on the Danube and in the Danube valley.³⁵

From the fourteenth century onwards the west-east reach of the Danube was the medium of internal trade. In 1350, Queen Elisabeth declared the transportation of food and wine from Pozsony (Bratislava/Pressburg) to Buda free from tolls,³⁶ which was reinforced by her son, King Louis the Great (1342–

³¹ Arnoldus Lubecensis, *Chronica Slavorum*, in Gombos, *Catalogus*, [4.8] 306. Cf. Ansbertus clericus Austriensis, *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, in Gombos, *Catalogus*, 292.

³² Odo de Deogilo emphasised in his *De profectione Ludovici VII regis Francorum in Orientem* that the Danube carried the goods of several regions to Esztergom. Odo de Deogilo, *De profectione Ludovici*, 1720.

³³ István Torma, ed., *Magyarország régészeti topográfiája*, vol. 5. *Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája, Esztergom és a dorogi járás* (The archaeological topography of Hungary, vol. 5. The archaeological topography of County Komárom, Esztergom and the district of Dorog) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 83 (hereafter cited as *Magyarország régészeti topográfiája* 5).

³⁴ A series of charters from 1255 to 1297 reveal the presence of German merchants in Hungary. See, for instance, the customs tariff of Győr from 1255, György Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (Buda: Regia Universitas Ungarica, 1829–1844), 4/2:323–324 (hereafter cited as Fejér), reinforced in 1270, Fejér, 5/1:63–64; the customs tariff of Esztergom from 1288, Fejér, 5/3:412–416; and a charter issued by Andrew III for the merchants of Regensburg in 1291, Fejér, 7/2:149.

³⁵ For the effect of the staple right given to Vienna in 1224 and 1312, consult Pleidell, *A nyugatra irányuló magyar külkereskedelem*, 14–26.

³⁶ Ferenc Kováts, “Adalékok a dunai hajózás és a dunai vámok történetéhez az Anjouk korában” (The history of shipping on the Danube and the tolls on the Danube in the Angevin period) *Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle* 8 (1901): 437–438 (hereafter cited as Kováts, “Adalékok a dunai hajózás történetéhez”).

1382) in 1356 and 1373.³⁷ This latter charter says that the main sites of toll on the Danube were at Rajka, Bodak, Királysziget, Neszmély, Esztergom, Szob, Visegrád, and Óbuda (*Fig. 2*).³⁸ After Rajka, shipping was normally on the Moson branch and less frequently on the main branch of the Danube.³⁹ According to the charter from 1373, the products shipped on the Danube to Buda were wheat, rye, oats, wine, and hay.⁴⁰ It must be noted here that grain was normally carried on waterways throughout the Middle Ages because its weight made transportation by land uneconomical.⁴¹

The Danube played a substantial role in the transportation of wine and salt,⁴² for the same reason as grain. Salt from the mines of Transylvania, Dés (Dej/Desch), Szék (Sic), Kolozsakna (Cojocna), Torda (Turda/Thorenburg), Vízakna (Ocna Sibiului/Salzburg) was shipped on the Maros to Szeged. From there it was either taken on carts to the port of Baja or shipped on the Tisza River to Titel and finally transported to Pest on ships towed against the current.⁴³ The best wines of medieval Hungary were produced in the Srem region, and they were transported on the waterway of the Danube to the fairs of Esztergom or Pest.⁴⁴ In addition to the transportation of goods, waterways must have equally been used for floating timber. However, because this latter was not restricted by privileges, there is little charter evidence about it.

³⁷ King Louis I issued charters in 1356 (Fejér, 9/7:146–147; Fejér, 9/7:144–145) and 1373 (Fejér, 9/4:569–571) to reinforce the toll privilege of the citizens of Bratislava for shipping on the Danube towards Visegrád and Buda.

³⁸ Fejér, 9/3:569.

³⁹ Kovács, “Adalékok a dunai hajózás történetéhez,” 438–444.

⁴⁰ Fejér, 9/4:570.

⁴¹ János Belitzky, *A magyar gabonakivitel története 1860-ig* (The history of Hungarian grain export to 1860) (Budapest: Kovács József, 1932), 4–6.

⁴² A charter of King Géza II from 1148: “tributum portus Pest, et Kerepes, navium etiam cum vino sive cum salibus ascendentium, sive cum aliis venalibus descendendum...,” Fejér, 2:129–130.

⁴³ György Györffy, *Pest-Buda kialakulása* (The rise of Pest-Buda) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1997), 94–95; Oszkár Paulinyi, “A sóregále kialakulása Magyarországon” (The development of royal privileges on salt in Hungary), *Századok* 57–58 (1923–1924): 627–647.

⁴⁴ Piroska Feyér, *A szőlő- és borkészítés Magyarországon 1848-ig* (The history of grape and wine production in Hungary to 1848) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981), 41–42.

Roads along the Danube

The first sections of the so-called *limes* road were begun during the reign of Claudius (AD 41–54), when the Roman army was stationed along the Danube. By the end of Trajan's reign (AD 98–117), four legionary fortresses (*castra legionis*) and a line of auxiliary forts (*castellum*) were built on the Danubian frontier of Pannonia, the *ripa Pannonica*. These fortifications were connected by an unpaved *limes* road⁴⁵ (Fig. 1, Table 1) that was part of a great military road between the Balkan provinces and Gaul. After the Marcomannian-Sarmatian wars (AD 166–180) the fortifications of the *limes* were reorganised into a linear defensive system. Devastated earth and timber fortifications were rebuilt in stone and a series of watchtowers (*burgi*) and watch stations (*praesidia*) were erected between them.⁴⁶ It was during this restoration program that the whole length of the *limes* road was modernised. The new road was constructed with a 70–80 cm deep roadbed filled with gravel and stone at the bottom and stone or gravel bound with lime above. Aerial photographs demonstrate that this 7–8 m wide road ran mostly straight on the high bank of the Danube, as close to the river as possible.⁴⁷

The medieval pilgrimage road to Jerusalem opened by King Stephen in 1018/1019 followed a long section of the right bank of the Danube, and thus the path of the Roman *limes* road. According to the testimony of an itinerary⁴⁸ dated between 1031 and 1043, the safety of this pilgrimage route crossing the Hungarian border at Hainburg was secured by the castles of *Rana* (Győr), *W̃xenburch* (Fehérvár), *Hanenburch* (Tolna?), *Duldumast* (Baranyavár/Branjin Vhr?), and *Dordomest* (Valkóvár/Vukovar?) in Hungary⁴⁹ (Fig 2). After Győr the

⁴⁵ G. Parthey and M. Pinder, eds., *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum* (Berlin: Impensis Federici Nicolai, 1848) 242.1–248.1: the *limes* road between Laurinum and Cetium (hereafter cited as *Itin. Ant.*). *Itin. Ant.* 266.8–13: Aquincum–Crumerum road section.

⁴⁶ Sándor Soproni, “Limes,” in *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*, ed. Alfons Lengyel and G.T.B. Radan (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó/Lexington: The University of Kentucky, 1980), 219–221; Dénes Gabler, “The Ripa Pannonica,” in *The Roman Army in Pannonia: An Archaeological Guide of the Ripa Pannonica*, ed. Zsolt Visy (Pécs: Teleki László Foundation, 2003), 37–39.

⁴⁷ Zsolt Visy, “The *Limes*-road along the Danube,” in *The Roman Army in Pannonia: An Archaeological Guide of the Ripa Pannonica*, ed. Zsolt Visy (Pécs: Teleki László Foundation, 2003): 43–46; Zsolt Visy, *The Ripa Pannonica in Hungary* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2003), 131–133.

⁴⁸ *Via Hierosolymitana auctore anonymo*, in Gombos, *Catalogus*, 844–845.

⁴⁹ For a map and identification of the place-names, consult Györffy, *István király és műve*, 299–301, fig. 47.

pilgrimage road left the Danube, turning southeast towards Fehérvár, the royal seat of the kingdom.⁵⁰ From Tolna it continued on the right bank of the Danube down to the confluence with the Sava. Leaving the territory of medieval Hungary, the road continued to follow the path of the Roman military route in the Balkans via Belgrade (Beograd/Roman Singidunum), Nish (Niš/Roman Naissus), Sofia (Sofija/Roman Serdica), Plovdiv (Roman Philippopolis), and Adrianople (Edirne/Roman Hadrianopolis) to Constantinople (Istanbul/Roman Constantinopolis).⁵¹

Table 1. Roman and medieval roads on the right bank of the Danube

Roman road stations ⁵²	Medieval roadside localities ⁵³	Medieval county	Modern name	Modern location (H=Hungary)
Vindobona	Vienna		Wien/Bécs/Vienna	Austria
Carnuntum			Bad-Deutsch-Altenburg-Petronell	Austria
	Hainburg		Hainburg an der Donau	Austria
	Flanschendorf	Moson	Petržalka/Pozsonyligetfalu	Slovak Republic
Gerulata	Oroszvár	Moson	Rusovce	Slovak Republic
	Rajka	Moson	Rajka	Győr-Moson-Sopron c., H.
	Bezenye	Moson	Bezenye	Győr-Moson-Sopron c., H.
Ad Flexum	Óvár	Moson	Mosonmagyaróvár	Győr-Moson-Sopron c., H.
	Mosonvár	Moson		Győr-Moson-Sopron c., H.
	Komlósarm	Moson	unidentifiable	
Quadrata, Stailuco?		Moson	Barátföldpuszta-Lébény	Győr-Moson-Sopron c., H.

⁵⁰ King Stephen moved his royal seat from Esztergom to Fehérvár in 1018. Györffy, *ÁMF* 2:363, 376.

⁵¹ *Via Hierosolymitana auctore anonymo*, in Gombos, *Catalogus*, 845.

⁵² Roman towns, civil settlements, legionary fortresses, auxiliary forts connected by the Roman road. After the data of the *Itinerarium Antonini* and Zsolt Visy, ed. *The Roman Army in Pannonia, An Archaeological Guide of the Rípa Pannonica* (Pécs: Teleki László Foundation, 2003).

⁵³ Medieval towns, market towns, market places, villages, castles, earthwork fortifications, and monasteries along the medieval road. After the maps of Györffy, *ÁMF* I–IV, and Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata.”

The Sequence of Roman and Medieval Communication Routes in Transdanubia

	Öttevény	Győr	Öttevény	Győr-Moson-Sopron c., H.
	Abda	Győr	Abda	Győr-Moson-Sopron c., H.
Arrabona	Győr	Győr	Győr	Győr-Moson-Sopron c., H.
Ad Statuas	Vas(i)	Komárom	Ács-Vaspuszta	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
	Lovad (Lóól, Loval)	Komárom	deserted	
	Halász	Komárom	deserted	
Ad Mures			Ács-Bumbumkút	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
	Concó	Komárom	deserted	
	Koppánmonostor, (Katapánmonostor)	Komárom	deserted	
Brigetio	Szőny	Komárom	Komárom-Szőny	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
Azaum, Odiavum	Füzitő	Komárom	Almásfüzitő	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
	Almás	Komárom	Dunaalmás	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
	Neszmély	Komárom	Neszmély	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
	Séncőaszó (Séncőveszó)	Esztergom	deserted	
	Süttő (Sédtő)	Esztergom	Süttő	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
Crumerum	Újfalu	Esztergom	Nyergesújfalu	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
Cardellaca, Cardabiaca			Tokod	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
	Tát	Esztergom	Tát	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
	Zsidód	Esztergom	Zsidódi puszta	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
	Abony (Szentkirály)	Esztergom	Esztergom-Szentkirály	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
Solva	Esztergom	Esztergom	Esztergom	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
	Szentgyörgy	Esztergom	Esztergom-Szentgyörgymező	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
Castra ad Herculem			Pilismarót	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.,

Magdolna Szilágyi

	Dömös	Pilis	Dömös	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.,
Pone Navata?	Visegrád	Pilis	Visegrád	Pest c., H.
Cirpi	Bogdány	Pilis	Dunabogdány	Pest c., H.
	Tah	Pilis	Tahitótfalu	Pest c., H.
Ulcisia Castra	Szentendre	Pilis	Szentendre	Pest c., H.
	Orosz	Pilis	deserted	
	Megyer	Pilis	Békásmegyer, Budapest	Pest c., H.
Aquincum	Óbuda	Pilis	Óbuda, Budapest	Pest c., H.
	Felhévíz	Pilis	Budapest	Pest c., H.
	Kocsola	Pest	Budafok, Budapest	Pest c., H.
Campona	Tétény	Pilis	Nagytétény, Budapest	Pest c., H.
	Érd	Pilis	Érd	Pest c., H.
Matrica	Batta	Fejér	Százhalombatta	Pest c., H.
	Éty	Fejér	unidentifiable	
	Ercsi	Fejér	Ercsi	Fejér c., H.
	Besenyő	Fejér	Besnyő	Fejér c., H.
	Iváncsa	Fejér	Iváncsa	Fejér c., H.
	Tamási	Fejér	deserted	
Vetus Salina	Adony	Fejér	Adony	Fejér c., H.
	Almás	Fejér	Rácalmás	Fejér c., H.
	Szigetfő	Fejér	deserted	
	Andornak(vár)	Fejér	Dunapentele, Dunaújváros	
	Pentele(monostora)	Fejér	Dunapentele, Dunaújváros	Fejér c., H.
	Süld (Sild)	Fejér	flooded by the Danube	
Intercisa			Dunaújváros	Fejér c., H.
Annamatia	Baracs	Fejér	Baracs	Fejér c., H.
	Tolvaj (Tolvé)	Fejér	Pázmándpuszta, Baracs	Fejér c., H.
	Földvár	Tolna	Dunaföldvár	Tolna c., H.
Lussonium			Dunakömlőd	Tolna c., H.
	Paks	Tolna	Paks	Tolna c., H.
	Fadd	Tolna	Fadd	Tolna c., H.
Alta Ripa	Tolna	Tolna	Tolna	Tolna c., H.
	Szekszárd	Tolna	Szekszárd	Tolna c., H.
Alisca			Ócsény	Tolna c., H.
Ad Statuas			Várdomb	Tolna c., H.

The Sequence of Roman and Medieval Communication Routes in Transdanubia

	Szék	Tolna	Bátaszék	Tolna c., H.
Lugio	Szekcső	Baranya	Dunaszekcső	Baranya c., H.
	Bár	Baranya	Bár	Baranya c., H.
	Nyárád	Baranya	Nagynyárád	Baranya c., H.
Altinum			Hajlokpart, Kölked	Baranya c., H.
	Majsa	Baranya	Majs	Baranya c., H.
	Lippó	Baranya	Lippó	Baranya c., H.
	Iván	Baranya	Ivándárda	Baranya c., H.
Ad Militare			Batina Skela/ Kiskőszeg	Croatia
	Baranyavár	Baranya	Branjin Vrh/ Baranyavár	Croatia
Ad Novas			Zmajevac/ Vörösmart	Croatia
	Bellye	Baranya	Bilje/Bellye	Croatia
	Eszék	Baranya	Osijek/Eszék	Croatia

This route was not only used by pilgrims, but it also functioned as a military road (*via militaris*, *hadút*).⁵⁴ In May, 1096, Valter Sansavoir and his French army marched through Hungary on the First Crusade,⁵⁵ shortly followed by the Crusaders of Peter of Amiens, who entered the Hungarian border at Mosonvár.⁵⁶ According to Albertus Aquensis, both troops left Hungary at Zemun,⁵⁷ but he does not describe what their route was in Transdanubia.⁵⁸ In June the

⁵⁴ In the foundation charter of the Tihany abbey from 1055 the military road is mentioned near Fadd: “ad Castelic, et Feheruuarau rea Neneh hodu utu rea,” (to Kesztole, and on the military road which leads to Fehérvár), Fejér, 1:391. The anonymous author of *Gesta Hungarorum* mentions the military road at Baranyavár, Emericus Szentpétery, ed. *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum* (Budapest: Academia Litterarum Hungarica atque Societate Historiae Hungarica, 1937; Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 1:96 (Citations are to the Nap edition). The Hadút field between Bellye and Kopács (north of Eszék) also preserves the memory of the military road, Györffy, *AMF* 1:261, 1:283.

⁵⁵ Albertus Aquensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, in Gombos, *Catalogus*, [1.7] 35. On the role of the Hungarian Kingdom in the First Crusade, see László Veszprémy, “Magyarország és az első keresztes hadjárat” (Hungary and the First Crusade), *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 118 (2005): 501–515.

⁵⁶ Guibertus Abbas, *Historia Hierosolymitana* in Gombos, *Catalogus*, [2.4] 1096–1097.

⁵⁷ Albertus Aquensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, in Gombos, *Catalogus*, [1.7–8] 35–36.

⁵⁸ According to traditional Hungarian historiography, the French and German troops of the First Crusade used the pilgrimage road for crossing Hungary, Gyula Pauler, *A magyar nemzet története az Árpád-házi királyok alatt* (The history of the Hungarian nation under the House of Árpád) (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1899), 1:192–193. Endre Tóth has recently questioned this theory, arguing that it was not safe to allow foreign troops to cross

German priest Gottschalk and his army also entered Hungary at Mosonvár, and apparently using the pilgrimage road, they approached Fehérvár, where they were stopped and dispersed by King Coloman's (1095–1116) army for devastating the countryside.⁵⁹ In 1189 Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa marched through Hungary to the Third Crusade via Esztergom, Óbuda and Szalánkemén (Stari Slankamen),⁶⁰ continuing his way on the so-called *strata publica Bulgarie*⁶¹ along an ancient Roman military road.

Medieval west-east long-distance trade was conducted not only on the Danube, but also along both banks of the river. The overland route on the right bank of the Danube had greater economic importance;⁶² coming from Vienna it crossed the frontier of Hungary at Flanschendorf⁶³ and continued along the Moson branch of the Danube via Oroszvár,⁶⁴ Rajka, Bezenye, Óvár, Mosonvár,⁶⁵ Öttevény, Abda,⁶⁶ and Győr (Fig. 2, Table 1). This trade route was used by merchants from Regensburg, Cologne, Aachen, Metz, and Maastricht arriving in Hungary for silver and gold in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In

northern Hungary, where the royal seats of the kingdom (Esztergom, Fehérvár, Veszprém) were situated. He suggests that the crusaders must have marched through western Hungary, turned southeast at Rum (near Szombathely), and continued their route on the path of the ancient Roman road via Keszthely-Fenekpuszta, Pécs, Eszék, Belgrade and Zemun. Endre Tóth, "Via Imperatoris, 1217," in *"Quasi Liber et Pictura" Tanulmányok Kubinyi András hetvenedik születésnapjára* (Studies in Honor of András Kubinyi on his Seventieth Birthday), ed. Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: ELTE Régészettudományi Intézet, 2004), 576–578.

⁵⁹ Albertus Aquensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, in Gombos, *Catalogus*, [1.24–25] 38–39.

⁶⁰ Arnoldus Lubecensis, *Chronica Slavorum*, in Gombos, *Catalogus*, [4.8] 305–306.

⁶¹ According to the description of Ansbertus clericus Austriensis in "Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris" the road stations of the *strata publica Bulgarie* were Wizenburch (Belgrade), Philippopolis, Adrianopolis, and Constantinopolis. See Gombos, *Catalogus*, 292–295.

⁶² Diószegi, *A Magyarországon keresztülvezető kereskedelmi utak*, 6, 11.

⁶³ In the perambulation of Flanschendorf from 1278: "secus viam que ducit ad Vruzwar," in *Urkundenbuch des Burgenlandes und der angrenzenden Gebiete der Komitate Wieselburg, Ödenburg und Eisenburg* 4 vols., ed. Hans Wagner and Lindeck Pozza (Vienna, Graz, Cologne, 1955–1986), 2:120 (hereafter cited as *UB*).

⁶⁴ Charter of Béla IV from 1266: "transeundo fluvium Pezna ... secus Wruzwar ... exinde veniendo ad viam regni magnam lapidosam, sunt tres mete," Dezső Szabó, "Két Árpád-kori oklevél" (Two Árpadian-age charters), *Századok* 40 (1906): 630–631.

⁶⁵ Fake charter attributed to Andrew II from 1217: "in publica strata ... in strata contra Muson," *UB* 1:71.

⁶⁶ Cf. the map of Moson county in Györffy, *ÁMF* 4.



The Sequence of Roman and Medieval Communication Routes in Transdanubia

addition, silver from Hungary was used by the mints of Krems and Vienna, set up around 1130 and in the second half of the twelfth century, respectively.⁶⁷

Aerial photographs and charter evidence testify that the medieval road on the right bank of the Moson Danube followed the track of the Roman *limes* road.⁶⁸ This road was called *via Etteuen* in the perambulation charter of Kimle after the visible remains of the cemented Roman road.⁶⁹ In addition, the name of Öttevény, a settlement northwest of Győr, also testifies to the Roman past of the nearby road.⁷⁰

From Győr, trade continued to Buda on two roads, one running along the right bank of the Danube via the toll stations of Komárom-Szőny, Neszmély,⁷¹ Esztergom, and Visegrád castle,⁷² the other passing through the toll stations of Bőny, Bana, Kocs, Bánhida,⁷³ and Bicske⁷⁴ (Fig. 2, Table 1). Merchants coming from Russia entered these trade routes either at Esztergom or at Pest-Buda.⁷⁵ Esztergom was the royal seat of Hungary from 1001 to the mid-thirteenth

⁶⁷ Oszkár Paulinyi, “Nemesfémtermelésünk és országos gazdaságunk általános alakulása a bontakozó és kifejlett feudalizmus korszakában (1000–1526)” (The precious metal production and economy of Hungary in the period of early and high feudalism), *Századok* 106 (1972): 577, n. 83.

⁶⁸ Zsolt Visy, *A római limes Magyarországon* (The Roman limes in Hungary) (Budapest: Corvina, 1989), 39–46; Zsolt Visy, *The Rípa Pannonica in Hungary*, 16–25, fig. 4, 13, 15a, 16, 17.

⁶⁹ Charter of Andrew II from 1210: “via que dicitur parata, que vulgo vocatur Etteuen,” UB 1:60. The term *via öttevény* indicated exclusively Roman roads. *Öttevény* refers to pouring (‘önt’ in Hungarian) cement between the stones and cobbles of roads, a technique that was only employed in the Roman period. See Endre Tóth, “Eötteven seu via antiqua Romanorum,” *Magyar Nyelv* 73/2 (1977): 194–201 (hereafter cited as Tóth, “Eötteven seu via antiqua Romanorum”). Cf. Lajos Glaser, “A római utak nevei középkori okleveleinkben” (The names of Roman roads in medieval charters), *Magyar Nyelv* 27 (1931): 317–318; Dezső Pais, “Öttevény,” *Magyar Nyelv* 28 (1932): 119–120; Dénes Szabó, “Öntvény,” *Magyar Nyelv* 39 (1943): 298–305.

⁷⁰ Györffy, *ÁMF* 2:575.

⁷¹ Charters from 1342, Imre Nagy, ed., *Codex Diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis / Anjoukori Okmánytár*, (Budapest: MTA, 1884), 4:224 (hereafter cited as *Anjoukori Okmánytár*) and from 1364, Fejér, 9/7:227–230.

⁷² The charter of Sigismund from 1437, Fejér, 10/7:874.

⁷³ The charter of king Ladislaus from 1288, “sive per Banhida, sive per aliam quamcumque viam, de Buda vel de Pest,” Fejér, 5/3:414.

⁷⁴ Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 149; Györffy, *ÁMF* 3:399; Fejér, 10/7:874.

⁷⁵ In a charter from 1198: “mercator autem de Ruscia veniens unius equi sive in Pest, sive Strigonii, sive alibi descendat,” Fejér, 7/5:143.

century and it has been an archepiscopal seat since 1001.⁷⁶ Furthermore, it was the economic focal point of Árpadian-age Hungary, as until 1211 the only mint and money exchange of the country was there,⁷⁷ and until the mid-thirteenth century Esztergom was the only town in Hungary that had the staple right.⁷⁸ From the turn of the twelfth and in the thirteenth century, however, the development of Esztergom was halted by the increasing influence of the Church in the town. The gradual rise of Buda also contributed to the decline of Esztergom. Between 1249 and 1256 the royal court moved from Esztergom to Buda.⁷⁹ In addition, the staple right Pest received in 1244 made Pest and Buda the new economic center of Hungary.⁸⁰

In accordance with a commercial agreement in 1335 with John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia (1310–1346), King Charles Robert of Hungary (1308–1342) issued a charter in 1336 in which he prescribed the trade route on which Bohemian merchants were to come to Hungary.⁸¹ The new trade route, opened to evade the staple right of Vienna, crossed the Danube at Esztergom, and continued on the right bank of the river via Piliscsaba, Szentjakab, and Óbuda to Buda.⁸² In 1350, on behalf of King Louis I, Ban Stephen of Slavonia

⁷⁶ Gyöffy, *ÁMF* 2:237–238, 245–246.

⁷⁷ Bálint Hóman, *Magyar pénztörténet, 1000–1325* (The history of Hungarian coins, 1000–1325) (Budapest: MTA, 1916), 456–457.

⁷⁸ It must be noted here that the staple right of Esztergom was, in fact, not a town privilege but customary law according to which foreign merchants had to ask for an export licence at the royal seat. Erik Fügedi, “Középkori magyar városprivilegiumok” (Medieval Hungarian town privileges), *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 14 (1959): 41 (hereafter cited as Fügedi, “Középkori magyar városprivilegiumok”). On the staple right and tolls of Esztergom, consult, Sándor Domanovszky, “A harmincadvám eredete” (The origin of the thirtieth tax), *Értekezések a történelmi tudományok köréből* 24 (1918): 29–39; Boglárka Weisz, “Az esztergomi vám Árpád-kori története” (The Árpadian age history of the toll of Esztergom) *Századok* 137 (2003): 973–981 (hereafter cited as Weisz, “Az esztergomi vám Árpád-kori története”).

⁷⁹ Weisz, “Az esztergomi vám Árpád-kori története,” 973–974.

⁸⁰ Fügedi, “Középkori magyar városprivilegiumok,” 40–42.

⁸¹ Balázs Nagy, “Transcontinental Trade from East-Central Europe to Western Europe (Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries), in *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways. Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, ed. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999): 347–348.

⁸² Gusztáv Wenzel, ed., *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek az Anjou-korból* (Hungarian records of diplomacy from the Angevin period) (Budapest: MTA, 1874), 1:343–344 (hereafter cited as Wenzel, ed *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek az Anjou-korból*).



The Sequence of Roman and Medieval Communication Routes in Transdanubia

transcribed this charter for the German merchants of Cologne and the Rhineland who arrived in Hungary through Moravia and Bohemia.⁸³

The medieval road between Győr and Buda on the right bank of the Danube followed the path of the Roman *limes* road. The term *kövesút* (cobble road) used in medieval charters for road sections between Győr and Komárom,⁸⁴ and between Tát and Mogyorós⁸⁵ indicates Roman road remains.⁸⁶ At Vicsép the Roman and medieval roads were differentiated as *via antiqua* and *via nova*.⁸⁷

From Buda the medieval trade route continuing south on the path of the Roman *limes* road was called *Baranyai nagyút*⁸⁸ (Baranya great road). Charters mention this road at Iváncs(a),⁸⁹ Szentgyörgy, Fadd,⁹⁰ Szekcső, Bár,⁹¹ Nagynyárad,⁹² Majsa, Iván, Baranyavár, and Bellye⁹³ (Fig. 2, Table 1). It formed part of an important long-distance trade route (also used as a pilgrimage route and

⁸³ Wenzel, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek az Anjou-korból* 2:391.

⁸⁴ In a charter from 1435: “magnum viam Kvesuth vocatam per quam de Komarom itur ad Jaurinum,” Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 146, n. 82.

⁸⁵ The charter of the chapter of Esztergom from 1356: “iuxta quandam magnum viam vulgariter kuvesuth nuncupatam,” *Anjoukori okmánytár* 6:515. Cf. *Magyarország régészeti topográfiája* 5:323–324.

⁸⁶ The term “kövesút” means a cobbled and gravelled built road, which may refer to Roman roads still visible in the Middle Ages, since medieval roads were normally not built in this way, Glaser, “A római utak nevei középkori okleveleinkben,” 318; Tóth, “Eötteven seu via antiqua Romanorum,” 195.

⁸⁷ Györffy, *ÁMF* 2:219, 317; Cf. *Magyarország régészeti topográfiája* 5:270.

⁸⁸ In the charters of the Buda chapter from 1431, “viam Barnaynogut dictam antiquorem,” Magyar Országos Levéltár Diplomatikai Levéltár (The Hungarian National Archives, Collection of Charters), 12377 (hereafter: MOL DI), “viam Baranyawt vocatam antiquam,” MOL DI 12366; Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 140–141; Györffy, *ÁMF* 2:341.

⁸⁹ In the charter of Queen Fennena from 1291 it is referred to as “magna via,” Gusztáv Wenzel, ed., *Árpádkori új okmánytár / Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus Continuatus* (Budapest: MTA, 1860–1889), 10:39 (hereafter cited as Wenzel, *ÁÚO*).

⁹⁰ In the charter of chapter of Kalocsa from 1424: “magnum viam, que de villa Zenthgurg ad predictam villam Faad duceret,” Fejér, 10/6:632.

⁹¹ In the perambulation charter of Bár from 1329: “magnum viam qua itur in Zekchew,” MOL DI 7345; Györffy, *ÁMF* 1:279.

⁹² Charter from 1413, “per magnum viam, que duceret de Zekchew ad villam Narad,” in Imre Nagy, ed., *Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vásonkeő* (Budapest: 1894) 6:243.

⁹³ Györffy, *ÁMF* 1:261.

military road) that connected Western Europe and the Balkans along the track of a Roman military road.⁹⁴ Until its capture by the Ottomans, Constantinople was the main eastern depot of Levantine trade, and Eastern luxury products were transported from there by and along the Danube to Central and Western Europe until the rise of Venetian and Genoese shipping companies in the thirteenth century.⁹⁵ From the twelfth century onwards Hungarian merchants themselves took an active part in Levantine trade. The Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela noted in his itinerary of 1173 that the markets of Constantinople were frequented by Hungarian merchants.⁹⁶ In addition, Hungarian merchants had trading settlements at Barancs and Philippopolis on the long-distance trade route to Constantinople.⁹⁷

Roads in Western Transdanubia

The main north-south road of Roman and medieval Western Transdanubia was a natural route that developed during the prehistoric great migrations along the most convenient course the terrain dictated.⁹⁸ It was part of a long-distance trade route on which amber was carried from the Baltic Sea to Northern Italy from prehistoric times onward,⁹⁹ hence its modern name, the Amber Road. Following the Roman conquest of Transdanubia, this route gained great strategic importance as the main line of military advancement from Italy to the Danube. The construction of the road via Poetovio (Pettau/Ptuj), Salla (Zalalövő), Savaria (Szombathely), and Scarbantia (Sopron), Vindobona (Vienna), and Carnuntum (Deutsch-Altenburg)¹⁰⁰ started as early as the third

⁹⁴ Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970), 77–78 (hereafter cited as Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars*).

⁹⁵ Zsigmond Pál Pach, “Egy évszázados történetvitáról: áthaladt-e a levantei kereskedelem útja a középkori Magyarországon?” (On a century-long historical debate: Did the Levantine trade route cross Hungary?) *Századok* 106 (1972): 850, 867–869, 882–883.

⁹⁶ M. A. Signer, M. N. Adler, and A. Asher, ed., *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, Travels in the Middle Ages* (Malibu: John Simon, 1983), 70.

⁹⁷ Ambrus Pleidell, “A magyar várostörténet első fejezete” (The first chapter of Hungarian urban history), *Századok* 1934 (68): 309; Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars*, 77–78.

⁹⁸ Soproni, “Roads,” 207.

⁹⁹ For Roman trade in amber, see M. Pasquinucci, “Aquileia and Amber Trade,” *Savaria* 16 (1982): 273–281.

¹⁰⁰ *Itin. Ant.* 261.4–262.2: Vindobona–Poetovio road; *Itin. Ant.* 262.3–262.8: Poetovio–Carnuntum road; *Itin. Ant.* 266.4–266.7: Savaria–Vindobona road. For the latest

The Sequence of Roman and Medieval Communication Routes in Transdanubia

decade of the first century AD¹⁰¹ (Fig. 1, Table 2). The Roman road was built with a 50–60 m high embankment, which is still visible almost intact near Nádasd. At other places, where ploughing destroyed the embankment and the pavement of the Roman road in the later periods, a wide strip of gravel indicates the Roman track.¹⁰²

Table 2. The Roman and medieval roads of Western Transdanubia.

Roman road stations	Medieval roadside localities	Medieval county	Modern name	Modern location
	Muraszombat	Vas	Murska Sobota/ Muraszombat	Slovenia
	Rákos	Vas	Nagyrákos	Vas c., Hungary
Sala		Zala	Zalalövő	Zala c., Hungary
	Nádasd	Vas	Nádasd	Vas c., Hungary
	Körmend	Vas	Körmend	Vas c., Hungary
Savaria	Szombathely	Vas	Szombathely	Vas c., Hungary
	Kőszeg	Vas	Kőszeg/Güns	Vas c., Hungary
Scarbantia	Sopron	Sopron	Sopron/ Ödenburg	Győr-Moson- Sopron c., H.

The use of the Amber Road did not stop with the end of Roman rule. Byzantine gold and bronze coin finds from Celje, Ptuj, Wiener Neustadt, Vienna, and Deutsch Altenburg–Petronell testify that commercial activity continued on the Amber Road into the seventh century.¹⁰³ By 803 much of western Transdanubia had come under Carolingian-Frankish rule, and thus the Amber Road again became the road of one empire along its whole length from north Italy to the Danube. In addition to its strategic significance, the Amber Road regained its role in trade, attested by ninth-century Byzantine and Eastern coins discovered along its track.¹⁰⁴ Between 896 and 907 the Middle Danube region finally came under control of the Magyars. After their defeat at Augsburg

archaeological investigations into the road stations of the Amber Road, see János Gömöri, ed., *A Borostyánkőút tájai és emlékei* (Landscapes and monuments along the Amber Road) (Sopron: Scarbantia Társaság, 1999).

¹⁰¹ Tóth, “The Roman Roads of Pannonia,” 176.

¹⁰² Tóth, *Itineraria Pannonica*, 21.

¹⁰³ Gábor Kiss, Endre Tóth, and Balázs Zágórhidi Czigány, *Savaria-Szombathely története a város alapításától 1526-ig* (The history of Savaria-Szombathely from the foundation of the town to 1526) (Szombathely: A Szombathely Megyei Jogú Város Önkormányzata, 1998), 73, 81–82 (hereafter cited as Kiss, Tóth and Zágórhidi, *Savaria-Szombathely története*).

¹⁰⁴ Kiss, Tóth and Zágórhidi, *Savaria-Szombathely története*, 88.

Magdolna Szilágyi

in 955 the Magyars started to set up a frontier defence system to protect western Transdanubia. The earthwork fortifications erected in the second half of the tenth and eleventh centuries on the western frontier formed three defensive lines (*gyepű*, *indago*) together with the geomorphic and hydrographic features of the landscape. The earthwork fortifications of the outermost defensive line were situated along the Amber Road at Körmend, Velem-Szent Vid, Locsmánd (Lutzmannsburg), Sopron, and Darufalva (Drassburg), which in itself demonstrates that this Roman road was of strategic importance in tenth- and eleventh-century Hungary.¹⁰⁵ Road sections and fields called *öttevény* at Kálócfa,¹⁰⁶ Zalalövő,¹⁰⁷ Körmend,¹⁰⁸ Nádasd,¹⁰⁹ Szombathely,¹¹⁰ Borsmonostor,¹¹¹ and Enyed¹¹² testify that remains of the Amber Road were still recognisable in the later Middle Ages.¹¹³

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the north-south road of western Transdanubia via Muraszombat, Rákos, Körmend, Nádasd, Szombathely, Kőszeg, and Sopron served as a route of transit trade between Venice and

¹⁰⁵ Gábor Kiss and Endre Tóth, “Adatok a nyugat-dunántúli korai magyar gyeptopográfiájához” (The topography of the early Hungarian frontier defence system of western Transdanubia) in *Magyarok térben és időben* (Hungarians in time and space), ed. Éva Mária Fülöp and Julianna Kisné Cseh (Tata: Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Múzeumi Szervezet, 1999), 105–123; János Gömöri, *Castrum Sopron. Sopron vára az Árpád-korban* (Castrum Sopron. Sopron castle in the Árpadian age) (Sopron: Scarbantia Társaság, 2002), 32–34.

¹⁰⁶ A field is called Ötevény at Kálócfa. László Papp and József Végh, ed., *Zala megye földrajzi nevei* (The toponyms of Zala county) (Zalegerszeg: Zala megye tanácsának végrehajtó bizottsága, 1964), 303 (hereafter cited as Papp and Végh, *Zala megye földrajzi nevei*).

¹⁰⁷ The charter of Béla IV from 1265: “magna via, que vulgariter Ehttewen dicitur,” “via Ettewen,” Imre Nagy, ed., *Hazai okmánytár / Codex diplomaticus patrius Hungaricus*, (Budapest: Kocsi Sándor, 1876), 6:131; a street of Zalalövő is called Ötevényi út, Papp and Végh, *Zala megye földrajzi nevei*, 101.

¹⁰⁸ In a charter from 1329: “pervenit ad viam magnam Ethuenuth vocatam,” MOL DL 42068.

¹⁰⁹ Öttevényes-út at Nádasd, Frigyes Pesty, *Magyarország helynevei történeti, földrajzi és nyelvészeti tekintetben* (The toponyms of Hungary in historical, geographical, and linguistic respects) (Budapest: MTA Történeti Bizottsága, 1888), 1:242.

¹¹⁰ Charter from 1259, “viam Ettevin,” “de via...Ettevin,” UB 3:265–266.

¹¹¹ Charter of Andrew II from 1225: “ad antiquam viam, qua vulgo dicitur utwengut,” UB 1:105.

¹¹² In the charter of the chapter of Győr from 1237: “per quandam antiquam viam, que dicitur eetheven,” Fejér 6/1:75; UB 1:173.

¹¹³ Cf. Tóth, “Ötteen seu via antiqua Romanorum,” 195–196.



The Sequence of Roman and Medieval Communication Routes in Transdanubia

Vienna¹¹⁴ (Fig. 2, Table 2). Venetian merchants arrived at the border of Hungary on a route that closely followed the path of the ancient Roman Amber Road. However, after Pettau the road continued via Murszombat (Murska Sobota) and Rákoss instead of the shorter ancient route via Murszordahely (Roman Halicanum) and Zalalövő (Roman Salla). From Körmend the Roman and medieval roads again followed more or less the same path. The change of the route between Pettau and Körmend can be explained by the hydrographic features of the terrain. The Roman road provided a shorter path across the heavily winding reach of the Mura River and the surrounding marshy area, but it was only made passable by constant road maintenance. In the Middle Ages the water level of the Mura was higher and the roads were not so carefully maintained. Thus, the medieval road crossed the Mura further to the west, on a longer but safer route where the river was not so winding.¹¹⁵ Minor differences in the tracks of roads have also been demonstrated by field surveys on a northern section of the Amber Road. In the region of Szombathely medieval settlements were not situated along the Roman road but along the Gyöngyös brook nearby. The medieval road connecting these settlements often passed a mere 20 to 50 metres from the remains of the Roman road that was no longer used. Endre Tóth explained medieval divergences from the Roman track by the fact that the same geomorphic features were used in different ways for settlement in the two periods.¹¹⁶

Following the construction of the Semmering trade route in the last third of the twelfth century, transit trade through western Transdanubia stopped and the route via Nádass, Szombathely, and Sopron was used only in internal trade.¹¹⁷ With the rise of Italian-Hungarian trade relations in the early thirteenth century, Venetian merchants started to use the so-called Italian road in Hungary. As far as Murszombat this road was identical with the road used before the opening of the Semmering route, but there it forked towards Vasvár, Veszprém,

¹¹⁴ Zsuzsa Teke, *Velencei-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok a XIII–XV. században* (Venetian-Hungarian trade relations between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 22 (hereafter cited as Teke, *Velencei-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok*); Glaser, “Dunántúl középkori úthálózata,” 142; Dénes Huszti, *Olasz-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok a középkorban* (Hungarian-Italian trade relations in the Middle Ages) (Budapest, 1941), 99 (hereafter cited as Huszti, *Olasz-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok*).

¹¹⁵ Gábor Kiss and Endre Tóth, “A vasvári ‘Római sánc’ és a ‘Katonák útja’ időrendje és értelmezése” (The chronology and interpretation of the so-called ‘Roman earthworks’ and the ‘road of soldiers’ at Vasvár), *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* (1987): 112.

¹¹⁶ Tóth, *Itineraria Pannonica*, 20.

¹¹⁷ Kiss and Tóth, “Adatok a nyugat-dunántúli magyar gyeplő topográfiájához,” 107–108.

Magdolna Szilágyi

Fehérvár, and Esztergom or Buda¹¹⁸ (Fig. 2). After the commercial treaty of King Andrew II (1205–1235) with the doge of Venice in 1217,¹¹⁹ Venetian merchants arrived in Hungary regularly on this route bringing, Italian and Levantine luxury products (silk and other expensive textiles, pearls, precious stones, spices) in exchange for gold.¹²⁰

Conclusions

The Danube River had a decisive—but fundamentally different—importance in the historical landscapes of Roman and medieval Transdanubia. In the Roman period the middle Danube formed part of a military defensive system that separated Roman Pannonia from the Barbaricum. Contrarily, in the Middle Ages the whole middle Danube region belonged to one country, and thus it lost its role in frontier defence. Instead, it functioned as a means of transportation between towns and settlements situated along and across the river.

Fundamental differences can be pointed out in the role and nature of Roman and medieval roads as well. Roman roads provided the shortest possible movement between towns and military centres, and *villa* estates were connected to these main roads by approach roads. Medieval roads, in contrast, connected towns, villages, marketplaces, and fortifications alike. The main Roman roads were constructed and maintained by the army, paid from public funds. Medieval highways and bridges were maintained by royal order and finances, and it was the right of the king to collect tolls in return, but he could also donate the privilege of free passage or toll collection. Roman roads were paved over a high, solid embankment, and followed a mostly straight track carefully designed according to natural landscape features and strategic considerations. Although the opening of roads also required some preparation (forest clearance, land drainage, management of fords, and creation of ferry ports or bridges) in the Middle Ages, these roads were not built like the Roman roads and their routes developed in a more or less natural way. Although the two roads investigated here followed basically the same route in the Roman and medieval periods, they did not always follow the same track, which can be explained by changes in the hydrographic system, the different use of the same geomorphic features, or other, human, factors the demonstration of which would require further investigation on a local level.

¹¹⁸ Teke, *Velencei-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok*, 22.

¹¹⁹ Wenzel, *ÁÚO* 6:380–383.

¹²⁰ Huszti, *Olasz-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok*, 29–30.