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Lectori salutem

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS AND CHANGES CHARACTERIZED the activity of the Institute of History since the publication of the previous volume of the *Chronica*. The most sorrowful was the death of Prof. Gyula Kristó, correspondent fellow of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He was not only a world-famous scholar of Hungarian medieval studies but also an outstanding colleague and a great friend.

Our academic achievements, on the other hand, are best documented by the studies and reports published in the present volume. The overall objective of the *Chronica* is to provide a snapshot on the current research activity of the fellows in the Institute. Thus, we publish the most recent theories and results of research on the East. Its significance is accentuated by the fact that the Department of Medieval World History organized the first international conference focusing on the history of the Eurasian steppe in the Middle Ages. Two additional articles concentrate on medieval studies, both pertain to urban history. One of them reveals the new findings from medieval Anjou, while the other discusses the social standing of the poor through the example of a medieval Hungarian town.

Two further studies lead us from the Middle Ages to the early modern period, though they represent wide temporal and spatial horizon. One of them deals with translations of the Bible, while the other holds up a mirror to the life of a Hungarian renegade during the Turkish occupation of Hungary.

There are studies in the volume debating twentieth-century history. They also cover a wide range of topics. Firstly, the political pursuits of the Hungarian minority is being analyzed through the investigation of the circumstances of the foundation of the Hungarian Party in the early 1920s. Secondly, the comparison of soldiers' memoirs and the contemporary war propaganda shed a particular light on World War II. The collection, analysis, and evaluation of such special source material proved to be of primary importance since it provides a unique opportunity for reconstructing events from the point of view of front soldiers.

Mediterranean studies is among the preferred fields of research in the Institute of History, particularly, in that of the Department of Modern World History. The results of a many-decade research published by the fellow of the Institute reveals the inducements of Arab nationalism with special regard to *Algeria*.

Last but not least, we have launched a new section entitled *Theses* in our annual. From this volume onwards, we intend to publish the short summary of recently defended doctoral (both PhD and DSc) dissertations. We hope that these résumés reveal the academic activity of the Institute from a different angle.

László Marjanucz
Head, Institute of History

Gyula Kristó

(1939–2004)



The representatives of Medieval Studies in Hungary mourn deeply the loss of history professor, Dr. Gyula Kristó, a correspondent fellow of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, an established scholar, an eminent teacher, an outstanding public figure and a great friend. Professor Kristó died on 24 January 2004 following a long illness.

Gyula Kristó was born on 11 July 1939 in Orosháza, Hungary. He completed his primary and secondary school studies in his native town, and in 1962 graduated with honours from the University of Szeged, majoring in History, Hungarian and Latin language and literature. Early in his studies he became seriously involved in scholarly activities and, as a result, upon graduation he was offered a teaching position at the same university. Gyula Kristó accepted the offer and he remained loyal to the same institution until his death.

In the field of academic work Gyula Kristó initially investigated the question of medieval Hungarian chronicles, and, in 1969, at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences defended a CSc dissertation entitled *The Development of the Elements of Historical and Political Thought in Hungarian Chronicles*. In parallel with this research, he wrote a monograph on eleventh-century pagan revolts, published numerous scholarly articles and started in-depth research into the topic of the process of feudal disunity from the dynastic division of the country to the emergence of regional administration and from the concentration of offices to the establishment of provincial power. This research led to a dissertation, as a result of which Gyula Kristó was awarded the degree of Academic Doctor (DSc) of History in 1977.

He always applied a complex approach when investigating ninth to fourteenth-century Hungarian history and considered economic, social and political history as well as aspects of military, regional and local history in his research. Because of the comprehensiveness of his approach and of the creative use of his diverse, yet in-depth knowledge of various fields of history, many of his colleagues considered Gyula Kristó a universal scholar, an attribute he always modestly declined in spite of the fact that he not only excelled at different fields of history, but was also familiar with medieval Latin, microphilology, linguistics, archeology, ethnography and literature. In research methodology he was a devotee

of the so-called “complex approach”, without which, he said, it had been impossible to comprehend life in the past as a whole. He also thought that in every scientific field researchers should go as far as possible and it was only when this stage had been achieved that they were advised to compare the outcome of their own research with the results of other fields. Using a term of his own, Gyula Kristó considered himself a “realistic” historian, who, while building on a complexity of historical facts, always aimed at describing historical reality. He contrasted this method with the aims of those historians, who, by selecting historical data at random were rather trying to find evidence to support their own hypothetical ideas. He was convinced that being a good academic meant both a love of the investigated field and great sacrifices on the part of the researcher. In his opinion, an in-depth knowledge of the research field, as well as systematic self-improvement, detailed familiarity with source criticism and research methodology were all indispensable preconditions for real academic achievements. With great diplomatic tact, he was always prepared for professional debate on the condition that true facts, which could be proved, needed to be consistently separated from hypotheses, unproved facts or desired opinion. (This is why he was on several occasions involved in debates with some representatives of Slovak, Croatian and Romanian historiography.) On the basis of these principles, he created an unrivalled quality and quantity of writing. Prior to his death, Gyula Kristó had authored 101 books (with some additional ones in print), and had published over 600 articles, a number of textbooks and other writings for educational purposes. In addition, Gyula Kristó edited several monumental works, including the *Encyclopedia of Early Hungarian History, from the 9th to the 14th Centuries* (Budapest 1994).

In addition to books of his own, Gyula Kristó was the co-author of several works of significance as well. When the research tendency to overemphasise the importance of geographical names in early Hungarian history became dominant, he organised a small research team with the aim of collecting those geographical names which have derived from the names of ancient tribes and clans as well as from persons and, by doing so, was able to prove the real value of these and similar sources.

In the early 1970s he also established a 50-member research team for the investigation of ancient Hungarian history with the aim of carrying out an interdisciplinary investigation into the most ancient period of Hungarian history. Gyula Kristó was the main organiser and a representative of historical sciences on the team. (See the *Introduction to the Sources of Research into Ancient Hungarian History*. 4 vols. Budapest 1976–1982.)

Gyula Kristó played a significant role in the area of source publishing as well. It was he who had the critical edition of the *Thuróczy Chronicle* published, a work which was complemented by two enormous volumes of commentaries (written by Gyula Kristó and several co-authors) in Latin. He was also the editor, author or translator of numerous source publications, including the readers on the history of Békés County, the publications dedicated to the memory of kings Béla III, Ladislav IV (the Cuman) and the Angevin Charles Robert. He also published, in

Hungarian, all the available sources on the topics of the Magyar Conquest and that of the foundation of the Hungarian state. His greatest venture was, most probably, the organisation of that academic community which undertook the task of editing and publishing all the documents of the Angevin period (1301–1382) in a series entitled *Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia*. Since 1990, eighteen volumes have been edited and published of which Gyula Kristó edited seven.

Gyula Kristó was the founder of the doctoral school in Medieval Studies in Szeged. First, as a young teacher, he supported and assisted his students in writing their theses. When the interest of history students was turning toward Medieval Studies, he organized a specialized program for them for the study of the Middle Ages, out of which eventually a postgraduate program (a doctoral school in Medieval Studies) grew when the system of academic degrees was reorganized in Hungary. This school was the first of its kind in the country. He also involved his graduate students in research related to the collection and investigation of Angevin documents and, in order to provide them with more research opportunities, he founded a specialized academic research team.

Not long ago the Szeged Workshop of Medieval Studies, also founded by Gyula Kristó, celebrated the 20th anniversary of its foundation. This organization links those historians who live in or nearby Szeged, who graduated from the University of Szeged, or who simply have developed an interest in Medieval Studies. Their publication is the *Szeged Library of Medieval History* and the aim of the workshop is to provide local researchers with opportunities to publish. In addition, Gyula Kristó worked tirelessly in the field of educational organization in general, and in teaching history and training teachers of history in particular. In 1975, he organized a section within the university's Department of History, which specialized in teaching historical auxiliary sciences, and it ultimately became an independent and autonomous department in 1984. For one and a half decades Gyula Kristó was the head of the Department of Medieval and Early Modern Hungarian History and, for a considerable period of time, he was the head of the Institute of History of the University. In addition to the several awards and prizes he received (Order of Labor in 1985), he was awarded the Albert Szent-Györgyi Prize for his educational activity. As an outstanding researcher, in 1998, he was elected a correspondent fellow of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and in the same year in acknowledgement of his creative and organizational work, Kristó was invested as an Honorary Citizen of Szeged.

It is almost impossible to compile a precise list of the roles Kristó played in public life; herewith we restrict ourselves to mentioning the positions he held at the university. From 1977–1979 he was the pro-dean of the Faculty of Arts at the Attila József University, Szeged); from 1979–1982 the pro-rector, then from 1982–1985 the rector of the University. From 1987–1990 Gyula Kristó worked as the dean of the University's Faculty of Arts.

Gyula Kristó was extraordinarily enriched and fulfilled by his wonderful family life. His wife was always an equal partner who ensured a stable back-

ground. As husband and wife, they brought up three children in harmony and happiness.

Finally, let us quote a list of some of Gyula Kristó's most significant works; those which were published in foreign languages:

- Johannes de Thurocz: *Chronica Hungarorum. Textus*. Budapest 1985. (co-author: Erzsébet Galántai); II/1. *Commentarii* (Ab initiis usque ad annum 1301.) Budapest 1988. (co-author: Elemér Mályusz); II/2. *Commentarii* (Ab anno 1301-usque ad annum 1487). Budapest 1988. (co-author: Elemér Mályusz)
- Die Arpadendynastie. Die Geschichte Ungarns von 895 bis 1301*. Budapest 1993.
- Hungarian History in the Ninth Century*. Szeged 1996.
- Die ersten Könige Ungarns. Die Herrscher der Arpadendynastie*. Herne 1999. (co-author: Ferenc Makk)
- Die Geburt der Ungarischen Nation. Studien zur Geschichte Ungarns 4*. Herne 2000.
- Early Transylvania (895–1324)*. Budapest 2003. (Romanian edition: *Ardealul timpuriu [895–1324]*. Szeged 2004).
- Histoire de la Hongrie Médiévale. I. Le Temps des Arpads*. Rennes 2000.

Professor Kristó's death is a tragic loss for his family, friends, students, academics, historians and fellow teachers, for the whole university, the local community and for all those who knew and respected him. May he rest in peace.

LÁSZLÓ SZEGFŰ

The Ugri Allies of Heraclius*

LÁSZLÓ BALOGH



To reconstruct the early history of the Hungarians who conquered the Carpathian basin at the end of the ninth century is a complicated matter in many respects. One of the key problems of the research is the identification of the names applied to the Hungarians in the Latin, Greek, Muslim, and Slavic sources. Instead of *Magyars*, the self-designation of the Hungarians, contemporary or later authors used their own external designations. These external designations (*Turk*, *Onoghur/Hungarus*, *Bashkir*, etc.) were the names of other ethnic groups. Thus the identification of these names with the Hungarians requires a special study of the relevant passage of the sources.¹

* I am grateful to István Ferincz and Ferenc Makk who helped me in clarifying the philological problems of the Slavic and Byzantine sources.

¹ A selection of the literature on the ethnic names assigned to the Hungarians is: J. Darkó, "A magyarokra vonatkozó népnevek a bizánci íróknál." [Ethnonyms referring to *Magyars* in the works of Byzantine authors] *Akadémiai Értesítő a Nyelv- és Széptudományok Köréből* 21 (1910), 283–357; J. Darkó, "Die auf die Ungarn bezüglichen Volksnamen bei den Byzantinern." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 21 (1912), 472–487; Gy. Miskolczi, "Darkó Jenő: A magyarokra vonatkozó népnevek a bizánczi íróknál." [J. Darkó, Ethnonyms referring to *Magyars* in the works of Byzantine authors (review)] *Történeti Szemle* 3 (1914), 387–396; B. Hóman, "A magyar nép neve a középkori latinságban." [The Hungarian ethnonym in the medieval latinity] *Történeti Szemle* (1917), 129–158, 240–258; Gy. Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása*. [The making of the Conquering *Magyars*] Budapest 1930; L. Ligeti, "A magyar nép mongol kori nevei (magyar, baskír, király)." [Magyar names from the Mongol period (*Magyar*, *Bashkir*, *király*)] *Magyar Nyelv* 60 (1964), 385–404; Gy. Moravcsik, "Byzantinische Humanisten über den Volksnamen Türk," in Gy. Moravcsik, *Studia Byzantina*. Budapest 1967, 383–385; Gy. Moravcsik, "Die archaisierenden Namen der Ungarn in Byzanz," in Gy. Moravcsik *Studia Byzantina*. Budapest 1967, 320–325; T. Lewicki, "Les noms des hongrois et de la Hongrie chez les médiévaux géographes arabes et persans." *Folia Orientalia* 19 (1978), 35–55; T. Olajos, "Felhasználatlan bizánci forrás a magyarság korai történetéhez." [Unappropriated Byzantine sources to the early history of the *Magyars*] *Antik Tanulmányok* 33 (1987–88), 24–27; Gy. Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása*. [The ethnogenesis of the conquering *Magyars*] Budapest 1991. 2nd rev. edn; I. Elter, "A magyar kalandó-

The first monument of the Russian chronicles, the *Russian Primary Chronicle* (*Povesty vremennih let*),² written at the beginning of the twelfth century, contains a description of the early Hungarians. Recently Gyula Kristó and Imre H. Tóth have published an article on the passages on the Hungarians before the conquest (895–896).³ According to the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, Oleg captured Kiev in 882 and killed Askold and Dir. The place names of Ugorskoje and the castle of Ol'ma are mentioned in the description of the events. The latter name was linked with the Hungarians ruler Álmos. Kristó and H. Tóth proved that Ol'ma cannot be identified with Álmos because the names cannot be connected and Ol'ma was a Christian. The place name Ugorskoje, can refer not only to the Hungarians of the second half of the ninth century, but also to a merchant colony in the vicinity of Kiev in the eleventh century. Kristó and H. Tóth studied the passages on the Black and White Hungarians (*Ugri*) and analyzed the account of the *Russian Primary Chronicle* on the *Ugri*,⁴ who appeared in the seventh century on the fringe of the Byzantine Empire. The aim of this study is to identify the name *Ugri* on the basis of its historical and philological background. The relevant passage of the *Russian Primary Chronicle* is quoted first:

“Now while the Slavs dwelt along the Danube, as we have said, there came from among the Scythians, that is, from the Khazars, a people called Bulgars who settled on the Danube and oppressed the Slavs. Afterwards came the White Ugrians, who inherited the Slavic country. *These Ugrians appeared under the Emperor Heraclius, warring on Chosroes, King of Persia.* The Avars, who attacked Heraclius the Emperor, nearly capturing him, also lived at this time.”⁵

záskor arab forrásai.” [Arabic sources of the period of Magyar Raids] in *A honfoglaláskor írott forrásai*. eds. L. Kovács and L. Veszprémy, *A honfoglalásról sok szemmel*, Vol. 2. Budapest 1996, 173–180; T. Olajos, “Contingent hongrois au service de Byzance en Italie.” in *Les Hongrois et l'Europe. Conquête et intégration. Textes réunis par S. Csernus et K. Korompay*, Paris 1999, 223–229; A. Róna-Tas, *Hungarians and Europe in the Early Middle Ages. An Introduction to Early Hungarian History*. Budapest 1999, 271–313; I. Zimonyi, “Why were the Hungarians Referred to as Turks in the Early Muslim Sources?” in *Néptörténet–Nyelvtörténet. A 70 éves Róna-Tas András köszöntése*. eds. L. Károly and É. Kincses Nagy, Szeged 2001, 201–212.

² Cf. L. Müller, *Handbuch zur Nestorchronik*. I/1–4. München 1977–1986; M. Font, “Az óorosz évkönyvek első szerkesztése és forrásai.” [The first compilation and sources of the Russian Chronicles] in *A honfoglaláskor írott forrásai*. eds. L. Kovács and L. Veszprémy, *A honfoglalásról sok szemmel*, Vol. 2. Budapest 1996, 119–129.

³ Gy. Kristó and I. H. Tóth, “Az orosz évkönyvek néhány magyar vonatkozásáról.” [On some Hungarian references of the Russian Annals] *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae. Acta Historica* 103 (1996), 21–29.

⁴ I use the form ‘Ugri’ as the name assigned to the Hungarians in Slavic sources.

⁵ *The Russian Primary Chronicle*. Trans. and ed. S. H. Cross and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, Cambridge 1953, 55; Edition: *Полное собрание русских летописей. I. Лаврентьевская летопись. вып. 1. Повесть временных лет*. Ленинград 1926, 11; Hungarian translation by I. Ferincz, *A honfoglalás korának írott forrásai*. [Written sources of the Conquest period] ed. Gy. Kristó, Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár 7. Szeged 1995, 171–172.

The interpretation and translation of the italicized sentence was of crucial importance. According to Hodinka, Kniezsa and Golden the *Ugri* appeared in the days of Heraclius, and the emperor waged war against the Persians.⁶ Ferincz called attention to the fact that the text must be translated as follows: "These Ugri appeared in the time of Heraclius, who (they=Ugrians) attacked Chosroes, the Persian emperor."⁷

There is a long debate on the identification of the *Ugri*, who attacked the Persian king Chosroes. Are the *Ugri* really Hungarians or did the Russian author identify the people mentioned in his source with the Hungarians?

According to Kristó and H. Tóth the name *Ugri* referred to the Onoghurs, a Turkic people mentioned in Eastern Europe in the fifth through the seventh century. They suggest that the author of the Russian chronicle identified the Onoghurs with the *Ugri*, which is the external designation of Hungarians in the Russian sources. To complicate the matter the ethnic name *Ugri* derived from the Turkic Onoghur. This is corroborated by the fact that the ruler of the Onoghur-Bulgars, Kuvrat, who revolted against the Avars and founded an empire in the East European steppe, was a contemporary of Heraclius.⁸

Bartha provided three different solutions. Firstly, he regarded the White *Ugri* as the Russian translation of Turkic ethnic name, the Saraghurs, "White Oghurs."

⁶ "Ezek az ugrok pedig Heraklius császár idejében kezdének hírre kapni, a ki hadat viselt Chosroessel, a perzsák királyával." [These Ugri became famous in the days of Heraclius, who waged war against Chosroes, the king of the Persian.] *A magyar honfoglalás kútfoi*. [Sources of the Hungarian Conquest period] eds. Gy. Pauler and S. Szilágyi Budapest 1900, 367; "Ezek az ugrok pedig Iraklij császár idejében tünnek fel a ki Chozroj persi császár ellen hadakozott." [These Ugri appeared in the days of Heraclius, who waged war against Chosroes, the king of the Persian.] A. Hodinka *Az orosz évkönyvek magyar vonatkozásai*. [Hungarian references of the Russian Annals] Budapest 1916, 33; "Ezek a magyarok ugyanis Herakleiosz császár korában jelentek meg, aki megtámadta Hozdroj perzsa császárt." [These Hungarians appeared in the days of Heraclius, who attacked Chosroes, the king of the Persian] *A magyarok elődeiről és a honfoglalásról*. [On the ancestors of the Magyars and the Conquest] ed. Gy. Györffy, 3rd edn. Budapest 1986, 126; Cf. Golden: "...for it was these Ugrians who began to be present during the time of the Emperor Heraclius while he was at war with the Persian Emperor, Khusraw." P. B. Golden, "Nomads in the Sedentary World: The Case of Pre-Chinggisid Rus' and Georgia." in *Nomads in the Sedentary World*. eds. A. M. Khazanov and A. Wink Richmond 2001, 25.

⁷ *A honfoglalás korának írott forrásai*, 172, note 532. Cf. *A magyar honfoglalás kútfoi*, 367. (Latin translation); K. Szabó, *A magyar vezérek kora. Árpádtól Szent Istvánig*. [The ages of the Magyar princes. From Árpád to Saint Stephen] Pest 1869, 31, note 1.

⁸ Kristó-H. Tóth, "Az orosz évkönyvek," 26; Gy. Kristó-F. Makk, *A kilencedik és a tizedik század története*. [A history of the ninth and the tenth centuries] Budapest 2001, 20–21, (the relevant part was written by Gy. Kristó). The background and chronology of the formation of Kuvrat's empire are debated: P. B. Golden, "The peoples of the south Russian steppes." in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*. ed. D. Sinor, Cambridge 1990, 261–262; A. Róna-Tas "Where was Khuvrat's Bulgharia?" *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 53 (2000), 1–22.

These people were recorded in Byzantine sources in the fifth century. Secondly, the Oghurs of the seventh century were differentiated with the attribute white in contrast to the Black *Ugri*, who were the contemporary Hungarians. In this case the Russian chronicler connected the *Ugri* mentioned during the rule of Heraclius with the Hungarians.⁹ Thirdly, Bartha accepted the authenticity of the Russian record and suggested that the Hungarians took part in the war against Persia as auxiliaries of the Khazar army, which was the ally of Heraclius.¹⁰

It was also supposed that the annalist used the term *Ugri* for those Hungarians who moved to the steppe region of Eastern Europe after the fall of the Onoghur-Bulghar Empire.¹¹ According to László, the *Ugri* were one of the tribal confederations among the Onoghur-Bulghars and they were a Hungarian-speaking ethnic group.¹² Szabó and his followers were of the opinion that the *Ugri* must have been the Khazars,¹³ while Horváth regarded the *Ugri* rather as Huns.¹⁴

The above-mentioned identifications were based on linguistic arguments or interpretations of the historical background. The source of the quoted passage in the *Russian Primary Chronicle* is not the theme of this investigation, although there are some hints as to the source of information if the sentences before and after the quoted passage are taken into consideration. There are two well-attested events in Byzantine sources: Asparuch crossed the Danube with his Bulgars and settled in the Balkans around 680,¹⁵ and the Byzantine emperor, Heraclius, had peace talks with the Khagan of the Avars in 623, who almost captured the emperor during the talks.¹⁶ Thus, this passages was copied and translated from a Byzantine chronicle.

The author of the *Russian Primary Chronicle* mentions the *Chronicle* of Georgius Monachus as a source of information in connection with the written law and customs of the nations. The relevant passage was attributed to the Slavic transla-

⁹ A. Bartha, *A magyar nép őstörténete*. [The ancient history of the Magyar people] Budapest 1988, 366. Cf. *A magyarok elődeiről*, 7.

¹⁰ A. Bartha, *A IX–X. századi magyar társadalom*. [The ninth–tenth-century Hungarian society] Budapest 1968, 82–83, 103, note 1.

¹¹ *A magyarok elődeiről*, 284, note 249.

¹² Gy. László, *A 'kettős honfoglalás'*. [The "double conquest"] Budapest 1978, 139–140, 146.

¹³ Szabó, *A magyar vezérek kora*, 30, 31, note 1; G. Kuun, *Relationum Hungarorum cum oriente gentibusque orientalis originis. Historia antiquissima*. I. Claudiopolis 1892, 122; J. Thury, "A magyarok eredete, őshazája és vándorlásai." [The origin, homeland and wandering of the Magyars] *Századok* 30 (1896), 691.

¹⁴ Ifj. J. Horváth, "Székesfehérvár korai történetének néhány kérdése az írásos források alapján." [Some problems of the early history of Székesfehérvár on the basis of written sources] in *Székesfehérvár évszázadai. I. Az államalapítás kora*. ed. A. Kralovánszky, Székesfehérvár 1967, 101.

¹⁵ V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarische Periode der bulgarischen Geschichte*. Amsterdam 1981, 173–182; J. V. A. Jr. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans*. Ann Arbor 1989, 66–69.

¹⁶ S. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai 557-től 806-ig*. [Sources of history of the Avars from 557 to 806] *Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár* 12. Budapest 1998, 164–169.

tion¹⁷ of the Greek *Chronicle* of Georgius Monachus¹⁸ (Georgius Hamartolus) in the notes to the critical edition of the *Russian Primary Chronicle* and its translations. Senga called attention to the fact that the name of the people that waged war against the Persians was Türk in the corresponding Greek text. He supposed that the Russian translator had no doubt about the identifying the ethnic names 'Ugri' and 'Türk' with the Hungarians in the Byzantine sources in the tenth through twelfth centuries. In this case, it seems to be a change of names; the ethnic name 'Türk' of the original Greek text was replaced by *Ugri*, both referring to Hungarians.¹⁹ Thus Senga explained the change of names with the confusion of two external names for the Hungarians but he neglected the historical dimension of the problem. The translator did not take into consideration that the name 'Türk' designated other peoples before it was used for the Hungarians in Byzantine sources.

The author of the *Russian Primary Chronicle* took the relevant sentence²⁰ from the Slavic translation of Georgius Monachus, which can be dated to the tenth or eleventh century. This text contains the following passage: "After Chosroes, Persian emperor had sent his general against the Byzantines, Heraclius, the Byzantine emperor started a counter-attack calling the help of the *Ugri*."²¹

The Slavic translation can be checked because the Greek original of Georgius Monachus has come down to us. The Greek text contains the same description of the events; the only difference is that Heraclius' allies were called Türks and not *Ugri*.²² Georgius Monachus compiled his work in the ninth century using earlier Byzantine chronicles for the history of the seventh century. The source of the relevant part²³ of Georgius Monachus was the *Breviarium* of Patriarch Nicepho-

¹⁷ Gy. Moravcsik, *A magyar történet bizánci forrásai*. [Byzantine sources of the Hungarian history in the Arpadian period] Budapest 1934, 106–107; J. Karayannopoulos-G. Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324–1453)*. Zweiter Halbband, Vierter Hauptteil Wiesbaden 1982, 342–343.

¹⁸ *A magyar honfoglalás kútforrásai*, 367, note 3, 369, note 2; *Повесть временных лет*. II. Примечания статьи и комментарии Д. Ш. Лихачева Под редакцией В. П. Адриановой-Перетц, Москва–Ленинград 1950, 224; *A honfoglalás korának írott forrásai*, 172, note 522.

¹⁹ T. Senga, "Some Problems of Magyar–East Slavic Relations in the Ninth Century." *Uralica* 2 (1974), 52–53.

²⁰ "си бо Оугри почаша быти пр-Ираклии цари иже находиша Хоздрою царя Перскаго..." ПСРЛ 11.

²¹ "паки Хоздрою нечестивыи посла етера князя на Греки ... Царь же Ираклии ... на Персы исполчися, еще же призвавъ Оугры на помощь..." The edition of the text: В. М. Истринь Хроника Георгія Амартола въ древнемъ славянорусскомъ переводѣ. I. Петроградъ 1920 (reprint 1972), 434. cf. ПВЛ 224.

²² "Ἐἶτα πάλιν Χοσρόης ὁ δυσσεβῆς ἀποστείλας ἕτερον ἀρχοντα κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ὀνόματι Σάρβαρον μετὰ πλείστης δυνάμεως... ὁ δὲ γε βασιλεὺς Ἡράκλειος... κατὰ Περσῶν ἐστράτευσεν. καὶ οἱ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Τοῦρκον εἰς συμμαχίαν κατὰ πάροδον, ἐξ οὗ καὶ φύλαρχον καὶ πλῆθος Τοῦρκων ἄρας, ἐξώρμησε κατὰ Περσῶν ἐν δυνάμει βαρεῖα σφόδρα διὰ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου." A. C. Boor, *Georgii monachi chronicon*. II. Lipsiae 1904, 670.

²³ Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*. II. Zweite durchgearbeitete Auflage 1958, 321; Moravcsik, *A magyar történet bizánci forrásai*, 107.

rus, who gave a detailed description on the Türks waging war against the Persians as allies of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius.²⁴

After exploring the affiliation of the relevant texts, it can be concluded that the original version was recorded by Patriarch Nicephorus. Finally, two questions need further investigation: the historical background of the relevant fragments and the explanation of the Russian translator's replacement of the ethnic name 'Türk' with 'Ugri'.

In 627 the Byzantine emperor Heraclius made an alliance with the ruler of the Western Türk Khaganate, T'ung Yabghu, against the Persian ruler Chosroes II. In accordance with the treaty the nomadic ruler sent Khazar auxiliaries to the army of Heraclius. These troops are called either Türks or Khazars in the sources. Patriarch Nicephorus used the term Türks as the allies of Heraclius to mean the military strength of the Western Türk Khaganate, which consisted of Khazar auxiliaries.²⁵

As for the change of the names in the Russian sources, its explanation can be found in the Slavic translations of Greek sources. The Slavic translators of the Greek texts replaced the name 'Türk' assigned to the Hungarians with its Slavic equivalent, 'Ugri'.²⁶ Following this principle, the translators replaced the original

²⁴ Nikephoros Patriarch of Constantinople, *Short History*. Text, translation, and commentary by C. Mango, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 13. Washington 1990, 54–57.

²⁵ K. Czeglédy "Herakleios török szövetségesei," [The Turkish allies of Heracleios] *Magyar Nyelv* 49 (1953), 319–323; D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*. Princeton 1954, 28–33; P. B. Golden, *Khazar Studies. An Historico-Philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars*. I. *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* 25/1. Budapest 1980, 51, 218–219; M. Bíró, "Georgian Sources on the Caucasian Campaign of Heracleios." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 33 (1981), 127–132; D. Sinor, "The establishment and dissolution of the Türk empire," in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, ed. D. Sinor, Cambridge 1990, 308–309; M. Dobrovits, "The nomadic ally of Heraclius." *Chronica* 3 (2003), 3–8.

²⁶ *Georgius Monachus Continuatus* recorded that Emperor Leo the Wise sent an embassy to the Türks ('Hungarians'; Τοῦρκοις; Sl. Vøgrom, Ugri) in order to hire them to attack the Bulgars. The Türks (Τοῦρκοι; Sl. Vøgre, Ugri, Ugy) penetrated Bulgharia and obtained tremendous booty. Then the Türks (Τοῦρκοι; Sl. Turci že iže i Vøgre, Ugri) asked the emperor to ransom the Bulghar prisoners of war. He fulfilled it. Simeon, the Bulghar ruler, smote the retreating Türks (Τοῦρκοι; Sl. Ugy). Later, when the Türks ('Hungarians'; Τοῦρκοι; Sl. Ugri) learnt the death of Simeon, they planned to attack the Bulgars. The Türks ('Hungarians'; Τοῦρκοι; Sl. Ugrskaa) waged war against Byzantium and plundered Thrace. Then the Türks ('Hungarians'; Τοῦρκοι; Sl. Ugri) again penetrated the Byzantine Empire (Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet bizánci forrásai*, 59–60. Ioannes Zonaras mentioned that the Türks ('Hungarians'; Τοῦρκοι; Sl. Vøgro) sheathed the sword for a short time against the Byzantine Empire, when Bulču, one of their chiefs, was baptized. Afterwards Svjatoslav, a Russian prince, attacked Byzantium with an army strengthened by Bulgars, Pechenegs and Türks ('Hungarians'; Τοῦρκοι; Sl. Vøgry) (Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet*, 100–101). In spite of these examples, Király took it for granted that the Slavic translators did not change the ethnic names during their works. P. Király, *A magyarok említése a 811. évi események*

Türk with *Ugri* in cases when Türk was not used for the Hungarians, but for the genuine Türks or other Turkic speaking peoples. In this particular case such a misinterpretation is probable. The Slavic translator of Georgius Monachus translated the name 'Türk' as 'Ugri' from the Greek original. By his time the Türks and their empire had disappeared more than three hundred years earlier. He had no idea of the fact that the contemporary Türks of the Byzantine sources were not identical with the Türks mentioned as the allies of Heraclius. Accordingly, when translating the Greek source, he identified the Greek Türks referring to the Hungarians in the tenth and eleventh century and gave the equivalent Slavic term 'Ugri'. The author of the *Russian Primary Chronicle* used this Slavic translation and copied the name from it. The relevant fragment of the *Russian Primary Chronicle* belongs to a later Slavic translation of Greek chronicles, which preserved a piece of information on the military strength of the Western Türk Khaganate and that cannot be connected with Hungarian history.

óbolgár leírásában. [The mention of Magyars in the description of ancient Bulghar events in 811] A Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság Kiadványai 148. Budapest 1977, 38.

The Identification of K.r.h in the Passage of Ibn Rusta

SZABOLCS POLGÁR



There are a number of sources about the relations between Eurasian nomads and sedentary societies. The Crimean Peninsula was a typical meeting place of cultures and civilizations in Eastern Europe. On the southern part of the peninsula rich natural resources can be found. On the seacoast, Greek colonies came into being as early as the Classical Age; the inhabitants engaged in fishing and trade. They established commercial relations with the "barbarians" living north of them. As a consequence of political changes on the East European steppe some nomadic peoples disappeared and others emerged, but contacts between nomads and these trading cities were not interrupted. In the ninth century the Hungarians were the nomads who traded with the Greek cities of the Crimean Peninsula. This study adds some notes to the study of the commercial ties between Hungarians and Byzantium mentioned in the "Hungarian Chapter" of the book by a Muslim author, Ibn Rusta.

Ibn Rusta was a geographer born in Isphahan in the second half of the ninth century; he described the peoples of Eastern Europe in his work titled *The Book of Precious Pearls*. This book was written between 903 and 930.¹ The source of the "Hungarian chapter" of the book was the work of al-Ġayhānī, the Samanide wazir (from 913) entitled *The Book of Routes and Kingdoms*. Ġayhānī's book has not survived; its contents are known from the copies made by his disciples and followers. One of them was Ibn Rusta, who wrote about the Hungarians (*maġġariyya*):

They attack the Ṣaqlāb and they bring them as captives on the seacoast until they come to the ascent of the country of the Greeks called Karkh, and it is said, that al-Khazar in former days was surrounded by a ditch as a defence against the Magyars and other nations adjacent to their country. When the Magyars go with the captives to Karkh, the Greeks come out to them and they trade there and de-

¹ I. Ju. Kračkovskij, *Arabskaja geografičeskaja literatura. Sočinenija*. [Arabic geographical literature. Collected works] T. 4. Moskva-Leningrad 1957, 159-160.

liver over them the slaves and take Greek brocades and carpets and other Greek goods.²

The other authors who used the work of al-Ġayhānī did not mention the name *K.rh̄*.³ Ibn Rusta's work has been preserved in only one manuscript, copied in the thirteenth century.⁴

A number of solutions have already emerged to identify the city mentioned as *K.rh̄*: 1) *Karkina* on the coast of the present-day Karkinit bight,⁵ 2) *Kertch* in the eastern part of the Crimean Peninsula,⁶ 3) the city *S.m.k.r̄š/S.mqūš* or SMKRC (*Tamatarcha*, *Tmutorokan'*) lying on the Taman Peninsula,⁷ 4) *Cherson* on the western coast of the Crimean peninsula,⁸ 5) *Careon*, mentioned by Iordanes.⁹ The city

² T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów słowiańszczyzny*. [Arabic sources on the history of the Slavs] T. 2/2. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1977, 34, 8–12; Cf. C. A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*. Cambridge 1930, 208–209; H. Göckenjan–I. Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte über die Völker Osteuropas und Zentralasiens im Mittelalter*. *Die Ġayhānī-Tradition*. Wiesbaden 2001, 73–74 (German translation).

³ Gardizī (eleventh century): "The Hungarians are fire-worshipper[s] (ateš-parats) and go [forth] on raids against the Saqlābs and Rūs. They bring back slave[s] (or captive[s], barde) thence, take them to the Byzantine [country] and sell them." A. P. Martinez, "Gardizī's two chapters on the Turks," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* (=AEMA) 2 (1982), 161–162; Marwazī (twelfth century): "They overcome those of of the Slavs and Rūs who are their neighbours, carrying off captives whom they sell in Rūm." V. Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Tāhir Marwazi on China, the Turks and India*, Arabic text with English translation and commentary. London 1942, 22 (Ar.), 35 (Eng.); 'Aufī (thirteenth century): "Between them and the Saqlāb goes on a perpetual war about religion and they are constantly victorious over the (Slavs), and taking prisoners from them carry them to Rūm and sell them." V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam. The Regions of the World. A Persian Geography* 372 A. H. 982 A. D. E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, New Series XI. London 1937, 324.

⁴ Göckenjan–Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte*, 34–35.

⁵ D. Hvolson, *Izvestija o hozarah, burtasah, bolgarah, madjarah, slavjanah i rusah Abu-Ali Ahmeda ben Omar ibn Dasta*. [Reports on Khazars, Burtas, Bulghars, Magyars, Slavs and the Rus by Abu-Ali Ahmeda ben Omar ibn Dasta] Sankt Peterburg 1869, 121.

⁶ E.g. K. Czeglédy, "A magyarság Dél-Oroszországban." [Magyars in South Russia] in *A magyarság őstörténete* ed. L. Ligeti, Budapest 1943, 114; T. Lewicki, "Świat słowiański w pisarzy arabskich oczach." [The Slavic world in the eyes of Arabic authors] *Slavia Antiqua* 2 (1949–1950), 348; J. Ferluga, "Der byzantinische Handel nach dem Norden im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert." in *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa. Teil 4. Der Handel der Karolinger- und Wikingerzeit*. Hrsg. K. Düwel, H. Jankuhn et al., Göttingen 1987, 633; Gy. Kristó, *Hungarian History in the Ninth Century*. Szeged 1996, 169; C. Zuckerman, "Les Hongrois au pays de Lebedia: Une nouvelle puissance aux confins de Byzance et de la Khazarie ca. 836–889." in *Byzantium at War (9-12th century)*. The National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research, International Symposium 4. Athens 1997, 68, 69.

⁷ J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*. Leipzig 1903, 162–163.

⁸ E.g. I. Zichy, *A magyarság őstörténete és műveltsége a honfoglalásig*. [Prehistory and culture of the Magyars prior to the Conquest] *A Magyar Nyelvtudomány Kézikönyve* I/5. Budapest 1923, 82; Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars*, Budapest 1970, 47; I.

Gerrhos in the vicinity of the river Dnieper¹⁰ and also *Hârşova* on the lower Danube have also been taken into consideration.¹¹

The identification of *K.rĥ* is based on linguistic and philological arguments. As for the linguistic aspect, none of the above-mentioned cities can be identified without difficulties with the name reconstructed from the written form *K.r.ĥ*. The name *K.rĥ* can be emended with the transformation of a single character as *K.rġ* in Arabic writing, which corresponds to the phonetic form *Kerč*. The form *Karġ* (*Kerġ*) is found in sources about medieval Kertch.¹²

According to Loránd Benkő the name *Karkina*, mentioned by Classical authors,¹³ had the form **Kark*, "which contained the root of the name if we omit the suffix." A settlement called *Karga* still exists on the Karkinit bight; the name might be in connected with that of the former city of Karkina. The name *Karga* can be identified with the Turkic word *karya* meaning 'crow, falcon, raven', formed through the mediation of the Turkish-speaking population.¹⁴

There is a solution in which no emendation is required. Gyula Németh referred to the possibility that the name *K.rĥ* is not necessarily the name of the city. *Karĥ* place-names existed in Islamic countries; among others, one of the commercial quarters of Baghdad was called *Karĥ*, and it may have influenced Ibn Rusta (or the copier of his text) when he set down the name of the Black Sea port.¹⁵ The word *karĥ* meaning 'fortified city, city' in Arabic is an loan word of Aramean origin. It was attached to the names of different cities in the Islamic world. The most famous ones were *Karĥ Bagdad* and *Karĥ Samarrā*.¹⁶ The word *karĥ* also exists in modern Persian meaning 'mansion, habitation, turreted building'.¹⁷ In this case

Bóna, *A magyarok és Európa a 9–10. században*. [The Hungarians and Europe in the ninth–tenth centuries] Budapest 2000, 12–13.

⁹ E. Č. Skržinskaja, *Jordan o proishoždenii i dejanijah getov. Getica*. [Jordanes on the origin of the Goths: Getica] (Vstup., text, perevod, komment). Moskva 1960, 135; Ju. A. Kulakovskij, "K voprosu ob imeni goroda Kerči." [To the question on the name of the town of Kerch] in *Sbornik statej v čest' F. E. Korša*, Moskva 1896, 194–199, cf. Skržinskaja, *Getica*, 203, note 94.

¹⁰ Gy. Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása*. [Ethnogenesis of the Magyar people prior to the Conquest] Budapest 1930, 157.

¹¹ J. Bromberg, "Toponymical and historical Miscellanies on medieval Dobrudja, Bessarabia and Moldo-Wallachia." *Byzantion* 13 (1938), 48.

¹² V. V. Bartol'd, "Statji iz Enciklopedii Islama (Kerč)." [Entries from the Encyclopedia of Islam] in *Sočinenija* T. 3. Otv. red. A. M. Belenickij, Moskva 1965, 458–459.

¹³ E.g. Ptolemaios: C. Müller (rec.), *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*. Vol. 1, Parisiis 1883, 432, line 6.

¹⁴ L. Benkő, "Zur Geschichte des Ungartums von der Landnahme im Zusammenhang mit Leved und Etelköz." *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 34/3–4 (1984), 188–190.

¹⁵ Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarság*, 157. Németh did not repeat this idea in the second edition of his book in 1991.

¹⁶ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. red. B. Lewis–Ch. Pellat–E. Vandonzel, Vol. 4, Leiden 1978, 652–653.

¹⁷ F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian–English Dictionary*. London 1892, Vol. 2, 1021.

the *karḥ* of Ibn Rusta fully corresponds to the Arabic and Persian word *karḥ*. The Hungarians went to the 'city,' to the *karḥ*. It is hard to explain, however, why the Muslim author used a word characteristic of the Islamic world to describe a non-Islamic territory. It may be concluded that the name of the city might have sounded similarly to the Arabic *karḥ*, and this may have influenced the author. It is also possible that the name had originally been copied erroneously. Ibn Rusta acquired his information about the Hungarians of the ninth century from the work of al-Ġayhānī, whose book was founded upon earlier works, e.g. Ibn Hurdābih's *The Book of Routes and Kingdoms*.¹⁸ After all, new geographical data were transmitted to Muslim scholars by travelers and tradesmen, and Arabic is not always capable of reproducing correctly the phonetic form of a foreign word. Moreover, it is also possible that in this case a foreign word was translated into Arabic.

The other side of the identification is provided by the consideration of historical and geographical aspects. In order to be able to locate and identify the city several criteria have to be met simultaneously: 1) The city had to have existed during the course of the ninth century. 2) The city had to be on Byzantine territory, or under Byzantine influence and there had to be a port in its vicinity. 3) The city had to be close to the habitat of the Hungarians.

As for the first criterion, there is no information about *Karkina*, *Careon*, *Gerrhos* or *Hârşova* in the ninth century. The name *Kertch* does not appear in the ninth century (with the exception of the questionable information provided by Ibn Rusta).¹⁹ The future Kertch is still mentioned at that time by its classical name (*Bosporos*) in the sources. However, there are reliable pieces of information about *Cherson* and *Samqūš* (*Samkarš*)²⁰ from that period.

Among the cities which must have existed in the ninth century, *Samqūš*/*Samkarš* was not in the Crimea, but in the western part of the Taman Peninsula; this territory was under Khazar rule at the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth century. The Khazars occupied this territory at the end of the seventh century; it is also possible that one of the residences of the Khazar khagan was

¹⁸ Göckenjan-Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte*, 28-34.

¹⁹ *Kerč* is mentioned in the *Armenian Synaxarion*, during the reign of Constantine V (741-775), but this work was compiled in the thirteenth century, and the name *Kertč* is probably an interpolation. G. Bayan (publ. et trad.), "Le Synaxaire Arménien de Ter-Israël." in *Patrologia Orientalis*, Tom. 21, eds. R. Griffin-F. Nau, Paris 1930, 872; N. Adonz, "Note sur les Synaxaires Arméniens." *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, ser 3. T. 4 (1924), 211-218; D. Ludwig, *Struktur und Gesellschaft des Chazaren-Reiches im Licht der schriftlichen Quellen*. Münster 1982, I, 252, II, 52-53, note 264.

²⁰ *Samkarš*/*Samkūš*: Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadānī (end of the ninth century), T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów słowiańszczyzny*. [Arabic sources to the history of the Slavs] T. 2/1. Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1969, 28; the city was mentioned in the tenth century: the *Joseph-letter*: SMKRC, P. K. Kokovcov, *Evrejsko-hazarskaja pereziska v 10 veke*. [Jewish-Khazar correspondence in the tenth century] Leningrad 1932, 31, 102; the *Schechter-text*: SMKRY/SMBRYW: N. Golb-O. Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century*. Ithaca and London 1982, 114-115, 128, 137.

situated here.²¹ *Bosporos* (Kertch) is situated opposite the Taman Peninsula, in the eastern part of the Crimea; it is difficult to decide whether it belonged to the Byzantine Empire or whether Byzantine influence could have been exerted there. Constantine Zuckerman supposed that the Kertch peninsula was Byzantine territory in the 870s. This is proved by one epistle of Patriarch Photios.²² According to Thomas S. Noonan the Kertch peninsula was already under Khazar rule by that time. From the *Joseph Letter* and archaeological sources it can be concluded that most of the Crimea was under Khazar control in the second half of the ninth century and the first half of the tenth century.²³ It is not certain that the city of Bosporos itself was a part of the khaganate at that time, but Greek people, subjects of the Byzantine Empire, must have lived there as a Christian church existed in the settlement.²⁴ Cities of the *Climata*, the southern coast of the Crimea, had a mixed population. A great number of people came from the steppe settled there. Wealth exerted a great attraction for the nomads and a special culture evolved there.

As for Cherson, it was a part of the Byzantine Empire at that time; from the 840s onwards it served as the centre for the *strategos* of the *Cherson Thema*.²⁵ The most important centre of the Crimea at that time was Cherson, with a busy port. *Kommerkiaroi* functioned in the city, supervising trade.²⁶ Cherson may have been a state-controlled free-trade area (a so-called *mitaton*), which must have been an attractive destination not only for the nomads but for the Russians living north of the steppe, who also traded with the inhabitants of Cherson.

Where were the borders of Hungarian territory in that period? According to information provided by the Ġayhanī tradition in the second half of the ninth century, the land of the Hungarians was between the (lower) Danube and the Etil

²¹ Ludwig, *Struktur und Gesellschaft*, 252.

²² Zuckerman, *Les Hongrois au pays de Lebedia*, 68–69; in Russian: “Vengry v strane Lebedii: novaja deržava na granicah Vizantii i Hazarii ok. 836–889 g.” *Materialy po arheologii, istorii i ètnografii Tavrii*, Vol. 6, Simferopol’ 1998, 675–676.

²³ E. g. Th. S. Noonan, “The Khazar-Byzantine World of the Crimea in the Middle Ages: the religious dimension, *AEMA* 10 (1998–1999), 208–212; I. A. Baranov, *Tavrika v èpohu rannego srednevekov’ja* (*saltovo-majackaja kul’tura*). [Tavrika in the early middle ages] Kiev 1990, 54, *passim*. According to Anastasios Bibliothecarius, Cherson was in the vicinity of the land of the Khazars, i.e. the western border of the khaganate reached the western part of the Crimean Peninsula. *Anastasii Bibliothecarii epistolae sive praefationes* 15 (after March 1875), rec. E. Perels et G. Laehr, *MGH Epistolae Karolini aevi* T. 5. München 1978, 437.

²⁴ C. f. A. L. Jakobson, *Srednevekovyj Krym*. [Medieval Crimea] Moskva–Leningrad 1964, 53.

²⁵ On the organization of the Cherson Thema: C. Zuckerman, “Short Notes. Two Notes on the early History of the Thema of Cherson.” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 21 (1997), 210–222.

²⁶ A. I. Romančuk, “Torgovlja Hersonesa v 7–12 vv.” [The trade of Kherson in seventh–twelfth centuries] *Byzantino-Bulgarica* 7 (1981), 319–331; A. I. Romančuk, “Cherson im Mittelalter: städtische Funktionen und ihre Widerspiegelung in den Quellen.” *Byzantinoslavica* 53 (1992), 205; Ferluga, *Der byzantinische Handel*, 631, 633.

River. On the basis of the other most reliable source, the *De administrando imperio* (Chapter 38), the Hungarians resided in the territory called Etelköz in the same period. As to the localization of the Hungarian habitat there are several notions; the greatest difficulty is posed by the definition of the eastern borders of the country.²⁷ Which river can be identified with the Etil mentioned by Muslim sources? The early Muslim literature on geography uses the river name Etil referring to the Volga River.²⁸ However, it is improbable that the dwellings of Hungarians in the second half of the ninth century could have included the huge territory between the Volga and the Danube. The Volga region belonged to the Khazar Khaganate, and to the north of it a people called *Burtas* lived on the western bank of the river. Hungarian territory cannot have extended as far as the Volga River. According to other opinions the eastern border of the Hungarians was not the Volga, but the Don River at that time.²⁹ According to the information in *De administrando imperio*, the Hungarians settled between the Dnieper and the Sereth River (and lower Danube) in the second half of the ninth century. In this case, the Etil River mentioned by the Muslim sources could be identified with the Dnieper.³⁰ In the case of the first, the Crimean region was at the southern border of the Hungarian land. In case of the latter, the Crimea was at the southeastern borders of the Hungarian habitat. The Byzantine city must have been in the western part of the Crimea or between the Crimea and the Dnieper estuary. However, the main factor for Hungarian trade with the Byzantines was not necessarily the physical closeness of the city, but the size of the market, the output and volume of its trade, and the selection of goods available. On the basis of all this one can assume that the most easily accessible places for the Hungarians were the Dnieper estuary, the Karkinit bight and the western part of the Crimea.

Considering what has been said about the information on *K.rĥ* provided by Ibn Rusta and assessing all the other circumstances, it is possible that the name *K.rĥ* refers to Cherson. Two further pieces of evidence support the contention that the Hungarians were familiar with the roads leading to Cherson. Constantine-Cyrril, after having left Cherson for Khazaria, met a troop of Hungarians not far from the city.³¹ A passage in the *De administrando imperio* (Chapter 9) also sug-

²⁷ On the problem of *Etelköz*, see, for instance, Kristó, *Hungarian History*, 154–158; F. Makk, "Etelköz-Mezopotámia." *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Historica* 113 (2001), 31–40; Gy. Györffy et al., *Tanulmányok a magyarság honfoglalás előtti történetéből*. [Studies on the History of the pre-conquest Hungarians]. A Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság Kiadványai 172. Budapest 1985.

²⁸ C. f. A. Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Fadlān's Reisebericht*. Leipzig 1939, 302–307.

²⁹ E.g. K. Czeglédy, "A 9. századi magyar történelem főbb kérdései." [The major questions of the Magyar history of the ninth century] *Magyar Nyelv* 41 (1945), 54; S. L. Tóth, *Levediától a Kárpát-medencéig*. [From Levedia to the Carpathian Basin] Szeged 1998, 46–53.

³⁰ E. g. I. Fodor, *In Search of a New Homeland. The Prehistory of the Hungarian People and the Conquest*. Budapest 1982, 248; A. Róna-Tas, *Hungarians and Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, Budapest 1999, 323 (map), 387; Benkő, "Zur Geschichte der Ungartums," 195.

³¹ M. Kantor, ed., *Medieval Slavic Lives of Saints and Princes*. Ann Arbor 1983, 43, 45.

gests that the Hungarians had visited Cherson in the ninth century. It describes the itinerary of the Russians towards the Dnieper estuary. The sailors had to get over the shallows and cataracts of the river and then came to a ford. "This they pass at the so-called ford of Vrar, where the Chersonites cross over from Russia and the Pechenegs to Cherson."³² In this case the Pechenegs and the Chersonites must have started from the territory west of the Dnieper River, hence the reference to the crossing; in this case one had to cross the river if heading for the Crimea on dry land. They arrived at the seacoast on the territory east of the Dnieper and from here they had to follow the western coast of the Crimea to get to Cherson. One can enter the Crimean peninsula via the isthmus of Perekop.³³ From the isthmus of Perekop to the peninsula of Kertch the road following the seacoast is much longer than from the same place to Cherson and traffic along the eastern coast is much more difficult because of the many bays and estuaries. That is why it is highly probable, that the road on the seacoast mentioned by Ibn Rusta can be identified with the road to Cherson. The Pechenegs living west of the Dnieper visited Cherson (too), or at least that region. This may also be true for the ninth century Hungarians, that is, the description of the Pechenegs may serve as an analogy for the Hungarians living in Etelköz. The *De administrando imperio* (Chapter 42) also mentions that the Pechenegs traded not only in Cherson, but in Kertch (Bosporos), too.³⁴ For the Pechenegs living in the northeastern part of the Crimea in the tenth century the eastern part of the peninsula was also close, as they had settled in the peninsula, which we cannot prove in case of the Hungarians. Of course, the Hungarians can have traded with the Byzantines in the Karkinit bight up to the Dnieper estuary. There were Byzantine (Chersonite) settlements and smaller ports, the sea-lane from Cherson to the Danube estuary followed the coastline, and ships used to anchor at these places.³⁵ The Byzantines often made agreements with the Pechenegs at the estuaries of great rivers (Dnieper, Dniester).³⁶

In conclusion, the identification of *K.r.ĥ* with Cherson is the most appropriate solution, since all the above-mentioned criteria are valid: the city existed during the course of the ninth century (under the same name), it was certainly a part of the Byzantine Empire, and it was relatively close to the habitat of the Hungarians. Another source also mentions Hungarians in the vicinity of Cherson.

³² Gy. Moravcsik, ed. and R. J. H. Jenkins, tr., *Constantine Porphyrogenitus: De administrando imperio*. CFHB 1 Dumbarton Oaks 1967, 60, 63–70.

³³ The isthmus of Perekop is also mentioned in *De administrando imperio* (Chapter 42). According to it, once there was a huge ditch there, but around 950 only its traces could be seen. "In the course of many years this same ditch has silted up and become a great forest, and there are in it but two roads, along with the Pechenegs pass through to Cherson and Bosporus and the Regions." Moravcsik–Jenkins, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, 186, line 83–86.

³⁴ Moravcsik–Jenkins, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, 186.

³⁵ M. V. Levčenko, *Očerki po istorii russko-vizantijskih otnošenij*. [Outlines of the history of the Russian–Byzantine relationship] Moskva 1956, 199.

³⁶ Moravcsik–Jenkins, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, 54, line 5–12.

A New Muslim Source on the Hungarians in the Second Half of Tenth Century

ISTVÁN ZIMONYI



The tenth century was the golden age of the Muslim culture. The political centers of the Islamic civilizations such as Buchara in the East, Baghdad and Cairo in the central regions, and Cordova in the West had developed high scientific and literary levels. The neighboring and even remote non-Muslim lands were also well known if they were parts of the worldwide commercial system. Europe was in close contact with Muslim Spain, while Eastern Europe stood in the middle of the area of interest of the Samanids and Baghdad. The Hungarians living in the Carpathian Basin attracted attention from both ends of the Muslim world. The Samanid wazir, al-Ġayhānī, preserved a discourse on the Hungarians before they conquered the Carpathian Basin.¹ In the tenth century the cartographer al-Balḥī and his followers al-Iṣṭahri and Ibn Ḥauqal² and the traveler al-Mas'ūdī³ gave accounts of the Hungarians. Most of this information reached Andalusia, as is attested in the Andalusian author al-Bakrī's geographical chapters on the Hungarians based on the books of al-Ġayhānī and al-Mas'ūdī. The work of al-Bakrī, entitled *The Book of Routes and Kingdoms*, was published in parts until recently. In the 1970s Károly Czeglédy discovered a new Andalusian Muslim source concerning

¹ T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów słowiańszczyzny*. [Arabic sources on the history of the Slavs] T. 2/2. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1977, 32–35, 94–107; H. Göckenjan–I. Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte über die Völker Osteuropas und Zentralasiens im Mittelalter. Die Ġayhānī-Tradition (Ibn Rusta, Gardizī, Ḥudūd al-'Alam, al-Bakrī und al-Marwazī)*. Veröffentlichung der Societas Uralo-Altaica Band 54, Wiesbaden 2001, 64–75, 172–178, 210, 228, 252.

² D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*. Princeton 1954, 98; Ibn Hauqal, *Configuration de la terre (Kitab surat al-ard)*, par J. H. Kramers, G. Wiet, Beyrouth–Paris 1964.

³ Mas'ūdī, *Les Prairies d'or*. Traduction française de B. de Meynard et P. de Courteille revue et corrigée par Ch. Pellat. Tome I, Paris 1962, 177–179.

the Hungarian raid against Andalusia in 942, which also contained a description of their country.⁴ It is the work of Ibn Ḥayyān called *Muqtabis*.⁵ The existence in Cordova of a good knowledge of the Hungarians forecast more sources.

As mentioned above, al-Bakrī's geographical compendium was not been completely edited until recently. In 1878 two Russian orientalists, Kunik and Rosen, published nine excerpts from the Istanbul manuscript with reference to Eastern Europe.⁶ Besides al-Ġayhānī and al-Mas'ūdī he quoted the Jewish diplomat and traveler Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb, who visited Emperor Otto I in Merseburg in 965 and spent some time in Prague. His report provided an account of the Slavs, Bohemia, Poland, and Bulgaria, including a short reference to the Hungarians, whom he called Turks. In 1946, Kowalski issued a critical edition with Polish and Latin translations and commentary.⁷ The Hungarian orientalist Mihály Kmoskó, who translated Muslim geographical literature into Hungarian and German, recommended the study of all the literary remains of al-Bakrī because they could hold new data on Hungarian history.⁸ In 1968, Hajji edited the chapters on Andalusia and Europe from the geographical al-Bakrī's book.⁹ In this edition I discovered a parallel account of Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā, known from the work of Ibn Rusta, containing a description of the Byzantine bodyguard of Khazars and Turks.¹⁰ According to the Byzantine usage "Khazars" meant Hungarians in the service of the Byzantine emperor. In 1992, al-Bakrī's *The Book of Routes and Kingdoms* appeared

⁴ K. Czeglédy, "Új arab forrás a magyarok 942. évi spanyolországi kalandozásáról." [New Arabic source on the raid of the Magyars in Spain in 942] *Magyar Nyelv* 75 (1979), 273–285.

⁵ Ibn Ḥayyān, *Al-Muqtabas*. V. ed. P. Chalmeta, E. Corriente, M. Subḥ, Madrid 1979, 481–483; The Hungarian translation with commentary by I. Elter, "A magyar kalandozások arab forrásai." [Arabic sources on the period of Magyar raids] in *A honfoglaláskor írott forrásai*, ed. L. Kovács, L. Veszprémy, Budapest 1996, 174–179.

⁶ A. Kunik, V. Rozen, *Izvestija al-Bakri i drugyh avtorov o Rusi i Slavjanah*. [Reports of al-Bakri and other authors on Rus and the Slavs] Sanktpetersburg 1878.

⁷ *Relacja Ibrāhima ibn Ja'kūba z podróży do krajów słowiańskich w przekazie al-Bekriego*. [Ibrāhīm ibn Ja'kūb's description of the country of the Slavs in the work of al-Bekri] ed. T. Kowalski, Kraków 1946. English translation: D. Mishin, "Ibrahim ibn-Ya'qub at-Turtushi's Account of the Slavs from the Middle of the Tenth Century," in *Annual of Medieval Studies et the CEU 1994–1995*. Budapest 1996, 184–199.

⁸ M. Kmoskó, *Mohamedán írók a steppe népeiről*. *Földrajzi irodalom*. [Muslim writers on the steppe peoples. Geographical literature] Vol. 1/1. ed. I. Zimonyi, Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár 10, Budapest 1997, 80. Kmoskó translated and commented on the nine fragments published by Kunik and Rosen: M. Kmoskó, *Mohamedán írók a steppe népeiről*. *Földrajzi irodalom*. [Muslim writers on the steppe peoples. Geographical literature] I/2. ed. I. Zimonyi, Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár 13, Budapest 2000, 229–258.

⁹ *The Geography of al-Andalus and Europe from the Book "al-masalik wal-mamalik" by Abū 'Ubayd Al-Bakrī*. ed. Abdurrahman Ali El-Hajji, Beirut 1968.

¹⁰ I. Zimonyi, "Why were the Hungarians Referred to as Turks in the Early Muslim Sources?" in *Néptörténet – Nyelvtörténet. A 70 éves Róna-Tas András köszöntése*. L. Károly, É. Kincses Nagy, Szeged 2001, 202–203.

in a critical edition based on ten manuscripts.¹¹ I have compared the chapters on Slavic and nomadic peoples in Eurasia to be found in the earlier publications with those of the new edition. The Rus' chapter of the al-Ġayhānī-tradition I found in the description of Southeastern Europe, include the following geographical accounts: Thrace, Thessaly, Macedonia, Anqiliš and Rus'. Reading these chapters it became evident that the name Anqiliš meant Hungarians. The account preserved by al-Bakrī is the following:

Discourse on the country of al-Unquluš¹²

They are Turkic people¹³ who live adjacent to the Slavs.¹⁴ The border of their country is the country of Buwayra¹⁵ and the country of Būyašlāw¹⁶ in the west; north¹⁷ of them are the Russians;¹⁸ east of them are the Pechenegs¹⁹ and the unin-

¹¹ Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik d'Abu Ubayd al-Bakrī. Edition critique avec introduction et indices A. P. Van Leeuwen et A. Ferre, Qartāğ 1992.

¹² The form of the ethnic name is based on the contemporary Latin sources in Spain: *Unguli* cf. R. Szántó, "Spanyolországi források a kalandozó magyarok 942. évi hadjáratáról." [Spanish sources on the campaign of the raiding Magyars in 942] *Acta Universitas Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae. Acta Historica* 103 (1996), 43–48.

¹³ The expression *ġins min al-atrāk* 'a people from the Turks (plural)' corresponds with that of the al-Ġayhānī-tradition *ġins min at-turk* 'a people from the Turks (singular)' Zimonyi, "Why were the Hungarians," 203 note 17. The Muslim authors of the ninth and tenth centuries called Turks the nomadic peoples inhabiting the steppe between Mongolia and the Lower Volga and those moving westward from east of the Volga such as the Pechenegs and Hungarians.

¹⁴ The term *aš-Šaqāliba* and its interpretations: A. Nazmi, *Commercial Relations between Arabs and Slavs (9th-11th centuries)*. Warsaw 1998, 86; D. Mišin, *Sakaliba (slavjane) v islamskom mire v rannee srednevekov'e*. [The Saqaliba (Slavs) in the Islamic world in the early Middle Ages] Moskva 2002, 50–60.

¹⁵ Buwayra was identified with Paris by Hajji on the basis of the following passage on the Frankish Empire: "The Franks (al-ifranġa) were the descendants of Jafet just as the Galls (al-ġalāliqa), Slavs, al-Išbān, Turks, Khazars, burġān, Alans, Gog and Magog. The Franks are Christians namely Melkits. Their capital is Bariza (MSS: B.wyra). It is an enormous town." (Hajji, *The Geography of al-Andalus*, 137–138; Leeuwen–Ferre, *Kitāb al-Masālik*, 340; Kowalski, *Relacja Ibrāhima*, 127, note 184). The description was copied from the work of al-Mas'ūdī (Kmoskó, *Mohamedán írök*, I/2, 201). The identification of 'Bayern' with Bavarians can be preferred from philological and geographical point of view, as the next neighbor is Bohemia.

¹⁶ Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb used the same name, the country of Boleslav, for the Bohemian kingdom (Kowalski, *Relacja Ibrāhima*, 48–51, 60, note 13; Mishin, *Ibrahim ibn-Ya'qub*, 185–187). There were two kings under the same name: Boleslaw I (929–967 or 973) and Boleslaw II (967/973?–999) R. Turek, "Boleslav I," II. in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Vol. 2, 357–359.

¹⁷ The Arabic *ġawf* 'north' cf. Kowalski, *Relacja Ibrāhima*, 56–58, note 5.

¹⁸ The Kievan Rus' became a neighbouring power after Vladimir took the cities Červen and Peremyšl in Eastern Galicia in 981 (*The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text*. tr. and ed. S. H. Cross, O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, Cambridge 1953, 85; cf. C. Goehrke, *Frühzeit des Ostslaventums. Unter Mitwirkung von U. Kälín*. Darmstadt 1992, 38–47.

habited deserts.²⁰ These are between the country of the Pechenegs and the country of the Bulgars²¹ belonging to the Slavs. To the south are some parts of the country of the Bulgars and a strip of the uninhabited deserts.²²

The geographical coordinates refer to Hungarians living in the Carpathian Basin. The account was published by Hajji in 1968. He read Inqilish and identified the ethnonym with English, remarking that there is a contradiction between the title and the contents, as the context of the description fits a country between Eastern and Western Europe, i.e. Hungary. How can this inconsistency be explained? Hajji suggested that there is a gap in the text. The excerptor wrote the title, then he copied a text from another account. The quoted passage has been preserved in two manuscripts in Morocco (the Qarawayyin Library of Fez and the National Library of Rabat). The manuscript of Rabat is a copy of the Fez manuscript.²³ This complicated argument can be omitted if the Arabic letters are read as *Ungulus* and it is identified with *Ungarus*, the Western name of the Hungarians.

Mention must be made of an ethnonym recorded by Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb in the following context: "Many Northern tribes speak Slavic languages, for they are mixed with the Slavs. Among them are the Tadaškiyīn (Germans), *Anqaliyīn* (Hungarians), the Pechenegs, the Russians, and the Chazars."²⁴ According to Kunik and Lewicki the term *Anqaliyīn* means Hungarians.²⁵ Marquart preferred the Slavic tribe Uglič,²⁶ while Kmoskó did not accept the identification with the Hun-

¹⁹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentioned *Kato Gyla* among the Pecheneg tribes as the neighbours of the Hungarians in his *De administrando imperio* in the middle of the tenth century (Gy. Moravcsik Gy. *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet bizánci forrásai*. [Byzantine sources of the Hungarian history in the Arpadian period] Budapest 1984, 41).

²⁰ The Arabic word *qafr* means here uninhabited border, which was applied by the Hungarians as a defense against the neighboring kingdoms: cf. A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11^e siècle*. Vol. 3, Paris-La-Haye 1980, 73–74; G. Vékony, "A gyepű szerepe az etnikai és politikai átalakulásokban." [The role of the 'gyepű' in the ethnic and political transformation] in *Nomád társadalmak és államalakulatok*, ed. F. Tökei, Budapest 1983, 215–236.

²¹ *Bulqārīn*. The same is recorded by Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb. He gave a detailed description on the country of the Danubian Bulgars: cf. Kowalski, *Relacja Ibrāhīma*, 48, 51, 59, note 12; Mishin, *Ibrahim ibn-Ya'qub*, 184, 189; Kmoskó, *Mohamedán írók*, 1/2, 240, 245–246.

²² Hajji, *The Geography of al-Andalus*, 150–151. The editor used the MS of Qarawayyin de Fès N. L. 390/80 (pages: 123a–b) (Q), and it was supplemented by the MS of Rabat (T) Hajji, *The Geography of al-Andalus*, 150, note 1.

²³ Hajji, *The Geography of al-Andalus*, 150, note 1.

²⁴ Hajji, *The Geography of al-Andalus*, 181, Leeuwen-Ferre, *Kitāb al-Masālik*, 1992, 336; Kowalski, *Relacja Ibrāhīma*, 111–115; Mishin, *Ibrahim ibn-Ya'qub*, 190.

²⁵ Kunik–Rozen, *Izvestija al-Bakri*, 107; T. Lewicki, "'Kitab ar Raud al-mi'tar' Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'ima al-Himjari (XV v.) kak istočnik svedenij o Vostočnoj, Central'noj i Severnoj Evrope," [Kitab ar-Raud al-mi'tar' Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'ima al-Himjari (15th century) as the source of information about Eastern, Central and Northern Europe] in *Problemy Vostokovedenija*, T. 3, Moskva 1960, 129–136.

²⁶ J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*. Berlin 1903, 510.

garians, as they were mentioned earlier as Turks.²⁷ Elter reads *al-Unqaliyīn* as, the plural of *al-Unqalī*, the name of the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin, as contrary to the term *al-Mağğariya*, denoting the nomadic Hungarians north of the Black Sea before the conquest of the Carpathian Basin.²⁸ Lewicki points out that the two forms, *al-Unqaliyīn* and *al-Unqaluš*, were variants of an original *Ungarus*. The name *Unqaluš* seems to be a Spanish form and *Unqaliyīn* could be the corruption of the Muslim author based on the misinterpretation of the final Arabic letter. Based on Lévi-Provençal,²⁹ Lewicki revised his earlier identification with English, concluding that *al-Unqaluš* was a designation for the Hungarians because in the work of al-Bakrī the name for England is Barṭaniya and the geographical position of the country of *al-Unqaluš* precludes another possibility than Hungary. Lewicki emphasized that al-Bakrī could not have used the report of Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb for the discourse on the Hungarians because Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb called the Hungarians Turks following the practice of the Byzantines.³⁰

Hungarian and European historians have not devoted attention to the notes of Hajji and Lewicki. The latter author has taken into consideration the parallel data preserved in the book of al-Ḥimyarī (d. 1494), who lived in the Muslim west and composed a geographical dictionary in 1464. Al-Ḥimyarī used three geographical compendia as his sources: the geographical treatises of al-Bakrī, al-Idrisī and a rewritten form of al-Bakrī.³¹ Al-Ḥimyarī has an entry on *al-Unquluš* including additional information. Lewicki proved that the source of these new data was the book of al-Bakrī. The surplus was published in parentheses in the critical edition of al-Bakrī's geographical work. The text of al-Ḥimyarī reads:

The Country of al-Unquluš

They are Turkic people, who live adjacent to the Slavs. The border of their town is the town of Buwayra in the west; north of them are the Russians.

They are a sort of people who worship only God [Allah], may He be exalted! They believe in the Lord of the Sky,³² he is alone the Almighty. They avoid eating

²⁷ Kmoskó, *Mohamedán írók*, I/2, 246, note 163.

²⁸ I. Elter, "A magyarok elnevezései az arab forrásokban," [Designations of the Magyars in Arabic sources] in *Honfoglalás és nyelvtészet*. ed. L. Kovács, L. Veszprémy, Budapest 1997, 100.

²⁹ *La Péninsule Ibérique au moyen âge d'après le Kitāb ar-Rawḍ al-mi'tār fī ḥabar al-aktār d'Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī*. Text arabe des notices relatives à l'Espagne, au Portugal et au Sud-Ouest de la France publié avec un introduction, un répertoire anaytique, une traduction annotée, un glossaire et une carte par E. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1938, 33.

³⁰ Lewicki, *Kitab ar Raud*, 131–132.

³¹ I. Ju. Kračkovskij, "Arabskaja geografičeskaja literatura," [Arabic geographical literature] in *Izbrannye sočinenija*, T. IV, Moskva–Leningrad 1957, 441–445. T. Lewicki, "Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*. Vol. 3, New Edition, 675–676.

³² The "Sky, Heaven" cult among the Hungarians is a typical religious phenomenon attested among the Turkic and Mongolian speaking peoples of the steppe known as Tengri cf. Ibn Faḍlān in Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*. Leipzig 1939, 20; J. P. Roux, *La religion des Turcs et des Mongols*. Paris 1984, 110–124; K. Lech, *Das mongolische Weltreich*. Al-'Umarī's Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk *Masālik al-Abšār*

pork³³ and present offerings (to God). If one of them acquires some food, he lights a fire and takes the best part of his bread and food and throws it into the fire, calling on his most beloved patron, because they believe firmly [are convinced] that the smoke ascends to the sky and it is stored away for the dead in front of God, to Him belongs glory and power, in order to gain the grace of God.³⁴

They are immigrants from Chorasān.³⁵ Islam is widespread there.³⁶ These Turks redeem the Muslims and Jews from captivity, if they were captured in one of the neighboring regions.³⁷

fi Mamālik al-Amṣār. Wiesbaden 1968, 95, 192, note 37; J. Gießauf, *Die Mongolengeschichte des Johannes von Piano Carpino*. Graz 1995, 133, note 359. I. Fodor, "Über die vorchristliche Religion der Altungarn," *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica* 48 (2003), 327–351.

³³ The prohibition of eating pork concerned the Muslim and Jewish communities living among the Hungarians in the Carpathian basin. Cf. F Vire, "Khinzir," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*. Vol. 5, New Edition, 7–9.

³⁴ The offering of food was an integral part of nomadic life cf. P. Ratchnevsky, "Über den mongolischen Kult am Hofe der Großkhane in China," in *Mongolian Studies*, ed. L. Ligeti, Budapest 1970, 429–430; Roux, *La religion*, 237–245; Gießauf, *Die Mongolengeschichte*, 134, note 364; G. Mészöly, "Az ugor kori sámánosság magyar szókincsbeli emlékei." [Reminiscences of shamanism of the Ugor period in the Hungary vocabulary] *Magyar Nyelv* 48 (1952), 46–61. The cult of fire among the Hungarians was mentioned in the al-Ġayhānī-tradition, (Ibn Rusta and Gardizī, Göckenjan–Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte*, 73, 177. Gardizī recorded an interesting explanation of the fire, which purified the dead from their sins in the passage of the Qirgiz, Ibrāhīm ibn Waṣīf described a shamanistic rite of the Khazar ruler, where the colors of fire gave indications of the future. Göckenjan–Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte*, 126, 239–240. Cf. N. N. Poppe, "Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen." *Asia Maior* 2 (1925), 130–145; Roux, *La religion*, 103–105, 222–226, 237–238; Gießauf, *Die Mongolengeschichte*, 137, note 374.

³⁵ *hum nāqila min Hurāsān*. Al-Mas'ūdī noted on the Muslim body guards in the court of the Khazar Khaqan: *hum nāqila min naḥw bilād Hwārizm*, *Murūġ II*, 10 (Mas'ūdī, *Murūġ* = *Murūj al-dhahab wa ma'ādin al-jawhar*. ed. B. de Meynard–P. de Courteille, I–XI, Paris 1861–1877). "they are immigrants from the environs of Khwārazm," V. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th–11th Centuries*. Cambridge 1958, 147; "Originaires des environs du Kharezem," Pellat, *Les Prairies d'or*, 162. The Balḥī-tradition used the same word in connection with the origin of the inhabitants of Buhara. Cf. Iṣṭāḥrī BGA I, 315: "It is said that the original inhabitants of Buhara had wandered (*nāqila*) from Iṣṭāḥr in old days," Cf. Ibn Ḥauqal BGA II², 491, French translation: Kramers–Wiet, *Ibn Hauqal*, 471.

According to the Muslim author the Hungarians originated from Khurāsān, the eastern province of Persia south from the River Amu-darya (C. E. Bosworth, "Khurāsān," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. 4, 55–59). Accordingly, the categorization of the Hungarians as Turkic peoples reflects the same idea; they came from Central Asia, east of the Volga River. It is well-known that the Hungarian tribal confederation included elements from Khwārazm, who were called *kāliz/caliz* in the medieval Hungarian kingdom (K. Czeglédy, "Az Árpád-kori mohammedánokról és neveikről." [On Muslims and their names in the Arpadian period] *Nyelvtudományi Értekezések* 70 (1970), 254–259). As Khwārazm belonged to the Samanides, whose rule included Transoxania and Khurāsān, significant groups among the Hungarians took part in their ethnogenesis

They treat their guests well [hospitably]. Their morals³⁸ are satisfying except that they leave their women with their slaves and guests and those who want them [the women] to be alone. In this respect they take the rank of dogs.³⁹

If the account of al-Bakrī is compared with that of al-Ḥimyārī it can be ascertained that al-Ḥimyārī omitted some parts of the geographical data, but he

who wandered from the provinces of eastern Persia. As for the inhabitants of Khwārazm, they played a predominant role in Eastern Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries. They were the bodyguards of the Khazar ruler, they were mentioned in Kiev and the name of the Caspian Sea was *Hvaliskoje more* in the Russian annals. They were recorded as the agents of Islam among the Volga Bulgars and the Pechenegs (Kmoskó, *Mohamedán írók*, I/2, 252–253; Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān*, 217–220; Göckenjan–Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte*, 223, note 15).

³⁶ Muslim merchants among the Hungarians were recorded by al-Mas'ūdī. Cf. Mas'ūdī, *Murūḡ* II, 58–64; Pellat, *Les Prairies d'or*, 178 Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 61–63; Kmoskó, *Mohamedán írók*, I/2, 183–184. Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb also mentioned Muslim merchants from Hungary (Mishin, *Ibrahim ibn-Ya'qub*, 186). Until the thirteenth century Muslim communities had a dominant role in the finance of the Hungarian court and the popes wrote letters to the Hungarian kings to impose restrictions on them (Czeglédy, *Az Árpád-kori*, 254, T. Lewicki, "Madjaristan," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. 5, 1010–1022). The traveller Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Ġarnaṭī visited Hungary in 1150, where he found a Muslim community which was rich and numerous (I. Hrbek, "Ein arabischer Bericht über Ungarn (Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Ġarnaṭī, 1080–1170)." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 5 (1955), 205–230; O. G. Bolšakov–A. L. Mongajt, *Putešestvie Abu Hamida al-Garnati v vostočnuju i central'nuju Evropu (1131–1153 gg.)*. [The travel of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġarnaṭī in Eastern and Central Europe (1131–1153)] Moskva 1971). Yāqūt met Muslims from Hungary in Aleppo in 1220 and mentions that they had thirty settlements in Hungary (*Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch aus den Handschriften zu Berlin, St. Petersburg und Paris*. ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 6 vols., Leipzig 1866–1873, Vol. 1, 468–470; Hungarian translation with commentary: *A honfoglalás korának írott forrásai*. [Written sources of the age of the Conquest] ed. Gy. Kristó, T. Olajos, I. H. Tóth, and I. Zimonyi, Szeged 1995, 71–72. Cf. Czeglédy, *Az Árpád-kori*, 254–259; A. Márton, "Izmaeliták," [Ismaelites] in *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9–14. század)*. ed. Gy. Kristó, Budapest 1994, 298.

³⁷ Al-Mas'ūdī reports on the Pecheneg–Hungarian campaign in 934 against Byzantines that the Muslim merchants of the nomads offered to help the former Muslims of the Byzantine troops convert to Islam again and in that case help them to return to the land of Islam (*Murūḡ* II, 61; Pellat, *Les praires d'or*, 178). Similar history on the redeeming of Muslim captives was noted by al-Bakrī in connection with the Pechenegs (Göckenjan, Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte*, 223–224).

³⁸ Ibn Faḍlān described the protection of hosts in detail among the Oghuz. Visiting merchants made a special contract with one of them protecting and profiting both of them (Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān*, 23–24, 133–134). The dog symbolized promiscuity among Muslim authors. The Muslims visiting the nomads of the steppe noticed that the women of the nomadic societies played a significant role in public life and that sexual regulations differed in some respects.

³⁹ *Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyārī, Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-Mi'tār fi Khabar al-Aqṭār*. ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beyrut 1975, 39. The text is published by the editors of al-Bakrī in parentheses Leeuwen–Ferre, *Kitāb al-Masālik*, 490.

quoted new material on the Hungarian religion, food-offerings, origin, and rights of hospitality, which deserve a separate study. Only two questions must be answered in this paper: when were these data gathered and how did they reach Andalusia?

As the description mentions the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin, it must be dated post 895, i.e. after its Conquest. Another decisive date can be the fact that they were Sky worshippers. This means the pagan period before conversion to Christianity, which took place in 1000. A narrower time span can be determined, since Bohemia is called the country of Būyaslāw, which is confirmed by Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb. Boleslaw I ruled Bohemia between 935 and 967. But his son ruled under the same name, that is Boleslaw II from 967 to 999. It can be concluded that this Hungarian passage was recorded in the second half of the tenth century.

The Andalusian Muslims could have had different motives in collecting information on the Hungarians and Central and Eastern Europe. One of the main reasons was a military operation of the Hungarians in 942, when they laid siege to Lérida and some other towns.⁴⁰ Recording the raid, Ibn Ḥayyān gathered some information about their homeland:

Those who know their affairs mentioned that their country lies in the far East. The Pechenegs live east of them and they are their neighbors. The land of Rome lies south of them. The town of Constantinople lies deviating a little from the direction to the east. The town of Murāwa (Moravia) and the rest of the Slavic countries lie north of them. The Saxons and the Francs are west of them. They covered a long distance to the land of Andalusia. In the desert ... [blank space] the kings from them. Their way during their march crossed Lombardia, which borders them. There is a distance of eight days between them and it [Lombardia]. Their dwelling places are on the Danube River and they are nomads as the Arabs without towns and houses living in felt tents in scattered halting-places.⁴¹

According to al-Ḥimyarī the Hungarians redeemed not only the Muslims but also the Jews from captivity. This information was worth mentioning for someone who was interested in the fate of the Jewish community or was himself a Jew. It is well attested that the Jews played a predominant role in the caliphate of Cordova, among others the diplomat Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb, who met Emperor Otto I in 962. His report on the Slavs is an important source. He recorded only marginal notes on the Hungarians, whom he called Turks:

⁴⁰ On the raid against Andalusia, see: Czeglédy, "Új arab forrás," 273–285; K. Czeglédy, "Még egyszer a magyarok 942. évi spanyolországi kalandozásáról." [Once again on the raid of the Magyars in Spain in 942] *Magyar Nyelv* 77 (1981), 419–423; I. Elter, "Néhány megjegyzés Ibn Ḥayyānnak a magyarok 942. évi spanyolországi kalandozásáról." [Some remarks of Ibn Ḥayyān on the raid of the Magyars in Spain in 942] *Magyar Nyelv* 77 (1981), 413–419; Gy. Györffy, "Dual kingship and the seven chieftains of the Hungarians in the era of the conquest and the raids." *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 47 (1994), 96–100.

⁴¹ Ibn Ḥayyān, *Al-Muqtabas*, V, 482; Hungarian translation with commentary in Elter, *A magyar kalandozáskor*, 178–179.

“As for the country of Buyaslaw (Tawislā=Būyaslāw/Bohemia), its extension from F.raghah (Farāga, Prague) to Karakwa (Karākwa, Cracow) equals three weeks of travel. On its length, it is limited by the country of the Turks (At-rāk=Hungarians). The city of F.raghah is built of stones and limestone. It is the richest place in goods. Russians and Slavs come from Karakwa with goods. Moslems, Jews, and Turks come there from the country of the Turks and bring goods and trade balances. Flour, [slaves], tin, and various kinds of furs are exported from there.”⁴²

Another reason for the keen interest of Cordova on Eastern Europe was the slave trade. The slaves were transported from east of the Elbe River. During the rule of ‘Abd al-Rahmān III (912–961) three censuses were recorded: first, 3,750 Slavic slaves, then, 6,087 and finally 13,750. The number rose ten times higher within half a century.⁴³ The slave trade was the business of Frankish and Jewish merchants. The Slavic slaves were transported first to Prague, which was a significant castrating-center. From here the way led to Regensburg and Venice. The slaves from the Elbe River were transported via Verdun, Lyon, Arles, and Narbonne to Andalusia.⁴⁴

Jewish communities, with strong political influence in Cordova, were interested in the slave trade. They had two synagogues in Cordova and in Toledo and a Talmudic school in Cordova where they learned not only Hebrew but classical Arabic. Ḥasday ibn Šaprut, a Jewish physician, was the wazīr of the Caliph ‘Abd al-Rahmān III (912–961). He sent a letter to the Khazar ruler, Joseph, as the news of conversion of the Khazars to Judaism had reached the court of Cordova. The famous Khazar correspondence includes this letter and Joseph’s reply. Ḥasday ibn Šaprut had some difficulties getting in touch with the Khazar ruler. The Byzantine emperor hindered the Jewish envoys from visiting the Khazar country. Another possibility was the route through Syria, Iraq and Armenia. But before realizing the plan the embassy of the king of Giblym, that is, Otto I of the Germans, arrived in Cordova. It was accompanied by two Jews, Mar Saul and Mar Joseph. Hearing about the difficulties in making contact with the Khazars, they offered their services. They suggested giving them the letter and they would hand over it to the king of Giblym, i.e. Otto I, who would send it to the Jewish community in the country of Hungrin, i.e. of Hungary. The letter might also have arrived via Rus’ and Bulghar at the hands of the Khazar king.⁴⁵ It is well known that the Jewish communities of Eastern Europe were in close contact with one another, so it is no wonder that the Jews in Hungary knew the way to the Khazar

⁴² Kowalski, *Relacja Ibrāhīma*, 49 Arabic text: 2–3; Mishin, *Ibrahim ibn-Ya’qub*, 185–186.

⁴³ M. Lombard, *Blütezeit des Islam. Eine Wirtschafts- und Kulturgeschichte 8.–11. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt 1991, 200.

⁴⁴ Lombard, *Blütezeit des Islam*, 88–89, 199–200.

⁴⁵ S. J. Spitzer–G. Komoróczy, *Héber kútforrások Magyarország és a magyarországi zsidóság történetéhez a kezdetektől 1686-ig*. [Hebrew Sources Relating to the History of Hungary and Hungarian Jewry in the Middle Ages (from the Beginnings until 1686)] Budapest 2003, 83–84; Dunlop, *The History*, 136–137.

court. It is worth mentioning that the author of Ḥasday ibn Šaprut's letter applied the Hebrew form of the same Slavic and European name *Ungarus* as was used in the source of al-Bakrī. The recently published Hebrew Khazar letter from Kiev has information on the contact between the Jews of Kiev and Hungary.⁴⁶

In conclusion, the source on the Hungarians preserved by al-Bakrī can be dated to the second half of the tenth century. The court of Cordova had a keen interest in obtaining valid information about Eastern Europe. It was motivated on the one hand by the Hungarian raid against northern Andalusia in 942 and on the other hand by political contacts with the Franks, Germans, Hungarians, and Slavs, and, of course, by international trade. The Jewish community in the caliphate of Cordova was interested in the flourishing slave trade in Eastern Europe and the news of the conversion of a great power to Judaism in Eastern Europe opened up new vistas. Thus they played a decisive role in getting intensive contacts and through them a better knowledge of Eastern Europe. Al-Bakrī's discourse on the people of *Ungarus* corroborates the existence of adequate knowledge of Eastern Europe and it encourages further study of the Muslim literature of Andalusia.

⁴⁶ A. Róna-Tas, "A keleti magyarok egy kairói geniza-levélben." [The Eastern Hungarians in a Geniza letter of Cairo] in *Évkönyv 1983-1984*. ed. S. Scheiber, Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képvisellete, Budapest 1984, 293-296.

Les marchands italiens en Anjou pendant la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle

LÁSZLÓ GÁLFY



Le statut politique de l'Anjou changea de nombreuses fois au cours du XIIIe siècle, en raison des liens dynastiques de ses comtes. Après une période où l'Anjou faisait partie de « l'empire Plantagenêt », au début du XIIIe siècle, il entra dans le domaine royal des Capétiens pour devenir ensuite un apanage, peu avant le milieu du siècle. En moins de cinquante ans, le comté opéra un changement spectaculaire sur le plan géopolitique : après avoir quitté l'orbite anglo-normand, il devint une partie excentrée de l'Etat, à vocation méditerranéenne, de Charles d'Anjou. Dans cet article, nous avons l'ambition modeste d'éclairer, d'un point de vue économique et social, l'une des conséquences de ce changement politique.

Dans un premier temps, il faut reconnaître que les sources locales concernant la présence des marchands italiens sont extrêmement déficitaires. La majorité écrasante de nos informations sont tirées des archives administratives de la cour de Naples. Ce qui montre le rôle de la politique dans les déplacements des marchands italiens. Il est intéressant de voir que la présence des marchands et des hommes d'affaires italiens a également un lien avec l'intervention du prince dans la province voisine de l'Anjou qu'était la Bretagne.¹

Durant la première moitié du XIIIe siècle, les sources qui ont subsisté ne signalaient pas la présence d'Italiens en Anjou. L'étude des noms ne permet guère d'en savoir plus. Le nom « Lombard », dont nous savons par ailleurs qu'il est loin d'être la preuve irréfutable d'une origine italienne, n'apparaît que de manière

¹ L'atelier monétaire de Nantes commença à fonctionner après une longue interruption, à la fin du XIIIe siècle. A cette date, Jean II, duc de Bretagne, recruta des marchand et des monnayeurs italiens, venus surtout de Florence, pour redémarrer le monnayage breton. P. Bois, dir., *Histoire de Nantes*. Toulouse 1977, 75-76.

sporadique tout au long du siècle.² Après l'avènement de Charles Ier, l'Anjou renforça des liens (encore faibles, certes) avec le monde méditerranéen, à la suite du mariage du comte avec Béatrice de Provence (1246) et grâce à ses succès politiques en Italie. Malheureusement, les sources sont très inégalement réparties dans le temps et ne fournissent d'informations que sur le règne de Charles Ier. Tout laisse à penser que les relations étaient alors timides. En ce qui concerne le début du règne de Charles d'Anjou, nous n'avons aucune certitude. La présence de marchands provençaux ou italiens en Anjou reste à démontrer pour la période 1246-1260.³ A partir des années 1260, nous avons des informations sur les Italiens. Il est surprenant de constater qu'ils arrivent tous d'Italie du nord, du Piémont (Asti et Alba) ou de la région de Florence (Florence et Lucques), et de Rome. Pas la moindre trace de marchands venant du royaume de Naples. Ce fait révèle l'importance des engagements diplomatiques de Charles d'Anjou auprès de ses alliés italiens.

L'identification des marchands italiens, comme celle des marchands venus de pays plus lointains, pose un autre problème méthodologique.⁴ En dehors du fait qu'ils sont souvent dissimulés dans les textes, les hommes d'affaires dont l'activité principale est la gestion des opérations financières et le crédit, et qui ne font qu'accessoirement une activité proprement commerciale à partir de stocks de marchandises, doivent impérativement être distingués des marchands qui vivent du négoce et de l'achat et de la vente des marchandises. Car la nature de ces deux sortes d'activité « marchande » n'est pas du tout la même et les marchands de la seconde catégorie dépendent souvent des hommes d'affaires. Malheureusement, la terminologie employée dans les sources ne fait pas cette distinction – sauf en cas d'usure –, et désigne tous les marchands sous le nom « *mercator* » et leur activité avec le verbe « *mercari* ».⁵ Le contexte est donc essentiel pour pouvoir faire la distinction. En premier lieu, nous allons traiter des marchands vivants du négoce.

1) Les premiers marchands italiens en Anjou ayant la protection de Charles Ier sont des florentins. Ils sont mentionnés pour la première fois dans nos sources en

² *Cartulaire de l'hôpital Saint-Jean*, éd. C. Port, in *Inventaire des archives anciennes de l'hôpital Saint-Jean d'Angers*, Paris-Angers 1870 (dans ce qui suit: CHSJ) n° 14, 16, 35 (fin du XIIIe-début du XIIIe siècle); Archives départementales du Maine et Loire (dans ce qui suit: ADML) 1 Hs B 28 s.n. (1297). Nous ne pouvons attribuer cette absence de sources. Le censier de l'hôpital Saint-Jean d'Angers rédigé vers 1240 (ADML 1 Hs B 188) cite plus de 250 noms, parmi lesquels il n'y a pas un seul « Lombard » ou d'autres noms attestant plus ou moins une origine italienne.

³ Les causes de cette absence sont multiples. A l'indigence des sources relatives à ces années s'ajoutent des causes historiques. La participation de Charles d'Anjou à la croisade avec ses frères, ainsi que les conflits des années 1250, issus de son installation en Provence (É. G. Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*. Paris 1954) détournèrent certainement l'attention du comte.

⁴ Cf. P. Desportes, *Reims et les rémois aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*. Paris 1982, 344.

⁵ A. De Bouiard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier roi de sicile concernant la France (1257-1284)*. Paris 1926, n° 658, 718, 1108.

février 1268.⁶ Leur apparition est liée visiblement à la politique italienne de Charles d'Anjou. En plein conflit avec Conradin, l'Angevin consolida sa position au Piémont et en Toscane en s'appuyant sur les nombreuses villes de ces régions.⁷ Les marchands-bourgeois de ces villes consentirent des crédits importants à Charles et assurèrent un trafic de marchandises considérable entre la Provence et le royaume de Sicile.⁸ Mais le volume des échanges entre les marchands italiens et l'Anjou resta loin derrière. En Anjou, les Italiens apparaissent avant tout pour effectuer des opérations financières (v. *infra*) ou pour encaisser une dette du roi-comte assignée sur ses revenus de l'Anjou et du Maine.

D'autres Italiens tentèrent cependant de s'installer en Anjou. Des marchands d'Asti⁹ (un certain Jacques, son frère et leurs familles) arrivèrent durant la seconde moitié des années 1260. En mai 1270, Charles intervint auprès du bailli d'Anjou pour faire réparer le préjudice que ses officiers avaient fait subir à des marchands cisalpins, en saisissant leurs biens à Angers et à Saumur.¹⁰ Nous avons de nombreux exemples de lettres de protection émises par lui en faveur des marchands italiens et valables dans toutes ses provinces. Dans ce cas, faute de pouvoir confirmer la présence de ces marchands en Anjou (ou à Angers), nous ne savons pas si les bénéficiaires de ces lettres en ont réellement profité en Anjou. Si, en théorie, les portes de l'Anjou leur étaient ouvertes, nous ignorons le nombre de ceux qui les franchirent.

Trois marchands venus de Rome, puis onze de leurs confrères, également romains, bénéficièrent des lettres de protection de Charles en septembre 1268.¹¹ A Noël 1269, des marchands guelfes de Sienne reçurent des lettres similaires.¹² Il arrive que des marchands italiens apparaissent en délégation à Angers, pour encaisser une dette de Charles Ier. Ce fut le cas des marchands florentins arrivés au printemps 1271.¹³

⁶ Le document indique comme bénéficiaires Lambert *Tucius*, *Cavalcantus Cauti*, Bernard fils de *Abbas Rusticus*, Durand, son neveu, *Jacquetus Girardus*, *Pigellus Jacobus*. De Bouïard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 64.

⁷ Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, 372-375.

⁸ De Bouïard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 74, 139, 162.

⁹ Ville située à une cinquantaine de kilomètres au sud-est de Turin (Piémont).

¹⁰ De Bouïard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 225.

¹¹ Le 22 septembre 1268, Charles promet "*plenam securitatem per regnum nostrum Sicilie ac Andegavie et Provincie etc. per dictas provincias per itinera constituta ira libere valeant et redire suaque deferre mercimonia*" à *Matheus Seromaro* et à son frère *Paulus* et à *Deodatus* leur neveu. R. Filangieri, *I registri della cancellaria Angioina*. 32 vol., t. 1 : 156. Le 27 septembre 1268, *Paulus*, *Johannes* et *Thomas de Stephano*, *Angelus Jacobus Senisi*, *Nicholaus Cutarello*, *Petrus* et *Bartholomeus Cutarello*, *Petrus Comitatus*, *Nicholaus*, *Thomas*, et *Iacobus Petri Stephani*, marchands et bourgeois de Rome, qui furent en même temps anciens créanciers (*mutuatores*) de Charles reçurent des lettres identiques. Filangieri, *I registri* t. 1 : 156-157.

¹² Filangieri, *I registri* t. 7 : 283.

¹³ De Bouïard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 357.

Quelques années plus tard un marchand de Gênes, *Lanfrankinum Larcharium* reçut une lettre de protection de Charles Ier pour ses voyages dans le comté d'Anjou ; mais ses marchandises restaient soumises aux péages et aux tonlieux.¹⁴ En octobre 1274, des marchands de Lucques (Lucca) partis pour la Provence et l'Anjou obtinrent un sauf-conduit de Charles.¹⁵ Le souverain se réservait toutefois tous les péages et droits liés au transport des marchandises.¹⁶ Entre 1275 et 1277, quatre autres marchands génois obtinrent la protection de Charles d'Anjou dans toutes ses provinces.¹⁷ Mais nous n'en savons pas davantage sur les négociants italiens dans les décennies suivantes. Il semble donc que certains marchands italiens vivant hors du royaume de Naples ont réussi à exploiter les rapports amicaux avec le souverain angevin. Cependant, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, ceci ne représente qu'une brève période du règne de Charles Ier (de 1268 jusqu'au milieu des années 1270), celle où le souverain motiva de cette manière les marchands italiens ; cette tendance ne caractérise pas toute la période s'étendant jusqu'en 1290, loin s'en faut.

II. A partir des années 1270, nous sommes témoins de l'apparition en plus grand nombre des créanciers italiens. Ils bénéficiaient de la protection de Charles d'Anjou et lui versaient en contrepartie des sommes importantes, qui alimentaient à intervalles réguliers le trésor du souverain. En juin 1273, Charles émit successivement deux lettres de protection en faveur des marchands-banquiers d'Alba.¹⁸ La première¹⁹ ne mentionne que cinq marchands, tandis que la seconde lettre fournit d'intéressantes précisions sur leurs activités.²⁰ Dix marchands d'Alba²¹ et leurs familles reçurent le droit de mener leurs activités en Anjou et dans le Maine pendant six ans, à partir du 11 novembre 1273, en payant une somme annuelle de 950 livres tournois, à des termes et avec des montants variés.²²

¹⁴ De Bouïard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 705.

¹⁵ De Bouïard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 792.

¹⁶ Charles accorda "*omnibus et singulis mercatoribus Lucanis... plenam securitatem per Provincie, Andegavie et Forcalquerii comitatibus... ire libere valeant suaque deferre mercimonia, salvo jure pedagii et alio quod de mercimoniis et rebus orum curie debetur*". De Bouïard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 792.

¹⁷ Il s'agit certainement d'une grande famille, *Mussus, Manuel, Cibonus et Antonius Cibus*. Filangieri, *I registri* t. 13 : 57.

¹⁸ Ville du Piémont à une cinquantaine de kilomètres au sud-est de Turin.

¹⁹ Filangieri, *I registri* t. 10 : 159.

²⁰ De Bouïard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 658.

²¹ Robert de *Brayda*; Filibert de *Brayda*; Umberto *Guerzium*, Mathieu *Rapa*; Rebaud *Rapa*; Nicolas *Rapa*; Pierre *Rapa*; Obazinus *Rapa*; *Danexius Corradendus* et Raymond *Faletus*. De Bouïard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 658.

²² Avant entamer leurs activités (fête de la Saint Martin d'hiver-11 novembre), ils étaient obligé de verser 1800 livres, équivalent de deux ans de cens (*census*), à un certain Jean Pierre de *Brayda* dont Charles fut le débiteur. Au début de la troisième et de la quatrième année, ils versèrent 900-900 livres, toujours à Jean Pierre de *Brayda*. Les deux dernières années, c'est Charles qui reçut le reste de la somme du cens en des termes bien définis. De Bouïard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 658. Il est donc fort probable

En contrepartie de ces versements, ils avaient le droit de s'installer dans n'importe quelle ville des deux comtés, d'avoir deux maisons (*mansiones*) à Angers, et une dans chaque (autre) ville. Ils n'étaient pas, en revanche, exemptés du cens foncier (*pensio*), qu'ils devaient acquitter au seigneur du terrain où ils s'étaient installés. Dans leurs activités, ils pouvaient prêter sur gages (*pignora*)²³ mais l'usure leur était formellement interdite. Ils ne devaient conserver les objets gagés que pendant un an et un jour. Passé ce délai légal, ils pouvaient agir à leur guise. En cas d'usure (*lucrum vel usura*) ils devaient restituer le gage à celui qui le réclamait, sans profit. Ils étaient dispensés des taxes sur les ventes (*emenda*). Parmi leurs privilèges, soulignons le fait qu'ils étaient exempts de toutes les tailles (*tallia et tolta*), de toutes les coutumes et exactions, ainsi que des services militaires, comme la garde (*custodia*), chevauchée (*cavalcata*) ou l'ost (*exercitum*). Ils étaient également dispensés de la mainmorte et d'autres droits seigneuriaux. Par la suite, Charles leur permit de rester dans les deux comtés pendant six mois, sans rien avoir à payer, afin de recevoir toutes les dettes qu'on leur devait et pour finir leurs affaires, ceci sans avoir le droit d'emprunter de l'argent pendant cette période. En cas de délit commis par l'un d'eux, seul celui qui était coupable serait responsable sur ses biens ou ses marchandises, et non l'ensemble des marchands-créanciers. Ils étaient, d'après la convention, jugés uniquement par le bailli d'Anjou ou par le représentant du comte.²⁴

En vertu de cet acte de Charles d'Anjou, les marchands-créanciers d'Alba avaient le monopole du crédit pendant la période prescrite, en Anjou et dans le Maine. Les fameux Lombards et Cahorsins (*Caorzini*), comme d'autres, furent du coup exclus des opérations de crédit. Ces dispositions restèrent cependant théoriques, ainsi que le montrent les nombreux exemples de constitution de rente et en raison de la présence d'une importante communauté juive.²⁵

Au cas où les marchands d'Alba voudraient rentrer chez eux et quitter le pays avant les six ans prévus, ils avaient le droit de partir, avec pour seule obligation le paiement du cens de l'année où ils quittaient l'Anjou. A l'inverse, si le comte voulait rompre le contrat, il était obligé de le signaler au début de l'année. Sans quoi les marchands étaient dispensés d'acquitter le cens de l'année concernée. Pour garantir la prospérité de leurs affaires, le comte s'engagea également à ne pas laisser s'installer d'autres marchands-banquiers en Anjou et au Maine pendant cette période.²⁶

que les quatre premières années, ils payèrent à un de leurs parents qui était auparavant le créancier de Charles d'Anjou. Charles trouva ainsi un moyen efficace de rembourser ses dettes. L'Anjou servait donc une fois de plus de réserve ou d'arrière-pays pour financer les projets de Charles en Italie.

²³ « *Possint mercari et lucrari et pecuniam tradere super pignora vel sine pignoribus* » De Bouïard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 658.

²⁴ De Bouïard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 658.

²⁵ L. Brunschvicq, « Les Juifs d'Angers et du pays angevin » *Revue des études juives* 29 (1894), 1–20 ; G. Nahon, « Pour une géographie administrative des Juifs dans la France de Saint Louis » *Revue Historique* 254 (1975), 310–311, 335.

²⁶ De Bouïard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 658.

Nous venons d'esquisser les divers points et conditions du compromis très instructif conclu entre Charles Ier et les marchands d'Alba. Mais cet accord n'eut guère de portée pour les marchands d'Alba, car Charles trouva rapidement une solution beaucoup plus avantageuse pour son trésor. A peine un mois plus tard, au début du mois d'août, il parle déjà des marchands florentins qui lèvent la *gabell*a promise à ceux d'Alba.²⁷ En janvier 1274, il ordonna le remboursement des marchands d'Alba, qui avaient déjà versé la somme correspondant à la première échéance, soit 1800 livres et avaient chiffré leurs dépenses à 700 livres.²⁸ Cet argent suivit un itinéraire assez long avant d'arriver, en partie du moins, aux destinataires primitifs. Charles manda son bailli d'Anjou et le doyen du chapitre Saint-Martin d'Angers d'emprunter 1800 livres aux Florentins pour rembourser les marchands d'Alba (cette somme sera ensuite déduite de leur redevance) et de faire payer directement par les Florentins les dépenses de 700 livres déclarées par les marchands d'Alba.²⁹ La logique de Charles Ier était donc claire. D'une part, il respectait le contrat conclu six mois auparavant et faisait rembourser (au moins dans ses intentions) la totalité des 1800 livres. D'un autre côté, il ne prenait à sa charge que la somme déjà encaissée et chargeait les nouveaux venus, les Florentins, de rembourser les 700 florins. Cinq ans plus tard, en mars 1279, la somme due n'était toujours que partiellement remboursée. Sur 1800 livres, Guillaume, le doyen du chapitre Saint-Martin d'Angers (*receptor et expensator curie nostre*), avait rendu 300 livres, partagés entre les deux groupes de marchands. Le bailli restait donc toujours redevable de 750 livres à chacun. Trois marchands (Robert et Filibert de *Brayda* et *Ubertus Guercinus*) restés fidèles à Charles réclamèrent leur part de 750 livres en mars 1279 ; le souverain intervint auprès du bailli d'Anjou pour que la somme leur soit rendue immédiatement. A l'inverse, le versement des 750 livres dues au deuxième groupe de marchand fut catégoriquement refusé par Charles, pour cause de trahison (*ob prodicionem*).³⁰ Trois des marchands d'Alba, et trois autres qui ne figurent pas dans les documents concernant l'Anjou, s'installèrent finalement pour dix ans en Provence, à partir de l'été 1275.³¹

Sachant que Charles avait pris la décision de rompre le contrat dès août 1273, il est curieux de constater qu'après le versement de la première somme, les marchands d'Alba partirent malgré tout pour l'Anjou et que, même au mois de janvier 1274, ils étaient encore là. Nous savons également qu'à ce moment-là, les Florentins n'étaient pas encore arrivés en Anjou.³² Nous avons moins de détails sur le contrat passé avec les Florentins, à cause de la disparition du texte, mais il est manifeste que certaines clauses furent modifiées. Il s'agissait de onze marchands³³

²⁷ De Bouïard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 704.

²⁸ De Bouïard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 718.

²⁹ De Bouïard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 718.

³⁰ De Bouïard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 1108.

³¹ De Bouïard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 872.

³² De Bouïard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 718.

³³ *Raynerius Leclerc; Tuzius Rocze; Falcus Petri; Castagnus Petri; Tyanus Paczus; Jacobus fils de Truffe Paczi; Gualterius Bonavite; Raynerius de Labella; Johannes Rava; Odinus et Francis-*

et de leurs familles, qui obtinrent le privilège et le monopole du crédit. A la différence des marchands d'Alba, il était prévu qu'ils resteraient 12 ans (au lieu de six) et ils étaient tenus de verser 1500 livres (au lieu de 950) chaque année.³⁴ Le fait que Charles Ier ait rapidement changé d'avis n'est donc pas surprenant. A propos du futur champ d'activité des florentins, Charles ne mentionne que les villes d'Angers et du Mans, ainsi que le château de Saumur et de Baugé, en Anjou. Le terrain de leur activité fut donc sensiblement réduit.³⁵ Charles voulait certainement éviter qu'ils échappent à son contrôle en leur offrant aussi les domaines de ses barons, comme il l'avait fait avec les marchands d'Alba.³⁶ Dans chacune de ces quatre villes, les Florentins avaient le droit d'avoir dans chaque ville une seule maison (*mansio*) où ils pouvaient exercer leurs activités.³⁷ Charles craignait toutefois que les Florentins n'arrivent avec beaucoup de retard ; aussi ordonna-t-il à son bailli de trouver quelqu'un qui paierait le bénéfice (*cabella*) du temps qui s'écoulerait entre le départ des marchands d'Alba et l'arrivée des Florentins, sinon c'était le bailli qui serait obligé de le payer.³⁸

Pour accroître les réserves financières de ses deux comtés du nord-ouest du royaume de France, et plus particulièrement celles des villes, éloignées de ses résidences méditerranéennes, Charles d'Anjou avait besoin d'individus ou de groupes de marchands riches en capital. Jusqu'à son avènement au trône de Sicile, et même pendant les premières années de son règne, nous n'avons aucune trace d'hommes d'affaires italiens, malgré les différents privilèges accordés. Il semble que Charles les ait trouvés dans la première moitié des années 1270, et qu'à partir de ce moment-là, le prince angevin comptait régulièrement sur leur collaboration pour gérer ses ressources. Avons-nous d'autres témoignages de la présence d'Italiens à Angers ou en Anjou pendant les douze ans du contrat des marchands florentins? Est-ce que d'autres marchands arrivèrent d'Italie avec une lettre de protection du roi de Naples? Malheureusement, aucune donnée documentaire ne nous permet de répondre à ces questions par l'affirmative. Les sources administratives de la cour de Naples relatives à Angers sont rarissimes à par-

cus fils de *Johannes*. Ces trois derniers étaient originaires d'Alba mais marchands à Florence.

³⁴ De Bouard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 718.

³⁵ Ici, nous nous tenons au texte. Celui-ci, rédigé en 1273 en faveur des marchands d'Alba, désigne Angers et Le Mans comme *civitas* et Saumur et Baugé comme *villa*. Le texte de 1274 cité en haut dénomme Angers et Le Mans toujours comme *civitas* ; donc le champs d'activité n'était pas réduit, tandis qu'il était restreint dans le cas de Saumur et de Baugé: *In civitatibus nostris Andegavis et Cenomannis et in castris nostris apud Baugeium et Salmurum*. De Bouard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 718.

³⁶ De Bouard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 658.

³⁷ « *in quolibet dictorum locorum habeant unam tantummodo mansionem ubi possint mercari et lucrari* » De Bouard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 718. Ils n'avaient donc plus la possibilité d'en avoir deux à Angers.

³⁸ « *si forte cabellam ipsam eodem medio tempore nullus exercuit, vos ob vestri negligentiam teniri volumus nostre curie in solutione pecunie supradicte* » De Bouard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 718.

tir de 1279–1280. La liste de revenus et dépenses du bailli d'Anjou en 1287–1288³⁹ ne contient aucune indice de revenu provenant de marchands italiens. Il est donc fort probable (même si c'est un *argumentum a silentio*) que Charles II d'Anjou n'a pas renouvelé les usages paternels en accordant des privilèges de crédit. L'absence d'Italiens à partir de 1290 tient aussi au changement de contexte politique, puisque l'Anjou devint alors partie intégrante des domaines de Charles de Valois.

Quelques remarques s'imposent pourtant. Pour que les marchands d'Alba et de Florence acceptent, à partir des années 1270, de payer des sommes importantes (la somme annoncée à propos des Florentins – 1500 livres – est deux fois et demie supérieure aux revenus des foires d'Angers et deux fois plus que la taille annuelle des Juifs en Anjou), c'est qu'ils espéraient tirer un profit considérable de ce système, chaque année. Ils avaient également investi beaucoup d'argent pour leur déplacement et leur installation. Pour Charles d'Anjou, ces contrats ont permis d'assurer non seulement des rentrées d'argent importantes, mais également un certain contrôle des opérations de crédit, reléguant ainsi au second plan les autres créanciers, notamment les Juifs.

Il nous reste à faire le bilan des conséquences de la pénétration des marchands et des créanciers italiens dans le marché angevin durant la période étudiée. Si, comme on l'a vu, les investissements des italiens témoignent d'un certain flair économique de leur part, les sources locales parlent très peu, même indirectement, de leur présence. Ce qui n'infirme pas une participation fructueuse à l'économie angevine, mais nous incite à rester prudent, en ce qui concerne notamment les effets collatéraux de leur activité.

Se pose en effet le problème de la monnaie et notamment de la circulation de l'or en Anjou. Le fait que l'Anjou appartienne dès 1246, et surtout à partir de 1266, quand Charles d'Anjou devient roi de Naples-Sicile, à un autre ensemble politique, pourrait laisser supposer la présence de monnaies provenant d'autres provinces angevines ou d'autres régions italiennes, ou celle de l'or, si important dans la comptabilité napolitaine de Charles d'Anjou. Pourtant les mentions directes sont rares. Dans le trésor de l'évêque Nicolas Gellent, on découvre en 1287 la somme de 100 livres en florins.⁴⁰ Nous avons également quelques mentions d'or dans nos documents. Mais sa place dans l'économie locale semble restreinte. Une pièce d'or byzantin est mentionnée comme moyen de paiement dans un document de l'hôpital Saint-Jean en 1241, donc avant l'époque de l'apanage angevin.⁴¹ Les ordres de paiement de Charles d'Anjou adressés à ses fonctionnaires angevins indiquent parfois des sommes en monnaie d'or, mais elles sont toujours converties en deniers d'argent, et c'est en deniers qu'elles sont acquittées.⁴² Nous pouvons attester cependant la présence – certes en petite quantité – de monnaies

³⁹ Bibliothèque municipale d'Angers ms. 977.

⁴⁰ Ch. Urseau, éd., *Comptes de recettes et de dépenses de Nicolas Gellent évêque d'Angers (octobre 1284–mai 1290)*. Angers 1920 (dans ce qui suit: CNG) n° 705.

⁴¹ CHSJ, n° 119.

⁴² De Bouïard, *Actes et lettres de Charles Ier*, n° 504, 532, 643, 779, etc.

d'or dans les comptes de Nicolas Gellent. Elles sont toujours gardées avec prudence dans le trésor⁴³ de l'évêque. Elles proviennent exclusivement de la noblesse de la région.⁴⁴ Ce qui signifie qu'elles ne sortent pas de l'économie locale, mais des réserves d'or accumulées au sein de la noblesse. En outre, elles n'étaient pas introduites dans la circulation économique, sauf en cas de change.⁴⁵

Plus grave encore, les produits d'origine italienne demeurent invisibles dans nos sources, de même que l'hypothétique rôle des marchands cisalpins dans la gestion économique du comté d'Anjou.

Pour conclure, nous voici confrontés à une double contradiction. La vitalité des liens économiques entre les provinces éloignées de « l'empire angevin » est incontestable, et le rôle privilégié des marchands italiens sur le marché du crédit ne fait aucun doute sur ce plan. Cependant, force est de constater que la présence des marchands italiens en Anjou, quelle que soit leur activité principale d'ailleurs, ne produisit pas de changements durables – ou même seulement perceptibles – dans l'économie angevine. Leur intervention fut principalement le résultat de la politique italienne de Charles Ier d'Anjou. Ce sont des marchands de Rome et des provinces situées au nord de Rome dont les noms nous parviennent. Leur présence fut de trop courte durée pour apparaître nettement dans la documentation locale. Nos informations concernant leur activité en Anjou cessent bien avant 1290. Par la suite, l'expulsion des Juifs, des Lombards et des Cahorsins décidée en 1289,⁴⁶ puis la rupture un an plus tard des liens politiques avec le monde méditerranéen, priva temporairement le comté ligérien et sa capitale de toute une catégorie socio-professionnelle laïque, celle des hommes d'affaires.

⁴³ « *in archa que est in vestibulo ecclesie* ».

⁴⁴ CNG n° 155, 421, 422, 800–802.

⁴⁵ En 1285 l'évêque fit changer 4 oboles d'or en denier d'argent (28 sous). CNG n° 155.

⁴⁶ P. Reangeard, *Histoire de l'Université d'Angers*. éd. par A. Lemarchand, Angers 1877, t. 2 : n° XXIV.

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Hospitals and the Poor in Late Medieval Bratislava

JUDIT MAJOROSSY



The overall objective of the following survey is to clarify the number and size of hospitals in late medieval Bratislava (Pozsony/Pressburg). The other purpose is to rank and evaluate this institution as a place for spiritual investment of citizens as indicated in their testaments and as an economic-financial unit of the town compared to its size. The main intention here is to reconsider some of the documents on the history of hospitals used by earlier scholarly literature and combine them with the analysis of hitherto untouched sources, mainly hospital accounts and inventories.¹

On the basis of – both old and new – scholarship concerning the issue of the hospitals in medieval Bratislava one faces an annoying disorder concerning their number and patronage. István Vámosy stated in his nineteenth-century quasi-monograph on the hospital of Bratislava that in the Middle Ages there was only one hospital in the town. He asserted that this hospital, belonging to the Order of Saint Anthony, was founded in the time of King Ladislas (1077–1095) and constructed a whole history for the early period without any reference to sources whatsoever. He argues that after the decline of the institution at the beginning of the fourteenth century it was re-established in 1391 – still without any sources concerning these events – and shortly afterwards, in 1397, it was handed over to the town as a “new” hospital by its patrons, *Paulus Domicellus* and *Ladislaus de Nuova Domo*. The Hussite wars caused serious damage to the buildings and therefore, in 1429, the preceptor of the Anthonites, *Gerhardus de Tombres*, definitively left the hospital to the town. Above all his mixing of sources referring to different institutions – for example, the document of 1397 concerns another hospital –, his

¹ The issue of hospitals and caring for the poor in late medieval Bratislava forms part of my Ph.D. research based on the analysis of pious bequests of burghers. In my dissertation, entitled *The Church in Town: The Religious Life of the Burghers in Late Medieval Bratislava (Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries) in the Light of Last Wills* these sources will be discussed extensively, here only certain aspects are highlighted.

main argument for the existence of only one hospital was that from the year 1529 the accounts of only one hospital were extant.²

Tivadar Ortvy, the monographer of the town, criticised him harshly, although only on the issue of the number of hospitals. On the basis of the sources, he clearly saw the existence of another such institution. Similarly to Vámosy, Ortvy believed that the Order of Saint Anthony had a hospital dedicated to Saint Ladislás and he identified both the old and the new hospitals with the same institution, but he referred to a second hospital with the patronage of Saint Elisabeth.³ In his mid-twentieth century countrywide overview of religious life in the Jagellonian period, Lajos Pásztor relied completely on Ortvy's work.⁴ The first person to criticise the above mis-interpretations was Pásztor's contemporary, Zoltán Somogyi, in his work on caring for the poor in the medieval kingdom of Hungary. He argued that the hospital of the Order of Saint Anthony was not identical with the Saint Ladislás hospital, stating that the latter was a civic foundation and had nothing to do with the orderly hospital. He also clarified that in contrast to this old monastic institution the civic foundation was called *novum hospicium*. Seemingly he created a clearer picture, but by listing three separate hospitals – with the titles of Saint Anthony, Saint Ladislás, and Saint Elisabeth – another problem was generated.⁵

Recent scholarly works touching upon the issue from different angles rely principally on the earlier, above described historiographical tradition. András Kubinyi, in his general article about medieval healing and hospitals, collected a list of such institutions all around the medieval kingdom of Hungary. In this list, for Bratislava he named a Saint Ladislás and a Saint Elisabeth hospital, but on the basis of Ortvy and Pásztor he linked the first one to the Order of Saint Anthony.⁶ Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, in her book on the Church in late medieval Hungarian towns (published both in French and Hungarian), gives the number of two or three hospitals in the town in a table on the charitable institutions – in her context meaning hospitals – thus leaving the question open.⁷ Tamás Grynaeus' survey in his book on

² I. Vámosy, *A pozsonyi katolikus polgári ápolóintézet. Fennállásának 500 éves évfordulója alkalmából*. [The Catholic Civic Hospital of Bratislava. On the Occasion of the Five-Hundredth Anniversary of Its Existence], Bratislava 1898, 12–31, esp. 28–31.

³ T. Ortvy, *Pozsony története*. [The History of Bratislava] Vol. II/4. Bratislava 1903, 288–289, 300. For the hospitals otherwise see: 288–301 and 420–421.

⁴ L. Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete a Jagellók korában*. [The Religious Life of the Hungarians During the Reign of the Jagellonian Kings] Budapest 1940, reprint: Budapest 2000, esp. Chapter 3: Szegénygondozás és betegápolás [Caring for the Poor and Nursing the Sick], 50–65, esp. 51 and 57.

⁵ Z. Somogyi, *A középkori Magyarország szegényügye*. [Caring for the Poor in Medieval Hungary] Budapest 1941, passim, esp. 32, note 1. For Saint Elisabeth separately see: 101.

⁶ A. Kubinyi, "Orvoslás, gyógyszerészek, fürdők és ispotályok a késő középkori Magyarországon," [Healing, Apothecaries, Baths and Hospitals in Late Medieval Hungary] in *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon*. ed. I. Zombori, Budapest 1999, 253–267, for the hospitals in Bratislava see his list: 263.

⁷ M.-M. de Cevins, *L'église dans les villes hongroises à la fin du moyen âge (vers 1320-vers 1490)*. Publications de l'Institut Hongrois de Paris: Dissertationes 1. Budapest–Paris–

the cult of Saint Anthony concerns only the hospital of the Order of Saint Anthony. He separates the Saint Ladislav hospital from the monastic one, stating that all the confusion can be solved with a document dated to 1509 in which donations were given both to the Saint Ladislav and Saint Anthony hospitals. However, among the documents concerning the Anthonite institution in Bratislava he still listed the charter of 1397. Interpreting this source has caused most of the trouble in the historiography of the Bratislava hospitals through identifying the title of Saint Ladislav with the monastic hospital, although this document is only concerned with the hospital founded by the burghers.⁸ On the other hand, Jan Lukačka – who also cautiously separates the old and the new hospitals of Saint Anthony and Saint Ladislav respectively – oversimplifies the whole question. He states that in 1395 – without any document referring to this date – the Saint Ladislav hospital was attached to the original Saint Anthony hospital, and thus implies that afterwards there was only one hospital in the town.⁹ Both Grynaeus and Lukačka disregard the occasional appearance of a Saint Elisabeth title in the sources.

In trying to clear up the above confusion, one should turn to types of sources that have not been considered in this respect. Along with the reconsideration of some of the often-quoted documents, the present investigation is based on the systematic processing and analysis of the *Protocollum Testamentorum*, a town book containing 844 last wills made between 1409 and 1529. This source reflects the best of all how the citizens themselves regarded this type of charitable institution in the town.¹⁰ Some of the town books, mainly town accounts,¹¹ town statutes, and tax-books,¹² but above all several account books of the hospitals themselves,

Szeged 2003, 351. [Hungarian edition: *Az Egyház a késő-középkori magyar városokban*. Budapest 2003, 186. In the main text for the same issue see 51.]

⁸ T. Grynaeus, *Szent Antal tüze*. [Saint Anthony's Fire] Budapest 2002, 58–59. For the listed sources see table 10. The documents mentioned for Bratislava at the dates 1397 and 1464, however, are not connected to the monastic hospital but to the civic Saint Ladislav hospital.

⁹ J. Lukačka, "Pramene k mestský špitálom na juhzápadnom slovensku," [Sources on Municipal Hospitals in Southwest Slovakia] *Historické Štúdie* 42 (2002), 139–144, for the hospitals in Bratislava see: 140–141.

¹⁰ Archív Mesta Bratislavy [Town Archives of Bratislava] (henceforth: AMB), 4.n.1. Also in Magyar Országos Levéltár [National Archives of Hungary], Photo archive (henceforth: Df.) Df.277056. (Henceforth referred to as PT). Hereby, I owe a debt of gratitude to be able to use the unpublished transcription of the whole protocol prepared by Katalin Szende. A concordance of the wills is to be found in K. Szende, *Óthon a városban. Társadalom és anyagi kultúra a középkori Sopronban, Pozsonyban és Eperjesen*. [Home in Town: Society and Material Culture in Medieval Sopron, Bratislava and Prešov], Budapest 2004, 272–294. Henceforth in brackets these numbers are also given.

¹¹ AMB, Kammerrechnungen (henceforth: K).

¹² Related statutes are to be found in a town book of mixed content. AMB, 3.a.1. (Df.277806). The tax-book of 1434: AMB, no. 3599 (Df.241676).

provide a picture of how these institutions were administered and how they were considered from the town's point of view.¹³

Since from these town books of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries a more complex picture can be drawn about the hospitals, hereafter a reversed – or at least not a linear – chronology is followed in presenting the history of the hospitals. Two things seem to be strikingly evident after the analyses of the *Protocollum Testamentorum* and the hospital accounts. Firstly, there were not more than two hospitals in the town in the Middle Ages. In all the available sources, the institutions in question were referred to either in the singular (*Spital*), or with the term both hospitals (*baide* or *zwai*). Secondly, even these two institutions were in most cases considered as one. Most of the citizens bequeathed goods to “the Hospital” and less than a quarter of the total hospital donations were addressed to both hospitals (Fig. 1).

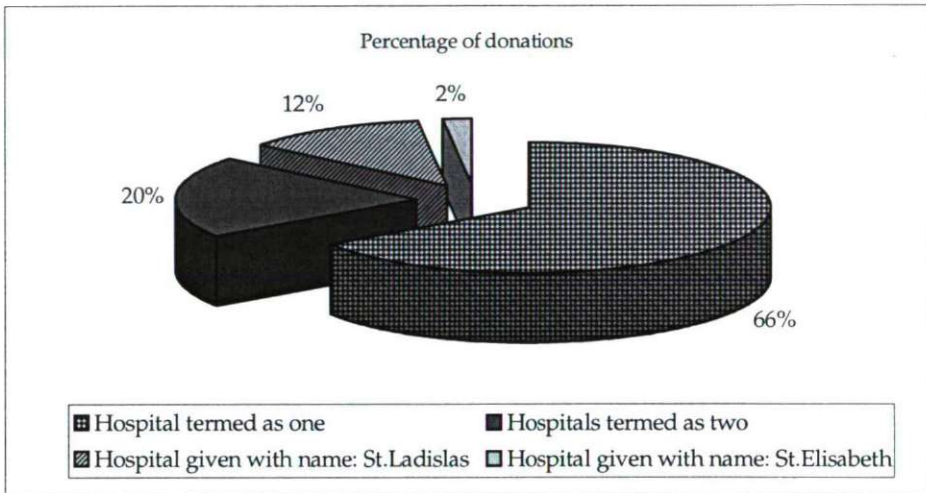


FIG. 1. DONATIONS TO THE HOSPITALS OF BRATISLAVA IN THE *PROTOCOLLUM TESTAMENTORUM* BETWEEN 1409–1529

On the other hand, the accounts of both the hospital and the town¹⁴ handled the two institutions together and on the basis of the sources examined here it can also be stated that these two hospitals were administered by one hospital mas-

¹³ Among the six hospital accounts consulted, three are basically kinds of land-registers containing payments due on certain immovables. From 1441: AMB, 1.Bs.c.1. (Df.283629), from 1506–1516: AMB, B.s.2. (Df.283630), and from 1517: AMB, B.s.3. (Df.283631). However, the second book contains two inventories as well. The other three are proper account books of incomes and expenses from 1493: AMB, B.s.1.a., from 1503–1504: AMB, 1.b.B.s.4., and from 1512–1516: 1.c.B.s.

¹⁴ Mostly, when a reference appeared in the town accounts about donating wine (e.g. in 1434: AMB, K1, 12r, in 1448: AMB, K13, 93), bread (e.g. in 1440: AMB, K3, 245, in: 1509: AMB, K64, 285), fish (e.g. in 1478: AMB, K41, 240), salt (e.g. in 1455: AMB, K22a, 249, in 1458: AMB, K26, 23, 26, 27), or oil (e.g. in 1478: AMB, K41, 239, in 1487: AMB, K47, 255, in 1494: AMB, K53, 358) to the poor in the hospital, the institution was termed as one.

ter.¹⁵ As early as 1398 Ulrich Kitzmagel was the *spital mayster* and *verweser armer lewt* of the two – the new and the old – hospitals in the suburbs of Bratislava.¹⁶ The several documents consulted, among them the numerous due-bills, are definite in stating that the old hospital was the Saint Anthony and the new one was the Saint Ladislas.¹⁷

The old hospital that belonged to the Order of Saint Anthony must have been established before 1309, but since no earlier document has survived, against all attempts, nothing more can be stated about its origin. In that year a dispute – the concrete cause of the trouble is unknown – between the town and the Order ended with the compromise that only the spiritual matters remained in the hand of the Order – meaning principally the election of the hospital priest. In any secular matters the authority over the house, the real estate and the income, as well as over the inmates of the hospital, was in the hand of the procurator, who was elected by the burghers and had to be accepted by the Order.¹⁸ The hospital priest was only a co-rector or chaplain beside the procurator. Furthermore, the Order could keep only those donations that were directly given to it and not to the poor in the hospital. In any other case, it would have been strange that the Anthonites gave over to the town so easily most of the rights concerning their own monastic hospital. Zoltán Somogyi, however, has raised the possibility that the legal claim of the town might have originated from the fact that the urban community took part financially in the foundation of the hospital or invited the regular canons to run an already existing institution.¹⁹ Though his idea has been overlooked in later literature, it is not negligible, at least on the point that the town might have invited the Anthonites. The same document also states that the Order could keep as its own possession a stone house with a small house and a fruit garden as well as a chamber belonging to the nearby bath.

In addition, after a while even the authority of the *capellanus hospitalis Sancti Antonii* was limited, as is well demonstrated by a later conflict with the parish priest of the nearby Saint Lawrence church in 1384.²⁰ Chaplain Ulrich performed burials in the hospital chapel in disagreement with the parish priest, who protested against it. The outcome of the conflict was that the bodies were to be exhumed and reburied in the graveyard of the parish church; and for the future

¹⁵ For the list of hospital masters according to the present state of research see Appendix 1.

¹⁶ AMB, no. 549 (Df.239175): “*in dy czwen spital vor der stat zu Prespurch in das new vnd das alde [...] Ulreichen dem Kyczmagel dy czeit ainem gesworn purger zu Prespurch vnd den wir der gancz rat zu ainem spital mayster vnd zu ainem verweser armer lewt...*”

¹⁷ AMB, no. 1530 (Df.239675): “*in das alt spital ze Sand Anthoni gelegen fur der stat ze Presburg*” or the around fourty due bills to “*das neu spital zu Sand Lasla*”. E.g. 1418: AMB, no. 892 (Df.239397), 1438: AMB, no. 1574 (no Df), 1451: AMB, no. 2612 (Df.240094), 1454: AMB, no. 2950 (Df.240288), etc.

¹⁸ AMB, no. 26 (Df.238650). For the numerous editions of the document see: *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár*. [Charters of the Angevin Period] Vol. 2. eds. Gy. Kristó et al., Szeged 1992, no. 677. and Ortway II/4, 289–292.

¹⁹ Somogyi, *A középkori Magyarország szegényügye*, 52.

²⁰ 22 October 1384. Bratislava Chapter, private R-I-II (Df.228288). See also Ortway II/4, 421.

a similar act would involve excommunication. In order to stress the higher rank of the parish church, it was also stated that during the high mass in Saint Lawrence's, there should be no preaching in the hospital.

A full-fledged urban administration – also embracing spiritual matters – was legalised over the Anthonite hospital only after and due to the Hussite destruction. In 1429 the preceptor of the Order asked the town to govern the hospital until the eventual return of the monks.²¹

The new hospital of Saint Ladislav was established sometime towards the end of the fourteenth century. The founders themselves or their immediate successors handed over the newly-founded institution to the town in 1397, stating that „the town judge and the council is more able to beneficially and usefully take care of the hospital and the poor living inside.”²² However, already in 1375 the rich Viennese tradesman, Jans Poll, who settled down in Bratislava and became its citizen, in his last will mentioned two hospitals.²³ Therefore, it can be supposed that the new hospital might have been founded around the 1370s.

As has been explained above, the old hospital of the Anthonites had been under the governance of an elected hospital master since 1309. Evidently, when the new hospital was handed over to the town (1397) it was entrusted to the same person. In the following year of 1398, when the two hospitals received a considerable donation from the last will of the deceased Bernard Glimph, the above-mentioned Ulrich Kitzmagel was named as the master of both institutions.²⁴

However, confusion seemingly remains as to the titles of the above two institutions, since three patron saints appear in the sources: Saint Ladislav, Saint An-

²¹ 1428: AMB, no. 2075 (Df.240913) "*Johannes Artung preceptor domus Sancti Anthonij in Drawcz*" on the state of the hospital in Bratislava. 1429: AMB, no. 874 (Df.239501) "*Gerhardus de Tombres crucifer hospitalis in Drawoz et preceptor generalis ordinis sancti Anthonij in regnis Hungarie et Sclavonie*" handed over all the administrative rights to the town. See for all these: Ortway II/4, 296–297.

²² Two documents are extant concerning the act. (Both have facsimile editions in Vámosy, Table II and III). The first was written on 2 July 1397: AMB, no. 614 (Df.239162). Here the two citizens handing over the new hospital to the town are addressed as patrons, governors, donors and founders of the institution: "... *Paulus Domicellus et Ladislaus de Nova Domo civis Posoniensis [...] veri et legitimi patroni gubernatores collatores fundatores necnon heredes ultimi novi hospitalis ecclesie Sancti Ladislai regis extra muros opidi...*" The second document was written on 17 August 1397: AMB, no. 619 (Df. 239166). In this confirmation letter, however, these persons were addressed only as "*legittimi patroni et heredes fundatorum hospitalis*". Therefore, it is not evident whether they really were the founders themselves, though as the title of the hospital corresponds with the name of one of them this cannot be excluded.

²³ AMB, no. 327 (Df.238910): "...*sol man daz almuesen in daz alte spital geben vor der stat ze Prespurch [...] Auch schaff ich waz ich vber die zehen phunt die ich geschafft hatt hincz den prüderen ewiges geltes hatt in die zway spitol daz man den siechen raychen [...] vnd sol alle wochen raichen ein phunt phenninge in die zway spital ein ganczes jar...*" Szende, *Otthon a városban*, 293 (will no. 861).

²⁴ AMB, no. 549 (Df.239175): "*in dy czwen spital [...] czwey hundert phunt phenning [...] dy Bernhard der Glymph selig dar ain geschafft hat...*", see also Note 16.

thony, and Saint Elisabeth. The Saint Ladislas title presents no problem, as in most of the cases it is explicitly stated that the title belongs to the new hospital. Therefore, the riddle to be solved is the relation of the two other titles. The first pivotal point is a document from 1326 in which the *preceptor* and *magister* of the Anthonite house in Bratislava handed over a piece of arable land to the widow of the ex-judge of the town. She was supposed to pay a certain sum for it, and consult the superior of the Order over whatever was planned for the land.²⁵ Most importantly here, it was stated that the beneficiary „owe[d] to visit devotedly” the Order’s house „on the festivities and holy days of Saint Anthony and Saint Elisabeth.”²⁶ This statement cannot have been included for no reason.

On the other hand, when the later sources refer to both hospitals, the one always appearing is the Saint Ladislas institution, but for the old one they use the title of either Saint Anthony or Saint Elisabeth.²⁷ For example, in the hospital account of 1493 the „servant of the sick-room” (*sutendiern*) serving in Saint Ladislas was named Catherine, but a blind Margareth was also mentioned who lived in Saint Anthony’s.²⁸ In some accounts the same servants appeared only with their names or with their occupations, but in 1513 they were again connected to institutions. This time the wife of a certain Matthew was said to serve in Saint Elisabeth’s and a certain Catherine in Saint Ladislas’.²⁹

The most eloquent hospital account book is the one led by Martin Sembler, hospital master of *beder spital Sand Laslaw vnd Sand Elspetn* between 1512 and 1516 continuously. Here, among the listed incomes, each year one finds *ophergelt* and *gesamelt gelt* collected on four occasions per year: on Saint Ladislas’ day, Saint Ulrich’s day, Saint Elisabeth’s day, and Saint Anthony’s day.³⁰ This supposedly means that all these feasts had connections to the hospitals in question, and recalling the document of 1326 mentioned above, one can affirm that the feasts of

²⁵ AMB, no. 52 (Df.238676): „Nos frater Sygo de Portatriona preceptor et magister domorum Sancti Antonij [...] unam partem arabilem terre [...] dedimus contulimus donauimus Margarete relicte comitis Iacobi quondam iudex in Posenio...” Edited with mistakes and omissions in G. Fejér: *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. Vols. I–XI. Buda 1829–1844, VIII/3, 146–147.

²⁶ „Dicimus eciam quod in festiuitatibus ac sollempnitatibus Sancti Antonij et Beate Elisabehte [sic!] ad nostram domum cum deuotione debeant conuenire.”

²⁷ In a will of 1451 „des alten Spital Sand Anthony [...] neuen spital uber Sanndt Lasla” appears together. PT, fol. 71^v (will no. 149). While in another will of 1491 we read the following: „Item in bede spital Sannd Lasla und Sannd Elsbeten in iedes schaff ich zugeben III fl. ...” PT, fol. 230^r (will no. 491).

²⁸ „Item der Katherina sutendiern zu Sannd Lasla an irem sold [...] v schilling” and „Item der plinten Maruschen zu Sannd Anthony umb ain par schueech [...] xxvj denar”. AMB, B.s.1.a., fol. 17^{r-v}.

²⁹ „Item Mathesijn suttendieren zw Sannd Elspeten hab ich geben zwo quotemer j talentum iij schilling xvij denar.” and „Item Kathrein swtndieren zu Sannd Lasla hab ich ain quotemer geben v schilling xxiiij denar.” AMB, 1.c.B.s., fol. 69^v.

³⁰ AMB, 1.c.B.s., fol. 16^r, fol. 51^r, fol. 86^v–87^r.

Saint Elisabeth and Saint Anthony both had importance in the hospital once belonging to the Order of Saint Anthony.

Consequently, the old hospital had either two titles or, most probably, the usage of Saint Anthony referred to the fact that this hospital was once run by the Order of Saint Anthony, but the real patron saint of the hospital was Saint Elisabeth.³¹ On the other hand, it is also conceivable – though in the light of the Hungarian practice with a lesser probability – that the hospital church was not consecrated to the same saint as the hospital itself, or in the course of time it might have changed its patron.³² Interestingly, among the pious donations of the last wills in the *Protocollum Testamentorum* the old hospital appeared only three times by name (Fig. 1), and among them the only case when the patronage of Saint Anthony was used referred to the hospital church where the testator ordered an anniversary mass for himself.³³ How the institution got its patronage, whether it had two patrons at all or the title of Saint Anthony was transferred from the name of the Order in the burghers' collective mind, cannot be established from the sources. However, the two titles evidently refer to the same – old – hospital.

In a document from 1505, Albert, rector and general preceptor of the Order of Saint Anthony, wanted to appropriate the Saint Elisabeth hospital in the suburbs from the town of Bratislava, stating that it had once belonged to his Order. The citizens of the town, however, did not remember at all – probably did not want to remember – that this institution had ever belonged to the Order. Therefore, King Wladislas II (1490–1516) transferred the decision on the matter to the next diet.³⁴ The judicial process and the outcome of the dispute are unknown; no extant documents have been found about it. However, in the light of what has been

³¹ For Saint Elisabeth as a much-liked hospital patron: Kubinyi, "Orvoslás, gyógyszerészek," 262. Cevins, *L'église dans les villes hongroises*, 49. Generally on hospital patrons see e.g.: W. Deinhardt, "Patrozinienkunde", *Historisches Jahrbuch* 56 (1936), 174–207; G. Zimmermann, "Patrozinienwahl und Frömmigkeitswandel im Mittelalter, dargestellt an Beispielen aus dem alten Bistum Würzburg" *Würzburger Diözesan-Geschichtsblätter* 20 (1958), 24–126, 21 (1959), 5–124; P. Moraw, "Ein Gedanke zur Patrozinienforschung", *Archiv für mittelhochdeutsche Kirchengeschichte* 17 (1965), 9–26. Moraw also dealt with the question of double patronage and changing patron saints.

³² Special thanks is due to Ass.-Prof. Dr. Michel Pauly (Université du Luxembourg), who kindly informed me about his research on hospital patronage in the territory between the Meuse and the Rhine, between Aachen and Mulhouse in Alsace, where he found several examples for double patronage among the Hospitaller orders, and also about some cases for a hospital patron overcoming another. One of them in Bar-le-Duc is especially interesting, because the hospital once belonging to the Order of Saint Anthony changed its patron when it was given over to the town.

³³ Saint Elisabeth Hospital: PT, fol. 230r–231v (will no. 491) and PT, fol. 419v–421v (will no. 833). Saint Anthony Church: PT, fol. 285v (will no. 614).

³⁴ AMB, no. 2366 (Df.240989): "...Albertus rector et generalis preceptor domorum Sancti Anthonij in hoc regno nostro hospitale Sancte Elizabeth in suburbio eiusdem ciuitatis nostre [Posoniensis] existens allegans ipsum hospitale ad dictum suum ordinem Sancte Anthonij pertinere..."

written above – contrary to Tivadar Ortway³⁵ – this document reveals the claim of the Order as the continuation of an old story. In 1429 the preceptor of the Order asked the town to govern the hospital until the possible return of the monks. Apparently, in 1505 – for some unknown reason – they wanted to regain the hospital they had once run. No wonder that the collective memory of the town worked differently from that of the Order.

The will of Lawrence Jung, dated to 1451, reveals that due to their location it was also logical to consider and govern the two institutions together, since the two hospitals were actually located very close to each other. In the text it is stated that the testator's house was to be found: „above the old hospital of Saint Anthony in *Spitalneusiedel* (Hospital Suburb) and opposite to the new hospital of Saint Ladislav.“³⁶ The two extant inventories of the hospitals from 1506 and 1510 also imply that the two infirmaries must have been close to each other. At the same time, it also seems evident in these documents that while the two sick-rooms were named, handled and located separately, the kitchen, the staff-rooms, and the farm-buildings were probably common, at least by the beginning of the sixteenth century.³⁷

Despite the facts of a common hospital master and staff as well as the economic and financial co-administration of the institutions, the two hospitals were never completely merged – their duality is present in the sources all along. The cloth-merchant George Mair's donation to the hospitals and the poor in 1495 well represents how the burghers of the town viewed the whole issue. First he ordered four forints for the building-fund of the *Spital* (given in the singular), then to both hospitals he ordered six forints to be spent for food and wine that was to be distributed among the poor living there.³⁸

The two institutions also had, for example, their own hospital “churches”³⁹ and sometimes the sources also mention about their own chaplains,⁴⁰ both falling

³⁵ Ortway II/4, 301. Here he mentions the document, but only as an argument against István Vámosy, quoting it as evidence that there were two separate hospitals in the town. However, since according to his conjecture the Anthonite hospital bore the title of Saint Ladislav, he found the claim of the Order appearing in the source false.

³⁶ PT, fol. 71v: “...mein haws gelegen oberhalb des alten Spital Sand Anthony auf Spital Neusidl gegen den neuen spital uber Sanndt Lasla...” On the location see more in J. Majorossy, “A város közepén – a társadalom peremén. A szegények helye a középkori Sopron életében,” [In the Middle of the Town – at the Edge of Society. The Place of the Poor in the Life of Medieval Sopron] *Soproni Szemle* 57:3 (2003), 220–221.

³⁷ AMB, B.s.2. (Df.283630). 1506: fol. 3r–4v, 1510: fol. 5v–7r.

³⁸ “Item in das Spital zu dem gepaw schaff ich IIII fl. und sunderlich den armen lewten in baiden spitaln schaff ich VI fl. doch [...] sullen kauffen speiss und wein und den armen lewten selbs austailn.” PT, fol. 253v (will no. 535).

³⁹ “Item czw Sand Lasla kirchen da selbst zwum paw schaff ich auch I fl. vngrisch.” PT, fol. 387v (will no. 783). “Item [...] jartag [...] zu Sandt Anthonj [...] X fl.” PT, fol. 285v (will no. 614). A document dated to 1515 records an altar in the Saint Ladislav hospital: “Ich Petrus Khrynnner [...] als recht lehennherren des beneficio vnnd altars des spitals Sannd Lasla...” AMB, no. 4548 (Df.241129). The two churches were mentioned together in John Am-

under the authority of the parish priest of the nearby Saint Lawrence church, as one of the testators clearly referred to "the two hospitals of Saint Lawrence".⁴¹

The dominance of the Saint Ladislav hospital is visible in the sources. The fact that its name appears more often in testaments (Fig. 1) and in all the other documents (accounts, due-bills, receipts of payment) may be partially explained from the feature of common management – centred on the hospital which was from its beginning a clearly urban (civic) institution. However, this might be connected to the size of the two institutions as well. Until now, for the late medieval – (pre-1526) – period no data have been disclosed concerning the number of people living in these institutions; only conjectures have been offered. Even I myself, in an earlier article, relied only on the highest number of donated beds to calculate or give a hint at the possible size of the hospital in the period under query.⁴² Namely, in 1442 Andrew Schönbach in his will ordered twenty strap-beds (*spannpett*)⁴³ to be made for the new hospital.⁴⁴ On the basis of the inventories noted above, discovered during the course of my most recent research, it is to be seen that the number of poor nursed does not necessarily correspond to the number of beds to be found in the buildings. The until now estimated number of poor living in one of the hospitals at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century seems to be closer in reality to the number of them living in both hospitals together (Table 1).

	1506	1510
Staff listed	7	9
Poor (+ children) counted in both hospitals	17+2	24
Total	26	33

TABLE 1. THE NUMBER OF THE POOR AND STAFF IN THE HOSPITALS OF BRATISLAVA
(BASED ON TWO INVENTORIES)

In 1506 the number of poor adults and children in both infirmaries together was nineteen, but there were only seventeen strap-beds in the two buildings. At the same time, in 1510 the people being nursed numbered twenty-four in all, while the number of strap-beds enumerated was thirty-seven (Table 1 and 2). It is also visible that the housing capacity of Saint Ladislav's hospital was at least double that of Saint Elisabeth's.

bringer's will in 1525: "*Item zw der zwayer spittalkirichen notturfft vnd gepaw schaff ich in gelt iijj flor.*" AMB, no. 4905 (Df.243586). Szende, *Otthon a városban*, 293 (will no. 856).

⁴⁰ For a list (collected to this date) of hospital chaplains see Appendix 2. Unfortunately, the sources rarely mention in which hospital they served.

⁴¹ "*Item mer in die zwae spital gen Sand Lorentzen in ainen yetz X gulden den armen lewtten umb tuech zu klaidern darumb umb mein armen sel zupitten.*" PT, fol. 334^v (will no. 723).

⁴² Majorossy, "A város közepén," 224.

⁴³ The term refers to the structure of the bed. It meant a wooden frame onto which straps or cords were strengthened that held the feather-bed or the straw mattress. Szende, *Otthon a városban*, 202.

⁴⁴ "*Item vnd mer hat er geschafft in daz new spital in zwainczig spannpett armen leuten in yeglichs spannpett ain halben koczen.*" PT, fol. 41^v (will no. 89).

	1506	1510
Feather-beds / strap-beds (+travel-bed) for the staff in both hospitals	16 / 14(+1)	19 / 13(+1)
Feather-beds / strap-beds for the poor in Saint Ladislas hospital	13 / -	25 / 16
Feather-beds / strap-beds for the poor in Saint Elisabeth hospital	4 / 4	12 / 8
Total	33 / 19	56 / 38
Tin plates (deep and shallow) altogether	19	19
Wooden plates (deep and shallow) altogether	13	17
Copper bowls	2	3
Total	34	39

TABLE 2. THE NUMBER OF BEDS AND PLATES IN THE HOSPITALS OF BRATISLAVA
(BASED ON TWO INVENTORIES)

The number of the permanent personnel fluctuated between seven and nine, although according to the accounts for the years 1513 to 1515 around sixteen people were paid for serving in the hospitals. The staff members always present were the matron (*spitalmaisterin*), usually one nurse in each sick-room (*suttendiern*), the alms-box servant (*zistelknecht*), the scribe, and the priest or chaplain(s). Also included were the woman house-keeper (*schafferin*), who might have been basically in charge of the kitchen, as in some of the accounts where there was no *schafferin*, a woman-cook (*kochin*) was listed instead. The members of the farm-establishment were usually at least two wagon servants (*wagenknecht*), the herdsman (*halter*, *viechhalter*, *pastor*), sometimes also an additional swineherd (*sawhalter*) as well as a herdswoman (*herterin*), and from one to four farm or animal servants (*viechdiern*).⁴⁵ Naturally, for work in the vineyards and on the land, odd-job men were employed. Similarly, the priest, the students, and the schoolmaster were hired for certain festivities from the Saint Lawrence parish church, especially on the occasion of the feasts of Saint Ladislas, Saint Ulrich, Saint Anthony, and Saint Elisabeth.⁴⁶

Concerning the economic life of the hospitals in the fifteenth century, the available sources shed light only on their "banking" activity. The so-called account book of 1441 is a register for due payments imposed on different immovables,⁴⁷ and most of the individual charters from the period witnessed the same type of obligation (*census hospitalis*). As it is visible from the later, de facto hospital accounts the *zinsgelt* was the most important source of income – besides wine production – for these institutions (Table 3).⁴⁸

⁴⁵ For the personnel see the following sources. In 1493: AMB, B.s.1.a., fol. 17^{r-v}. In 1503–1504: AMB, 1.b.B.s.4., passim, but esp. between fol. 13^r–16^v. In 1506: AMB, B.s.2. (Df.283630), fol. 3^r. In 1510: AMB, B.s.2. (Df.283630), fol. 5^v. In 1512–1513: AMB, 1.c.B.s., fol. 32^v–33^r, 50^r. And for "das diennst volkh" in 1513–1514: AMB, 1.c.B.s., fol. 69^{r-v}, while in 1514–1515: fol. 105^{r-v}, 108^r.

⁴⁶ For the priest and the students: AMB, 1.c.B.s., fol. 33^r, fol. 65^{r-v}. For the schoolmaster: AMB, 1.c.B.s., fol. 70^v, fol. 109^r.

⁴⁷ AMB, 1.Bs.c.1. (Df.283629).

⁴⁸ The two other hospital books from the period are also registers for payments owing. From 1506–1516: AMB, B.s.2. (Df.283630), and from 1517: AMB, B.s.3. (Df.283631).

Incomes (calculated in denars)	1493	1503-1504	1512-1513	1513-1514	1515-1516
Offering money (<i>ophergelt</i>)	128	-	5.969	5.665	5.706
Alms-box money (<i>püchseingelt</i>)					5.130
Last will donations	-	-	5.700	6.300	8.595
Collected grape-juice [65-100 denars <i>per urnam</i>]	-	110,5 urna 43 quartel	9,5 urna 8 quartel	7,5 urna 3 quartel	13,5 urna 3 quartel
Income from wine	-	-	6.052	25.896	21.889
Income from beer	-	-	-	-	1.401
Income from agriculture (animals, grain, food, wood, dung)	1.931	-	9.275	21.689	14.106
Income from portage	360	-	1.034	760	-
Income from old clothes sold	-	-	1.569	927	-
Repayment (<i>zinsgelt</i>)	8.190	54.450	21.996	28.845	14.760
Other	1.460	-	240	-	-
Total	12.069	54.450	51.835	90.082	71.587

In 1512 six vineyards and two houses were sold a total of 30.600 denars
(by 1516: 24.000 denars were paid)

Expenses (calculated in denars)	1493	1503-1504	1512-1513	1513-1514	1515-1516
Spent on kitchen (<i>kuchenspeis</i>)	1.224	10.133	15.027	19.444	16.189
Spent on animals and other agricultural expenses	3.456	15.104	10.771	12.877	14.217
Spent on vineyard cultivation	4.226	20.422	7.045	23.064	33.531
Payment to hospital workers	4.082	2.350	12.533	13.043	13.532
Spent on "liturgy" (priest, student, schoolmaster, wax, feasts)	-	1.650	1.774	3.504	2.400
Mixed expenses for hospital maintenance	2.049	8.041	10.997	6.864	7.457
Expenses of wood-transport and wood-cutting	333	1.711	-	-	-
Other	-	420	-	411	248
Total	15.370	59.831	58.147	79.207	87.574

TABLE 3. HOSPITAL ACCOUNTS FROM THE GIVEN YEARS FROM BRATISLAVA – GROUPED INCOMES AND EXPENSES

From this particular point of view, the institutions basically served as creditors and the dimensions of this activity seem to have overridden the actual size of the hospitals. Likewise, the bequests for the benefit of these hospitals in the fifteenth century were almost equal in number with the donations made to the two "minor" parish churches, Saint Lawrence and Saint Michael as well as those to the Franciscan friary in the town (Fig. 2).⁴⁹ Namely, in the given period – if orders

⁴⁹ The complete and complex analysis of the donations to each church, chapel, guild or confraternity of the town for the whole period before 1530 with the detailed examination of changes in time, the nature of the donations and full-scale comparisons between

for masses are not counted – the hospitals together got the same number of donations – but not necessarily on the same scale – as the other institutions.

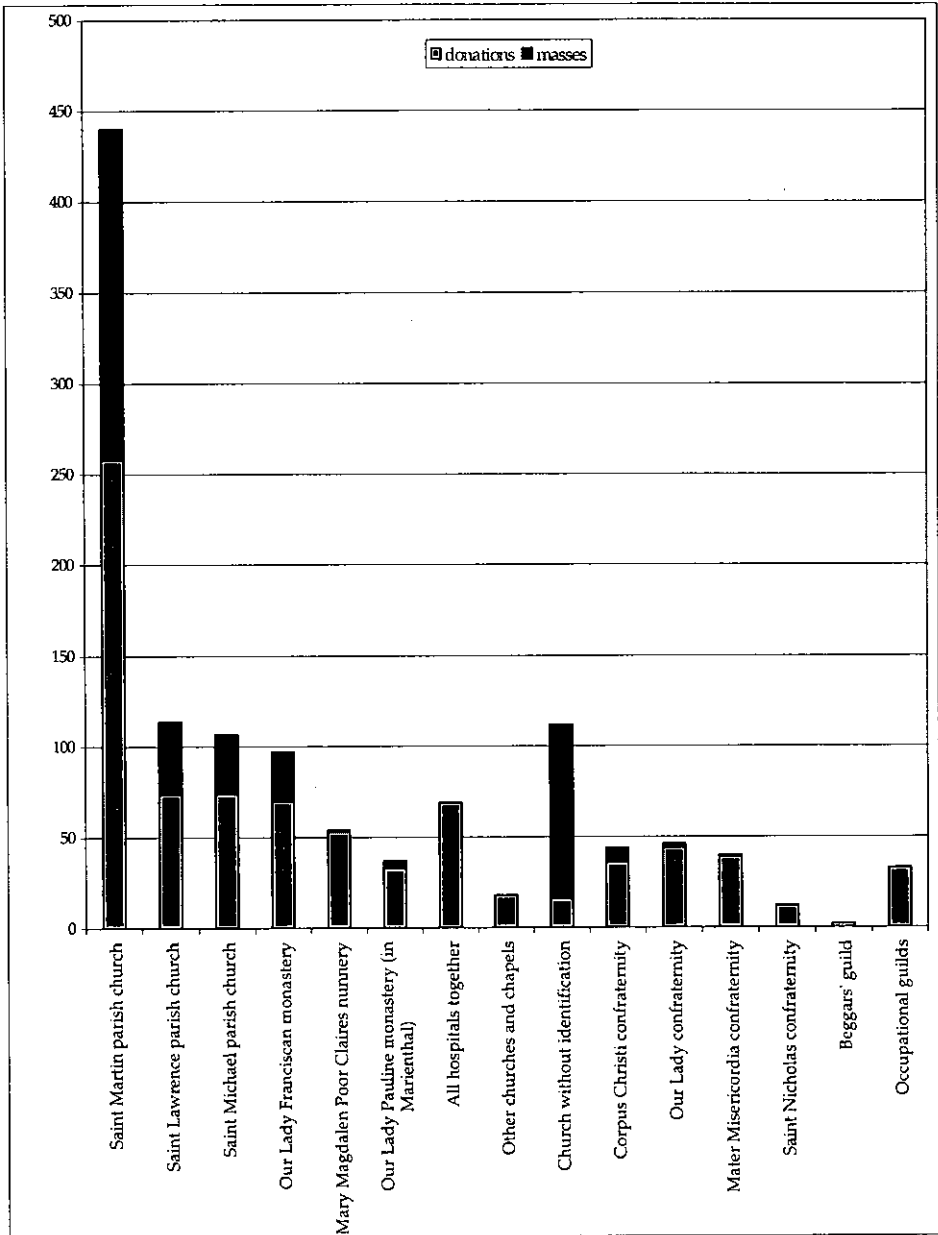


FIG. 2. DONATIONS IN BRATISLAVA BY TESTATORS TO RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS (1409–1495)

the donated institutions is not the subject of this article but that of the dissertation. The intention here is only to determine the place of the hospital – especially in comparison to its size.

As to the nature of the donations given to the hospitals in the fifteenth century, the most frequent type of bequest was money either in general or in particular to the hospital-fund (42%). Similarly, wine – and sometimes other types of food (e.g. pork, fat, etc.) – donations were also significant (29%). The third in rank were the orders for a soul bath and/or a meal for the poor in the hospitals (12%). Naturally, bed and/or bed-clothes (7%), material for clothes (4%), candles and wax were also donated (3%). Finally, there were a few specific orders as well (3%).⁵⁰ For example, the well-known scribe of the town, Liebhart Egkenfelder gave silk for a church flag to Saint Ladislav church in 1455.⁵¹ In 1483 another burgher, Nicholas Pilgram, ordered money to prepare a bell for the hospital (in the singular).⁵²

Reconsidering much quoted sources and considering newly discovered ones and new types of evidence concerning the history of the hospitals in Bratislava, provides a clearer and more refined picture of these institutions.⁵³ On this basis, it is apparent that during the Middle Ages there were not more than two hospitals in the town – the old, Saint Elisabeth, hospital once belonging to the Anthonites and therefore also referred to as Saint Anthony's and the new, Saint Ladislav, hospital. This duality, in one way or another, was present all through the sources. On the other hand, they had co-administration in almost every sense, from the common hospital master and staff to their kitchen. The number and, especially, the size of these hospitals, however, apparently did not much influence their importance as charitable institutions. Furthermore, the small size of the hospital(s) in comparison to the population of the town is not necessarily at sign of backwardness.⁵⁴ As the sources, particularly last wills, witness, there were other – non-institutional – ways of caring for the poor, for example, with families (*hausarme*) or relatives, even in the countryside, that were able to satisfy the rising need.⁵⁵

The sources also reveal interesting details about the inner life, personnel and financial-economic background of the hospitals that can be the subject of another survey. On the basis of the inventories and accounts, one can compare the material culture of a "normal" household and a hospital, as well as the peculiarities of the economy of the hospitals contrasted to other ecclesiastical foundations.

⁵⁰ The given percentages cover the time period between 1409 and 1495 and give the nature of the donations behind the column for the hospitals in Fig. 2.

⁵¹ PT, fol. 90r–93v (will no. 183).

⁵² "Item in das Spittal hie zu ainer gluckhn schaf ich iiii fl." PT, fol. 193r–v (will no. 399).

⁵³ A similar analysis of the accounts of the hospital in Sopron and the citizens' last wills was done in Majorossy, "A város közepén," 216–233. However, it is also worth revisiting the possible sources of other medieval Hungarian towns to investigate whether corresponding data can be found and to see how urban takeover and handling influenced the administration of the former monastic hospitals.

⁵⁴ As it was indicated in Cevins, *L'église dans les villes hongroises*, 55.

⁵⁵ The household poor were not identical with household servants. See e.g. T. Fischer, *Städtische Armut und Armenfürsorge im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. Sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen am Beispiel der Städte Basel, Freiburg i. Br. und Strassburg*. Göttinger Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, Band 4. Göttingen 1979, 117.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. THE HOSPITAL MASTERS IN LATE MEDIEVAL BRATISLAVA

Date		Hospital master	MOL	AMB	Folio
1398		KITZMAGEL, Ulrich	Df.239175	no. 628	-
1429		LACHUTEL, Niklas	Df.239501	no. 1089	-
1430		LACHUTEL, Niklas	Df.239506	no. 1107	-
1431		HUETEL, Jorg	Df.241566	no. 1210	-
1432		HUETEL, Jorg	Df.241580	no. 1234	-
1432		HUETEL, Jorg	Df.241579	no. 1232	-
1432		HUETEL, Jorg	Df.283629	1.Bs.c.1.	116
1434		HUETEL, Jorg	Df.277057	K1	2r
1441		SCHARRACH, Bartolme	Df.283629	1.Bs.c.1.	2, 66, 94
1444		EILAUSEMROCK, Hans	Df.283629	1.Bs.c.1.	69
1445		EILAUSEMROCK, Hans	Df.241994	no. 2004	-
1445		EILAUSEMROCK, Hans	Df.283629	1.Bs.c.1.	76
1459	ante	EILAUSEMROCK, Hans	Df.240444	no. 3308	-
1464		GAILSAM, Albert	Df.240483	no. 3445	-
1464		GAILSAM, Albert	Df.240484	no. 3464	-
1485		KURSNER, Hans	Df.242953	no. 3832	-
1490		ROSENTALER, Mert	Df.242991	no. 3916	-
1491		ROSENTALER, Mert	Df.243008	no. 3941	-
1491		ROSENTALER, Mert	DI.46157		-
1492		ROSENTALER, Mert	Df.243007	no. 3961	-
1492		ROSENTALER, Mert	DI.46183		-
1493		KESMAN, Jobst	Df.240763	no. 3984	-
1493		KESMAN, Jobst	Df.243015	no. 3978	-
1500		RUTENSTOCK, Pangratz	Df.283630	B.s.2.	3r
1502		ZELLERPECK, Thoman	Df.277114	K58	224, 258
1503		RUTENSTOCK, Pangratz		1.b.B.s.4.	29r
1504		RUTENSTOCK, Pangratz		1.b.B.s.4.	14v, 29r, 34r
1505		RUTENSTOCK, Pangratz	Df.283630	B.s.2.	4v
1506		VOYT, Friedrich	Df.283630	B.s.2.	3r, 274v
1508		VOYT, Friedrich	Df.283630	B.s.2.	274v
1509		VOYT, Friedrich	Df.283630	B.s.2.	274v
1510		VOYT, Friedrich	Df.283630	B.s.2.	5v
1510		METTENPECK, Mert	Df.283630	B.s.2.	5v
1511		METTENPECK, Mert	Df.277122	K66	156v
1512		METTENPECK, Mert	Df.283630	B.s.2.	24r

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1512	METTENPECK, Mert	Df.241091	no. 4467	-
1512	SEMBLER, Mert		1.c.B.s.	2r
1513	SEMBLER, Mert		1.c.B.s.	20r
1514	SEMBLER, Mert		1.c.B.s.	42r
1514	SEMBLER, Mert	Df.283630	B.s.2.	276v
1515	SEMBLER, Mert		1.c.B.s.	73r
1517	SEMBLER, Mert		1.c.B.s.	115r
1517	ACHACY, ?m	Df.277126	K70	289
1518	ACHACY, ?m	Df.277126	K70	289
1525	PAIER, Hans	Df.277132	K76	163
1526	PAIER, Hans	Df.277132	K76	163

APPENDIX 2. THE HOSPITAL CHAPLAINS IN LATE MEDIEVAL BRATISLAVA (NAMED IN THE SOURCES)

Date	Name	Hospital	MOL	AMB	Folio
1430	Albrecht hospital chaplain	Saint Anthony Hospital	Df.239506	no. 1107	-
1480	Gilig hospital chaplain	Saint Ladislav Hospital	Df.277098	K42	247
1493	GERAD, Wolfgang hospital chaplain	Saint Ladislav Hospital		B.s.1.a.	17r
1493	PRECHTEL, Stefan hospital chaplain	Saint Anthony Hospital		B.s.1.a.	17r
1513	Jorg hospital chaplain	not given	Df.277123	K67	144r
1514	Jorg hospital chaplain	not given	Df.277123	K67	144r
1515	KRYNNER, Peter hospital chaplain	Saint Ladislav Hospital		no. 4548	-
1517	Hans hospital chaplain	not given	Df.277126	K70	270
1518	Matthes hospital chaplain	not given	Df.277126	K70	270
1521	Niklas hospital chaplain	not given	Df.277130	K74	68
1522	Niklas hospital chaplain	not given	Df.277130	K74	68
1522	Niklas hospital chaplain	Saint Ladislav Hospital	Df.243525	no. 4786	-
1527	Stefan hospital priest	not given		no. 4967	-

From a Transylvanian principality to an Ottoman sanjak

The life of Pál Márkházi, a Hungarian renegade*

SÁNDOR PAPP



From the end of the fourteenth century to the second half of the nineteenth century, the close relationship between the Hungarians and the Ottoman Empire remained unbroken. At first, the Ottoman Empire was a rival in the competition for the hegemony over the Balkans. Later, as the Ottomans had conquered one third of Hungary and reduced another third, namely Transylvania, to vassalage, their influence on Hungarian destinies became all-pervasive. In the eighteenth–nineteenth centuries, the Ottomans often granted asylum to Hungarian refugees, for example following the Rákóczi rebellion (1703–1711) and after the War of Independence (1848–1849).

In the course of Ottoman–Hungarian relations extending over several centuries wherever the border dividing them lay, it represented not only one between two neighboring countries but also a boundary between two different religions, cultures, and ways of thinking. Of course, Hungary was not the only European country to find itself in a similar situation in the course of its history. Such “borderland” situations existed also from Russia through Poland and Croatia to Venice, Moldavia, Wallachia, and, in the final stages of its history, in Byzantium. Serbia and Bulgaria were in a similar situation which obtained also in the Iberian Peninsula between Christians and Muslims.

It is well known that almost from the time of its foundation, the Ottoman Empire became a melting-pot of the defeated peoples and nations. Administrative

* The present study was delivered at the 36th International Congress of Asian and North African Studies held in Montreal in 2000. The shortened version of the paper was published in Chapter 5 of my book entitled *Die Verleihungs-, Bekräftigungs- und Vertragsurkunden der Osmanen für Ungarn und Siebenbürgen. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung*. Schriften der Balkan-Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Nr. 42. Wien 2003, 91–107. I would like to express my thanks to Professor Denis Sinor for revising my text.

and military positions were often offered to renegades converted to Islam. Beginning with the conquest of Constantinople, renegades often occupied important posts in public administration.¹ Thus, there were a great number of Serbs, Bosnians, and Greeks in the service of the Porte. Several Romanian voivodes abjured Orthodox Christianity for Islam and assumed the positions of sanjak or beylerbey. Thus we might expect to find Hungarians among Ottoman dignitaries,² yet, research shows otherwise. Apart from interpreters, divan-secretaries working at the Sultan's court, only Piyale pasha, admiral of the Ottoman fleet reached a high position. There can be no doubt about his Hungarian origin. In the list of payments to the Ottoman army garrisoning in Hungary few men of Hungarian origin appear; the soldiers were mostly of South Slavic origin.³

In view of what has just been said, the case of two members of the Hungarian gentry Márkházi family merits attention. In what follows I am going to focus on the life of Pál Márkházi, with some reference also to his son. Two generations in the service of the Ottomans.

The family originated in the northern of Hungary and, as the name indicates, they might have lived in Márkháza (Nógrád County) though they might have been only the landowners of the place. We have no more information about the origins of the family. It is not connected to the Márkházi family whose documents are now kept in the National Archives of Hungary (Budapest).

Several Hungarian historians active in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries, writing in Latin, give some details on Márkházi's biography.⁴ Yet, though his name is often mentioned, no complete biography of his exists.⁵

¹ F. Szakály, and L. Tardy, "Auf der Suche nach einem aus Ungarn stammenden Dolmetscher des Sultans." in *Festgabe an Josef Matuz, Osmanistik-Turkologie-Diplomatik*, hrsg. Ch. Fragner und Kl. Schwarz, Berlin 1992, 289–301; P. Fodor, "Szultán, birodalmi tanács, nagyvezír." [Sultan, imperial council, grand vizier] *Történelmi Szemle* 34 (1992), 17–34.

² P. Fodor, "Török és oszmán: az oszmán rabszolga-elit azonosságtudatáról." [Turkish and Ottoman: on the consciousness of identity of the Ottoman slave-élite] *Történelmi Szemle* 37 (1995), 377; F. Szakály, *Magyar diplomaták, utazók, rabok és renegátok a 16. századi Isztambulban*. [Hungarian diplomats, travelers, captives and renegades in the sixteenth-century Istanbul] Budapest 1983, 45–47, in which he mentions Píala pasha.

³ K. Hegyi, *Török berendezkedés Magyarországon*. [Turkish settlement in Hungary] Budapest 1995, 109–110.

⁴ W. de Bethlen, *Historia de Rebus Transsylvanicis*. Tom. II, Sibinii 1782, 440–442; S. Kátona, *Historia Critica Regnum Hungariae*. Tom. XXVI, Budae 1794, 256–260; S. Szilágyi, ed. *Szamosközy István történelmi maradványai*. [Historical reminiscences of István Szamosközy] Tom. I, MHHS 27, Budapest 1876, 243–248. Tom. IV, MHHS 30, Budapest 1880, 15–16.

⁵ Two collections of documents can be found in the bequest of Endre Veress, a historian, deposited in the Manuscript Department of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTAK): "Márkházi Pál trónkövetelő" [Pál Márkházi, Pretender to the Throne] Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest. Manuscript Department, MTAK ms. 439/17 and ms. 466/13 [henceforth referred as Veress # = year]. I owe thanks to Géza Pálffy for drawing my attention to this information. The bequest contains of little

Pál Márkházi's name first appears in connection with some events that took place in the castle of Ajnácskő in Gömör County (present-day Hajnačka in Slovakia).⁶ The Turks occupied Ajnácskő on 24 April 1556, on St. George's Day.⁷ When the former commander of the fort was taken captive, the custody of the place was given to his wife, Orsolya Márkházi who, in her turn, put a relative of hers, (perhaps her brother) Pál Márkházi in charge of its protection. Histories of this event generally attribute the loss of the castle to Márkházi's treason,⁸ though other explanation have also been put forward.⁹

Fortunately, we know the views taken by Márkházi himself. When, in the Spring of 1575 he turned up at the Porte to buy horses and, at the same time conducting some business on behalf of István Báthori, Márkházi visited David Ungnad, a Habsburg delegate to the Porte. He asked Ungnad to intercede for him with the Emperor Maximilian II, so that he could return to Royal Hungary and get back his confiscated land. The delegate did not know the details of the case, but, since he found Márkházi's statement believable, he made a report on the case.¹⁰ Although the issue remains unclear, I strongly suspect that he was unjustly accused of treason.

information, but it refers to the fact that Endre Veress planned to write the biography.

⁶ The ex-commander was Mihály Sárközi, whose wife, Orsolya Márkházi asked the Hofkriegsrat of Vienna to get her husband released in April 1563. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖStA) Kriegsarchiv, Protokolle des Wiener Hofkriegsrates Exp. Tom. 142. fol. 161 (7 April 1563). "*Bitt Iren Herrn Zu erledigung Zuuerhelffen.*" I also owe thanks to Géza Pálffy for this information.

⁷ I am indebted to Markus Köhback for drawing my attention to this information. Cf. K. Benda, ed. *Magyarország Történeti Kronológiája*. [A Historical Chronology of Hungary] Vol. 2, Budapest 1983, 396, where the date was miscalculated: 25 April 1566. (I. Szentpétery, *A kronológia kézikönyve*. [Handbook of Chronology] Budapest 1985, 74.); F. Forgách, *Emlékirat Magyarország állapotáról*. [Memoir on the status of Hungary] tr. I. Borzsák, ed. P. Kulcsár, Humanista történetírók, Budapest 1977, 389.

⁸ E.g. *Baranyai Decsi János magyar históriája*. [A Hungarian History of János Baranyai Decsi] tr. P. Kulcsár, Budapest 1982, 63.

⁹ Remark of Simon Forgách. Forgách, *Emlékirat*, 389.

¹⁰ "*Es ist vor wenig wochen vom Weyda aus Sibenbürgen hieher geschickht worden Marchasy Paul gewester haubtmann in Aynatzkew, in seinen des Weyda handlungen, auch etliche herrn Roß aus Asia dem weyda hinauß zufüeren, derselb Markchasj hat sich bey mir, gleich wol mir durch meinen Diener angemelldet vnnd sich grosses laidts, rew vnnd betrüebnuß, der verlust des hauß Aynatzkew, darumben er noch auf dato Eur Kay: Mt: undnad auf sich hat, flüchtigen fues setzen, sienes vatterlandts vnnd darynnen seiner verlassnen haab vnnd guetter sich enthallten mueß, vernemen lassen. Es sey im aber nichts höhers angelegen, allain Mitt vnnd Weeg zufinden, zu sicherer seiner purgation vnnd entschuldigung zugelassen, vnnd wann dieselbig von Euer Kay: Mt: für genuessam erkhent wurde, vollgennds derselben Kay: gnaden vnnd seiner guetter besitzung widerumben gewehrt zuwerden. Er zeucht am maisten das an, das Ine Magotzy dazumal geen Erla gefordert hab, In mitler weil die verlust ervollgt sey, vnnd er mit Gott vnnd guetem gewissen zuerhallten vermaine, khain ainige fallsche pracktickhen mit dem feindt nit geuebt zuhaben:...*" ÖStA Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv (HHStA) Türkei 1. (Turcica) 31. Konv. 2. fol. 11^{r-v}, 13^{r-v}, 13 March 1575.

Following the fall of Ajnácskő, Márkházi escaped to János Zsigmond's (John Sigismund) court in Transylvania where he established very good contacts. Márkházi then married Saphira (Zamfira), the widow of Stanislaus Niszovzky, a Polish courtier of János Zsigmond and Queen Isabel, and the daughter of a Wallachian voivode "Moczin."¹¹ This marriage was to be his ruin, since he was accused to treat his wife so badly that the Voivode of Transylvania, Kristóf Báthory personally saw their separation.¹² The voivode's brother, István Báthory was, by then, king of Poland and Márkházi left Transylvania to visit him seeking redress of his case. However, on his way to Poland he apparently changed his mind, turned south and escaped to Istanbul, the Ottoman capital.¹³

We know that Márkházi had been in Istanbul several times before¹⁴ and his divorce gave him there more notoriety.¹⁵ It is not known why he decided to undertake this dangerous venture. In a Hungarian report written about his life in Istanbul in December 1582, it is said that he was put in prison but that for four years no one could charge him with any wrongdoing. This piece of information allows us to conclude that it was around 1578 that he sought asylum in Constantinople.¹⁶ The same report reveals that Márkházi had been given a warm welcome there, and together with his escort, he was given *ziamet* land worth 40,000 *akçe* in Syrmia (Szerémség, in the South of Hungary, today in Serbia). A Turkish source dated shortly afterwards confirms this information.¹⁷

Historical works of the sixteenth–seventeenth and even the eighteenth centuries mention him with interest primarily because, after his escape, he tried to become voivode of Transylvania. His first attempt was prompted by the false news that reached the Porte in the second half of 1580, namely that Kristóf Báthory had died.¹⁸ On the basis of reports given by the beylerbey of Buda and by Şehsüvar,

¹¹ Most probably Mircea Ciobanul was the father, who ruled in Wallachia between 1545 and 1552, and later in 1553–1554. C. C. Giurescu, ed. *Chronological History of Romania*. Bucharest 1974, 450.

¹² M. Horváth, *Magyar regeszták a szepesi káptalan, jászai s leleszi conventek, Kassa és Sopron városok, s több magánosok levéltáraiból s gyűjteményeikből 1228–1643*. [Hungarian calendars of the charters from the archives of the Chapter of Szepes, the convents of Jászó and Lelesz, and the municipal archives of Kassa and Sopron] MTT, Tom. IX. Pest 1862. 125–196; *Baranyai Decsi János magyar históriája*, 63–64.

¹³ *Baranyai Decsi János magyar históriája*, 63–64.

¹⁴ E. de Hurmuzaki–N. Iorga, *Dokumente priviore la istoria Românilor (1517–1612)*. [Documents relating to the history of the Romanians] Vol. 11, Bucureşti 1900, 808, 812–813, 881; *Protocollum Bathorianum*, 485–486. National Library of Hungary, Fol. Hung. 37.

¹⁵ K. Bálintt, *Márkházi Pál emléke*. [Memory of Pál Márkházi] Árpádia. Honi történetek zsebkönyve. ed. M. Kovacsoczy, Tom. I, Kassa 1833, 312.

¹⁶ Horváth, *Magyar regeszták*, 140; 13 September 1579, MTAK ms. 439/17, fol. 460.

¹⁷ Başkanlı Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA) Mühimme defteri 45, 383. p. Nr. 4655.

¹⁸ V. Veliman, "O Carta Legămînt (Ahd-Nâme) din 1581 privitoare la Transilvania." [A letter of contract (Ahd-Nâme) of 1581 relating to Transylvania] *AIIAA.D. Xenopol* 25/1 (1988), 27–43; By mistake, Valeriu Veliman discusses the information about 1580 together with the events in 1581.

the bey of Szolnok,¹⁹ it was the beylerbey of Rumelia who misinformed the Porte about the death of the voivode of Transylvania. The false alarm put into motion the usual mechanism: the Ottoman military force was immediately called upon to protect Transylvania and to follow the events with a watchful eye. Mehmed, a Hungarian renegade and interpreter for the Porte²⁰ told the Transylvanian voivode that Márkházi had not demanded the voivodeship on his own initiative. It was the Grand Vizier Sinan pasha who had sent for him to ask how many presents he could expect to receive and how much Márkházi would increase the tribute paid to him where he, Sinan, would make him voivode of Transylvania.²¹ Mehmed advised Kristóf Báthori not to attempt to bribe dignitaries of the Porte. He also suggested that Báthori's delegates should altogether avoid mentioning Márkházi's name lest the reputation of the latter improves.²²

Sinan's intervention stirred up Transylvanian politics. When it became known that Márkházi eyed the voivodeship, in view of Báthori's poor health, the grandees wanted to settle the succession before the voivode's death. A Diet was convened in Kolozsvár (present-day Cluj, Romania), where in mid-May 1581, the voivode's under-age son, Zsigmond Báthori was elected to succeed his father. A few days after, following the death of his father, Zsigmond ascended to the throne.²³

On 1 July 1581, in Vienna, Joachim Sinczenorff and Friedrich Breuer, Habsburg delegates to Istanbul made the following announcement: "Yesterday came the news that the voivode of Transylvania was dead. In our view Márkházi will not let this opportunity pass, possibly creating a turmoil in Transylvania." The delegates who came to the Porte stated inaccurately that, the late voivode's son was more than twelve years old. Be that as it may, Habsburg diplomacy held that Márkházi's efforts to obtain the voivodeship would fail.²⁴ Copies of four documents kept in the *mühimme defteri* (no. 42) include orders of the sultan's divan. They show that initially the Porte did not wish to put obstacles in Zsigmond Báthori's way to become voivode. Chiaus Ahmed was sent to Transylvania to

¹⁹ Veliman, "Carta Legămînt," 35.

²⁰ F. Szakály, *Mezőváros és reformáció*. [Market town and Reformation] Budapest 1995, 319–320.

²¹ Bálintitt, *Márkházi Pál emléke*, 312.

²² Bálintitt, *Márkházi Pál emléke*, 314.

²³ Szilágyi, *Szamosközy István történelmi maradványai*, 1: 415–417; S. Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitatus Regni Transylvaniae. Erdélyi országgyűlési emlékek*. Vol. 3, Budapest 1877, 37–43.

²⁴ "Gestern aber ist gewisse Zeitung kommen, dass der Weyda in Siebenbürgen todt. Marok Házi wirdet diese Gelegenheit meines Erachtens nicht versäumen; wölches wohl einen Tumult in Siebenbürgen erreghen mächte." A. Veress, *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării-Românești*. [Documents relating to the history of Transylvania, Moldva and Wallachia] II–III. București 1930–31. (henceforth: Veress, *Documente*) II., 204. Nr. 187; ÖStA HHStA Türkei 1. (Turcica) 44. Konv. 3 (April–August 1581) fol. 19^v–20^v; Sinczenorff and Breuner to Rudolf II.

assure the lords that the election had been approved of.²⁵ On behalf of the sultan Zsigmond Báthori was informed that the Transylvanian lords' collective petition had arrived and that his election was confirmed. "I have given you the voivodeship of Transylvania and have appointed you. The same way as your father was in our grace, we have given you our royal contract." This letter refers to the Transylvanian tributes but with no mention of the demand to increase them.²⁶ The symbol of power, an ornamented flag of the Sultan (*sancak-i hümâyûn*) was sent to the young prince by Mahmud *baş kapuci başı*.²⁷

The change in the Turkish point-of-view is made clear by Friedrich Breuner's (Preyner in Hammer's work)²⁸ report written on 18 July, in which the demand to increase tribute was mentioned for the first time. The Transylvanian delegates were still staying at the Porte when Grand Vizier Sinan pasha returned from the Persian expedition. His arrival and Márkházi's weighty promises changed the usual course of the inauguration of Báthori. The following stunning actions were taken: Márkházi earmarked 100,000 gold coins, a single payment, the increase of the annual tribute of 15,000 to 100,000, and 60,000 gold coins as a gift to the Grand Vizier Sinan. Márkházi intended to borrow the money needed to meet his highly increased expenses from the Greeks in Istanbul.²⁹ The Breuner report was written six days after the decision in the divan had been taken to change the conditions of the voivode confirmation. On 12 July the *chief kapuci başı*, Mahmud aga received the order addressed to Zsigmond Báthori to the effect that he would not be appointed voivode unless he increased the tribute by a sum not yet stated.³⁰ After receiving the order, Mahmud set out to deliver the princely insignia to Báthori. While on his way two chiaus delivered him further orders. In these he was informed by order of the sultan that, though, following his father's death, Zsigmond Báthori had been accepted as voivode, Pál Márkházi requested to be given the voivodeship of Transylvania. He promised to pay 100,000 *forints* as a gift (*pişkeş*) and, subsequently to pay annually a tribute of 100,000 *forints*. The orders charged Mahmud with the responsibility to ask Báthori and the Transylvanian lords whether they would accept these conditions. In the affirmative, a sealed

²⁵ "Vorgestern ist ein ander Chiaus mit Namen Mehmeth, so von des Sinan Bassa Herkunft mit der Zeitung, dass der Sulthanus des verstorbenen das Palatinat verliehen hat, hienein abgefertigt worden, widerkommen." Veress, Documente II., 208–209. Nr. 191; ÖStA HHStA Türkei 1. (Turcica) 45. Konv. 1. fol. 21^v–22^r; Delegate Friedrich Breuner's report to Rudolf II. In the reports the names Ahmed and Mehmed are usually confused.

²⁶ "... vilâyet-i Erdel voyvodalıđı sana tevcih u ta'yîn olunub mûmâ ileyh babana 'inâyet olunduđı üzre sana dahi 'ahd-nâme-i hümâyûnum erzânî kulub ..." BOA Mühimme defteri 42. p. 51 Nr. 254; 1. Cemâziyü l-âhir 989. (3 August 1581).

²⁷ BOA Mühimme defteri 42. p. 53. Nr. 257.

²⁸ The Preiner (or Breuner, Breiner, Bräuner) family came from the Netherlands in 1402 and settled down in Styria. I thank Claudia Römer for this information.

²⁹ Veress Documente II., 205–207. Nr. 189; ÖStA HHStA Türkei 1. (Turcica) 44. Konv. 4 (1581 IX–XII) fol. 59^v–60. Delegate Friedrich Breuner's report to Rudolf II.

³⁰ BOA Mühimme defteri 42. p. 56. Nr. 269; 10. Cemâziyü l-âhir 989. (12 July 1581)

bond (*temessük*) and a report written in ink should record the agreement.³¹ The Transylvanian mission was still staying at the Porte when the Grand Vizier sent for the permanent delegate Péter Rácz to enquire whether the amount promised by Márkházi had been paid.³²

It seems that in spite of the definite order of the divan and of Sinan, Mahmud the chief *kapuci başı* handed the princely insignia to Zsigmond Báthori even though the Transylvanians refused to accept the substantial increase in the dues.³³ At this point it was decided in the divan to replace Zsigmond Báthori with Márkházi. The document of acceptance was made out in the form of a *nâme-i hümayûn* and was copied in the *mühimme defteri* on 20 August 1581:

“... Since the late Kristóf Báthori held the dignity of a voivode of Transylvania, now we have donated and allocated it to you. For this, I have presented my royal contract and my flag, signifying my support. We have sent these through Mahmud, a *kapuci başı* serving at my high court, who is the

³¹ BOA Mühimme defteri 42. p. 77. Nr.: 331; 29. Cemâziyi l-âhir 989. (31 July 1581); BOA Mühimme defteri 42 p. 84. Nr. 348; 1. Receb 989. (1 August 1581). We only know the date when they were recorded in the Mühimme defteri. However, it is possible that it is also the date when they were given to Mustafa and Hüseyin çavus, who delivered them. According to Veliman, these documents were issued by the chancellery on 11 and 12 August 1581; however, this is a mistake. I accept that Hüseyin çavus made the trip from Transylvania to the Porte on 20 August 1581; however, according to Friedrich Breuner's report, Mustafa only returned later together with Mahmud aga. („wie Ich verstehe der Capitschi Bassa, mit dem Mustapha Chiauß Zuuor angeschickht gehabt ...“) ÖStA HHStA Türkei 1. (Turcica) 45. Konv. 1. fol. 208r. (29 September 1581); Compare to Veliman, “Carta Legämînt” 37.

³² “Was massen der Sultanus des verstorbnen Weyda In Sybenbürben verlaßnen Sohn, das Palatinat, nach Seines Vatters ableiben verlassen, das auch deshalb des Sulthanj Copigi Aga mit namen Mahmuth, mit dem Stendardo denselben Ime in seines herrn Namen zuüberantworten, ist werkh fertigt worden, haben Ewr. Mt: aus Vorigen meinen schreiben gnedigist vernommen, yetzunder aber als Sinan Bassa ist herkomen, hat er diße sachen alle umbgekhärt vnnd hinderstellig gemacht, der Markazi zu Im komen, vnnd sich nachmals anpotten Im fall man Im Siebenbüregn verlassen vnnd alda Zu Weyda einsetzen wölle, so sey er erpiettig vnnd bereit dem Sultano alßbaldt zu antritt des Weywodat hundert Tausent Cronen zu schicken dem Sinan Bassa sechzig Tausent vnnd den Jährlich hundert tausent Cronnen Tribut, auf dißes hat Sinan Bassa Ratz Petern welcher Sibenbürgischer Agent für sich gefordert vnnd in seinem beysein den Markazi gefragt, was er sich aus Sibenbürgen zugeben erpitte, der hats nochmals obangezaigter weiße, erzählt, hieruber hat Sinan Bassa den Agenten gefragt, ob des verstorbnen Sohn auch souil geben werde, darauf Agent geantwortet, das Er solches nicht wisse, habe auch desselben durchaus khain bevelch, Eintlich ist die sach dahin nach vielen reden komen, vnd ist Bassa auf dem verbliben, wolle des verstorbnen sohn das geben, so sich dißer, Markazi anbeut, so werde Er Weyda verplieben wo nicht so hab Ers disem schon verlassen, Ist deswegen der Agent in Sibenbürgen sambt einem Chiaußen von der Porten solchs aigentlich zuerkhundigen auf der Post weckhfertigt worden, Was hernach in dieser sachen volgen wirdt bericht E. Mt. Ich hernach gehorsambist. Vnnd ist wol zubesorgen, dise sachen möchte allerlai tumult vnd aufruhr in Sybenbürgen erregen.” ÖStA HHStA Türkei 1. (Turcica) 44. Konv. 4. fol. 20r-20v. (5 August 1581) Delegate Friedrich Breuner's report to Rudolf II.

³³ *Monumenta Comititalia Regni Transylvaniae* 3: 37–43.

glory of the noble and great dignitaries, the sum of all the praiseworthy deeds and proprieties, and the person chosen by the grace of Allah we remember in our prayers – may his honor last long.”³⁴

The same documents contains also the sultan’s contract, the *’ahd-nâme-i hümmâyûn* that sanctioned the appointment.³⁵

The reports that the Habsburg delegate Friedrich Breuer sent home help us to clarify the details of the political tug-of-war at the Porte. On 31 August Ahmet chiaus was first to return from his mission even before the arrival to Istanbul of Grand Vizier Sinan. He had been sent to Transylvania to deliver the royal acceptance letter to Zsigmond Báthori. From his report the Porte could also learn that the Transylvanians knew of Márkházi’s ambitions and that they disapproved of them. According to Breuer, some people in Istanbul were fearful of the ensuing complications in foreign policy and thought that the Polish king, István Báthori, Zsigmond’s uncle, might also intervene. The matter assumed a disproportionate importance and led to an open conflict between groups vying for political leadership in the Ottoman Empire. According to the Habsburg delegate, Siavus pasha especially due to these Transylvanian events is very much opposed to Sinan. He appears to have said that Sinan had not yet put out the fire (meaning thereby Persia) and now he wanted to set another fire. Were Sinan to be relieved from his position this Siavus pasha would shortly become the grand vizier.³⁶

In the last days of September, Péter Rácz, permanent Transylvanian delegate and Mahmud *baş kapuci başı* arrived with the flag and it became obvious that the Transylvanians were extremely determined in their opposition. They said that “they would rather die together with wives and children”³⁷ than accept Márkházi

³⁴ “... vilâyet-i Erdel voyvodalıđı Bâtorı Kriřto voyvoda tasarruf eyledüđi üzre sana tevcîh u ‘inâyet olunub ol-bâbda ‘ahd-nâme-i hümmâyûnum ile sancag-i nusret-makrûnum erzânî kilub dergâh-i mu‘allâmda kapuci başı olan iftihârü l-emâcidi ve-l-ekârim müstecmi‘ü cemi‘i l-mahâmidi ve-l-mekârim el-muhtassu bi-mezîdi ‘inâyeti [l-melikî] l-ma‘bûd Mahmûd dâme mecduhu ile irsâl olunmuşdur” BOA Mühimme defteri 42 p. 98. Nr. 379; 20. Receb 989. (20 August 1581) line 9–12 and BOA Mühimme defteri 42. p. 103. Nr. 385. line 7–11.

³⁵ BOA Mühimme defteri 42. p. 101–102. Nr. 389. 20. Receb 989 (20 August 1581).

³⁶ “Siaus Bassa ist dem Sinan sonderlich in dieser Siebenbürgischen Sachen sehr zu wider soll gesagt haben, er Sinan, habe noch ein Feuer (damit Persien verstehend) nicht gelescht und wolle schon ein anders anzunden. Dieser Siaus Bascha (solle Sinan des Amts entzetz) würde immediate Obrist Vesier werden). Veress, Documente II., 208–209. Nr. 191; ÖStA HHStA Türkei 1. (Turcica) 45. Konv. 1. fol. 21v–22r. Delegate Friedrich Breuner’s report to Rudolf II.

³⁷ “ehe mit Weib und Kindern zu sterben, als solches zuzugeben und zu gedulden.” Veress, Documente II., 212–213. Nr. 196; ÖStA HHStA Türkei 1. (Turcica) 45. Konv. 1. fol. 203v–204r. Delegate Friedrich Breuner’s report to Rudolf II. Cf. J. Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*. Vol. 4, Pest 1829, 116–117. “Die Siebenbürger, sagte der Botschafter, wollten lieber sterben, als den Markhazy zum Fürsten annehmen. ‘Es steht ihnen frey’, donnerte Sinan, ‘zu sterben, und wir sind noch überdiess bereit, sie zu tödten; die Siebenbürger stützen sich auf den König von Polen, sie sollen aber zusehen, was er ihnen nütze.’”

as their voivode. Breuner's report of 14 October gave the impression that Márkházi's luck was running out.³⁸ At the beginning of November, two other delegates, István Apafi and János Sieger arrived in Istanbul and brought with them the regular tribute of Transylvania, the annual 15,000 *forints*. (The text has *thalers* but this may be a mistake.) On 4 November, the delegates handed over the gifts but, contrary to the old, accepted practice, they were not allowed to stand before the sultan and the gifts were returned to them. The delegates were told that the new voivode would not be acceptable unless he immediately pays 100,000 ducats and also raises the tribute to an equal amount. Were this not done, Márkházi would be given the voivodship. Apafi and Sieger firmly resisted. Though the grand vizier was very angry, the following day, on the fifth, even the gilded trays brought for the sultan were accepted in the seraglio. On the Ottoman side this was to be the last half-hearted effort to have the Transylvanian tributes increased. For tactical reasons, the Transylvanians made some concessions; they agreed to bring 1,000 *thalers* (more likely gold coins) to the Porte as an annual extra present.³⁹

Following this unsuccessful attempt, Márkházi kept in close touch with Sinan pasha who, for as long as he held office, protected him. With Sinan's disgrace and subsequent replacement the situation changed drastically. The chiaus attacked his house, imprisoned him in the *Yedi Kule* (Seven Towers) while his men were sold as galley-slaves. Sinan's fall from power occurred on 6 December 1582.⁴⁰ It seems that the new grand vizier was determined to remove the Transylvanian pretender as fast as possible from the scene. According to an anonymous report written in Hungarian on Márkházi's imprisonment, he wanted to save his life by converting to Islam.⁴¹

Márkházi's "Turkish" career got on to a slow start. Yet, his conversion soon found its practical justification. When István Báthori, King of Poland, asked for his extradition by the Porte, the sultan flatly rejected the demand.⁴² He wrote in his letter to Báthori that he would bid him to be composed. There can be no doubt that his action against Márkházi cost Báthori important sums of money.⁴³ Al-

³⁸ ÖStA HHStA Türkei 1. (Turcica) 45. Konv. 2 fol. 44v–54r. Bericht des Boten Friedrich Breuner an Rudolf II. Neben dem Bericht wurde eine seltsame Bemerkung geschrieben: "*Markaßi Paull wolte noch Immer gern waida werden in der walachaj (!)*".

³⁹ Veress Documente II., 213–215. Nr. 197; ÖStA HHStA Türkei 1. (Turcica) 45. Konv. 2. fol. 149–150. Delegate Friedrich Breuner's report to Rudolf II.

⁴⁰ M. Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı tarih lügati*. [Ottoman historical dictionary] İstanbul 1986, 290; İ. H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*. [Ottoman historical chronology with commentary] Vol. 3, İstanbul 1972, 61.

⁴¹ Horváth, *Magyar regeszták*, 141; Veress 1930, 237–238. Nr. 219. Delegate Friedrich Breuner's report to Rudolf II.

⁴² Veress 1944/II, 189. Nr. 655.

⁴³ Horváth, *Magyar regeszták*, 140–141.

though Márkházi's extradition or his execution was repeatedly requested,⁴⁴ he was released in August 1583.⁴⁵ Yet, in Báthori's perception not all was lost, since through his conversion to Islam Márkházi became a "Turk" to whom the sultan could no longer confer the voivodship of Transylvania.⁴⁶ Following his release from prison "İbrahim bey" – as Márkházi was now called – changed his stance. He no longer aimed at becoming the voivode of Transylvania but aimed at getting a sanjak at the Hungarian or Polish border. According to the delegate Paul von Eyzing, he first succeeded in 1585 when he was appointed sanjakbey of Simontornya.⁴⁷ His appointment was registered in the so-called *rü'üs defteri*. One of the volumes of this collection kept in Istanbul contains the official registration of the inauguration, which shows that a new sanjak had been established in Babócsa where Márkházi took the lead.⁴⁸ In this document, next to his name, there is the remark 'new Muslim' (new Muslim) which indicated that Márkházi's first public function as a "Turk" was that of a sanjakbey.⁴⁹ The Habsburg delegate is right also about Márkházi's appointment, because at the same time he also got the sanjak of Simontornya. According to Géza Dávid, on 11 May of the same year "İbrahim" who had worked in Babócsa when it was the center of a sanjak was appointed a bey in Simontornya, a post from which he was relieved on 22 July 1586.⁵⁰ According to some other information, Márkházi went to Zvornik on 27 January 1587.⁵¹

I was unable to clarify in full detail the positions Márkházi held later in his life. According to János Baranyai Decsi, Zsigmond Báthori's court historian, he administered several sanjaks in Hungary and Croatia⁵² and, in the Spring of 1589 he was sent to the Transylvanian border, to the castle of Borosjenő (present-day

⁴⁴ E. Veress, *Báthory István levélváltása az erdélyi kormányal (1581–1585)* [Correspondence of István Báthory with the Transylvanian government (1581–1585)] Budapest 1948, 38. Nr. 21; Veress Documente II., 266. Nr. 244.

⁴⁵ *Monumenta Comitalia Regni Transylvaniae* 3: 52, Note 2.

⁴⁶ Veress Báthory István levélváltása, 94. Nr. 43.

⁴⁷ Veress, Documente III., 32–33. "Markhazy Paul hat das Sangiakat Simontorna entlich bekommen, gestern dem Sultano den Rock geküsst und sich bei den fürnembsten, sonderlich bei dem Beglerbegen Graeciae stattlicher Verrichtung daselbst, auf di Meinung, davon Euer Kays. Mt. öfters gehorsamist zuvor geschrieben, erboten, und zuheissen für gewiss verobligiert." Delegate Paul von Eyzing's report to Rudolf II.

⁴⁸ BOA Kâmil Kepeci Rü'üs defteri 244. p. 183. Nr. 122. "*Liva-i Şimontorna: sabikan Bobofca nahiyesi sancak tarikiyle verilip mîr olmayan nev müslim İbrahim Bey'e verilmek buyuruldu.*" II. C.a. 993. (10–20 May 1585) [Simontornya sanjak: Babócsa, which was *nahiye* earlier, was assigned to Márkházi as sanjak. It was donated to *İbrahim Bey*, who was a newly converted Muslim and not a sanjakbey.] I owe thanks to Feridun Emecen for providing the above information.

⁴⁹ Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı tarih lûgati*, 237.

⁵⁰ G. Dávid, *A Simontornyai szandzsák*. [The sanjak of Simontornya] Budapest 1982, 30, Note 118. (BOA, Kâmil Kepeci Rü'üs defteri 262, p. 21.)

⁵¹ I. Karácson, *Török-magyar oklevéltár 1533–1789*. [Turkish–Hungarian charters, 1533–1789] Budapest 1914, 135. Nr. 172.

⁵² *Baranyai Decsi János magyar históriája*, 64–65.

Ineu, Romania) from where he made himself a nuisance to Zsigmond Báthori's domains.⁵³ If Baranyai Decsi is to be believed, for a while Márkházi was relieved from all his dignities and lived in great poverty until the time when Sinan, again a Grand Vizier, offered him help.⁵⁴

At this juncture, Márkházi's life is set against the background of the "Fifteen Years of Long Turkish War," Sinan, having decided to engage in a war against Hungary, through Mehmed chiaus, alias Gergely Veresmarty, a Hungarian renegade sent firmans to Transylvania to induce Zsigmond Báthori to join him in this undertaking. The chiaus was accompanied by İbrahim, also a member of the mission, who, by that time had been appointed by Sinan bey of Lippa.⁵⁵ This stage of Márkházi's adventurous life is related in all the historical works in which he is mentioned. His repeated appearance at the Transylvanian border gave a good reason to those who took Báthori's side to advocate secession from the Ottoman Porte. According to Baranyai Décsi, Sinan was upset by the Transylvanian situation. The Transylvanian delegate was said to have reported that the grand vizier had taken Márkházi before the sultan. He was also given the post of the sanjak-bey of Lippa to report on events in Transylvania.⁵⁶

I think that this statement, besides meeting political objectives such as entering the anti-Ottoman alliance, had no foundation in reality.

Márkházi held this office but for a year.⁵⁷ Although a "Turk", his good fortune let him finish his restless life in Hungary. He was already dead when on 18 August 1595 Transylvanian troops occupied the castle of Lippa.⁵⁸ It was reported that his widow encouraged the defenders not to surrender the castle. Understandably, she was worried for herself as well as for her son.⁵⁹ He could have married his last wife only following his exile in Turkey but, unfortunately, I was unable to find any information on her. As for Márkházi's son, he would appear on the pages of the history of Transylvania. Under the name Deák Mehmed he was serving the Porte. He consistently continued his father's anti-Báthori policies. Thus, in 1612, he accompanied András Ghyczy to Transylvania, a pretender to the voivodeship and as *kapuci başı* he took steps against Prince Gábor Báthori.⁶⁰

⁵³ *Monumenta Comitania Regni Transylvaniae*, 3: 264–265; Veress Documente III., 186–188. Nr. 122, 191–195. Nr. 125.

⁵⁴ *Baranyai Decsi János magyar históriája*, 64.

⁵⁵ *Monumenta Comitania Regni Transylvaniae*, 3: 293–294.

⁵⁶ *Baranyai Decsi János magyar históriája*, 96.

⁵⁷ Szilágyi, *Szamosközy István történelmi maradványai*, 29.

⁵⁸ *Magyarország Történelmi Kronológiája*, 415.

⁵⁹ *Baranyai Decsi János magyar históriája*, 238.

⁶⁰ Szilágyi, *Szamosközy István történelmi maradványai*, 2: 108; ÖStA, HHStA, Ungarische Akten (Hungarica), Allgemeine Akten Kart. 158. Konv. A. (March 1612) fol. 49, 60–62.

Bíblia e História

Traduções de Bíblia no pensamento europeu: as traduções ibéricas*

MARIANNE BAKUCZ**



O objectivo deste artigo é o estudo do papel das traduções da Bíblia numa perspectiva histórica: observar a maneira como as traduções emergiram nas várias épocas e a sua função nos diferentes períodos e diferentes países. Susan Bassnett afirma, "the history of the Bible translation is accordingly a history in microcosm."¹ Neste sentido, estudamos a tradução bíblica como um acto de transculturação, colocando a génese e a função da tradução em contexto histórico, observando as relações entre o original e as traduções feitas a partir deste; os intercâmbios entre as diversas traduções e os efeitos que elas exerceram nas culturas de chegada, ou seja, estudamos a tradução e a tradução bíblica como um diálogo entre culturas (*cross-cultural communication*).

Steiner, em *After Babel* aponta ao paradoxo que está presente desde o início na argumentação e discussão à volta da tradução dos textos sagrados: "So far as speech is divine and numinous, so far as it encloses revelation, active transmission either into the Vulgate or across the barrier of language, is dubious."² Podemos traçar, a partir daí o binómio determinante do discurso sobre a tradução bíblica, ou seja, a imediatez do *Logos*, autenticidade da palavra não mediada *versus* mediação, transcrição interpretativa. Ao mesmo tempo, a tradução é uma actividade salvífica, a tradução pela unificação das línguas promove a percepção: "As the Fall may be understood to contain the coming of the Redeemer, so, the scattering of tongues at Babel has in it, in a condition of [...] moral and practical potentiality, the return to linguistic unity, the movement towards and beyond Pentecost. Seen thus, translation is a teleological imperative [...]. Every transla-

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¹ S. Bassnett, *Translation studies*. London-New York 1991², 46.

² G. Steiner, *After Babel*. Oxford 1998², 251.

tion, urged Franz Rosenzweig, is a messianic act which brings redemption nearer."³

Resumindo, Steiner aponta um paradoxo da tradução dos textos sagrados: por um lado, a tradução pode interferir no texto, adulterá-lo, falsificar o seu significado, por outro lado, a tradução faz parte do plano divino da redenção. Por outro lado, como vemos em Bassnett,⁴ a tradução bíblica tem um aspecto prático, é um meio imprescindível da evangelização, da propagação do cristianismo; como Steiner aponta, a teoria e prática da tradução europeia advém da necessidade da disseminação da Boa Nova em várias línguas.

O paradoxo da tradução aparece no artigo de Rosenzweig sobre Lutero: "Translating means serving two masters" inicia Rosenzweig, parafraseando o Sermão da Montanha (Mt. 6, 24), ou seja, a tradução é impossível e indispensável ao mesmo tempo. É uma missão impossível ao nível individual mas é viável ao nível da comunidade – "it is ... everyone's task in practice."⁵ Segundo o pensamento de Rosenzweig, na tarefa da tradução dos textos sagrados está envolvida toda a comunidade linguística, bem como a comunidade religiosa.

A questão da língua é inseparável da tradução: como cada acto de compreensão tem de se apropriar numa outra entidade, não há compreensão sem objecto, analogamente, sempre se traduz alguma coisa para uma outra, de uma língua para outra. Na história da tradução bíblica torna-se manifesto o *status quo* linguístico das épocas diferentes, bem como as suas alterações, como p. ex. a recessão do grego a favor do latim, a situação das línguas de prestígio versus vernáculos, ou a ascensão destes últimos na era moderna.

Outra questão incontornável em relação à tradução bíblica é a questão do cânone. A palavra *κωνων*, oriunda etimologicamente da *κωννα*, cana, significando vara de medir ou regra, aparece utilizada tanto em contexto sacro, como profano. No contexto bíblico, o cânone significa a lista dos escritos compostos sob inspiração divina. O termo foi registado pela primeira vez no concílio de Laodicea, falando da *κωνωνικα βιβλια*, no séc. IV, já no sentido de uma colecção de textos definida e regularizada, os quais são oficialmente sentenciados de terem qualidade divina e normativa. Logo, a canonicidade é correlativa com a inspiração, tendo a dignidade que pertencem a escritos que eram oficialmente declarados de origem sagrada. É considerado que os apóstolos legaram o cânone à Igreja constituindo este parte da *depositum fidei*. A mais explícita definição do cânone católico é a do Concílio de Trento, de 1546; os decretos tridentinos foram a os primeiros pronunciados considerados infalíveis e promulgados efectivamente.

Uma questão que é inseparável da canonicidade, é a da autoridade, e ao fim e ao cabo, a do poder: qual é a entidade que estabelece o cânone, quem autentica o texto original assim como a tradução, questões essas que emergiram de uma maneira violenta na época da reforma que punha em questão a autoridade da

³ Steiner, *After Babel*, 256.

⁴ Bassnett, *Translation studies*, 45.

⁵ F. Rosenzweig, *Die Schrift und Luther*. Berlin 1926, 47.

Igreja romana em determinar a canonicidade, ou a autenticidade única da *Vulgata*.

Gostaria de dar um breve panorama em torno destas questões, examinando as traduções bíblicas na Península Ibérica até a Idade Moderna, segundo estes critérios.

Versões ibéricas

As traduções ibéricas apresentam algumas características específicas advindas das condições históricas da Península. Uma destas é a presença da comunidade judaica desenvolvida na Península, logo, a presença do texto bíblico em hebraico e o número relativamente elevado das pessoas com conhecimentos linguísticos e exegéticos nesta língua. Daí resulta o número elevado das traduções feitas diretamente a partir do hebraico. A outra característica é o multiculturalismo existente no Sul da Península durante o período muçulmano, a coexistência e intercâmbio entre árabes, cristãos e judeus, o que resultava num clima favorável para trocas culturais, manifesto, p. ex. na existência de várias escolas de tradução. Se estes dois factores agem a favor das traduções bíblicas, o terceiro age no sentido oposto: o impacto reduzido que a Reforma teve nos países ibéricos explica o baixo número das traduções protestantes da Bíblia.

Traduções bíblicas em Espanha

A primeira Bíblia em espanhol apareceu em Valencia, em 1478.

Existem vários manuscritos de traduções bíblicas em espanhol antigo (p. ex. Bíblia Alfonsina, alguns dos quais traduzido do hebraico. A versão da Bíblia em catalão (1417) foi a obra do general da Cartuxa, Bonifácio Ferrer, irmão de S. Vicente de Ferrer, OP. A versão do NT traduzido por Francisco de Enzinas, editada em Antuérpia, em 1543, foi usada mais tarde pela British and Foreign Bible Society. A versão completa da *Vulgata* é a obra de Cassiodoro Regua (Basileia, 1596), revista por Cipriano de Valera (Mastreado, 1602).

A versão luterana chamada Bíblia del Oso foi editada por Juan de Valdez (Basileia, 1567–1569). A Bíblia de Ferrara era a Bíblia judaica: uma versão espanhola traduzida do hebraico por Abraão Usque, um judeu de origem portuguesa, que sob um pseudónimo organizou igualmente uma edição para cristãos que obteve uma reputação considerável.

Bíblias portuguesas

Em contraste com o que acontece noutras regiões da Península em que as Bíblias *romanizadas* são relativamente abundantes, e apresentam a particularidade de serem feitas a partir do hebraico, os testemunhos em língua portuguesa são escassos, tardios e feitos a partir de línguas não originais, ou a partir do latim. A escassez das traduções portuguesas é tanto mais de notar, quanto a presença da Bíblia latina é uma constante em toda a Idade Média em Portugal, e em torno do texto bíblico se gerava uma relação afectiva intensa, derivada não apenas do contexto litúrgico, mas também das práticas devotas. Esta familiaridade com

a Bíblia começava já na escola, já que o Saltério era o livro que se utilizava para o efeito da aprendizagem da leitura.

A falta de texto em português pode ser atribuída a vários factores. O primeiro radica na ausência de centros culturais dinamizadores como era, p. ex. em Espanha, a escola de tradução de Toledo. O segundo factor era o enquadramento da utilização da Bíblia: a comunidade judaica servia-se do texto original, isso terá contribuído para o prestígio da *Vulgata* a que recorriam os eruditos, pelo que terá ficado para segundo plano a fixação e uso de um texto em português.

A falta do texto português poderá ser atribuído ao facto de a tradução ser suprida de algum modo, pela liturgia, através da pregação em vernáculo. Por outro lado, a educação em latim mantinha a familiaridade com as leituras bíblicas. Outro factor ainda poderá ser a falta de movimentos de espiritualidade que requeressem o texto em vernáculo. As primeiras traduções emergem, porém, no contexto de um movimento fomentado pela ordem dos pregadores: a tradução de alguns versos da Bíblia num texto anónimo, provavelmente do séc. XIII, o *Livro da crença cristã*, onde em paralelo com o texto hebraico e latim, dá-se também a tradução portuguesa das citações bíblicas. Algumas vezes, a falta de traduções portuguesas era suprida por outras em castelhano. Podíamos contar entre as substituições várias histórias bíblicas: a *Bíblia historiada de Alcobça (Historias d'abreviado Testamento Velho, segundo o meestre das historias escolasticas...)*, ou o *Livros das estorias da blvia....* Talvez fosse pelo hábito de ouvir o texto bíblico acompanhado de comentários morais e espirituais, durante o período medieval, a tradução directa da Bíblia cedeu lugar a formas parafrásticas no decurso de séc. XV, como a *Vita Christi* de Ludolfo de Saxónia, traduzido por Valentim Fernandes, ou a *Postilla super epistolas et evangelia*, de Guilherme de Paris, editada no Porto em 1497 sob o título de *Evangelhos e epistolas com as suas exposições em romance*, traduzido, provavelmente, por Rodrigo Alvares, não do original, mas da versão castelhana de Garcia de Santa Maria. As traduções eram destinadas, como se lê nas advertências do colofon ou do prómio, a que desconhecesse a língua latina.⁶ Na base destas edições encontramos as correntes de devoção vindas da Europa, às quais devemos atribuir o empenho dos primeiros impressores portugueses. Se o período humanístico significou um mais largo conhecimento do latim, não obstante com a intenção de regressar aos textos originais, patente em posições de humanistas e a preparação das Bíblias políglotas, logo, dispensava a tradução da Bíblia para português. Por outra parte, a Inquisição lançava suspeitas a quem quisesse empreender. No rol dos livros proibidos, em 1547 e 1551 vem indicada a Bíblia em vulgar.

A primeira tradução autónoma do português, feita parcialmente sobre os originais, é a obra do missionário protestante João Ferreira de Almeida⁷ durante

⁶ A. A. Nascimento, "Língua portuguesa e mediações religiosas." *Revista ICALP* 14 (1988), 95.

⁷ João Ferreira de Almeida (1628–1691) Educado na Holanda, em 1642 entra na igreja reformada holandesa. Em 1644 inicia uma tradução dos Evangelhos e Actos de espanhol Para português que circula em cópias manuscritas. A partir de 1648 desempenha obra

o seu trabalho de evangelização no Ceilão, onde pertenceu à congregação calvinista. Para a tradução do NT serviu-se da tradução latina de Beza, e da castelhana de Cipriano de Valera, e ainda outros em francês e neerlandês. O processo da impressão do NT de Ferreira de Almeida foi posto em causa pelos censores holandeses, à contestação do autor, a impressão foi autorizada, mas só em 1693, dois anos após a morte do tradutor. A tradução dos livros do AT, inacabada por causa da morte de Ferreira de Almeida, foi concluída, um ano mais tarde, por Jacobus op den Akker. Após várias edições parciais, a edição completa do AT em português foi publicado na Batávia em 1748 e 1753. O juízo moderno sobre esta tradução, realizada em condições precárias e com fins pastorais e não científicos, reconhece-lhe, apesar de algumas infidelidades, a riqueza da linguagem.

A versão católica completa viria ter lugar pelo oratoriano Padre António Pereira de Figueiredo,⁸ entre 1778 e 1771. Não obstante alguns modismos e expressões eufemísticas, a sua elegância e fluência linguística explica a influência que exerceu nas traduções que a seguiram.

Quais eram os princípios aplicados por Pereira de Figueiredo na sua tradução? Eis como os revela na segunda parte do prefácio aos leitores do seu NT: *Do método e forma que guardei nesta versão do Testamento Novo...* [etc.] Figueiredo revela-se, por um lado, seguidor dos princípios de S. Jerónimo: "O bom Tradutor não se deve ligar servilmente às palavras do original, mas atender mais ao sentido do que às palavras.⁹ Por outro lado, revela-se filho do seu século, exigindo clareza e bom gosto na tradução, as leis "da clareza e da decência devem conduzir o bom Tradutor. Assim, pela indicação de Figueiredo "*omne masculinum adaperiens vulvam*" (Lc 2,23) traduz-se "todo o filho primogénito", ou "*inventata est in utero habens*" (Mt 1, 18.) – "achou-se que estava prenhe."

Ao exemplo de Jerónimo, e, não intencionalmente, de Lutero, Figueiredo declara a necessidade de a tradução ser orientada para a cultura de chegada, logo, a tradução tem de estar em conformidade com as regras e possibilidades da língua da chegada: "Segundo esta regra, ninguém duvidará que sem ofensa da verdade e da fidelidade, pode um bom Interpretar omitir na sua versão toda a palavra do Original, que não for de consequência, ... como são as várias partículas ... expletivas, que em todas as línguas só servem de ornato à oração."¹⁰

O objectivo declarado de Figueiredo é lançar, por meio da tradução, uma ponte sobre as distâncias espacio-temporais e linguísticas que separam as culturas de partida e de chegada: "exprimir o sentido dos escritores canónicos, não se-

missionária nas Índias Orientais Holandesas, continuando as suas traduções (Catecismo de Heidelberg, Livro da Liturgia da Igreja Reformada). Termina em 1767 a sua tradução do NT. Trabalha até a sua morte na sua tradução do AT que deixa inacabada.

⁸ António Pereira de Figueiredo (1725–1797) Teólogo, humanista português, membro da Congregação do oratório. Notabilizou-se pelos seus estudos filológicos (Novo método de gramática, latina, Observações sobre a língua), e pelas sua tradução da Bíblia, segundo a Vulgata.

⁹ J. A. S. Pinilla–M. M. F. Sánchez, *O discurso sobre tradução em Portugal: o proveito, o ensino e a crítica*. Lisboa 1998, 117.

¹⁰ Pinilla–Sánchez, *O discurso sobre tradução em Portugal*, 117.

gundo o génio e idiotismo da língua primitiva [i.e. de partida], mas segundo o pedia a natureza e propriedade da Língua do País em que compunham. De sorte que a palavra de Deus sim se lesse ou ouvisse nas suas versões pura e sincera, mas como palavra de Deus que já não se explicava em Hebreu, ou em Grego, ou em latim, mas nas outras línguas que hoje são vulgares na Europa."¹¹

Figueiredo defende a autenticidade da *Vulgata*, embora, como aponta, em alguns lugares tenha preferido o original grego. No entanto, acha aconselhável esclarecer, ponto a ponto, em notas de rodapé, as razões que o induziram a utilização do original ao lugar da *Vulgata* latina autorizada, o que nos leva a crer que a ocupação de tradutor bíblico nos meados do séc. XVII não era um trabalho sem riscos e perigos.

¹¹ Pinilla-Sánchez, *O discurso sobre tradução em Portugal*, 121.

The Foundation of the Yugoslavian Hungarian Party (1922)

ENIKÓ A. SAJTI



By the time representatives of the Monarchy and the Entente signed the armistice on 3 November 1918, the National Council established in Zagreb on 5–6 October had proclaimed the foundation of the Slovene–Croat–Serb State (on 19 October) and its intention of merging with Serbia and Montenegro. Ten days later, the Croatian Sabor declared that Croatia was seceding from Austria–Hungary and joining the state formation proclaimed by the National Council.

However, the parties making up the National Council – the Slovenian People’s Party, the Croatian Party of Law and constituent parties of the Serbo-Croatian Coalition – differed about how the union should be effected. The Serbo-Croatian Coalition, headed by Svetozar Pribičević and supported by Croatia’s Serbs, sought a rapid Serb-oriented, centralist union, while Croatian and Slovenian politicians argued for federal relations between the two states. Early in November, there seemed to be a chance of Croatian statehood gaining recognition. In Geneva on 9 November, the Yugoslav Committee, grouping the South Slavs of the Monarchy and representing the interests of the Slovene–Croat–Serb State, agreed with Nikola Pašić, the Serbian prime minister, on a provisional, dual structure of state until the constitutional debates on the new state were concluded. The two constituents of the country (Serbia and the Slovene–Croat–Serb State) would run their foreign, military and naval affairs jointly, but remain independent in other respects. Croatia (the Slovene–Croat–Serb State) was itself to be a federal state. However, the agreement was thrown out in Belgrade and Pašić had to resign. The National Council in Zagreb suffered mounting internal difficulties and feared assaults from Italy on its national aspirations, so it eventually accepted an essentially centralist union to be headed by the Serbian Karadorđević dynasty. This plan was supported not only in the Vojvodina, as mentioned above,

but by the National Assembly in Cetinje, Montenegro, which thereby dethroned the Montenegrin King Nikola Petrović.

Many people these days, after the second disintegration of Yugoslavia, tend to view the united South Slav state (the Serb–Croat–Slovene Royal State until 1921, the Serb–Croat–Slovene Kingdom from 1921 to 1929, and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia from 1929 to 1941) as an artificial creation and “creature” of the Entente. Behind this interpretation the author sees a simplification of historical events that ignores some important factors and processes active at the time.

Historically, the South Slav peoples developed two basic types of concepts of nationhood: “Yugoslavism” on the one hand, and nationalism emphasizing the separate national development of each South Slav people on the other. The Yugoslav ideologies – the Illyrianism of the Croats and Serbian Yugoslavism, with its programme of integration into a Greater Serbia – rested on linguistic, ethnic, and cultural affinities that undoubtedly existed and then underwent conscious development. However, they differed from the outset in the type of political union they wished to achieve among the South Slav peoples: federalist or centralist. By the end of the First World War, a variant of the pan-Yugoslav solution to the national question had also been accepted by the leaders of the Slovenian national movement, which had originally moved off on other paths. Under the actual set of historical circumstances that ensued, the demands for the dissolution of the multi-ethnic monarchy and self-determination for the South Slav peoples were *not* made on the basis of separate national ideologies (among Croats, Serbs, Slovenes and so on), which were relegated to the background. One dominant notion in the period was that self-determination in a South Slav setting (and among the Czechs and Slovaks) assumed a special *collective* meaning. This was supported at the time by the international policymakers and by the vast majority of the political and cultural elite among the South Slav nations.

Yugoslavia, therefore, was not just an artificial creation cobbled together at Versailles, as Serb historians and many Slovenes and those from other South Slav peoples portray it today. It was a state in which every South Slav “tribe” or nation was to find a community of political interest. In other words, the bounds of the common state were to permit both separate, tribal development and national prosperity. Democratic Yugoslavism, calling for the homogenization and integration of nations – the federalist version of “three tribes, one nation” – did not become a dominant factor in government, if for no other reason than because it showed clearly “popular,” even Croatian, republican features opposed to the monarchy. The Serbian version of Yugoslavism, which incidentally was far from uniform, was deeply imbedded in the Serbian national foreign-policy programme formulated in the 1840s, which aspired to “gather together” all the lands inhabited by Serbs. (This was expressed in the work *Načertanije* [Draft], by Ilija Garašanin, Serbian foreign minister.) The leading strata in the Serbian state that was forming were royalists, for whom recognition for the Serbian Karadorđević dynasty was an important factor in their national thinking. Republicanism became confined to Serbian left wing. There was emphasis in Serbian Yugoslavism on the role of the centralized state, which meant in this case dominance for the Serbian

elite in power. The leading groups in the nations that were founding the state did not indulge in any serious bargaining about the internal structure of the state before the union took place. As mentioned above, the only compact of that kind (the Geneva agreement of November 1918) was thwarted by opposition within the Serbian government. It remains valid to say that the Slovene, and even more the Croatian, political forces were thrown into the arms of the Serbian army, bureaucracy, and royal dynasty by fear. They were afraid of Italy's territorial aspirations and of the domestic anarchy and social revolution that loomed in the wake of the war and the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

In the end, the constitutional questions in dispute were referred to a Constitutional National Assembly, which was to be convened later. The political forces of the Croats and Slovenes hoped reasonably that the universal male suffrage, one of the most democratic institutions of the Serbian state, would ensure that they obtained proportionate representation in the new *Skupština* or House of Representatives. This in turn would allow them to turn the structure of the state towards a federation. In the event, their hopes were confounded. Domestic political events under the provisional government of 1918-1921 already demonstrated the political and administrative dominance that the Serbs would exercise and the political intolerance that spread to all areas of state activity. The *Vidovdan* (St. Vitus' Day) Constitution passed on 28 June 1921 ignored the relative political strengths reflected in the general elections of the previous November. A process of political bargaining was used to obtain an endorsement of the new centralist structure of state, without the support of the Croatian members. Thereafter, the history of Yugoslavia can be viewed as a struggle between the forces of centralism and federalism, and inseparably from that, a battle fought among the South Slav peoples.

One of the main structural features of the political scene was that the political parties were not primarily parties grouped around a political programme. They were national parties, whose support coincided, more or less, with national communities within the new state. This applies even if some parties, especially ones with Serbian roots such as the Radical Party and Democratic Party, adopted a nationwide, pan-Yugoslav guise. Among the major political problems facing the rival Radicals and Democrats and the Serbian court was how to prevent the opposition Croatian (Republican) Peasant Party from becoming a focus for the opposition forces on a nationwide scale.

The Serbian People's Radical Party, founded in 1881, had lost its character of a peasants' party by the time the South Slav state formed, although the Serbian peasantry still voted for it in the main. From the beginning of the twentieth century, it steadily became a party of the Serbian elite and middle class, associated with the Serbian state and strongly advocating a national, Greater Serbian programme within the South Slav state. By that time, its peasant, patriarchal roots had atrophied irrevocably, so that it supported a strong, centralized monarchy. However, as the *Vidovdan* Constitution reflected, the party coupled its insistence on unitary nationhood with advocacy of broad public administrative (not national) autonomy.

The Democratic Party had been formed by opposition groups in historical Serbia that broke away from the Radicals. These were joined in 1919 by representatives of the so-called *prečanin* Serbs¹ of Croatia, dwelling between the Sava and Danube rivers. The party was more "Yugoslav" and centralist than the Radicals, so it did not support regional administrative autonomy either. For historical reasons, neither party had any experience of cohabitation with minorities or handling the minority question. In political terms they had nothing to say to the Hungarians or the Germans or, least of all, to the Albanians. They made some use of the Vojvodina minorities during their battles with each other as a means of promoting their objectives, especially in the frequent parliamentary and local government elections that were held. However, the governing parties were not capable of doing more than that at any time during the existence of the first Yugoslavia.

The largest opposition party was the Croatian Republican Peasant Party, formed in 1904 and headed by the real ruler of Croatia, Stjepan Radić. As its name suggests, the party was at odds with the monarchical form of state, at least until 1925. Furthermore, it was a strong foe of centralism and curtailment of Croatian state rights. Even in the 1920s it retained its special blend of peasant socialism, pacifism, and however paradoxical it may sound, internationalism, as well as its idea of a peasant republic based on a referendum. By representing the national and the peasant cause at once, Radić was able to make himself the uncrowned king of Croatia and the "wise man" of his people.

Tipping the balance of Yugoslav politics was the Slovenian People's Party, headed by Anton Korošec, who likewise retained the confidence of Slovene voters almost throughout the period. However, the party's attention was not devoted exclusively to constitutional matters, which Korošec considered secondary so long as the Slovenes could form an administrative unit and hold dominant positions in the administration, the arts, and the economy of Slovenia. That, fundamentally, was why Korošec joined the government of the country and cooperated with Belgrade.

The strongest Bosnian party was the Yugoslav Muslim Organization. The interests of Turkish-speaking and Albanian Muslims were represented by another Muslim party, the Džemije.

Clearly, each political party was tied strongly to a specific nation within the country. It is not surprising, therefore, to find also in multi-ethnic Vojvodina parties organized around a nation or minority, such as the Yugoslavian German Party, the Yugoslavian Hungarian Party (*Jugoszláviai Magyar Párt*) and the Šokac-Bunjevci (*Sokác-Bunyevác*) Party. It will be seen in detail in the case of the Hungarian Party how these parties reflected the characteristics of domestic politics in Yugoslavia and saw it as their most important task to take up the affairs and grievances of their minority before the state.

¹ *Prečanin* were Serbs who lived beyond the Drava and Sava rivers in the Monarchy, to the north of Serbia proper. The term has slightly derogatory undertones.

The Communist Party was the only party in Yugoslavia whose programme and activity was not centred on national and constitutional issues. Its branches extended across the national boundaries within the country. The party came into being as a specific combination of Orthodox Serbian and Bosnian Marxists with Croatian and Slovenian pro-Bolshevik radical socialists who supported a unitary state. Despite their heterogeneity, the Communists managed to obtain the third largest number of seats in the first legislature of the new state, elected in November 1920. The party became especially influential in areas on the periphery of Yugoslavia where there was no party to represent the region's national grievances. The party, which operated to great political effect until 1921, before being banned and shrinking into a small sect, argued for "equality of rights for all national communities." However, it adopted the government parties' notion of "three tribes in one nation" with the important proviso that the national question was a matter for the bourgeoisie, with which "a proletarian party need not concern itself, because it simply confuses the class war." Only in the 1930s, after long internal debates, did the party recognize the very important part that the national question was playing in Yugoslavia's domestic affairs and formulate the need to turn the state into a federation.

Provisional administration of the country was regulated by a royal decree of 7 January 1919. The national governments that had formed in the former territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the autumn of 1918 were dissolved in favour of narrower provincial governments. However, at that juncture, the eight provinces of the country still covered the national territories or regions that had developed historically: Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dalmatia and Vojvodina.²

The Hungarian community, weakened economically and culturally (this is returned to below) and after being denied its political rights for a long period, began to formulate for the first time in its history possible ways of surviving under the new conditions while preserving its national identity. The scope was defined not only by the ethnic weight of the Hungarians in the country, the combative nationalism of the new authorities, the assistance from Hungary (restricted at this time mainly to funding and political advice), but by the specific history of the region. The South Country had always been a peripheral region of Hungary, without a local, cultural Hungarian consciousness of its own. It was not fortuitous that Újvidék (Novi Sad) had been known as the Serbian Athens. Unlike the Germans of the Banat, the Hungarians had not possessed a stratum of wealthy peasant-citizens. Its politically active middle class had been associated mainly

² Notable monographs on the inter-war history of Yugoslavia include F. Čulinović, *Jugoslavija između dva rata*. [Yugoslavia between two wars] 2 vols., Zagreb 1961; B. Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije*. [History of Yugoslavia] 3 vols., 1918–1988, Belgrade 1988; J. R. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History. Twice There Was a Country*. New York 1996; Š. Đodan, *Hrvatsko pitanje*. [The Croatian question] Zagreb 1991; J. Juhász, *Volt egyszer egy Jugoszlávia*. [Once There Was a Yugoslavia] Budapest 1999; B. Petranović–M. Zečević, *Agonija dve Jugoslavije*. [Agony of two Yugoslavias] Belgrade 1991.

with the old apparatus of the state, along with landowners and the self-employed professions, all of which were substantially weakened by the change of rule. Of the peasantry who made up 60 to 70 percent of Hungarian society, about 10 percent did not have land. These and the working class, employed mainly in the food industry and small-scale industry, were less inclined towards nationally based party programmes than towards social, egalitarian objectives in the early 1920s, so they gravitated towards the communist, socialist and trade-union movements. There were Hungarians (Lajos Csáki and József Juhász) among the perpetrators of the communist outrages against Regent Alexander and Interior Minister Milorad Drašković, which precipitated the act on state defence and reinforced the strong official suspicions of the Hungarians and charges of irredentist, anti-state conduct against them.

The old local political antagonism between the Independence Party (*Függetlenségi Párt*) and the Party of Labour (*Munka Párt*) arose as an obstacle while the Hungarian Party was being established. Nor had the South Slav–Hungarian political conflicts of the Dual Monarchy period died down entirely.³ The new politically active stratum among the Hungarians, consisting mainly of attorneys, lawyers, doctors, and middling landowners, lacked experience of communicating with the peasantry or the working class. No useful advice in this respect came from the mother country.

The centres of political and cultural organization among the Hungarians were Veliki Bečkerek (Nagybečskerek) in the Banat, Subotica, Sombor, and Senta. Veliki Bečkerek was the home of Dr. Imre Várady, who had been prominent in the politics of former Torontál County and served as a member of the Hungarian Parliament. He was among the few South-Country Hungarian politicians to speak excellent Serbian and maintain good relations with the local Serbian and German intelligentsia. The Hungarians of the Banat also had a high-quality, long-established daily paper, *Torontál*. However, Veliki Bečkerek was a long distance from the ethnic centre of the South-Country Hungarians and Várady was suspect in the eyes of many for the ideas he had about reaching agreement with Belgrade. Political life in Sombor relied on two former governing party (Party of Labour) politicians: Dr. Ödön Palásthy and Dr. Árpád Falcione, a former member of the Hungarian Parliament. Organization in Subotica was impeded by old rivalries between the Farmers' Circle (*Gazdakör*) and the People's Circle (*Népkör*), known earlier as the Independence Circle (*Függetlenségi Kör*). Nonetheless, Subotica may well have been the most important focus of organization in the early period. Among those prominent were the landowner Bálint Törley, later a Hungarian state secretary, Dr. Károly Bíró, the last Hungarian mayor of the town, János Janiga, a former Party of Labour member of the Hungarian Parliament, and Dr.

³ J. Csuka, *A délvidéki magyarság története 1918–1941*. [History of the South-Country Hungarians 1918–1941] Budapest 1995, 47–48. On the pre-1918 operation of the bourgeois political parties in the South Country, see A. Lebl, *Grđanske političke stranke u Vojvodini 1887–1914*. [Civil political parties in the Vojvodina, 1887–1914] Novi Sad 1979.

Lukács Pleszkovich. Organization of the Hungarians living along the Tisza River was directed by two lawyers in Senta, Dr. Ádám Sóti and Dr. János Csettle.

After much planning and scheming in private houses, the first public reference to the idea of founding a Hungarian party appeared on 17 January 1921 in the Subotica *Hírlap* (News), which later became the organ of the Hungarian Party. Two possible approaches were suggested during the organization phase. No one doubted that the Hungarians had to progress beyond the stage of "patient passivity," but opinions differed about what the subsequent methods and objectives should be. The "passivists," drawn mainly from those Octobrists who had fled from Baranya County into Yugoslavia, argued that the time had not yet come to found a separate political party; the Hungarian community should focus its attention on cultural and economic issues. This view was shared, for example, by Pleszkovich, the longstanding leader of the Subotica People's Circle, who had played an important part in the organization. Pleszkovich, who incidentally had been the last Hungarian lord lieutenant of the town, saw as more appropriate a joint organization of the national communities of the Vojvodina, pressing for autonomy there. The idea of a Vojvodina party would also have gained support from the Bunjevac. The "activists," on the other hand, maintained that there should be a separate Hungarian political party, which should also take up the cultural and economic defence of the Hungarian community. This was all the more important, they argued, because the big Slav parties could not be trusted and the Hungarians would become split among them if they did not have a political party of their own.⁴ This approach was taken, for instance, by Falcione, Palásthy and Várady, later a Yugoslav representative and senator, as well as by the former Independence Party politician Dr. László Gráber, the Subotica surgeon Dr. György Sántha, and several others.

Official South Slav circles did not look kindly on the separate political organization going on among the Hungarians, which they tried to prevent or divert into the large, "viable" Slav political parties. The idea was also raised of forming a single minority party with the Bunjevac and the Germans. The decisive contribution to resolving the dilemma was the position taken by the Hungarian government. Budapest firmly supported the "activists" seeking to organize on a national basis. Otherwise, it threatened to withdraw its financial support and institute "a complete boycott of participants in this unpatriotic procedure."⁵

⁴ MOL (National Archives of Hungary) K-64. (A Külügyminisztérium politikai osztályának rezervált iratai [Reserved documents of the Foreign Ministry's Political Department], henceforth: Küm. res. pol.) 1925-16-260.

⁵ MOL K-64. 1925-16-432; E. A. Sajti, "A jugoszláviai Magyar Párt megalakulása és részvétele az 1925-ös választásokon." [Foundation of the Yugoslavian Hungarian Party and its participation in the 1925 elections] in *Nemzetstudat, jugoszlávizmus, magyarság*, Szeged 1991, 91-92. On the activity of the Hungarian Party, see E. A. Sajti, "A jugoszláviai magyarok politikai szervezkedésének lehetőségei és korlátai (1918-1941)." [Scope for and constraints on political organization by the Yugoslav Hungarians, 1918-41] *Regio. Kisebbségi Szemle* 8:2 (1997), 3-30.

The Hungarian government used secret channels to maintain contact with the South-Country Hungarians in the first half of the 1920s. This was because of Hungary's international situation and its extremely tense relations with the South Slav state. An important factor behind the latter was Belgrade's conviction that the South-Country Hungarians collectively were an anti-state, irredentist minority and willing tools of Hungary's territorial revisionism. The Hungarian Foreign Ministry expressly forbade the Hungarian mission in Belgrade to maintain direct relations with the Hungarians, although it drew legation staff into its secret channels of communication.

The Hungarian envoy in Belgrade from 1924 to 1927 was András Hory, who wrote the following in his memoirs:

Very little news of the Hungarian minority reached me. I did not know the leaders of the Hungarian community there and I had no contact with them. They did not seek intercourse with me, and especially in the early period it would have been difficult for me to visit the South Country, where I had no contacts at all. The idea held in the Hungarian Foreign Ministry was that it would be better for the minister in Belgrade not to have contact with the leaders of the Yugoslavian Hungarians, who in any case had other possible channels for forwarding their complaints and requests to Budapest... The position of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry on this question was not entirely logical, because while they banned direct contact with the South-Country Hungarian community, Foreign Minister Kálmán Kánya expressly ordered me to receive very cordially and maintain contact with people coming to me from ORIM. To prove their legitimacy, they would produce one piece of the music of a Serb folksong, which had been torn in two. I brought the other piece of the music with me from Pest.⁶

The government was concentrating its attention on three aspects of the Hungarians now beyond the Trianon borders of the country. It gathered data on the life of the minority, exploring the grievances as accurately as possible. It gave them financial, moral, and political support, and even directed the emerging political, cultural, ecclesiastical, and other organizations of the Hungarian minorities in the Uplands, Romania and the South Country. Furthermore, it built the minority question into its diplomacy with neighbouring countries. During the initial post-war stage of revolution and counterrevolution, it kept in contact with areas beyond the demarcation lines in a disorganized, sporadic, occasional way, without following any uniform criteria. This applied to the South-Country Hungarians as well. The main purpose was to emphasize that Hungary retained its rights (which is why state officials and senior school teachers were still paid from Budapest) and to gather evidence of the wrongs done by the occupiers. These tasks were done mainly by railway employees, army officers, enthusiastic stu-

⁶ A. Hory, *Bukaresttől Varsóig*. [From Bucharest to Warsaw] Edited, introduced and annotated by Pál Pritz. Budapest 1987, 184. ORIM (Organisation Révolutionnaire Intérieure Macédonienne) sought to unite Yugoslavian Macedonia as part of Bulgaria through acts of terrorism.

dents, and county officials who had remained at their posts, often independently of each other.

The present study does not set out to analyse in detail the policy of successive Hungarian governments towards the Hungarians living abroad, but the present subject calls for a brief outline of the institutional and structural characteristics of that policy. Before the First World War, the affairs of Hungarians residing abroad (emigrants and scattered communities) were the concern of the prime minister's office. Even at that time, the government preferred not to give direct support to Hungarian institutions abroad, tending instead to work through voluntary organizations created for the purpose or often through occasional secret provision of funds. The scattered Hungarian communities in Slavonia and Bosnia, for example, were cared for by the *Julián Society*, established in 1904. After the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the autumn of 1918, responsibility for the occupied lands became decentralized, with the Foreign, Propaganda, and Minority ministries often competing with each other to perform the tasks. From that juncture onwards, as one of the key issues of government policy, the question of the lands occupied by neighbouring countries was bound up with the peace negotiations, refugees and the Hungarian communities of the South Country, the Uplands and Transylvania. It became increasingly clear that the existing institutional frameworks were insufficient for the size of the task. It was increasingly urgent to coordinate and professionalize the work done by the organizations mediating between the government and the Hungarians beyond the demarcation line.

Those initiating this process of centralization and rationalization were a group of prominent Transylvanian Hungarians who had fled or been deported to Hungary: Count István Bethlen, Count Pál Teleki, Benedek Jancsó, Dénes Sebess and others.⁷ The relative importance attached to the ceded territories is apparent from the actions of Prime Minister István Friedrich at the end of September 1919. Friedrich appointed Bethlen to head a secret ministry dealing exclusively with Transylvanian affairs, while the Propaganda, Foreign and Minority ministries continued to look after the Upper-Country and South-Country Hungarians.⁸ Although the secret Transylvanian ministry ceased to exist when the Huszár government took office on 24 November 1919, its staff and tasks were taken over by Group B of the Peace Preparations Bureau (*Békelőkészítő Iroda*). In April 1920 it became the National Office for Refugee Affairs (*Országos Menekültügyi Hivatal*), with responsibility for all three ceded territories, including the South Country, but the ministries noted above also continued their previous activities.

After the peace treaty had been signed, Prime Minister Bethlen convened an important meeting on 11 May 1921 to discuss the domestic and foreign policy

⁷ For more detail, especially on the Transylvanian activity of the Centre for the Federation of Social Societies, see N. Bárdi, "A Keleti Akció." [The Eastern Campaign] *Regio. Kisebbségi Szemle* 6:3 (1995), 89–134.

⁸ I. Romsics, *Gróf Bethlen István politikai pályája 1901–1921*. [The Political Career of Count István Bethlen, 1901–21] Budapest 1987, 208–211.

consolidation of the country. Among those present were Foreign Minister Miklós Bánffy, Interior Minister Gedeon Ráday, and Defence Minister Sándor Belitska. The army general staff was represented by Colonels Röder and Siménfalvi, the voluntary organizations by Zsigmond Perényi, chairman of the Hungarian National League (*Magyar Nemzeti Szövetség*), and the prime minister's office by two well-known Transylvanian politicians, Counsellors Benedek Jancsó and Pál Petri.

The purpose of the discussion was to end military and irredentist activities in the ceded territories, or rather to reorganize them to suit the official policy interests and scope of Hungary. Opening the meeting, Bethlen laid emphasis on "the great danger caused to our kinsmen in the newly ceded territories by the fact that messages have gone out from here, purported military emissaries have approached the leaders of our kinsmen there, compromising them and often exposing them to arrest and mistreatment." The meeting also noted that "military organization aimed at liberating the occupied lands has ceased. Anyone who indulges in such activity and thereby gets into trouble cannot count on any support." The Hungarian military organizations were forbidden to maintain contact with any Hungarian military organizations or individuals beyond the borders and obliged to keep Pál Teleki informed of any contacts of another character. The meeting found it important to state that "the intelligence service should be completely divorced from the affairs of the military organization." Miklós Bánffy, the foreign minister, recommended not just reviewing the irredentist associations, but dissolving "the most dangerous" of them, since "they cause the greatest diplomatic difficulties at home with their unguarded statements and could plunge the country into fatal danger sooner or later."⁹

After the meeting, government policy towards the lands beyond the country's borders began to consolidate and adjust to the norms of international and domestic law. The main objective of Hungary's foreign policy at that stage was to break out of its international isolation. It was thought to be injudicious to pursue territorial revision openly, so that the subject had to come off the agenda for the time being. Even the question of supporting and contacting Hungarians living beyond the borders took second place to the broader diplomatic purpose. The pronounced domestic support for revision was directed and consolidated into forms where it could be kept under observation. A sharp division was made between official and voluntary efforts in this direction. This approach led to the establishment in August 1921 of the Centre for the Federation of Voluntary Associations (*Társadalmi Egyesületek Szövetségének Központja*, TESZK), headed by Pál Teleki. Thereafter, the Bethlen government's support and protection for the Hungarians in the South Country, the Uplands and Transylvania was handled by the Centre, working through the St. Gellért Society (*Szent Gellért Társaság*) in the case of the South Country. The meeting of ministers on 11 August 1921 adopted the following basic principles for the operation of the organization:

1) In the government's name, the *Rákóczi* Association responsible for the Uplands, the Popular Literary Society supporting the Hungarian minority in the East-

⁹ MOL K-26. ME (Prime Minister's Office) 1921-XXX VIII-3581.

ern Hungarian territories ceded to Romania, except for the Banat territories, and the *Szt. Gellért* Society responsible for the Hungarians of the South Country and the Banat territories ceded to Romania might maintain contacts with the Hungarians in the aforementioned territories only through the central leadership of TESZK.

2) The central apparatus of the organization was subordinated directly to the prime minister, István Bethlen, who would perform this task with assistance from the competent Second Department of the Prime Minister's Office.

3) The Second Department of the PMO dealing with minority affairs was able to prepare the budget of the organization in agreement with the finance minister, and this had to be endorsed only by the government, on the motion of the prime minister, circumventing the National Assembly.

4) Finally, the financing the organization was laid down at the same time.¹⁰

The president of the *Szt. Gellért* Society was the writer Ferenc Herczeg, who was of South-Country origin. Its executive director, Olivér Eöttevényi, was the retired lord lieutenant of Lugos (Lugoj) and had headed the dissolved South-Country League (*Délvidéki Liga*), which can be seen as the society's predecessor. Eöttevényi was succeeded by Tibor Tubán, a member of the Piarist order, who had served as a counsellor in the Ministry of Religion and Public Education under the Szeged counterrevolutionary government. The tasks of secretary were performed by Endre Fall, formerly headmaster of Temesvár City College. The society operated in great secrecy throughout its existence.

Several other institutions were also subordinate to TESZK. One was the Hungarian National Federation (*Magyar Nemzeti Szövetség*), which dealt with propaganda abroad, while also acting as an "unseen hand" to counteract the "mounting espionage" of the neighbouring countries.¹¹ Bethlen forbade the societies belonging to TESZK to approach the prime minister's office and the ministries directly. They had to channel all their affairs through the head of TESZK, former Prime Minister Pál Teleki, or his second-in-command, Deputy State Secretary Antal Papp. These two men were also the only contacts for the leading politicians among the Hungarians across the border. The activity of TESZK was at its most intensive from 1921 to 1925. Thereafter it tended to confine itself to humanitarian work. Its functions were taken over at the beginning of the 1930s by the Revisionist League (*Revíziós Liga*) and the Institute of Political Science (*Államtudományi Intézet*), which Teleki founded.

The *Szt. Gellért* Society had other tasks besides looking after the Hungarian community beyond the country's southern border. It provided hostel accommodation for secondary-school pupils from the South Country at *Szt. Gellért's* College (*Szent Gellért Internátus*) in Szeged. It supported and controlled the operation of the South Country University and College Association (*Délvidéki Egyetemi és Főiskolai Egyesület*). It also supervised the South-Country House (*Délvidéki Ott-*

¹⁰ MOL K-27. Mt. jkv., August 21, 1921; MOL K-437. Társadalmi Egyesületek Központjának iratai [Documents of the Centre for the Federation of Voluntary Associations, hereafter TESZK] 1921-10-7.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 1922-12/12-980; 12/14-1043.

hon), established in August 1921 as the voluntary organization for South-Country Hungarians who had settled in, opted for or been deported to Hungary. On the government's instigation, the last of these joined the International Union of League of Nations Societies and presented the grievances of the South-Country Hungarians at the union's conferences in Munich, Prague and Vienna.¹² Although this is not appropriate to discuss in detail here the financial support given to these organizations, it is worth noting that the overall budget of TESZK for 1921–1922 was 251 million crowns. Of this, 16 million was spent on central and foreign propaganda, 25 million on secret military organizations beyond the borders, some 48 million on the Uplands, 110 million on Transylvania, and more than 37 million crowns on the South-Country Hungarians. The last allocation also covered the funds provided by the *Szt. Gellért* Society for the college in Pécs that the *Julián* Association maintained for the scattered Hungarian communities in Slavonia and Bosnia and for the Slavonian campaign by the Universal Synod of the Reformed Church (*Református Egyetemes Konvent*).¹³ According to the TESZK accounts, the biggest sums of assistance went to the Protestant and Catholic churches, various South-Country schools, the press, cultural and peasant circles, and the Hungarian university students of Zagreb.¹⁴ The TESZK leaders insisted that the institutions, papers, and associations receiving assistance should not learn where it came from. For instance, the *Hírlap* (News), which was the newspaper of the Hungarian Party, received regular backing, but Budapest stipulated that "neither the editorial nor the publishing offices of the paper should know about the source of the assistance."¹⁵ The political leaders of the Hungarians were aware of the origin of the subsidies, of course. Within the overall TESZK budget, Transylvania always received the highest proportion of support, although it tended to decrease. Next came the proportion allocated to the Uplands. The South Country received the smallest proportion throughout the period. In 1921–1922, for instance, the annual financial allocation to TESZK made up 0.4 percent

¹² *Jelentés a Délvidéki Otthon öt éves működéséről. Készítette: dr. Fall Endre igazgató, a DO főtitkára.* [Report on Five Years' Operation of the South-Country Home. Prepared by Dr. Endre Fall, Director, SCH General Secretary] Budapest 1926, 29–30.

¹³ For more on support for the Hungarians of Slavonia and Bosnia, see F. Bernics, *A Julián akció (Egy "magyarságmentő egyesület" tevékenysége Horvátországban és Bosznia-Hercegovinában és a jelen 1904–1992).* [The Julián Campaign (Activity of a "Hungarian-Saving Association" in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Present Day, 1904–1992)] Pécs 1994; B. Makkai, "Magyar szórványgondozás Bosznia-Hercegovinában." [Care of Scattered Hungarian Communities in Bosnia-Herzegovina] *Regio. Kisebbségi Szemle* 6:3 (1995), 65–88.

¹⁴ MOL K-437. TESZK 1921–22–11–sz.n.; 1922–10570; 1922–1930–10 (8) III. 1929–9. Misc., unnumbered. On the budget of TESZK and how it was allocated, see also Bárdi, "A Keleti Akció." 114–123. His data differ somewhat from those given here. In August 1919, 100 Hungarian crowns were worth 11.60 Swiss francs. By 1922, mounting inflation had reduced this to 0.47 Swiss francs. Inflation in Hungary was curbed at the end of 1924, but it was 1927 before a new unit of currency, the *pengő*, was introduced.

¹⁵ MOL K-437. TESZK 1922–1930–10/8. IV.

of the state budget, but there were years when it amounted to less than 0.2 percent. However, if the TESZK budget is compared to those of other portfolios, the financial scope for the "Teleki ministry" does not seem so small. It ranged between 10 and 35 percent of the budget of the Foreign Ministry, for example.¹⁶

Organization of the Hungarian Party began with great energy in January 1922. The local Yugoslav authorities and government circles tried hard to obstruct this with proscriptions and threats, and occasionally by violent means or with promises.

On 19 April, Prime Minister Nikola Pašić summoned before him a group of the organizers headed by György Sántha and Imre Várady. This was the first opportunity to acquaint the prime minister with the party's draft programme. Important features included a clear rejection of the charge of irredentism, emphasizing that they wished to be loyal citizens of the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom and conduct their activity *exclusively* in a strictly constitutional way. Pašić made a short speech underlining the familiar position that it was needless for the Hungarians to found a separate political organization. His government had secured them civil equality and freedom through the constitution, as well as the right to elementary education in their native language. Reflecting on the complaints made by the delegation against the activities of local organizations of power, Pašić urged them not to generalize from these "tiny, paltry disputes," let alone identify them with the policy of the government. The Hungarians, he went on, "entered this country under difficult circumstances, so that one should not be surprised if some instances of disloyalty had to be suppressed." Finally, he asked them to submit to him the grievances of the Hungarians, which he would remedy.¹⁷ Stojan Protić, the Democratic Party minister of the interior, sent word to the Hungarians through the *Hírlap* that he hoped the present organizing activity "amounts just to the beginning of an evolutionary process that will lead ultimately to a merger with one of the existing political parties." Anton Korošec, leading Slovene politician, visiting Sombor for election reasons, argued that the three minorities – the Hungarians, the Germans and the Romanians – should form a common party. This minority party, he said, should struggle for the autonomy of the Vojvodina.¹⁸ The memorandum requested by Pašić was completed at the end of May. Since the prime minister, despite his promise, "could not find time" to receive the Hungarian delegation, the memorandum was sent to him by post. It was also sent to every Yugoslav political party and to many representatives of the Hungarian political elite, and published in Hungary through the *Szt. Gellért Society*.¹⁹ The memorandum listed the economic, political, legal, cul-

¹⁶ Bárdi, "A Keleti Akció." 120–121.

¹⁷ MOL K-28. A Miniszterelnökség Kisebbségi Osztályának iratai (Documents of the Minorities department of the Prime Minister's Office, hereafter ME Kisebbségi o.) 1926–R-85; *Zastava*, April 23, 1922.

¹⁸ *Hírlap*, 22 February 1922; MOL K-26. ME. 1922–III. bizalmas [confidential]–21.

¹⁹ *A Jugoszláviai Magyar Párt memoranduma Pašićhoz. Az elszakított Délvidék sorsa III.* [Memorandum of the Yugoslavian Hungarian Party to Pašić. Fate of the Ceded South-Country III] Budapest 1922.

tural, educational and other grievances of the South-Country Hungarians under 15 points. It pointed, for instance, to deportations of politically active Hungarians who had taken Yugoslavian citizenship, to frequent police harassment, and to Belgrade's inability to enforce its legislation locally. The document complained that Hungarians were being left off the electoral rolls, omitted from the land reform and so on. No substantive response to the memorandum was ever received. It was characteristic of the atmosphere at the time that one member of the Hungarian mission to the prime minister was "urged" by the Sombor chief of police to leave the country, as "he too was one of the cowards who had gone complaining about grievances to Pašić."²⁰

The plan had originally been to hold the national inaugural meeting in Subotica. Pavel Dobanovački, the mayor of the town, refused permission for this, arguing that it was "inappropriate for the Hungarians to hold their inaugural meeting in the most extreme town in the country, near the Hungarian border, after the manner of a protest." In Sombor, the organizers were openly threatened with deportation.²¹ The national conference was eventually held in Senta after the branches had been established, before about three thousand delegates, on 22 September 1922. It was the last of the Hungarian minority parties to form in the successor countries and it was preceded in the South Country by the Šokac-Bunjevac Party and the German Party.

The programme adopted at the national conference remained strictly within the constitutional framework of the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom. It was emphasized that the Hungarians wished to be loyal citizens of the kingdom. The party leaders were prompted to adopt this policy by the realities of the situation and by the intentions of Budapest. It has already been mentioned that Hungary had been striving, since the conclusion of the peace treaty, to break out of its international isolation. One indication of this was that Hungary raised its diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia to ambassador level in May 1922, appointing as its first ambassador in Belgrade Ferenc Kolossa, who had headed the mission hitherto.²² The Yugoslav foreign minister, Momčilo Ninčić, described Hungarian-Yugoslav relations at this time simply as bad, unhesitatingly and with good grounds. He went on to say that they would remain bad while the Hungarian government was ruled by "a secret, but very powerful organization... the Association of Awakening Hungarians" [sic]. He described the Bethlen government as aristocratic and despotic and "a danger to Europe,"²³ since it sought to upset the status quo.²⁴

²⁰ *Hírlap*, 7 May 1922.

²¹ *Hírlap*, 31 March 1922; MOL K-28. ME Kisebbségi o. 1926-R-85.

²² MOL K-27. Mt. jkv., 5 May 1922.

²³ MOL K-28. ME Kisebbségi o. 1923-R-19.

²⁴ For the later activity of the Yugoslavian Hungarian Party, see E. A. Sajti, *Hungarians in the Voivodina: 1918-1947*. New York 2003, 35-65.

Правда солдатских дневников и военная пропаганда в Венгрии в 1942–1943 гг.

Юдит Пихурик



27 июня 1941 года Венгрия вступила в войну против Советского Союза. Антибольшевизм был одной из идеологических основ периода правления Хорти (1920–1944), и это облегчило постановку цели войны и формирование образа врага: присоединение к вооруженному немецкому нападению рассматривалось как участие в крестовом походе против коммунизма. Наряду с пропагандистской работой о жестокостях сталинизма, начиная с конца 1941 года в венгерской печати стали появляться записки и очерки побывавших на фронте военных репортеров, офицеров и солдат. Даже еще в 1944 году в Венгрии издавались пропагандистские материалы, тенденциозно представлявшие Советский Союз и войну против него. Их тематика примерно одинакова: с одной стороны, описание боев и идеализированный показ достоинств венгерских и немецких солдат, а также критика противника, с другой стороны, описание советской действительности, призванное вызывать в читателях ужас. Согласно этим описаниям, падение сталинского режима было очень близко, так как народ ждал освобождения, армия плохо снабжалась и была плохо вооружена, а солдат принуждали воевать методами террора. Часты были ссылки на то, что немецкое нападение лишь предупредило готовящееся нападение Советского Союза на Европу. Ни одно из этих положений не оправдывает участие в войне, ведь известно, что 22 июня года 1941 именно Германия без объявления войны напала на Советский Союз, а осуждение внутреннего устройства страны не может служить поводом внешнего вмешательства. Однако, большинство упомянутых источников приводит эти аргументы, как достаточный повод для войны.

26 июня 1941 года три неопознанных самолета бомбили город Кошице, после этого на основании решения правителя Миклоша Хорти, в котором

эта акция была расценена как советское нападение,¹ премьер-министр Ласло Бардаши объявил СССР войну. С 1 июля 85-тысячную² карпатскую группировку перебросили на советский театр военных действий. Вероятно, основными мотивами при принятии решения о вступлении в войну послужили стремление сохранить присоединенные территории³ и надежда на продолжение этого процесса. В результате этого в январе 1942 года немцы уже требовали участия в войне вооруженных сил Венгрии⁴ в их полном составе. Венгерскому руководству удалось добиться того, что немцы удовлетворились отправкой на фронт второй венгерской армии. В апреле 1942 уже начались комплектование и отправка войск, а к концу лета 207 тысяч человек прибыло на линию фронта в район Дона южнее Воронежа. После большой перегруппировки советских войск в ноябре 1942 года началось их контрнаступление, результатом которого стало освобождение Сталинграда. В ходе этого контрнаступления в январе 1943 года вторая венгерская армия понесла колоссальные потери и была разгромлена. Погибло примерно 50 тысяч военнослужащих и призванных на трудовую службу, столько же было ранено, а количество попавших плен составляло примерно 28 тысяч.

У Венгрии не было претензий к Советскому Союзу, соотношение сил и количества войск также исключало возможность причисления этих стран к потенциальным противникам, тем не менее военные настроения, которые раздувала пропаганда летом 1941 года, создали условия для поддержки политического решения о вступлении в войну. После начала немецкого наступления соотношение сил на первый взгляд изменилось. Быстрое продвижение немецких войск создавало убеждение, что победа близка и главные силы противника уничтожены. Венгерское руководство не имело ясного представления о советском военном потенциале,⁵ но в течении 1942 года стало ясно, в каком трудном положении оказались наступающие. Однако внутри страны и дальше стремились поддержать односторонний взгляд на

¹ До сих пор не известно, чьи это были самолеты. Не исключено, что бомбежку провели советские самолеты, может быть по ошибке, но доказательств этому нет.

² P. Szabó, "Németország szövetségesei az 1941. évi szovjetunióbeli hadműveletekben." [Союзники Германии в военных операциях 1941 года в Советском Союзе] *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 114 (2001), 563–569.

³ В соответствии с трианонским договором 1920 года, Венгрия потеряла 57% территории и две трети населения. Между 1938 и 1941 при поддержке Германии некоторые территории были вновь присоединены к Венгрии.

⁴ В соответствии с трианонским договором, страна могла иметь армию до 35 тысяч человек. Развитие этой армии началось в тридцатые годы и ускорилось после 1938 года, но еще в 1942 запланированные три венгерские армии находились в процессе организации.

⁵ Эффективность советской армии большей частью недооценивалась. Габор Фараго (Gábor Faragho), бывший военным атташе в Москве, был информирован лучше: хотя он и знал об арестах командного состава, однако, считал, что Сталин делал все для армии и смог обеспечить ее современным вооружением. G. Faragho, *Szovjetország*. [Советская Россия] Budapest 1942, 70. (Далее: Faragho).

происходящее, было важно, чтобы возвращающиеся с фронта описывали положение в нужном свете. Общественное мнение по-прежнему не получало информации о снаряжении и снабжении венгерских войск, публиковались лишь описания отдельных боевых действий и эпизодов войны. В то же время с ноября 1942 года становилось все яснее, что солдаты имеют дело вовсе не с побежденным противником. Тем не менее, истинное положение второй венгерской армии, ее поражение, потери и отступление практически не освещались, и после января 1943 года пропаганда продолжала пророчить скорую победу.

Сохранилось немало записей фронтовых впечатлений, многие из которых были изданы в 1942–1943 годах. В них закономерный во время войны негативный образ врага сочетался с искажениями реалий советской системы, и находили место основные положения внутренней пропаганды. Непубликованные дневники дают возможность получить более дифференцированную картину и не во всем совпадают с тенденциозно отобранными материалами, предназначенными для публикации. Сохранившиеся рукописи подтверждают, что большинство солдат в 1942 году шли на фронт с энтузиазмом в надежде на быструю летнюю победу, веря под влиянием пропаганды, что они предотвращают советское нападение и их задачей является уничтожение большевизма. Со временем становилось все яснее, что снабжение затруднено, и что им противостоит упорно сопротивляющийся противник. С наступлением зимы судьба венгерских солдат была окончательно предрешена: они должны были обеспечить оборону двухсоткилометрового участка фронта. Вооружения было недостаточно, большинство лошадей пало, автотранспорт вышел из строя, не хватало бензина, ощущались перебои в поставках продовольствия, войска не получили вовремя зимнего обмундирования. Первоначальное воодушевление сменилось сомнениями, чувством неуверенности и покинутости, в записях встречается все больше горьких замечаний. Солдаты не чувствовали заботы и внимания со стороны оставшихся на родине, жаловались на недостаточную поддержку немецких союзников, они получали от командования все больше бессмысленных приказов. Типичным примером может служить отданное во время отступления распоряжение, строго запрещающее нарушения формы одежды и внешнего вида.⁶ В 20–40-градусный мороз, без соответствующего обмундирования и зимних сапог, при нехватке продовольствия, солдаты должны были строго соблюдать форму одежды и снаряжения.

На театре военных действий было запрещено вести дневники, но, несмотря на это, до нас дошло значительное количество их рукописей.⁷ Это

⁶ Hadtörténelmi Levéltár, (Далее: HL) 2. hadsereg iratai 30. fasc. Hadseregparancs [Военный архив документы второй армии, папка 30 приказов по армии] 24. I. 1943, Jány Gusztáv hadseregparancsának 7. pontja [п. 7 приказа по армии Густава Яни от 24. I. 1943].

⁷ HL Tanulmánygyűjtemény (Далее: TGY). В семьях может находиться еще много рукописей. В недавнем прошлом опубликовано несколько дневников, напр., S. Ve-

важные источники, так как они точно отражают перемену взглядов и мнений солдат и офицеров на фронте. По мере накопления опыта у авторов записей появляется все больше сомнений, хотя советский режим большинство из них поразил. Сохранившиеся дневники и заметки дают возможность составить более полную картину о том, каким видели Советский Союз венгерские солдаты, как они относились к войне и своей роли в ней. Наряду с описанием событий, многие запечатлели свои мнения, изменения в настроении, чувства – от воодушевления, с которым они отправлялись на фронт, до осознания того, что они оказались брошены в безысходном положении.

К другой группе источников относятся записки, опубликованные с пропагандистской целью. По призыву начальника венгерского генштаба Ференца Сомбатхеи (Szombathelyi Ferenc) многие участники боевых действий 1941 года записали свой фронтовой опыт, и была напечатана тематическая подборка полученных записей.⁸ Большинство опубликованного представляло собой описание боевых действий и эпизодов. Было также подготовлено издание на основании репортажей военных корреспондентов,⁹ а затем вышел том их избранных¹⁰ произведений.

Издавалось также множество отдельных записок, многие делились своими впечатлениями,¹¹ текст которых часто публиковали. Большинство опубликованных работ являются тенденциозными подборками, призванными поддержать энтузиазм даже в то время, когда с ноября 1942 года становилось все яснее: за поспешное решение придется заплатить огромную цену. До нашего времени сохранилось относительно немного литературы подобного рода, так как в 1945 году отдел печати при Президиуме совета министров Венгрии издал “Список фашистской и антисоветской печатной продукции,” и указание об ее уничтожении. Распоряжение было очень строгим, но какое-то количество экземпляров все же сохранилось в закрытых собраниях или случайно.

Чрезвычайно интересно сравнить картину, которую дают вышеупомянутые источники, и живой опыт авторов дневников. Позиции современ-

reczky, *Naplórészletek a Don kanyarból... A doni 2. hadseregben derűs percek is voltak...* [Отрывки из дневника с излучины Дона... Во второй донской армии были и светлые минуты] б. м. 2000; L. Somorjai, *Megjártam a Don-kanyart. Harctéri napló. Oroszország, 1942–1943.* [Я прошел Дон. Дневник с места боев. Россия, 1942–1943] Budapest 2002. (Далее: Somorjai).

⁸ *Honvédeink Vörösországról...* [Наши воины в Красной стране] собранные F. Marjai, Budapest 1942. (Далее: Marjai.)

⁹ M. Bojadzsiev, *Mit láttak a haditudósítók Vörös-Oroszországban? Európa és a bolsevizmus III.* [Что увидели военные корреспонденты в Красной России? Европа и большевизм III.] Budapest 1942. (Далее: Bojadzsiev.)

¹⁰ *Hat haditudósító a vörös fronton.* [Шесть корреспондентов на красном фронте] Budapest 1942.

¹¹ Венгерский солдат на войне против советов. Чтение в марте 1942 года в серии общеобразовательных лекций при поддержке предприятия Magyar Optikai Művek Rt. Автор неизвестен.

ников тех событий очевидно противоречат друг другу: бросается в глаза разница между работами, которые концентрируются лишь на жестокостях советского режима (они иногда удивительно прозорливы, но часто построены на предрассудках и написаны чаще всего в пропагандистских целях) и дневниками, рассматривающими ситуацию с разных сторон. На основании последних можно видеть, что не все хотели понимать, что задачей Венгрии является борьба со сталинским режимом, солдаты все меньше верили, что на Дону они защищают собственные границы. В то же время очевидно, что и тут невозможно было избежать влияния пропаганды, во многих рукописях всплывают знакомые штампы. Это закономерно, так как “образ врага” внушался солдатам во время подготовки перед отправкой на фронт. По пути на фронт этот образ отражается и в дневниках, но затем в большинстве случаев сменяется записями о сомнениях, разочаровании и чувстве безысходности. Оценка большевизма не меняется, но представления о целях войны и о “русских,” как называет большинство авторов дневников все народы, живущие в Советском Союзе, становятся все более дифференцированными.

Из-за небольшого объема нашей работы, мы подробнее проанализируем два источника. Один из них – написанный в 1942 году фронтовой дневник капрала Петера Пала Кечкеша (Péter Pál Kecskés),¹² который в течение десятилетий хранился в его семье, второй – впечатления с поля боя Йожефа Богдана, опубликованные осенью 1942 года.¹³

Содержание дневника капрала Петера Пала Кечкеша можно считать типичным, однако, это особый источник, так как до сих пор обнаружено немного записок, написанных рядовым составом. 36-летний отец троих детей, капрал был по профессии корзищиком. Дневник он вел с 26 июня до 19 октября 1942 года. Во время отпуска в октябре он оставил дневник дома, а в январе 1943 погиб при Острогжске, вероятно при прорыве из города.

Кечкеш был призван из запаса в апреле 1942 года, 26 июня его часть¹⁴ отправилась по железной дороге из г. Кишкунфеледьхаза и 1 июля прибыла в Решицу. Оттуда, после полуторамесячного 960-километрового пешего перехода, часть 14 августа прибыла в прифронтовую полосу в район Дона и без отдыха была брошена в бой.

В августе и сентябре часть принимала участие в боях за мост у Урыва и Коротояка. В дневниках точно отражен “взгляд снизу” на исторические со-

¹² P. P. Kecskés, *Honvédnapló a keleti frontról. 1942. június 26–október 19.* [Дневник бойца с восточного фронта. 26 июня – 19 октября 1942 г.] Szeged 2002. (Далее: Kecskés).

¹³ J. Bogdán, *Útunk, harcaink a keleti vörös pokolban.* [Наш путь и бои в восточном красном аду]. Опубликовано в октябре 1942 г. в номерах 6, 8, 9, 10 и 11 газеты „Макои Уйшаг” (Makói Újság), а также в календаре „Скорбящей Богородицы” 1943 года, на основании которого было подготовлено отдельное издание. Нумерация страниц дается по отдельному изданию (Далее: Bogdán).

¹⁴ III. батальон 7-го кечкемитского пехотного полка.

бытия, когда из повседневной жизни, от семьи человек попадает на войну, при этом он лишен возможности принимать решения и влиять даже на свою судьбу, не говоря уж о судьбе других. Его образ мыслей, взгляды, настроения, чувства и их перемены проявляются в этом уникальном документе. Большинство записей дневника касаются обстоятельств похода, снабжения и конкретных событий: мы можем получить точную картину настроений в армии, а также впечатлений от Советского Союза. Поначалу в дневнике проявляется воздействие пропаганды, смысл участия в войне не подвергается сомнениям. Чувствуется влияние распространенных идеологий той эпохи – антибольшевизма и антисемитизма. Впервые Кечкеш упоминает о следах войны 28 июня, но не вдается в подробности. 29-го он уже пишет о партизанской опасности, когда часть перешла прежнюю границу Польши и СССР. 30-го автор записей увидел первые солдатские могилы, по его словам: "...могилы пионеров-мучеников нового мира, погибших в борьбе за лучшее будущее."¹⁵ Тогда еще нет сомнений, он еще искренне верит, что задачей венгерской армии является участие в разгроме большевизма, и вдали от дома они защищают родину.

Со 2 июля часть продвигалась пешком, таким образом автор мог непосредственно наблюдать жизнь оккупированных территорий. Чрезвычайно интересны записи Кечкеша, содержащие описания населенных пунктов, домов и их жителей. 1 августа он пишет: "'Хозяин' молодой русский, весьма приветливый, мы сказали ему, что хотим купить 'картошка' за деньги или в обмен на мыло или спички. Он тут же накопал ее на огороде, мы дали ему 3 куска мыла, он дал лука, за это мы дали ему еще мыла, обе стороны были довольны сделкой. После короткого совещания, было решено приготовить картошку с паприкой. Картофель, жир и лук есть, начинаем охоту за солью, стручковым перцем и посудой. Посуда нашлась после короткого обмена мнениями в течение 15 минут, а именно столько потребовалось, чтобы объяснить молодке, что мы от нее хотим, затем нашлась соль и маленький перец. На улице огонь разводиться запрещено, ищу в доме плиту – не нахожу. ... В середине комнаты встроена четырехугольная печь, в ней разводят огонь, ставят кастрюлю на трехногую подставку и так готовят. ... Когда хотят помешать или посмотреть, что варится, или готова ли еда, есть железный полукруг, насаженный на длинную ручку, им поддевают кастрюлю, поднимают с подставки и вынимают, а если надо, также ставят обратно. ... Русская молодка с удивлением смотрела, когда я положил в кастрюлю жир, а затем лук, и когда лук поджарился добавил тушиться промытую несколько раз картошку. Она смотрела, что из этого получится. Потому что они кладут картошку, наливают сверху воды, добавляют немного соли, и когда сварится, едят. ... Когда картошка хорошо потушилась в жире с луком, перцем и солью, я долил в нее воды и поставил обратно в печь печься, то есть, пардон, вариться. Когда картошка была готовы мы

¹⁵ Kecskés 26.

дали им попробовать, им очень понравилось. Мы дали им немного жира, а они дали за это молока.”¹⁶

В зависимости от дороги, часть проходила по 25–40 километров в день. По дневнику хорошо видно, как первоначальное воодушевление сменилось безразличием, а затем и разочарованием. 6 августа, после 770 километров перехода, в дневника появляется первая запись, отражающая отчаяние: “Мы чувствуем себя так, что если прилетит самолет, никто не выйдет из палатки, пусть летят осколки. Народ отчаялся, почему, писать не буду.”¹⁷

Местами в повседневные записи вкраплены потрясающие сообщения, как, например, 7 августа: “Сегодня нам выдали и минеральную воду. Сегодня девять человек из роты были в наказание привязаны к столбам. День немного скучный с духовной стороны, нет газет, радио, нечего читать, ничего нет.”¹⁸

Автор не сообщает причину наказания, он говорит о этом событии, как о повседневном. Как и далее: “Мы на марше, курить запрещено. Один солдат в колонне, Антал Й., застрелился. В 4 часа утра светает, разрешают курить.”¹⁹ Очевидно, что речь идет не о бесчувственности, кажущаяся безучастность может быть следствием усталости и разочарования. С течением времени в дневнике все больше сомнений, отчаянных записей. Кечеш опасается, что о нем забыли, в то же время он боится, что его близкие узнают, в каких условиях он живет и сражается. Потрясающий переворот в настроении происходит в течение чуть больше двух недель, после августовских боев. 13 сентября Кечкеш записывает: “То, что здесь происходит, самое дно человеческой грязи.”²⁰ Опыт боев, вызвал следующую мысль: “Это война разрушение, уничтожение жизни и добра.”²¹

В отличие от дневника Кечкеша, воспоминания октября 1942 г. старшего лейтенанта запаса, зубного врача из г. Мако д-ра Йожефа Богдана (József Bogdán) “Наш путь и бои в восточном красном аду” представляют собой типичный пример пропагандистского издания. Их автор записал свои впечатления об опыте шестимесячной военной службы уже после возвращения домой. Как и в большинстве подобных изданий, здесь дается однозначно негативная картина советского режима, народа и армии, распространенные в то время стереотипы и представления перемешаны с фрагментами пережитого в действительности. Воспоминания написаны еще в сознании верной победы, и показывают, что автор собрал множество наблюдений о повседневной жизни, жестокостях сталинизма, но его мнение формировалось под сильным влиянием предрассудков.

¹⁶ Там же 45.

¹⁷ Там же 50.

¹⁸ Там же 50–51.

¹⁹ Там же 53.

²⁰ Там же 84.

²¹ Там же 88.

Йожеф Богдан был призван в апреле 1942 года и служил врачом.²² Он принимал участие в боевых действиях августа и сентября, но вернулся домой еще до наступления зимы и трагического поражения. В своих воспоминаниях он упоминает о методах партизанской войны и о столкновениях с партизанами. Он пишет о них, как “о самом подлом, но и самом решительном сбросе.”²³ Многие в наступающей венгерской армии думали также о не желающем сдаваться противнике, в то же время эта тема представляла наибольшую трудность при осмыслении солдатами происходящего. Многие поверили, что являются освободителями и их будут встречать соответствующим образом, поэтому им трудно было понять партизан и население, которое с ними сотрудничало.²⁴

Богдан подробно пишет о своих наблюдениях во время полуторамесячного марша. В первую очередь его поразило отсутствие действующих храмов, они были перекрашены, переделаны и “несли печать запустения и варварства.”

Этот факт отмечен многими, многие писали о разрушенных или используемых в целях пропаганды церквах. Также Богдан отмечает отсутствие вкуса и комфорта в новых зданиях. Он пишет об огромных общественных зданиях, служащих “большевистской идее централизации,” например, вокзалах. Автор считает это доказательством того, что большевики проектировали эти вокзалы для своей наступающей армии.²⁵ Трудно определить, где проходит граница между личным опытом и предрассудками, так как описания автора кажутся достоверными, однако сопровождающие их объяснения часто дышат предвзятостью: он сообщает, что в государственных квартирах можно жить до тех пор, пока это нравится “распределяющим квартиры большевистским жидокомиссарам.” Ясно, что Богдан не мог иметь об этом непосредственной информации, и он приводит здесь объяснения, подсказанные венгерской пропагандой. Антисемитская риторика встречается в записках не один раз, и в этом автор не одинок, большевизм и еврейство

²² 117-я саперная рота V. сегедского корпуса.

²³ Bogdán 15.

²⁴ С большим пониманием пишет по этому вопросу в своем дневнике Ференц Шоморай (Ferenc Somorjai): “В Кромах каждый день вешают по 3–4 партизана. Они на самом верхнем этаже большого здания, внизу больница, поэтому русские его не бомбят. Оттуда их иногда выводят на казнь; их близкие в отчаянии целыми днями стоят вокруг тюрьмы. Пленных кормят родственники и не знают, когда и кого поведут казнить. ... Ужасно. Несчастные люди, они тоже жертвы обстоятельств.” Somorjai 17.

²⁵ Bogdán 3. Шандор Ревичкий (Sándor Reviczky) в произведении *A vörös hadi késziilt-ség és a tömeg élete* [Боевая готовность Красной армии и жизнь масс] (Marjai 171–176) высказывает сходное мнение. Он пишет о “невероятно превосходящей” технической подготовке Советского Союза и признаках грандиозных приготовлений, которые “близятся к завершению.” Немецкое (и венгерское) нападение, по его мнению, носило превентивных характер, в противном случае Советы можно было бы остановить лишь ценой огромных потерь и разрушений. Marjai 172.

смешивают и многие другие авторы. Антисемитская политика внутри страны переплеталась с военной пропагандой, все злоупотребления сталинского режима долго рассматривали как преступления евреев, встречалась и точка зрения, согласно которой сам большевизм был изобретен и построен евреями.²⁶

Из записок Богдана следует, что в деревнях положение было еще ужаснее, чем в городах. Здесь большинство домов было крыто соломой, люди жили в тесноте, зимой вместе со скотом. Об этом упоминают и другие источники,²⁷ объясняя это неприхотливостью²⁸ и жалуясь на грязь и вонь. В описаниях условий жизни чувствуется взгляд со стороны, с дистанции, часто с иронией. Действие большевистской пропаганды автор объясняет записанным с чужих слов рассказом о том, что в школах детей с завязанными глазами сначала заставляют просить хлеба у Бога, а когда их желание не сбывается, они просят у Сталина, и тогда учитель кладет перед ними хлеб. Этим объясняется фанатичная вера молодежи и то, что "русский народ превратился в бездушную орду."²⁹

В записках Богдана чувствуется даже некоторое сочувствие по отношению к угнетенным крестьянам. В других источниках также встречаются описания поразительных случаев: одни, комментируя события, пытаются найти их причины, а другие видят причины всех бед в русском характере.³⁰ Богдан также делает общий вывод: "Они редко могут создать что-либо серьезное в одиночку, все делается сообща. Объехав более 800 сел, я много интересовался развитием народной души и пришел к выводу о том, что, наверное, в русском народе нет инициативы, склонности к индивидуальной жизни, которая присуща другим европейским народам, и благодаря этому коммунизм смог пустить в ней столь глубокие корни. К этому следует добавить азиатские расстояния, ужасные дороги, труднодоступность железных дорог, а главное, полное отсутствие здравомыслящего среднего класса. Нигде ни одного священника, почти нет учителей, врачей, трудно найти аптекаря в радиусе ста километров."³¹ По мнению автора дневника, эти функции выполняли евреи, бежавшие с отступающей армией. Мы снова видим тенденциозность в изложении: очевидно, что Богдан не был знаком

²⁶ См. *A bolsevizmus a parasztság ellen. Kép a szovjet igazi arcáról*. [Большевизм против крестьянства. Истинное лицо советов] Budapest 1943, 13, 33; *Bojadzsiev* 39, 43; *Faragho* 106, 110–111; Gy. Galánffy, "Pillanatfelvétel a szovjetről." [Моментальный снимок СССР] (Marjai 143–144) 144.

²⁷ *Kecskés* 33. J. Szász, "Rabszolgának jobb a sorsa!" [Судьба раба лучше!] (Marjai 132–133.) 132.

²⁸ Шебешгьен Копань (Sebestyén Koppány) в своих воспоминаниях объясняет маленькие окна и единственное помещение в русских домах холодной зимой. HL TGY 3115.

²⁹ *Bogdán* 8. Сходный пример приводит Габор Веребей (Gábor Verebély) в записках "Sztálin bácsi segít" [Дядя Сталин поможет] (Marjai 169.).

³⁰ *Faragho* 107–109; *Kecskés* 34; Galánffy, "Pillanatfelvétel" (Marjai 143–144.).

³¹ *Bogdán* 10.

с общественными проблемами советской российской истории, и здесь он приводит решение, подсказанное венгерской пропагандой, и не исследует корни явления – русскую историю.

Общая картина иногда скрашивается подробностями, в тексте встречаются и юмористические отрывки. Богдану уже на Дону рассказали о традициях выбора невест. Суть в том, что жена должна уметь хорошо работать, чтобы не пришлось работать мужу. Жена работает, воспитывает детей, напротив: “Мужчина уже сотни лет занимается только лошадьми и связанным с этим снаряжением. Он отличный наездник, прекрасно поет и чрезвычайно много советуется.”³²

Богдан описывает случай, когда он вылечил ожоги у девочки, и жители деревни предложили ему остаться у них и даже выписать семью. В благодарность они принесли ему продукты: свежую сметану, яйца, морковь. Этот эпизод важен потому, что ранее Богдан сообщал о нехватке продуктов на оккупированных территориях, здесь, однако, очевидно, что население имело запасы. В связи с этим случаем автор рассказывает о снабжении венгерской армии. Еду, получаемую от немцев, он считает немного непривычной, но безупречной, “почти отличной,” гигиеничной, разбитой на порции в тубиках,³³ при этом дается описание отдельных блюд.³⁴ По утверждению автора, единственным недостатком питания было то, что пока под огнем противника свежеприготовленную вкусную еду доставляли солдатам, она могла остыть. Вероятно, целью Богдана было успокоить оставшихся в Венгрии, так как многие источники указывают на трудности в снабжении. Например, Петер Пал Кечкеш уже на линии фронта записывает: “Мы очень голодны, второй день нет питания, может быть получим сегодня к вечеру, ждем вечера с нетерпением... Тот, кто не испытал, что такое война, не может ее себе даже представить. Голодным, без воды, усталым, грязным и не выспавшимся, ты должен все же быть, как нормальный человек.”³⁵ После этих записей, можно относиться только с иронией к замечанию Богдана о том, что он был рад, вернувшись домой в октябре, встретить ограничения,

³² Bogdán 11.

³³ Лайош Руми (Lajos Rumi) напротив пишет: “Может быть в этом было виновато и немецкое снабжение. – Непривычны были для венгерских желудков пудинговый порошок, леденцы, сардины (по мнению солдат, – змеиное мясо), искусственный мед, сардинный паштет, разные сыры, часто в тубиках, безвкусный хлеб, так называемый ‘Dauerbrot’, чай, которому солдаты приписывали волшебную силу и окрестили ‘ослабляющий чай’ и т.д. и т.п.” L. Rumi. *A magyar királyi 31. honvéd gyalogezred harci tevékenysége a Don mellett. (Az ezred felállításától az 1943 januári visszavonulásig).* [Боевые действия королевского 31 полка на Дону. (С образования полка до январского отступления 1943 г.)] 53. Он пишет, что население не выглядит голодным. 48. HL TGY 3160.

³⁴ Bogdán 12–13.

³⁵ Kecskés 62.

так как не мог испортить желудок после “здорового систематического питания.”³⁶

Часть Йозефа Богдана прибыла на линию фронта 26 июня 1942 года. Довольно живо он описывает продолжавшиеся 11 дней бои, в которые многих бросили после перехода в 800–1000 километров. Заслуживает особого внимания замечание о героизме истощенных солдат, так как автор упоминает лишь об отдохнувшем подкреплении, которое доставлялось на грузовиках.³⁷ О дальнейших событиях, о боях за мост в августе и сентябре наш автор уже не пишет, а в октябре он вернулся на родину.

Тогда он еще мог верить, что есть надежда на победу, его вера в справедливую войну еще не пошатнулась. 30 января 1943 года в местной газете “Макои Уйшаг” еще появилась написанная по воспоминаниям Богдана статья, которая служит трагическим примером того, что вторая венгерская армия была брошена на произвол судьбы. Статья под названием “Саперы впереди” посвящена бою 11 августа 1942 года и описывает обороняющиеся советские войска следующим образом: “кровожадная пьяная орда, подгоняемая политруками.”³⁸ В то время, как десятки тысяч венгерских солдат погибли, замерзли, попали в плен, описание боев на советском фронте все так же далеко от реальности. Об участке фронта, где окруженные 13 января остатки венгерской армии 25 января сложили оружие, 30 января писали следующее: “... враг бросил в бой большие силы, однако его атаки были нами решительно отбиты и враг понес кровавые потери.”³⁹

На двух выбранных нами примерах можно хорошо видеть характерные особенности групп источников. Дневник Петера Пала Кечкеша дает откровенную и достоверную картину мотивации воюющих солдат. Это глубоко личные записки, отражающие изменения настроений и чувств, дополняющие с ментальной и общественно-исторической стороны историю трагедии второй венгерской армии в излучине Дона. Воспоминания Йозефа Богдана призваны подкрепить картину, созданную военной пропагандой. Он считает, что немецкое нападение опередило советское, а целью его является уничтожение большевизма и освобождение советского народа. Он не замечает противоречий, например, что эти аргументы не применимы к другим захваченным немцами странам, он также не задумывается, какую свободу могла принести нацистская Германия на оккупированные земли.

³⁶ Bogdán 12.

³⁷ Bogdán 16.

³⁸ *Makói Újság* 1943. január 30. 3.

³⁹ Там же.

Le manifeste du peuple algérien

Document fondamental du nationalisme algérien*

LÁSZLÓ J. NAGY



Le débarquement ne fut pas immédiatement suivi par la démocratisation de la vie politique. Les Américains s'intéressaient peu à ces questions, c'était la situation militaire qui les préoccupaient en premier lieu.

La libération des prisonniers politiques du régime de Vichy avançait lentement avec de fréquents arrêts : le 16 janvier 1943, on libéra le dirigeant des oulémas, le cheik Ibrahim, en février les députés communistes français. Mais le général Giraud, commandant en chef des troupes françaises, l'homme des Américains, n'annonça l'amnistie que le 4 mai, de même que l'abrogation de l'internement des prisonniers politiques.

Les partis nationaux ne pouvaient réapparaître légalement – à l'exception du PPA, resté interdit – qu'au milieu de 1943.

Les communistes luttèrent avant tout pour la libération des prisonniers politiques et l'épuration de l'administration. Leur influence ne cessait d'augmenter et des observateurs affirmaient qu'elle continuerait à s'accroître parmi les Algériens après la défaite de Hitler ; certains employés de l'administration coloniale remarquaient même avec regret que « notre presse (la presse du pouvoir colonial – JNL) aide aussi la propagande communiste en diffusant les victoires soviétiques ».¹

En dehors des communistes, Ferhat Abbas et ses amis se mirent aussi à mener une campagne politique active après le débarquement. Le général Giraud convoqua en décembre de nombreux députés algériens et leur annonça son intention de créer une armée de plusieurs centaines de milliers de personnes, pour laquelle il comptait avant tout sur les Algériens. Il ne parlait aucunement de l'avenir politique de la colonie, ni des réformes éventuelles. En guise de réponse, le 22 décembre, Ferhat Abbas et quelques députés adressèrent au Gouverneur général une

* Les recherches menant à la rédaction de cet article étaient soutenues par OTKA (T 046272) pour le projet *Nationalisme, nation, Etat(nation) dans le Maghreb*.

¹ Renseignements généraux, Centre d'information et d'études (CIE) janvier, février 1943. Archives d'outre-mer, Aix en Provence (AOM) 11 H 50.

lettre dans laquelle ils revendiquaient en échange des efforts de guerre des Algériens, des réformes fondées sur la justice sociale du régime français dont l'élaboration ferait l'objet d'une conférence avec la participation des représentants élus des autorités françaises et des Algériens.² Leur proposition resta sans réponse. Giraud réagit indirectement en déclarant que pendant la guerre il ne faisait pas de politique.

C'est alors qu'Abbas suggéra l'idée d'une conférence qui – au cas où les autorités françaises refuseraient la conférence commune – serait tenue par les représentants authentiques du peuple algérien. Abbas fit encore une dernière tentative : le 7 janvier 1943, il adressa au Gouverneur général une lettre dans laquelle il rappelait que depuis 1940, il ne cessait d'attirer l'attention des autorités sur l'urgence des réformes, sur la nécessité d'abolir le système colonial : « il fallait établir un régime politique juste, libéral, humain », Pétain n'avait rien fait dans ce sens. L'élaboration des réformes serait la tâche de la conférence. Si cette conférence n'avait pas lieu, « ce serait un danger mortel pour l'Algérie » – concluait-il. Il joignit à sa lettre la liste des organisations qui participeraient à la conférence, et même, pour les communistes et le PPA, les noms des participants³ preuve qu'il avait préalablement négocié avec les représentants de ces organisations.

Comme la lettre resta sans réponse, les députés algériens commencèrent à penser que « les musulmans se devaient de prendre entre les mains la direction de leur sort ».⁴ Le projet d'Abbas trouva vite des partisans, des défenseurs parmi les députés algériens qui tinrent leur première réunion au bureau de Bendjeloul à Alger. Ils y discutèrent avant tout un programme de revendications sous forme d'un manifeste dont la rédaction fut essentiellement l'oeuvre de Ferhat Abbas.⁵ Terminé le 10 février, signé par 22 députés algériens, le manifeste fut envoyé simultanément le 21 mars, au Gouverneur général, aux représentants algériens des puissances antifascistes, ainsi qu'à de Gaulle à Londres et au gouvernement égyptien.⁶

Le document qui portait le titre *Algérie devant le conflit mondial, Manifeste du peuple algérien*, était, d'après ses signataires, « plus qu'un plaidoyer, c'était un témoignage et un acte de foi ».⁷ Dans la conjoncture mondiale actuelle – lit-on dans le Manifeste – les petites et les grandes nations, aussi bien que les individus portent une lourde responsabilité. « Le peuple algérien dans son désir de servir à la fois la Paix et la Liberté élève sa voix pour dénoncer le régime colonial qui lui est imposé, pour rappeler ses protestations antérieures et pour revendiquer son droit à la vie. » Ensuite le Manifeste passe en revue la colonisation appelée ironiquement « démocratique » car ce n'est que l'analyse de la colonisation qui permettra « aux nations éprises de liberté et de justice d'atteindre, dans le drame algérien, la

² Le texte intégral du message in P.-E. Sarrasin, *La crise algérienne*. Paris 1949, 175.

³ CIE, janvier 1943. AOM 11 H 50.

⁴ CIE, janvier 1943. AOM 11 H 50.

⁵ CIE, février 1943. AOM 11 H 50, F. Abbas, *La nuit coloniale*. Paris 1962, 139.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁷ Le texte intégral du Manifeste in Sarrasin, *La crise algérienne*, 176–192.

vérité et d'aider ainsi, en toute connaissance de cause, à l'établissement d'un régime de liberté, de justice sociale et de fraternité humaine ». Le Manifeste désignait comme trait principal de l'histoire de l'Algérie après l'occupation française, l'établissement massif des Européens en Algérie avec toutes ses conséquences économiques désastreuses, avant tout, pour le peuple algérien. « Le caractère saillant et continu de la colonisation française est la subordination de tout le pays avec sa population, ses richesses, ses outillages, son administration à cet élément français et européen. »

Les colons européens privent les Algériens de leurs meilleures terres. Le Manifeste relatait longuement le processus de l'expropriation dont le résultat fut la naissance du système de grandes propriétés européennes. « Cette fiscalité agraire exerçant une double souveraineté n'a pas manqué de forger à cette société coloniale une âme impérialiste et raciste. Les tribus défendront âprement leur sol, leurs biens, leur liberté et surtout cet islam, cher à leur coeur, qui représente leurs conceptions politiques, sociales, et religieuses. » Mais ce n'est qu'à la conquête économique du pays que l'Algérie musulmane se rendit compte de sa défaite. Elle a détruit tout le régime d'avant 1830. « Socialement et économiquement, c'est l'écroulement total avec son cortège de deuils, de servage et d'émigration vers des pays lointains. » Dans cette situation, l'Algérie musulmane n'avait que deux possibilités : ou bien s'adapter au fait ou cesser d'exister. Pendant longtemps, elle fut contrainte de choisir la seconde. Tout – de l'administration, de la vie économique jusqu'à la presse – passa aux mains des Européens. Désormais, « l'indigène ne sera plus rien ».

Une issue ne s'offrait que pour une mince couche de l'élite. Mais, après la Première guerre mondiale, de nouveaux éléments se manifestaient : les Algériens qui, ayant servi dans l'armée, ne se résignaient pas à accepter leur ancienne vie d'esclave d'une part et les représentants élus des Algériens, de l'autre. L'influence de ceux-ci était encore faible, mais déjà dans la métropole, ils avaient une certaine audience. La révolution turque dirigée par le pacha Kemal encourageait aussi leur lutte.

La deuxième partie du Manifeste décrivait les tentatives de réformes précédentes dont le but aurait été l'émancipation politique de la population algérienne. Mais au préalable, elle dévoilait surtout le mythe de la « mission civilisatrice » de la colonisation : « La colonisation ne relève ni d'un souci humanitaire, ni d'un souci de justice et encore moins de la civilisation et du progrès. Elle est dans son essence même un phénomène impérialiste. Et comme telle, elle exige – pour se développer et durer – l'existence simultanée de deux sociétés, l'une opprimant l'autre. »

Dans cette partie, le Manifeste passait en revue les tentatives législatives qui auraient assuré la représentation d'une partie des Algériens et il constatait : aucune de ces tentatives ne fut réalisée « ... et nous pouvons le dire maintenant, aucune ne pourra jamais aboutir, la colonie française avec sa capitale, Alger, qui administre et gouverne, n'acceptera jamais une réforme qui diminuerait sa position et ses profits, même si cette réforme est dictée par Paris et la France entière ». Après l'échec militaire de 1940, on pouvait espérer que cela forcerait les colons

à réfléchir. « Bien au contraire, la colonie européenne dans sa majorité interprétera le régime de Vichy et l'ordre nouveau institué par le maréchal Pétain comme étant l'expression intime de son idéal et la possibilité de satisfaire sa soif de domination. » Les deux blocs de la population – européen et musulman – étant clairement séparés l'un de l'autre, ils n'ont pas d'âme commune; l'un règne, l'autre, dominé, exige une place pour soi dans la société. Le conflit séculaire dressant les deux blocs l'un contre l'autre doit cesser. « L'heure est passée où un musulman algérien demandera autre chose que d'être un Algérien musulman. » Il s'est avéré que la colonisation – et non pas l'environnement socio-géographique – est incapable de régler les problèmes soulevés par elle-même. « Emprisonnée dans le cadre colonial, elle (l'Algérie) n'est en mesure ni de nourrir, ni d'instruire, ni d'habiller, ni de loger, ni de soigner la moitié de sa population actuelle. » Et cela ne changera pas « tant que l'Algérie n'aura pas un gouvernement issu du peuple et agissant au profit du peuple. La vérité historique est là et ne peut être nulle part ailleurs ». Pour finir, le Manifeste se référait à la déclaration du président Roosevelt selon laquelle dans le monde naissant de la victoire sur le fascisme chaque peuple aurait le droit à l'autodétermination.

Ensuite il énumérait les revendications du peuple algérien :

1) la condamnation et l'abolition de la colonisation, c'est-à-dire de l'annexion et de l'exploitation d'un peuple par un autre peuple ;

2) l'application pour tous les pays, petits et grands, du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes ;

3) la dotation à l'Algérie d'une constitution propre garantissant :

3.1. la liberté et l'égalité absolues de tous ses habitants sans distinction de race ou de religion ;

3.2. la suppression de la propriété féodale par une grande réforme agraire et le droit au bien-être de l'immense prolétariat agricole ;

3.3. la reconnaissance de la langue arabe comme langue officielle au même titre que la langue française ;

3.4. la liberté de la presse et le droit d'association ;

3.5. l'instruction gratuite et obligatoire pour les enfants des deux sexes ;

3.6. la liberté du culte pour tous les habitants et l'application à toutes les religions du principe de la séparation de l'Église et de l'État ;

4) la participation immédiate et effective des musulmans algériens au gouvernement de leur pays ;

5) la libération de tous les condamnés et internés politiques à quelque parti qu'ils appartiennent.

Il n'est point exagéré d'affirmer que le Manifeste est le document fondamental du mouvement de libération nationale algérien. Il marque une étape importante de la lutte anticolonialiste, « le commencement d'une ère nouvelle dans le mouvement nationaliste ».⁸

Il est le programme de la jeune bourgeoisie nationale algérienne, imprégnée des principes démocratiques, exprimant en même temps les intérêts des larges

⁸ Ch.-A. Julien, *Afrique du Nord en marche*. 3^e éd. Paris 1972, 246.

couches sociales. C'est pourquoi ses rédacteurs purent organiser par la suite un large mouvement de masse pour le soutenir et pour combattre en vue de la réalisation de ses revendications. Il est frappant de voir combien la dénonciation de la colonisation y est forte, ce qui témoigne de la grande évolution politique des auteurs. Auparavant, les Algériens regroupés dans la Fédération des Élus (Ferhat Abbas, Bendjeloul) croyaient sans réserve au succès d'une politique d'assimilation et aux conséquences favorables de la colonisation. En 1943 ils rejetèrent très fermement cette théorie et rompirent définitivement les liens de servitude qui les avait attachés aux autorités colonisatrices, le Manifeste en est la preuve. Le système colonial français perdit donc la seule force politique organisée sur laquelle il pouvait compter parmi les Algériens, et le mouvement de libération nationale en fut renforcé. Cela représentait un grand pas en avant vers la création d'un mouvement uni.

La radicalisation des Elus algériens est due à leur déception causée par les autorités coloniales qui refusaient systématiquement leurs propositions de réformes et à l'influence des oulémas et du PPA. Mais il fut tout aussi important que, à partir des années 30, le peuple algérien – sous la direction des communistes, des oulémas et du PPA – menait avec de plus en plus de succès une lutte anticolonialiste acharnée, gagnant toujours plus de partisans face à la politique de l'assimilation.

La carrière de Ferhat Abbas illustre bien l'évolution de ce groupe. Abbas, rédacteur du Manifeste est déjà nationaliste, mais dans son nationalisme on ne trouve point le contenu religieux qui caractérise Messali, le dirigeant du PPA. Son évolution politique est due – outre sa déception à l'égard des autorités françaises – à sa participation au mouvement national et démocratique de libération qui prit son élan dans la lutte contre le fascisme pendant la Seconde guerre mondiale. Dans son livre, publié plus tard, il décrit lui-même, quel grand changement eut lieu dans le développement du mouvement de libération nationale durant la Seconde guerre mondiale et montre qu'il fut en grande partie le résultat de la propagande et de l'activité politique et militaire des membres de la coalition antifasciste.⁹

La propagande de la coalition antifasciste signifiait alors pratiquement celle des Anglais, mais surtout celle des Américains. Leur radio – la Voix de l'Amérique – en tonnait l'éloge de la démocratie et de l'armée américaines. Dans l'espoir d'une solde élevée, bon nombre d'Algériens voulaient s'engager dans l'armée américaine. Une partie des Élus avait trop confiance en la Charte atlantique et les déclarations de Roosevelt. Début 1943, des relations personnelles commençaient déjà à s'établir entre les Américains et certains élus algériens (p.ex. Bendjeloul). Nous ne savons pas si, à l'époque, Abbas avait déjà fait de pareilles démarches. Seulement plus tard, au cours de l'été, il prit contact personnellement avec le consul américain, Murphy. Mais, dans des rapports confidentiels, les autorités

⁹ Abbas, *La nuit coloniale*, 135–139 ; L. J. Nagy, « Ferhat Abbas, personnage prématuré – personnage dépassé? » in N. Sraïeb, ed. *Anciennes et nouvelles élites du Maghreb*. Aix en Provence 2003, 121–124.

françaises affirmèrent dès les premiers mois de l'année, qu'il y avait de plus en plus d'Algériens qui voyaient dans le soutien américain la garantie de la réalisation de leurs revendications.¹⁰

L'effet de la propagande américaine – s'appuyant sur la déclaration de Roosevelt – apparaît clairement dans le Manifeste. Mais on ne peut pas dire que les facteurs extérieurs ont joué le rôle décisif dans la rédaction du document. Le Manifeste est né, fondamentalement, dans la société coloniale algérienne, il est le résultat des luttes politiques qui s'y déroulaient.

Les revendications faisant allusion à l'indépendance (constitution, participation au gouvernement) figuraient aussi dans le programme du PPA. Les élus algériens avaient déjà réclamé l'élargissement des droits de libertés démocratiques. Or, la revendication peut-être la plus radicale du Manifeste (suppression des grandes propriétés terriennes féodales et réalisation d'une grande réforme agraire) était absente de leur programme antérieur. L'insertion de cette revendication – comme son sort ultérieur le prouve – était due, sans aucun doute, à Ferhat Abbas, qui déjà à l'élaboration du programme de l'Union Populaire Algérienne, en 1938 – avait montré l'ampleur de son évolution politique en mettant au centre de son projet de réformes la propriété moyenne face à la grande propriété. Après le déclenchement de la guerre, à l'époque du régime de Vichy, il se rendit compte que les grands propriétaires terriens se souciaient peu du sort des masses affamées, réduites à la misère; au contraire, ils n'avaient comme seule ambition que de multiplier leur fortune. Ferhat Abbas prononça alors un jugement extrêmement sévère et radical que les colonisateurs français – connaissant son activité précédente – écoutèrent avec stupéfaction. « Nous ne sommes pas antifrçais, nous avons besoin d'eux, de leurs cadres, mais les grands colons – les parasites – il faut les éliminer. Leurs grands domaines transformés en villages coopératifs, un peu sur le modèle russe, profiteraient à la collectivité ... Nous respectons les Français, mais il faudra, tôt ou tard, nous affranchir de la tyrannie des grands colons. »¹¹

Le Manifeste n'insistait pas particulièrement sur les traditions arabo-islamiques – en tant que caractéristique nationale – ; quant à l'appartenance à la nation arabe ou à la solidarité des peuples du Maghreb, il n'en parle absolument pas. Cela prouve également le manque d'influence directe des oulémas et du PPA sur l'élaboration du document. Tandis que, auparavant, on ne croyait pas que le peuple musulman algérien fût capable d'organiser sa propre société selon les principes décrits ci-dessus, maintenant, le Manifeste prouvait que les Algériens étaient prêts à assimiler et appliquer ces principes sans s'effacer dans la société française. Autrement dit, le peuple algérien avait atteint la maturité pour l'indépendance nationale.

À la présentation du Manifeste, le Gouverneur demanda aux signataires de le compléter par des propositions de réformes concrètes, ce qui fut fait sous le titre *Projets de réformes, additif au Manifeste*, et fut présenté à la séance du 26 mai du comité économique.

¹⁰ CIE, janvier, avril, mai 1943. AOM 11 H 50.

¹¹ CIE, janvier 1943. AOM 11 H 50.

L'Additif¹² et le Manifeste différaient sur plusieurs points, et même sur quelques questions fondamentales. Avant tout l'Additif précisait qu'il fallait reconnaître la nation algérienne, ce qui signifiait la citoyenneté algérienne, une constitution indépendante et ne devait pas contraindre les musulmans à accepter le statut juridique civil déterminé par le Code français. La pratique du passé avait démontré que les indigènes n'avaient pas renoncé à leur statut juridique musulman et qu'il faudrait le respecter. Dans l'intérêt de l'avenir politique de l'Algérie, la France devrait suivre l'exemple des Britanniques qui avaient réussi à régler des problèmes semblables dans les pays arabes ou celui des Américains aux îles Philippines. La France se devait « de rompre avec les erreurs d'hier et d'adopter courageusement des formules neuves et révolutionnaires ». Les membres arabes et kabyles du comité économique demandèrent que l'intégrité territoriale de l'Algérie fût garantie, l'indépendance politique intérieure reconnue, comme pour une nation souveraine. La France aurait toujours un droit de regard sur la vie de l'Algérie.

Un nouvel élément figure aussi dans l'Additif: l'idée de créer éventuellement une union fédérative d'États avec le Maroc et la Tunisie « qui semble pour beaucoup le meilleur cadre pour le futur ».

Les réformes proposées furent séparées en deux groupes: *le premier* contenait une seule proposition dont l'importance était d'autant plus grande: « A la fin des hostilités, l'Algérie sera érigée en État algérien doté d'une constitution propre qui sera élaborée par une Assemblée algérienne Constituante, élue au suffrage universel par tous les habitants d'Algérie. »

Le second groupe contenait les projets de réformes dont la réalisation ne devait pas attendre la fin de la guerre. Ces projets peuvent être classés encore en trois sous-groupes. Le premier concernait la participation des Algériens à la direction de l'Algérie, y compris par la mise en place d'un gouvernement algérien. Dans chaque corps élu, assurer la représentation égale des Algériens et des Européens, rendre possible l'emploi des Algériens dans toute l'administration, supprimer les privilèges. Le deuxième groupe concernait le service militaire: introduire un système uni de recrutement, assurer l'égalité des soldes et des carrières, possibilité pour les unités composées d'Algériens de servir sous les couleurs nationales algériennes. Le troisième groupe contenait des propositions économiques, sociales et culturelles. La modification la plus importante, par rapport au Manifeste, concernait la solution des problèmes de la paysannerie. L'Additif ne reprenait pas le projet de la grande réforme agraire, mais proposait « la création d'un office du paysan indigène avec la tâche immédiate de recenser d'une manière rapide et réelle les paysans musulmans ». Dans le domaine économique, suppression de toute intervention centrale et assurance d'une totale liberté: « Le régime de l'économie dirigée s'est révélé préjudiciable aux intérêts des producteurs, des commerçants et des consommateurs musulmans ». Il proposait ensuite la liberté de l'enseignement en langue arabe et la liberté de la presse.

¹² Le texte intégral in Sarrasin, *La crise algérienne*, 192-200.

Les projets de réformes du deuxième grand groupe étaient considérés comme provisoires: on les aurait précisés ou complétés à la fin de la guerre. On pensait qu'alors, ils étaient suffisants pour « prouver à l'Algérie que cette guerre est une guerre de libération pour tous et que l'âge de l'impérialisme est terminé ».

La pensée nationaliste et la condamnation du régime colonial s'expriment aussi clairement dans l'Additif. L'évolution de la situation intérieure et extérieure amena à compléter le document par de nouveaux éléments et à modifier substantiellement les revendications antérieures. Ainsi l'insertion de l'idée d'une fédération des pays du Maghreb fut stimulée par la libération de la Tunisie (mai 1943), mais plus encore sans doute, par l'influence de Messali et du PPA. Le 26 avril, quinze dirigeants du PPA, parmi lesquels Messali, furent libérés. Ferhat Abbas aurait négocié avec eux. Il est certain en tout cas qu'à sa libération, Messali passa la nuit chez Abbas. Dès le lendemain, il était déjà en garde à vue à son domicile.¹³

Beaucoup plus important est le changement de position, plus exactement le recul concernant le problème paysan sur lequel Ferhat Abbas, qui était déjà à ce moment-là le dirigeant reconnu du mouvement des revendications de réformes, fut contraint d'adoucir sa position radicale. Il avait rédigé le Manifeste seul – en consultant seulement quelques intellectuels francophiles. Les membres de ce groupe qui approuvaient le Manifeste n'avaient pas d'intérêts agricoles, étant surtout des intellectuels de profession libérale. Or, à l'élaboration de l'Additif participèrent les membres algériens du comité économique, en majorité des propriétaires terriens. Les propositions insignifiantes aux solutions des problèmes agraires tout comme la revendication de supprimer toute intervention centrale de l'État dans la vie économique, étaient l'expression des intérêts de ces propriétaires. Le comité économique se réunit pour la première fois, le 22 mai, pour discuter de l'Additif.

Il régnait à cette séance un climat tendu et la discussion fut violente entre les signataires et non-signataires du Manifeste.¹⁴ Ces derniers – les propriétaires terriens – réussirent enfin à faire adopter l'Additif qui fut présenté au Gouverneur le 30 mai. Mais l'affaire concernait désormais le nouveau gouverneur, le général Catroux qui prenait ses fonctions le lendemain. Or, Catroux se préoccupait avant tout, comme le Comité Français de Libération Nationale créé deux jours plus tard, de l'effort de guerre et de la libération de la France. Mais la question de l'indépendance nationale de l'Algérie, « des trois départements français d'outre-mer » fut posée d'une manière irrévocable.

¹³ CIE avril, mai 1943. AOM 11 H 50.

¹⁴ CIE avril, mai 1943. AOM 11 H 50.

First International Conference of the Medieval History of the Eurasian Steppe

Szeged, 11–16 May 2004



The Department of Medieval History at the University of Szeged organized conferences in 1997, 2000, and 2002 on the history of medieval nomads of the Eurasian steppe in Szeged. The proceedings of these conferences were published in Hungarian.¹ The Department of Medieval History at the University of Szeged and the Research Group of Hungarian Prehistory of the Regional Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Szeged convened a symposium entitled *The First International Conference of Medieval History of the Eurasian Steppe* in May 2004 in Szeged. The items under discussion included the economic, social, political, cultural and religious life of the medieval nomads of Eurasia and their contacts with neighboring sedentary civilizations. The organizing committee consisted of István Zimonyi (president), László Balogh, Szilvia Kovács, Szabolcs Polgár, and Anikó Seres (secretary).

The participants of the conference convened at Szeged on 11 May and met at a welcome party in the evening. On 12 May, the official program of the conference was opened by László Koszta, Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Arts. Thirty papers were delivered during the three days of the conference. Representatives of Sino-logy, Mongolian studies, Turcology, Arabistics, Iranistics, Classical Philology, Slavistics, Archeology, and History attended the conference from seven countries. On the last day the participants took part in an excursion to the National Historical Memorial Park at Ópusztaszer.

¹ *A Kárpát-medence és a steppe*. [Carpathian Basin and the Eurasian steppe] ed. A. Márton, Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár 14, Budapest 2001; *Nomád népvándorlások, magyar honfoglalás*. [Nomadic Migrations, Hungarian Conquest] ed. Sz. Felföldi–B. Sinkovics, Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár 15, Budapest 2001; *Fegyveres nomádok, nomád fegyverek*. [Armed Nomads, Nomadic Arms] ed. L. Balogh–L. Keller, Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár 21, Budapest 2004.

Professor István Vásáry, the editor-in-chief of the *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, offered to publish the material from the conference in the 2005 volume of the international journal for Oriental Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

The following articles have been submitted to the *Acta Orientalia*:

Denis Sinor, Reflections on the History and Historiography of the Nomad Empires of Central Eurasia

David Wright, Nomadic Power, Sedentary Security and the Crossbow

Hansgerd Göckenjan, Bogen, Pfeil und Köcher in der Herrschafts- und Rechtssymbolik der eurasischen Steppenvölker

István Zimonyi, Nomadic Factor in the Medieval History of Europe

R. D. Goldina, E. M. Chernykh, Forest and Steppe: Dialogue of Cultures (On Archaeological Materials of Prikamye)

Denis Chernienko, The Rulers of European Nomads and Early Medieval Byzantine Historiography

Tibor Schäfer, Der Hunnename als politisches Programm

Nikolay N. Kradin, From Tribal Confederation to Empire: Jou-jan Society Evolution

Michael R. Drompp, Imperial State Formation in Inner Asia: The Early Turkic Empires (Sixth to Ninth Centuries)

J. S. Khudjakov, Armament of Mountain Altai Nomads in the First Half of the First Millennium AD

Johannes Gießauf, Der Feind in meinem Bett. Frauen und Steppennomaden in den Quellen des europäischen Mittelalters

Katalin Nagy, The Arms of the Avar Heavy Cavalry in Written and Archaeological Sources and Pictorial Representations

Mihály Dobrovits, The Great Western Campaign of the Eastern Turks (711–714)

László Balogh, Some Notes on the Western Turks in the Work of Theophanes Confessor

Szabolcs Polgár, A Contribution to the History of the Khazar Military Organization: the Strengthening of the Camp

Kornél Nagy, Seawardik' People in Armenia: an Attempt to Identify an Armeno-Greek Ethnonym

Jean-Charles Ducène, Le commerce des fourrures entre l'Europe orientale et le Moyen-Orient à l'époque médiévale (IXe–XIIIe siècle): pour une perspective historique

S. G. Klyashtornyj, The Polovcian Problem (II): Qipčaq, Cumans, Polovcians

Szilvia Kovács, Borcz, a Cuman Chief in the Thirteenth Century

A. Sh. Kadyrbaev, The Turks – Kipchaks, Kanglis, Uighurs in the History of Mongols

Ágnes Birtalan, Mongolian Great Khans in Mongolian Mythology and Folklore

Tatyana D. Skrynnikova, Bogol – the Category of Submission

István Vásáry, Orda and/or Toqa-temür? Jochi's Lineage in the Blue Horde

Mária Ivanics, Die Volksnamen von Ost- und Südosteuropas in den Quellen der Goldene Horde

Iliia Zaytsev, On the History of the Golden Horde Diplomatic Ceremonial (The Origin of the Word koreš in Russian argot)

Arslanova Alsu, From the History of Interrelations of the Ulus of Djochi with Uluses of the Il-Khans and the Chaghatayids

Дмитрий Д. Васильев, Ареальный аспект «руноподобной» письменной культуры кочевников Евразии

The abstracts of those who did not send their articles or could not attend the conference (A. Ju. Borisenko, Isenbike Togan and Vadim Trepavlov) are published below:

A. Yu. Borisenko, *Pictures of warriors from metal wares of Central Asian nomads in the early Middle Ages*

When Turkic-speaking tribes settled the territory of Central Asia in the early Middle Ages, they brought their own culture to this new place. The cultural tradition of the new ethnic group became an example for subordinate tribes of forest and forest-steppe regions to imitate. The situation caused a change in the ideological and aesthetic ideas of Central Asian nomads. Such changes are clearly reflected in the arts and crafts, especially in belt ornamentation. Scenes of noble nomads and warriors became major artistic themes.

Decorated metal goods, mainly belt and harness accessories, were some of the most widespread objects of the Ancient Turkic material complex. These objects were adorned with plant motifs, which dominated in the decoration of belt accessories, as well as some humaniform representations, which can be traced back to an Iranian cultural base and were spread to the Ancient Turkic cultures by the Sogdians.

In the Kirghiz culture, belt and harness accessories were decorated, as were bits, stirrups, and feasting ware. During the Chaatas period humaniform representations were widespread. There were images of human masks with slanting eyes, wide-open mouths, moustaches and beards, and wearing pointed hats. The pendants were in the shape of a horse and rider.

In different variants of the Kimak culture we often encounter a rich variety of ornaments such as decorated belts and harness accessories. Human faces – men with moustaches and beards, in pointed hats, represented humaniform themes. Warriors with heavy armament developed independently of Kimak decorative art.

Bronze plaques with nomad images have been found in Zabaikalie, Mongolia, the Sayan-Altai, Central Asia, and, the Urals. Such images of warriors on belt ornaments are an important source for studying nomadic armaments of the early Middle Ages in Central Asia.

István Fodor, *Hungarian–Volga Bulghar contacts*

The beginning of the contacts between the Hungarians and Volga Bulgars was dated to the second half of the eighth century in earlier research. The first tribes of the Bulgars migrated to the Volga–Kama confluence in the middle of the eighth century (Bolšie Tarhany cemetery). The early Hungarians lived east of them in *Magna Hungaria* where western travelers discovered them in the thirteenth century.

Recently it has been accepted that the ancestors of the Volga Bulgars moved to the Volga earlier than this, but they lived around the Samara elbow. Their unearthed cemeteries and habitats there have given evidence of the multiethnic character of the later Volga Bulgars. These groups settled there in the middle of the seventh century. Some of their nomadic communities could reach the Volga–Kama region in summer during their seasonal migration. They occupied the territory of the later Volga Bulgars' country only in the middle of the eighth century as a consequence of the Arab invasions in the 730s.

The early Hungarians migrated from Western Siberia to the region west of the Ural mountains in the middle of the sixth century; their habitat can be identified with the cemeteries of the Kušnarenkovo culture in Bashkiria and Tatarstan. The beginning of the Hungarian–Volga Bulgarian contacts took place in the seventh century. The northern migration of the Bulgars in the 740–750s provoked serious conflicts with the Hungarians, the majority of whom were forced to leave the homeland, from which they moved to the region between the Don and Donec in the territory of the Khazar Khaganate. The latter group conquered the Hungarian plain in 895. A minor group remained in Bashkiria, and their sites can be denoted by the unearthed cemeteries of Bolšie Tigani, Sterlitamak, etc. One of these communities was visited by the Hungarian monk Julianus in 1236.

Márta Font, *Old-Russian principalities and their nomadic neighbors:
Stereotypes of chronicle-texts and the diplomatic practice of princes*

Kievan Rus' and the Old-Russian Principalities had nomadic neighbors throughout their existence. Their relations could be charged by many conflicts, but until the appearance of the Mongols no nomadic tribe constituted a real danger for the Rus' and the Old-Russian Principalities or threatened their political independence. Hence it seems necessary to treat the connections of the nomadic peoples and the Rus' before the Mongol invasion separately from those after it.

The aim of this paper is to analyze this ambivalent relation reflected in the Old Russian chronicles. The *Russian Primary Chronicle* (PVL) recorded the events of the early period, but from the twelfth century onwards the regional chronicles (the Kievan Annals and the Galich-Volkhynian Annals for the southern Principalities; the Blag-Cypg. Annals for the north-eastern Principalities) can be used.

There is a special duality in the chronicles as far as the evaluation of the nomads of the steppe is concerned. On the one hand the negative approach was

based on Christian/non-Christian contradictions, while on the other hand toleration was felt for the nomads in some respects. The reason for this must lie in the interest of the courts of the princes which formed alliances with the nomads. In these cases the Christian chroniclers did not mention that their allies were non-Christians.

Iskender Izmailov, *Mongols in Eastern Europe in 1223*

The paper is based on new archeological material unearthed in the Penza region, which can be identified with the events mentioned in the Muslim sources in connection with the massacre of the Mongol army of Subudey and Djebe by the Volga Bulgars in 1223. The archeological material can provide further information on the Mongol campaign against the Volga Bulgars.

Isenbike Togan, *Some considerations on the socio-political terminology of the early Türks*

Early Türk socio-political terminology is usually derived from the so-called Orkhon Inscriptions. Scholars such as Hilda Ecsedy, however, tried to deal with the terminology as found in Chinese sources. As a follow-up to Ecsedy's work, this paper presents an attempt to understand what is meant by Tang dynasty terminology when dealing with nomadic and tribal populations of the early Türks. Often the contention is made that the Chinese were not precise in recording foreign sounds or in rendering the cultural terminology of foreign cultures.

Here in this paper the argument is just the reverse. At the beginning of the Tang Dynasty, when the *Zhoushu*, *Suishu*, and *Jiu Tangshu* were compiled, Chinese historians as well as Emperor Taizong himself were very much aware of the complexities of nomadic society and used terminology to distinguish the different socio-political formations. In this study the focus is on the term "bulo," usually translated as "tribe" in Western languages.

Вадим В. Трепавлов, *Казыев улус – рудимент кочевой цивилизации на Северном Кавказе*

В третьей четверти XVI в. выходцы из заволжской Большой Ногайской Орды образовали самостоятельное политическое образование Казыев улус (Малые Ногаи). Его основные кочевья его располагались в степном Предкавказье, причем со временем они отодвигались все дальше к западу. Экономика казыевцев базировалась на кочевом скотоводстве и военных набегах в союзе с крымцами или кавказскими владетелями; под Азовом и в Пятигорье обрабатывались небольшие просяные поля. В социально-политическом от-

ношении Казыев улус представлял собой объединение типа составного вожества – совокупность общин, связанных между собой (реально – клановыми узлами, номинально – подчиненностью улусному предводителю-бию). Балансируя между Россией, Кабардой, османами и Крымом, казыевцы были готовы заявить о покорности кому угодно, если это сулило поживу или безопасность; но при изменении политической конъюнктуры они с такой же легкостью отказывались от призрачного «подданства». При этом нарастали междоусобные распри между мирзами, зачатки централизованного управления деградировали. В 1640 г. умер последний малоногоайский бий, и остатки государственной организации сошли на нет. Большинство казыевцев переселилось в Причерноморье на территорию Крымского ханства. История Казыева улуса представляет собой пример вырождения кочевой политической структуры, лишенной земледельческой подпитки, стабильной системы передвижения народа и стад, стройной организации налогообложения и мобилизации ополчения. В целом судьба Малых Ногаев иллюстрирует уход номадов с мировой исторической арены в позднем средневековье.

The participants from Russia sent their articles to the *Acta Orientalia* in English, nonetheless, their original abstracts in Russian are published below:

Дмитрий Д. Васильев, *Ареальный аспект «руноподобной» письменной культуры кочевников Евразии*

Многочисленные новые находки эпиграфических памятников в Южной Сибири, Средней Азии и Восточной Европе привлекли внимание исследователей письменной культуры древних тюрков к проблеме соотношения памятников древнетюркской письменности орхоно-енисейского типа с так называемыми «руноподобными» надписями. Проблема становится настолько актуальной, что даже отодвигает на второй план дискуссии о происхождении тюркского рунического письма. Это объясняется тем, что накапливается значительный новый материал, явно предшествующий (по крайней мере, в Южной Сибири и Средней Азии) прочитанным и этно-исторически атрибутированным руническим текстам. Тем самым, могут быть внесены серьезные коррективы в прежние исследования по генезису, палеографии и датировке даже хорошо изученных вариантов тюркского рунического письма.

Надписи различных регионов имеют в своем репертуаре отдельные знаки, характерные только для данной группы текстов и отсутствующие в орхонских, енисейских, семиреченских, восточно-туркестанских памятниках тюркского рунического письма. Осложняет проблему то обстоятельство, что руноподобные надписи всего евроазиатского ареала их распространения почти во всех случаях не имеют достаточно убедительного прочтения, а дешифровка их письменной системы находится лишь на самой начальной

стадии. Хронологическая же атрибуция (в тех случаях, где она возможна) колеблется у разных исследователей в широком диапазоне от VI до X веков. Прочтение этих текстов затруднено тем, что фонетическое значение большинства знаков этих надписей несопоставимо с древнетюркскими рунами.

В сообщении предлагается опыт сравнительного сопоставления известных к настоящему времени так называемых руноподобных эпиграфических памятников различных регионов и пояснение в ряде случаев их связи с памятниками материальной культуры и локальной этно-исторической ситуацией.

Алсу Арсланова, Из истории взаимоотношений Улуса Джучи с улусами Хулагуидов и Чагатаидов

Чингиз-хан при жизни поделил свою обширную империю – Еке Монгол улус – между четырьмя своими старшими сыновьями – Джучи, Чагатаем, Угедеем и Тулуем. К сожалению, отсутствие точных указаний с его стороны о границах между этими уделами явилось причиной ожесточенных войн. Так, войны золотоордынских ханов и иранских ильханов продолжались на протяжении почти ста лет (1262–1357 гг.). Причинами их явились притязания Джучидов на Арран и Азербайджан как на один из главных узлов торгово-караванных путей между Западом и Востоком, недружественные взаимоотношения Чингизидов друг с другом и т. д. Однако по сути в основе глубоких противоречий лежала ожесточенная борьба за области, очень важные в экономическом и стратегическом отношении.

Известно, что, кроме государства ильханов, у Улуса Джучи имелась напряженность во взаимоотношениях с Улусом Чагатая. Так, например, Берке активно защищал интересы Джучидов в борьбе за власть с потомками Чагатая, вмешивался в дела улусов и Хулагу, и Чагатая. В нарастании почвы для войны особую роль сыграл Алгуй – внук Чагатая и сын Байдара, который всячески восстанавливал Хулагу против Берке. Можно привести примеры взаимных притязаний друг к другу и из опыта других Чингизидов.

Надо отметить, что в XIV в. при чагатаиде Кебеке в Золотой Орде, Чагатайском улусе и в государстве ильханов одновременно была введена аналогичная монетная система. Безусловно, эта система при лучших обстоятельствах могла бы способствовать интенсификации развития торгово-экономических связей между ними, если бы не враждебные отношения между Хулагуидами и Золотой Ордой с одной стороны, и Чагатаидов с Хулагуидами, с другой.

Существенным фактором в острой борьбе между улусами являлось также противостояние сторонников оседлого и военно-кочевого направлений внутри монгольской элиты, расхившейся во взглядах на отношение к завоеванным народам, их экономике и религии. Борьба этих направлений красной нитью проходит через историю Улуса Джучи, государств Хулагуидов и Чагатаидов.

Римма Д. Голдина–Елизавета М. Черных, *Лес и степь: диалог культур (по археологическим материалам Прикамья)*

Одним из мощнейших факторов, стимулирующих прогресс древних обществ, являются контакты между сопредельными историко-культурными и географическими зонами. Общеизвестно, что многие культурные достижения в древности и средневековье к народам лесной зоны пришли от кочевников степей и лесостепей или благодаря их посредничеству.

В эпоху раннего железного века (I тыс. до н.э.) в лесном Прикамье под влиянием степных ираноязычных скифов и сармат появились более совершенные виды наступательного вооружения: бронзовые и железные наконечники стрел, короткие мечи – акинаки; защитные доспехи, новые способы управления конем. Под воздействием степняков в Прикамье сформировался своеобразный звериный стиль, развивались культы огня, солнца, коня. В VI–IV вв. до н.э. весьма ощутимо воздействие на население лесного Прикамья саков Казахстана и Средней Азии. Металлургия Приуралья подпитывалась оловом рудного Алтая (С. В. Кузьминых).

На рубеже эр успешно продолжали развиваться контакты с сарматами. Именно через них в Прикамье поступали украшения, серебряная утварь, монеты, бусы из Византии, Сирии, Египта, Причерноморья, Кавказа. Однако некоторые типы фибул и гривен сарматам Поволжья и Приуралья производило и поставляло мазунинское и бахмутинское население южного Прикамья (М. Г. Мошкова).

В эпоху великого переселения народов зафиксированы не только многочисленные контакты со степняками, но и их прямые включения в массив населения лесного Прикамья. Источники позволяют говорить по меньшей мере о трех волнах внедрения в Прикамье из Причерноморья пришлого гото-славянского населения (Г. И. Матвеева, В. В. Седов). В конце IV в. в Среднем и Верхнем Прикамье с востока появляется значительная группа саргатского населения из лесостепного Зауралья. По-прежнему продолжают контакты с поздними сарматами.

На рубеже I–II тыс. н. э. на исторические судьбы народов лесного Прикамья оказали большое влияние этнические объединения, сложившиеся на пограничье леса и степи – Волжская Болгария и Великая Венгрия.

Александр Кадырбаев, *Дешт-и-Кыпчак накануне нашествия Чингизхана (По материалам Китайских династийных историй)*

Доклад посвящен истории кыпчакских племен (половцев древнерусских летописей, команов византийских и европейских хроник, циньча китайских династийных историй) в 11–13 веках. Доклад основан на оригинальных источниках – разделах «Лечжуань» («Биографий») китайских династийных историй, в первую очередь «Юань-ши» («История династии Юань») и «Синь

Юань-ши» («Новая история Юань»), впервые вводимых в научный оборот. Выдвинуто предположение о прародине кыпчаков на землях современной Внутренней Монголии, откуда они мигрировали в западном направлении вплоть до Паннонии. В поле нашего зрения связи кыпчаков со своими восточными соседями в Центральной Азии и на Дальнем Востоке (взаимоотношения кыпчакских племен с кочевыми государствами найманов и киреитов, чьи правители были знакомы с христианством, монголоязычными кочевниками меркитами и империей чжурчжэней Цзинь, владения которой располагались в северном Китае). На примере кыпчаков исследуется проблема государственности у кочевых народов Евразии. В связи с этим в центре внимания докладчика анализ терминологии, встречающейся в китайских династийных историях для обозначения уровня социальной организации степных народов Евразии, а также дискуссия по этому вопросу, которая возникла в самой средневековой китайской историографии. Наряду с китайскими привлекаются персо-арабоязычные, монгольские, древнерусские, западноевропейские письменные источники. Китайские источники дают дополнительный материал о той важной роли в повороте исторических судеб оседлых и степных народов Евразии, какую сыграли, подобно своим более ранним тюркским предшественникам, кыпчаки-половцы, чьими прямыми потомками ныне являются тюркские народы России, Центральной Азии и Украины, не говоря уже о том, что в венгерском, русском и во многих других народах Евразии весома кыпчакская струя.

Татьяна Д. Скрынникова, *Категория господства / подчинения – богол*

Сложение кочевого ядра Монгольской империи характеризуется тем, что в этот процесс вовлекались народы разной этнической принадлежности. Рассматриваемый нами период – постоянного переструктурирования социально-политических объединений – требовал столь же регулярного осмысления (констатации) и пересмотра границ своей общности. Моделируемые властной элитой границы общностей становятся эффективными механизмами конкретной социальной практики, регламентирующими принципы взаимоотношений групп (этносов, политий, союзов, конфедераций), носящих нестабильный изменчивый характер вследствие специфики кочевых обществ.

Одним из терминов, маркирующих определенный уровень идентичности, является термин *богол*, который переводится, как правило, как “раб, рабы” и, соответственно, этот перевод в значительной части определяет интерпретацию социальной структуры монгольского общества (часто исследователями по истории Монгольской империи *рабы* отмечаются как *социальная группа* в границах рода или племени), и шире – типологические исследования кочевых обществ.

Рассмотренные словосочетания, в которых употребляется термин *богол* – *отоле богол*, *унаган богол* и *отеку богол* – позволяют прийти к выводу, что термин *богол* маркирует не единицу классовой структуры, а моделирует отношения в формирующейся потестарно-политической организации, указывая на характер отношений между социально-политическими объединениями. Эта категория выступает в качестве части механизма социально-политической интеграции, фиксирует изменения, произошедшие в процессе завоевания и требующие включения новых структур и перекодировки старых, участвует в моделировании новой структуры, обеспечивая сохранение целостности общественного организма: констатируется формирование общественных отношений на новом уровне – сложение надплеменной, надлокальной социально-политической структуры, тяготеющей к универсализации мироустройства.

Мне хотелось показать, что термин *богол*, который со времен Б. Я. Владимирцова интерпретировался как маркер зависимости (раб), личной или групповой несвободы, на самом деле отмечал лишь включение группы в структуру империи и ее подчиненное положение по отношению к правящему роду Чингис-хана.

Илья Зайцев, Средневековая крымско-татарская письменная культура: золотоордынские традиции, османское влияние, репертуар сочинений

Доклад основан на крымско-татарских рукописных материалах Отдела редких книг и рукописей библиотеки МГУ, Санкт-Петербургского филиала ИВ РАН, Бахчисарайского собрания РНБ (сохранившего часть библиотеки крымских ханов), коллекций ЦНБ Украины, Национальной библиотеки Франции (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), ряда турецких хранилищ. Можно выделить несколько путей пополнения книжного собрания крымских ханов. Во-первых, часть рукописей библиотеки происходила еще из коллекции ханов Золотой Орды (вероятно, были среди них и рукописи в уйгурской графике). Во-вторых, это книжный рынок полуострова, постоянная переписка книг на арабском, тюркских и персидском языках в самом Крыму (в том числе, в ханском скриптории). Крымские писцы работали и в других странах: в Османской империи и Московском государстве. В-третьих, поступления рукописных книг из Османской империи (переписанных в разных ее частях – вплоть до Египта и Сирии), в том числе из личной библиотеки османских султанов (в Бахчисарайском собрании РНБ имеются рукописи из султанской коллекции), а также из Ирана, Средней Азии, Казанского и Астраханского ханств. Сами крымские ханы не только были грамотны, но многие писали стихи. Основной репертуар крымско-татарской книжной продукции средневековья: фикх, грамматика арабского языка, всемирная и крымская история, изящная литература на фарси, арабском и

тюркских языках. В XV и начале XVI вв. крымская рукописная традиция еще вполне своеобразна, но уже начиная с 20-х гг. XVI в., и канцелярия и книжный рынок начинают активно османизироваться. Несмотря на то, что крымские рукописи, рассеянные по разным собраниям, претерпели сильнейшее османское влияние в приемах оформления, автор делает попытку выделить своеобразие и характерные особенности крымско-татарской книжной рукописной продукции периода средневековья.

SZILVIA KOVÁCS

The Structure of the Estate,

the Society and Political Institutions of Derbyshire
in the Late Fourteenth and First Half of the Fifteenth Century

RICHÁRD SZÁNTÓ



Hungarian scholars made numerous comparative works on the history of Hungary and Western Europe, but many studies do not contain an explanation of the historical terminology of Western European countries. The conclusions of these studies were inexact because of the incomplete knowledge of the historical terminology of medieval England or other countries. The first aim of this dissertation is to give an exact introduction to the late medieval English terminology. Derbyshire served as a model for this research because it was not a coastal shire, therefore it is comparable to a Hungarian county. The other purpose of this work was the detailed description of the structure of the estate, society, and political institutions in Derbyshire in the late Middle Ages. The dissertation consists of three parts: (1) the settlements and the structure of the estate of Derbyshire, (2) the society of the shire, (3) the political institutions of the shire. The appendix of the dissertation includes 23 tables and 10 maps. The tables comprise the names of the settlements and the names of the lords of the fees and villages; the color maps were made to depict the structure of the estates in Derbyshire.

The first part of the dissertation, the maps and the tables of the appendix, were based on the data from the following sources: *Domesday Survey Descriptive*, *Descriptive Catalogue of Derbyshire Charters*, *Calendar of Inquisition Post Mortem*, the collection of the *Feudal History of County of Derby*, *Inquisition and Assessments Relating to Feudal Aids*, *Placita de Quo Warranto*, and *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. The lists of poll taxes, lay subsidies, and lists of the tithe were useful sources for the description of the society of Derbyshire in the second part of the work. The sources of the medieval English law, charters, statutes, and the books of the medieval English lawyers were taken into consideration in the description of the social structure, and their data were important to the description of the political institutions.

The listing of the estates and their lords in tabular form was the basis for the maps. The tables contain the names of the lords of the honors, fees and villages and the dates of the sources. The estate maps and their base maps include the

boundaries of the townships, on which different colors indicate the lands of the lords and tenants.

The first step in the second part was the specification of the various groups in local society on the grounds of social status, rank, wealth, and birth. In the second step, I describe the legal and social relations among the different groups and persons. The reconstruction of social processes is the third step, including the decay of the villainage, the decline of feudalism, the evolution of the copyhold system, and the origin of the bastard feudalism.

The roles of the variously ranked groups and persons, which they played in the offices and political life of the shire, were studied in the third part of the thesis. In several statutes the English kings and parliaments prescribed the conditions for holding the different offices, for instance, wealth, land property, income, and social status had important roles in the regulation of office holding. I compared the directions of the statutes relating to the office holding with the data of the assessments.

The territory of Derbyshire (2,631 km²) was divided into six hundreds in the late Middle Ages: Appletree, High Peak, Morleston and Litchurch, Repindon, Scarvesdale, and Wirksworth. The lists of the incomplete lay subsidy included the names of 244 villages in 1327-1328. The assessment made in 1334 contains the names of 257 villages. The sources mention six boroughs in Derbyshire (Ashbourne, Bakewell, Castleton, Chesterfield, Derby, and Wirksworth), among which Chesterfield and Derby were considerable. There were seven castles in the shire in the late Middle Ages. The assessment made in 1428 included six *decanatus* and ninety-six parishes, from which four parishes were in Derby borough. The religious orders had twelve monasteries and houses.

The estate structure of the shire and the ranks of the tenants can be described on the bases of the feudal aids, the inquisition *post mortem*, the *placita de quo warranto*, and the charters. The collectors listed the estates; they applied four technical terms to specify the different types of the lands in their works. One part of the estates was known as fees, while the other part appeared as manor, village, or grange in the sources. The collectors often described the sizes of the fees giving the number of the component villages or manors. Approximately six hundred tenants possessed freeholds, but most of them were smallholders. High Peak Forest belonged to the Crown, and the forest included a castle (Castleton), a borough, four manors and at least thirty villages. The Lancaster dynasty had Duffield Forest and twelve villages in the forest, twenty manors, and five other villages. The tenants of the Lancasters held the rest of the lands of the duchy in Derbyshire. 25 knightly and esquire families formed the exclusive group of tenants at the top of society in the shire, possessing three or more fees, manors or villages. There were about 50 to 60 tenants whose families held one or two villages, manors or fees, and twenty families possessed smaller estates between a quarter and half a manor, a village or a fee. The land property of the church was not significant; nineteen ecclesiastical landowners held some granges, villages or fees.

Joshiah Cox Russel estimated the population of Derbyshire at 36,433 persons based on the data of the poll tax in 1377. A later assessment in 1563 contains

10,680 households, but it does not mention the number of the persons who lived in the households. If five persons lived in a household, 53,400 inhabitants could have lived in Derbyshire.

The social structure of the shire can be reconstructed from charters, lists of taxes, feudal aids, and subsidies. The lists of the feudal aids from 1431 contained the names of thirty-five knights, twelve of whom lived in Derbyshire; twenty-three knights held estates in this shire although their residences were in other shires. The names of eighty-two esquires were on the lists. Fifty-three lived in Derbyshire; twenty-nine esquires dwelt in the neighboring shires but held some land in this shire. The lists of feudal aids included the names of 116 gentlemen, ninety-five of whom lived in Derbyshire, but the others resided in the neighboring shires, holding only small estates in Derbyshire. The names of eighty-eight yeomen were listed by collectors, and seventy-seven dwelt in Derbyshire, the others who possessed freeholds in this shire lived in the adjacent shires.

The lists of the poll tax of Derbyshire consisting of twelve rolls contain the data of the dwellers of Castleton, Baslowe, Buxton, Derly, Glossop, Tidiswell, and Youlgrave. The taxpayers' names, occupations, and the names of their wives appeared on the lists. The list of Derby borough includes the names of 558 persons altogether. The crafts numbered over fifty; the assessors recorded the names and the taxes of 178 laborers, 39 spinsters, 12 brewers, 8 smiths, 4 ironmongers, 4 butchers, 4 bakers, 2 millers, 2 tailors.

Common law divided English society into two significant groups in the late Middle Ages: freemen and freeholders were in the first group, villains and copyholders were in the second. Most of English society still did not have free status in the fifteenth century. The upper class contained different groups: the aristocracy was at the head of the social hierarchy, the gentry was in second place, and the free peasantry holding freeholds formed the third group. The burgesses also belonged to the group of freemen, because they had free status. Members of the gentry families were interested in occupying the offices in the shires and burgesses held the offices of the boroughs; these groups were qualified to take part in the political life.

The group of the gentry was not homogeneous. It consisted of three parts: knights were in the first place, squires stood below them in the social hierarchy, and gentlemen had the lowest status in this group. The county community elected the knights of the shire and the sheriff from among the knights and the richest esquires, whose incomes were over 40£ per year. The members of the esquire families often held the office of the escheator, the coroner, and the justice of the peace. The heads of the gentleman families and the young gentlemen played prominent parts in the humbler offices; they were usually the member of the juries in the county and hundred courts or they worked as collectors and clerks under the sheriff of the shire. The educated gentlemen and esquires often worked as lawyers in the courts of the common law or in the bureaucracy of the realm. The numbers in the political society of Derbyshire can be ascertained from the statute issued in 1429 and the feudal aids assessed in 1431. This statute regulated the election of the knights of the shire; in accordance with this, that person was

a qualified voter whose income was forty shillings or more from his freehold. The rolls of the feudal aids contained the names, the incomes, the residences, and the land properties of the tenants. According to the data of the two sources, the political society of Derbyshire consisted of 114 persons: 9 belted knights, 53 esquires, 44 gentlemen, 4 yeomen, 2 clerks, and 2 merchants.

This dissertation contains a description of Derbyshire in the late Middle Ages and the explanation of the terminology relating to land holding, society, and institutions in the shire. Hungarian students and readers can understand the estate, social, and political structures of the medieval English shires by means of pattern of Derbyshire and exact comparative researches can be started with the knowledge of the medieval English terminology.

Jacques de la Marche, prêcheur et inquisiteur

Le rôle de l'Observance franciscaine en Italie, en Bosnie
et en Hongrie au milieu du XV^e siècle

GYÖRGY GALAMB



Jacques de la Marche (1393–1476), l'une des personnalités éminentes de l'Observance franciscaine au XV^e siècle, fut un célèbre prédicateur, qui persécuta les hérétiques *fraticelli* en Italie. En tant que vicaire des franciscains de Bosnie (1435–1438), il voulut à la fois promouvoir les idées et la pratique de la réforme dans sa vicairie et dans le clergé séculier, et combattre les hérétiques (les « chrétiens » et les hussites), tant en Bosnie qu'en Hongrie. Dans le sillage des recherches de ces dernières décennies, l'auteur s'est fixé pour objectif de reconstituer le contexte social, culturel et religieux d'un homme qui concentrait en une seule personne les qualités du prêcheur et de l'inquisiteur. L'importance de ces différentes facettes de Jacques de la Marche varia en fonction de la place et du milieu social et religieux dans lequel il évolua. Le but de ce travail était d'examiner l'activité du prêcheur et de l'inquisiteur dans toute sa complexité et sous certains aspects jusqu'à présent négligés par les historiens.

Le mémoire commence par établir un inventaire de l'historiographie portant sur le sujet et fait quelques remarques méthodologiques relatives à la nature des sources et à leur examen critique. La suite s'articule en deux grandes parties : l'une traite de l'activité prédicante et inquisitoriale de Jacques en Italie, et l'autre examine les mêmes activités en Bosnie et en Hongrie.

Les outils majeurs de la réforme morale et politique des villes italiennes furent la prédication et la promotion de la réforme des statuts urbains. Deux processus que l'on peut considérer comme des formes d'acculturation.

Les listes qui répertorient le contenu de la bibliothèque du prédicateur témoignent de ce que les livres qu'elle contenait répondaient aux besoins de la prédication. Le montre aussi bien la composition de la bibliothèque (par la panoplie des genres d'écrits servant à préparer des sermons qui s'y trouve) que les com-

mentaires. A l'inverse, la littérature inquisitoriale est absente des listes, exceptée l'œuvre due à Jacques lui-même : *Dialogus contra fraticellos*.

L'auteur examine ensuite le rapport entre les prédications orales (conservées par des *reportationes* en langue vulgaire) et les sermons écrits. Seules deux *reportationes* composées sur la base des sermons de Jacques de la Marche ont survécu (*De sancto Bernardino* et *De blasphemia*), mais elles permettent une étude comparative. Jacques traitait visiblement le support écrit avec une certaine liberté : les versions orales insistent sur les sujets ou figures populaires et faciles à exploiter à des fins de propagande.

La partie suivante analyse les sermons qui abordent les questions sociales, politiques et morales et met en lumière le rôle des prédicateurs dans la vie et les mentalités urbaines.

La critique de la vanité, liée à celle de l'usure et des juifs, exprime l'intention de maintenir l'ordre social et de lier les membres de la société à leur *status*, en passant par une réglementation de la tenue vestimentaire. Les invectives contre les jeux « illicites », le carnaval et le blasphème visent à protéger les lieux et temps sacralisés. Les sermons révèlent comment des prédicateurs franciscains comme Bernardin de Sienne se trouvent à l'origine des idées relatives aux sorcières, les *vetulae*, mentionnées dans les *exempla* de Jacques de la Marche. La conception antérieure, celle du *Canon Episcopi*, une collection du droit ecclésiastique composée au IX^e siècle, selon laquelle les personnages volant la nuit n'étaient que purs produits de l'imagination, changea précisément à cette période : ils furent de plus en plus considérés comme des êtres réels. Cette évolution est perceptible dans la prédication de Jacques. La série de ses sermons du temps pascal prononcés en 1445 à Pérouse s'ouvre par la mort sur le bûcher d'une certaine Santuccia. Le prédicateur encouragea aussi la chasse aux sorcières en Dalmatie, à Šibenik. Les *exempla* qu'il utilise constituent d'ailleurs de précieuses sources sur les croyances et pratiques magiques.

Comme le montrent les sermons, dans la vision du prédicateur, le cadre élémentaire de la vie humaine est la ville. Deux idées structurent la conception qu'il a de la vie politique urbaine : la *conservatio* et la *justitia*. La vie collective est bonne si elle se perpétue sans changement et reste dominée par l'esprit de justice. Celui-ci dépend des vertus personnelles du recteur (*rector*). Les luttes de factions sont détestables et au point de une eschatologique est considérés la manifestation de la force de l'esprit du mal. La fonction principale des prédicateurs dans ce contexte est de transmettre la volonté divine et d'exhorter la communauté à abandonner ses vices. Leur rôle est celui des prophètes contre les faux prophètes, décrits avec les mêmes caractéristiques que les *fraticelli* du *Dialogus contra fraticellos*.

La promotion de la réforme des institutions ecclésiastiques et de l'encadrement ecclésiastique des fidèles s'inscrivait dans le cadre du renforcement de la domination pontificale en Italie Centrale qui suivit le Concile de Constance, au temps de Martin V et d'Eugène IV. La réconciliation des clans qui divisaient jusqu'alors les villes s'accompagna du recul des opposants au pouvoir pontifical.

L'analyse du *Dialogus contra fraticellos* montre que le moyen qu'utilisa pour l'essentiel Jacques de la Marche pour discréditer les hérétiques était de souligner

leur ignorance et leur perversité, notamment en les opposant aux figures illustres de l'Observance franciscaine. La critique véhémement contre les *fraticelli*, qui se séparèrent de l'Ordre au début du XIV^e siècle et se considéraient les seuls héritiers authentiques de saint François d'Assise, tendait à dissiper le soupçon d'hérésie souvent formulé à l'encontre des frères observants par leur adversaires, en particulier par les représentants de deux ordres rivaux des franciscains observants, les dominicains et les ermites augustiniens. Cette rivalité se manifesta dans les attaques lancées contre Bernardin et Jacques, à Rome en 1427 comme à Brescia en 1462, autour de diverses questions théologiques et liturgiques, comme le culte du « Nom de Jésus » ou la controverse sur la divinité du Sang du Christ.

L'activité de Jacques en Bosnie a été examinée de trois points de vue différents : 1) La définition du courant des « chrétiens » bosniaques. Elle permet de prouver la véracité de l'œuvre polémique de Jacques, dont ne subsistent que quelques fragments, et de mesurer l'influence de ce courant sur l'hérérodexie en Hongrie à la fin du Moyen Age. Á l'inverse de l'opinion traditionnelle, qui situe l'hérésie des bosniaques dans la lignée du bogomilisme bulgare, l'auteur adopte l'interprétation de Franjo Šanjek et de John Fine, mais en la nuancant. Il affirme qu'il se produisit en Bosnie un syncrétisme, relativement souple et tolérant, entre l'Église slave locale et les groupes hérétiques à caractère monastique. 2) Le rôle de Jacques dans la réforme des couvents franciscains de Bosnie. 3) La *vicaria* observante de Bosnie en tant que noyau de la future province autonome des observants hongrois.

En ce qui concerne l'activité de Jacques en Hongrie, l'auteur fait quelques remarques sur le parcours de l'inquisiteur entre 1435 et 1440, en précisant son itinéraire jusqu'en Transylvanie et en présumant un séjour à Szeged.

Le chapitre suivant analyse la source la plus importante relative aux hérétiques en Hongrie et en Transylvanie : les *Articuli husitarum*, rédigés par le même Jacques de la Marche à l'occasion de son séjour en Hongrie. Il en ressort qu'en Hongrie, outre le courant taborite, fut présente la tendance modérée des Calixtins ; c'est ce que révèlent les citations du Concile du Prague de 1426. L'auteur ayant pu identifier dans le texte les fragments du sermon attribué à Jean Hus et prononcé avant sa condamnation à Constance, il présume qu'il exista chez les hérétiques de Hongrie une tradition écrite, qui apparaît dans les notes de l'inquisiteur. Cependant les idées dualistes attribuées aux hérétiques de Bosnie, dont Jacques fut un vrai « spécialiste », en sont absentes. On peut donc supposer que les *Articuli* n'évoquent pas les hérétiques de la partie méridionale du pays, que les lettres de Jacques désignent comme hérétiques bosniaques, mais ceux de Transylvanie. Le texte vit par conséquent le jour en 1436, avant que l'inquisiteur n'atteigne la Hongrie méridionale.

L'autre source importante sont les *Reprobationes* composées par le cardinal Jean de Torquemada sur la base la relation faite par les franciscains de la vicairie de Bosnie sur les hérétiques de Moldavie. Comme la continuation de la chronique franciscaine de *Blasius de Zalka* rapporte que, suite aux persécutions de Jacques, les hérétiques passèrent de Hongrie méridionale en Moldavie. L'auteur démontre que ce texte, compte-tenu de la chronologie des missions conduites par les fran-

ciscains dans cette région, ne naquit pas en 1461, comme le pensent presque tous les historiens, mais en 1442 ; elle peut donc être tenue pour un témoignage concernant l'hérésie propre à la Hongrie méridionale. Cependant, on ne trouve dans ce document qu'une seule trace de dualisme : le passage selon lequel les hérétiques *dicunt quod Jesus non est passum neque vere mortuum*.

L'auteur affirme, à l'opposé de la vision habituelle, que les hérésies de Hongrie ne s'accompagnèrent pas de mouvement sociaux, comme la révolte des paysans de Transylvanie en 1437, sauf dans la partie sud du royaume, mais qu'elles eurent au contraire un caractère clérical fortement marqué. Le montre le nombre élevé des clercs des églises locales qui les rejoignirent. Quelques historiens aujourd'hui en affirmant qu'elle est née en milieu franciscaine, ont mis en doute la thèse selon laquelle la première traduction de la Bible en hongroise, la « Bible hussite », aurait été produite par les réfugiés ayant fui la persécution inquisitoriale déployée en Hongrie. L'auteur montre que le jugement de la chronique des franciscains bosniaques de *Blasius de Zalka*, qui tient explicitement pour hérétiques les traducteurs de cette Bible, est fondé, et que les arguments contre l'origine hétérodoxe de cette traduction ne résistent pas à l'analyse.

Le thème suivant est celui des conflits entre l'inquisiteur et les membres de l'Église hongroise, en conséquence du progrès de la réforme observante, qui limite l'autorité des clercs séculiers.

Jacques s'est également efforcé de rétablir la paix entre les deux camps qui s'opposèrent lors de la révolte de Buda en 1439, en appliquant les mêmes méthodes que dans les villes italiennes. Enfin, l'auteur analyse les *exempla*, qui racontent les rites et croyances populaires de Hongrie. Il observe que ceux-ci expriment une religiosité où se mêlent les dévotions chrétiennes, comme celle de la Vierge, et les bribes des croyances païennes, tel le culte de l'arbre du monde.

Critical survey

of letters of donation, confirmation and that of agreement issued by the Ottoman sultans for the rulers of Hungary and Transylvania

SÁNDOR PAPP



While writing the dissertation one of my aims was to clarify the relationship between the Hungarian Kingdom as it came under Ottoman control after the battle of Mohács and the Transylvanian Principality when it separated from Hungary. The letters of agreement (*'ahd-nâme*) written at the Sultanic chancellery constitute important sources for the study of this problem. The value of these sources has long been known in Hungarian historiography; some of them appeared in contemporary Hungarian translations in Hungarian source publications of the second half of the nineteenth century. Since the gathering of these documents and the critical edition of text-variants had not been made yet, I undertook this task. First I intended to publish all the letters of agreement from the early Ottoman–Hungarian diplomatic contacts till the middle of the eighteenth century. While working on them I had partly to restrict and partly enlarge the subject. The latter became necessary, because I realized that it is not enough to deal with the letters of agreement, because the confirmation of a new Transylvanian ruler was a process of several phases. To understand this procedure I had to treat all the relating documents. Therefore the number of documents increased, so I limited the period examined between 1526 and 1606. In the future I would like to go on with this work and to publish the letters of agreement of the later centuries.

1) The dissertation consists of seven chapters and the text of the documents. The first chapter deals with the problem of why there is not a unified Transylvanian princely archive, which should contain the letters sent from the Porte. Lacking this I surveyed the extant documents in European or Turkish archives or libraries relating to Transylvania (1.1.) Since there is no such specific file in Istanbul, which would solely relate to Transylvanian diplomatic affairs, I examined the central authorities' customs and procedures of issuing documents (1.2.).

2) The second chapter treats the relation of the first Hungarian vassal ruler to the Porte. According to an accepted theory Sultan Süleyman confirmed John Szapolyai with a letter of agreement, when the latter entered into relations with

the Porte at the beginning of 1528 by his envoy, Hieronym Łaski. The Latin text of this document can be read in almost every related historical work, only the outstanding orientalist, Joseph Hammer-Purgstall doubted the authenticity of this document. Following his lead, I examined this source from the aspect of diplomatics (2.1.). I took into consideration the data of narrative sources and special literature referring to this letter of agreement (2.2.). In my opinion the document is false, probably originating from 1530. It is interesting that later other falsified variants came into being in the seventeenth century; one document was made for John Sigismund and one for Gabriel Bethlen (2.3.).

3) The Ottoman connections of John Szapolyai's son, Sigismund John is examined in the third chapter. After the death of his father the Porte made a contract with him (1540), in which the payment of tribute was included as well. Later as a Hungarian king he shared the territory of the country not only with his Habsburg opponent, but also with his Ottoman ally. He obtained an Ottoman confirmation document (*berât-i hümayun*) for Transylvania (1541), which shows not only the development of vassalage, but reveals the Ottoman concept according to which Transylvania became part of the Ottoman Empire. The sources testify that after the "interregnum of Transylvania" (1551–1556), when Ferdinand I was forced to give Transylvania back to John Sigismund, the relation of the Ottoman Empire and the vassal Transylvania was fixed by letters of agreement (1556, 1567 (?)) as well, documents which did not survive (3.3.).

4) The next Transylvanian ruler, Stephen Báthory's rise to power is examined in the fourth chapter with the help of Ottoman sources and the reports of the embassy of the Austrian Habsburgs in Constantinople. These documents made it possible for the first time to reconstruct the process of appointment and confirmation of a Christian vassal prince by the Porte (4.1.). As a result of this research it appears that a system of four phases existed: appointment, inauguration, confirmation, and conclusion of an agreement. Every phase required a separate form of document.

a) First an embassy reported to the Porte the death of the former voivode (king) and the name of the elected new ruler. The imperial council (*divân-i hümayun*) made a decision in this matter and *chiaus* was sent with an appointing letter made in form of *hük-m-i hümayun*.

b) Then the inauguration symbols were sent with a high official, among which the most important was the *sancak-i hümayun*. The accompanying letter was a *hük-m-i hümayun* as well.

c) After the inauguration and the payment of a fee a *berât* should be secured by the Transylvanian envoys for the confirmation of the voivode (prince).

d) The letter of agreement was written after negotiations with the Porte. It was not closely related with the inauguration, but can be considered the basic document, which secured the free election of the prince and fixed the borders referring to the *defter* of Halil beg. Its form was the '*ahd-nâme-i hümayun*'.

Following the death of Sultan Selem II in December 1574, Sultan Murad III had to confirm all the letters of appointment and agreement. As a result two '*ahd-nâme*' documents came into being the following year. The first '*ahd-nâme*' states

that with every Ottoman Sultanic accession the Transylvanian tribute increased by 5,000 ducats. It was not accepted by the Transylvanian prince. The second *'ahd-nâme* differs from the first, because it mentions just a single increase of 5,000 ducats (4.2.). After Stephen Báthory had accepted the Polish throne, he left Transylvania, appointing as heir his elder brother, Christopher, who was inaugurated by the Porte as well (4.3.).

5) This system remained unmodified till the Long War (Fifteen Years' War). Chapter 5 treats the attempts of Pál Márkházi, a Transylvanian pretender, at securing the Transylvanian throne. The relating Ottoman sources and reports of the Habsburgs at Istanbul perfectly complement each other (5.1–5.4.)

6) From 1595 on, the regular Transylvanian Ottoman diplomatic connections broke down and the *mühimme defterleri* do not give account of the attempts of the inauguration of princes. It is difficult to decide, whether the *'ahd-nâme* mentioned alone in Hungarian sources took over the functions of the other documents of appointment or if it shows just the lack of sources. In consequence of this uncertainty it is not easy to form an opinion the in case of the confirmation of Andrew Báthory (1599), Sigismund Báthory (for the second time 1601) and Mózes Székely (1603) (6.1–6.2.). At the election of Stephen Bocskai an *'ahd-nâme* was sent to the estates, in which the right of free election was emphasized. Later Bocskai got the Hungarian Kingdom and the Principality of Transylvania by a *berât-i hümayun* (6.3.). The conclusion of the agreement preceded by a Sultanic hearing and long negotiations was confirmed by an *'ahd-nâme-i hümayun* for Bocskai (1605) (6.4.). Since it was not possible to locate the original document, I reconstructed its text by comparing the extant copies (6.5.).

7) In the summary I made a survey about the system of the appointment of the Transylvanian princes (7.1.) and compared it briefly with the appointments of the voivodes of the other two Christian vassal states (Moldavia and Wallachia). It seems that the system of the inauguration was similar in the Romanian states to that of Transylvania till the beginning of the seventeenth century. Later the Romanian voivodes were inaugurated with letters of order and were confirmed with *berâts* like Muslim officials. (7.2.).

The second part of the dissertation contains the critical edition of 55 documents. Where it seemed necessary, the variants of the documents were given. On the basis of these, 45 Turkish, 10 Hungarian and 4 Latin letters were treated. Besides Turkish and Latin transcriptions German translations have been added, while the Latin texts (with one exception) were transcribed. The dissertation closes with the facsimile of the documents analyzed.

Forgotten French sources

as a reflection of the perception of the Hungarians
in the eighteenth century

LAJOS KÖVÉR



1) Choice of subject, objectives

The doctoral thesis examines the way the French of the eighteenth century perceived Hungarians. Its objective is to elaborate on and, in a given case, to refute the general commonplace statement deeply inherent in the subject's bibliography that emphasises the forgotten Hungary of the given age. This opinion was rooted in the works of János Batsányi and from that time on this statement survived as a commonplace almost until the present day.

Undoubtedly, the rapidly changing political conditions of Europe in the eighteenth century objectively reinterpreted the historic role of the Hungarians in terms of the ever-varying European status quo. It is obviously the heroism of the anti-Turkish wars that gained prominence in the second part of the sixteenth century, but the Hungarian soldiers' heroism turned barbaric in the confusion of the seventeenth century (the Fifteen Years' War, the Thirty Years' War, the Kuruc revolts).

The Hungarians of national history, as viewed from outside and becoming increasingly worn out between the two pagans, were seen as an inconstant, shifty, lazy and barbaric people that was eager to co-operate even with the Turks. This view, however, was more and more successfully suggested by the Viennese propaganda. This opinion, even though the truth was more complex, remained prominent until the middle of the eighteenth century and then was followed by a more elaborate, colourful and comprehensive view of the Hungarians in the second part of the century. The objective of this thesis is to introduce this process.

2) Structure, sources, methods and the contents of the thesis

In a chronological structure, this thesis introduces the seventeenth-century roots of the perception of the Hungarians, the forms they appeared in and how they were altered in the eighteenth century, and finally, as an outlook, it introduces both the future possibilities of the view of the Hungarians as depicted by the French and the values that the Hungarians provided for the French and, consequently, for Europe.

Besides introducing how the contemporary French authorities viewed the presence of the French, or more precisely, the Lorrainese employees in Hungary who emigrated to and settled in this country for economic reasons, this thesis is based on the following types of sources. The static data of the contemporary *geographic and historic dictionaries*, which are also historiographic judgements, will not be presented for the sake of completeness but as a representative sample. The basis of the sources is constituted by the collection of sources compiled by Károly Kecskeméti,¹ the *reports and records of diplomats* complemented with a few *corresponding documents from the Archives of Nantes*, the *travel narratives* and a specific set of sources that had never been investigated yet, the *recollections of the French prisoners of war who were captured in Hungary during the revolutionary wars*.

The method was to let these sources speak in an analytical way in the sense that the factual mistakes of the authors were not corrected. Instead, the characteristics of the ways they saw the Hungarians and the variants of these views will be made tangible as a reflection of the given historical background.

The main elements of the thesis are: as an initial step, an attempt was made to collect the basis of sources of the ways the French saw the Hungarians in the specific historical age, *i.e. the contemporary bibliographies*. The first among them is the collection by Bongarsius.² The data of Jacques Bongars were updated at the end of the seventeenth century by the works of Claude Vanel (1644–1703) in the way that the author complemented them by the best of the travel narratives and lexicography of his century. Claude Vanel presented a rather inaccurate list of names without actual references to works. On this ground did we prepare the Vanel-bibliography, which was based on the 1686 database. The data of these two bibliographies were supplemented by the eighteenth-century geographical dictionaries so on these bases there are three important catalogues of the perception of the Hungarians in the eighteenth century: the Lenglet Dufresnoy (1713), the Moréri-Coignard (1725) and the Langelet Dufresnoy (1735) bibliographies.

Two authors were closely investigated in terms of the seventeenth-century roots of the eighteenth-century perception of the Hungarians. The first is the English traveller Edward Brown, who travelled to Hungary in 1669–1670. His work was published in London in 1673 in English but in one year's time its French translation was completed and ran into a number of editions later on. Edward Brown's thorough and minutely detailed travel narrative is inevitable because he was one of the most important sources for the French authors, even though they often did not even mention his name. A number of elements of his perception of the Hungarians reappeared at the end of the eighteenth and even at the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

¹ *Notes et rapports français sur la Hongrie au XVIII^{ème} siècle. Recueil des documents, avec une introduction.* Brussels 1963.

² Bongars, (Bongarsius Jacobus) Jacques, *Rerum Hungaricarum scriptores varii. Historici, geographici.* Francofurti, Apud heredes Andreae Wecheli, Claudium Marnium, & Ioan. Aubrium, 1600.

Brown's Hungary was a country of rivers, fertile plains, mines, spas, mineral springs and delicious wines. He thought of the Hungarians as a witty and hard-working nation and in his opinion the Hungarians had grown to prefer war to commerce throughout their history. He also believed that they were endowed with the wits, industry and talent to get involved with sciences and the liberal arts. Following Brown, such fixed attributes were articulated that greatly influenced the way the French viewed the Hungarians as the image of a gallant nation which had turned militant through its history and did not display much affinity for commerce and the sciences. It was also Brown who added the splendid fur-decorated Hungarian noble attire to the image of the country and it was he who introduced the mining towns as the most important parts of the country.

The geographical dictionaries are considered as one of the most important sources of the perception of the Hungarians because they are the vehicles of informative historiography. Claude Vanel's works on Hungary, completed in the 1680s, determined the way the French saw the Hungarians for more than fifty years. In this thesis, his own perception of the country was reconstructed on the basis of his *Le Royaume de la Hongrie ou description nouvelle, Chronologique, Géographique de ce Royaume selon d'estat auquel il se trouve à present et des choses les plus memorables y arrivées*, published in Cologne in 1686. Claude Vanel's work is considered important for two reasons. On the one hand, he practically provided the cross-section of the entire Hungarian history, and on the other he was the first to compile a geographic and historic dictionary about Hungary satisfying the criteria of dictionary making. His description is a history communicated through entries of the names of the towns combined with comprehensive and introductory chapters containing general information. Vanel could not accept the Hungarian revolt against the Habsburgs because the faith put in the legitimate monarch was the cardinal principle of his view of history. (All rebels are fickle and bring the country into ruin.)

As for the geographical and historical works of the eighteenth century, we have examined Hungarian history and its consequences in the forgotten great "dictionary of the world" by Bruzen de la Martinière. His conclusions are important because he used the latest results of his age and they finely matched the history of the Hungarians. (He emphasised that the Huns and the Hungarians had probably had nothing in common and he used the model of Persian historians as translated by the French orientalist Pétis de la Croix to characterise the Hungarian prehistory.) The Hungary of Bruzen de la Martinière was exceedingly swampy due to the unregulated waters, the air was not particularly healthy but the land was rich in corn, wine, fruits and in pasture. The wine was strong and excellent and Hungary was able to supply Austria and Poland with it. The Tokaj wine was outstanding. The pastures fed a large number of cattle. The small and the big game appeared so ordinary that everyone was free to hunt them in order to prevent the damage these animals might cause and even the peasants could often eat the meat of wild-boar and deer. There were many mineral springs and they provided water for a number of spas.

His Hungarians were quite militant but were charged with cruelty, pride and a vengeful spirit and they were so lacking in unity that it was no surprise they had fallen prey to the Barbarians. This is the seventeenth-century picture suggested by Vanel, but Bruzen de la Martinière handled it with care when saying: they were charged with such characteristics. The language of his slender Hungarians was a dialect of the Slavic language. He gave high priority to the mining towns relying upon the findings of Jacobus Tollius, who visited Hungary twice in 1660 and 1687 in order to investigate mines and had prepared very detailed economic, geographic and historical analyses of the regions.

This thesis surveys the French interpretation of the Hungarian present of the eighteenth century in the entry *Hongrie* in the dictionary by Vosgien, in Sané's portrait, and in the travel narratives, the reports of diplomats, the French settlers and the prisoners of the revolutionary wars.

We have used three different editions of the dictionary by Vosgien, those published in 1767, 1801 and 1811. The entry *Hungary* in the 1767 edition reflects the Hungary of the first part of the eighteenth century, the 1801 edition describes the country in the second part of the century and the 1811 edition introduces Napoleon's Europe. By contrasting the various texts it is plain to see that the currently dominant political considerations of Europe were imprinted on the geographic dictionaries as well. For instance, the 1801 edition underlined that if the Hungarians were not so lazy a different opinion of this fruitful kingdom would be appropriate. The 1811 edition, however, highlighted the former individual Hungarian statehood.

A fundamental change in the way the Hungarians were viewed occurred in the second part of the eighteenth century due to the travel narratives detailing visits to Hungary. Travellers who had gathered misleading information in Vienna had a pleasant surprise in Hungary. The road conditions were not that terrible, there was enough food, and the country was fertile and mostly cheap. It is no surprise that the French prisoner of war Francois Dellard wrote that in spite of the arduous journey and all the trials of their captivity "we lived quite well, food was cheap and easy to buy. A goose for instance cost not more than six or seven sous, a pound of mutton or beef was not more than three sous and lots of kinds of vegetables were available and a bottle of wine cost only four sous."

As for the travellers, the thesis examines in detail the records by the Lyon merchant Jean-Claude Flachet, the secretary of Marqui l'Hôpital, Saint Priest and Charles-Marie d'Yrumbery Salaberry. A wide range of travellers came to Hungary such as employees, travellers in search of scientific knowledge, diplomats, tourists wishing to have a nice time, to satisfy their curiosity or to gain experience, and also those French traveller who had left his country because of the Revolution.

The Hungarian economy mainly attracted the diplomats of the second half of the eighteenth century. It became a generally accepted idea that it was not only the Turkish oppression that caused Hungary's backwardness but also the short-sighted Viennese economics that kept giving preference to the hereditary provinces even though Hungary had all it took to become a rich country.

So, in the second part of the eighteenth century Hungary had become the land of possibilities both for the French diplomacy and the settlers who arrived here with bread-and-butter worries. The basic idea of the economic plan worked out by the French consul of Trieste De la Vergne was that the Hungarian economy could be linked to the Mediterranean world-trade system by encouraging Adriatic commerce. (Naturally, French diplomacy was interested in causing damage to the English in the Mediterranean commerce and in this respect the Hungarian corn and a number of products could have become marketable throughout the world. De la Vergne's report, in fact, was examining a historical possibility that failed to materialise.)

On compiling the catalogue of the *hungarica* relating to the eighteenth century³ the intention was to include all the works that provided important data on the image of the Hungarians. The Appendix also includes the records of two French prisoners of the revolutionary wars, those of François Dellard and Joseph Hautière, whose writings had never been previously examined.

3) *The findings of this thesis and the possible aspects of further work*

The most important findings of this thesis are as follows.

3.1. By examining these sources the thesis primarily aims to grasp and introduce the process by which the French of the eighteenth century (influenced by all the temptations of the imprints of the past) discovered Hungary, for Europe and for themselves. Starting out from the seventeenth-century roots, the thesis uncovers the modification undergone by the image of the Hungarians in the eighteenth century. It is especially in the 1760s that this image became an elaborate one, though not exclusively dependent on politics as the experiences of individuals obtained a more and more important role.

3.2. In compiling the bibliographies, the collection of the *hungarica* relating to this subject have been expanded.

3.3. When examining the way the French perceived the Hungarians in the eighteenth century, this thesis is the first to have used two sources that had not been known before: the French ambassador to Constantinople Sain Priest's observations and the records of the first prisoners of the revolutionary wars captured in Hungary.

3.4. We touch upon the French reception of this image of the Hungarians when we investigate De la Vergne's report, a historical possibility that did not come about.

An example of a chance that did materialise was the Fourcroy-plan, inspired by the Mining Academy of Selmeç, that established the predecessor of the famous École polytechnique, the institution of the École des travaux publiques in Paris.

3.4.1. The full analysis of the bibliography by Vanel may reveal new and important pieces of information.

³ To be found in the *Appendix* of the dissertation.

3.4.2. The catalogue of the *hungarica* relating to the eighteenth century could and must be expanded because there are innumerable expanded re-éditions to individual pieces of work. What is added or taken away when a re-édition is published? The result is quite informative as can be seen as the thesis contrasts the three Vosgin editions.

3.4.3. The best of the biographies relating to the eighteenth-century image of the Hungarians have not yet been touched on. (It is not only the 1715 biography of Fráter György by Béchet that we mean since the matters of various kinds of famous persons, e.g. kings, women and generals relating to Hungary have not been widely examined at all.)

3.4.4. We believe that the thorough reconsideration of the history of the Hungarian-French technical and mechanical relations may also reveal new findings.

The French-language press and travel narratives

as a reflection of Hungary (1837–1847)

GÉZA SZÁSZ



The topic for this thesis is an aspect of the Hungarian–French relations that has been insufficiently researched until now. It is the introduction and the analysis of the image of Hungary and the Hungarian society on the basis of two types of sources: a literary genre, the travel narrative (*récit de voyage*), and a non-narrative one, the information published by the press. The time frame of the thesis (1837–1847) is the period of the Hungarian reform that was familiar to the readers in the West. By 1837, the first actual reform Parliament (1832–1836) had ended and the political trials conducted by Vienna (e.g. the Kossuth trial) gained publicity in the French press and focused attention on Hungary. In addition, this period saw attempts at political, economic and social reforms in both of these countries. 1847 was the last “year of peace” before the revolutions of 1848 that brought about a completely new situation.

The groups of sources that have been analysed were constituted by the travel narratives about Hungary published between 1837 and 1847, the articles discussing travel narratives or their abstracts published in French magazines during the “July Monarchy” (1830–1848), the travel narratives about Hungary or their abstracts published in travel compilations and the articles on Hungary published by the political press.

We are aware that it would be impossible to reconstruct the entire image of Hungary because along with other written sources, (e.g. historical and geographical publications, literary works of art), traditions and certain interests also shape the opinion of a given age on a given issue. Inevitably, the thesis also surveys and evaluates those earlier Hungarian and French-language publications that were dealing with this subject.

The first part, an investigation of the travel narratives, outlines the history and the characteristics of this genre, the attempts made by eighteenth-century French authors from Diderot to De Gérando to establish the standard rules of making

journeys, and the main features of the transition in readership at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The genre of the travel narrative, which had existed for a considerably long time, went through a significant renewal and transition in France at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The decrease in the importance of circumnavigation and the English nobility's fashionable habit of the continental Grand Tour caused both travelers and readers to pay attention to the countries of Europe. The proliferation of both the routes and the travel narratives forced the philosophers of the period to prepare methodological references on the basis of which the travelers could set out on a journey armed with methods (e.g. questionnaires) that would enable them to pursue investigation in a target country and to compile precise records utilizing the same unique set of rules. This phenomenon had its roots in the transition in concepts of traveling. The first signs of this process were the articles of the *Encyclopaedia* on traveling and the travel narrative *Voyage en Hollande* by Denis Diderot. The objectives of the new model travel narrative were not merely to put in writing what was seen and what impressions were gained during the travels, but also to represent the social reality of the given country.

Utilizing a given method implies a given style or discourse. In the eighteenth century, besides the philosophical-political style established by Diderot, there appeared the scientific style represented by Horace-Bénédict de Saussure (1740–1799), the statistical discourse hallmarked by Constantin-François Volney (1757–1820) and the ethnosocial discourse introduced by Joseph-Marie de Gérando (1772–1842) in the genre of the travel narrative. The direct influence of Volney's statistical method and his questionnaire is also manifest in Marcel de Serres's *Voyage en Autriche*, written at the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century and partly dealing with Hungary.

The establishment of the "traveling methods" took place in parallel with the transition of the readership of the travel narratives. While the travel narratives kept their role as a means of relaxation, they also conquered a new kind of readership making a new type of reading possible. There appeared the "reading for interest" (*lecture intéressée*). In his *Leçons d'histoire*, Volney made it clear that by contributing to the mutual familiarization, the travel narratives may assist the establishment of balanced inter-state relations. As understood by Talleyrand, who later on became the Foreign Secretary, reading travel narratives could also serve explicit political purposes, such as mapping out areas that could be colonized. The piece of work by Marcel de Serres that was purposely written for administrative experts may be considered as a specific foreign continuation of the statistical narrative that was started in the French *départments* in 1801, when Home Secretary Jean-Antoine Chaptal was in office.

1) After both surveying the travel narratives about Hungary that were published in the eighteenth century and in the first part of the nineteenth century and analysing the circumstances of the journey and the publication, this thesis presents a thorough examination of the four most important works (by Marmont, Thouvenel, Démidoff and Marmier) of this period. The aspects of the examina-

tion are: a) the route(s) taken, the regions and the towns, b) the people of Hungary and the Hungarian society. Social conflicts, attempts at modernization. Nation and the problem of the nationalities. Personal meetings with famous people; c) the travel narrative, as text. What sources does it use, how can it be written and what are the recurring topics? On the basis of the analysis, the findings are the following:

1.1. In the nineteenth century, traveling – and consequently, the genre of the travel narrative – “became fashionable” again due to romanticism on the one hand, and transport, that had become increasingly easier and faster in Europe, on the other. The number of passengers increased rapidly and old type of passengers reappeared (e.g. immigrants or the first tourists). All these factors led to the new golden age of travels in the 1830s and 1840s. Along with the new destinations, travels to the East managed to keep their popularity.

1.2. These changes were expressly beneficial for Hungary. As opposed to the eighteenth century, when not even the state of peace following the 1711 peace of Szatmár could increase the number of French traveling to Hungary, (or at least the number appearing in the travel narratives), the decades immediately before the revolution of 1848 saw development in this respect, too. It was found that in France, during the less than three decades between 1818 and 1846, more printed reports of travels to Hungary were published than in the whole eighteenth century. The progress was given real impetus at the beginning of the 1830s when steamships entered into service and made shipping considerably easier on the Danube. This also brought about the decrease of the distance between the East and the West. The increase of the interest was also reflected in the faster and faster release of the travel narratives. All this, however, did not make Hungary a primary destination in the 1830s and the 1840s. It remained a “subregion” of the travels. The travelers interested either in the “Eastern issue”, the present and the future of the Turkish empire, or the fate of the Slavic peoples – especially the Poles – of Central Europe usually arrived from the West and left Hungary for the Southeast regions.

1.3. All of Marshal Marmont, Count Démidoff, Edouard de Thouvenel and Xavier Marmier used this method. They traveled through Hungary in the 1830s and 1840s, their reports were published between 1837 and 1846, shortly after the end of the travels. All of them belonged to the contemporary élite but each of them represented a distinct type of travelers. Marshal Marmont expatriated himself after decades of pursuing a military and political career. The Russian born Anatole de Démidoff embodied the prodigal dandy turning into a conqueror. Apparently, Edouard de Thouvenel came to Central Europe on a kind of a study trip. Xavier Marmier was the most similar to the notion of the modern tourist; his travel narrative however is not at all a report of the physical and mental experiences accumulated during the journey. Since all of them were well known in the France of the “July Monarchy” it is right to suppose that their travel narratives strongly influenced the image that the contemporary French reader could form of Hungary.

1.4. The image of Hungary suggested by the travel narratives is less heterogeneous than what the differences relating to time and the styles would allow. On dividing the narratives into two parts (environment and society), it will be seen that the perception of the geographical environment, the "landscape", depended on two factors, the route chosen and the means of transportation.

Marshal Marmont, who, unlike the others, only traveled by land, is different from the others in the respect of the routes he chose, as well. His first visit to Hungary was a round trip in Western Hungary in 1831, then, in 1834, he passed through Northern Transdanubia and the Great Plain. Thus, he could report on geographical and social phenomena (e.g. Lake Balaton or the enormous villages of the Great Plain) that remained invisible for the others. As a result, his narratives provide a practically balanced representation of the urban, rural and uninhabited landscapes.

The other three travelers, at different times though, followed the Vienna–Pressburg–Pest–Mohács–Pétervárad route and they mainly traveled by steamships inside Hungary. Thus, their narratives were necessarily limited to the representation of the stops and the riverside area of the Danube. As the ports were usually situated in towns, this circumstance also contributed to reports dominated by the urban landscape, which had been converted into an actual topic of the accounts. Pressburg, Komárom, Esztergom, Pest-Buda and Mohács were almost obligatory stages of the journeys and the narratives.

1.5. The prevailing part of the representation of the urban landscape is taken up by the exterior, architectural features and this was characteristic of the travel narratives of the first part of the nineteenth century. In the narratives, each Hungarian town was associated with an almost definite function. Pressburg, the scene of the coronation and the Parliaments, receives a political character, Komárom, renowned for its fortress, gains a military one. Being the seat of the prince-primate and the construction of the new basilica made Esztergom an ecclesiastical town. The pair made up of Pest and Buda occupied a principal part in all the narratives. Every author mentioned the contrast between Buda, the town living on its past, and Pest, the perpetually mobile cradle of capitalist development, the token of the future. Without exception, the descriptions of the two towns ended up as essays on the country's present and the political and social obstacles to economic development. In the case of Mohács, all the travelers evoked the memory of the battle of 1526.

Besides the routes and the means of transportation, what may also account for the prevalence of the urban landscapes in the travel narratives on the one hand (even though ninety percent of Hungary's population lived in villages or homesteads) is that the travelers were trying to draw analogies between Hungary and the countries they had set out from. On the other, as from the eighteenth century, the description of the urban landscape gained more and more emphasis in the reports of trips for other reasons, as well.

1.6. The search for analogies, i.e. explaining the unknown with what is known, was relatively frequent in Marshal Marmont's travel narratives, but later on this phenomenon started to fade away and became almost extinct in Marmier's

works. This indicates Hungary's transition from *terra incognita* into a well-known region.

1.7. All the reports introduce the Hungarian nobility as a dominant factor of the society. Armed with almost omnipotent authority, this order constituted the only politically mature social class. The French reports present the Hungarian aristocracy in rather contradictory ways. Even though they mention the existence of a "liberal" or "reformist party", the Hungarian noblemen were depicted as the impeters of development because of their senseless insistence on their privileges and because they kept the peasants in humiliating servitude. The representation of the further social classes is much more fragmentary and the portrayal of the peasants is almost picturesque.

1.8. The surveys of the Hungarian reality and the prospects of the future inclined all the travelers, without exception, to give advice and even lessons sometimes. All of them advocated the abolition of the nobility's privileges and the emancipation of the serfs, which they considered as the pledge of the future. Their motives were different though. Marshal Marmont, for instance, gave a "generous" reproof in liberalism; while Thouvenel proposed the correction in order to eschew an impending social disaster. In certain cases all these pieces of advice reinforced the image that Hungary was a backward country where the feudal heritage (and the opposition of the Vienna government) wrecked every attempt at modernization.

1.9. The travel narratives practically did not deal with the ethnic conflicts at all. The travelers merely mentioned that there were nationalities living in Hungary at the time. The accounts by Thouvenel and Marmier, however, shed a particular light on the issue of the emancipation of the Jews. According to these works, the Jews occupying a lower social level took their revenge by imposing financial dependence on the Hungarian nobility. This rather tendentious report is obviously a result of the information transmitted by the biased Hungarian nobility: Marmier went as far as to talk about the holocaust carried out by the Jews.

1.10. The actual presence of the Hungarians in the narratives is the result of the encounters. These encounters could not always render actual communication possible because the common language was absent many times. When communication did take place, it almost always happened at pre-planned and organized meetings with illustrious partners. Marshal Marmont met with prominent persons exclusively, while Xavier Marmier was able to become acquainted with the "man in the street", too.

The other method of representing an individual person was to put down famous people's deeds or thoughts. With the exception of Marshal Marmont, it was Count István Széchenyi who embodied Hungary's hope for a rebirth. The representations of the other important historic figures (such as Joseph II) were much more contradictory.

1.11. The analogies between the travel narratives can mainly be explained with the fact that travelers read mostly the same works about Hungary, even though Xavier Marmier was the only one to attach the list of his readings to his book. The sources include earlier travel narratives and Count Démidoff also

mentioned Marmont's thoughts concerning the position of the Hungarian peasant. Despite of all this, there appeared changes in the choice of subject of the travel narratives between 1837 and 1846. While Marshal Marmont showed interest in the stud farms and the mines, the others concerned themselves with the case of the Chain Bridge or the debates in the Parliament.

1.12. Besides the representation of the towns and the nobility, five further topics turned up in all the travel narratives, namely the coronation, taxation, the new basilica in Esztergom, the spas and Hungarian history. All these also contributed to the association of the image of the country with permanent features. However, the representation of Hungarian history did show some slight development. Even though it was still dominated by the Turkish occupation of Hungary, an explanation for the failure to keep pace with the West, the descriptions grew more and more organized and the information on the contradictory relations with Austria slowly started to come out as well.

1.13. The examination of French reading habits drew attention to the fact that, for financial reasons, travel narratives were written for the élite of the given age. Thus, the narratives themselves were not able to influence a broad audience. The stop-gap compilations of travel narratives failed to provide a more accurate image of Hungary because they did not focus on Europe, therefore they devoted exceedingly small parts to the works on Hungary. What is more, they transmitted a rather typified image by publishing details and abstracts most frequently; hence it was impossible to get familiar with the social features and phenomena depicted by the travel narratives.

2) The second large unit of this thesis focuses on the analysis of the image of Hungary transmitted by the press. After introducing the periodicals of this examination (e.g. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, *Revue de Paris*, *Magasin pittoresque*, *Journal des Débats*) and reviewing their development, it will evaluate the articles and news that were written explicitly about Hungary. It will investigate the types and the origins of the bits of information. Under what circumstances (e.g. time lags) were they published? What influences did these articles reflect? How significant was Hungary for the contemporary French press? What issues came up in connection with Hungary? Parliaments, crime, political trials and social conflicts. The place of Hungary inside the Habsburg empire.

2.1. The representational methods of the contemporary French press were much more ideologically influenced than those of the travel narratives; hence they broke the image of the Hungarian society in a sense. During the "July Monarchy", having got rid of the legal, administrative and fiscal obstacles of the Bourbon Restoration (1814–1830), similarly to the travel narratives, the French press was also at one of its golden ages. The various political views and needs paved the way for the free political press. At the same time, a new type of newspapers were also published.

2.2. One of the most important common features of the articles under analysis is that they almost entirely lacked any reference to the geographical environment or circumstances.

2.3. The articles in the *Revue de Paris* dealing with Hungary were based on German sources. What they revealed about Hungary was the image of a backward country over which the nobility reigned and the obstacles created by nationalism wrecked the scarce attempts at reforms. To be sure, these articles used the words resembling the Hungarian political discourse (e.g. "colonisation", "exploitation") but mentioning Hungary's problems merely served to intensify the concerns about the future of Austria's position as a leading power.

2.4. The *Revue des Deux Mondes* issued a number of articles that were closely or distantly related to travels to Hungary. Besides publishing the abstracts and certain chapters of travel narratives that were also released as books, there also appeared studies that were actually inspired by the experiences of a journey made in Central Europe. Both Cyprien Robert and Hyppolite Desprez published two articles of this kind. The experiences of the journeys, however, carried a limited significance only and merely provided the frames for the studies. Both these authors were Slavophile Slavists and they investigated both Hungary and the Hungarian question from a particular point of view. The central issue of the four texts was the confrontation between the nationalities of Central Europe, a subject almost entirely absent from the "traditional" travel narratives.

2.5. However, the two authors evaluated their experience in different ways. Cyprien Robert practically put an equality sign between the Hungarians and the rest of the "Graeco-Slavic" peoples of Eastern Europe and presented the conflict that had arisen between the Hungarian liberals and the conservatism of the Vienna government in the Parliament of 1843–1844 in a straightforward manner. Hyppolite Desprez described the Hungarian nobility as the nationalist "oppressors" of the other peoples living in Hungary. These texts also contain pieces of advice regarding the future. Since both authors evaluated the issues of Central Europe in their globality, the advice they gave to the Hungarians was to make peace with the other nationalities and to establish a confederation of the peoples along the Danube.

2.6. The *Magasin pittoresque*, the first representative of the popular magazines, targeted a much broader readership than its predecessors and provided little and fragmentary information on Hungary. Thus, it is just to state that it is more than controversial whether this type of source could have contributed to the formation of the country's image during the July Monarchy.

2.7. Concerning the national political daily newspapers, this thesis analyses the articles relating to Hungary published in the *Journal des Débats*, that had turned conservative by that time. By nature, this paper offered a rather politicized image of Hungary. Thus, most of the reports dealt with the functioning of a political institution, the Hungarian Parliament. Regarding the image of the country, the features indicating conflicts dominated these records. Besides the "traditional" opposition between the two chambers of the Parliament, there also appeared the difference between the liberals and the conservatives as well as the struggle between the national-liberal opposition and the Vienna government.

In addition to the incomprehension that the early "immobility" of the Parliament had been met with, and a slightly contemptuous discourse, a particular

characteristic of 1839 and 1840, the French press gradually started to cover the issues negotiated by the Parliament. The legal reforms and the emancipation of the Jewish population were permanent and important subjects of this era. Among the issues related closely or distantly to the parliament, the question of Catholic-Protestant mixed marriages and that of the peasant movements in 1837 are easy to spot. Approaching 1848, the reports grew more balanced; the opinion of the liberal opposition practically gained as much publicity as that of the aulic. The articles also clearly indicated that the opposition lead by Lajos Kossuth was playing a more and more important role in the Parliament commencing in November 1847. The fact that the subjects of the parliamentary debates practically did not change during these ten years implies that the differences between the two sides prevented the comprehensive modernization of the country, and their elimination only seemed possible by a revolution.

2.8. In many of the cases, the news on Hungary published in the *Journal des Débats* were shallow. This phenomenon was particularly apparent during 1839 and 1840. In other cases the records by the French contemporaries (e.g. Cyprien Robert) were in flat-out contradiction to certain articles of the paper. The methods of the contemporary French press to accumulate information account for this. The editors, lacking the news agencies and the special correspondents, had to rely on the papers published in Germany which were often supervised by the Vienna government.

2.9. Subjects other than politics only acquired secondary importance and gained little publicity in this era. To sum it up, the *Journal des Débats* reported on a multinational country with various religions dominated by the social stratification originating in the feudal system where, until 1848, the Court of Vienna kept rejecting the liberal and philanthropic reforms of the parliamentary opposition. Certain subjects however, the reform of the judicial system for instance, aroused interest in France, but for domestic reasons.

2.10. The local press, as it is shown by the example of the *Précurseur de l'Ouest* of Angers, was confined from time to time to publishing, in a random and often fragmentary way, articles about certain events that had taken place in Hungary. This led to the failure to provide the readership with a well-rounded picture of any kind about Hungary. The only rule that could be found in this case was "scoop-hunting", the effort to present exceptional – mainly shocking – events. Besides, the frequency of certain issues (e.g. fires) shows that what determined the content of the reports on Hungary was the local or domestic interest and not the events taking place in Central Europe. To be sure, Hungary was present in this type of press at least, but this presence was rather marginal.



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