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In memoriam Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss

(1918–2004)



Professor Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss, emeritierter Lehrstuhlleiter der Universität Szeged, starb am 10. November 2004 in seinem 87. Lebensjahr nach einer langen, schweren, mit Würde ertragenen Krankheit.

Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss wurde am 21. Januar 1918 in Kolozsvár (Klausenburg, heute: Cluj-Napoca) geboren. Die Familie, aus welcher viele hervorragende Gestalten der ungarischen Wissenschaft stammten, zog einen Monat später zunächst nach Pozsony (Pressburg, heute: Bratislava), dann im Jahre 1921 nach Szeged.

Von 1927 bis 1935 ging Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss bei den Piaristen zur Schule; das Abitur legte er im András Dugonics-Gymnasium mit Auszeichnung ab. Für sein breites Interessenfeld ist bezeichnend, dass er sich bis zum Ende seiner Gymnasialzeit nicht nur den Humanwissenschaften, sondern auch der Mathematik mit gleich großer Hingabe widmete.

Von 1935 bis 1939 studierte er an der Ferencz József-Universität in Szeged, wo er sich in den Fächern Geschichte und Latein immatrikulieren ließ, um aber bald als drittes Fach auch Griechisch zu wählen. Die größte Rolle in der Entwicklung des Experten Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss spielte Aurél Förster, Professor der klassischen Philologie. Dessen Wirken in Szeged dauerte von 1928 bis 1940, er war ein international renommierter Herausgeber der Werke des Aristoteles (*De anima*, *De sensu*, *De memoria*). Er machte seinem Schüler jenen Grundgedanken bewusst, der für Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss im Späteren sowohl als Wissenschaftler als auch als Lehrer den Leitfaden bildete, nämlich dass es für die Arbeit des Philologen unerlässlich sei, die Texte der Werke der antiken Autoren als authentisch zu identifizieren und bei der Forschung kritische Ausgaben zu verwenden.

Die Anerkennung von Aurél Förster zeigt unter anderem folgendes Beispiel: Als die *Union Académique Internationale*, das höchste Organ in der wissenschaftlichen Welt, in den dreißiger Jahren für die Editionsriterien der griechischen und lateinischen Texte eine Richtlinie ausarbeiten ließ (*Emploi des signes critiques. Dispositions de l'apparat dans les éditions savantes des textes grecs et latins*), bat man aus Ungarn Aurél Förster um Hilfe, dessen Vorschläge dann auch umgesetzt wurden.

Die Forschungsmethoden der Archäologie lernte der junge Szádeczky-Kardoss in den Seminaren und Ausgrabungen von János Banner kennen, dem Leiter des Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft.

1940 erhielt Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss sein Diplom als Griechisch- und Lateinlehrer. Im selben Jahr wurde die Universität nach Kolozsvár verlegt, aber ein Teil der Lehrer und der Institute blieb in Szeged, wo sie ihre Tätigkeit im Rahmen der Miklós Horthy-Universität fortsetzten. Auch Aurél Förster ging nach Siebenbürgen, wohin ihm der junge Praktikant Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss im Februar des nächsten Jahres folgte. So war er von 1941 bis 1944 zuerst als Praktikant, dann als Wissenschaftlicher Assistent in seiner Geburtsstadt tätig. 1943 promovierte er „*Sub auspiciis Gubernatoris*“; seine Doktorarbeit war zunächst 1941, dann 1942 in gekürzter Form unter dem Titel *Übersiedlung und Verpflanzung von Bevölkerungen in der Geschichte der Griechen bis 362 vor Christi* in Kolozsvár erschienen.

1950 begann er als Institutslehrer an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität in Szeged zu arbeiten, aber schon am Ende des Jahres wurde er zum Universitätslehrer ernannt. Als Anerkennung seiner wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit wurde er 1952 Kandidat der Sprachwissenschaften und vom Herbst desselben Jahres Leiter des Lehrstuhls für Altertumsgeschichte. In den Jahren zwischen 1950 und 1957 waren die Fächer Griechisch und Latein von den Universitäten in Szeged und Debrecen verbannt, aber 1957 konnte der Lehrstuhl für Klassische Philologie wiederbelebt werden. Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss stand diesem Lehrstuhl bereits seit 1957, obwohl er von offizieller Seite erst ab dem August 1959 damit beauftragt wurde, bis zum Ende des Monats Juli 1988 vor. 1992 erhielt er den Ehrentitel *Professor Emeritus*.

Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss, einer der hervorragendsten Philologen Europas, hatte keine Möglichkeit, in Szeged einen Lehrstuhl für Griechisch zu gründen, aber 1981 gelang es ihm, im Rahmen des Lehrstuhls für Klassische Philologie die Forschungsgruppe für Byzantinologie und Mittellateinische Philologie ins Leben zu rufen, die jetzt als Teil des Lehrstuhls für historische Hilfswissenschaften fortbesteht.

Am Anfang seiner wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit beschäftigte sich Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss mit gesellschaftshistorischen Fragen der westlichen und an der Donau liegenden Provinzen des Römischen Reiches, mit Schwerpunkt auf den *Bagaudae* und *Scamarae*,¹ sowie mit einigen griechischen *Auctores* (wie z. B. Mimnermos, Xenophon und Aristophanes) und mit der Geschichte des Namen des Flusses Theiß.²

1962 wurde er zum Universitätsprofessor ernannt, und im folgenden Jahr erhielt er für seine umfassende Monographie über Mimnermos den Dokortitel der Literaturwissenschaften.³ Seine in dieser Zeit verfassten, Universitätslehrbücher⁴

¹ „Bagaudae.“ *Paulys Realenzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband XI, 1968, 346–354; „Scamarae.“ *Paulys Realenzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband XI, 1968, 1239–1242. „Scamarae.“ *Paulys Realenzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband XIV, 1974, 657; „Geschichte des Attila-Abkömmlings Mundo und ihre Chronologie bei Theophanes.“ *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 10–11 (1974–1975), 165–174.

² „The Name of the River Tisza.“ *Acta Antiqua* 1 (1954), 77–115.

³ Seine wichtigsten Publikationen zum Thema sind: *Testimonia de Mimnermi vita et carminibus*, Szeged 1959, Reprint 1970; „Nova testimonia de carminibus Mimnermi.“ *Acta*

und sein Buch über die Geschichte der antiken Griechen, eine Monographie europäischen Ranges,⁵ dienen seit Jahrzehnten als Leitfaden an den ungarischen Universitäten. Wie in seinem ganzen Leben blieb er auch in den finsternen fünfziger Jahren ein Europäer, seine stille Höflichkeit stellte einen strengen, konsequenten Standpunkt sowohl im beruflichen als auch im privaten Leben dar.

Die zweite Hälfte der sechziger Jahre brachte eine wichtige Wende in der wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit von Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss. Während sein Interesse für die Antike weiterhin erhalten blieb, wie die Publikationen über lateinische und griechische Autoren bescheinigen,⁶ rückten diejenigen lateinischen und griechischen Texte in den Vordergrund seiner Forschungen, die von der Geschichte des Karpatenbeckens, der europäischen Steppe und der Frühgeschichte von Byzanz und der Ungarn berichteten. Neben seinen Mitteilungen bezüglich der Kotriguroi und Onogouroi – von denen die bedeutendsten jene in Paulys Realenzyklopädie sind⁷ – sind die wichtigsten Ergebnisse dieser Forschungen in seinem Buch „Die Quellen der Awarengeschichte von 557 bis 806“ enthalten, dessen Übersetzungen und Notizen den Forschern eine eigenständige awarische Geschichte erschließen.

Seine Forschungsergebnisse auf diesem Gebiet fasste er schon zuvor in deutscher Sprache unter dem Titel „*Avarica. Über die Awarengeschichte und ihre Quellen*“⁸ zusammen, die auch *Der Neue Pauly*, der nur das Beste der Fachliteratur eines Gebiets aufzählt, unter dem Stichwort *Avares* erwähnt.⁹ Beide Werke sind unentbehrliche Handbücher für die Auseinandersetzung mit der awarischen Welt.

In den mehr als sechs Jahrzehnten seiner Forscherarbeit veröffentlichte Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss fast zweihundertdreißig Mitteilungen, die nicht nur in Ungarn erschienen sind. Seine wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse publizierte er in zahlreichen angesehenen ausländischen Zeitschriften (z.B. *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, *Revue des Études Grecques*, *Journal of Hellenistic Studies*, *Gnomon*), in Lexika (darunter *Pauly-Wissowas Realenzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, *Der*

Antiqua 10 (1962), 247; „Mimnermos.“ *Paulys Realenzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband XI, 1968, 935–951.

⁴ Unter anderem: *Három szöveggyűjtemény a régi latin nyelv és irodalom tanulmányozásához*. [Drei Lesebücher zum Studium der lateinischen Sprache und Literatur] Budapest 1958.

⁵ *Az ókor története III. Görög történelem*. [Geschichte des Altertums III. Griechische Geschichte.] Budapest 1965.

⁶ In französischer Sprache: *Nouveau fragment de Polybe sur l'activité d'un proconsul romain, distributeur de terres en Hispanie* (Suda s. v. *periairein* sur le père des Gracques). *Oikumene* 1, Budapest 1976, 99–107.

⁷ „Kotriguroi.“ *Paulys Realenzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband XII, 1970, 516–520; „Onogouroi.“ *Paulys Realenzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband XII, 1970, 902–906.

⁸ *Acta Universitatis de Attila József Nominatae. Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica Tomus XXIV = Opuscula Byzantina VII*, Szeged 1986. (mit Teréz Olajos)

⁹ „Avares.“ in *Der Neue Pauly*, Hrsg. H. Cancik und H. Schneider, Stuttgart–Weimar 1997, II: 336.

kleine Pauly) und in Monographien (z. B. *Cambridge History*).¹⁰ Im Mittelpunkt seiner Arbeit stand immer die Analyse der griechischen und lateinischen Quellen, dementsprechend kennzeichnete die absolute Achtung vor diesen seine wissenschaftlichen Schlussfolgerungen. Seine Forschungsarbeit umfasste eine einmalig breite Zeitspanne von der Linearschrift der Tafeln von Pylos¹¹ bis hin zu *De administrandi imperii* Konstantins VII.

Die Forschung drängte die Teilnahme von Professor Szádeczky-Kardoss am akademischen Austausch keinesfalls in den Hintergrund. Zwischen den Jahren 1955–1995 nahm er an etwa fünfunddreißig Konferenzen teil, und bei diesen Anlässen sowie bei seinen Studienreisen besuchte er siebzehn Länder. Von seinen Arbeiten als Redakteur sind die Szegediner Zeitschrift *Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica*, die er von der Gründung an mit seiner Arbeit unterstützte, und die Reihe *Opuscula Byzantina*, zu deren Wiederbelebung er maßgeblich beitrug, hervorzuheben. Er war Redaktionsmitglied bei der Zeitschrift *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* und jahrelang Herausgeber der Lehrbücher *Auctores Latini* (Bde I–XXIII). Der Professor war Gründungsmitglied und für eine Zeit auch Vizepräsident der Ungarischen Gesellschaft für Altertumswissenschaft, Mitglied des Komitees für Ungarische Vorgeschichte, sowie des Komitees für Altertumswissenschaft und Altphilologie der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. An seinem siebzigsten und achtzigsten Geburtstag ehrten ihn seine Kollegen und Schüler mit Festschriften.¹² Wenn man in Betracht zieht, in welchem Maße das Schaffen von Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss zur Reputation der ungarischen Wissenschaft in der Welt beitrug, ist es schwer zu verstehen, dass die Verdienste des Professors in der wissenschaftlichen Welt Ungarns offiziell nie genügend gewürdigt wurden. Der Verfasser dieser Zeilen hatte keine Gelegenheit mehr, den Vorlesungen und Seminaren von Professor Szádeczky-Kardoss beizuwohnen, aber als sein letzter Diplomand und – mit dem Ausdruck des Professors – als *Kryptostudent* hatte er noch die Möglichkeit, dessen Wissen und persönliche Ausstrahlung zu erleben. Das überwältigend große Wissen und das einzigartige Gedächtnis waren – sowohl im Wissenschaftlichen als auch im Privaten – mit einem eleganten, mitreißenden Stil verbunden.

Für uns, die seine Menschlichkeit, seine Haltung und seine selbstlose Hilfsbereitschaft miterleben durften, bleibt er für immer ein Vorbild.

TAMÁS NÓTÁRI

(Übersetzung: ZSUZSA TAMÁSI-TÓTH)

¹⁰ „The Avars.“ in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia*, ed. D. Sinor, Cambridge 1990, 206–228, 452–457.

¹¹ „La colonisation grecque de l’Asie Mineure et les tablettes de Pylos.“ *Acta Antiqua* 9 (1961), 261–266.

¹² *Studia in honorem Samuelis Szádeczky-Kardoss septuagenarii. Acta Universitatis de Attila József Nominatae. Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica, Supplementum VII*, Szeged 1988; *Studia Varia*. Szeged 1998.

Pliny the Elder and the Problem of Regnum Hereditarium*

MELINDA SZÉKELY



Pliny the Elder writes the following about the king of Taprobane¹ in the sixth book of his *Natural History*: "*eligi regem a populo senecta clementiaque, liberos non habentem, et, si postea gignat, abdicari, ne fiat hereditarium regnum.*"² This account escaped the attention of the majority of scholars who studied Pliny in spite of the fact that this sentence raises three interesting and debated questions: the election of the king, deposal of the king and the heredity of the monarchy. The issue concerning the account of Taprobane is that Pliny here – unlike other reports on the East – does not only use the works of former Greek and Roman authors, but he also makes a note of the account of the envoys from Ceylon arriving in Rome in the first century A. D. in his work.³ We cannot exclude the possibility that Pliny himself met the envoys though this assumption is not verifiable.⁴

First let us consider whether the form of rule described by Pliny really existed in Taprobane. We have several sources dealing with India indicating that the idea of that old and gentle king depicted in Pliny's sentence seems to be just the oppo-

* The study was supported by OTKA grant No. T 13034550.

¹ Ancient name of Sri Lanka (until 1972, Ceylon).

² Plin. *N. H.* 6, 24, 89. Pliny, *Natural History*, Cambridge-London 1989, [1942¹], with an English translation by H. Rackham.

³ Plin. *N. H.* 6, 24, 85–91. Concerning the Singhalese envoys cf. F. F. Schwarz, *Ein Singhalesischer Prinz in Rom*, Graz 1974. To our knowledge none of the Latin authors visited India, in contrast to the Greeks in the Classic and Hellenistic ages. Greek authors used their own travel experiences as well in the works they wrote. Roman authors followed Greek sources, Pliny's account of Taprobane is an exception. Cf. P. Dafinà, *Le relazioni tra Roma e l'India alla luce delle piu recenti indagini*. Roma 1995.

⁴ According to Pliny the Singhalese envoys arrived to Rome during the reign of Claudius. Pliny himself was in Rome in the first years of Claudius' reign where he studied as a young man. After that in 46 he began a military career and went to *Germania*. If the envoys had been in Rome between 41 and 46 Pliny could have heard of that and could have listened to their account.

site of the general ideal of kingship in India. According to traditional sources the classical Indian ruler is a warrior king traditionally from the *Ksatriya* order. The democratic form of election described by Pliny – that the king is elected by the people – is not characteristic of Indian society, either.⁵ We find only exceptional occasions of king-making in India. A stone inscription mentions that Rudradaman was elected by all the castes together around 130 A. D.⁶ There is another inscriptional evidence which reports about Gopala, the excellent warrior, who was elected by his subjects in the eighth century.⁷ This event is considered by historians to be unique in medieval India. The throne descended from father to son in India which does not support Pliny's remark that only childless rulers were tolerated by subjects and kingship was not hereditary. The above mentioned facts are corroborated by several sources. The question arises to what extent the Indian circumstances are applicable to Taprobane. The island can be regarded as part of India because of its geographical vicinity and also on linguistic, religious and cultural grounds. Indian and Ceylonese tradition also underline this assumption.⁸ Yet there are local characteristics, for example the ancient, conservative, form of Buddhism taken to Taprobane in the third century B. C.⁹ The Singhalese envoys arrived in Rome in the first century A. D. Unfortunately there are no contemporary Singhalese sources referring to this period of Taprobane. *Mahavamsa*, "The Great Chronicle" composed in the fifth century contains valuable material concerning earlier rulers.¹⁰ This source does not suggest that kingship in Taprobane was elective. We can state that, as opposed to Pliny's description, kings succeeded by hereditary right.¹¹ Thus Pliny's statements are supported either by the Oriental sources or by the local tradition.

In their basic work André and Filliozat tried to harmonize this sentence of Pliny with the Buddhist tradition saying that the Buddhist bodhisattvas of Taprobane were obviously childless monks so the envoys' report may refer to them.¹² This explanation is not persuasive on the basis of context. According to others the envoys' data do not pertain to Taprobane but Sumatra: data with reference to the size of Taprobane, its distance from India, the size of the lake in the island, changes of shadows and constellations may indicate rather a larger, commercially significant island.¹³ It also has to be taken into consideration that the understand-

⁵ Information kindly provided by Gy. Wojtilla.

⁶ *Epigraphica Indica* (E. I.) VIII, 43; A. S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*. Delhi 1992 [1949], 83.

⁷ E. I. IV, 248; Altekar, *State and Government*, 84.

⁸ Cf. W. Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*. Stuttgart 1986², 111–163.

⁹ The only maintained school of "orthodox" Hinayana Buddhism, Theravada Buddhism is the state religion of Sri Lanka even nowadays. Cf. R. F. Gombrich, *Theravada Buddhism*. London–New York 1994 [1988], 137–171.

¹⁰ *The Mahavamsa or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon*. tr. W. Geiger, London 1964.

¹¹ Cf. J. Boisselier, *Ceylon*. München–Geneva–Paris, 1979, 18–24.

¹² Pliny L'Ancien, *Histoire Naturelle*. Livre VI, Texte établi, traduit et commenté par J. André et J. Filliozat, Paris 1980, (henceforth: André–Filliozat) 162.

¹³ Viewpoints referring to Sumatra is summed up André–Filliozat, 154–155; 161.

ing of the envoys' report may have been distorted by the work of the interpreter. The interpreter definitely was the freedman who drifted to the island on a ship by chance. According to Pliny's narrative, the freedman learned the local language in six months so he was able to answer to the king of Taprobane.¹⁴ It is likely that this freedman arrived back to Rome with the Singhalese mission of four and he became the interpreter for the envoys. On the basis of the above mentioned issues it is questionable if the freedman's translation was precise and reliable. Ch. G. Starr maintains that Pliny's short description about the monarchy of Taprobane has to do more with the Roman aristocracy's way of thinking than with the early Singhalese conditions.¹⁵ Starr emphasizes that those arguments were used as a philosophical opposition to the Roman emperors of the first century.¹⁶ One of the most significant philosophical doctrines states that the most eminent man should be elected to be ruler,¹⁷ a refusal of the hereditary principle. André and Filliozat do not agree with Starr's opinion. They assert that there are no proofs of Pliny's opposition to the emperors in his work.¹⁸ This viewpoint has been taken by several researchers who allege that Pliny was loyal to the emperors, except for Caligula and Nero and was a committed follower of the political programme of the Flavian dynasty.¹⁹ I do not question Pliny's loyalty and friendliness towards rulers but I think that on the basis of his *Natural History* we could gain a more detailed picture about his doctrines, thoughts and idols. I partially concur with Starr in that there are thoughts criticizing the emperors in Pliny's sentence about the election of the king in Taprobane. As opposed to Starr's opinion I do not emphasize the Claudian period and his dynastic plans but I will examine the seventies of the first century A. D., the time Pliny wrote his *Natural History*. We can observe that the most serious problem and the keenest debate arose around making the rule hereditary in Rome in this period. In this manner Pliny might have been particularly involved in the question of *regnum hereditarium*.

After the death of Nero, the last member of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, there was a civil war-like situation in the Empire in 68–69 A. D. Three emperors suc-

¹⁴ Plin. *N. H.* 6, 24, 84.

¹⁵ Ch. G. Starr, "The Roman Emperor and the King of Ceylon." *Classical Philology* 51 (1956), 27.

¹⁶ Starr, "The Roman Emperor," 27, 29.

¹⁷ Epictetus; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 6; 62; Cf. Ch. G. Starr, "Epictetus and the Tyrant." *Classical Philology* 44 (1949), 20–29; F. Millar, "Epictetus and the Imperial Court." *Journal of Roman Studies* 55 (1965), 141–148.

¹⁸ André-Filliozat, 118.

¹⁹ W. Kroll, Plinius der Ältere, in A. F. v. Pauly et al., hrsg. *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 21, 1, Stuttgart 1951, col. 419; G. Serbat, "Pline l'Ancien. Etat présent des études sur sa vie, son oeuvre et son influence." in H. Temporini–G. G. W. Haase, hrsg. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II, 32, 4, Berlin–New York 1986–1994, 2069–2200; S. Franchet d'Esperey, "Vespasien, Titus et la littérature." in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II, 32, 5, Berlin–New York 1986, 3064; S. Citroni Marchetti, "Filosofia e ideologia nella *Naturalis Historia* di Plinio." in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II, 36, 5, Berlin–New York 1992, 3249–3306.

ceeded each other in a few months: Galba, Otho and Vitellius; all of them were murdered. In 69 A. D. the Eastern legions decided to make Vespasian emperor who was a member of the equestrian rank, which had been unthinkable before. The new emperor never concealed or felt ashamed of his low descent. He lived modestly as an emperor, he was little fond of external ornaments,²⁰ he was genial and benevolent. According to Suetonius the state must have been satisfied with him.²¹ Cassius Dio mentions that Vespasian disapproved of *laesa maiestas*, which caused so much damage in the age of Tiberius and Claudius.²² He made it evident that he regarded his sons as heirs from the beginning of his reign. He gave Titus every rank he was empowered to grant, while Domitian received a share of privileges.²³ Titus had already become joint consul with Vespasian in 70 and he soon held the joint Tribunitian power in 71. On coins from the year 71, which display the figures of Titus in military uniform, he is described as Caesar and *DES[ignatus] IMP[erator]*.²⁴ In 73–74 Titus was given a joint censorship as well, moreover, he quickly became *praefectus praetorio*. In spite of heavy protest of certain senators Vespasian clung to the dynastic policy. Even after several conspiracies against him, he had the courage to tell the senate, that either his sons would succeed him, or nobody.²⁵ He held his own in this question and did not shrink from capital sentence, which was not characteristic to his reign. The most critical senator, Helvidius Priscus, was exiled in 71, the year when the followers of the most radical philosophical trends were also expelled; between 71 and 75 he gave direction to Helvidius' execution.

Helvidius Priscus, leader of the opposition in the senate, follower of Stoicism, and the main opponent of the dynastic principle, was a contemporary of Pliny the Elder. Consequently the person of Helvidius gets particular significance concerning the question of the *regnum hereditarium*. Helvidius Priscus was a prominent senator of the age not only because of his determined attitude and his stance against the emperor but also because of his family relations. Thrasea Paetus, the eminent member of the opposition of Nero's senate, selected him to be his son-in-law. He had held only the quaestorship.²⁶ According to Tacitus he derived everything in the spirit of freedom from the character of his father-in-law, he was consistent in every field of life, he held affluence in contempt, he was determined in

²⁰ Suet. *Vesp.* 12: *Adeoque nihil ornamentorum extrinsecus cupide appetiuit.* Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*. rec. M. Ihm, Lipsiae 1908.

²¹ Suet. *Vesp.* 1: *Rebellionem trium principum et caede incertum diu et quasi uagum imperium suscepit firmauitque tandem gens Flavia, obscura illa quidem ac sine ullis maiorum imaginibus, sed tamen rei publicae nequaquam paenitenda.*

²² Cass. Dio 65, 9, 1. *Dio's Roman History*. tr. E. Cary, London–Cambridge 1961 [1925¹].

²³ Domitian among others was consul, got the title of Prince of Youth (*Princeps iuventutis*) and ample attention on the coinage. M. Grant, *The Roman Emperors*. London 1985, 60.

²⁴ Grant, *The Roman Emperors*, 56.

²⁵ Suet. *Vesp.* 25: *Post assiduas in se coniurationes ausus sit adfirmare senatui aut filios sibi successuros aut neminem.* Cf. Cass. Dio 65, 12.

²⁶ Tacitus, *The Histories*. tr. C. H. Moore, 2 vols. London–Cambridge 1962 [1925¹], Tac. *Hist.* 4, 5: *Quaestorius adhuc a Paeto Thrasea gener delectus.*

the right, unmoved by fear.²⁷ Thrasea Paetus was forced to commit a suicide by Nero in 66, Helvidius was killed by the command of Vespasian; Helvidius Priscus the Younger, son by his first marriage, had been put to death by Domitian in 93.²⁸ A tragic history of a prominent family in opposition. Suetonius says that Thrasea Paetus had to die because Nero did not like his melancholy features, and looked like a school-master.²⁹ The reason of Helvidius Priscus the Younger's death is not less easily seen through: Domitian claimed that he wrote a farce, in which, under the character of Paris and Oenone, he reflected upon his having divorced his wife, that is why he was put to death.³⁰ Suetonius' remark clashes with the above mentioned – so to say ridiculous – accusations stating that Iunius Rusticus was put to death by Domitian for publishing a treatise in praise of Thrasea Paetus and Helvidius Priscus, and calling them both "most upright men."³¹

The figure of Helvidius Priscus occurs in several historiographers' and poets' work, in a favourable light. He is often mentioned together with his father-in-law, their brave behaviour and honest character put them in company of the most illustrious men. Marcus Aurelius respected Thrasea and Helvidius; rendered full homage to them in his work.³² It is hard to gain a correct picture about Helvidius' figure and historical role since the most important source Tacitus' *Historiae* survived only in pieces. His biography was written by Herennius Senecio,³³ who himself later became a victim of Domitian. Further, we learn from a reference of Suetonius, a laudatory work was written about him by Iunius Rusticus.³⁴ Unfortunately, the works of these authors, whom Pliny the Younger mentioned as his friends, did not survive.³⁵ We are able to reconstruct certain periods of his life

²⁷ Tac. Hist. 4, 5: *E moribus soceri nihil aequae ac libertatem hausit, ciuis, senator, maritus, gener, amicus, cunctis uitae officiis aequabilis, opum contemptor, recti peruicax, constans aduersus metus.*

²⁸ Suet. Dom. 10, 4.

²⁹ Suet. Nero 37, 1: *Paeto Thraseae (obiectum est) tristior et paedagogi uultus.*

³⁰ Suet. Dom. 10, 4: *Occidit et Heluidium filium, quasi scaenico exodio sub persona Paridis et Oenones diuortium suum cum uxore taxasset.* Pliny the Younger commemorates in his letter the acts of his friend, Helvidius Priscus the Younger: Plin. Epist. 3, 11; 4, 21; 7, 30; 9, 13.

³¹ Suet. Dom. 10, 3: *Iunium Rusticum, quod Paeti Thraseae et Heluidi Prisci laudes edidisset appellassetque eos sanctissimos uiros.* Upon the occasion of the trial of Iunius Rusticus' case Domitian banished all philosophers from Rome and Italy in one of his orders. Suet. Dom. 10, 3: *cuius (Iunii Rustici) criminis occasione philosophos omnis urbe Italiaque summouit.*

³² Marc. Aur. 14.

³³ Cass. Dio 67, 13, 2.

³⁴ Suet. Dom. 10, 3.

³⁵ Plin. Epist. 3, 11: *Septem amicis meis aut occisis aut relegatis, occisis Senecione, Rustico, Heluidio, relegatis Maurico, Gratilla, Arria, Fannia.* Pliny, *Letters*. Vols. 1–2, tr. W. Melmoth. London–Cambridge 1961, 1915¹].

from some historiographers' notes and inscriptions.³⁶ He was *quaestor Achaiae* in 49–50, he became *tribunus plebis* and *quaestor aerarii* in 56. That year he took a wife again and married Thræsea Paetus' daughter, Fannia. After his father-in-law's death he was exiled in 66. After Nero's death Galba made him *praetor designatus* in 69. We do not know anything about his relation to Otho, the next emperor, but we suspect from his personality features that most likely he did not belong to those senators who were in Otho's favor. That is why we suppose that he was given his title of *praetor* either from Galba or Vitellius.³⁷ The latter is supported by Tacitus' second book of *Historiae* in which Helvidius is first mentioned taking part in a session of the senate gathering under the chairmanship of Vitellius.³⁸ The rebellious nature of Helvidius manifested itself even at this session; Vitellius was upset as Helvidius Priscus expressed a view which was opposed to his wishes.³⁹

We know Helvidius' relation to Vespasian only to some extent. The historiographers say hardly anything about this and most of them present it as if it had been a one-sided opposition to Vespasian whereas the *princeps* was freed of from all of his charges.⁴⁰ Suetonius emphasizes that Helvidius Priscus was the only man who presumed to salute him on his return from Syria by his private name of Vespasian, and, when he came to be praetor, omitted any mark of honour to him, or even any mention of him in his edicts, and spoke to him in a humiliating way when they were debating.⁴¹ Suetonius does not write about either the emperor's or Helvidius' thoughts and personality in detail. He tries to show and prove Vespasian's goodness with prejudice; so he claims that Helvidius invited the emperor's anger with his behaviour and deserved death.⁴² There are several remarks on the relationship of the emperor and the senators of the opposition in Cassius Dio's work. Dio presents Vespasian's despotic rule in which he declared the philosophers' exile from Rome in 71.⁴³ Like Suetonius, Dio also highlights Helvidius' words criticizing Vespasianus by which the emperor was so exasperated that he broke out in tears.⁴⁴ At another place we find that the emperor hated Helvidius because of his subversive speeches to the public and republican doctrines.⁴⁵ Cassius Dio, like Suetonius, states that Helvidius' personality and behaviour was re-

³⁶ C. Helvidius Priscus, A. F. v. Pauly et al., hrsg. *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 8, Stuttgart 1912, cols. 216–221. "C. Helvidius Priscus." in *Der Neue Pauly*, Vol. 5, Stuttgart–Weimar 1998, 339.

³⁷ J. Malitz, "Helvidius Priscus und Vespasian. Zur Geschichte der 'stoischen' Senatsopposition." *Hermes* 113 (1985), 231–246.

³⁸ Tac. Hist. 2, 91.

³⁹ Tac. Hist. 2, 91: *Ac forte Priscus Helvidius praetor designatus contra studium eius censuerat.*

⁴⁰ Malitz, "Helvidius Priscus," 238–239.

⁴¹ Suet. Vesp. 15: (*Helvidius Priscus*) *qui et reuersum se ex Syria solus priuato nomine Vespasianum salutauerat et in praetura omnibus edictis sine honore ac mentione ulla transmiserat...*

⁴² Franchet d'Esperey, "Vespasien, Titus," 3056–3057.

⁴³ Cass. Dio 65, 13; Cf. Malitz, "Helvidius Priscus," 241.

⁴⁴ Cass. Dio 65, 12.

⁴⁵ Cass. Dio 65, 13. Cf. Franchet d'Esperey, "Vespasien, Titus," 3057.

sponsible for the emperor's anger and the fact that he was exiled and executed.⁴⁶ Tacitus, unlike the authors above, is much less critical of Helvidius. His description of Helvidius is positive while we get a much more negative picture of the emperor's attitude in the fourth book of *Historiae*.⁴⁷ Tacitus' works are based on different sources. It is possible that he met Thræsea's wife, Arria, and Helvidius' widow, Fannia, and so gained some personal impression of the opposition in Nero's and Vespasian's senate.⁴⁸ The acquaintance was possible as Pliny the Younger also knew them, showed his appreciation of them in his letters⁴⁹ and Tacitus and Pliny the Younger belonged to the same company.

Tacitus emphasizes that in his early youth Helvidius devoted his extraordinary talents to higher studies;⁵⁰ the doctrines of Stoic philosophy were very dear to him. Pliny the Elder also was a follower of the most important intellectual trend of his age.⁵¹ Roman Stoicism was established by Panaitios, who moved from Rhodos to Rome in the second century B. C.⁵² Panaitios changed the passive view of life of the early Stoa and put it into the service of the Roman ideal of conduct declaring that men who lead a moral life, were useful for their homeland, family and themselves.⁵³ Members of the Scipio-circle conformed to traditional Roman ethics; they emphasized the significance of self-control, fearlessness and fulfilment of duties.⁵⁴ Later, under the influence of the years during Caligula's and Nero's autocracy, when one's property and life were not secure, this conception was transformed. Fear of death, uncertainty and suppression of individual characteristics led people to Stoicism. Stoicism rose over every other philosophical trend in the Roman Empire; it affected politics, education and everyday life. Among philosophical works Seneca's prosaic works, Musonius's studies and Epictetus' writings were the most influential. Epictetus paid utmost attention to Helvidius because of the latter's relation to Stoicism. Epictetus and his friends regarded Helvidius as a new Socrates.⁵⁵ Stoic philosophy also influenced literature of the first century A. D. Particularly Seneca's tragedies, Lucanus' *Pharsalia* and Persius' satires.⁵⁶ If we compare Flavian Stoicism and its version under Nero we notice changes. Taking into consideration the differences between the rules of the emperors it is not surprising at all. The basic principles of the opposition of the

⁴⁶ Cass. Dio 65, 13, 3.

⁴⁷ Tac. *Hist.* 4, 8. Cf. Franchet d'Esperey, "Vespasien, Titus," 3059.

⁴⁸ Malitz 232; Cf. O. Murray, "The 'quinquennium Neronis' and the Stoics." *Historia* 14 (1965), 41-61.

⁴⁹ Plin. *Epist.* 3, 11, 3; 3, 16, 2; 7, 19; 9, 13, 3.

⁵⁰ Tac. *Hist.* 4, 5.

⁵¹ Plin. *N. H. Praef.* 2; 2, 27; 156; 174. 7, 73, 28, 9.

⁵² Panaitios was admitted to the company of Scipio Africanus the Younger. He acquainted his new friends with the basics of Stoicism.

⁵³ M. Billerbeck, "Stoizismus in der römischen Epik neronischer und flavischer Zeit." in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II, 32, 5, Berlin-New York 1986, 3117.

⁵⁴ Billerbeck, "Stoizismus," 3119.

⁵⁵ Epict. 4, 1, 123.

⁵⁶ Billerbeck, "Stoizismus," 3116-3117.

Roman senate in the first century A. D. were provided by cynic and Stoic philosophers who often referred to the difference between monarchy and *tyrannis* in their orations. They said that the main difference was the fact that the power of the king was given by Gods; Gods chose them as being the most eminent. Their capability was emphasized over their descent, consequently they declared that the rulers' power could not be hereditary. By this principle the opposition wanted to nominate the new emperor among the most qualified. By this they took a strong line against the hereditary nature of the throne and dynastic plans.

The senate's claim, namely that they wanted to influence the nomination of the new emperor, was present from the beginnings of *principatus* and was strengthened by Caligula's and Nero's autocracy.⁵⁷ The first *princeps* supported by the senate was Galba after Nero's death: *me deorum hominumque consensu ad imperium uocatum*.⁵⁸ Though his reign was short and unsuccessful, it was a precedent of election of the ruler by the senate. After Vitellius' death, while Vespasian was still away from Rome,⁵⁹ the senate could have enhanced its power. In this era Helvidius dealt severely with broadening the senate's authority by orders and advocated for the independence of the senate. Vespasian's low descent seemed to support the senate's feeling that they could revive their old power. Tacitus described a case when Helvidius had an altercation with another senator, Eprius Marcellus, on the issue of whether members of the senate's deputation should have been elected by drawing or by nomination.⁶⁰ Helvidius supported the latter option. Several senators were afraid of that because some of them could have been ignored. Speeches of both sides seemed to exert such an influence on Tacitus that he described them in his work. Helvidius was defeated by voting because the uncertain senators also voted for drawing. If Helvidius' idea had been victorious, prominent senators could have been elected to the deputation of the senate and this could have strengthened the senate against the emperor. Helvidius' other basic idea was the rebuilding of the Capitol burnt down in the civil war by the senate's measures in which Vespasian should have played a minor role. In this way the responsibility of the senate, consequently its power, would also have been enhanced.⁶¹ Helvidius' purpose, dividing power equally between the emperor and the senate, failed because of the emperor's strong will and determined conduct. The Restoration of the Capitol later became crucial in Vespasian's propaganda, and this event appears on his coins. Suetonius emphasizes that the emperor "resolved upon rebuilding the Capitol, and was the foremost to put his

⁵⁷ L. Wickert, *Principes*, A. F. v. Pauly et al., hrsg. *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 22, 2, Stuttgart, 1954; L. Wickert, "Neue Forschungen zum römischen Principat." in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II, 1, Berlin-New York 1974, 3-76.

⁵⁸ Tac. *Hist.* 1, 15, 2.

⁵⁹ Vitellius was murdered December 20, A. D. 69 in Rome. First Primus, then Mucianus governed for Vespasian being away.

⁶⁰ Tac. *Hist.* 4, 6-8.

⁶¹ Tac. *Hist.* 4, 9. Cf. D. Wardle, Vespasian, Helvidius Priscus and the Restoration of the Capitol, *Historia* 45 (1996), 208-222.

hand to clearing the ground of the rubbish, and removed some of it upon his own shoulder."⁶²

Pliny the Elder does not mention the significant Stoic oppositional senator, Helvidius, and does not take a stand on the fact that Vespasian, with whom Pliny was on friendly terms, exiled and put Helvidius to death. Pliny did not qualify the emperor's dynastic plans either, though he must have been influenced by the ideas of Stoic philosophers, ideas that were also employed by the opposition of the senate. Pliny was never an explicit critic of emperors or their politics, rather his work was definitely praising.⁶³ The learned author's friendship with Vespasian and Titus is well known, he clearly indicates it in his work. His friendship and appreciation towards Vespasian must have been genuine as for those who lived and survived Caligula's and Nero's reign Vespasian's rule seemed to be quite positive. He also learned that only careful criticism could be exercised against a *princeps* or it was better to remain silent to maintain his friendship with the emperor. From the context of Pliny's *Natural History* arise his world view and ideals. Pliny regarded Cato, Pompeius and Cicero as the most worthy models.⁶⁴ On the basis of his remarks elsewhere it is also obvious that he was a republican.⁶⁵ Most often he cites the Catos as his pattern.⁶⁶ The Catos became idealised paragons of the Romans.⁶⁷ Cato the Elder's simple lifestyle, strictness and aversion to luxury were particularly current issues at the age of Pliny the Elder, in the era of luxury, wasting and desire for oriental products. Cato the Younger, the great-grandson of the former the enemy of Caesar the republican politician the undismayed protector of justice and freedom, became the idol of the opposition towards the dictator. He, "surpassing every human measure" and embodying the Stoic wise man, had a role in Lucanus' *Pharsalia*.⁶⁸ Cato's perfect ethics, temperateness, strictness and suicide after the failure of the fight for the republic serve as

⁶² Suet. *Vesp.* 8, 5: *Ipse restitutionem Capitolii adgressus ruderibus purgandis manus primus admouit ac suo collo quaedam extulit.* C. Suetonius Tranquillus, *The Lives of the Caesars*. ed. A. Thomson, <http://perseus.uchicago.edu>

⁶³ Plin. *N. H. Praef.*; 2, 18; 89, 33, 41. In the preface the work is offered to Titus getting the throne and he is praised very much. Cf. Th. Köves-Zulauf, "Die Vorrede der plinianschen 'Naturgeschichte'." *Wiener Studien* 86 (1973), 134–184.

⁶⁴ G. Grüninger, *Untersuchungen zur Persönlichkeit des älteren Plinius. Die Bedeutung wissenschaftlicher Arbeit in seinem Denken*. Diss. Freiburg 1976, 67. Cf. Serbat, "Plinie l'Ancien," 2092.

⁶⁵ F. Della Corte, "Plinio il Vecchio, repubblicano postumo." *Studi Romani* 26 (1978), 1–13.

⁶⁶ Plin. *N. H. Praef.*; 3: 51, 98, 114, 116, 124–125, 130, 133, 134; 7: 100, 112, 113, 171; 8: 11; 14: 44, 52, 86, 90–91, 104, 110, 129; 15: 20, 24, 33, 44, 50, 56, 72, 74–76, 82, 84–85, 122–123, 127; 16: 92, 139, 141, 173, 176, 193, 230; 17: 33 et passim; 18: 22, 30, 31, 229, 243, 260; 19: 24, 57, 93, 136, 145, 147; 34: 92.

⁶⁷ Cicero, Cornelius Nepos, Sallustius, Livius, Horatius, Velleius Paterculus, Valerius Maximus, Lucanus, Petronius, Seneca, Tacitus, Florus their names were mentioned several times in their works. Their biographies were written by Plutarch.

⁶⁸ M. von Albrecht, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*. München 1997, 2: 729–733.

an example.⁶⁹ According to Lucanus it is not the case that Cato lost his life but life was made poorer by his death.⁷⁰ Petronius writes about Cato in his poem,

*Bellum ciuile: Pellitur a populo uictus Cato; tristior ille est, / qui uicit, fasces-
que pudet rapuisse Catoni. / Namque – hoc dedecoris populo moremque ruina – /
nam homo pulsus erat, sed in uno uicta potestas / Romanumque decus.*⁷¹

Cato's unbreakable manner was a great virtue also for Seneca, who wrote about Cato with appreciation in several works.⁷² He emphasizes Cato's inconsistency in one of his letters to Lucilius:

*Accipe hunc M. Catonem recentiore, cumquo et infestius fortuna egit et pertinacius. Cui cum omnibus locis obstitisset, nouissime et in morte, ostendit tamen uirum fortem posse inuita fortuna uiuere, inuita mori. ... Nemo mutatum Catonem totiens mutata re publica uidit; eundem se in omni statu praestitit, in praetura, in repulsa, in accusatione, in prouincia, in contione, in exercitu, in morte.*⁷³

In the Roman literary works from the first and second centuries we can observe that the venerable supporters of the republic – Cato the Elder who embodied the old Roman virtues –, the paragons of the opposition against the dictator – Brutus, Cassius and Cato the Younger – were connected with the brave and moral oppositional figures of the first century A. D., Thrasea and Helvidius. Therefore, in Tacitus' *Historiae* Helvidius Priscus was mentioned with Cato and Brutus in firmness and courage.⁷⁴ Tacitus also cites virtues and noble examples after the sad images from the first century in another part of this work. He includes that there were "wives followed their husbands into exile; relatives displayed courage, sons-in-law firmness, ... eminent men met the last necessity with fortitude, rivalling in their end the glorious deaths of antiquity."⁷⁵ Helvidius Priscus' wife, Fannia, followed her husband into exile two times, in 66 under Nero and in 71 under Vespasian. Her example is highlighted by Tacitus; the firm son-in-law is Helvidius Priscus, the hero leaving by glorious death is Cato the

⁶⁹ Lucan. 2, 380–391: *Hi mores, haec duri inmoti Catonis / secta fuit, seruare modum finemque tenere / naturamque sequi patriaeque inpendere uitam / nec sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo. / huic epulae uicisse famem, magnique penates / summouisse hiemem tecto, pretiosaue uestis / hirtam membra super Romani Quiritis / induxisse togam, Venerisque hic usus, / progenies: urbi pater est urbiq; maritus, / iustitiae cultor, rigidi seruator honesti, / in commune bonus; nullosque Catonis in actus / subrepsit partemque tulit sibi nata uoluptas.* Cf. Billerbeck, "Stoizismus," 3123–3126.

⁷⁰ Lucan, 6, 311: *Nec sancto caruisset uita Catone.*

⁷¹ Petr. 45–49. Petronius. tr. M. Heseltine, London–Cambridge 1961 [1913].

⁷² Sen. Epist. 71, 8; ep. 104, 29–31. 118, 4. dial. 1, 3, 14. 2, 2, 2. 12, 13, 5.

⁷³ Sen. Epist. 104, 29–30. Seneca, *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales*. tr. R. M. Gummere, 3 vols. London–Cambridge 1958–1962.

⁷⁴ Tac. Hist. 4, 8: *Denique constantia fortitudine Catonibus et Brutis aequaretur Heluidius.*

⁷⁵ Tac. Hist. 1, 3: *Non tamen adeo uirtutum sterile saeculum ut non et bona exempla prodiderit. ... secutae maritos in exilia coniuges: propinqui audentes, constantes generi, ... supremas clarorum uirorum necessitates fortiter toleratae et laudatis antiquorum mortibus pares exitus.*

Younger. Iuvenalis writes about Thræsea and Helvidius in his satire as they used to drink with chaplets on their heads upon the birthdays of Cassius and the Bruti.⁷⁶ The poet implies the oppositional senators' republican feelings. Pliny the Younger lists the most famous Romans who should have been respected because of their virtues: Bruti, Cassii, Catos in one of his letters.⁷⁷ Marcus Aurelius cites paragons in his work and writes that it was due to his brother that he got into acquaintance with Thræsea, Helvidius, Cato, Dion and Brutus.⁷⁸

Therefore, I think that though Pliny the Elder does not mention the name of Helvidius but particularly emphasizes and praises the Catos' character and we find several remarks for his being republican and Stoic, his attitude to Helvidius was understandable. Also when Pliny does not oppose the emperor's debated dynastic plans but approves the fair life of the people of the distant island, Taprobane, where the ruler was elected by people and the throne did not descend from father to son, he expresses his resistance to the practice of his own age and imperial ambitions. This viewpoint could not have been ineffective on later authors, since after the extinction of the Flavian dynasty this standpoint reoccurred in Pliny the Younger's *Panegyricus* in which he refuses heredity of the monarchy and proclaims the correctness of the practice of *adoptio*:

*O nouum atque inauditum ad principatum iter! ... suscepisti imperium, postquam alium suscepti paenitebat. Nulla adoptati cum eo, qui adoptabat, cognatio, nulla necessitudo, nisi quod uterque optimus erat, dignusque alter eligi, alter eligere. ... Imperaturus omnibus eligi debet ex omnibus.*⁷⁹

Pliny the Younger's thought recalls what his stepfather and model, Pliny the Elder, wrote about the elective king-making in Taprobane.⁸⁰ Solinus, living in the third century, uses Pliny the Elder's work when he wrote about Taprobane:

*In regis electione non nobilitas praeualet, sed suffragium uniuersorum. ... Sed hoc in eo quaeritur cui liberi nulli sunt; nam qui pater fuerit, etiamsi uita spectetur, non admittitur ad regendum, et, si forte, dum regnat, pignus sustulit, exiit potestate; idque eo maxime custoditur ne fiat hereditarium regnum. Deinde, etiamsi rex maximam praeferat aequitatem, nolunt ei totum licere.*⁸¹

In these words we can find that Solinus connects Pliny's sentence and the Roman opposition's main thought from the first and second century, namely that the election of the king should have been decided not on the basis of descent but with everybody's approval; the ruler should not have had a child because then there would have been a danger of *regnum hereditarium*.

⁷⁶ Iuv. Sat. 5, 36: *quale coronati Thræsea Heluidiusque bibebant / Brutorum et Cassi natalibus*.

⁷⁷ Plin. Epist. 1, 17, 3.

⁷⁸ Marc. Aur. 14.

⁷⁹ Plin. Paneg. 7.

⁸⁰ *Ex omnibus* and *a populo* referred to the members of the senate.

⁸¹ Solin. 53, 14–16. J. André–J. Filliozat, *L'Inde vue de Rome, Textes latins de l'Antiquité relatifs à l'Inde*. Paris 1986. Cf. Mart. Cap. 6, 698.

On the strength of all the above it is rightly supposable that Pliny the Elder, a devoted champion of republican ideals, played a significant role in the intellectuals' and senate's opposition's fight for the restriction of imperial autocracy by his works, thoughts and judgement. The result of this fight was the fact that after Domitian's death the senate nominated the new ruler, which means that the senate managed to preserve its role and reputation within the framework of *principatus*. As opposed to the emperors' dynastic plans the senate was able to enforce the concept of *adoptio*. I, agreeing with the cited researchers, do not question Pliny the Elder's loyalty and friendship towards the dynasty, but I contend that being an intelligent and independent thinker, he also developed a critique of imperial politics, and since he could not express his opinion openly did so in an abstract way in the imperial era.

Jewish communities in the Merovingian towns in the second half of the sixth century as described by Gregory of Tours¹

MÓNIKA MEZEI



A general preview

The position of Jews in Merovingian towns in the second half of the sixth century is examined through the *Libri Decem Historiarum* written by Gregory of Tours. We can perceive the daily life of the Jewish communities and the conflicts between them and the Christian population – though Gregory himself does not deal much with this particular question his description is important for us because of the general scarcity of sources in that time.

As almost relating to the whole Merovingian period our most important source to the Jewish communities is Gregory of Tours: his *Libri decem historiarum*² and his works from the life of the saints. The daily life of the city gets central role in his works, and we can learn a lot about the life and the habits of the urban people – about those of the Christian community as well as those of the others.

First of all, it is important to provide a short overview – highlighting only the most essential facts – on what is known about the legal and social position of the Jews in Gaul in the sixth century. Worth doing it also because we have other relating sources, too: edicts, acts of councils etc.

Jewish groups arrived in greater masses to Gaul mainly after the destruction of the Second Temple (79 A. D.) – this was the diaspora. They settled principally in great cities on the Mediterranean coast, such as Marseille or Narbonne, as well

¹ Paper read at the Conference held at the Central European University entitled *Segregation, Integration and Assimilation in Medieval Towns*, 20–22 February 2003, Budapest, Hungary.

² Henceforth referred as *Historia*.

as in the towns situated in great river-valleys or on the crossroads, such as Poitiers or Clermont-Ferrand. Of course, the commercial activity on these territories originated also from their geographical location. Jewish people as soldiers, suppliers or traders dealing with other commercial deeds often followed the Roman legions.³ With the edict of Caracalla issued in 212, the Jews gained the Roman legal status similarly to any other people of the Empire, and from this time onwards the Roman laws were valid for them, too. The Gallo-Romans, the local romanized population, did not distinguish them from the Romans; they were considered Roman citizens.⁴

In the Frank kingdoms, the Roman population fell under the sphere of Roman law, consequently, the Franks applied it for the Jewish communities as well. In the territory of Gaul, the *Breviarium Alarici* having been created well before the arrival of the Franks and having been written in the spirit of Roman law, changed the anti-Jewish attitude of the *Codex Theodosianus*.⁵ A similar thing happened in the time of the Franks, during the reign of Chlodvig, who continued his father's, Childeric's pro-Jewish policy, and the Salian laws regularised the position of the Jews. It was confirmed that the Jews are considered Romans whose rights and duties corresponded with that of the others (the Gallo-Romans).⁶

However, despite the secular legalisation of the Jews, parallel its constantly increasing influence, the Christian Church wanted to change their position in the society. The church fathers, from the fourth century onwards, formulated a determined viewpoint against them: the Jews, the "chosen people", by not having discovered the Messiah, lost its chosen status which was transferred to those pagan peoples converting to Christianity.⁷ Furthermore, the church fathers also stated that the Jews were as dangerous for the Christian religion as the heretics.

Laws of councils against the Jews

Thus, the Church aimed at pushing back the Jews, at least from the scenes of the social life. For example, many church councils came up with decrees stating that the Jews cannot hold certain positions. At the council of Clermont in 533, the Jews were prohibited to fulfil the office of a *iudex*.⁸ At the end of the century, in 585,

³ L. B. Glick, *Abraham's heir. Jews and Christians in medieval Europe*. Syracuse 1999, 29–30.

⁴ E. Benbassa, *The Jews of France. A History from Antiquity to the Present*. Princeton 1999, 4.

⁵ B. Blumenkranz, "The Roman Church and the Jews." in *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict*, ed., J. Cohen, New York 1991, 193. For the anti-Jewish attitude of the *Cod. Theod.* see e. g.: "Iudaei sint obstricti caerimoniis tuis" (XVI, 8, 13) and "aurum adque argentum ...a singulis synagogis exactam summam ... ad nostrum dirigatur aerarium" (XVI, 8, 14), etc.

⁶ B. Bachrach, *Early Medieval Jewish Policy in Western Europe*. Minneapolis 1977, 44–45.

⁷ R. R. Ruether, "The Adversus Iudaeos Tradition in the Church Fathers: the Exegesis of Christian Anti-Judaism," *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict*, ed., J. Cohen, New York 1991, 176–181.

⁸ "Ne Iudaeis Cristeanis populis iudices praeponatur" Conc. Arver. 535. 9.§, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Concilia I. Legum III.* ed. F. Masson, Hannover 1893, 67, henceforth cited as MGH Conc.

the council of Mâcon said that a Jew should neither be a *iudex* nor a *telonarius* (a tax-collector).⁹ This implies, that it could happen that the Merovingian state applied Jews as public officers sometimes.

But after all, what could be the main reason for the revulsion of the Christian Church? It seems clear that the Church was mainly disturbed by the existence of Jewish proselytism, that is it was afraid of the possibility of Christians converting to the Jewish religion. The Church tried to prevent this by prohibiting mixed marriages, slave keeping for the Jews and common meals between Christians and Jews, during which an induced controversy about faith might have resulted in Christians converting to Judaism. For the same reason they wanted to prevent marriages fearing that the Christian spouse should be converted. The council of Orléans held in 533 and of Clermont in 535 prohibited mixed-marriages between Jews and Christians.¹⁰ At the council of Orléans in 541, it was *expressis verbis* prohibited for the Jews to convert Christians.¹¹

The decrees in which the Jews were forbidden to keep Christian slaves, at the same time also note that in such cases when regardless the above regulation they still keep them, it is not allowed to turn them to their own religion.¹²

From all of these church councils, it is obvious, that the church fathers' aim was mainly to separate Jews from Christians. The council of Mâcon held in 583 went even further by prohibiting the Jews to go out to the streets and public places from Maundy Thursday until Easter Sunday (that is during the greatest Christian feast!). This proves, that physically, Jews and Christians were not separated within the city, and they had close relations with each other. For this reason, there were a lot of possibilities for mixed-marriages, and for holding converting disputes.¹³ However, the city, not physically but spiritually, was divided into two parts, and the ecclesiastics were motivated only by the fear, that Jewish faith would impress people, whose faith was not strong enough yet. The bishops of councils would have preferred, if there had not been two separated religious parts within the cities – as we can see it later.

Gregory about the Jews

In this whole matter Gregory, no doubt, follows the opinion of the fourth-century church fathers, and to tell the truth he does it in quite a stereotypic way. His

⁹ "*Ne Iudaei Christianis populis iudices deputentur aut tolonarii esse permittantur*," Conc. Mâcon. 583. 13. §, MGH Conc. 158.

¹⁰ E. g. "*ut nullus Christianus Iudeam neque Iudeus Christianam in matrimonio ducat uxorem*," Conc. Aurel. 533. 19. §, 64. "*igali societate et consortio carnali coetu atque convivio et a communione ecclesiae*," Conc. Arver. 535. 6. §, 67. "*Christeanis ... ne Iudeorum coniugiis misceantur*," Conc. Aurel. 538. 14 (13). §, 78. "*a Iudeorum vero conviviis etiam laicus constitutio nostra prohibuit*," Conc. Ep. 517. 15. §, 22. "*ut nullus Christianus Iudeorum conviviis participare praesumat*," Conc. Mâcon. 583. 15. §, 159.

¹¹ Conc. Aurel. 541. 31. §, MGH Conc. 94.

¹² Conc. Mâcon. 583. 17. §, Conc. Aurel. 541. 30. §.

¹³ B. Bachrach, *Early Medieval Jewish Policy in Western Europe*. Minneapolis 1977, 52.

accusations resemble those of Tertullian's and others written in the third–fourth centuries: the Jews are to be punished because they did not discover the Son of God in Christ, therefore they lost their chosen status, which was not limited any more to only one people, but it applied for every converted Christian, be it pagan or Jew. Gregory – in accordance with his contemporaries – considers that the greatest crime of the Jews is their wilfulness of not being able to recognize the real faith and of sticking to their errors – as Gregory writes it.

What can be revealed from Gregory's dispersed mentions of the daily life of the Jews, and, above all, of the number in the cities? In connection with the events happened in Clermont in 576, Gregory claims that 500 of them converted, and the rest left to Marseille. Would this imply that each city had several hundreds of Jewish inhabitants? It is highly improbable, since in the sixth century the whole population of these cities might have been, at the most, around a few thousand and, in this case, a Jewish community covering one tenth of this number should have had a greater impact on the life of a city than about we have information. It is much more probable that Gregory deliberately exaggerated, or it is also a possibility that there was a corruption in the text and, in deed, only 50 persons converted – but by all means it must be under 100.¹⁴ However, the mere fact that there was a synagogue in each bigger city indicates that the number of the Jewish population must have been over 10. Most probably it was somewhere between 50 and 100 though, of course, it is only an assumption.¹⁵

Most of the Jews presented in the work of Gregory had Latin (Gallo-Roman) names (such as Priscus, Phatir) and everything points towards their usage of the vernacular of the local population, in this case the Latin. They spoke Hebrew only in the synagogue. There is only one place where Gregory writes that the Jews spoke Hebrew out of the synagogue. It happened that when King Gonthran entered Orléans in 583 he was jubilantly welcomed by the whole population and among them by the Jewish community as well, who they said a biblical benediction upon the king in Hebrew.¹⁶ However this was considered a kind of liturgical act and this is the reason why they used the biblical language.¹⁷

As for their other habits or customs, there is not any reference for their being different in their clothing or behaviour from the Christian population either. They did not very much distinguish themselves from Christians in their appearance or exterior.¹⁸ If they had, Gregory would have mentioned it, but when he writes stories about a Jew, he does not say a word about their clothes. There is only one exception, when Phatir entered to the synagogue wearing some liturgical clothes, but in this case, he did not appear in a public place.

¹⁴ Glick, *Abraham's heir*, 38–39.

¹⁵ Glick, *Abraham's heir*, 39.

¹⁶ "Et hinc lingua Syrorum, hinc Latinorum, hinc etiam ipsorum Iudaeorum in diversis laudibus variae concrepabat." *Gregorius Turonensis, Libri decem Historiarum* (or *Historia Francorum*, henceforth LDH), VIII, 1. Vol 2, ed. R. Buchner, Darmstadt 1959, 160.

¹⁷ B. Blumenkranz, *Juifs et chrétiens dans le monde occidental, 430–1096*. Paris 1960, 4.

¹⁸ Blumenkranz, *Juifs et chrétiens*, 12.

Regarding their profession, the Jews were occupied traditionally in trade, though it is not clear whether in Gaul their participation in it was rather significant or only marginal. Naturally, the decline of commerce lasting well until the seventh century must be also taken into consideration during which period trading was limited to certain goods only (e. g. spices and silk, etc.).¹⁹ As it was mentioned earlier, Jews settled mainly in trade centres and towns situated on the coast and at crossroads, therefore most of them had a lot of possibility to continue their commercial activities. Due to decline of commerce in general there could not be a great concurrence either. All in all, Jews – as any commercial activity in itself – occupied a moderately important role in economical life.²⁰

Now, let us turn our attention to what kinds of daily situation Gregory presented the Jews in. There were Jews mentioned by him (we can say that the majority) who lived on commerce. Among them not only one had such a great influence that he kept business connections even with the kings. The most prominent of these Jews was Priscus²¹ with whom King Chilperich even knotted into a high-tensioned conversation about faith to which we will turn back later. It's true that Gregory often calls the attention to the economic impact of the Jews in the cities, of course, always with a negative overtone. For instance, he says about bishop of Clermont, Cautinus that he was in close economic-financial relation with some Jews from whom he purchased valuable goods. He also adds that the Jewish merchants sold the bishop these articles for a higher prize than they bought them for.²² Of course, in Gregory's eyes this attitude is to be condemned, but from the point of view of a tradesman it is absolutely understandable. It should be observed that based on this chapter, Gregory seemed to condemn "business" in this relation. His main accusation against Cautinus is that he is not a good pastor for his people (meaning Jews as well), he is not motivated by converting them, or being a solace for them. Cautinus regards the Jews as a source of money.

With the death of Bishop Cautinus the story did not finish because Eufasius, applying for his place, also obtained jewels and other valuable objects from the Jews which then he sent to the king in order to gain the bishopric with bribe as – with Gregory's words – he could not get it for his merits.²³

In the above cases, there is not too much about the Jews themselves since they were only the source of the money or jewels being used unfairly by these ecclesiastical people for gaining positions. However, it is worth mentioning that Gregory always makes negative remarks about those who were in closer connection

¹⁹ Glick, *Abraham's heir*, 30.

²⁰ Glick, *Abraham's heir*, 30–31.

²¹ LDH VI, 5.

²² "*Iudaeis valde carus ac subditus erat ... pro comparandis speciebus, quas, cum hic blandiretur et illi se adulatoris manifestissime declararent, maiori quam constabant pretio venundabant.*" LDH IV, 12, Vol. 1, 210.

²³ "*...susceptas a Iudaeis species magnas regi per cognatum suum Baregisilum misit, ut scilicet, quod meritis optinere non poterat, praemiis optineret.*" LDH IV, 35, Vol. 1, 242.

with the Jews: both the above priests, for example were drunken and very greedy. It seems that for him a good personality cannot be in touch with the Jews.

Another area of life where Jews are mentioned is medical science. Leonast, the archdeacon of Bourges after becoming blind tried everything out in order to recover and, finally, turned to a Jewish doctor who demonstrated all his practices, but – of course – could not be successful.²⁴ Though here the story is not so much about contrasting Christian and Jewish “science” but rather about confronting celestial (prayer for the saints) and terrestrial power.²⁵ The mere fact that in the *Historia* the terrestrial science is represented by a Jew sheds some light rather on a social situation than on a conscious propaganda on Gregory’s side: in the Jewish communities arriving from the East, the transmittance of medical knowledge from generations to generation could have been a tradition through centuries.

As a matter of fact, a similar event is to be found in Gregory’s *Vitae Patrum* as well: Lupus, the bishop of Bordeaux, having fallen into a serious feverish illness went to the basilica of Saint Martin to gain back his health. On his way, he met a Jew who mocked him saying that how could a dead person help a living. In this story, however, the priest did not let himself be diverted from his original purpose and stood firm in his belief that he could only gain his recovery through the power of praying, and despised the words of the “old snake”, the Devil, who spoke to him with the mouth of a Jew. In addition, not to misunderstand the moral message of the story, the Jew himself became ill as well, and since he did not accept the truth, thus did not recover. As opposed to him, another Jew who turned to Saint Martin in his final despair regained his health, and afterwards he also converted to Christianity.

Concerning other professions, there are some hints about Jews holding official positions in spite of the conciliar regulations forbidding them to do so. It seems, that until the end of the sixth century, regardless of the prohibitions, they sometimes acted as judges or tax collectors. For example, Armentarius was a *telonarius*, who went to Tours to collect payment on some bonds, which had been given to him as security of public taxes. His profession was not without danger: since the debtors did not want to pay, Armentarius and his two fellows were killed.²⁶

There are other mentions on rare professions held by Jews, that do not appear very characteristic. Gregory mentions *maritims*,²⁷ a *vitrier*,²⁸ but these look exceptional cases.

²⁴ LDH V, 6, Vol. 1, 292.

²⁵ LDH V, 6, Vol. 1, 292. “Ideo doceat unumquemque christianum haec causa, ut, quando caelestem accipere meruerit medicinam, terrena non requirat studia.”

²⁶ LDH VII, 23, Vol. 2, 118–120.

²⁷ Gregorius Turonensis, “Gloria Confessorum,” 97. *Gregorii episcopi Turonensis Miracula et opera minora*, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* (henceforth: SRM), 1, 2. ed. B. Krusch, Hannover 1885.

²⁸ SRM 1, 2, Gregorius Turonensis, “Gloria Martyrorum,” 9.

Turning to the issue of their living space, it is not apparent from Gregory's work that the Jews would live in separated and closed areas or districts within the cities, although their houses were most probably situated around the synagogues. The Jews' right to build their own houses of worship was already assured by the *Codex Theodosianus* but, at the same time, it often happened that their synagogues were destroyed by outcried and furious Christian crowds. The same happened in Orléans and when King Gonthran arrived to the city the Jews asked him to provide them with public money for being able to rebuild their synagogue. According to Gregory this was the only, selfish reason for their hearty and cordial welcome of the king. Nevertheless, Gonthran denied their request, which was a positive act in Gregory's eyes, who considers that all Jews are traitors, and they are similar to the heretics.²⁹

Proselytism

As it was already mentioned above, Jewish proselytism was a great problem for the Church. Gregory himself records several stories about polemics between Christians and Jews, and as a bishop he himself got into religious controversies with them. These disputations play the same role in his work as the contentions with the heretics. The key issue of the polemics is always Christ's being the Son of God which principle was not accepted by the Jews as opposing and challenging the Mosaic "*God is one*" – theory. It is not our – but the theologians' – duty to deeply analyse the nature of these controversies, at this point the only thing to be mentioned is that Gregory – as he explicitly stated one point – uses their own holy scripture, the Old Testament against the Jews. What is important here is that, according to the details revealed in the stories, there were some – of course the number cannot be estimated – even among the simple middle-class Jews who possessed a great knowledge of the Bible as other were skilled in medicine about what we had already talked above. The same level of education, however, cannot be said about the Gallo-Roman and Frankish middle class, even not all members of the upper classes were well acquainted with classical culture.

The events in Clermont in 576

Perhaps the most relevant information on the relationship of Jewish and Christian communities can be gained from the events happened in Clermont in 576.³⁰

At that time the bishop of Clermont was Avitus, who was the master and mentor of Gregory for which reason he had a great respect for him. Among the clergy, in general, anti-Judaism was widespread, though there were also exceptions. The earlier bishops of the city, Cautinus and Eufrosius were tolerant towards the Jews, but that was mentioned by Gregory in quite a condemnatory

²⁹ "*Vae genti Iudaicae malae et perfidae ac subdolo semper sensu viventi*" LDH VIII, 1, Vol. 2, 160.

³⁰ LDH V, 11, Vol. 1, 296.

manner.³¹ The greatest bishop of the fifth century, Sidonius Apollinaris opposed the Jewish religion itself, but was not hostile to the individuals, indeed, he defended them. On the contrary, Avitus was implacable and much stricter, and Gregory completely agrees with him. Avitus considered his main duty was to convert all the Jews living in the city. The most important question is why was it so. Most probably not only religious emotions motivated him, he also hoped for the extinction of collisions if – as he said – “let it be only one flock and one shepherd.”³² He wanted to change the state in which the city was, since Clermont had been divided into two main, though not equal parts – the Jewish part must have been considerably smaller in number –, and on certain occasions the two parties, the Christians and the Jews fell upon each other and violence was not excluded either. Interestingly enough the everyday life of the city was seemingly peaceful and calm; at least Gregory refers to the great conflicts only in connection with the significant Christian feasts.

Likewise in Clermont, where the conflict also burst out on a feast day.³³ Onto the head of a converted and baptized Jew, while passing in a procession together with other baptized people, another Jew as a mockery poured stinking oil. The outraged crowd wanted to stone him for his act, but Avitus prevented it. (Accordingly, the Jews were excluded from the society and their trespassing the borderline by hurting a Christian was the greatest possible crime.) On the feast of the Assumption the Christians took revenge, and the gathered crowd destroyed the Jewish synagogue. Avitus, as the story tells, did not reprove them for this, but he suggested the Jews either to convert or to leave the town. The bishop did not use violence against them and I tend to believe that sending them away was not so much an act of blackmail, but more the only possibility in the bishop's eyes to put an end to the tensions ready for bursting out without his control in every moment. He might feel that the only solution is to dissolve the reason of the very conflict: the religious separation. Thus, the Jews should either convert or there should be absolutely no Jewish community within the city walls.

Gregory's agreement and support is on Avitus' side: he touchingly and lavishly describes the baptism of the converted Jews and the bishop's tearful joy over it. Nevertheless, he had no doubts that the conversion of the Jews – at least in majority – was not real, but dissimulative. His supposition is, of course, understandable. It is also clear, however, that only few of the Jews would take upon themselves the insecurity of leaving behind their existence assured in the city. On the contrary, for the sake of their personal security they even accepted Christianity, since through their conversion they became the members of not only the spiritual but also the social community.

In relation to the incident in Clermont, it is also worth looking at a contemporary literary source. Venance Fortuné, the most famous poet of his time and a friend of Gregory, after having been requested by Gregory, wrote a poem about

³¹ LDH IV, 12, 35.

³² “*estote unus grex et unus pastor*” LDH V, 11, Vol. 1, 296. (trans. by Dalton).

³³ LDH V, 11.

the events.³⁴ Later Gregory himself used his friend's poem in the *Historia*, since its spiritual and theological aspects could be well exploited for his own purposes.³⁵ Certainly, there are some differences due to the distinct literary genres but more important that there are also essential discrepancies.

Venance, being a poet, described the events in a more subjective way. For example, he portrayed the resistant Jews as more pugnacious people, and the political overtone of his poem is also stronger than in Gregory's work. The bishop only says that the Jews gathered together while Venance writes about a revolt. It is obvious that from the dramaturgical point of view of the poem, it was more adequate to depict the conversion of the Jews as a consequence of a more uptight and bellicose situation. However, the truth may rather be at Gregory, who himself also does not miss the opportunity to provide colourful and touchy scenes, so it would not really understandable why he would leave out such a good opportunity to justify the bishop's decision by illustrating the rebellious behaviour of the Jews, while in other cases, such as the one of Priscus and Phatir – to be discussed a bit later – he was not afraid of depicting even the bloodiest conflicts.

However, no detailed comparison of the two works is possible now, only one small thing should be mentioned here: the argument of Bishop Avitus ("let it be one flock and one shepherd") is the same at both authors. And the conclusions also coincide: the Jews have no other choice but to convert or go away.³⁶

In the light of the events of Clermont, the relating decisions of church councils must also be interpreted in a different way. In their decisions the fathers of these councils were certainly motivated to avoid and prevent the spontaneous pogroms outbreaking on great feasts and endangering the Jews as well as the peace of the cities. Mainly at Easter, when the Jews were explicitly named in the church as the murderers of Christ, the celebrating Christian crowds could easily fall under the influence of mass psychosis and turn against their Jewish neighbours with whom otherwise lived in peaceful harmony. On the other hand, religious tolerance was not an everyday practice at that time, and in the eyes of contemporary Christians the only solution was the conversion of Jews and they regarded the Jews' persistence on their own religion as obstinacy and perverseness. Gregory was on the same opinion.

Another, so to say, violent conversion is reported by Gregory when King Chilperic in 582 ordered to convert all the Jews in his kingdom, that is in Neustria.³⁷ Thus, the Jewish problem got a political touch. Almost the only positive remark made by Gregory about the king is to be found at that point. Chilperic, however, not only had the Jews baptized, but also became their patron by "adopting" them. One of his minions was a Jew named Priscus with whom he was in busi-

³⁴ Venantius Fortunatus, "Carmina," V, 5. ed. F. Leo-B. Krusch, MGH Auctores Antiquissimi, 4, Hannover 1881.

³⁵ Blumenkranz, *Juifs et chrétiens*, 140–141.

³⁶ Reydellet, "La conversion de juifs de Clermont en 576." in *De Tertullien aux Mozarabes: mélanges offerts à Jacques Fontaine*. Paris 1992, Tome 1, 371–379, 371–373.

³⁷ LDH VI, 17, Vol. 2, 34–36.

ness relation. Gregory got involved in a theological controversy with this man and, together with the king, he tried to persuade Priscus about the truth of Christianity arguing with the words of the Old Testament.³⁸ Among others, Gregory's aim with describing of this scene was, of course, to demonstrate that the king was not able to convince Priscus with his arguments and could not find the good answers for Priscus' objections, so he had to give over the floor to the theologically more skilled bishop. Gregory and Chilperic could not persuade Priscus either, through the Jew was also unable to react for the bishop's words. The polemics was, of course, mainly around whether Jesus was the Son of God or not. Finally, the whole story ends with the benediction of the king who, in this case, exceptionally supported the bishop.

The forced conversion of the Jews in Neustria was not successful anyway, and even a murder had happened as Priscus was killed by Phatir, one of his baptized Jewish relatives (who, by the way, was later slaughtered by the relatives of Priscus). Certainly, Gregory's purpose here was to prove that Chilperic did not manage to carry out his only approvable decision and, as opposed to Chlodwig, he was not a successful christianizing king. Nevertheless, what is more important for us is what the king's purpose was with converting the Jews? The answer may coincide with the one previous expressed: to avoid local conflicts and – perhaps – to gain “good points” in the eyes of the Church.

Summing up, it can be stated, that the Jews in the Merovingian towns were not different from the Christian population neither in their language, nor in their behaviour and customs, and they were not enclosed or separated either. Their houses being built around the synagogue did not mean a closed Jewish quarter.³⁹ At the same time, we also know that the policy of the Merovingian state was not anti-Jewish, since it was not in the interest of the rulers to harm the Jews. They were very useful in business sometimes. They were not in a worse status than any other people in the country: naturally, they were often victims of civil wars and local revolts.

The only thing that distinguished Christians and Jews from each other was religion.⁴⁰ And the fact that religion became the source of such big conflicts during the sixth century indicates the increasing influence of the Christian Church. At local (urban) level the bishops represented the power of the Church and the state as well, and they considered dangerous the existence of a group whose life and acts were out of their control. Naturally, Gregory as one of the biggest bishops of his time also represented this viewpoint in his works. Jews were not better than heretics since, on the level of theology, they diverged from the true faith and, on the level of everyday life, with their otherness they only caused trouble and chaos. When, in his *Vitae Patrum*, Gregory writes about Saint Gall, proves

³⁸ “Ego vero non de euangeliiis et apostolo, quae non credis, sed de tuis libris testimonia praebeens proprio te mocrune confodiam” LDH VI, 5, Vol. 2, 10.

³⁹ B. Blumenkranz, “The Roman Church and the Jews.” in *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict*. ed. J. Cohen, New York 1991, 194.

⁴⁰ Blumenkranz, *Juifs et chrétiens*, 12.

this. He mentions that at the death of the saint there were also Jews in the mourning crowd crying and weeping together with the Christians compassionately over their great loss. Consequently, a holy bishop is able even in his death to unify the different inhabitants of his city. Similarly, as we could see it earlier, Avitus wanted to unify the two parts of the city in the name of religion, but his intention failed. The Jewish population meant a danger for the Christian faith and people. Since the Jews were not isolated from the Christian community and they had close relations – business and social – from the Church's point of view they could have deterred the believers from Christianity.⁴¹ The bishop's main duty was to keep the city in peace and for this sake he was permitted to take any steps.

Of course, since Gregory's work was written mainly on Church cases, he regards the Jewish question from the point of view of what we can learn from the bishops. This is the reason why it is so important to depict so many stories on the relation between bishops and Jews. The picture Gregory presents is very one-sided and does not show the Jews as they were but as the Church saw them.

⁴¹ Bachrach, *Early Medieval Jewish Policy*, 52.

Comments on the Avar-related chapters of the *Conversio* *Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*¹

TAMÁS NÓTÁRI



The *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*² about which Lhotsky wrote with much appreciation (*Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum (ist) das Haupt und Glanzstück der ruhmvollen Salzburger Historiographie. ... eine merkwürdige und in ihrer Art schöne Schrift.*)³ can legitimately claim wider interest also because – besides *Vita Sancti Severini* by Eugippius and *Getica* by Iordanes – it belongs to those Latin sources dating from the period after the great migrations and before Árpád's Conquest, which speak more coherently about the history of the area which later became Hungary. Its Avar-related chapters deserve interest because "It was in the Avar age when the Eastern and Western part of the Middle Danube basin became a continuously unified political entity for the first time in written history... In this sense the Avar Khaganate was the herald of later Hungary."⁴ These chapters of the *Conversio* present the disintegration of the Avar Khaganate and the later fate of the Avar population in a somewhat tendentious manner. After considering a few schematic comments on the historical period of the genesis of the *Conversio*, on its author as well as on its aims (I),⁵ the present paper will turn to the Avar-related chapters of the work.⁶ (II)

¹ A special word of thanks is due to the late Professor S. Szádeczky-Kardoss, who gave me all the time valuable advice.

² Henceforth abbreviated as *Conversio*.

³ A. Lhotsky, *Quellenkunde zur mittellalterlichen Geschichte Österreichs*. Graz-Köln 1963, 155.

⁴ S. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai 557-től 806-ig*. [The sources of the Avar history from 557 to 806] Budapest 1998, 9.

⁵ Cf. H. Wolfram, *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum. Das Weissbuch der Salzburger Kirche über die erfolgreiche Mission in Karantanien und Pannonien*. Wien-Köln-Graz 1979; F. Lošek, *Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und der Brief des Erzbischofs Theot-*

I) Concerning the precise date of the work both the years 870 and the 871 occur in literature, many authors do not take a stance on the issue.⁷ Wattenbach⁸ and Kos⁹ dated the work to 871, Wolfram in his 1979 edition, on the basis of the relevant sentence of the fourteenth chapter of the *Conversio*,¹⁰ also accepted the year 871 for the genesis of the work.¹¹ However, in his 1995 monograph Wolfram changed his position and adopted the medieval method of calculation according to which the year mentioned in the text must be added to the years passed, and on this basis he decided to settle with the year 870 as the work's origin.¹² In his edition Lošek also agreed with this view.¹³

Based on some references in the text one can venture to make assumptions with regard to the author's identity but he cannot be identified with certainty. Wolfram suggests that the *auctor* was Archbishop Adalwinus himself, but his wording is exceedingly cautious (...lassen diese Annahme nicht für ganz unmöglich erscheinen).¹⁴ At the same time, the Salzburgian and Bavarian provenance of the author can be inferred from the use of a first person singular in the fifth chapter.¹⁵ The authorship of Adalwinus can be supported by the following: a further first person singular immediately follows a mentioning of Adalwinus, thus it is possible that the author mentioned his own name.¹⁶ It can also be made the object of consideration that in the text of the *Conversio* only two persons get the epitheton

mar von Salzburg. MGH Studien und Texte. Bd. 15. Hannover 1997; H. Wolfram, *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich. Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und die Quellen ihrer Zeit*. Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung Ergänzungsband 31. Wien-München 1995.

⁶ The most recent Hungarian translation of the *Conversio* see T. Nótári, "Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum." *Aetas* 15:3 (2000), 93–111.

⁷ Lhotsky, *Quellenkunde*, 156; W. Wattenbach–W. Levison, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter. Vorzeit und Karolinger*. Heft 6. bearbeitet v. H. Löwe, Weimar 1990, 817.

⁸ W. Wattenbach, *De Conversione Bagoariorum et carantanorum libellus*. MGH SS. 11. Hannover 1854, 1.

⁹ M. Kos, *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*. Laibach 1936, 13, 105.

¹⁰ *Conversio* 14. *A tempore igitur, quo dato et praecepto domini Karoli imperatoris orientalis Pannoniae populus a Iuvavensibus regi coepit praesulibus usque in praesens tempus sunt anni LXXV...*

¹¹ Wolfram, *Conversio Bagoariorum*, 15, 141.

¹² Wolfram, *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich*, 193.

¹³ Lošek, *Die Conversio Bagoariorum*, 6.

¹⁴ Wolfram, *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich*, 197.

¹⁵ *Conversio* 5. ...orta seditione, quod carmula dicimus. Cf. *Lex Baiuvariorum* (MGH LL 5, 2. ed. E. v. Schwind, Hannover 1926.) 2, 3. *Si quis seditionem excitaverit contra ducem suum, quod Baiuvarii carmulum dicunt.*

¹⁶ *Conversio* 9. ...et adhuc ipse Adalwinus archiepiscopus per semetipsum regere studet illam gentem in nomine Domini, sicut iam multis in illis regionibus claret locis. 10. *Enumeratis itaque episcopis Iuvavensium conamur, prout veracius in chronicis imperatorum et regum Francorum et Bagoariorum scriptum repperimus, scire volentibus manifestare.*

piissimus, these being Adalwinus¹⁷ and Louis The German,¹⁸ possibly the author and the addressee of the work.¹⁹

The reason for writing the *Conversio* was the sharp contradiction occurring between the Archbishopric of Salzburg and Methodius, and by this work Archbishop Adalwinus intended to prove, or have the lawfulness of Salzburg's missionary work in *Carantania* and *Pannonia Inferior*, and the *iurisdictio* issuing from this. Although the missionary work of Cyrill and Methodius in Moravia and Pannonia was supported by both Pope Nicolaus I and Hadrian II, Salzburg felt its jurisdiction threatened over these areas. After Cyrill's death in 869, Methodius returned among the Slavs as the Archbishop of Sirmium. However, the Bavarian bishops cited him in front of the tribunal of the Regensburg Council. Methodius was deliberated only due to Hadrian II's resolute intervention. The addressee of the *Conversio*, as it was mentioned, is probably Louis the German, for whom the author intended to prove the uninterrupted seventy-five years of the Salzburg jurisdiction. However, as Adalwinus, unlike the Bishop of Regensburg and the Bishop of Passau, did not act with direct violence against Methodius, the style of the work seems surprisingly calm and objective, only conferring the name *philosophus* on Methodius, which cannot be considered a serious denigration. According to its aim the *Conversio* presents the events in a tendentious manner. For example, the legal claim over *Pannonia Inferior* cannot be substantiated because while *Carantania* was recognised as being Salzburg's mission by three papal decisions in the ninth century, and this claim was also confirmed with regard to *Carantania's* area extending to the North from the River Drava by Charles the Great's 811 decision, the Archbishopric of Salzburg did not receive any permission from Rome to exercise jurisdiction over Pannonia.²⁰

II) *Conversio* 3.

"So far it has been recorded how the Bavarians became Christians, and the list of the bishops and abbots of the Salzburg Archbishopric has been compiled. Now it must be added how the Slavs, who are also called Carantans and their neighbours received teaching in the Holy Faith and how they became Christians, and the Huns drove out the Romans, the Goths and the Gepids from Pannonia Inferior, and held it until the Franks and the Bavarians, together with the Carantans, harassing them in continuous warfare finally defeated them. Those who took up their religion and accepted

¹⁷ *Conversio* 9. ...anno nativitatis Domini DCCCXXI Adalrammus piissimus doctor sedem iuvanensem suscepit regendam.

¹⁸ *Conversio* 12. Pervenit ergo ad notitiam Hludowici piissimi regis quod Priwina benivolus fuit erga Dei servitium et suum.

¹⁹ Lošek, *Die Conversio Bagoariorum*, 6; H.-D. Kahl: *Virgil und die Salzburger Slawenmission*. In: *Virgil von Salzburg – Mission und Ge...* hrsg. v. H. Dopsch und R. Juffinger. Salzburg 1985. 112.

²⁰ Wolfram, *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich*, 193; Nótári, "*Conversio Bagoariorum*," 94.

Christianity the kings made their tax-payers and by the tax payed to the king they are to the present day entitled to hold the land they inhabit."²¹

The present chapter of the *Conversio* does not sustain that the Avars were completely driven out from their settlements, instead, those who were willing to accept Christianity were made the tax-payers, *tributarii* of the Frank kings. At first sight, one could take the expression *tributarii* as referring to the Avar leaders, and the *tributum* paid by them could be equated with the gifts that they were previously offering as well. However, one must consider the fact that Avar envoys appear at an Imperial Assembly for the last time in the year 822, so one can infer the existence of a subordinated, but in certain respects independent Avar vassal state until then.²² It seems more likely, though, that the expression *tributarii*, in accordance with its usage in other documents of the time,²³ designates those free inhabitants who have to do different services to the *fiscus dominicus* – both in nature and financial –, and who can even be made present together with the land they inhabit. Thus, both the social and economic conditions of the free Avars – who had lived under the rule of leaders from their own nation, who in their turn were dependent of the Frank king – deteriorated after the disappearance of these leaders.²⁴ Despite the decline in their condition, the presence of the Avar population in the Carpathian basin in the ninth century cannot be called into question, their presence being mentioned both by Regino²⁵ and Constantinus Porphyrogenitus.²⁶ It is interesting that Pohl does not mention this locus of the *Conversio* in his chapter of his monograph: "Wohin verschwanden die Awaren?"²⁷ conversely, he

²¹ *Actenus praenotatum est, qualiter Bawari facti sunt christiani seu numerus episcoporum et abbatum conscriptus in sede Iuvavensi. Nunc adiciendum est, qualiter Sclavi, qui dicuntur Quarantani, et confines eorum fide sancta instructi christianique effecti sunt, seu quomodo Huni Romanos et Gothos atque Gepidos de inferiori Pannonia expulerunt et illam possederunt regionem, quousque Franci ac Bawari cum Quarantanis continuis affligendo bellis eos superaverunt. Eos autem, qui oboediebant fidei et baptismum sunt consecuti, tributarios fecerunt regum et terram, quam possident residui, adhuc pro tributo retinent regis usque in hodiernum diem.*

²² Wolfram, *Conversio Bagoariorum*, 72; Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich, 276.

²³ T. Olajos, "La question de la survivance avare: les sources grecques et latines de l'histoire des Avars ou IX^e siècle." *Philomathestatos. Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts presented to J. Woret for his sixty-fifth birthday.* ed. B. Janssen–B. Roosen–P. van Denn. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 130. Leuven–Paris 2004, 487 sqq.

²⁴ J. Deér, "Karl der Große und der Untergang des Awarenreiches." in *Karl der Grosse.* Hrsg. v. W. Braunsfels, Düsseldorf 1966, 1: 782.

²⁵ About Regino see S. Szádeczky-Kardoss, "Histoire des Avars et leur héritage en Europe." in *Les Hongrois et l'Europe – Conquête et intégration.* Párizs–Szeged 1999, 168; Gy. Kristó, "Regino és a magyar honfoglalás." [Regino and the Hungarian Conquest] in *Studia varia. Tanulmányok Szádeczky-Kardoss Samu nyolcvanadik születésnapjára.* Szeged 1998, 89 sqq.

²⁶ DAI 30, 67–71. ed. Gy. Moravcsik. Dumbarton Oaks 1967.

²⁷ W. Pohl, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567–822.* München 1988, 323 sqq.

takes over the ancient Slavonic proverb: "Sie verschwanden wie der Obor, der weder Sippen noch Nachkommenschaft hat", also quoted by Wolfram.²⁸

Conversio 6.

"(A similar summary must be given about the Avars too.)²⁹ In ancient times the Romans ruled south of the Danube in the realm of Pannonia Inferior and in the neighbouring territories, and in their defence they built castles and fortresses, and many other buildings, as it can still be seen. They subjugated even the Goths and the Gepids. But after the year 377 A. D. and later the inhabitants of the heath North from the Danube, the Huns left their settlements and crossing the Danube they drove out the Romans, the Goths and the Gepids.³⁰ However, some of the Gepids still live there.³¹ Then after the Huns were driven out from there, the Slavs came and started to populate those regions of the Danube. Now we have to relate how the Huns were driven out from there, how the Slavs started to settle down, and how that part of Pannonia joined the diocese of Salzburg. Emperor Charles ordered comes Eric and his large army in 796 A. D. to drive out the Huns. These showed almost no resistance and with the mediation of the mentioned count they placed themselves under the rule of Emperor Charles. In the same year Charles sent his son Pippin with a great army to Hunnia (Avar land).³² He went as far as their famous settlement, which is called *Rinch* (Ring). There their leaders paid homage again, this time to Pippin.³³ The latter returned from there (the Ring) and, until his father Charles should come in person, he committed to Arn, the bishop of Salzburg, the part of Pannonia Inferior around Lake Balaton from the River Raba as far as the River Drava, and as far as where the River Drava flows into the Danube, as far as it was in his power, he committed it to the

²⁸ Wolfram, *Conversio Bagoariorum*, 73; Pohl, *Die Awaren*, 323 sqq.

²⁹ *Item anazephaleos de Avaris*. Cf. Lošek, *Die Conversio Bagoariorum*, 49; O. Prinz, "Zum Einfluss des Griechischen auf den Wortschatz des Mittellateins." in *Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff, zu seinem 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*. Hrsg. V. J. Authenrietti u. F. Brunhölzl, Stuttgart 1971, 9 sqq.

³⁰ Cf. Oros. *hist.* (ed. K. Zangemeister, Leipzig 1889.) 7, 33, 9. *Tertio decimo ... anno imperii Valentis gens Hunorum, diu inaccessis seclusa montibus, exarsit in Gothos eosque ... ab antiquis sedibus expulit.*

³¹ About the Gepids see P. Lakatos, *Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der Gepiden*. Szeged 1973, 115 sqq.

³² Cf. *Annales Laureshamenses*. MGH SS 1. ed. G. H. Pertz, Hannover 1826; Stuttgart 1976. a. 796. *In ipso aestate transmisit rex Carolus Pippinum filium suum cum suis, quos in Italia secum habebat, et Paioarios cum aliqua parte Alamaniae in finibus Avarorum.*

³³ Cf. *Annales Laureshamenses* a. 796. (Pippinus) *transito Danuvio cum exercitu suo pervenit ad locum, ubi reges Avarorum cum principibus suis sedere consueti erant, quem et in nostra lingua Hringe nominant. Annales Maximiniani*. MGH SS 13. ed. G. Waitz, Hannover 1881. a. 796. *Dominus Pippinus rex ad locum celebre Hunorum, qui hrinc vocatur, pervenit et ibi ordinavit secundum iussionem domini Caroli patris sui. Annales Iuvavenses maximi* a. 796. *Huni se reddiderunt Pippino filio Karoli.*

bishop, ordering him to take care of the religious teaching and religious service among the population formed from the remnants of the Huns and the Slavs. Later, in the year 803 Emperor Charles came to Bavaria and in October, he arrived in Salzburg,³⁴ where in the presence of numerous followers he confirmed the permission given by his son, and declared it eternally unchangeable."³⁵

Conversio 10.

"...After Emperor Charles driving out the Huns, conferred the bishopric on the leaders of the Salzburg Church, namely Archbishop Arn and his heirs in order to retain and exercise it eternally, the Slav and Bavarian people started to populate this region from where the Huns were expelled."³⁶

The conflict between Charlemagne and Tassilo III reached its peak by the year 787 and Tassilo was compelled to subdue himself to the Frank emperor. At his demotion in 788 one of the accusations against the Bavarian duke was that he made an alliance with the khagan, and it is not certain, whether one could not dismiss this assumption as mere Frank propaganda, as this can also be seen by

³⁴ Cf. *Annales Iuvavenses maximi*. MGH SS 30, 2. ed. H. Bresslau, Leipzig 1934. a. 803. *Karolus imperator Bavoriam venit*. *Annales Iuvavenses maiores*. MGH SS 30, 2. ed. H. Bresslau, Leipzig 1934. a. 803. *Carolus imperator in Bagoaria mense augusto, in Iuvavense civitate mense Octobri*. *Annales Emmerammi maiores a. 803*. *Carolus ad Salzburc monasterium fuit*.

³⁵ Cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai*, 193, 286, 304. (*Item anazephaleos de Avaris*.) *Antiquis enim temporibus ex meridiana parte Danubii in plagis Pannoniae inferioris et circa confines regiones Romani possederunt ipsique ibi civitates et munitiones ad defensionem sui fecerunt aliaque aedificia multa, sicut adhuc apparet. Qui etiam Gothos et Gepidos suae ditioni subdiderunt. Sed post annos nativitatis Domini CCCLXXVII et amplius Huni ex sedibus suis in aquilonari parte Danubii in desertis locis habitantes, transfretantes Danubium expulerunt Romanos et Gothos atque Gepidos. De Gepidis autem quidam adhuc ibi resident. Tunc vero Sclavi post Hunos inde expulsos venientes coeperunt istis partibus Danubii diversas regiones habitare. Sed nunc, qualiter Huni inde expulsi sunt et Sclavi inhabitare coeperunt et illa pars Pannoniae ad diocesim Iuvavensem conversa est, edicendum putamus. Igitur Carolus imperator anno nativitatis Domini DCCXCVI Aericum comitem destinavit et cum eo inmensam multitudinem Hunos exterminare. Qui minime resistentes reddiderunt se per praefatum comitem Carolo imperatori. Eodem igitur anno misit Carolus Pippinum filium suum in Hunia cum exercito multo. Qui perveniens usque ad celebrem locum, qui dicitur Rinch, ubi iterum omnes eorum principes se reddiderunt Pippino. Qui inde revertens partem Pannoniae circa lacum Pelissa, inferioris ultra fluvium, qui dicitur Hrapa, et sic usque ad Dravum fluvium et eo usque, ubi Dravus fluit in Danubium, prout potestatem habuit, praenominavit cum doctrina et ecclesiastico officio procurare populum, qui remansit de Hunis et Sclavis in illis partibus, Arnoni Iuvavensium episcopo usque ad praesentiam genitoris sui Karoli imperatoris. Postmodum ergo anno DCCCIII Karolus imperator Bagoariam intravit et in mense Octobrio Salzburc venit et praefatam concessionem filii sui iterans potestative multis adstantibus suis fidelibus confirmavit et in aevum inconvulsam fieri concessit.*

³⁶ *Postquam ergo Karolus imperator Hunis reiectis episcopatus dignitatem Iuvavensis ecclesiae rectori commendavit, Arnoni videlicet archiepiscopo et suis successoribus tenendi perpetualiter atque regendi perdonavit, coeperunt populi sive Sclavi vel Bagoarii inhabitare terram, unde illi expulsi sunt Huni, et multiplicari.*

the Avar reaction following the demotion of Tassilo III.³⁷ The Avars attacked not only Bavaria, from that time getting under Carolingian rule, but also Friaul, likewise having Carolingian connections. Thus they acted not only as the avengers of the Bavarian duke, but also as revengers of the Longobard Desiderius, father of Duchess Liutperga, probably prompted by the alliance they had made with Tassilo.³⁸ The attack of the Avars was repulsed by Charlemagne.³⁹ Although the Avars tried to negotiate with Charlemagne so that he should recognise the Western border of their empire, these negotiations did not bring any results.⁴⁰ Following this, in September 791, the Frank army, including Alemann, Bavarian, Frisian, Saxon and Slavonic troops started from Regensburg towards *Avaricum*.⁴¹ The Franks, with whom the Avars did not intend to fight, reached the River Raba without considerable resistance. However, from here they had to retreat due to an epidemic that decimated both soldiers and horses,⁴² only the attack lead by Pippin from the south-west yielded some success.⁴³ Then internal war broke out

³⁷ K. Reindel, "Die staatsrechtliche Stellung des Ostlandes im frühmittelalterlichen Bayern." *Mitteilungen des oberösterreichischen Landesarchivs* 7 (1960), 138 sqq; L. Kolmer: *Zur Kommendation und Absetzung Tassilos III.* ZBLG 43. 1980. 283 sqq., H. Wolfram: *Das Fürstentum Tassilos III., Herzogs der Bayern.* MGSL 108. 1968, 160 sqq.

³⁸ Deér, "Karl der Große," 756.

³⁹ *Annales regni Francorum*. MGH SS rer. Germ. ed. F. Kurze, Hannover 1895. a. 788. *Idem similiter et alia pugna commissa est inter Avaros ... et Francis, qui in Italia commanere videntur, opitulante Domino victoriam obtinuerunt Franci, et Avari cum contumelia reversi sunt, fuga lapsi sine victoria. Tertia pugna commissa est inter Baioarios et Avaros in campo Ibose, et fuerunt ibi missi domini regis Caroli Grahamannus et Audaccrus cum aliquibus Francis, Domino auxiliante victoria fuit Francorum seu Baioariorum. Et ista omnia supradictus dux Tassilo seu malivola uxor eius, Liutberga Deo odibilis per fraudem consiliaverunt. Quarta pugna fuit commissa ab Avaris, qui voluerunt vindictam peragere contra Baioarios. Ibi similiter fuerunt missi domini regis Caroli et Domino protegente victoria christianorum aderat. Avari fugam tum liberare curavit.* Cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai*, 274; H. Wolfram, *Die Geburt Europas. Geschichte Österreichs vor seiner Entstehung 378–907.* Wien 1987, 253 sqq.

⁴⁰ *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*. MGH SS rer. Germ. ed. F. Kurze, Hannover 1895. a. 790. *Hoc anno nullum iter exercitale a rege factum, sed in Wormacia residens legatos Hunorum et audiuit et suos vicissim ad eorum principes misit. Agebatur inter eos de confiniis regnorum suorum, quibus in locis esse deberent. Haec contentio atque exercitatio belli, quod postea cum Hunis gestum est, seminarium et origo fuit.* Cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai*, 277; Wolfram, *Die Geburt Europas*, 254.

⁴¹ Cf. W. Pohl, *Die Awarenkriege Karls des Grossen (788–803).* Wien 1988; Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai*, 279; Wolfram, *Die Geburt Europas*, 255–257.

⁴² *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi* a. 791. *Facta est haec expeditio sine omni rerum incommodo, praeter quod in illo, quem rex ducebat, exercitu tanta equorum lues exorta est, ut vix decima pars de tot militibus equorum remanisse dicatur.*

⁴³ *Annales Laureshamenses* a. 791. *Sed et ille tunc eius exercitus quem Pippinus filius eius de Italia transmisit, ipse introivit in Illyricum et inde in Pannonia, et fecerunt ibi similiter, vastantes et incedentes terram illam, sicut rex fecit cum exercitu suo ubi ipse erat.* Cf. Pohl, *Die Awarenkriege*, 316; Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai*, 280; Wolfram, *Die Ge-*

among the Avars during which both the *khagan* and the *jugurr* were killed.⁴⁴ In 795 – at the order of Eric, the *comes* of Friaul – Voinomir, then Pippin broke into the Ring and plundered it.⁴⁵ In 796 the *tudun* and his suite took up Christianity in Aachen in front of Charlemagne.⁴⁶ Thus the new *khagan* had to submit to Frank rule, but against expectations, no peaceful times ensued in the *Avaricum* partly because of the attempts at achieving independence lead by the *tudun* in 797, 799, and 802,⁴⁷ and partly because of the conflicts between the Avars and Slavs.⁴⁸ Later, the Avars lead by the *kapkan*, who were harrassed by the Slavs, petitioned Charlemagne to settle between Savaria and the Danube.⁴⁹ After the *kapkan*'s death, the *khagan* Abraham visited the emperor and asked him to renew the office of the *khagan*, a request that was satisfied by the emperor,⁵⁰ who thought that he could resolve the Avar–Slav conflict by unifying the Avars, though this happened only in the year 811 as a result of the armed intervention of the Franks.⁵¹

burt Europas, 265. Cf. Pohl, *Die Awarenkriege*, 317; Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai*, 279; Wolfram, *Die Geburt Europas*, 257.

⁴⁴ *Annales regni Francorum* a. 796. ...*civili bello fatigatis inter se principibus ... chagan sive iuguro intestina clade addictis et a suis occisis...* Cf. Pohl, *Die Awarenkriege*, 317–318; Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai*, 286; Wolfram, *Die Geburt Europas*, 257.

⁴⁵ *Annales regni Francorum* a. 791. *Sed et Heiricus dux Foroiulensis missis hominibus suis cum Wonomyro Sclavo in Pannonias hringum gentis Avarorum longis retro temporibus quietum ... spoliavit ... thesaurum priscorum regum multa seculorum prolixitate collectum donimo regi Carolo ad Aquis palatium misit ... Pippinum regem Italiae in Pannonias cum exercitu misso. Cuius legationes ad eum in eadem Saxonia venerunt, una quae dixit occurrisset ei Khagan cum ceteris optimatibus, quem sibi Azares post interfectionem priorum constituerunt, altera quae dixit Pippino cum exercitu suo in hringo sedere.* Cf. Pohl, *Die Awarenkriege*, 319–320; Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai*, 286 sqq; Wolfram, *Die Geburt Europas*, 258.

⁴⁶ *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi* a. 796. *Tudun etiam ille, de quo superius mentio facta est, fidem dictis suis adhibens ibidem ad regem venit ibique cum omnibus qui secum venerant, baptizatus ac remuneratus post datum servandae fidei sacramentum domum rediit, sed in promissa fidelitate diu manere noluit nec multo post perfidiae suae poenas dedit.* Cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai*, 288.

⁴⁷ Pohl, *Die Awarenkriege*, 321; Wolfram, *Die Geburt Europas*, 293.

⁴⁸ Deér, "Karl der Große," 772 sqq.

⁴⁹ *Annales regni Francorum* a. 805. *Non multo post capcanus, princeps Hunorum, propter necessitatem populi sui imperatorem adiit, postulans sibi locum dari ad habitandum inter Sabariam et Carnutum, quia propter infestationem Sclavorum in prioribus sedibus esse non poterant. Quem imperator benigne suscepit erat enim capcanus christianus nomine Theodorus et precibus eius adnuens muneribus donatum redire permisit.* Cf. Pohl, *Die Awarenkriege*, 302–304; Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai*, 306; Wolfram, *Die Geburt Europas*, 259.

⁵⁰ *Annales regni Francorum* a. 805. *Et misit caganus unum de optimatibus suis, petens sibi honorem antiquum, quem caganus apud hunos habere solebat. Cuius precibus imperator adsensum praeiit et summam totius regni iuxta priscum eorum ritum caganum habere praecepit.* Cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai*, 307.

⁵¹ *Annales regni Francorum* a. 811. *Imperator in tres partes regni sui totidem exercitus misit ... alterum in Pannonias ad controversias Hunorum et Sclavorum finiendas ... fuerunt etiam Aquis adventum eius expectantes, qui de Pannonia venerunt, canizauci princeps Avarum et*

It seems worthwhile to examine the motivation of Charlemagne's campaign against the Avars.⁵² When doing this it is worth taking a look at the sources dating from roughly the same period: the official propaganda, relating the preparations for the campaign portrays the unbearable, evil behaviour of the Avars against the Christian population as the reason for armed intervention, a behaviour against which it was impossible to obtain lawful satisfaction by way of envoys.⁵³ In concordance with this, when they reached the River Enns, they organised litanies and celebrated masses, trying to obtain God's intervention for the army to remain intact, be victorious, avenge the Avars.⁵⁴ When the Avars caught sight of the army they became terrified by God's will.⁵⁵ This passage resonates with the wording reminiscent of the Old Testament of the earlier source containing descriptions of the campaign against the Avars, the *Annales Laureshammenses*: "The Lord inspired awe in them when they caught sight of him."⁵⁶ The *Annales Mettenses priores*, originating from the imperial court some time around 805 takes as its basis the material of the *Annales regni Francorum*,⁵⁷ its style is more pathetic though,⁵⁸ similarly the longobard *Rhytmus de Pippini regis victoria Avarica*: „*Multa mala iam fecerunt ab antico tempore / Fana Dei destruxerunt atque monasteria, / Vasa aurea sacrata, argentea, fictilia, / Vestem sacram polluerunt de ara sacratissima, / Lin-teamenta levitae sanctimonialium / Muliebribus tradata suadente demone.*”⁵⁹

The *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani* wants to legitimate the stealing of the Avars's treasures by asserting that this was only taking back the holy vessels previously stolen by the Avars.⁶⁰ Thus it can be clearly seen that official propa-

tudun et alii primores ad duces Sclavorum circa Danubium habitantium, qui a ducibus copiarum, quae in Pannoniam missae fuerunt, ad praesentiam principis iussi venerunt. Cf. Pohl, *Die Awarenkriege*, 323; Wolfram, *Die Geburt Europas*, 216.

⁵² Deér, "Karl der Große," 726 sqq.

⁵³ *Annales regni Francorum* a. 791 ... *propter nimiam malitiam et intolerabilem, quam fecerunt Avari contra sanctam ecclesiam vel populum christianum, unde iustitias per missos impetrare non valuerunt...* Cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai*, 278.

⁵⁴ *Annales regni Francorum* a. 791 ... *Dei solatium postulaverunt pro salute exeritus et adiutorio Domini nostri Iesu Christi et pro victoria et vinbdicta super Avaros.* Cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai*, 278.

⁵⁵ *Annales regni Francorum* a. 791 ... *a Domino eis terror pervenit.* Cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai*, 279.

⁵⁶ *Annales Laureshamenses* a. 791. *Et terruit eos Dominus in conspectu suo.* Cf. *Jud.* 4, 15.

⁵⁷ H. Hoffmann, *Untersuchungen zur karolingischen Annalistik*. Bonner Historische Forschungen 10. Bonn 1958, 42–53.

⁵⁸ *Annales Mettenses priores*. MGH SS rer. Germ. ed. B. v. Simson, Hannover–Leipzig a. 791 ... *ut iniuriam, quam perpetraverunt Avari in populum christianum, cum Dei auxilio ulcisceretur, nam saepe legatos suos pro eodem negotio in illas partes direxit, sed iustitiam de iniquitate, quam commiserant Avari, impetrare non potuit.*

⁵⁹ *Rhytmus de Pippini regis victoria Avarica*. MGH Poetae Latini 1. ed. E. Dümmmler, Berlin 1881. Cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai*, 292.

⁶⁰ *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani*. MGH SS rer. Lang. ed. G. Waitz, Hannover 1878. 9. *Illi, qui ab inicio malorum stirpe progeniti inimici ecclesiarum, persecutores christianorum semper fuerunt, per isto ... domino Pippino seu et patri suo solatium supra dicto Abari*

ganda intended to show the campaign against the Avars in the light of the Augustinian *bellum iustum*, obscuring its political, non-religious motivations which became highlighted only later in the revised versions of the *Annales regni Francorum* and *Vita Karoli Magni* by Einhard.⁶¹ This ideological explanation seems to come from Charlemagne himself. In a letter sent to his wife, Fastrada, from the camp near the Enns after 7 September 791 he relates two important events: the success of his son, Pippin's military manoeuvre, starting from Italy towards Pan- nonia, and the religious rituals held in the camp.⁶² It is enough to compare one of his sentences to the relevant *loci* of the *Annales regni Francorum* and the *Annales Mettenses priores*. The similarity of the composition makes it obvious that the ide- ology of the campaign against the Avars originates with the emperor himself.⁶³ Thus Charlemagne appears in the role of the *defensor ecclesiae* overarching the en- tire Middle Ages.⁶⁴ Alcuin writes to Pope Leo III about the outrageous deeds of the Avars in a similar way in 796 after the second sack of the Ring.⁶⁵ In 796 Charlemagne sent a belt and a Hun sword as a present to Offa, king of Mercia,⁶⁶ as two symbols of the Avar power which were given to him by way of divine goodness.⁶⁷ The later sources deviate from this representation, contemporary with the Avar wars, and place the emphasis rather on the political, territorial, and

sunt evacuati et superati et sanctae ecclesiae defensatae ... et multa vasa sanctorum, quae illi crudeles et impii rapuerunt, per istum defensatorem ad propriam reversa.

⁶¹ Deér, "Karl der Große," 728.

⁶² Cf. L. Biehl, *Das liturgische Gebet für Kaiser und Reich*. Veröffentlichungen der Görres- Gesellschaft. Sektion für Rechts- und Staatswissenschaft, Heft 75, Paderborn 1937, 45 sqq.

⁶³ Carolus Magnus, *Epist.* MGH EE 4. ed. E. Dümmler, Berlin 1895, 20. *Nos autem, Domino adiuvante, tribus diebus letanias fecimus ... Dei misericordiam deprecantes, ut nobis pacem et sanitatem atque vicoriam et prosperum iter tribuere dignetur. Annales regni Francorum a. 791 ... ubi constituerunt letanias faciendi per triduo missarumque sollemnia celebrandi, Dei solatium postulaverunt pro salute exercitus et adiutorio domini nostri Iesu Christi et pro victo- ria et vindicta super Avaros. Annales Mettenses priores a. 791 ... ubi triduanum ieiunium cum letaniis et missarum sollemnis celebrare precepit, Deum humiliter postulantes, ut suum exerci- tum in illo itinere cum pace dimisisset.*

⁶⁴ About the concept of the *defensor ecclesiae* see H. Hirsch, "Der mittelalterliche Kaiser- gedanke in den liturgischen Gebeten." in *Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke in der deut- schen Ostpolitik des Mittelalters*. Hrsg. V. H. Beumann. Wege der Forschung 70, Darm- stadt 1963, 22–46; E. Ewig, "Zum christlichen Königsgedanken des Mittelalters." in *Das Königtum. Seine geistigen und rechtlichen Grundlagen*. Hrsg. v. Th. Mayer, Konstanz 1956, 7–73.

⁶⁵ Carolus Magnus, *Epist.* = Alcuin, *Epist.* MGH EE 4. ed. E. Dümmler, Berlin 1895, 93. *Nostrum est secundum auxilium divinae pietatis sanctam undique ecclesiam ab incursu paga- norum et ab infidelium devastatione armis defendere foris, et intus catholicae fidei agitatione munire.*

⁶⁶ Cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai*, 287.

⁶⁷ Carolus Magnus, *Epist.* = Alcuin, *Epist.* 100. *...unum balteum et unum gladium Huniscum ... quatenus ubique in populo christiano divina praedecetur clementiaet nomen domini nostri Iesu Christi glorificetur in aeternum.*

material motives, overshadowing their religious, missionary aspects.⁶⁸ The negative picture of the Avars appearing in the earlier sources is by no means based on the Franks' contemporary experience, rather on certain literary *topoi* which were employed with great predilection by official propaganda for its own ends. Paulus Diaconus's *Historia Langobardorum* was perfectly suitable for this or Fredegar's *Chronicles* for that matter, works which must have been known in Charlemagne's court. The archaising tendency of these sheds unfavourable light on the Avars by identifying them with the Huns. However, the characteristics attributed to the Avars by these sources are valid concerning the description of the Avars before 626, yet they lack any real basis when describing the Avars of the eight century.⁶⁹

The falsity of official propaganda – namely the reports about the Avar danger threatening the existence of Christianity also shown by the fact that if Charlemagne had really fought a deadly battle with such a dangerous enemy as he tried to present, then after defeating them he would probably have completely annihilated and destroyed the Avars, which would not even have been surprising, taking into account the narrow concepts of medieval humanism.⁷⁰ The emperor employed much milder and humane methods than in the case of the Saxons, against whom he repeatedly implemented mass-executions and mutilations. They generally liberated the prisoners taken from the population unhurt,⁷¹ also increasing the chances of conversion by this humanistic behaviour, which was probably due to Alcuin's benevolent influence which can be expressed by his sentence: "*Fiat indulgentia et remissio*".⁷²

In order to discuss the missionary tasks, a local council was held in Pippin's camp in 796,⁷³ at which Paulinus, the Aquilian Patriarch and Arn, the Bishop of Salzburg were present.⁷⁴ The chief objects of the council were the methods to be employed in converting and baptising the Avars, in the course of which they agreed on the following principles:⁷⁵ baptism should be voluntary in each case, the preacher has to reach the desired results by persuasion and not by terror, thus "it is the horrifying pains of hell that should inspire awe and not the bloody swordblade." The priest has to decide after how much time, or delay can the holy baptism be administered, but the number of days should not exceed forty. Traditionally, baptism can be administered at Easter or Lent, but under special circumstances, the adults can be baptised on any Sunday. Only in mortal danger is it possible to deviate from Sunday. Those baptised in the name of the Holy Trinity

⁶⁸ Deér, "Karl der Große," 731.

⁶⁹ Deér, "Karl der Große," 757.

⁷⁰ Deér, "Karl der Große," 767.

⁷¹ *Annales Laureshamenses* a. 791. ... *et captivos, viros, et mulieres et parvulos, innumerabilem multitudinem exinde ducebat...*

⁷² Alcuin, *Epist.* 118.

⁷³ Wolfram, *Die Geburt Europas*, 261.

⁷⁴ About Arn see G. Demmelbauer, *Arno, der erste Erzbischof von Salzburg 798–821*. (Dissertation) Wien 1950.

⁷⁵ Cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai*, 291–292. *Conventus episcoporum ad ripas Danubii*, MGH Conc. II. 1. 172–176.

need not be baptised again. Those who were baptised by ignorant priests, who did not say the baptising formula, only washed their body with water should be regarded as unbaptised and they should be baptised. In these principles one can trace Alcuin's influence who is trying to encourage his friend, Arn to preach Divine Forgiveness rather than collect the tithe, and warns him that the newly christened souls must get stronger before setting the yoke of taxation on them. He also reminds Arn that it was the aggressive collection of the tithe that endangered the success of the mission among the Saxons too.⁷⁶ At the same time, he turns to Charlemagne to remit the paying of tithe on Avar territory,⁷⁷ a request that was probably satisfied by the emperor. It is not by chance that the institution of the reduced, the so called Slavonic, tithe persisted for three centuries.⁷⁸

There is no clear information however about the way in which the Danubian Council divided the conquered Avar territories among the dioceses meant to fulfil the missionary duties. The sixth chapter of the *Conversio* is probably based on a contemporary document reporting the three-fold division among Aquilieia, Passau and Salzburg, made by Pippin in 796 and later confirmed by Charlemagne.⁷⁹ However, there is no precise decision on the appurtenance of the region between the Enns and the Raba to the bishopric of Passau, although the text of the *Conversio* would allow this conjecture, as one can read here about the activities and properties of the Salzburg bishopric stretching to the West from the Forest of Vienna, and even to the North from the Danube.⁸⁰ It is a fact, though that during the rearrangement of the *Ostland* they designated the Raba as the natural border between the jurisdictions of Passau and Salzburg.⁸¹ Nevertheless, missionary work did not immediately start once they defined the basic principles of the task. In order to defeat the Roman aristocracy's resistance against Pope Leo III, as well as in order to discuss the building of St. Paul's Cathedral and the rising of Salzburg to the rank of an archbishopric, Charlemagne sent twelve ambassadors towards the end of 797, among whom Arn, Paulinus, the Patriarch of Aquiliea and Fardulf, the Abbot of St. Denis. As a result of this diplomatic mission Arn re-

⁷⁶ Alcuin, *Epist.* 107. *Et esto praedicator pietatis, non decimarum exactor, quia novella anima apostolicae pietatis lacte nutrienda est, donec crescat et roboretur ad acceptionem solidi cibi. Decimae, ut dicitur, Saxonum subverterunt fidem.* Cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai*, 294.

⁷⁷ Alcuin, *Epist.* 110. *His ita consideratis, vestra sanctissima pietas sapienti consilio praevideat: si melius sit rudibus populis in principio fidei iugum inponere decimarum, ut plena fiat per singulas domus exactio illarum. An apostoli quoque ab ipso deo Christo edocti et ad praedicandum mundo missi exactiones decimarum exissent vel alicubi demandassent dari, considerandum est. Scimus, quia decimatio substantiae nostrae valde bona est, sed melius est illam amittere, quam fidem perdere.* Cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai*, 295.

⁷⁸ See F. Tremel, "Der Slawenzehntel als Quelle der Siedlungsgeschichte." in *Annales Instituti Slavici* I:2 (1966), 109–113.

⁷⁹ *Conversio* 6.

⁸⁰ *Conversio* 11.

⁸¹ Wolfram, *Die Geburt Europas*, 267; A. Sós, "Die slawische Bevölkerung Westungarns im 9. Jahrhundert." *Münchener Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 22 (1973), 27.

ceived the *pallium* from Pope Leo on 20 April 798 then returning from Rome, he was ordered by the emperor to travel to the conquered territories and conduct missionary work there.⁸² As missionary work did not suit Arn's personality, following the Salzburg tradition, he entrusted the direct execution of the task to a missionary bishop, Theoderich.⁸³ Bishop Theoderich (probably after the Council of Traismauer in June 799) was lead by Arn and Gerold I to the site of his activity, Carantania and conquered Avaria, which mainly fell into the sphere of influence of the *tudun*, who had subdued himself to Charlemagne.⁸⁴ The idea of the Avar territories' conquest seems to have originated from Charlemagne himself. At least the sources do not contain any hint that the Pope would have entrusted Salzburg or any other diocese with this mission or that he even encouraged such a mission. The crucial role of Salzburg in this mission seems logical: this diocese had the greatest experience in Christening the newly conquered pagan – such as the Carantan – territories. The material conditions of Salzburg were the most favourable among the bishoprics as well, and one must not forget Arn's person either whose organisational skills were known by the emperor, who gave him much freedom concerning the details of conversion. Although Arn, as a metropolitan would have had the opportunity to found a bishopric on missionary territories, which he could have brought under his own jurisdiction, he was content to – as his predecessor, bishop Virgil did in the case of Carantania – order a missionary bishop, an *episcopus chori*. By this move he ensured himself direct influence and intervention in the mission's affairs, the power of the *episcopus chori* entirely depending on the bishop and archbishop, to whom he was completely subordinated.⁸⁵ Founding a bishopric on the Avar territory would not have been suitable for different reasons, the political structure of the region was not stable enough, the Franks had

⁸² *Conversio 8. Interim contigit anno videlicet nativitatis domini DCCXCVIII Arnonem iam archiepiscopum a Leone papa accepto pallio remeando de Roma venisse ultra Padum eique obviasse missum Caroli cum epistola sua mandans illi ipso itinere in partes Sclavorum ire et exquirere voluntatem populi illius et praedicare ibi verbum Dei.* Cf. H. Schmidinger, "Das Papsttum und die bayerische Kirche – Bonifatius als Gegenspieler Virgils." in *Virgil von Salzburg. Missionar und Gelehrter*. Hrsg. V. H. Dopsch u. R. Juffinger, Salzburg 1985, 92–101.

⁸³ *Conversio 8. Inde rediens nuntiavit imperatori, quod magna utilitas ibi potuisset effici, si quis inde habuisset certamen. Tunc interrogavit illum imperator, si aliquem habuisset ecclesiasticum virum, qui ibi lucrum potuisset agere Deo. Et ille dixit se habere talem, qui Deo placuisset et illi populo pastor fieri potuisset. Tunc iussu imperatoris ordinatus est Deodericus episcopus ab Arnone archiepiscopo Iuvavensium.* Cf. Wolfram, *Conversio Bagoariorum*, 109–111; Wolfram, *Die Geburt Europas*, 261. B. Wavra, *Salzburg und Hamburg. Erzbistum und Missionspolitik in karolingischer Zeit*. Berlin 1991, 190.

⁸⁴ *Conversio 8. Quem ipse Arn et Geroldus comes perducentes in Sclavinam dederunt in manus principum commendantes illi episcopo regionem Carantanorum et confines eorum occidentali parte Dravi fluminis, usque dum Dravus fluit in amnem Danubii.* Cf. M. Mitterauer, *Karolingische Markgrafen in Südosten. Fränkische Reichsaristokratie und bayerischer Stammesadel in österreichischen Raum*. Wien 1967, 8 sqq.

⁸⁵ *Zacharias Epist. A. 747. (MGH Epp. III. 3. 481.) Chorepiscopum vero civitatis episcopus ordinet, cui ille subiectus est.*

not completely suppressed Avar resistance, the Avar leaders fighting each other would not have been able to ensure enough support for missionary work, and the geographic situation of the region was not suitable from the point of view of ecclesiastical law to implement a bishopric.⁸⁶ Furthermore – except for a few commonplaces – the *Conversio* does not expound on the conversional activity of the Salzburg Archbishopric and its results, from which one can infer that it did not achieve, or even did not intend to achieve, any special results during the Avar mission. If it had been otherwise, the author surely would have used the opportunity to buttress the legal claims of Salzburg with results.⁸⁷ The lack of success of the Salzburg mission may be due to two main reasons: the modest zeal of the Bavarian missionaries facing an immense territory, and the disordered political structure of conquered Avaria.⁸⁸

Even after such a brief overview one can conclude that the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* is of the utmost importance with respect to the remnants of ninth century Avar population, as well as – supplemented with data from other sources – with respect to the integration of Avaria in the Frank empire and its conversion to Christianity.

⁸⁶ Wavra, *Salzburg und Hamburg*, 199.

⁸⁷ Wavra, *Salzburg und Hamburg*, 192.

⁸⁸ Wavra, *Salzburg und Hamburg*, 194.

The influence of Latin Canon law on the Golden Bulls issued by Andrew II of Hungary

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*Humanum genus duobus regitur,
naturaliter videlicet iure et moribus.
Gratian, Tractatus de legibus**

The clerics who prepared and edited the texts of the Laws of King St. Stephen in the early 1030s, or of the resolutions of church synods held during the reign of Ladislas I (1077–1095), and of the Laws at Tarcal and of the synods of Esztergom in the reign of Coloman the Learned (1095–1116), were all trained in the Latin west, so they were familiar with the law of the Church, were acquainted with the Canon law collections by Burchard of Worms, Ivo of Chartres, and, later, of Gratian's work in Bologna. Their activities even influenced political developments in Hungary, because they were also the teachers who educated generations of young Hungarians. On such grounds, it becomes clear that the Laws favoring the Church, issued in 1221, or the Golden Bull of 1222, but mainly its revised version in 1231, by King Andrew II, show strong western influence, as if to prove that the *regnum* of the House of Árpád formed, indeed, a part of western Latin culture.

During his reign, King Emery of Hungary (1196–1204) relied on the use of armed force to curtail Prince Andrew's, his younger brother's, greedy reach for the crown, and when the prince succeeded him on the throne as Andrew II (1205–1235), King Andrew constantly needed a large army for the conduct of his almost

* Cf. *Decretum Magistri Gratiani (Concordantia discordantium canonum)*, Vol. 1, of *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. A. L. Richter, 2nd rev. ed., ed. A. Friedberg, Leipzig 1879; repr. Graz 1959, (henceforth: Friedberg, *Corpus*), I, part I, *distinctiones* 1–20; dist. 1, is based on Isidor of Seville's *Etymologies*, v:2. See also Gratian, *The Treatise on Laws with the Ordinary Gloss, Decretorum dd. 1–20*, ed. A. Thompson and J. Gordley, Washington 1993, xiiff., and 3ff.

continuous warring efforts, and, *ex necessitate*, always needed money for the maintenance of his army. The monarch rather irresponsibly began to give away, on a large scale, land from the territorial fort districts of the royal domain with the understanding that, in return, the grantees were to provide military service for the king. Many of the grantees were members of the entourage of Gertrud of Meran, Andrew II's first wife, and they were allowed to hold high administrative offices in the realm. Their arrogant behavior, professional incompetence, and short-sighted governing directives caused chaos in the realm.¹ Because of his weak personality, Andrew II was not able to exploit the benefits generated by the great estates, nor could he gain the upper hand in the realm's administration. Under a strong ruler, the large estates and the king's land grant policy would have greatly contributed to the realm's military readiness and defense; under a weak king, they posed a threat to the well being of the land. In order to improve on his difficult financial problems, Andrew II ordered that the annual exchange of money (coins) be carried out for money (coins) of lesser value (*lucrum camerae*), and entrusted non-Christian: Jewish, and Moslem, officials with carrying out his directive; most probably on the grounds that the non-Christians were experts in financial matters. Misguided by wicked advisors, Andrew II gave away, for no valid reason, whole counties, and distributed unjustified monetary grants to unworthy individuals. Worse still, trusting his memory, he frequently, and simultaneously, made the same donation (of money, or of land) to different individuals that led to further misunderstanding.² The new owners of the estates pursued their own political (dynastic), and economic interests, while the king continued to suffer from chronic shortness of money.³

In 1220, Pope Honorius III himself had to intervene to extricate the Hungarian monarch from the financial difficulties of his own making. The pontiff reminded the monarch of his obligation to rescind any donation he made that might have

¹ On the reign of King Emery, see the brief entry, Chapter 172, in the *Chronicon pictum*, cited henceforth as Chronicle, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, ed. E. Szentpétery, 2 vols. Budapest 1937–1938; expanded reprint by C. Szovák–L. Veszprémy, Budapest 1999, (henceforth: SRH), 1: 463; on Andrew II, see Chapter 174 and 175, SRH, 1: 464ff.; B. Hóman, *Geschichte des ungarischen Mittelalters*. 2 vols. Berlin 1940–1943, 2: 85ff.; Gy. Székely, ed., *Magyarország története 1242-ig*. [History of Hungary until 1242] Budapest 1984, 1320ff.; Gy. Szabados, "Imre király házassága, aranybullája." [King Emery's marriage, and his golden bull] *Századok* 136 (2002), 341ff.; Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, New York 1996, 1ff., and 15ff.; on the reign of Andrew II, cf. *ibid.*, 77ff., and 88ff.; P. Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*. London–New York 2002, 83ff., and 407f.

² See Gy. Györffy, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Ungarn um die Jahrtausendwende*. Vienna–Graz 1983, 102ff.; Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 79; Gy. Kristó, *Die Arpaden-Dynastie*. Budapest 1993, 174ff.

³ His son and successor, Béla IV, cited "*immensae donationes*". Cf. G. Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, 42 vols. Budae 1829–1844, (henceforth: CD), IV/1: 105; and, compare with the remarks by Rogerius, "*Carmen miserabile*," Chapter 3 and 9, SRH 2: 554, and 557f.

harmened his country's interest.⁴ The coronation-oath he took obligated him to recall any gift, or donation, unjustly and irresponsibly given away.⁵ Indeed, in his writ issued in 1221, following the pope's advice, Andrew II rescinded some outrageous donations that he had recently made.⁶ The recall of land grants the king had earlier made from the royal domain, and of other royal gifts, understandably caused strong dissent among the higher nobility; simultaneously, though, the service nobility and garrison personnel at the royal district forts were greatly pleased because now they could rely upon the king's protection from the greedy demands of members of the powerful higher nobility. And yet, disorderly conditions continued to prevail in the land; public consensus even demanded the recall of the monarch, calling for his replacement by Béla, the son born to Andrew II and his first wife, Gertrude of Meran.⁷ Once again, Rome had to hurry to the aid of the king by admonishing members of the hierarchy that Andrew II did not crown his son king, so that the son could take the realm over from him already during his lifetime.⁸

The papal admonition was of no lasting avail, however. Open rebellion threatened the country, when, in 1222, members of the hierarchy led by Bishop Stephen of Zagreb, persuaded the king to summon a country convention, the Diet. Andrew II did that, and had the resolutions reached at the convention summarized in a "Charter of Liberties," known as the Golden Bull of 1222.⁹

⁴ As, e. g., grants he made to the Queen and to her brothers in 1209 – cf. *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica*, ed. E. Szentpétery–I. Borsa, 2 vols. Budapest, 1923–1987, (henceforth: RA), no. 243; St. Katona, *Historia critica regum Hungariae stirpis Arpadianae*, 7 vols. Pest-Buda 1779–1781, V: 91f.

⁵ Cf. Letter of Pope Honorius III, A. Potthast, ed., *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, 2 vols. Berlin 1874–1875, no. 6318; CD, III/1: 294f.; Katona, *Historia critica*, V: 338ff., as if to respond to the king's plea and complaints – see Katona, *Historia critica*, V: 304f.

⁶ Cf. RA, n. 373, though Fejér dated it 1231 – CD, III/2: 224ff. In 1219, in his letter to Pope Honorius III, Andrew II bitterly complained about wretched conditions in his realm, see RA, n. 355; text in A. Theiner, ed., *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, 2 vols. Rome 1859–1860, (henceforth: VMH), I: 20; Katona, *Historia critica*, V: 303f. Honorius III answered the king on 5 March 1219, see Potthast, no. 6000 and 6001; and, VMH, I: 19 and 21; also, Katona, *Historia critica*, V: 319f., and CD, III/4: 278ff.

⁷ St. Katona, *Historia pragmatica Hungariae*, 2 vols. Budae, 1782–1784, I: 748ff.; on the king's son, Béla, see CD, III/1: 413f., and 430ff. See also papal writ dated 15 December 1222, Potthast, no. 6900; and, VMH I: 36, n. 73. Later, on 27 January 1224, the Curia requested the Czech king's support for Béla, see Potthast, no. 7152; text, CD VII/5: 234f., and a papal warning to Béla – Potthast, no. 7179.

⁸ For the papal writ, dated July 4, 1222, see Potthast, no. 6870; VMH I: 35, n. 70; V. Fraknoi, *Magyarország és a Szentzsék*. [Hungary and the Holy See] 3 vols. Budapest 1901–1903, I: 47f.; Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 49.

⁹ Could Bishop Stephen's determination and attitude be explained through Ivo of Chartres' *Decretum*, v: 71 (*De laicis non temere faciendis episcopos*), or, xvi: 296 (*Prelati sunt throni Dei*); and, or Ivo's *Panormia*, v: 90–91? See PL 221 vols. Paris 1844–1855, Vol. 161, 59ff., and 1045ff., respectively. For text of the Golden Bull, see H. Marczali, ed., *Enchiridion fontium historiae Hungarorum*. Budapest 1901, 134ff. Katona, *Historia pragmatica*, I:

The circumstances of its origin, and the very contents of this charter of liberties reveal that it evolved out of debates about the hardships experienced during the reign of Andrew II. On account of large land grants, the king's prestige declined, and the district reeves, formerly royal appointees, now dared to claim inheritance of their public status; in such manner, the administration of the realm grew divided among members of the new land nobility who now dared to administer, even conduct, court-of-law proceedings on their own on their estates.¹⁰ Their activities touched upon the lives and economic interests of the lesser nobility and of the lower social strata, while the monarch, who gave away much of his domain, had to seek other sources of revenue, as, for example, by renting out the collection of the *regale*, money due to him from salt tax, and from export – import tolls, thereby placing an almost unbearable economic and social burden on the shoulders of the poor.¹¹ Previously, because of the intercession of the hierarchy, the monarch attended to the complaints of his ecclesiastics, and, for that reason, he barely touched upon the needs of the Church in his 1222 Charter of liberties. The time schedule – church matters first, before the charter of liberties (Golden Bull) – is evident from the text of the diploma for churchmen, in that among its signatories, the Treasurer, and the Master of the royal table signed also in their capacity as royal reeves, a condition not allowed according to the Charter of Liberties, the Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 30.¹²

The demands presented by members of the Hungarian hierarchy mainly concerned church-related interests addressed by Canon law. "*Fas lex diuina est, ius lex humana; transire per agrum alienum, fas est, ius non est.*" *Fas* was natural, divine law; *mos* was customary and written law. Render to caesar what belongs to caesar; render to God what is due to God. The interesting aspect of this passage was

750ff.; Hóman, *Ungarisches Mittelalter*, II: 85ff.; T. Bogyay, "A 750 éves Aranybulla." [The 750 anniversary of the Golden Bull] *Katolikus Szemle* 24 (1972), 289ff.; G. Érszegi, "Az Aranybulla." [The Golden Bull] *Fejér megyei történeti évkönyv* 6 (1972), 5ff.; Székely, *Magyarország története*, 1320ff.; Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 77ff. When Hungarian historians mention the Golden Bull, they mean the one of 1222.

¹⁰ This is evident from the papal writ of 15 December 1222, see Potthast, no. 6900; VMH I: no. 73.

¹¹ See, e. g. RA, no. 316, text CD, III/1, 243f., and RA, no. 317, and, to a certain degree, RA, no. 324. For the role Jews and Moslems might have played in the realm becomes evident from writs issued in the reign of Andrew II, see CD, III/2, 271ff., and later, during Béla IV, as, e. g. CD, IV/1, 174f., CD, IV/3, 86f., CD, IV/3, 443ff; some (?) high ecclesiastics complained, see CD, III/2, 49, 50, CD, III/2, 242f., and III/2, 243f, 349f., 375ff. Also, as evidenced by the Golden Bull, Art. 24, it prevented parceling out portions of the royal domain, Art. 17. Jews could, and did, possess chattel and property in the realm – see, for instance, CD, III/2, 140f., and 271ff.

¹² RA, n. 378; text in VMH, I, 111f.; CD, III/1, 379ff.; the Golden Bull, 1222, Art. 30. The base tone of this church diploma shows similarity with Ivo's *Decretum*, iv: 190 (*quod conuenit regem legibus diuinis subiacerere*), and iv: 191–192, bearing in mind the advice of Pope Pius II: "*Lex imperatorum non est supra legem Dei*"), Ivo's *Decretum*, xvi: 11.

that the wording closely followed the decrees registered in the *Decretum* of Master Gratian, canon lawyer at Bologna in the 1140s.¹³

Gratian, in part two, cause XXIII of his *Decretum*, dealt, for instance, with solving a given problem: What should happen if, or when, the clergy and the faithful of one particular region fell into the sin of heresy and wished to impose their false views upon the Christian (Catholic) population of the surrounding region?¹⁴ Recommended canonical solution: the regional bishops, acting with papal approval, conduct a war against the heretics, and continue the war until the heretics were defeated.¹⁵ On these grounds, Gratian argued, the following problem would arise: was it sinful to go to war? Did the war effort have a noble purpose?¹⁶ In what kind of war could a Christian participate? In a just war. What justifies the war effort?¹⁷ Gratian further argued that one had to confiscate the property, chattel, of any defeated heretic. Gratian further asked whether a judge was allowed to hand down a death sentence?¹⁸ Likewise, what attitude had a bishop to assume in time of war? Could a bishop carry arms and actually fight in

¹³ "Fas lex diuina est: ius lex humana. Transire per agrum alienum, fas est, ius non est." See Gratian's "Treatise on Laws," *Decretum*, pt. I, dist. 1, c. 1. *Fas* is natural and divine law, *mos* is customary and written law – see S. Chodorow, *Christian political theory and church politics in the mid-twelfth century: the ecclesiology of Gratian's Decretum*. Berkeley–London 1972, 99ff., esp. 101. See also Thomas Aquinas *de defectibus legis*, saying: "Cuiuslibet autem subditi vitus est ut bene subdatur ei a quo gubernatur ...," in his *Summa Theologiae*, lalle, qu. 92, a. 1, ed. P. Caramello, 4 vols. Turin–Rome 1950, I: 418, a reminder of Aristotle's *Politics*, i: 13, 1260a, in *The basic works of Aristotle*, ed. R. McKeon, New York 1941, 1144, or, for that matter, St. Thomas' *Summa*, lalle, qu. 92, c. 2, and, Gratian's *Decretum*, pt. I, dist. 3, c. 4. Also, compare with Ivo of Chartres' *Decretum*, iii: 194, and ii: 6, henceforth MPL, 161, 59ff.; Ivo's *Panormia*, viii: 36, in MPL, 161, 1041ff.; S. Kuttner's essay, "Harmony from dissonance: an interpretation of medieval canon law," (a lecture, 1960, reprinted) in his *History of ideas and doctrines of canon law in the Middle Ages*. London 1992, 1ff.; W. von den Steinen, *Der Kosmos des Mittelalters*, rev. ed. Bern–Munich 1967, 195ff.

¹⁴ Gratian, *Decretum*, pt. II, cause xxiii (Friedberg, *Corpus*, I, col. 889); or, Ivo's *Decretum*, i: 38–39; xvi: 158; ii: 95; xv: 117; xvi: 300. For background, see the study by W. Stelzer, "Zum Scholarenprivileg Friedrich Barbarossas (Autentica 'Habita')." *Deutsches Archiv* 34 (1978), 123ff.; also, K. W. Nörr, "Institutional Foundations of the New Jurisprudence." *Renaissance and renewal in the twelfth century*, ed. R. Benson, et al. Cambridge, MA 1982; repr. Toronto, 1991, 324ff.

¹⁵ Gratian, *Decretum*, pt. II, cause xxiii, qu. 1. Ivo, *Decretum*, xvi: 202; xvi: 302. K. Pennington, "Medieval Law." in J. M. Powell, ed., *Medieval Studies*. 2nd ed. Syracuse 1992, 333ff.

¹⁶ Gratian, *Decretum*, pt. II, cause xxiii, qu. 1, cc. 5–7, to be compared with the Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 7, and the 1231 reissue of the Golden Bull, Art. 15–16, in Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 136abf. (parallel columns).

¹⁷ Gratian, *Decretum*, pt. II, cause xxiii, qu. 2, cc. 1–2; qu. 3, incl. c. 1, quoting Letter 50 of St. Augustine. On St. Augustine, see H. Pope, *Saint Augustine of Hippo*. Westminster, MD 1949, 195ff.; further, Gratian, pt. II, cause xxiii, qu. 3, cc. 3–5. Also, Ivo, *Decretum*, x: 93; x: 119; x: 122.

¹⁸ Gratian, *Decretum*, pt. II, cause xxiii, qu. 5, cc. 1–4, 6–8. Ivo, *Decretum*, x: 2, x: 60; x: 78.

a war?¹⁹ In Gratian's opinion clergy were allowed to support the war effort against a godless enemy, but they themselves could not participate in the struggle.²⁰

On a similar ground, and in accordance with canonical decrees – some based closely on the canonical entrees in Ivo of Chartres' *Panormia* and *Decretum* – enacted during the reign of his earlier great predecessor, Coloman the Learned, Andrew II acknowledged the canonical status of all tonsured clerics in the kingdom.²¹ He agreed to the status of clerics in courts of law, in that a cleric accused of a crime could only be tried before an ecclesiastical tribunal. He made it clear, though, that were a cleric to accuse a lay person of a crime, the case could only go on trial before a secular court, as prescribed by Gratian who, too, followed previous canonical enactments.²²

The monarch also granted tax exemptions for the Church. The tax-exempt status of churchmen and church possessions had to be observed by the public tax collector, a decree whose contents can be deduced from Gratian, and from Ivo's *Decretum*.²³ Were the tax collector to be unwilling to respect the tax-exempt status

¹⁹ Gratian, *Decretum*, pt. II, qu. 5, cc. 20, 25 – compare to the 1231 reissue of the Golden Bull, Art. 2, in Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 135b. See the study by Ch. A. Stumpf, "Vom heiligen Krieg zum gerechten Krieg. Ein Beitrag zur alttestamentlichen und augustinischen Tradition des kanonistischen Kriegsvölkerrechts bei Gratian." *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 87 (2001), 1ff.

²⁰ "*Episcopi non debent arma gerere*;" Ivo, *Decretum*, v:332; v:351. Gratian, *Decretum*, pt. II, qu. 5, cc. 19–20 (the latter based on Isidor, "*Sententiarum de summo bono*," iii: 53). In the battle with the Mongols at Muhi, in 1241, high Hungarian churchmen fighting for a cause had died in the engagement, as it is evident from the [lack of] signatures on the royal diploma of Béla IV, dated 23 September 1241; cf. RA, no. 709.

²¹ Cf. Synod of Tarcal, 1106, Chapter 6 and 14, in RHM, 361, 362. Z. J. Kosztolnyik, "Ivo of Chartres' discernable influence on the resolutions of the synods of Tarcal, 1106, and of the First and Second Synods of Esztergom, 1104, and 1112." *Medievalia et humanistica*, ns. 30 (2003), 85ff.

²² The main emphasis and tone of Andrew II's Golden Bulls may rest on, or was formulated in accordance with, Ivo of Chartres' *Decretum*, vi: 230, and that on grounds that "*praelati sunt throni Dei*," Ivo, *Decretum*, xvi: 296. Further, see Ivo, *Decretum*, v: 227 (bishops: *quod se invicem diligere debeant*), or, v: 345 (based on a decree of Pope Damasus, c. 8), and v: 360 (*quod ecclesiae contradicit, qui episcopo contradicit*), together with v: 362 (dethroning of a bishop), and vi: 233, xvi: 297 (*ut clerici non accusentur ad iudices saeculares, sed ad episcopos proprios*). It mostly agrees with Gratian's *Decretum*, pt. I, dist. xii (based on papal writs), and with *idem*, pt. I, dist. viiii; and, *idem*, pt. I, dist. x, cc. 1–13. Compare Gratian's *Decretum*, pt. II, qu. 5, cc. 26–27, with the Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 5, and 21, and, with the Bull of 1231, Art. 10, 12–13.

²³ See Andrew II's diploma guaranteeing ecclesiastical freedom and privileges; RA, no. 378, text St. L. Endlicher, ed., *Rerum Hungaricarum monumenta Arpadiana*. 2 vols. Sankt Gallen 1849; one-vol. repr. Leipzig 1931, (henceforth: RHM), 417ff.; or, VMH I: 111f.; Katona, *Historia critica*, V: 397ff.; the Golden Bull of 1231, Art. 2, and 21. Further, RA, no. 250, text G. Wenzel, ed. *Árpádkori új okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*. 12 vols. Pest 1860–1874 (henceforth: AUO), XI: 96f.; it seems to be unauthentic, but its basic contents were supported by RA, no. 253, AUO, XI: 105f. Compare with

of the Church, or of churchmen, he would draw the king's anger and punishment.²⁴ The king, on the other hand, expected that the high ecclesiastics would not permit men in royal service to take holy orders, because they would, thereby, escape military service.²⁵ The issue rested on the understanding reached by the royal court with the Church, as it was discussed in detail by Ivo of Chartres, and cited by Gratian.²⁶ Likewise, the diploma stated that, if or, when, an ordained cleric, or monk, behaved unworthily of his standing in public, the monarch expected members of the hierarchy to take proper legal action, and to punish the cleric in accordance with established church decrees that were only reconfirmed by Gratian's collection.²⁷

The King's law aimed at assuring freedom for the Church, its clerics and its faithful and was signed, in full agreement with the King, by the Palatine (who was also the reeve of Sopron), by Atyuszban the Treasurer, by the Judge of the Realm, and by the Master of the Table (also the reeve of Vasvár), with the royal seal affixed to it.²⁸ It was only after the issuance of this document that Andrew II had the country assembly (Diet) summoned and promulgated his Charter of Liberties (Golden Bull), to satisfy and protect the demands and interests of all lay people, the free inhabitants, and the service nobility of the kingdom.²⁹

In drafting the text of the Charter of Liberties – the Golden Bull of 1222 – the monarch and, most probably, his (ecclesiastical) advisors established the historic base by tracing the liberties of the *servientes*, stratum of the service nobility, to the Laws of King St. Stephen; "...*libertas instituta a sancto Stephano rege*," beginnings that presented proof of strong Latin canonical influence upon early ecclesiastical and temporal legislation in Árpáadian Hungary.³⁰ Such origins pointed toward

Gratian, *Decretum*, pt. I, dist. 10, where he confronts conflict between natural and temporal law; Ivo, *Decretum*, xvi: 228, xvi: 298 (*Ecclesiae privilegia nullatenus violanda*); xvi: 37 (*Qui res Ecclesiae a regibus petunt, irrita esse debent*). Further, see Ivo's *Panormia*, viii: 152 (based on a decree of Pope Innocent II).

²⁴ Golden Bull of 1231, Art. 12. Indirectly, Gratian, *Decretum*, pt. II, cause xxiii, qu. 7, c. 1.

²⁵ See "Andreae II regis Libertas clericorum," Art. 3–4, in RHM, 417ff.; or, VMH, I: 111f. Indirectly, also the Bull of 1231, Art. 12–13; Katona, *Historia pragmatica*, I: 765ff.

²⁶ Ivo, *Decretum*, vi: 69, and vi: 120.

²⁷ Gratian, *Decretum*, pt. II, cause 5, qu. 1–6.

²⁸ RA, no. 378; RHM, 417ff.; VMH, I: 111f.; Katona, *Historia critica*, V: 397ff., who dated it after the issuance of the Bull of 1222, see Katona, *Historia critica*, V: 374ff.

²⁹ RA, no. 379; text in Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 134aff.; Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 77ff.; Hóman, *Ungarisches Mittelalter*, II: 85ff. For an interesting comparison, see A. Huber, *Österreichische Rechtsgeschichte*. rev. edn., ed. A. Dopsch, Vienna-Leipzig 1901, 135ff.

³⁰ Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 134a, perhaps an indirect reference to the Laws of King Saint Stephen, Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 69ff., who, Bishop Hartvic recorded in his *Vita s. Stephani regis*, "*statutum a se decretum manifeste fecit*;" cf. SRH II: 415, 3–4, but one who also wished to give his people its own laws, "... *quoniam unaqueque gens propriis utitur legibus*." Cf. the preface to King St. Stephen's Laws, in Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 69. Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary under the Early Árpáds, 890s to 1063*. New York 2002, 165ff. King Ste-

a strong western impact upon early Hungarian legal enactments, be it King St. Stephen's Laws of the 1030s, or Andrew II's Golden Bull of 1222.

In the prefatory part of the Charter, the monarch acknowledged that the freedom the nobles and all inhabitants of the realm gained from King St. Stephen had gradually declined during the reigns of his, sometimes too greedy, occasionally inept, predecessors. Therefore, Andrew II heard the petition of his nobles, "*Nos igitur eorum petitioni in omnibus satisfacere cupientes*," and did his best to fulfill his duties and make up for mistakes of the past. Indeed, judged by the wording of the Charter, it was issued by the king himself, "*ac alia ad statutum regni nostri reformatum pertinencia salubriter ordinamus*," so that the monarch may determine the privileges of the King and of the lesser nobility *vs.* those of the high nobility, and to find a solution to effectively deal with public complaints.³¹ This writer, for one, would like to note, though, that the charter of liberties (Golden Bull) was issued without the participation of the King's Council, or of the assembly though it is evident from the introductory portion of the text that the king promulgated it after he received petitions from members of the service (lesser) nobility, "*precibus et instancia multa pulsaverunt super reformatione regni nostri*."³² That is to say, the monarch took action without consulting members of the hierarchy, or of the high nobility, as recommended and directly referred to in the legislative privileges issued by King Stephen. "... *libertas tam nobilium regni nostri, quam etiam aliorum, instituta a sancto Stephano rege*..."³³

It was evident, however, that for the enactment of legislation, it was not enough to refer to early Hungarian laws. It was a fatal mistake not to involve high churchmen in the royal legislative process, and it may have been the reason why the Charter of Liberties had to be re-issued through the involvement of members of the church hierarchy.³⁴ "*Fas lex diuina est, ius lex humana*," recorded Gratian in the 1140s, an argument that may have been made in front of the mon-

phen's Laws likewise show strong evidence of the impact of Latin Canon law – *ibid.*, 209f., and Kosztolnyik, "Ivo of Chartres," 88.

³¹ Andrew II's Golden Bull of 1222, Preface, in Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 134a. King Stephen further admonished his heir and successor to the throne on the role of members of the hierarchy were expected to play in the secular sphere in his "*Libellus de institutione morum*," art. iii, SRH, II: 622f. See the comments of Előd Nemerkenyi, "The representation of bishops in the *Institutio* of King St. Stephen of Hungary." *Acta classica* 37 (2001), 79ff.

³² Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 134a; Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 82f.

³³ Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 134a.

³⁴ As it is evident from the Golden Bull of 1231, Art. 2, 3, 5, 13, 18–19, 21, 9–10 (in that order!), Art. 28–29, and the conclusion, Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 142b. Z. J. Kosztolnyik, "Triumphs of ecclesiastical politics in the 1231 *Decretum* of Andrew II of Hungary." *Studiosorum speculum: Studies in honor of Louis J. Lekai, O. Cist.*, ed. F. R. Swietek–J. R. Sommerfeldt, Kalamazoo 1993, 155ff.

arch by a member of the Hungarian hierarchy, perhaps by Bishop Stephen of Zagreb.³⁵

The ideologist of the Carolingian age, Bishop Hincmar of Reims, discussed the relationship between the monarch and divine law, reasoned about the relationship between the king and the laws he issued,³⁶ presenting an argument that was taken over and developed by Gratian (in his *Tractatus de legibus*): "*de legibus tunc est iudicandum, cum instituuntur, non cum institutae fuerint.*"³⁷ In accordance with the Christian outlook of the 1140s through the 1260s, the king was the image of God, his earthly realm a less perfect replica of the heavenly kingdom. The gates of hell could not swallow up the Church, but could indeed destroy the earthly realm. "*Factae sunt autem leges, ut earum metu humana coherceatur audacia ...*"³⁸ Andrew II wished to preserve his realm from destruction, to keep it from the throats of hell, by (re-)issuing his Charter of Liberties in 1231.³⁹

Attempts have been made in the past to compare the English Magna Carta with the Hungarian Golden Bull of 1222, though barely any similarities exist between the two documents. The right of resistance, *ius resistendi*, laid down in Art. 31 of the Golden Bull⁴⁰ – and so clearly defined in the Magna Carta⁴¹ – may

³⁵ Gratian, *Decretum*, pt. I, dist. 1, c. 1. Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum*, ii: 6, iv: 66, viii: 259. The Bull of 1231, RA, no. 479; text in VMH, I: 109f.; or, Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 134bff., esp. 142b. On the educational standards of the clergy in medieval Hungary, see two very impressive studies, one by Gy. Bónis, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon* [Professionals learned in the law in pre-Mohács Hungary] Budapest 1971, 16ff.; the other one, by E. Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon*. [Ecclesiastical society in medieval Hungary] Budapest 1971, 171ff.; my review of the latter in *Austrian History Yearbook* 14 (1978), 288ff.

³⁶ Cf. Hincmar of Reims, *De ordine palatii*, rev. ed., ed. Th. Gross and R. Schieffer, SSrG, Hannover 1980, c. viii; for background, cf. R. McKitterick, *The Frankish kingdoms under the Carolingians*, 4th repr. London–New York 1992, 78f., and 189f.; R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the written word*. Cambridge 1989, 40ff., and 60ff.; and, von den Steinen, *Kosmos*, 173ff.

³⁷ Gratian, *Decretum*, pt. I, dist. iv, c. 3; A. Dempf, *Sacrum imperium*. Munich–Berlin, 1929; 4th repr. Munich 1973, 164ff.

³⁸ Gratian, *Decretum*, pt. I, dist. iv, c. 1. Further, Ivo, *Decretum*, cc. iii: 3, iv: 188, viii: 333, v: 331, xiv: 47, xvi: 39–40. Ecclesiastics surrounding the monarch, advisors at the royal court could all have all been trained in law; cf. A. Kubinyi, "Königliche Kanzlei und Hofkapelle in Ungarn um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts." in *Festschrift Friedrich Hausmann*, ed. H. Ebner, Graz 1977, 299ff.

³⁹ See Preface, Golden Bull of 1231, Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 134b.

⁴⁰ "*Statuimus etiam, quod si nos, uel aliquis successorum nostrorum aliquo unquam tempore huic dispositioni contraire uoluerit, liberam habeant harum auctoritate, sine nota alicuius infidelitatis, tam episcopi, quam alii iobagiones ac nobiles regni nostri, uniueri et singuli presentes et posterii, resistendi et contradicendi nobis et nostris successoribus in perpetuum facultatem.*" Cf. the Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 31, Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 142af.; Z. J. Kosztolnyik, "De facultate resistendi: two essential characteristics of the Hungarian Golden Bull of 1222." *Studies in Medieval Culture* 5 (1975), 97ff.

⁴¹ Cf. W. Stubbs, ed., *Select charters of English constitutional history*. 8th ed. Oxford 1895, 296ff.; on its significance, and that its text has been divided into 61 clauses only in

rather point toward Aragonese influence instead, influence that can be explained on account of the marriage of King Emery (1196–1204), the elder brother of Andrew II, to Constance of Aragon.⁴² In Aragon and in Castile, the *cortes* (parliament) held an important role in government in that, for instance, it forced the monarch to seek its consent before levying new taxes, nor let the king imprison anyone without its consent.⁴³ In Aragon, the representative *cortes* (parliament) held the monarch responsible for his actions.⁴⁴ Likewise, the Magna Carta was a kind of *truce* between the king and his barons;⁴⁵ the Golden Bull was *law* issued by the monarch.⁴⁶

Public life in contemporary England was far more advanced politically and economically than in Hungary at this time, as the Magna Carta also dealt with weights and measures, large scale exports and imports in detail.⁴⁷ The Bull of 1222, on the other hand, though occasionally detailed, was too general in its contents.⁴⁸ The Magna Carta challenged the king who had committed himself against existing laws and institutions, forced him to abide by the laws of the realm.⁴⁹ The Bull of 1222 defined laws still in a formative stage in general, and yet, in positive terms. To cite but one example: Art. 23, referred to the monies issued by Béla I (+1063), "... *et denarii tales sicut quales fuerunt tempore regis Bele*," an assertion that might have made good sense in the 1220s, because Andrew II's father, Béla III

modern times – see A. L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087–1216*. 2nd ed. Oxford 1955, 4th repr. 1970, 473ff.; F. Barlow, *The feudal kingdom of England, 1042–1216*. 2nd ed, 3rd repr. London–New York, 1976, 421ff.

⁴² On the marriage of King Emery, see the Chronicle, c. 172, SRH I: 463; also, H. Svrita (J. Zurita), *Indices rerum ab Aragoniae regibus gestarum*. Caesaraugustae 1578, 84 and 103; further, Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 28f., and 35, Note 48–49; Szabados, "Imre király házassága," 341ff.

⁴³ See J. F. O'Callaghan, *The Cortes of Castile-León, 1188–1350*. Philadelphia 1989, 9ff.; J. F. O'Callaghan, *A history of medieval Spain*. Ithaca–London 1994, 254ff.

⁴⁴ "Eine grosse Besonderheit der aragonischen Verfassungsgeschichte ist das frühe Auftreten einer ständischen Repräsentation," wrote H. Mitteis, *Der Staat des hohen Mittelalters*. 8th ed. Weimar 1968, 414ff; compare with R. N. Merriman's article, "The Cortes of the Spanish Kingdoms." *American Historical Review* 16 (1911), 485ff. Ch. E. Chapman, *A history of Spain*. New York 1918, 90ff.

⁴⁵ See the Magna Carta, 1215, preface, and art. 1, in Stubbs, *Select charters*, 296f; B. Lyon, *A constitutional and legal history of medieval England*. New York–London 1960, 310ff.; J. C. Holt, "The barons and the Great Charter." *English Historical Review* 70 (1955), 1ff.

⁴⁶ "Nos igitur eorum – i. e., nobilium regni nostri, quam etiam aliorum – petitioni in omnibus satisfacere cupientes ..." Golden Bull of 1222, Preface, Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 134a.

⁴⁷ As, for instance, Magna Carta, cc. 13, 34, 39 (confirmed by cc. 52 and 55), cc. 40, 41–42, 47–48, 53, and 59, in Stubbs, *Select charters*, 310ff.

⁴⁸ "Concedimus tam eis [i. e. to the nobles] quam aliis hominibus regni nostri libertatem a sancto rege concessam." Cf. Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 134a.

⁴⁹ Magna Carta, entry "Cum autem pro Deo ...," following Chapter 60, in Stubbs, *Select charters*, 304f.

(1172–1196), issued money of precious metal at the beginning of his reign, while the quality of King Andrew II's monies declined further, year by year.⁵⁰

In a similar manner, Art. 24, pointed to a change in the king's previous policy, in that it declared that only royal servants could serve in public administrative positions in the realm – a meaning further clarified by Art. 31 of the Bull of 1231 – but it did not state that a non-Christian inhabitant of the country could not, for instance be(come) a nobleman. One may bear in mind that a royal tax-collector performed a rather tedious and thankless task, and the king wished to avoid outburst of any anti-Jewish, anti-Moslem confrontation in the realm, by preventing the appointment of members of the non-Christian social strata to positions of fiscal matters in public administration.⁵¹

The Golden Bull of 1222 was published in seven copies, with copies sent to the papal curia, to the royal court (*apud regem*), two to the heads of religious orders; to the cathedral chapters at Esztergom, and at Kalocsa, and one was deposited with the Palatine, "*ita, quod scripturam pre oculis habeat*."⁵² Although Béla IV's Law of 1267 is looked upon as the third modified version of the Bull of 1222,⁵³ the actual text only came down to posterity in an 1318 transcript. And yet, the text was incorporated into the 1351 Law of King Louis the Great of Hungary (+1382).⁵⁴ The Bull of 1222, and its version of 1231 became the cornerstone of Hungarian constitutional life until 1848.

In articles of the Bull of 1222, Andrew II, guaranteed the maintenance of law and order in the realm,⁵⁵ subconsciously followed Gratian's dictum: "*Causa uero*

⁵⁰ Golden Bull, Art. 23: money issued to remain in circulation "*a Pasca usque ad Pasca*," incidentally making it clear that the calendar year reckoning in Hungary at that time began with Easter Sunday. Cf. H. Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Renaissance*. 2 vols. Hannover, 1891–1898; repr. Aalen, 1984, I: 140ff. P. Spufford, *Money and its use in medieval Europe*. Cambridge 1988, 123, 136.

⁵¹ Golden Bull, Art. 24, confirmed by Art. 31 of the Bull of 1231: "... *Iudaei et Saraceni non praeficiuntur*," not with the meaning, though, that a non-Christian could not be(come) a (Hungarian) nobleman! Being a tax-collector remained thankless sensitive work, had to be performed by nobles, "*nobiles regni*," and not by non-Christians, in order to avoid an outbreak of anti-Jewish, anti-Moslem social outburst in the realm. Cf. Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 141ab – a clear indication of the fact that non-Christians in Hungary were not standing at the gate, but were inside the gate, of the Christian kingdom. See my remarks in Kosztolnyik, "Ivo of Chartres," 139ff.; and, D. Malkiel's reasoning in his essay, "Jewish-Christian relations in Europe, 840–1096." *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003), 55ff.; Cf. N. Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Muslims, Jews and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c.1000–c.1300*. Cambridge 2001.

⁵² The Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 31, Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 142a.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 167ff.; RA, no. 1547. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 239ff.

⁵⁴ Cf. Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 216ff. See F. Somogyi, "The constitutional guarantee of 1351: the Decree of Louis the Great." in *Louis the Great, King of Hungary and of Poland*, ed. S. B. Vardy and A. H. Vardy, New York 1986, 429ff.; F. Somogyi, *Küldetés: a magyarság története*. [Destiny: a history of the Magyars] rev. ed., 3rd repr. Cleveland 1978, 155ff., and 211ff., respectively.

⁵⁵ See, for instance, the Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 4–6, 8–12, 18–19, etc.

constitutionis legum est humanam cohercere audaciam et nocendi facultatem refrenare, sicut ... Ysidorus testatur, dicens [Etymologiae, v:20]: Factae sunt enim leges, ut earum metu humana coherceatur audacia, tutaque sit inter improbos innocentia, et in ipsis improbis formidato supplicio refrenetur nocendi facultas."⁵⁶ One may add Gratian's remark that "*Consuetudo enim est ius quoddam moribus institutum, quod pro lege suscipitur, cum deficit lex.*"⁵⁷

The king promised that (1) he will annually have a law-day held at Fehérvár, when, and where, anybody may appear before him with personal complaints; were the king be unable to attend, the palatine will substitute for him. (2) He promised that he will not force any lesser noble to come before him (or, before a court of law) just for the sake of appeasing a higher noble – "*furore alicuius potentis.*" (3) He promised that he will not levy taxes, nor will he let military personnel, take forced lodging on the property of a nobleman, or on church property.⁵⁸ (4) Were someone found to be guilty in the court of law, nobody among the *potentes* may take the condemned individual under his protection; nor can royal officials, or members of the high nobility, oppress the poor; "*agazones, caniferi et falconarii non presumunt descendere in villis seruientum*" – a decree that, once again, may be traced back to Gratian. "*Ius civile est, quod quisque populus vel civitas sibi proprium diuina humanaque causa constituit.*"⁵⁹

Church tithe had to be paid in kind. The king decreed that were a service noble to die without a male heir, one-fourth of the property would be inherited by his daughter, and he may dispose of the other three-fourths of the property as he saw fit. Were he to die without a will, the property would be inherited by a close relative; were there to be no close relatives, it would be returned to the king's domain.⁶⁰

Military defense of the realm was every ruler's obligation, therefore, were the king to conduct war beyond the realm's borders, his nobles were under no obligation to go with him, except the district reeves who had to accompany him; were the nobles to be deployed, the king had to pay for their expenses. Were, however, an enemy to invade the country, all nobles had to join the war effort

⁵⁶ Gratian, "Treatise on Laws" (*Decretum*, pt. I, *distinctiones*, One through Twenty), dist. iv; and, compare it with the Golden Bull of 1231, Art. 4, a clarification of the Bull of 1222, Art. 2.

⁵⁷ As stated in Art. 1 of the Bull of 1222, the King promised that on the annual Law Day he in person, or his Palatine, will assuredly administer justice to every inhabitant of the realm. See the Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 1, confirmed by Art. 1 of the Bull of 1231, in Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 135ab. Compare it with Gratian, *Decretum*, pt. I, dist. 1, c. 51; Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum*, cc. iv: 108 and iv: 121.

⁵⁸ Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 1–3, confirmed by Art. 1–6 of the Bull of 1231, in Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 134ab–136ab.

⁵⁹ Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 28, 15 and 13 – in that order – Art. 15 and 13 confirmed by Art. 8 and 7 – in that order – of the Bull of 1231; and, Gratian, *Decretum*, pt. I, dist. i, c. 85.

⁶⁰ Important is the reference made to private property, Art. 20 of the Bull of 1222, then Art. 4, reminiscent of King St. Stephen's Laws, ii:2, Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 67ff.

next to king's armed forces. All of these resolutions rested on *ius naturale*, divine law, in this instance recognized as human law, though Ivo of Chartres warned that "*belli tempore qui homines et quae animalia sint securo*."⁶¹

In his charter, the monarch determined that were a royal *iobagio* to die in the field of battle, his son, or brother, could obtain a position in the king's service; were a noble to be killed in a military action, the monarch was to reward the nobles's son.⁶² The widow of a man condemned to death, or of a man killed in a duel, or of a husband who died a natural death, must not be deprived of her dowry.⁶³ Only the palatine, or vice-palatine, or the king's Judge may hand down sentence in any case, though even the palatine could not hand down the death penalty without the king's consent.⁶⁴ The *bilochus* who (only) handled theft and robbery cases, may pass judgment only with the consent of the district reeve.⁶⁵ A further decree permitted just the four major royal *iobagiones*: the Palatine, the Ban(us) – head reeve, the King's Judge, and the Queen's Justice, to hold two offices at the same time.⁶⁶

Were one to accept the assumption that the Hungarian *regnum* formed a part of the *societas Christiana*, headed by two fully equal *spiritual* and *temporal* powers,⁶⁷ then one may identify with the point of view that, because of the equal power structure between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*, civil authority (*potestas civilis*), though independent of spiritual authority, cooperated with it within the framework of the concept of *Christianitas*, that is, the *regnum Christianum*.⁶⁸ Following such reasoning – secular power independent of the spiritual, and yet cooperating

⁶¹ Golden Bull, Art. 7; Gratian, *Decretum*, pt. I, dist. 1, cc. 2–4, 8 (based on Isidor's *Etymologiae*, cc. 3–4). St. Augustine's views expressed in his *De civitate Dei*, ed. B. Dombart, Tübingen 1908, iii: 18, 29–31; St. Augustine argued in accordance with Leviticus, xxvi:24, Deuteronomy, xxviii: 36, Judges, ii: 13, Isaiah, v: 25. Ivo's *Panormia*, viii: 54 (*bellum iustum est, quod ex edicto geritur de rebus repetendis, aut propulsandorum hostium causa*), referred to an Old Testament example, explained in Art. viii: 57. Ivo warned that "*belli tempore qui homines et quae animalia sint securo*," see his *Panormia*, viii: 147.

⁶² Occupying a leading position – the Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 10, cf. Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 134abff.

⁶³ Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 12, Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 134abff.

⁶⁴ Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 8–9; and, Bull of 1231, Art. 17–19, Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 134abff.

⁶⁵ Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 5; and, Bull of 1231, Art. 13, Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 134abff.

⁶⁶ Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 30, Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 142a.

⁶⁷ See F. Kempf, "Das Problem der Christianitas im 12 und 13 Jahrhundert." *Historisches Jahrbuch* 79 (1961), 104ff.; von den Steinen, *Kosmos*, 335f., spoke of "die Erschliessung der ausserchristlichen Welt," while Kempf, *Sacrum imperium*, 274, argued about a (new) cultural approach, "... denn es ist ja ein wirklicher, geistiger Status, ein innerer Kulturzustand."

⁶⁸ Cf. F. Kempf, "Die päpstliche Gewalt in der mittelalterlichen Welt," *Miscellanea historica pontificalis* 21 (1959), 153ff; and, A. M. Stickler, "Concerning the political theories of the medieval canonists." *Traditio* 7 (1949–1951), 450ff. W. Ullmann, *The growth of papal government in the middle ages*. 2nd ed. London 1962, 88 and 120f., saw these issues differently.

with it – Andrew II in defining the military obligations of the nobility in accordance with the Christian political theorem based on Gratian's teaching. As mentioned above, Gratian did clarify the concept of a just (defensive) war: *quod sit iustum bellum*,⁶⁹ arguing that defensive war was not sinful, *militare non est peccatum*, but added that cruelty, evil deeds must not be carried out even in a just defensive war, *que sint in bello iure reprehendenda*.⁷⁰ He openly questioned, however, the kind of war a Christian knight could justifiably take part in, *pacata sunt bella, que geruntur, ut mali coheceantur et boni subleventur*.⁷¹

The monarch promised that the *nobiles* could retain their liberties dating back to the days of King St. Stephen, while the *hospites*: foreign-born settlers, retain their freedom, "... *et hospites cuiuscumque nationis secundum libertatem ab initio eis concessam, teneantur*."⁷² with the understanding, though, that *hospites* could not be appointed to a public office without the approval of the king's council, "*sine consilio regni ad dignitates non promoveantur*."⁷³ Nor could a non-Hungarian-born *hospes* be given an estate; had he received, or purchased one, an inhabitant of the realm – a lesser noble – had to redeem it.⁷⁴ The monarch promised not to donate *ad infinitum* a whole county, or a royal office, to anyone.⁷⁵ The monarch may, however, force the regional reeve to keep only a portion of the tax-income that was owed to him; the rest of the money had to be sent to the king.⁷⁶ Were the king's reeve to prove unworthy of his office, he would be relieved of his position, and he would have to pay monetary compensation.⁷⁷

The decree of the Golden Bull of 1222 that said that the office of the Chamberlain (*comes camerae*), or of the money-changer, of the salt tax-collector, or of the toll collector could not held by a Jew, or by a Moslem, meant to shield the office holders of those very unpopular positions from public backlash.⁷⁸ Jews and

⁶⁹ Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 7, and Bull of 1231, Art. 15–16, to be compared with Gratian's *Decretum*, pt. II, cause xxiii, qu. 2, c. 1.

⁷⁰ Gratian's *Decretum*, pt. II, cause xxiii, qu. 1, c. 4.

⁷¹ Gratian's *Decretum*, pt. II, cause xxiii, qu. 1, c. 6. Chodorow, *Christian political theory*, 187ff.

⁷² Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 19; Bull of 1231, Art. 26b, Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 140b.

⁷³ Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 11; modified by the Bull of 1231, Art. 23: "... *nisi incolae esse velint; ... per tales enim divitiae regni extrahuntur*." See Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 138b.

⁷⁴ "... *si aliqui collate, uel uendite, populo regni ad redimendum reddantur*;" Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 26. The Bull of 1231, Art. 32, added: "... *vel simpliciter recipiantur*."

⁷⁵ "*Integros comitatus uel dignitates quascunque in predia seu possessiones non conferemus perpetuo*;" Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 16 – confirmed by the Bull of 1231, Art. 26a, in Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 139b.

⁷⁶ "*Comites iure sui comitatus tantum fruuntur, cetera ad regem pertinencia ... Rex obtineat*;" see Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 29, as modified by the Bull of 1231, Art. 34: "... *ad Regis voluntatem, cui vult, distribuuntur*." See Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 141b.

⁷⁷ "... *convictus super hoc, coram omni regno dignitate sua turpiter spoliatur cum restitutione ablaturum*;" Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 14. Confirmed by the Bull of 1231, Art. 7.

⁷⁸ Cf. Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 24; Bull of 1231, Art. 31; and, above, Note 51. Compare with the study by R. Holtzmann, "Der Weltherrschaftsgedanke des mittelalterlichen

Moslems (Arabs?) could not occupy the four cited institutions, the *comes* (or, *comites*), in this instance, members of the service nobility, and other public officials cited in the decree, "*ac aliis publicis officiis*," could not be of non-Christian, the article said, but that did not mean that a non-Christian, be he a Jew, or an Arab Ismaelite, could not become a landowner in the realm. On the contrary, the decree stated that the country's non-Christian social stratum played a rather important role in the public life of the realm during the thirteenth century. As it is evident from the 1251 Jewish Law of Béla IV, son and successor of Andrew II, the king appointed and employed qualified non-Christians to public offices, whom he regarded as members of his own household, *royal chattel*, meaning that any crime committed against them he regarded as a crime against the himself, and against the common good as well.⁷⁹

In a similar manner, the article in the Bull of 1222 on finance was important because it decreed that money issued by the king had to stay in circulation for one whole year, from Easter to Easter – meaning also that, at this time in Hungary, they reckoned the year beginning with Easter – and that the *denarius* issued had to have the value of the monies issued in the times of King Béla I (+1063). Most probably, it must have been the opinion of the king's non-Christian financial experts, that the King had to have money in circulation that would be free of inflation, thereby to restore the financial health of the realm's economy.⁸⁰ On the other hand, the last article of the Bull of 1222 was significant in that it permitted members of the hierarchy and of the lesser nobility to rise against the king, were the king to break, or abuse, the laws of the kingdom, and they could stage their uprising without punishment. In other words, both bishops and members of the nobility were free to judge the mistakes of the monarch without the fear of judicial retribution.⁸¹

The Golden Bull of 1222 did not halt the alienation of goods from the royal domain, though it slowed down abuses; however, it did not assure the king of new sources of income. Enforcement of some of its resolutions proved to be difficult. Perhaps the Bull of 1222 was the first Hungarian law that, really, could not

Kaisers und die Souveränität des europäischen Staates." *Historische Zeitschrift* 159 (1939), 251ff.

⁷⁹ Béla IV's Law of 1251, in Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 158ff.; further, S. Kohn, *A zsidók története Magyarországon* [History of the Jews in Hungary], Vol. 1, Budapest 1884, 101ff.; and, A. von Meiller, "Österreichische Stadtgeschichte und Satzungen aus der Zeit der Babenberger." *Archiv für österreichische Geschichtsquellen* 10 (1853), 87ff., with text, 146–148; Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 223ff., esp. 226ff.

⁸⁰ See the Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 23. For reference to the times of Béla I, consult the Chronicle, Chapter 94, SRH, 1: 358; Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary under the Early Árpáds*, 374f; Spufford, *Money and its use*, 77f., 99. On the Easter-date, see Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters*, 1: 140ff. "Osteranfang" was also in use also in Cologne, see *ibid.*, 1: 142. In the early eleventh century, they began reckoning the year a week earlier at the Hungarian court, beginning with the Day of Christmas – cf. *ibid.*, 1: 205f.

⁸¹ See the Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 31; Kristó, *Die Arpaden-Dynastie*, 186ff.

be enforced. The last article of the *ius resistendi* made the situation more difficult and confusing. Confidence in the king, trust in his leadership, dissipated.

It was under such circumstances that Andrew II, together with his sons, Béla and Coloman, supported by the bishops and members of the high nobility, addressed the public issue anew in a second charter of liberties, the Golden Bull of 1231.⁸² Most probably, it was due to the legal educational background of the bishops that the prefatory note of this Bull of 1231 referred directly to the tone of the first chapter of Aristotle's *Politica*, as if to project its spirit. In other words, members of the Hungarian hierarchy were not only educated in Latin Canon law, but moved on familiar grounds in the fields of philosophy and political science of the times.⁸³ The Bull of 1231 can be regarded as a new charter of liberties, because its wording expanded and explained the previous one, and yet, on essential points differed from it.⁸⁴ In 1231, the king attempted to fill the political power vacuum that he unintentionally created by letting his own powers deteriorate, in that he publicly acknowledged the growing power base and increasing dignity of high ecclesiastics. For instance, he decreed that on the annual Law-Day all the bishops make a public appearance, next to the King or, in his absence, the Palatine. He obligated the bishops to review and to judge royal behavior and action, to observe and judge the behavior of royal advisors and courtiers, and of the Palatine.⁸⁵ In such a manner, decrees of the Bull of 1222 held as detrimental to church interests – as, for example, Art. 20 and 21 – were omitted of the 1231 version,⁸⁶ an approach that reminded one of Gratian's dictum, *ab imperatore ecclesia auxilium postulare debet*, as it followed Gratian's trend of reasoning.⁸⁷

In many respects, the Bull of 1231, was more detailed than the previous one, as, for instance, Art. 17, that asserted that the Palatine held no judicial jurisdiction over churchmen, or over ecclesiastical matters, wording very much in tone with

⁸² See Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 134bff. Background, P. Classen, "Die hohen Schulen und die Gesellschaft im 12. Jahrhundert." *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 48 (1966), 155ff.; K. W. Nörr, "Institutional foundations of the new jurisprudence." in R. L. Benson, et al. eds., *Renaissance and renewal in the twelfth century*. Cambridge MA 1982, 324ff.

⁸³ Cf. Aristotle's *Politica*, i:1, 1252a, in R. McKeon, ed., *The basic works of Aristotle* (New York, 1941), 1127. See Stephen Kuttner's masterful article, "The revival of jurisprudence." in Benson, *Renaissance and renewal in the twelfth century*, 299ff.

⁸⁴ See the parallel columns in the cited Marczali edition; Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth century*, 103ff. Although entirely different, compare it with the German Golden Bull of 1356 – text in W. Altmann–E. Bernheim, ed. *Ausgewählte Urkunden zur Erläuterung der Verfassungsgeschichte Deutschlands im Mittelalter: Zum Handgebrauch für Juristen und Historiker*. 5. Aufl. Berlin 1920, n. 38, and/or in K. Zeumer, *Die Goldene Bulle*, 2 vols. Weimar 1908, Vol. 2.

⁸⁵ The Golden Bull of 1231, Art. 2, Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 135b.

⁸⁶ As, for instance, resolutions contained in Art. 20 and 21 of the Golden Bull of 1222, were omitted in the 1231 version – see Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 140ab.

⁸⁷ Gratian, *Decretum*, pt. II, cause xxiii, qu. 3, c. 2. On Gratian's intellectual background, cf. G. Leff, *Medieval thought*, Baltimore 1958, 130 and 131f., and D. Knowles, *The evolution of medieval thought*. 2nd ed. London–New York 1988, 143ff.

one of St. Augustine's sermons, such as, Sermon xviii, cited by Gratian.⁸⁸ The bull in 1231 stated that the King must not force the peoples living on ecclesiastical lands, or on the nobles' estates, to labor for him; the bull ordered that the King would not appoint foreign settlers of noble descent (*hospites*) to public office until they assumed permanent resident status – in modern usage: taken out citizenship – in the realm, "*nisi incolae esse velint*."⁸⁹

The monarch further decreed that family members of condemned thieves and robbers may not be sold into slavery on account of the guilt of the parent(s).⁹⁰ Besides the tithe of ten percent, the monarch may not collect an additional five percent of any income.⁹¹ The Bull of 1231, Art. 31, repeated – *recte*: re-defined – the decree of the Bull of 1222, art. 24, that prevented members of the non-Christian social strata from obtaining public offices in the kingdom. A word of explanation is in order here. As discussed above, the decree did not prevent the king from seeking advice and support, from members of the non-Christian social stratum in the realm. Thus, the latter did not stand *at the gate*, but lived and functioned *inside* the gate of the Árpáds' Christian kingdom. In keeping the non-Christians serving in official public capacity out of the limelight both Andrew II, and later his son, King Béla IV, wanted to keep them away from outburst of public anger as they looked upon Jews and Moslems as competent trusted advisors: they were the king's men, his *chattel*, who, because of that, enjoyed the monarch's personal protection.⁹²

There is a further substantially different ending of the Bull of 1231. In 1222, it was the Palatine who was authorized to carry out the resolutions of the royal decree; that was why he received a personal copy of the Bull. It was he who had to make certain that he himself, the king, and the nobles adhered to it. Now, nine years later, in 1231, it was the Archbishop of Esztergom (the realm's church primate), who was held responsible for the enforcement of the resolutions. In fact, he was authorized to excommunicate the king were the monarch to break the law!⁹³

But even the Bull of 1231 failed to achieve its goal, as Andrew II's son and successor, Béla IV (1235–1270), sought to restore conditions in the realm as of the status quo prior to 1205, when his father ascended the throne, thereby turning the

⁸⁸ Bull of 1231, Art. 23; the wording of the resolution calls for attention: "... *nisi incolae esse velint, ad dignitates non promoveantur*," meaning permanent residency within the borders of the realm. Cf. Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 138b.

⁸⁹ Bull of 1231, Art. 17., as if to override Art. 8 of the Bull of 1222; Gratian, *Decretum*, pt. II, cause xxiii, qu. 4, cc. 1–7 (sermon XVIII. of St. Augustine) in Friedberg, I. cols. 899ff.

⁹⁰ Bull of 1231, Art. 25.

⁹¹ Bull of 1231, Art. 29.

⁹² See Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth century*, 226f.; Kosztolnyik, comments made in "Ivo of Chartres," 145f. Compare Art. 1231:24, with Gratian, *Decretum*, pt. II, cause xxiii, questions 6 and 7, in Friedberg, *Corpus*, I, cols. 947ff.; further, from a different angle, with Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum*, i: 13, i: 97, i: 118, and ii: 7.

⁹³ Golden Bull of 1222, Art. 31, to be compared with the Bull of 1231, last entry, in Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 142b.

anger of the high nobility toward himself.⁹⁴ The hostility of the Hungarian nobles displayed toward their king was, in part, responsible for the military disaster at Muhi, when the still frustrated and undisciplined nobles lost the military engagement against the Mongol invaders in the spring of 1241.⁹⁵

Only as late as 1267, in the Laws issued by Béla IV, could Andrew II's resolutions of 1231 assert themselves, when the king and the lesser nobles recognized the high nobility's right to be participant in the King's Council.⁹⁶ And yet, the nobles' right of lawful resistance, *ius resistendi* to, what they perceived as royal injustice, achieved reality only in the fourteenth century during the reign of Louis the Great of Hungary.⁹⁷

Concluding, one may argue that the resolutions concerning church matters issued by Andrew II, and formulating the two charters of liberties (golden bulls), would not have been possible without the cooperation of, and advice received from, members of the Hungarian hierarchy, all of whom were, evidently, trained in western Canon law; on those grounds, one may conclude that Roman Canon law did, indeed, have an influence upon the legislative activities related to the reign of Andrew II, legislation perhaps not overly successful, but sufficient to preserve and update relations between the Latin west and an East Central European kingdom during the thirteenth century.

⁹⁴ Cf. Master Rogerius, "*Carmen miserabile*," c. 1, SRH, 2: 552f.

⁹⁵ Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth century*, 121ff., and 151ff.

⁹⁶ Actually, by 1267 – see the Law of 1267 of Béla IV, in RA, n. 1547; text in Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 168f.; Kristó, *Die Arpaden*, 214ff.; Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth century*, 239ff.

⁹⁷ Somogyi, "The constitutional guarantee of 1351," 429ff. For the text of the decree of 1351, see Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 216ff.; Engel, *The Realm*, 174ff.; Gy. Székely, "Die Einheit und Gleichheit des Adels: Bestrebungen in Ungarn des 14 Jahrhunderts." *Annales Universitatis Budapestiensis, sectio historica* 26 (1993), 113ff.

Hungary and the Adriatic Coast in the Middle Ages

Power Aspirations and Dynastic Contacts
of the Árpadian and Angevin Kings in the Adriatic Region*

ISTVÁN PETROVICS



The medieval Kingdom of Hungary that came into being around the turn of the first and second millennium in the Middle Danube Basin was a landlocked country.¹ Due to this situation the kings of the realm strove for acquiring a coastal area as soon as Hungary became strong enough for expansion. It can be stated without exaggeration that in the first period of this expansion political aspirations were more important than economic aims, following from the simple fact that the elements of commodity production and money economy made their appearance in Hungary only in the early thirteenth century.²

Dalmatia

The first steps were taken towards Dalmatia, a narrow strip of land and over 100 islands along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea stretching from the Bay of

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¹ Gy. Györffy, *István király és műve*. [King Stephen and his work] Budapest 1977; Gy. Székely, ed. in chief, *Magyarország története I. Előzmények és magyar történet 1242-ig*. [A History of Hungary. Vol. 1, Preliminaries and Hungarian history until 1242] Budapest 1984; Gy. Kristó, "Directions of orientation in the Carpathian Basin at the end of the first millennium." in B. Lukács et al., eds. *Mutual dynamics of organisational levels in evolution*. Budapest 1992, 128–133; Gy. Kristó, *A Kárpát-medence és a magyarság régmúltja (1301-ig)*. [The early history of the Carpathian Basin and the Hungarians until 1301] Szeged 1993; Gy. Kristó, F. Makk, *Die Erste Könige Ungarns*. Herne 1999.

² *Magyarország története*, 1: 1012–1162, 1280–1302; J. Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*. [The last Árpadians] Budapest 1993.

Kvarner (Quarnero) as far as the mouth of River Boiana.³ The Romans organised a province here which finally came under Byzantine rule after the collapse of the Western Roman Empire. The Avar-Slavic invasions of the early seventh century caused great damages in the development of the region and led to the fall of Salona and other coastal Roman towns. Nevertheless, the Slavs, that is the Croats and the Serbs, managed to settle down in this region and started organising their own states. Dalmatia was under the direct control of Byzantium until 1000 when a short-lived Venetian conquest occurred. Due to Venetian domination and the growth of the Croatian state, Byzantine presence in Dalmatia was substantially weakened, and real Byzantine authority finally disappeared in the 1060s.

The Árpáds

The occupation of Croatia in 1091 by St. Ladislaus, king of Hungary paved the way for the acquisition of neighbouring Dalmatia. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that it was King Coloman who took the final steps towards the definitive attachment of Croatia to the Crown of Hungary. Some historians state that King Coloman achieved his goal by making a convention, referred to as *pacta conventa*, with the heads of the Croatian clans. According to the *pacta conventa* Croatia was henceforth to be ruled by the kings of Hungary but it was given an associate status and was not incorporated into Hungary. Coloman who had himself crowned king of Croatia in 1102 at Biograd, allowed the Croatian nobility to live according to their own laws and customs. It is also important to note that Hungarian noblemen were rarely donated landed estates in Croatia which was governed by a ban (*banus*) who exercised vice-regal authority there. King Coloman wished to extend a similar status to Dalmatia after he had invaded it in 1105 and become king of Dalmatia. Consequently, King Coloman organised Dalmatia also into a banate administered by a royally appointed ban, though it happened quite frequently that the banate of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia was administered by one and the same person who held all the three banates simultaneously.⁴

³ For Dalmatia see: J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*. London 1969. Zs. Teke, "Dalmácia." [Dalmatia] in *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon, 9–14 század*. [Lexikon of Early Hungarian History. 9–14th centuries] (henceforth: KMTL). Editor in chief: Gy. Kristó, eds. P. Engel and F. Makk, Budapest 1994, 159–160.

⁴ Gy. Kristó, *A feudális széttagolódás Magyarországon*. [Feudal disunity in Hungary] Budapest 1979, 128–138; F. Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni. Political relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th century*. Budapest 1989, 13–14; M. Font, "Megjegyzések a horvát-magyar perszonálunió középkori történetéhez." [Remarks on the Medieval History of the Personal Union between Croatia and Hungary] in P. Hanák, ed. in chief, *Híd a századok felett. Tanulmányok Katus László 70. születésnapjára*. [Bridge over Centuries. Essays in Honour of László Katus on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday] Pécs 1997, 11–25; A. Zsoldos, "Egész szlavónia bánja." [Banus totius Sclavonie] in T. Neumann, ed. *Analecta Medievalia I. Tanulmányok a középkorról*. [Essays on the Middle Ages] Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem 2001, 269–280; Gy. Kristó, *Tájszemlélet és térszervezés a középkori Magyarországon*. [Perception of Regions and Organisation of Space in Medieval Hungary] Szeged 2003, 115–125. For the relations between Hungary,

Despite Coloman's and his successors' efforts Dalmatia, which in fact, did not constitute a contiguous territory but a collection of scattered spots, including a few walled towns and a number of islands, did not become a permanent part of the Hungarian Crown. This can be explained by the fact that Dalmatia throughout the Middle Ages had always been the target of the political aspirations of several states, especially Venice, Byzantium, the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy. In this difficult situation King Coloman proved to be an ingenious politician. He concluded an alliance with the Byzantine emperor, Alexius Comnenos and allowed Prisca (Irene), daughter of St. Ladislaus to become the wife of the future John II, son of Alexius. This is why Alexius did not object to Coloman's action in Dalmatia who later returned this favour by helping the Byzantine emperor against the Normans. On the other hand, as the decrees of the synod of Guastalla prove, Coloman made concessions to the pope concerning the investiture of the high clergy in Hungary.⁵ In return, the pope did not protest against Hungarian rule in Dalmatia.

Hungarian Kings – Dalmatian towns

In order to reconcile the Dalmatian towns, King Coloman promised to leave their autonomy intact. Moreover, in 1108 he confirmed the former privileges of the citizens of Spalato (today Split, Croatia) and Trau (today Trogir, Croatia). The citizens were, among others, exempted from paying taxes to the Hungarian king (... *mihi et filio meo, aut successoribus meis tributarii ne sitis*) and were allowed to elect their headman and bishop (*episcopum vero aut comitem, quem clerus et populus elegerit, ordinabo*). The only thing that the king demanded in return was the two-thirds of the customs revenues of the cities (... *praeterquam introitus portus civitatis de extraneis duas partes rex habeat, terciam vero comes civitatis, decimam autem episcopus*). In 1124 Coloman's son, István II re-confirmed the franchises of the citizens of Trau and Spalato, while in 1142 and 1151 Géza II did the same with the burghers of Spalato and Trau, respectively. It is important to note that in the case of Spalato in 1142 Géza II expanded the former franchises of the citizens by securing

Dalmatia and Venice in the eleventh–thirteenth centuries also cf. the relevant parts of J. Ferluga, *Byzantium on the Balkans: studies on the Byzantine administration and the Southern Slavs from the VIIth to the XIIth centuries*. Amsterdam 1976; Kristó–Makk, *Die Erste Könige Ungarns*; F. Makk, *Magyar külpolitika, (896–1196)*. [Hungarian Foreign Policy] Szeged 1996, also published in German: F. Makk, *Ungarische Aussenpolitik (896–1196)*. Herne 1999; P. Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of medieval Hungary, 895–1526*. London–New York 2001. For the bans of Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia in the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries see P. Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*. [A Secular Archontology of Hungary] 1301–1457, 2 vols., Budapest 1996, 1: 16–27.

⁵ Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni*, 14; Makk, *Magyar külpolitika*, 146–148, 151–154, 160–169. Recently, however, King Coloman's concessions concerning the investiture of the high clergy in Hungary was refuted by Kornél Szlovák. Cf. K. Szlovák, *Pápai–magyar kapcsolatok a 12. században* [Papal–Hungarian Contacts in the 12th Century] in I. Zombori ed., *Magyarország és a Szentszék kapcsolatának 1000 éve* [One Thousand Years of the Contacts between Hungary and the Holy See]. Budapest 1996, 24–26.

them free trading activity. István III also followed his predecessors' policy: in 1167 or 1169 he issued a charter in which he donated all those privileges to Sebenico (today Šibenik, Croatia) which had been given to the citizens of Trau in 1108. Speaking about urban privileges one should not forget about András II who in 1205 confirmed the franchises of the citizens of Nona (today Nin, Croatia) and in 1207 those of the citizens of Spalato.⁶

By scrutinising these privileges it can be stated that Hungarian rule was more favourable for the Dalmatian towns than Venetian rule. Let it suffice here to refer briefly to the fact that the Hungarian kings never restricted the trading activity of these towns, on the contrary, they supported them in many ways, while Venice regarded the Dalmatian towns as her rivals. From a Hungarian perspective it is also interesting that the Árpádian kings until the early thirteenth century issued charters containing urban franchises in such a time when in their own realm no real towns existed. By real towns I refer to localities which besides being centres of trade and handicrafts enjoyed broad legal autonomy. In other words: in the eleventh and twelfth centuries only so called proto-urban towns could be found in the realm and the birth of real towns in Hungary proper, that is on the territory lying north of the River Drava, took place no earlier than the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁷ It can be stated with a high degree of probability that the urban policy of the Hungarian kings mentioned above was primarily a political means with the help of which they tried to strengthen their rule over Dalmatia. To put it another way: they were far from pursuing a conscious urban policy in Dalmatia. Anyway, it was in Dalmatia that King Béla IV (1235–1270), during the time of the Mongol invasion of Hungary in 1241/42, realised another aspect of urban life, namely the military importance of these localities. It was then that the monarch, the royal family, together with high officials of the realm and thousands of Hungarians fled to the coastal towns of Dalmatia. The King and the

⁶ L. Fejérpataky, *Kálmán király oklevelei*. [Charters issued by King Coloman] Budapest 1892, 73–82; Gy. Györffy, "A XII. századi dalmáciai városprivilegiumok kritikájához." [Contributions to the critics of 12th-century Dalmatian urban privileges] *Történelmi Szemle* 10 (1967), 46–55; *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima: accedunt epistolae et acta ad historiam Hungariae pertinentia* [ab anno 1000 usque ad annum 1196]. Edendo operi prae-fuit Georgius Györffy; adiuverunt Johannes Bapt. Borsa [et alii] Budapest 1992, charters nr. 130, 139, 145, 148, 152; M. Kostrenčić–T. Smičiklas, eds. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae ac Slavoniae/Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*. 18 vols, Zagrabie 1904–1990, Vol. 2: 49–50, 53–54, 115–16; 3: 68–69; S. L. Endlicher, ed. *Rerum Hungaricarum Monumenta Arpadiana*. Sangalli 1849, 400–403; G. Wenzel, ed. *Árpádkori új okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*. 12 vols, Pest–Budapest 1860–1874, 1: 93–94.

⁷ Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 50–61, 223–276; KMTL s. v. "város"; A. Kubinyi, "A magyar várostörténet első fejezete." [The first chapter of the history of towns in Hungary] in Cs. Fazekas, ed. *Társadalomtörténeti Tanulmányok – Studia Miskolcinsensia*, Vol. 2. Miskolc 1996, 36–46.

royal family finally found shelter within the walls of Trau, a town situated on an island.⁸

It is undeniable that conscious royal policy aiming at fostering urban development in Hungary dates from the 1230s. It was King Béla IV who issued the first charters securing urban privileges to localities in Hungary proper: for Fehérvár in 1237 and for Nagyszombat (modern-day Trnava in Slovakia) in 1238. The Mongol invasion accelerated this royal policy. However, the primary aim of Béla IV by fostering urban development was rather to give shelter to the population in the case of a potential new Mongol attack, than to strengthen the towns in the economic sense. King Béla's successors also followed this policy, but not so intensively. It was the fourteenth century, to be more precise the period between 1323 and 1382, during the consolidated reign of the Angevin kings, namely that of Charles I and Louis I, that the number of charters containing urban privileges increased significantly again. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries some 50 settlements were granted a royal charter in Hungary. This number refers, on the one hand, only to those localities which were situated in Hungary proper, that is north of the River Drava (in other words Dalmatian and Slavonian towns are not included in this number), and, on the other hand, which were not ecclesiastical centres ("episcopal towns"). The urban franchises issued by the Hungarian kings in the Middle Ages are similar to each other and present few specific distinctive features, following from the fact that Hungarian legislation covered the whole territory of the realm. Dalmatia, however, primarily due to its special geo-

⁸ Among the primary sources, from our special perspective, two narrative works deserve attention. "Rogerius: *Carmen miserabile super destructione regni Hungariae per Tartaros.*" in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore regum ducumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum.* ed. E. Szentpétery, 2 vols. Budapest 1937–1938, 2: 545–588 and "Thomas of Spalato: *Historia pontificum Salonitanorum atque Spalatensium.*" in *Monumenta Spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium.* Scriptores 3, ed. F. Rački, Zagreb 1894. The four Mongol chapters of 'Historia Salonitana' are translated into German with an introduction and annotations in H. Göckenjan and J. R. Sweeney, eds. *Der Mongolensturm. Berichte von Augenzeugen und Zeitgenossen, 1235–1250.* Graz–Wien–Köln 1985, 227–270, while the original Latin text of these chapters is also published in A. F. Gombos, ed. *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae aevo ducum et regum ex stirpe Arpad descendendum ab anno Christi DCCC usque ad annum MCCCC.* Budapest 1937–1938, 2232–2244. Also see J. R. Sweeney, "'Spurred on by the Fear of Death': Refugees and Displaced Populations during the Mongol Invasion of Hungary." in M. Gervers, and W. Schleppe, eds. *Nomadic Diplomacy, Destruction and Religion from the Pacific to the Adriatic.* Toronto 1994, 34–62; J. R. Sweeney, "Identifying the Medieval Refugee: Hungarians in Flight during the Mongol Invasion." in L. Löb, I. Petrovics, Gy. E. Szőnyi, eds. *Forms of Identity. Definitions and Changes.* Szeged 1994, 63–76. Cf. I. Petrovics, "The role of towns in the defence system of medieval Hungary." in Ph. Contamine, O. Guyotjeannin, eds. *La guerre, la violence et les gens au Moyen Âge.* Vol. I, *Guerre et Violence.* Paris 1996, 263–271. B. Nagy, ed. *Tatárjárás.* [The Mongol Invasion] Budapest 2003.

graphical location, and to its Roman and Byzantine past, was an exception in this respect.⁹

A new phenomenon

It is an interesting chapter of Hungarian rule over Dalmatia that King Géza II established a duchy there in 1161, which was united with Croatia. The first duke of Dalmatia and Croatia was Béla, younger son of Géza II, protégé of Emperor Manuel. The Byzantine emperor, in return for recognising István III as the legal king of Hungary, took Duke Béla under his guardianship, and exercised power over his duchy. Moreover, Manuel treated Béla, who was educated in Constantinople, until the birth of his own son as the heir to the Byzantine throne. Hungary recovered Dalmatia after Manuel's death and the former duke, Béla, who since 1192 was king of Hungary, appointed in 1193, in the person of Kalán, bishop of Pécs, a governor to Dalmatia. He was followed in this charge by Imre and András, sons of Béla III. Mention must be made here of the activity of István from the Gútkeled clan, who between 1248 and 1260 as *banus totius Sclavoniae* exercised full authority in the region lying between the River Drava and the Adriatic sea. His monetary reform and other measures further supported the development of the Dalmatian towns. The last person from the dynasty of the Árpáds who ruled Dalmatia as a duke, was András, king of Hungary between 1290 and 1301. With the end of the Árpád dynasty, the Angevins claimed the Hungarian throne on the basis of earlier dynastic marriages.¹⁰

The Angevins

The adjective Angevin is applied to three noble lineages that played important role in the history of medieval France, England, Naples and Sicily, and Hungary.¹¹ The word is derived from the capital of the western French province of Anjou. The first lineage deriving from the counts of Anjou gave kings to England between 1154 and 1399 and became known as the Plantagenet. In 1204 many of

⁹ J. Szűcs, "The three historical regions of Europe. (An outline)." *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 29 (1983), 131–184; Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 50–61, 223–276; Kubinyi: "A magyar várostörténet első fejezete," 36–46; I. Petrovics, "Royal residences and urban development during the reign of the Anjou kings in Hungary." *Historia Urbana* (1997/1), 39–42; I. Petrovics, *Foreign Ethnic Groups in the Towns of Southern Hungary* (forthcoming).

¹⁰ Kristó, *A feudális széttagolódás*, 46; Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni*, 42–124; Makk, *Magyar külpolitika*, 180–222.

¹¹ Zs. Teke, "Anjouk." [The Angevins] in KMTL 46–47; P. Engel, "Anjou-kor." [The Anjou era] in KMTL 47; Sz. Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország alkonya. Magyarország politikai története Nagy Lajostól Zsigmondig, az 1384–1387. évi belviszályok okmánytárával*. [Decline of Angevin Rule in Hungary. A political history of Hungary from Louis the Great until the rule of Sigismund with the repertory of charters concerning the domestic strife between 1384 and 1387] 2 vols., Szeged 2003; Also confer with the relevant parts of N. Coulet, J.-M. Matz, eds. *La noblesse dans les territoires Angevins a la fin du Moyen Âge*. Collection de l'École Française de Rome 275. Rome 2000; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 124–202.

the continental possessions of the Angevins, including Anjou, were lost to Philip II of France (1180–1223). Thereafter they came under the direct administration of the French crown. In 1246 Charles, son of Louis VIII and younger brother of Louis IX or the Saint, was invested with the counties of Anjou and Maine as his appanage. Charles and his lineage constitute the second major family of the Angevins that ruled in Naples and Hungary. In 1246 Charles married Beatrice, the youngest daughter of the count of Provence, as a consequence of which Angevin rule became hereditary in Provence until late in the fifteenth century. In 1266 Charles, accepting Urban IV's offer of the Sicilian crown under papal suzerainty, invaded southern Italy and led an army against Manfred of Sicily whom he defeated in the battle of Benevento. In the next two decades he became overlord of Albania (1272) and Tunisia, and king of Jerusalem. He had a grandiose scheme aiming at the creation of a Mediterranean empire in succession of the Byzantine Empire. This plan was frustrated in 1282 by the Sicilian Vespers as a result of which the Aragonese who had supported the revolt became the lords of Sicily. It was this plan that turned Charles's attention towards Hungary which could have served as a stepping stone against Byzantium. However, in 1267 Charles's first attempt for concluding an alliance with Hungary was refused by Béla IV, king of Hungary. Nevertheless, he did not have to wait long: Béla's son, István who was at war with his father, and consequently needed foreign supporters, proved ready for co-operation. István had his seven-year-old son, László (Ladislaus) marry Charles's daughter, Isabelle, while his own daughter, Mária (Mary/Marie), became the wife of the future King Charles II. This marriage was later the legal basis of the Angevin claim to the Hungarian throne.¹²

The Hungarian Angevins

In 1290, upon the death of István's son, László IV or the Cuman, Queen Mary of Naples, wife of Charles II, was of the opinion that the male line of the Árpadian dynasty had died out with László, and that the Hungarian crown should pass to her family. She found followers soon in Southern Hungary where, for instance, the Croatian noblemen, Paul Šubić and his kinsmen also acknowledged Charles Martel of Anjou, son of Queen Mary and Charles II, as king of Hungary. In 1295, however, Charles Martel died unexpectedly. He was succeeded as a pretender by his seven-year-old son called Charles or Charles Robert (Caroberto). At the invitation of Paul Šubić and other Croatian lords, Charles Robert disembarked in Dalmatia in August 1300. Soon afterwards, on 14 January 1301, the Hungarian king, András (Andrew) III died suddenly and without a male offspring.¹³

¹² Gy. Kristó, *Histoire de la Hongrie médiévale. I. Le temps des Arpáds*. Rennes 2000; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 107. Nota bene, Charles I's daughter, Isabelle was named Erzsébet (Elizabeth) in Hungary.

¹³ Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 327–332; Gy. Kristó, "I. Károly (Károly Róbert)." [Charles I, (Charles Robert)] in Gy. Kristó, ed. *Magyarország vegyesházi királyai*. [Kings of Hungary from the period between 1301 and 1526] Szeged 2003, 23–44.

The end of the house of Árpád brought an unprecedented political situation to Hungary. Three rival candidates for the vacant Hungarian throne, each having a link with the Árpáds through the female line, aspired to obtain the crown: Charles Robert of Anjou from Naples, Wenceslas III, son of Wenceslas II, King of Bohemia, and grandson of Béla IV, and Otto of Wittelsbach from Bavaria. For a while Wenceslas III seemed to have a greater chance for acquiring rule over Hungary, but it was Charles Robert (Caroberto), enjoying the support of popes Boniface VIII and Benedict XI together with that of the head of the Hungarian Church, who finally obtained the Hungarian crown and throne. After two coronations (1301, 1309) Charles I (Charles Robert/Caroberto) was finally crowned legally with the "Holy Crown of St. Stephen" in Székesfehérvár in 1310, and accepted by the Hungarian nobility as the legitimate king of Hungary. Nevertheless at first he was not able to control the realm, since the country was, in fact, ruled by a dozen of powerful landlords, the oligarchs or "petty kings." It took more than two decades for Charles I to liquidate the oligarchs, the last of which, John Babonić was subdued in 1323. It should be remarked that John Babonić, overthrown in 1323, was appointed ban of Croatia and Dalmatia by Charles I just a year earlier, that is in 1322, because the king was dissatisfied with Mladen Šubić whose hostile attitude towards the Dalmatian towns irritated the monarch. However, soon after his appointment John Babonić also rebelled against the king, what Charles I, naturally, could not forgive him.¹⁴

Since Charles I became king in Hungary, the Neapolitan throne was inherited, due to a papal judgement, by Robert, third son of Charles II. The Hungarian king, Charles I, however, never acknowledged this decision and referred to the fact that his father was Charles II's eldest son and thus the crown of Naples and Sicily was due to him by the right of primogeniture. In 1333 Charles I was invited to Naples and the family dispute was settled by an agreement. Robert, who had only two grand-daughters, betrothed one of them, Joan (Ioanna), his prospective heir, to András (Andrew), six-year-old son of the Hungarian monarch. Since it was not common in the Middle Ages that a woman could accede to the throne in her own right, Charles I cherished the hope that András (Andrew) would one day become king of Naples and Sicily.¹⁵

¹⁴ P. Engel, "Az ország újraegyesítése. I. Károly harcai az oligarchák ellen (1310–1323)." [The Reunification of the Hungarian Kingdom. Charles I's struggles against the Oligarchs (1310–1323)] *Századok* 122 (1988), 89–144; Gy. Kristó, "I. Károly főúri elitje." [Barons belonging to the newly created elite of Charles I] *Századok* 133 (1999), 41–62; I. Petrovics, "The Kings, the Town and the Nobility in Hungary in the Anjou Era." in N. Coulet, J.-M. Matz, eds. *La noblesse dans les territoires Angevins à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Collection de l'École Française de Rome 275. Rome 2000, 431, 435–437; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 124–125, 128–134; Gy. Kristó, "I. Károly harcai a tartományurak ellen (1310–1323)." [Charles I's Fights against the Oligarchs] *Századok* 137 (2003) 297–345.

¹⁵ Gy. Kristó, F. Makk, E. Marosi, *Károly Róbert emlékezete*. [The Memory of Charles Robert] Budapest 1988, 170–172; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 137; Kristó, *I. Károly*, 41–42.

King Robert died on 20 January 1343 and in his testament he designated Joan (Ioanna) as his *only* heir to the throne of Naples. Her husband, Andrew had to content himself with the title "duke of Calabria." The queen-mother, Elizabeth of Poland and Louis I or the Great, who had been king of Hungary since 1342, did their utmost in order to secure the Neapolitan crown for Andrew. Since both the pope and the French king opposed the unification of the throne of Hungary and that of Naples, and Joan herself could not stand her husband, the outcome of the events could easily be predicted: total failure. Moreover, Andrew fell victim to a plot from the part of Joan and the lords of Naples: he was strangled at Aversa in 1345. The background and the details of András's assassination were never cleared up. King Louis I, who was unconcerned with the details, held the Angevin kindred as a whole responsible for the murder and resorted to arms. The Neapolitan wars in 1347 and 1350 were explicitly dynastic in character; waged for the crown of Naples by Louis I, who after the death of his brother, Andrew, demanded the Neapolitan crown for himself. Although these campaigns brought remarkable military successes, the city of Naples taken twice by Hungarian troops, Hungarian rule over the city and the kingdom of Naples was impossible to sustain.¹⁶

Unlike the Neapolitan wars, the acquisition of Croatia and Dalmatia proved to be a more realistic goal. During the pacification of Croatia in the 1340s the city of Zadar shook off Venetian rule, as a result of which Venetian troops launched a prolonged siege. Louis could not relieve the city and Zadar fell in 1348.¹⁷ Louis I was forced to make peace for eight years with the Republic of Venice. However, in 1356 when the peace expired he took the field once again. This time he enjoyed the moral support of both Pope Innocent VI and Emperor Charles IV. Moreover, the lords of Padua joined him with their own troops. The conflict was finally decided not in Italy, but in Dalmatia, where in 1357 Venice suffered a series of defeats. Consequently, the Dalmatian towns revolted one after the other, and having expelled the Venetians from within their walls, acknowledged Hungarian rule.¹⁸ On 18 February 1358 the Signoria signed a peace at Zadar in which it acknowledged Louis I and his successors as the only rulers of Dalmatia. Venice renounced "for ever" its claims to rule the Dalmatian towns and islands, assured free movement for their trading ships in the Adriatic Sea. Moreover, the doge consented to the abandonment of the title "duke of Dalmatia and Croatia" which

¹⁶ Gy. Kristó, *Az Anjou kor háborúi*. [The Wars of the Anjou Era] Budapest 1988, 91–125; Gy. Kristó, "I. Lajos." [Louis I] in Kristó, *Magyarország vegyesházi királyai*, 45–66; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 159–161.

¹⁷ For Charles I's planned campaign to Dalmatia in 1340 see F. Piti, "Hungary and Dalmatia in 1340." *Chronica* 2 (2002), 3–10; Obsidionis Iadrensis libri duo. In Georgius Schwandtnerus, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum veteres ac genuini*. 3 vols. Vindobonae 1746–1748, 3: 667–723; Kristó, *Az Anjou kor háborúi*, 100–102, 104–108; P. Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 160–162.

¹⁸ Kristó, *Az Anjou kor háborúi*, 137–143; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 160–162.

the first man of the Republic of Venice bore for centuries.¹⁹ It was in the late 1370s that Louis I got involved in a new conflict with Venice which ended with the peace of Torino. The peace, signed on 24 August 1381, confirmed the stipulations of the Treaty of Zadar concerning Hungary. Venice agreed to pay an annual sum of 7,000 florins to Hungary.²⁰ Due to the peace treaties of Zadar and Torino Louis I could incorporate the whole coast of Dalmatia from Dubrovnik to Rijeka into his kingdom. With the help of different privileges he tried to promote the trading activity between Dalmatia and Hungary, thus trying to integrate the former into the Hungarian economy. Yet, in this respect he was not too successful: dozens of charters prove that the articles of Levantine trade reached Hungary not from the south-west, but from the south-east, via the Pontic trade routes.²¹

Decline of Angevine rule and the loss of Dalmatia

Since Louis I had no sons the question of succession was cause for great concern. When he died in 1382 his elder daughter, Marie who had married Sigismund of Luxembourg, acceded to the throne, as it was requested by the will of his father. However, the idea and practice of being ruled by a woman was not popular at all among the nobles of the realm. Consequently, they soon conspired against her. The main figures of the plot were the Horváti brothers, Paul, bishop of Zagreb and John, ban of Mačva. They supported Charles the Small of Durazzo, nephew of the duke who had been executed at Aversa. Charles the Small had been living in Hungary since 1364. Louis I, who obviously liked Charles, invested him with the duchy of Croatia and Dalmatia in 1371. Moreover, when Pope Urban VI offered the crown of Naples to Louis in 1380, the Hungarian king sent Charles with an army to Naples. Charles was successful and managed to accede to the throne. He ruled in Naples as Charles III between 1382 and 1386. When the Horváti brothers invited him to Hungary, Charles did not hesitate to depart. He disem-

¹⁹ Kristó, *Az Anjou kor háborúi*, 144; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 162. The Latin text of the peace treaty is published in G. Wenzel, ed. *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek az Anjou-korból*. [Memories of Hungarian Diplomacy from the Anjou Era] 3 vols. Budapest 1874, 2: 501–505. The Hungarian translation of the Latin original by József Köblös is published in: J. Köblös, Sz. Süttő, K. Szende, *Magyar békeszerződések 1000–1526*. [Hungarian peace treaties] Pépa 2000, 126–132.

²⁰ The Latin text of the peace treaty of Torino is published by Gusztáv Wenzel in *Magyar Történelmi Tár* 1882, 8–60. The Hungarian translation of the Latin original is published in *Magyar békeszerződések*, 138–158.

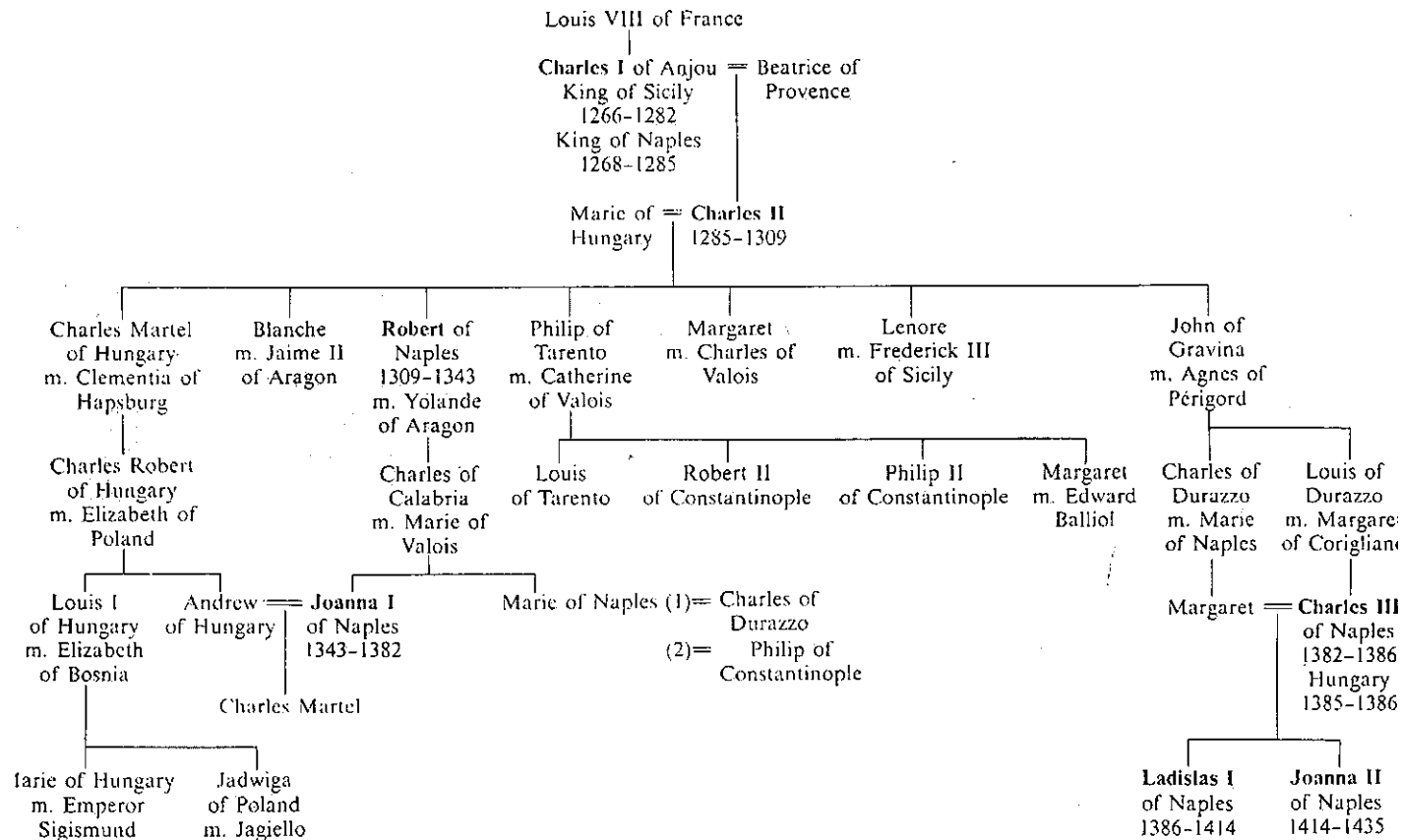
²¹ A. Fekete Nagy, *A magyar-dalmát kereskedelem*. [Trade between Hungary and Dalmatia] Budapest 1926; Zs. P. Pach, "A Levante-kereskedelem erdélyi útvonala I. Lajos és Zsigmond korában." [The Transylvanian Route of Levantine Trade During the Reign of Kings Louis I and Sigismund] *Századok* 109 (1975), 3–32; Zs. P. Pach, "A Levante-történetírás fordulata 1879 és 1918 között." [The Turn of Levantine-historiography between 1879 and 1918] *Századok* 127 (1993), 239–269; Zs. P. Pach, "The Transcarpathian Routes of Levantine Trade in the Middle Ages. A Short Survey of a Long-standing Controversy." in M. Körner–F. Walter, eds. *Quand la Montagne aussi a une Histoire. Mélanges offerts à Jean François Bergier*. Bern-Stuttgart-Wien 1996, 237–246.

barked in Dalmatia in September 1385. Mária had no other choice than to renounce and Charles was crowned king of Hungary on 31 December 1385. Charles's rule was, however, short-lived: the Garai party had him assassinated. After his death in early 1386 the Horváti brothers declared his son, Ladislaus (László) to be king of Hungary. Ladislaus as King of Naples (1386–1414) had bright prospects for acquiring the Hungarian crown. The legal king, Sigismund of Luxembourg was not too popular in Hungary. The news of his defeat at Nicopolis in 1396 and the monarch's prolonged absence from the country did little to enhance Sigismund's popularity. On his return he had to face strong opposition and in April in 1401 he was even taken prisoner by the rebellious lords. However, the barons were unable to come to an agreement, and Sigismund – due to the efforts of Nicholas Garai, the king's faithful supporter – was set free seven weeks later. In 1403 another revolt broke out against Sigismund and that provided a greater chance for Ladislaus to acquire the Hungarian crown than the one two years earlier. However, this time Ladislaus hesitated too long. It was too late when he had arrived in Zadar in the company of Angelo Acciajuoli, legate of Pope Boniface IX on 19 July 1403 and had been crowned there by Archbishop János (John) Kanizsai on 5 August. Since this time Sigismund and his supporters were determined and quick, Ladislaus soon realised that he had lost the game. He left for Italy in November but before sailing home he had bestowed upon one of his supporters, Hervoje the government of Dalmatia.²²

The resulting situation was rather bizarre. Only one member of the Angevin dynasty, Charles the Small could unite the throne of Naples and Hungary, but it cost him his life. Though, his son, Ladislaus of Naples had not been able to achieve his aim, that is he had failed to acquire the Hungarian crown, he remained in control of Dalmatia. As a pretender to the Hungarian–Croatian throne Ladislaus sold his claims to Dalmatia to the Republic of Venice in 1409 for 100,000 ducats. Venice took possession of Zadar, Nin, Vrana and Novigrad, together with the islands of Pag, Cres and Rab, at once. Though between 1411 and 1413, and again between 1418 and 1419 Sigismund made repeated attempts to recover the lost territory, he failed. By 1420 Venice had occupied most Dalmatian cities and islands and remained there until 1797.

²² Sz. Süttő, "Mária." [Mary] in Kristó, *Magyarország vegyesházi királyai*, 67–76; Sz. Süttő, "II. Károly (Kis Károly)." [Charles II (Charles the Small)], in Kristó, *Magyarország vegyesházi királyai*, 77–84; Sz. Süttő, "Nápolyi László." [Ladislaus of Naples] in Kristó, *Magyarország vegyesházi királyai*, 85–92; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 195–199, 206–208, 210; Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország alkonya*, passim. Also cf. KMTL s. v. Mária (1), Károly (4).

The House of Anjou (1266-1435)



The House of Anjou (1266-1435). Source: William L. Langer (ed.): An Encyclopedia of World History. Boston 1968. p. 315.

*A contribution to the history of the term *sigillum mediocre* in the Hungarian Kingdom under the Angevins*

TIBOR ALMÁSI



A letter of judgement issued in the name of Nicholas Garai, the count palatine of the Kingdom of Hungary on the fourteenth of November 1422¹ notifies us of a lawsuit over an estate called Baráti alias Szentiván,² in County Somogy, involving, on the one hand, the abbot of Somogyvár and, on the other hand, Cristopher and Nicholas of Baráti. In the course of this lawsuit, the latter produced a royal charter of privilege issued by King Charles I of Hungary in 1330, as a piece of evidence (among others) supporting their claim to the estate. In his letter of judgement the palatine added a comment to the clause confirming the validity of the document, cited below word for word, as follows:

*“... in nostram venientes presentiam quattor litteras omnino privilegiales nobis presentarant, quarum prima ..., secundo vero ipsarum domini Karoli regis, anno domini Millesimo trecentesimo tricesimo, tertio Nonas Augusti, regni autem sui anno similiter tricesimo, mediocri duplici suo sigillo vallata ...”*³

What is remarkable and worthy of notice in the above-cited text is the term *sigillum mediocre*, because of the different options available to the scholar trying to find the original meaning of the term.

¹ Zsigmond-kori oklevéltár. [Charters of the Sigismund Era] Vol. 9. (1422) ed. I. Borsa, N. C. Tóth, Budapest 2004, no. 1127.

² Baráti lay near present-day Somogyfajs and Köröspusztá.

³ The text of this charter was published in I. Nagy, I. Páur, K. Ráth, D. Véghelyi, eds. *Hazai okmánytár*. [A collection of charters issued in Hungary] 8 vols. Győr–Budapest 1865–1891, 3: 325–338. (nr. 234), the text cited here can be found and consulted on pp. 327–328.

For present-day historians the expression *sigillum mediocre* means, basically, a "mediocre" seal in the sense of being an ordinary seal of medium size for everyday use, occupying a middle position between the king's great seal and the lesser seals for affairs of minor importance or private matters. In addition to this, in Hungary, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this expression referred to a particular royal seal in use at the time, i. e. the seal in the custody of the *comes capellae* (a high-ranking official who confirmed the documents issued by the Royal Chapel). The important role played by the Royal Chapel in issuing royal charters continued for a long time, even after the twelfth century, when the Royal Chancery was established, practically right to the end of King Sigismund's reign (to the mid-fifteenth century). We can observe and follow the occasional changes in the position of the Royal Chapel and its head, the *comes capellae*, as the person issuing the recorded (written) documents of the Royal Court by consulting a number of seminal studies by Albert Gárdonyi, Imre Szentpétery and most of all, Bernát L. Kumorovitz.⁴ If we would like to understand the structure of the government under King Charles I, we find, based on reliable evidence, that during the first two decades of the Angevin period the *comes capellae* still used his old title, *secretarius notarius*, originating from the late Árpáadian age, and this was replaced by a new title, *secretarius cancellarius* around 1320, but the creation of this new title was not followed by the establishment of a privy chancellor's office. At this time, at first, the *comes capellae* was the keeper of the royal signet. The signet had a more private and confidential character than the other royal seals, and the *comes capellae* was authorized to use the signet, which allowed him to actually counterseal i. e. countersign some royal documents with his seal, by making an impression in the wax surface of the great seal appended to important royal documents. We would suggest the 1310s as the beginning of the independent document issuing activity of the *comes capellae* in the royal court. From this time on, for about a half century, he could issue documents in his own name, but under the royal seal used at the time. The increasing importance of literacy and written records, the launching of the Royal Chapel's own document issuing ac-

⁴ A. Gárdonyi, "A királyi kancellária eredete és kialakulása Magyarországon." [The origins and development of the Royal Chancery in Hungary] *Századok* 48 (1914), 87–106; I. Szentpétery, "A királyi titkos kancellária történetéhez." [A contribution to the history of the Privy Council] *Századok* 48 (1914), 440–445; B. L. Kumorovitz, "A magyar királyi egyszerű és titkospecsét használatának alakulása a középkorban." [Changes in the use of the royal ordinary and privy seal during the Middle Ages] *A Bécsi Gr. Klebelsberg Kuno Magyar Történetkutató Intézet Évkönyve* 7 (1937), 69–112, B. L. Kumorovitz, "A királyi kápolnaispán oklevéladó működése. A királyi kancellária fejlődése a XIV. és XV. század fordulóján." [The charter issuing activity of the royal *comes capellae*. (The development of the Royal Chancery at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries)] *Regnum* 5 (1942/1943), 455–498; B. L. Kumorovitz, "Osztályok és címek, rangok és hatáskörök alakulása I. Lajos kancelláriájában." [Development and changes in the terminology of classes, titles, ranks and functions in the Royal Chancery of King Louis I (the Great)] in Gy. Székely, ed. *Eszmetörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról*. Budapest 1984, 293–330.

tivity, the appearance of the title *secretarius cancellarius*, stressing the importance of the *comes capellae* because of his new function and duties, and the replacement of the royal signet, which had been entrusted to the *comes capellae* from the 1260s on, by his own seal attached to the documents issued by the Royal Chapel on its own authority may have been closely connected phenomena, but we have no direct proof to support this assumption. What we can state with certainty is that it is a fact that Csanád, the provost of Várad, who had made his first appearance in 1319 as royal secretary and keeper of the privy seal and *comes capellae*,⁵ was mentioned as privy councillor and *comes capellae* in a document issued by the papal Curia in the summer of 1320,⁶ and in his new capacity as *comes capellae*, he was the first to issue a charter of his own, under his own name and authority, to enforce a writ, a summons.⁷ The edicts issued by the Royal Chapel make the impression of a rather heterogeneous collection. Letters of record: recognizance (*fassio*) made in the presence of the *comes capellae* and recorded by him; reports (*relatio*) by the *comes capellae* on the execution of royal commands and of orders and instructions of varying contents received from judicial authorities. The role played by the Royal Chapel in keeping the records of the royal court before 1374, the date of the reforms introduced into the Royal Chancery under Louis I the Great reminds us, in spite of its peculiarities, in several respects to the functions and tasks performed by the places of authentication (*loca credibilia*) which could be found all over the territory of the kingdom of Hungary (usually attached to ecclesiastical institutions and functioning under Church supervision and administration).

The exact time of the change in the use of seals, i. e. when the signet kept by the *comes capellae* was replaced by the *sigillum mediocre* and the *comes capellae* became the keeper and sole user of this seal, is a question to which we cannot give an appropriate answer, as yet. As the changes manifest in the use of seals under the rule of the Angevins had a close connection with the important reorganizations taking place in the government and the administration of justice, we may surmise that the change in the use of the royal seals took place at the same time, i. e. at the end of the 1310s and the beginning of the 1320s. From the 1320s a number of charters issued by the *comes capellae* has survived in their original form, but these show us only the place of the seal fastening the document, which is to say that no seal originating from this period is extant.⁸ We have a diploma issued by the *comes capellae* and containing a formula of confirmation (*corroboratio*) and au-

⁵ *Anjou-kori oklevéltár. Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia 1301–1387*. Vol. 1–14, 17, 19–20, 23–24. Gen. ed. Gy. Kristó, Budapest–Szeged 1990–sqq (henceforth: Anjou-oklt.) 5: nr. 525.

⁶ Anjou-oklt. 5: no. 829. It strikes one that while the terminology used in the charters issued by the Chapter of Várad or by Queen Elizabeth confirms the change in Csanád's position (cf. Anjou-oklt. 6: nr. 11, 372 and 491), the royal diplomas indicate no change in the titles of Csanád. (cf. Anjou-oklt. 6: nr. 212, 434)

⁷ Anjou-oklt. 6: nr. 787.

⁸ Anjou-oklt. 11: nr. 534, 544.

thentication, but this document is a defective copy and a part of the text is missing and, unfortunately, the name of the kind of seal used for fastening the charter was in the part lost from the text.⁹ The first diploma to which a royal *sigillum mediocre* was appended and is not only known to us from sources, but the seal belonging and attached to the document has also survived was issued on 2 September 1338, by Peter, bishop of Szerém and *comes capellae* of the Royal Chapel.¹⁰ From then on, a continuous series of the royal *sigillum mediocre* can be traced, in direct line up to King Sigismund's reign, and these seals were from time to time, occasionally renewed by ruling kings.¹¹

Returning to the charter issued by the above-mentioned Palatine, Garai, we find that several questions need to be clarified. An answer should be given to the question of what was the exact, contemporary meaning of the term *sigillum mediocre*, the name of the seal attached to the charter of 1330, as the contemporaries called it. Could it refer to the royal *sigillum mediocre* used by the *comes capellae* to confirm charters? And if so, can we state that a royal *sigillum mediocre* was in use not only in 1338, but as early as 1330? And if this term does not refer to the *sigillum mediocre*, then what can its meaning be, in this particular instance. Last but not least, if the term *sigillum mediocre* had been open to more than one, perhaps even to a number of interpretations, then how could this word with its various meanings have functioned.

When the palatine, Nicholas Garai, examined the 1330 charter in 1422, and identified the seal by subjecting it to close scrutiny (which means that he inspected and examined it "with his own eyes" as the charter indicates) and, in his charter, he used the term *sigillum mediocre* to describe the seal on it, he could not have referred to the seal used by the *comes capellae*. We have two convincing reasons for affirming this. The first is that the charter clearly indicates that the person issuing the seal was the king and not the *comes capellae*, and we know that before 1374 the function of the so-called *sigillum mediocre* was to confirm documents dated and signed by the *comes capellae*. The second reason is that the seal attached to the charter by the palatine was a double-sided seal, and all the known occurrences of the royal *sigillum mediocre* were single-sided (*simplex*) seals. As the *comes capellae*, even as late as under King Sigismund, continued to play an active part in drawing up at least some of the documents issued by the royal court, and, in spite of the fact that by that time the documents were signed by the king ("dated under his signature"), it was the *comes capellae* who impressed these documents

⁹ Anjou-oklt. 11: nr. 402.

¹⁰ National Archives of Hungary, Diplomatikai Levéltár [Diplomatics Archives] (henceforth: DL) 51087 (Fond Kállay [Ref. no.] 1300, 493). The photograph of the seal can be seen in Kumorovitz, *A magyar királyi egyszerű és titkospecsét*, inset plate nr. 1 – with the detailed description of the seal. – Kumorovitz, *A királyi kápolnaispán*, 496–497 (plate 1). Another description was given of the same seal, with slight differences – though in the author's opinion it was a privy seal, Gárdonyi, *A királyi kancellária*, 106.

¹¹ See the entire series collected and arranged, together with their photographs in Kumorovitz, *A királyi kápolnaispán*, 492–497.

(by way of confirmation) with the royal *sigillum mediocre*, which still continued to be under his care. The king (still lacking a large bureaucratic apparatus of trained officials at the time) did not interfere in his business of handling practical affairs, and his independence was still practically unhindered. Therefore the palatine, Garai must have known well, from personal experience, the seal under the care of its keeper, the *comes capellae*, i. e. the *sigillum mediocre*.¹² From the fact that it was thought convenient to add the word "*privialiter*", it follows, that it cannot be taken for granted that, even in its own age, the adjective "*mediocre*" was necessarily used in a particular sense and referred to a particular object, thus the exact meaning of the term may not have been obvious to all, even to contemporaries. The term "*mediocre*" came to acquire the meaning 'mid-' or 'middle' through the daily routine of comparing the different groups of royal seals, a procedure based on the differences in their roles and importance. It would be useful to turn to an example taken from the Registrum of Turóc: in this document the scribe who drafted the text and mentioned that it was confirmed and authenticated with a *sigillum mediocre* (*sigillo mediocri*) found it necessary to add the standard turn "*apud comitem capelle habito*", because the term '*sigillum mediocre*' seems not to have been obvious enough in itself for denoting that particular case of the use of the seal, or to give a clear and unambiguous idea of its nature.

On examining more closely the date of the first occurrence of the *sigillum maius* in the royal documents, we conclude that this type of seal appeared during the latter half of King Charles I's reign. It is in this context that we examine the following extract taken from Bernát Kumorovitz's book, which is both useful and instructive for us. According to Kumorovitz, facts concerning the *sigillum mediocre* can usually be found in the charters issued under King Sigismund's reign. We know such charters from 1406, 1407, 1428, 1429 and 1433. It was under King Sigismund, too, that the expression became established and developed into a set term. Even the fact that the *sigillum mediocre* was rarely mentioned in the official documents could be explained by the usage of this age, according to which only charters of privilege made, mention in their *corroboratio*, of the type of seal used to confirm the privilege. Still, this did not prevent the circulation of the term and, by the end of King Sigismund's reign, its meaning had become fixed and its general use and distribution was shown by the fact that not only royal charters but also people having no direct connections with the Royal Chancery used it, e. g. in 1343, Paul, the Lord Chief Justice used the expression "*mediocri sigillo*", in 1354 Prince Stephen issued a letter patent under "*sigilli nostri mediocris munimine*" and,

¹² A number of facts concerning king Sigismund's reign, cited by Kumorovitz, made it quite clear that the name of the seal under the authority of the *comes capellae* was "*sigillum mediocre*". A telling particular, taken from the Registrum of Turóc, from the year 1391, dealt with a case when "*quasdam litteras domini Lodovici pridem piissimi regis Hungarie sub suo sigillo mediocri, apud comitem capellae seu regie habito ... privialiter emanatas*" were also subjected to close scrutiny. S. Horváth, *A líptói és turóczi registrum*. [The register of Liptó and Turóc] Budapest 1902, nr. 32. p. 77. Cited by Kumorovitz, *A királyi kápolnaispán*, 468.

in 1386, Cardinal Valentine Alsáni, the bishop of Pécs and administrator of the affairs of the Archbishopric of Esztergom, issued one of his charters "*appensione sigilli nostri mediocris, pontificali sigillo carentes*". Still, we cannot exclude the possibility that the seal of the *comes capellae* may have been called *sigillum mediocre*, under Charles I. The Lord Chief Justice, Paul, when making a transcription of the letter of privilege issued by Charles I in 1324, observed that this document had been issued "*sub mediocri sigillo suo*". However, as this comment concerns not the first, but the second great seal, to differentiate it from the earlier first seal and the later third seal, it seems probable that the Lord Chief Justice borrowed the term from the vocabulary of the Chancery, where it was used to indicate the lesser royal seal, kept and used by the *comes capellae*, under King Louis I the Great. Still, if the term was known in 1342, it may have been known even earlier. This technical term may probably have been coined to stress the difference between the uses of the various royal seals because, when the privy seal came into use, the number of the royal seals increased to three or even four, if the signet is also included. As far as we know from the records accessible to us, this happened between the end of the second decade of the fourteenth century, and at the beginning of the 1530s. From the above we can come to the conclusion that the *sigillum mediocre* has to be clearly distinguished from the king's great seal, and from the signet and the privy seal, too, and this term indicated a completely new kind of royal seal.¹³

Despite the fact that Kumorovitz's reasoning offers several useful suggestions, it is not convincing that during the reign of King Charles I the "*mediocre*" seal (a middle-sized seal used in the course of the ordinary, day-to-day business of the Royal Chancery for sealing documents of average importance by the *comes capellae*) was the first seal called *sigillum mediocre* in the Royal Chancery and later the name was borrowed to indicate other seals, too, and was used for naming one particular seal in each set of seals, the middle one. The above examples prove quite clearly that, from the 1340s on, not only the king but also the keepers of the royal seals were unable to make clear distinctions between their various seals. Because of this confusion, they began to use the adjective "*mediocre*" to distinguish a particular type of seal occupying the place between the first and the last seal of each set of three seals, i. e. the seal in the middle, as the "middle seal". Still, this reason is not powerful enough in itself to convince us that it was the *comes capellae* who began to borrow the name, *sigillum mediocre*, for his seals, and the name was gradually adopted by other keepers of seals to their particular kinds of seals, to distinguish them more clearly, and the term was found so convenient that its use spread to a wider circle. It seems more reasonable to surmise that if people dispose of three different sets of seals, the need to distinguish between them is natural, and there is no need for another person's example to name *sigillum mediocre*

¹³ Kumorovitz, *A királyi kápolnaispán*, 468–469. In the original text footnotes were appended to the citations indicating the location of the charters used by the author when writing this work. It should be mentioned that the privy seal mentioned in the text had only a single occurrence under Charles I, in 1331. Cf. Kumorovitz, *A magyar királyi egyszerű és titkos pecsét*, 101 (Figure 2).

a seal which is half-way between a great seal and a signet, occupying a mid-position between them, in size, chronological order, or use. Of course, this is still pure speculation, but luckily we can do better than that, and can pursue our investigation further, on firmer ground, in another direction.

Kumorovitz cited a highly informative example, when he referred to a document issued in 1342 by the Lord Chief Justice, Paul, and he also mentioned that this document referred to another diploma issued by King Charles I in 1321 and confirmed by him later, "*sub mediocri sigillo suo*".¹⁴ However, there is a flaw in Kumorovitz's argument. What could be the right interpretation of the above term? What Kumorovitz had in mind here must have been the royal great seal, the second one in chronological order and not the seal used in the Royal Chapel and, in our opinion, he was certainly right about this. From this perspective we can examine the problem from a new angle and this may lead to a new interpretation. That is to say that it enables us to use the term *sigillum mediocre* not only in the sense of a middle-sized seal, occupying the middle position between the king's great seal and the lesser seals (in order of magnitude as well as of importance), but it can also be used to refer to a member of another set of seals, arranged in chronological order, seals used one after the other in time, successively, and in this case the term "*mediocre*" denotes a seal occupying the middle position, as the second seal, in a chronological order. Moreover, in this particular case, the term *sigillum mediocre* did not mean the seal kept by the *comes capellae*, to which it was supposed to have referred originally, but was a part of another set, a set of royal seals, the royal great seals arranged in chronological order. (This time we can exclude the possibility that the term may have referred to the seal of the *comes capellae*, because in his charter the Lord Chief Justice named quite clearly the king and not the *comes capellae* as the issuer of the document and, before 1374, the seal of the Royal Chapel was used only for the documents issued in the name of the Royal Chapel.) Still, even so, the meaning of the term *sigillum mediocre* is not quite clear and raises problems, owing to the fact that as the first great seal had still been in use in the royal court in 1321, therefore in 1342 the Lord Chief Justice Paul could not have seen and confirmed a document issued in 1321 with the king's second great seal, which came to replace the first seal only later, in 1323. Kumorovitz did not call our attention to this problem, he did not even mention that such a problem existed. Thus we do not find plausible either of the two possible interpretations of the meaning of the *sigillum mediocre* given by him, because powerful reasons are against it.

Luckily the problem can be solved, because the contradiction is based on a misunderstanding. Kumorovitz's opinion that the Lord Chief Justice, Paul transcribed the text of Charles I's charter of privilege of 1321 in 1342 is not correct. In fact, Kumorovitz made a transcription of the contents of the charter, but he mentioned only the year of publication, 1321, without giving the full date. In spite of this inconvenience, it was possible to find the document he had referred to,

¹⁴ Kumorovitz, *A királyi kápolnaispán*, 469. Note 78.

a charter of privilege issued by Charles I on 9 February 1321¹⁵ of which a transcription was issued by the king himself later, on 18 July 1323, confirmed with the royal double seal in force by that time.¹⁶ The casual mention made by the Lord Chief Justice, Paul left not only the month and day of the date of the royal order of 1321 unmentioned, but he also failed to mention that the document seen by him was in fact a royal confirmation of an earlier charter of privilege, issued in 1321 and confirmed in the summer of 1323, and sealed – quite naturally, there is nothing to be surprised at – with the king's second, i. e. "mediocre" great seal. Therefore the term *sigillum mediocre* used in 1342 by the Lord Chief Justice Paul does by no means suggest that the notion expressed by this term may have become current, and its popularity contributed to its wider distribution, and it began to be used in Hungarian charters because the *sigillum mediocre* of the *comes capellae* was becoming so well known and popular that other administrative organs felt the need to adopt it, too. Quite the contrary, it confirms our opinion that the use of this expression indicates that there was another royal seal, the royal double (great) seal, and this particular charter referred to the royal double seal.

If we want to study the history of the royal great seals, we no longer need so much assistance from the research of the learned sigillographers of the past,¹⁷ as we needed for our previous argument, because we have a source left to us by the Chancery of the Angevins which provides us with plenty of information about the relevant details. It is a well-known fact that during the military campaign conducted by King Louis the Great to Bosnia, in the year 1363, the royal great seal was stolen from the tent of the Archbishop of Esztergom, by his familiars. Because of the loss of the first seal, a new royal great seal had to be engraved. At the same time provisions had to be made against the legal uncertainty originating from the loss of the great seal of the kingdom. Thus the king adopted a decision whereby new proceedings had to be initiated to confirm the former documents issued by the Royal Chancery under the lost seal, because these documents lost their legal validity with the loss of the seal. Instead of validating the former documents by transcription, a procedure in current use at the time, the king ordered by decree that a clause should be added to particular groups of former documents, and the text of the clause should be confirmed by the imposition of the new royal great seal. The text of this clause written on the edges of the parchment with minute letters followed basically the pattern of the former clause, and its contents referred to the circumstances necessitating the addition of a clause, and explaining the reasons why a clause had to be added to the document, and why this addition was done by royal order. This text also tells us the history of the great seals of the Angevins. We learn from it that under the reign of Charles I forged examples of the first great seal, in use till 1322, began to appear, and once the forgery was discovered, it was replaced by a new great seal. The

¹⁵ Anjou oklt. 6: nr. 36.

¹⁶ Anjou-oklt. 7: nr. 369.

¹⁷ For the most complete survey of the great seals of Charles I cf. A. Gárdonyi, "I. Károly király nagypécselei." [The great seals of King Charles I] *Turul* 25 (1907), 30–57.

second great seal was also lost, during the campaign to Wallachia ending in defeat in the autumn of 1330. The head of the Royal Chancery and keeper of the great seal, Andreas, provost of Székesfehérvár was killed in action in that battle. The loss of the second seal was followed issuing by Charles I's third great seal, and this continued in use to the end of his reign.¹⁸

The engraving of the great seal of King Charles I was completed by the spring of 1331,¹⁹ therefore the formula of the *corroboratio* referring to the great seal in use since 1323 in the text of the royal privileges could no longer refer only to that one. As the royal great seal had to be replaced a second time, it could refer to the new great seal, the third one. Therefore, from the spring of 1331, the newly issued documents were confirmed and authenticated by a new clause: "*duplicis sigilli novi et authenticici munimine*." Besides, in each case when reference was made to the king's second seal, which had been in use between 1323 and 1330, it had to be conveyed somehow, that this seal was different from the new great seal in actual use. As the text was meant to refer to the second seal of the three great seals, the term *sigillum mediocre* could express clearly and unequivocally that it referred to the second great royal seal in chronological order. When, after 1331, the diplomas mentioned former documents to which the second great seal had been appended, the following – or a very similar – formula was used: "*exhibuerunt nobis quoddam privilegium nostrum priori sive mediocri sigillo nostro videlicet quod in partibus Transalpini in expeditione nostra casualiter extitit amissum, consignatum*."²⁰ Concerning this subject King Charles I's transcriptions of former charters issued in 1335 to confirm the privileges obtained by Thomas, Voivode of Transylvania in 1323 are highly instructive. On 2 of November 1335 15 documents were confirmed, of which 13 documents fell to the category of charters issued before 1331, i. e. before the time when the third great seal came into use.²¹ Of these 13 documents, in 5 cases no surviving copy of the documents have been left to us, we have only the

¹⁸ On the confirming clause added by King Louis the Great cf. A. Grün [Gárdonyi], "I. Lajos király megerősítő záradéka." [The confirming clause added by King Louis I] *Turul* 19 (1904), 27–37. The best and easiest access to the text of this clause concerning the above seals is the *Tripartitum* of Werbőczy. *Werbőczy István Tripartituma*. A dicsőséges magyar királyság szokásjogának hármaskönyve. Latin-magyar kétnyelvű kiadás. [Tripartitum. The triple codebook containing the common law of the glorious Hungarian Kingdom. Latin-Hungarian bilingual edition] Budapest 1990, Part II. t. 14. § 22–25.

¹⁹ The seal was made by Peter, son of Simon, who had come from Siena, and was the castellan of Szepesvár, and received an estate, Jamnik in County Szepes from the king as a recompense for his various services. In the letter of donation the King laid stress, among others, on the services rendered by Master Peter "*in sculptione, fabricatione seu paratione presentis sigilli nostri authenticici*." Cf. *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. I–IX. Stud. et op. G. Fejér, Budae 1829–1844. VIII/3: 529–530. (nr. 231.)

²⁰ I. Nagy, et al., eds. *A zichy és vásonkeői gróf Zichy család idősb ágának okmánytára*. *Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vásonkeő*. 12 vols. Pest–Budapest 1871–1931. nr. 424. (nr. 425; 3 July 1334).

²¹ Anjou-oklt. 19: nr. 646–660, in this volume, the last three documents include clauses of confirmation from the years following 1331.

transcripts confirming and authenticating the documents in 1335.²² However, even the survival of 13 seals is of great importance, because it allows us to inspect and examine the seals themselves, and see what the actual form and appearance of the seals were like, of the seals named in the 1335 transcription of the diplomas *sigillum mediocre*, because these seals had been the impressions of the second great royal seal lost in Wallachia. Of the eight documents, in six cases it can be established without any doubt that it was King Charles I's second seal that was attached to them, and the term *sigillum mediocre* referred to that particular seal (in the other two cases the seal attached to one diploma has been lost and only fragments of the other seal were left appended to the other). It follows from the above that after 1331 the term *sigillum mediocre* basically referred not to the seal of the *comes capellae*, but to one of the royal great seals, the second one in chronological order. The example cited in the introduction suggests that this term did not fall into oblivion even almost a hundred years later, because a seal on a diploma issued in 1330 – an impression of the second great seal of King Charles I – presented for confirmation and authentication in 1422, was given the name *sigillum mediocre* by the Palatine, Nicholas Garai.²³

What follows from the above for the seal kept by the *comes capellae*? After 1342 the term *sigillum maius* could refer to different seals at the same time, and we have no reason to exclude the possibility that the term *sigillum mediocre* might also have had different meanings, and even the seal kept by the *comes capellae* might have been given this name. Because this term was used to refer to another royal seal, the one used from the 1330s on and, because the surviving evidence shows that the term was used fairly often to indicate that particular seal – it is difficult to imagine that the seal of the *comes capellae* which was not used very often, should have had the same name as the prestigious second great royal seal. We cannot cite even a single occurrence to prove this use of the term. The situation was exactly the reverse of Kumorovitz's hypothesis: it was not the seal kept by the *comes capellae* which served as an example to the later use of the expression, and the term was not borrowed from the vocabulary of the Royal Chancery, either. Actually, the *comes capellae* began to employ a term to his seal which had referred to another seal before, the second royal great seal, and this coincidence prevented the term *sigillum mediocre* to come into general use in this new sense, except for a limited circle of users. Right through the Angevin period additional explanations were needed to complete and define more clearly the meaning of *sigillum mediocre*,

²² Anjou-oklt. 7: nr. 286 and 289; Anjou-oklt. 8: nr. 377; Anjou-oklt. 11: nr. 429, 430–432, 434–435. Of the diplomas listed here, the seal appended to one of them has been lost by now, (Anjou-oklt. 7: nr. 286), and only fragments of the seal fastening another diploma has survived (nr. 289).

²³ As the volumes containing the material of the years 1331 and 1332 of the Anjou-kori oklevéltár (Angevin Charters Series) are still unpublished and cannot be examined as yet, we have not been able to find documentary evidence for the exact date when the second great seal in chronological order of King Charles I, in use till 1330, was first given the name "*sigillum mediocre*."

in order that this term should mean the *sigillum mediocre* kept by the *comes capellae*, and this alone, and should not allow any misunderstanding.

Of course, this fact has important implications for the interpretation of this term even today. When we hear the term *sigillum mediocre*, we are inclined to think, as a matter of fact, that it refers to the seal used by the *comes capellae*. However, during the period between 1331 and 1342, in particular, at the time when Charles I's third seal was in use, this term originally meant the king's former, in chronological order second seal. This should be taken into consideration and kept carefully in mind, particularly interpreting and translating the diplomas and charters of this period and making of calendars.

Translated by ENÉH SZABÓ

Western Europe and Hungary in 1346 as reflected in the daily life of a diplomatic mission

SAROLTA HOMONNAI



There are several medieval sources left by envoy delegations and diplomatic missions in Western European archives. Hungarian medieval records, however, offer few such documents. Thus documents, such as the one on which the following study is based, are extremely rare. The source in question is a document revealing the diplomatic arrangements before the first Italian campaign of Louis the Great (1342–1382) against Naples. It sheds light on the daily life of a fourteenth-century envoy and provides insight into medieval life.

On 18 September 1345, Prince Andrew, the younger brother of King Louis the Great and the husband of Joan, the successor to the throne of Naples, was assassinated. Catharine Valois, princess of Taranto and titular empress of Constantinople, was behind the crime.¹

On the news of Prince Andrew's death, Pope Clement VI sent a letter of sympathy to King Louis, to Queen Elisabeth, and to Prince Stephen. He also promised to punish and anathematise the offenders. King Louis and Queen Elisabeth sent several delegations to the Papal Court in Avignon seeking a diplomatic solution

¹ I. Miskolczi, *Magyarország az Anjouk-korában*. [Hungary in the Angevin Period] Budapest 1923, 42–43; I. Miskolczi, "Nagy Lajos nápolyi hadjárata." [The Neapolitan Campaign of Louis the Great] *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* (1933), 46. For details see: A. Pór, *Nagy Lajos 1326–1382. Magyar Történeti Életrajzok*. [Louis the Great 1326–1382. Hungarian Historical Biographies] Budapest 1892, 89, 101–141; B. Hóman, and Gy. Szekfű, *Magyar történet*. [Hungarian History] Vol. 2, Budapest 1936, 180–184; Gy. Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*. [The Wars of the Angevin Period] Budapest 1988, 103–104; I. Bertényi, *Nagy Lajos király*. [King Louis the Great] Budapest 1989, 71–72.

to the crime, but they were of no avail,² and the king of Hungary opted for military intervention.

Louis the Great was the member of a coalition created by France seeking European hegemony. Charles Arton of Luxembourg, margrave of Moravia, who was elected as anti-king against Emperor Louis of Bavaria by the French king, Philip VI (1328–1350), Pope Clement VI, the Neapolitan Kingdom, the Hungarian Kingdom, and according to the Visegrád agreement of 1339, through Hungary, Poland also belonged to the league.³ As a result of the murder of Prince Andrew, Joan of Naples became the open enemy of the Hungarian Kingdom. The French and the Bohemian kings as well as the Papal Court of Avignon opposed the Hungarian ruler's decision to seek a military solution to the dynastic affront in Naples. From the old coalition only Casimir III, king of Poland remained on the side of Louis the Great.⁴ To avenge Prince Andrew's death, the Hungarian king then sought supporters among the enemies of his former allies. He established contact with Louis of Bavaria, who bore the imperial crown. And in return for the support of the emperor, he betrothed his younger brother, Prince Stephen, to the daughter of Louis of Bavaria.⁵ The Prince of Austria also promoted the campaign. The Hungarian ruler, in coalition with Louis of Bavaria and the Prince of Austria, established diplomatic relations with Edward III (1327–1377) of England as well.⁶

Hitherto, the Hungarian scholarly literature knew about two sources detailing relations with the English ruler. In these charters issued by Edward III, the king expressed sympathy with the Hungarian royal family, affirmed that the murder

² About the attempts of the peaceful and diplomatic arrangements of the matter and their failures see the following works: Pór, *Nagy Lajos*, 101–104; V. Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római Szentzsékkal. A magyar királyság megalapításától a konstanzi zsinatig*. [The Ecclesiastical and Political Relations Between Hungary and the Holy Roman See. From the Foundation of the Hungarian Kingdom Until the Council of Constance] Budapest 1901, 187–193; Miskolczy, *Magyarország az Anjouk korában*, 44–46; Miskolczy, "Nagy Lajos nápolyi hadjárata," 46–47; I. Miskolczy, *Magyarolasz összeköttetések az Anjouk korában. Magyar-nápolyi kapcsolatok*. [Hungarian–Italian Relations in the Age of the Angevin Rulers. Hungarian–Neapolitan Relations] Budapest 1937, 87–96; Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*, 105; Bertényi, *Nagy Lajos király*, 72–74.

³ Bertényi, *Nagy Lajos király*, 45. The above league will reach its peak with the Holy Roman imperial coronation of the former anti-king, Charles IV. Hóman–Szekfű, *Magyar történet*, 169–171.

⁴ Hóman–Szekfű, *Magyar történet*, 185–186.

⁵ G. Wenzel, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek az Anjou-korból*. [Hungarian Diplomatic Memoranda from the Angevin Period] 3 vols. Budapest 1875, 2: nos. 175, 179; Pór, *Nagy Lajos*, 114; Miskolczy, *Magyarország az Anjouk korában*, 44; Miskolczy, "Nagy Lajos nápolyi hadjárata," 47; Hóman–Szekfű, *Magyar történet*, 185; Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*, 109; Bertényi, *Nagy Lajos király*, 73.

⁶ Pór, *Nagy Lajos*, 114; Miskolczy, *Magyarország az Anjouk korában*, 44; Miskolczy, "Nagy Lajos nápolyi hadjárata," 47; Hóman–Szekfű, *Magyar történet*, 185; Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*, 109; Bertényi, *Nagy Lajos király*, 73. According to Fraknói in the previous year the English ruler made an offer to Louis the Great for establishing a league. Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései*, 194.

of Prince Andrew should avenged and offered assistance.⁷ From these charters it transpires that Louis the Great's envoy was Siegfried, abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Garamszentbenedek.

Abbot Siegfried was among the most prestigious ecclesiastical personalities of his time. He started his ecclesiastical career in Széplak. Later, in 1330, he was appointed head of the abbey of Garamszentbenedek, and from 1355 until 1365 he was the superior of the monastery of Pannonhalma. Before becoming the abbot, presumably as a member of the royal chapel, he contributed to administering the matters of the kingdom, since according to the sources the king named him as his favourite chaplain. His essential merit was the revival and renewal of the Hungarian Benedictine monasteries which were on decline and struggling with disciplinary and financial problems. He bore the brunt of reforming the movement until the appearance of the *Summa Magistri* bull of Pope Benedict XII and even after that, since we know that at the end of the 1330s he acted as the apostolic *visitor* of the Hungarian Benedictines. Siegfried had significant connections to the Holy See and visited the court of Avignon in 1340 and 1344.⁸ The experience gained during these visits and during his tenure in the royal chapel, provided him with legal and diplomatic knowledge making him suitable for promoting the Neapolitan campaign to the King of England.⁹ The abbot did not disappoint. From a charter of Edward III dated to 18 March it is also known that the English king sent his own envoy, Monk Walter de Mora, to Hungary to convey his favourable answer to King Louis' initiative. The memory of the delegation led by Siegfried was also preserved among the financial accounts of Edward III in a charter dated to 6 April 1346, in which there is an entry about a gift in the value of 20 marks. Edward III probably meant this to Louis the Great, since it was reg-

⁷ "...ad vindicandum tantum scelus... daremus libenter consilium et innamen..." in T. Rymer, *Foedera, Litterae, and Acta Publica*. London 1925, Vol. 3, Pars 1, 75–76; G. Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. 42 vols. Buda 1829–1844 (henceforth: *Fejér*) 9/1: 368–369; F. Trautz, "Die Reise eines englischen Gesandten nach Ungarn im Jahre 1346." *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 60 (1952), 360–361.

⁸ L. Erdélyi, and P. Sörös, *A pannonhalmi Szent Benedek Rend története*. [The History of the Benedictine Order of Pannonhalma] 12 vols. Budapest 1902–1912 (henceforth *PRT*) 2: 57; H. L. Csóka, *Szent Benedek fiainak világtörténete, különös tekintettel Magyarországra*. [The World-History of the Sons of Saint Benedict With Special Regard to Hungary] Budapest 1969, 549, 552, 556–557; E. Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon*. [Ecclesiastical Society in Medieval Hungary] Budapest 1971, 237. On the reform movement closely connected to Siegfried's name see recently: S. Homonnai, "A magyarországi bencések 14. századi reformtevékenysége." [The Fourteenth-Century Reform Activity of the Hungarian Benedictines] *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis* 110 (1999), 43–55.

⁹ S. Márki, "Magyar utazók a középkorban." [Hungarian Travellers during the Middle Ages] *Földrajzi Közlemények* (1890), 158; Pór, *Nagy Lajos*, 114; *PRT* 2: 57–58; Csóka, *Szent Benedek fiainak*, 556, 589; D. Dercsényi, *Nagy Lajos kora*. [The Age of Louis the Great] Budapest 1990, 64.

istered as an amount given to Abbot Siegfried.¹⁰ The records documenting the envoy's arrival to Hungary, when he was received by Queen Elisabeth and King Louis, are valuable not only for diplomatic historians, but also for the analysis of the fourteenth-century material culture.

The document in question is the travel account of the Dominican Monk Walter de Mora, the envoy of King Edward III, which contains all the expenses incurred during his journey through Europe from 25 March until 13 July 1346.¹¹ The account is a few pages long and the document includes entries regarding expenses and a few explanatory words. Monk Mora kept an accurate booking of his expenses and paid attention to note similar items down in different, well-defined groups. Thus, his account can be divided into four parts:

The amounts paid for food and nightly accommodation in the different towns.

The money expended on clothes, riding costumes, and shoes.

The *denarii* spent on buying horses and harnesses as well as on stables and shoeing. Within this part, with the title of "other expenses," there is another category, in which four differing entries were indicated. The expenses related to water transportation, the money spent on boats, river crossing, and ship rental.

From the first and biggest part of the account Mora's route can be outlined. However, in order to get a full picture of the entire journey – that is, to reveal this medieval itinerary from traversing the sea, the inland route by horse and the journey on rivers – the first chapter and the last group of entries on water transport should be treated together.¹²

Accordingly, the route of the English envoy was the following – indicating the most important stations: Gravesend, Sluis, Ghent, first river crossing on the Schelde at Dendermond, then through the Maas on the stone bridge in Maastricht. After passing Aachen and Cologne, they crossed the Mosel at Coblenz, then they reached Mainz, Nürnberg and Regensburg, where they celebrated Easter. In fact, Regensburg was the starting point of the trading route running along the Danube that was navigable from this point downwards. However, they chartered the ship from Vilshofen, they arrived within less than half a day to Passau, and finished their river trip on the Danube at Vienna. The first Hungarian station of the English delegation was in Óvár. The route in Hungary was as follows: they crossed the Rába river in Győr, then came Komárom where, due to the

¹⁰ "*cuidam abbati de partibus Hungarie nuper venienti in nuncium domino regi de rege Hungarie*" Trautz, "Die Reise eines englischen Gesandten," 360, note 11.

¹¹ Trautz, "Die Reise eines englischen Gesandten," 363–368.

¹² For the minutely detailed reconstruction of the journey see: S. Homonnai, "'Eundo in nuncium regis versus regem Hungariae.' Egy diplomáciai út és költségei 1346-ban." [*Eundo in nuncium regis versus regem Hungariae. A Diplomatic Journey and Its Expenses in 1346*] *Aetas* 14:3 (1999); S. Homonnai, "Egy angol követ a 14. századi Magyarországon." [An English Envoy in Fourteenth-Century Hungary] in *Tanulmányok a középkori magyar történelemből. Az I. Medievisztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 1999. július 2.) előadásai*. ed. S. Homonnai, F. Piti, I. Tóth. Szeged 1999, 17–27.

location of the town, they had to cross the Danube twice.¹³ Mora, after staying one day in Esztergom, arrived to the Hungarian royal court in Visegrád, where his delegation spent six days. Then they went on to follow Louis the Great, who was on the way to the town of Zara in order to relieve it.¹⁴ Mora, therefore, – in order to hand over Edward III's letter – set off towards the Adriatic coast. The English envoy was probably not happy about this "jaunt" to the seaside, since his resources were running low. So far in his journey he had spent approximately 2,600 *denarii*, more than half of the total of 4,800 *denarii*, for the whole mission. From Fehérvár the English delegation headed along the southern bank of Lake Balaton: after Somogyvár and Segesd at Zákány they crossed the Drava, then came Kapronca, Kőrös and Rakovec. Finally, they caught up with the Hungarian king in Zagreb. Mora and his retinue set forth again on their journey after three days, and they got back to Visegrád in almost the same amount of time that it took them to Zagreb. Back in the royal court the envoy had to wait an additional six days for an answer from the Queen.

The delegation returned to England by a slightly different route: they went round Komárom, through Vas to Óvár, then came Hainburg, Vienna, Passau and Regensburg. After Regensburg, in Miltenberg, it went by boat on the Main via Main-Frankfurt to reach Mainz. There again it chartered a ship and travelled up to Cologne on the Rhine.

The delegation arrived to Ghent via Aachen where Mora had to interrupt his journey for a while. He was "held back" by William Stury, the commissioner of King Edward III. Stury had been staying in Flanders for several months to lay the ground for the next phase of the Hundred Years' War leading up to Cressy (Crécy) and gain the support of local towns for Edward III. Stury wanted to communicate the news to the English king through Mora.¹⁵ To cross the sea Mora hired a ship for 160 *denarii*, that is for 40 *denarii* more than at the time of the first crossing. Immediately after landing at Ospringe, he rented a two-wheeled carriage up to Rochester, then with relayed horses he rode via London to Portsmouth where he passed over to the Isle of Wight, and finally at Freshwater he

¹³ Gy. Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza*. [The Historical Geography of Hungary in the Arpadian Age] 4 vols. Budapest 1963–1998 (henceforth ÁMF) 3: 429, 432.

¹⁴ In July 1345 Louis the Great conducted a campaign against the barons of Croatia sympathizing with Venice in order to put down their riots. The Croatian lords and the Dalmatian towns submitted themselves in succession to the Hungarian king, and Zara also requested the control of the Hungarian ruler. Therefore, Venice began a campaign against Zara. The relief troops led by Stephen Kotromanics did not provide appropriate help, thus from the autumn of 1345 until the spring of 1346 Zara alone had to beat off the Venetian attacks. For the aid supplication of the envoys of Zara, this time Louis the Great himself departed for the release of the town. Pór, *Nagy Lajos*, 68–94; M. Wertner, "Nagy Lajos király hadjáratai (1342–1382)." [The Campaigns of King Louis the Great (1342–1382)] *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* (1918), 70–71, 74; Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*, 98–102, 104–106; Bertényi, *Nagy Lajos király*, 60–61.

¹⁵ Trautz, "Die Reise eines englischen Gesandten," 361.

managed to catch up with his ruler. Edward III had already gone on board and was waiting for fair wind to sail to Cressy. The journey which began on 25 March in Windsor ended on 13 July.

After having outlined the political details and the route of the envoy, let us investigate other details that can be gleaned through a closer analysis of Mora's entries. In England during the entire Middle Ages the same monetary system was in use: 1 pound was equal to 20 silver *solidi*, and from this amount 240 *denarii* were minted.¹⁶ In the Middle Ages their denomination differed from country to country, but their division everywhere followed the monetary system of Charlemagne.¹⁷

The resolution of the abbreviations to be found in the account is the following:

Li. = *libra* (pl. *librae*) – the Latin term for pound

s. = *solidus* (pl. *solidi*)

d. = *denarius* (pl. *denarii*).

Furthermore,

1 *libra* = 20 *solidi* = 240 *denarii*

1 *solidus* = 12 *denarii*.

With the help of this formula, each financial item can easily be converted into *denarius*, thus making it easier to compare expenses.

The English envoy received 20 *librae*, that is 4,800 *denarii*, for covering the expenses of his journey. In comparison, the gift intended to the Hungarian king worth 13 *librae* 6 *solidi* and 8 *denarii*, that is 3,200 *denarii*.¹⁸ In this light, 4,800 *denarii* was rather tight to cover the expenses of a delegation for 110 days. In fact, at the end of the journey the amount proved insufficient. The list of expenses provides data for comparing Western European and Hungarian prices on food and accommodation.

In the Middle Ages there were two main meals during the day. The first meal, the *prandium*, took place sometime in the morning – often late in the morning, around noon. Perhaps this luncheon was a richer meal than the second one, the *cena*, which usually was consumed around six o'clock in the evening or even later.¹⁹ In the account of Mora each breakfast had its own entry. However, there is only one entry detailing the cost of a *cena*: the one in Aachen, when the cost of the

¹⁶ B. Hóman, *Magyar pénztörténet*. [Hungarian Monetary History] Budapest 1916, 36, 50; Zs. Kulcsár, *Így éltek a középkorban. Nyugat-Európa a XI–XIV. században*. [So Lived in the Middle Ages. Western Europe in the Eleventh–Fourteenth Centuries] Budapest 1967, 213; H. Pirenne, *A középkori gazdaság és társadalom története*. [The History of Medieval Economy and Society] Budapest 1983, 177. P. Engel, "A 14. századi magyar pénztörténet néhány kérdése." [Some Questions of the Fourteenth-Century Hungarian Monetary History] *Századok* 124 (1990), 27, 69.

¹⁷ Pirenne, *A középkori gazdaság*, 177.

¹⁸ In the course of medieval diplomatic missions it became a custom that the envoys took gifts with themselves. N. Ohler, *Reisen im Mittelalter*. Munich 1995, 103.

¹⁹ Kulcsár, *Így éltek a középkorban*, 48; A. Kubinyi, "A középkori anyagi kultúra kutatása és néhány módszertani problémája." [The Investigation of Medieval Material Culture and Some of Its Methodological Problems] *Aetas* (1990/3), 56.

dinner and the lodging was altogether 24 *denarii*. The next morning, at the same place, they paid 19 *denarii* for breakfast.

Therefore, the comparison of the above two sums confirms the assumption that breakfast was the richer meal, since the 24 *denarii* included dinner and an accommodation charge. I believe that in the other entries of the account the accommodation fees likewise contain – though they are not indicated separately – the amount paid for dinners.

Comparing the sums paid for breakfasts and nights, the following can be derived: up to Regensburg the *prandium* usually cost more than the evening shelter, while from Regensburg until the end of the journey the nightly expenses were higher, and less was paid for the *prandium*. How can this be explained?

The delegation led by Mora celebrated the Easter in Regensburg on 16 April. Until then they pursued their way fasting. This is well represented in the sum paid on the “culmination day” of the Lenten tide, on Good Friday: for breakfast and accommodation altogether 24 *denarii* was paid. In Regensburg, however, eating restrictions ended.

Hence, it seems fair to suppose that the menu was enriched after Regensburg. Judging from the tendency of the sums paid for the nights to raise, the variable was the content of the dinners. In Lenten times, supposedly, only one modest evening meal was allowed, and it is plausible that some abstained from dinner. Thus, the *prandium* remained the more nutritious meal. It is also possible that after Lent from Regensburg onwards, not only *prandium* but also *cena* were consumed daily, and this caused a rise of expenses for boarding as it included the price of the dinner. Both assumptions can be matched with the rise occurring in the amounts paid for the nights.

With what else the menu could be enriched after the Lent except meat? For the crossing towards Flanders bread, wine, and fish were taken on board. However, on the main and while crossing the Channel back to England meat was consumed exclusively.

Concerning eating, the term “*mane in prandio*” – that is “in the morning for breakfast” – was to be read in the entry registered at Mainz, which specifies the time definition of the first main meal of the day. This points to the fact that the travellers consumed the *prandium* some time late in the morning or around noon; equivalent of lunch. Otherwise, the envoy would not have laid special emphasis on the fact that in the above case – differing from customary time – they had their *prandium* in the morning. Sometimes the members of the delegation had their meal not in a certain town but on board. Travelling on the Danube the first meal of the day was always consumed on the ship. It happened so while crossing the sea from Flanders back to England as well. This can be inferred from the “*in navi*” expression used at the related entries. In other cases they themselves took the food on board – “*ad navem*” – buying it still in London, as it happened at the beginning of the journey, or before boarding while travelling on the Main and the Rhine. The self-obtained food-products were cheaper than the sums paid for meals – supposedly eaten in inns or guesthouses. On board they took wine, bread, fish, meat as well as forage for the horses. On the Main they could have

consumed their dinner on board or they had not eaten at all, since in their lodging site, in Seligenstadt, they paid only 9 *denarii* for the night. This price was too low to contain a meal as well. During the journey on the Rhine, beside the hay and fodder carried on board, only wine was recorded as food. In this case the travellers had breakfast before boarding – “*mane in prandio*” – and in the evening – deducing from the price – they also had dinner.

Let us see some particular data with relation to Western Europe and Hungary.

For accommodation and food items the prices can be compared on the basis of four different aspects:

1. The amounts paid only for lodging.

In Hungary these expenses ranged between 21 and 30 *denarii*, on average the nightly accommodation of the delegation cost 25/26 *denarii*. In Western Europe before Easter the lowest sum was 12, while the highest sum was 20 *denarii*, on average the travellers paid 16/17 *denarii* per night. After Easter, for the above-described reasons, the prices increased: there were lodging fees from 16 up to 27 *denarii*, on average a night cost 21 *denarii*. In Western Europe we come across both before and after Easter with certain outstandingly striking 9 *denarii* items. The highest amount paid for accommodation was in Hungary: in Buda, Somogyvár and Zákány. All in all, the amounts paid for the nights were higher in Hungary than anywhere else during the journey.

2. The amounts paid only for breakfast.

In Hungary the prices ranged between 21 and 29 *denarii*, on average the delegation paid 25/26 *denarii* for breakfast. In Western Europe before Easter the two end values were 19 and 25 *denarii*, on average 21/22 *denarii* were paid for the first meal of the day. However, after Easter the lowest sum was 13 *denarii*, while the top extreme was still 25 *denarii*, on average 18/19 *denarii* was paid. The decrease of the latter average price also indicates the practice of eating twice a day. By having food in the evening as well did not call for a rich first meal, as needed before Easter. There was only one outstandingly high amount noted in Hainburg at Pentecost when they paid 37 *denarii* for the first meal. Except for this, the most expensive breakfast can again be connected to Hungary. In Segesd it cost 29 *denarii*. Summing up, the prices paid for breakfasts were again higher in Hungary.

3. The expenses spent during one day and a night altogether.

Concerning Hungary such data can be cited only approximately: in Zagreb the delegation stayed for three days and nights in the camp of the king paying 122 *denarii*, therefore the charges of one day and a night were about 40 *denarii*. The six days spent in Visegrád required 225 *denarii*, which meant around 37 *denarii* for a day and night. In Western Europe the prices in this respect were surprisingly consistent before Easter: in Cologne, Mainz, Nürnberg and Regensburg the delegation paid 42 *denarii* for the expenses of one day and a night. After Easter, however, one can only find such entries in the account with relation to more than one day. Averaging the data, the expenses of a day and night ranged between 15 and 40 *denarii*. Thus, with respect to this type of expenditure, Hungary and Western Europe showed similar prices.

4. The sums expended for a night and breakfast altogether.

In Esztergom such expenses totalled 46, in Fehérvár 45 *denarii*. There are two such Western European data in the account: there is an item of 41 *denarii* in Aub, and of 24 *denarii* in Kallmünz. Consequently, it seems that Hungary was more expensive in this respect as well.

It also has to be noted that in England, the envoy usually paid lower average sums in each of the four categories.

In the first part of the account, especially in case of the sums paid for eating and night accommodation the higher expenses paid for in Hungary are striking. Yet the higher costs were not characteristic of the whole country. Indeed, higher costs occurred only when going from Visegrád towards Zagreb. Prices charged in Esztergom were comparable to that of other European big cities. The English envoy himself gave an explanation for the high prices: "...*exercitus regis omnia cara faciebat*," that is "the royal army made everything more expensive." The Hungarian army marching towards Dalmatia, generated a general jump in prices in the middle and southern part of the Transdanubian region.

The English royal delegation performed almost the entire journey on horseback, so no wonder that a separate chapter was dedicated to the expenses spent on horses. In this group of entries the most frequently recurring item was shoeing. It seems that horseshoes of newly bought horses could least stand the hardship and rigours of the road. In general, each fourth-seventh day one of the horses had to be shod, a procedure that was relatively inexpensive, ranging between 4 and 12 *denarii*. On average, in Hungary, one can count on 7, while elsewhere in Europe the cost was of 8 *denarii* for shoeing. We can also compare the price of horses, Monk Mora bought two horses in Buda for 780 *denarii*, while he spent 1,000 *denarii* for the same in Ghent. No entry was to be found in the account concerning the price of stable usage; it was always entered together with the shoeing expenses. Therefore, one can only guess that the daily fee of stables could not have been more than 4 *denarii*. The common cost of a stable and shoeing in Zagreb for three days was 21, in Vienna – coming towards Hungary – was 20, and in Cologne it was 18 *denarii*. However, on the way back home in Vienna they paid a higher 40 *denarii*. An explanation should be found in the additional phrase of "entirely new shoeing," since in other places where Mora had his horses shod the expenses were noted down without any adjectives. In the earlier cases, perhaps, the horseshoes had only been fastened or mended, but on the way back in Vienna he probably needed completely new horseshoes that might have cost much more. Horse harnesses, on the other hand, were rather expensive: in Ghent the English envoy spent 80 *denarii* on saddle, snaffle, belts and thongs. In Visegrád one single snaffle bit cost 12 *denarii*.

Thus in regard to the upkeep of horses, there were no sharp divergences, as prices were similar in Hungary and Western Europe.

The expenses incurred with water transport can also be compared.

In Hungary, three such entries are to be found in the account. However, the exact price was clearly indicated only at one of them: at Győr, for crossing the Rába the delegation paid 6 *denarii*, whereas the document is damaged at the en-

tries describing the cost of ferries on the Danube at Komárom and on the Drava at Zákány. Nevertheless, due to the fact that at the end of each greater item a summary appeared, namely the total sum was indicated, and that the part on water transportation is blank only at the above two places, these two missing Hungarian expenses can be deduced. The two items together were "worth" 24 *denarii*. This amount should not be divided in two but in three because at Komárom the Danube was crossed twice. Thus, the crossing tariff over the two mentioned rivers was 8 *denarii* on average. In the course of the Western European part of the journey, the Shelde was crossed for 3–3, the Mosel for 6, and the Main for 5–5 *denarii*. Therefore, it was more expensive to cross rivers in Hungary.

It is also worth comparing the prices of river and maritime navigation. On the Danube – progressing in time – we come across with daily ship rental fees of 24, 18, and 30 *denarii*, while on the Main and Rhine, they hired a ship for 20 *denarii* per day. As compared to these prices, the sum paid for traversing the sea was extremely high: to cross the Channel between England and Flanders for the first time cost 120 and for the second 160 *denarii*.

Among the entries on clothing listed in the English envoy's account, no Hungarian data are to be found, therefore no similar comparison to the above can be made.

Concerning the travelling speed, there is no significant difference between Hungary and Western Europe.

Given the bad road conditions of the Middle Ages, in one day a horseman was able to cover 50–70 kilometres.²⁰ In the fourteenth century an equestrian messenger could overcome 50–80 kilometres a day.²¹ In Monk Mora's account the daily accomplishments provide a diversified picture, they were ranging on a wide scale from 36 to 115 kilometres. In the light of the given data, Mora proceeded with an average daily speed of 78–80 kilometres, which adjusted to the medieval transport circumstances.

There is only one piece of information concerning the travelling speed of a two-wheeled carriage: the distance from Ospringe to Rochester (35 kilometres) was fulfilled within half a day, therefore its daily mileage corresponds to that of a horseman.

It is worth mentioning some expenses closely related to the envoy's mission, for which Mora did not open a separate chapter, but tagged them to the end of the items connected to horses. Several entries can also be found among the notes of the Exchequer at the end of the account. Some coats of arms representing the official character of Mora's journey and designating his employer's identity were painted for 45 *denarii*.²² The envoy had to pay for the safe-conducts provided in Bavaria, Austria, and in Hungary ensuring the immunity and safety of the dele-

²⁰ L. Tarr, *A kocsí története*. [The History of Cars] Budapest 1968, 169; Ohler, *Reisen im Mittelalter*, 141.

²¹ Ohler, *Reisen im Mittelalter*, 141.

²² The envoys had to be "striking," their clothes, jewelry, and harness had to indicate their significance. Ohler, *Reisen im Mittelalter*, 102.

gation; and in the same countries he also had to compensate the royal and imperial escort. To the latter he paid altogether 240 *denarii*. The generally accepted "accessory" of an envoy's office, the grafting money,²³ given to Queen Elisabeth's *magister ianitorum* amounted to 24 *denarii*, which almost corresponded to the sum of a single meal and accommodation.

The total expenditure incurred during the journey by the English royal envoy aggregated to more than 7,580 *denarii*.²⁴ It is known that Mora was given 4,800 *denarii* for his expenses. According to the note of the Exchequer, however, Mora rendered an account of 6,600 *denarii* and, in addition, he listed two other items of 60 and 600 *denarii*. Namely, as stated by the official registration, he spent 7,260 *denarii*.

The Exchequer established the total sum of the account in 30 *librae*, namely in 7,200 *denarii*.

How much did Mora spend in reality: 7,580 or 7,260 or 7,200 *denarii*?

– In fact – due to the missing data – more than 7,580 *denarii*.

– At Mora's own option the officially accountable sum was 7,260 *denarii*.

– At the Exchequer's option the officially accountable sum was 7,200 *denarii*.

The Exchequer was able to reimburse the envoy only 2,400 *denarii* – above the sum of 4,800 *denarii* provided before the journey – therefore, the envoy met a loss of more than 380 *denarii*.

Finally, I would draw the attention to two monetary peculiarities encountered in the process of correlating English and Hungarian money. By the analysis of the Hungarian items of the invoice, I tried to change the English *denarii* according to the Hungarian rate.

In England the London mark of 233.3533-gram weight was current, which as a calculative money worth 160 *denarii*.²⁵ In Hungary, during the Angevin period, the Buda mark was in use and that equalled to the Parisian weight of 245.53779 grams.²⁶ Between 1346 and 1351, from one Buda mark 504 pieces of *denarii* were minted.²⁷ Thus, we are able to define the proportion of English and Hungarian *denarii*:

If the weight of 1 English *denarius*: $233.3533 / 160 = 1.4584$ g,

and the weight of 1 Hungarian royal *denarius*: $245.53779 / 504 = 0.4871$ g,

then 1 English *denarius* / 1 Hungarian *denarius*: $1.4584 \text{ g} / 0.4871 \text{ g} = 2.99$.

Therefore, we can state that, in 1346, one English silver *denarius* equalled appr. three Hungarian royal silver *denarii*. However, I have to note that the above pro-

²³ Ohler, *Reisen im Mittelalter*, 95.

²⁴ Several parts of the account was damaged, the price of many items are missing, especially from the first and largest part. Moreover, in the summary of this chapter there is no financial data either. Therefore, we could only take into consideration those sums at our disposal, and on that basis was the 7,580 *denarii* calculated. However, no doubt that the envoy had expended much more than that.

²⁵ Hóman, *Magyar pénztörténet*, 49–50.

²⁶ Hóman, *Magyar pénztörténet*, 54–55, 94–99; Engel, "A 14. századi magyar pénztörténet," 28–29, 32.

²⁷ Engel, "A 14. századi magyar pénztörténet," 65.

portion is only proximate and one should not take it for granted, since it is not known, for example, whether the two examined coins were on a similar standard of fineness, or not.

The second conclusion I deduced from the data of the above-examined account is the following.

The English royal envoy spent 12 golden florins on his journey from Zagreb to Visegrád which lasted 5–6 days. This sum, according to Mora's own remark, was equal to 30 *solidi*. Thus:

If 12 English golden florins = 30 *solidi* = 360 English silver *denarii*,
and 1 English silver *denarius* = 3 Hungarian silver *denarii*,
then 12 English golden florins = $3 \times 360 = 1,080$ Hungarian silver *denarii*,
and 1 English golden florin = $1,080 / 12 = 90$ Hungarian silver *denarii*.

We know that in Hungary, between 1344 and 1351, one Hungarian golden florin was equal to 90 *denarii*.²⁸ Therefore, comparing the above formula with the proportion of the Hungarian golden florin and *denarius*, it turns out that the Hungarian and English golden florin represented about the same value, namely they were of similar weight. This deduction supports our knowledge that the golden florin used the 3.5-gram weight Florentine golden florin known since 1252 as a standard in every country, and these countries attempted to stick to the value of that norm.²⁹

On the basis of these rates, I hazard that in the mid-fourteenth century Hungary can be categorised among the significant countries of Europe as a Central European power not only due to its stable circumstances and dynamic foreign policy but also on the basis of its monetary conditions. It was within the norms of contemporary Europe and in many cases – as it has been investigated – proved to be more expensive. The golden florin of the country retained its value, and its silver *denarius* – being in 1:3 proportion with the English silver *denarius* – enviably high from today's perspective.

Translated by JUDITH MAJOROSSY

²⁸ Engel, "A 14. századi magyar pénztörténet," 51.

²⁹ Engel, "A 14. századi magyar pénztörténet," 43.

The Turkmen Identity Crisis in the fifteenth-century Middle East

The Turkmen–Turkish Struggle for Supremacy

TAEF EL-AZHARI



"The harm which was caused by the Turkmen Swār to the locals and the region was much worse than what Timur-lane had inflicted on the area."¹

Ibn Aja

These were the lines of the chief justice (qādi) of the Mamluk army d. 881/1476, who witnessed the Mamluk campaign against the Dulkadirid Turkmen to restore Anatolia to their suzerainty. The study of the Turkmen history is a key element in the Middle East today which still requires extensive research to understand these diverse elements scattered from the Black Sea and Caspian Sea in the north to Iraq, Syria, and the Levant in the south, as well as from Turkey in the west to Eastern Iran in the east. The Turkmen were always the forgotten minority in the area despite their large population. In the absence of official records, their numbers cannot be calculated, but it is widely accepted that they exceed three millions in Iraq, and one million in Syria and other countries.

The Turkmen identity still causes a serious problem today, and since the invasion of Iraq in 2003 the Republic of Turkey (founded by Turkmen) has closely monitored its relatives in Iraq who are threatened by the Kurds and is ready to launch a war if the Iraqi Turkmen were harmed. From my frequent travels in the Levant, I witnessed Turkmen villages in Northern Syria, and in remote areas such as around the foothill of Krak des Chevaliers: an unexpected place to be inhabited mainly by Christians and a clear testament to their deep penetration of the Middle East.

¹ Ibn Aja, *al-ʿIrāk bayn al-Māmalik wa al-Uthmāniyyūn al-Atrāk*. ed. M. Dahman, Damascus 1986, 145.

The appearance of the Turkmen in the Middle East could be divided into two stages: the first in the eleventh century, when the Saljuq Oghuz tribe led a massive Turkmen federation to immigrate from Central Asia westwards into Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Anatolia. The battle of Manzikert in 1071 opened the gate to waves of Turkmen immigration which started the Turkification process of Anatolia.² The second stage took place under many Turkmen princes (beys) fleeing before the Mongol terror and entering Anatolia, Iraq, Northern Iran in large numbers in the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries.³ The principal Turkmen elements were the Ottoman Oghuz in central and eastern Anatolia, the Qaramanids in central Anatolia, the Qara Qoyūnlū in Iraq, Eastern Anatolia, and Azerbaijan, the Āq Qoyūnlū in Iraq, Eastern Anatolia, and Azerbaijan, and finally the Dulkadirids. It is worth pointing out that such vast immigration pushed forward and displaced diverse Kurdish tribes as far north as the Armenian region.⁴ That added to the identity and settlement problem in the Middle East, still unresolved today.

Since the first four Turkmen powers have received attention by scholars such as V. Minorsky, J. Woods, and H. Inalcik among others, this article focuses on the Dulkadirid Turkmen and attempts to examine aspects of their history. It should be pointed out that the early stages of the Dulkadirids remains obscure, and the Mamluk documentation on the fifteenth century remains the prime source of this information, prior to the Ottoman source materials from the end of the fifteenth century. The Turkmen administration did not develop enough to produce many documents, or suffered heavy losses and a great part is not extant.

The Dulkadirids 740–921/1339–1515, were Turkmen⁵ tribes from central Asia, arriving to Eastern Anatolia in the fourteenth century when escaping from the Mongols. Their settlements were between two other Turkish powers, the Ottomans to the west, and the Mamluks to the north, east and south. They developed politically into the fifteenth century to rule the Principality of Albistan and Maʿrash to the west of the Euphrates.⁶ This new Turkish element would be a cause of uncertainty between the Ottomans and the Mamluks later on.

From the few mentioned stories on their early relations with the Mamluks, it seems that they paid homage to the Mamluk sultanate⁷ which was governing a large part of Eastern Anatolia. Such homage was necessary in order to survive,

² B. Spuler, "The disintegration of the Caliphate in the East," in *The Cambridge history of Islam*, vol. IA, 149–150.

³ O. Turan, "Anatolia in the period of the Seljuks," in *The Cambridge history of Islam*, vol. IA, 251. D. Morgan, *Medieval Persia*. London 1988, 102.

⁴ C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*. London 1968, 316. Reading the journey of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa d. 1377, who traveled through Anatolia will help understand The turkification of the region. Tuhfat al-Nuzzār, 1992, 299–334.

⁵ Turkmen is the Persian form for the Turkish tribes of Central Asia.

⁶ V. Minorsky, *The Turks, Iran and the Caucasus in the Middle Ages*. London 1978, 28.

⁷ al-Sakhāwī had mentioned that Mamluk sultans encouraged political marriage in the early fifteenth century with this principality which was considered a honour bestowed upon Dulkadirid rulers. *al-Tibr al-Masbuk*, Beirut 1984, 308. Morgan, *Medieval Persia*, 94.

especially with other Turkmen elements hovering over the area looking for pasture and political power. They needed the Mamluk support at a time when they were breaking from the Timurid subjugation of Anatolia during the rule of Timurlane (†1405) and his son Shāh Rukh († 1447). As for their relations with the Ottomans, the latter were expanding on the Western side most of the fourteenth century, and in the first half of the fifteenth century, thus the Ottomans did not get involved in the affairs of the Dulkadirids until the 1460s. It is difficult to catalogue the Dulkadirid appearance in the sources before their manifestation as a clear political power with a significant role in the area.

The Egyptian historian Ibn Taghri (†1471) furnishes us with details of amicable relations between the Ottomans and the Mamluks until the capture of Constantinople in 1453,⁸ reflected in their respect towards the Turkmen principalities under the Mamluks. This changed in 1465, when the Dulkadirid lord Arslān (Turkmen for "lion") 858–870/1454–1465 was assassinated in Cairo, probably upon the order of Khushqadam the Mamluk sultan († 1467), who wanted to replace him with a more capable and loyal prince. That incident led to strife within the Dulkadirid house, when some commanders refused the newly appointed Mamluk lord, Budāq (Turkmen for "mountain") and – led by Swār (Turkmen for "Knight") – were seeking Ottoman support. Sultan Muḥammad II († 1481) seized this opportunity to expand Eastward and appointed his own candidate, Swār as lord of the Dulkadirids with a sultanate diploma.⁹ Thus the Dulkadirid principality was to split into two parts: one in Mar'ash governed by Dudāq, and another in Albistan governed by Swār pulling out of the Mamluk orbit. Here it seems that the rebellion of Swār was not bold enough to declare independence, but the Turkmen identity was attached to a much stronger Turkish one, after a century in Anatolia.

Not long before that the Ottoman candidate took over most of the territories of the Dulkadirids, which resulted in Budāq's flight to Cairo in 871/1466–1467. The Mamluk sultanate dispatched an army lead by Bard Bek, the vice-sultan of Syria in the same year, but it was defeated by Swār. One of the most interesting reasons for such a defeat was the defection of the vice-sultan to Swār's camp.¹⁰ Some believe that such a defection with many Turkish soldiers in the campaign was not only a result of political ambition, but also due to the similarity of the Turkish elements in the Middle East which facilitated such a move based on the common tribal behaviour of Central Asia.

Swār the Dulkadirid managed to widen his sphere of influence in 1467–1468 by attacking the Mamluk cities of Eastern Anatolia while taking advantage of the power vacuum in Egypt with three successive sultans coming to power following the death of Khushqadam in 1467.

In Rajab 872/February 1468, the new and long-reigning Burji sultan Qaitbay († 1496), commissioned a very large army, headed by atabeg Qalaqsiz (Turkmen

⁸ *Ibn Taghri Birdi, al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*. Beirut 1988, Vol. XVI, 49–50.

⁹ *al-Sakhāwī, al-Daw' Allāmi*. Beirut 1977, Vol. III, 273.

¹⁰ *al-Sakhāwī, al-Daw' Allāmi*. Beirut 1977, Vol. III, 274.

for "not distressed"), the second in command in the realm to confront the rebellious Dulkadirid Swār.¹¹ From implicit evidence in the sources other Turkmen elements can be seen in Syria and Eastern Anatolia joining the Egyptian army against Swār. Not only those, but another Turkmen principality, Banū Ramaḍān in Adana in South Taurus remained loyal to the Mamluks and helped them by attacking some territories belonging to Swār.¹² These Turkmen elements did not join the pact with Swār.

It is not the aim of this survey to provide a chronological narrative of the copious military activity recorded by contemporary chronicles. However, it can be stated that the Mamluk-Turkmen army managed to recapture 'Ayntāb from Swār in April 1468 and deterred him from threatening Aleppo, the heart of Mamluk Northern Syria. Two months later, Swār inflicted a heavy defeat on the Mamluks, capturing their leader Qalaqsiz. Aleppo now faced a great threat.¹³ This swift change of fortune could be attributed partly to Ottoman help, but also to Swār mustering a large number of Turkmen mercenaries in eastern Anatolia, who participated in his campaign as 'shareholder soldiers' under his banner as the habit of the Turkmen. Carl Petry, who studied the last Mamluks extensively argues that Qalaqsiz, after being released from captivity, changed his loyalty to Swār.¹⁴ One cannot avoid the fundamental issue of identity here, with the second Turkish commander in the Mamluk sultanate cooperating with fellow Turkmen. The difference here is that Mamluk Turks were kidnapped from Central Asia and the Caucasus with no family, but were greatly influenced by the traditions of the previous dynasties (Saljuqs, Zangids, and Ayyubids) while Dulkadirids were free Turks with the institution of the family occupying a major part of their lives.

The next step in Swār's plan was to interfere in Mamluk Syrian affairs by issuing a charter to the locals of Aleppo and Damascus in which he claimed the Sultanate for himself as an independent lord and assured them their safety.¹⁵ Swār was attempting to galvanize the Turkish elements around him in a daring attempt to create an identity outside the remote isolated region of Southern Taurus. He also was trying to make use of the large Turkmen population in and around Aleppo, an area exposed to massive Turkmen settlement starting with the Saljuqs in the eleventh century.

Sultan Qaitbay commissioned a large force lead by atabeg Uzbek (Turkmen for "brain", also a developed form of 'Oghuz') from Cairo to confront Swār in Sh'abān 873/February 1469. It is worth mentioning that in addition to the Mam-

¹¹ Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i al-Zohūr*. ed. M. Mustafa, Cairo 1963, Vol. III, 7.

¹² Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i al-Zohūr*, 37-40; I. Turkhan, *Miṣr fi'ṣaṣr al-Mamalik al-Jarākisa*. Cairo 1960, 125-126.

¹³ Ibn Taghri Birdi, *Hawādith al-Duhūr*. ed. B. William, California 1932, Vol. 3: 633-634. S. Harel, *The Ottoman-Mamluk War, 1485-1491*. Brill 1995, 89.

¹⁴ C. Petry, *The last Mamluk sultans and Egypt's waning as a great power*. New York 1994, 43.

¹⁵ al-Sairafi, *Inbā' al-Haṣr*. ed. H. Habash, Cairo 1970, 29-30.

luk-Turkish regular army, many Turkmen mercenaries were in their company.¹⁶ That army managed three months later to inflict heavy defeat on Swār near Aleppo, killing a brother of his named Malbek, and capturing two others. Swār himself managed to escape by taking refuge in the Ottoman territories.¹⁷

According to Ibn Aja († 1476), weeks later, while the Mamluks were returning to Aleppo, Swār and a massive host of Turkmen managed to surprise the Mamluks and devastate them. The victory of Swār made him a legend comparable to Timurlane which was reflected in some poems of the period.¹⁸

The question which should be addressed here is how did the Dulkadirid Turkmen manage to gather such a large force and reverse their fortune? There is no clear answer in the absence of detailed information, but the saturation of the area with them made forming and breaking alliances a routine. In addition to the Ottoman assistance to minimize the Mamluk presence in Eastern Anatolia, it should be added that the image of the Mamluk sources on the Turkmen was that of robbers, ready to move at a moment's notice.

Later in the same year, Swār tried to capitalize on his victory, by negotiating with the Mamluk sultanate and trying to enter into a vassal relation with Egypt. He demanded the recognition of his authority over his capital Albistan and the other vicinities. Also he dared to request permission to deploy some Dulkadirid forces in Aleppo under the supervision of the Mamluks in return for the surrender of 'Ayntab to Cairo.

His proposals were declined, spoiling any chance of separate identity for the Dulkadirid.¹⁹ The reaction was harsh. Swār attacked the countryside of Aleppo in an economic attrition, and in addition he annexed lands from fellow Turkmen to the southwest in Adana in 875/summer 1470. That had a devastating effect in the area concerning the Mamluk territories. The locals in Sis, between Albistan and Adana, arrested the Mamluk lord of the town and contacted Swār to surrender the town to him. According to Ibn Aja, the Turkmen looting of the area was much worse than the devastation inflicted by the Timurids.²⁰ Undoubtedly, the majority of the population of Sis were Turkmen – like most of the area around Taurus – who were looking for stability in their daily lives. That could endanger the Mamluk interests in the area, and might lead to more territorial losses, especially that of Malatya, north of Albistan. It was a Mamluk city and vital commer-

¹⁶ Ibn Taghri, *Hawādith*, 700; Harel, *The Ottoman-Mamluk War*, 90. It is a strenuous task to understand the diverse mosaic of the Turkmen elements of both fronts, saturated with them and in the area in general, as sources themselves do not give much details about their clans and tribes.

¹⁷ Ibn Taghri, *Hawādith*, 709–710. al-Šairafi, *Inbā' al-Hasr*, 69–70. Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i al-Zohūr*, 32–33; Turkhan, *Miṣr fi aṣr al-Mamalik al-Jarakisa*, 126–127.

¹⁸ Ibn Aja, *al-ʿIrāk*, 46. The former Dulkadirid lord Budāq was in the Egyptian company in Syria and returned to Egypt with them. It is not clear if he had participated in the warfare.

¹⁹ Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i al-Zohūr*, 44. Turkhan, *Miṣr*, 128. H. Inalcik, "The emergence of the Ottomans," in *The Cambridge history of Islam*, vol. IA, 1979, 264.

²⁰ al-Šairafi, *Inbā' al-Hasr*, 239. Harel, *The Ottoman-Mamluk War*, 93. Ibn Aja, *al-ʿIrāk*, 145.

cial centre linking the Caspian trade to Anatolia on the route between Syria and the Black Sea ports.

Looking panoramically, another Turkmen threat towards the Mamluks arose on behalf of the Āq Qoyūnlū lord, Uzun Ḥassan ('The Tall', † 1478), who seized the moment of Mamluk weakness in October 1470 and attacked Aleppo and other Mamluk dominions in al-Jazīra.²¹ Thus a Turkmen chain reaction was threatening the whole area. The Āq Qoyūnlū had very good relations with the Mamluks and were not hostile towards the Ottomans either until the 1460s. Due to the pressing situation, the Mamluk sultanate started immediately to organize a massive campaign to end this crisis. In addition to the appointment of the close confidant Yashbak (Turkmen for "living") as commander, Ibn Iyās had mentioned that the Mamluks were gathering the Turkmen tribes in Syria to join the Mamluk efforts.²²

Military history is not the prime concern of this paper, thus the focus is on the political outcome, leaving the details of the campaigns to the chief justice and negotiator of the Mamluk Ibn Aja.²³ In Muharram 876/June 1471, the Egyptian army managed to capture 'Ayntāb from the Turkmen after a long siege and fierce resistance by forcing Swār to flee the city.

Sources recorded that several loyal Turkmen tribes had assisted the Mamluks in their campaigns further on. In addition to the support of Banū Ramaḍān principality, as a result, the town of Tarsus and later Sis were captured.²⁴ Ibn Aja was sent by the Mamluks to negotiate with Swār upon the Dulkadirid request. Every attempt to rule semi-independently, even in remote and small towns like Sis, was turned down.

Despite skirmishes, a fragile peace was maintained for a year until Dhū al-Hijja 876/May 1472. Finally, Swār was besieged in an isolated castle with no help from the Ottomans, he surrendered himself to the Mamluk side, after being insured his safety.²⁵ The Mamluk long candidate, Budāq was reappointed as lord of the Dulkadirid principality, while Swār with two other brothers were brought to Cairo in chains and humiliated in public before being hanged at the doors of Cairo in Rabi'ī 877/October 1472. One can attribute part of the Mamluk success to the Turkmen themselves. The lavish spending of Yashbak on the Turkmen

²¹ Ibn Aja, *al-ʿIrāk*, 219. Petry, *The last Mamluk sultans*, 47. The Āq Qoyūnlū ('Turkmen for White sheep'; 780–914/1378–1508). Was a confederation of Turks, formed from the ancient Oghuz. They were vassals to the Timurids, then expanded in parts of Iraq and Persia. C. E. Bosworth. *Islamic dynasties*. Edinburgh 1980, 170–171.

²² Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i al-Zohūr*, 54–55. The sources are full of fragmented lines about diverse Turkmen elements in the Middle East, which were in general willing to fight for any power which can afford them.

²³ Ibn Aja, *al-ʿIrāk*, 87–97.

²⁴ Ibn Aja, *al-ʿIrāk*, 98–105. al-Sairafi, *Inbā' al-Ḥasr*, 331–332.

²⁵ Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i al-Zohūr*, 73–74. Ibn Aja, *al-ʿIrāk*, 147–150; Harel, *The Ottoman–Mamluk War*, 95–96. The Ottomans were engaged in fighting the Venetians at that time.

tribes, including a large number of the Dulkadirids secured their loyalty, especially the commanders.²⁶

It is astonishing that after six years of war between the Dulkadirids and the Mamluks, which drained the Egyptian economy, the Mamluk sultan reinstated a Dulkadirid as a vassal instead of appointing a commander from Cairo as the habit with the other iqtā' in the region. That reflects the heavy presence of the Turkmen strength in the area. The Turkmen potency was reflected in the lines of the contemporary Egyptian historian, Ibn Iyas who evaluated the Turkmen challenge:

"The prestige which the sultan had enjoyed among the kings of the Orient and other realms was gravely harmed. Even the peasants across the realm dared to rebel against the authority, while fighting Swār. The Mamluks were about to lose power. Swār was nearing to capture Aleppo and the Khutba was declared for him, the currency was struck in his name in Al-bistan sphere."²⁷

While the Dulkadirids under Budāq remained vassals of the Mamluks between 877 and 885/1472–1480, there was no sign of challenge by any elements under their suzerainty. The challenge came from a stronger Turkmen power in the Middle East. Uzun Ḥassan, lord of the Āq Qoyūnlū who established himself in Tabriz in 1472, established the capital of his realm in Azerbaijan and Northern Iraq and Western Persia.²⁸ In addition to Diyar Bakr, as mentioned above, the Āq Qoyūnlū – since their foundation in the fourteenth century – did not clash with the Mamluks and represented themselves as servants to their sultans, only in 1470 with the embarrassing victories of the Dulkadirids. When they dared to attack Aleppo in 1471, allying with Venice against both the Ottomans and the Mamluks, Uzun declared his independence, encouraged by crushing and dominating the Turkmen of Qara Qoyunlu.²⁹ Since J. Woods has studied the Āq Qoyūnlū extensively, only the idea of identity among the Turkmen must be dealt with, which is the focus of this research. Uzun in Dhū al-Hijja 877/May 1472 took the opportunity of the pilgrimage season, and sending his envoy to Mecca declaring himself as king and patron of the two holy mosques in Mecca and Medina. He also sent his own paneling (*kiswa*) for the Ka'ba in Mecca.³⁰

Here a conflicting identity can be seen. A Turkmen lord took an unprecedented step by declaring himself the patron of the two holy shrines, while the Abbasid Caliph resided in Cairo. It was a very daring attempt to seize the pres-

²⁶ Ibn Aja, *al-ʿIrāk*, 139, 158. Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾi al-Zohūr*, 74–76.

²⁷ Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾi al-Zohūr*, 78–79. The khutba or Friday sermon was a mark of full independence.

²⁸ Morgan, *Medieval Persia*, 105.

²⁹ Morgan, *Medieval Persia*, 105.

³⁰ Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾi al-Zohūr*, 87–88. J. Woods, *The Aqqoyunlu. Clan, confederation, empire*. Minneapolis–Chicago 1976, 160–161. Uzun Ḥassan preceded the Turkmen Ottomans who had this title after 1517.

tige of an obscure Turkmen line. The patronage was always reserved for an Arab from the line of the prophet, or later for a powerful sultan recognized by the Caliphate. So this challenge to the Mamluk Turks was a step towards creating a new identity for the Turkmen, but it conflicted with their interests in allying with Christian Venice against fellow Muslims.

In September 1472 Uzun began depriving the Mamluks of key cities in Eastern Anatolia, such as 'Ayntāb, al-Bira, and started closing in on Aleppo. He tried to create a confederation of the Turkmen around him by contacting the lord of Dulkadir, Budāq in Albistan. He invited him to his authority, and ordering him to surrender a number of castles in the area. Also the Āq Qoyūnlū lord contacted the Mamluk deputy in Syria, trying to force him into submission.³¹

It is understandable that the deputy of Syria did forward the message to Cairo, asking for help as member of the realm. But why did Budāq, a Turkmen lord, prefer to remain a vassal of the Turkish Mamluks, and not of the Turkmen Āq Qoyūnlū? The short answer is self evident. But it can be argued that Budāq refused to submit to an equal Turkmen who claimed higher religious authority. It seems that the diverse Turkmen elements of the fifteenth century declined the habit of the steppes in joining a wider federation like the Oghuz Saljuqs in the eleventh–twelfth centuries, or the Oghuz Ottomans later on, and they shared part of their land as fiefs.

Budāq remained under the Mamluks until 886/1481, when he was overthrown by his brother 'Alā' al-Dawla supported by the Ottomans. The reason for the Ottoman intervention in the Dulkadirid affairs was not to expand, but to seek revenge for the Mamluk intervention in the Ottoman feud after the death of Muhammad II in 1481, and to welcome Jem, one of the Ottoman contestants against sultan Bayazid II (†1512).³² The Mamluks had commissioned two campaigns against 'Alā' al-Dawla in Rajab 888/August 1483, and in Jumada I 889/March 1484, but no decisive victory was achieved over the rebellious Dulkadirid who was strongly supported by the Ottomans. One should add that Aleppo and its vicinity was under threat from these Turkmen forces.³³ This area which represented the Thoghur ('boundaries') between Arabs and Byzantines in the first four centuries of Islam became a par excellence Turkmen–Turkish one.

By the end of 1485, 'Alā' al-Dawla had recognized the stern will of the Mamluks to keep the Dulkadirids under their authority, which made him to initiate a negotiation with the Mamluks. Qaitbay, the Mamluk Sultan had sent an envoy to meet with him out side Aleppo where he received a royal gown from Cairo and was reinstated as lord of the Dulkadirids under the Mamluks.³⁴ Again one sees

³¹ Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i al-Zohūr*, 81–82. Petry, *The last Mamluk sultans*, 47. It should be noted that the first Ottoman lord to be granted the title sultan was Bayezit I 1394 from the Mamluks. Bosworth, *Islamic dynasties*, 138.

³² Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mufākahat al-Khillān*. Beirut 1988, Vol. I, 47–48; M. Zeyada, "Nehayat al-Salatin al-Mamalik fi Misr," *Egyptian Historical Journal* 4 (1951), 203–204.

³³ Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mufākahat al-Khillān*, 56–57; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i al-Zohūr*, 205.

³⁴ Zeyada, *Nehayat*, 221–222.

the Mamluk Turks unable to solve the Turkmen dilemma but installing a deputy from Cairo, which reflects the overwhelming presence of the Turkmen in the region. In his turn, ‘Alā’ al-Dawla became not only a vassal, but a reporter of the hostile Ottoman activities against the Mamluks in Anatolia; e.g. in 1489 when Bayazid II was massing his forces near Kayseri, according to M. Zeyada.³⁵

The Dulkadirids, on the basis of information found in the sources, did not play a significant role further on, and remained within the Mamluk orbit until their decline in 1515 despite the severe weakness of the Mamluks with three different sultans between 1498 and 1501. The amicable relations between the two Turkish powers, the Ottomans and the Mamluks, marginalized the Dulkadirids from any important role between 1492 and 1512. ‘Alā’ al-Dwla remained under Mamluk suzerainty until 921/1515 when Selim I the Ottoman (†1520), sacked the Dulkadirid Principality, practically ending their rule and paving the way to uproot the Mamluk Turks in the following two years.³⁶ The end of the Dulkadirids was reported in a letter from Selim I to the Mamluk Sultan al-Ghūrī (†1516) describing them as “Those apostates, damned by Almighty. We beheaded their lords while beheading other devil Turkmen.”³⁷

Although C. Cahen had stated that the Turkmen elements failed to penetrate mainland Mamluk territories, and were pushed to settle in the Taurus region,³⁸ one finds fundamental changes in Mamluk Syria influenced by the Turkmen pressure in the Middle East during the fifteenth century. We find the Mamluk Sultan in Rabī‘I 886/June 1481 appointing a Dulkadirid prince, ‘Abd al-Rāziq, brother of Budāq as lord of Ḥamah in central Syria. Certainly the Mamluks were in no shortage of capable deputies who were always sent from Cairo. Breaking this rule for the first time in a major city of Syria to the advantage of the Turkmen was highly significant and it reflects their deep penetration in the area.³⁹ Other cases of the same pattern cannot be ruled out completely, for the sources were overwhelmed with military details. The contemporary Syrian chronicler, Ibn Ṭūlūn (†1546) mentioned new development in Mamluk administration. The introduction of a new post in 907/1501 named ‘Amīr al-Turkomān’, prince or commander of the Turkmen, and was given first to the inspector of the Mamluk army. That post remained during al-Ghūrī’s rule until 1516, and then the post was held by another prince of the Turkmen in Syria marching against Sultan al-Ghūrī against the Ottomans.⁴⁰

³⁵ Zeyada, *Nehayat*, 208.

³⁶ Zeyada, *Nehayat*, 210–212. During this friendly relation, the Mamluks had allowed the Ottomans to interfere in the affairs of their vassals, the Āq Qoyūnlū from 1492, according to Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i al-Zohūr*, 286–288.

³⁷ A. Mutawalli, *al-Fath al-Othmani le al-Shām wa Miṣr*. Cairo 1995, 335–336.

³⁸ C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 313.

³⁹ Ibn Aja, *al-‘Irāk*, 192.

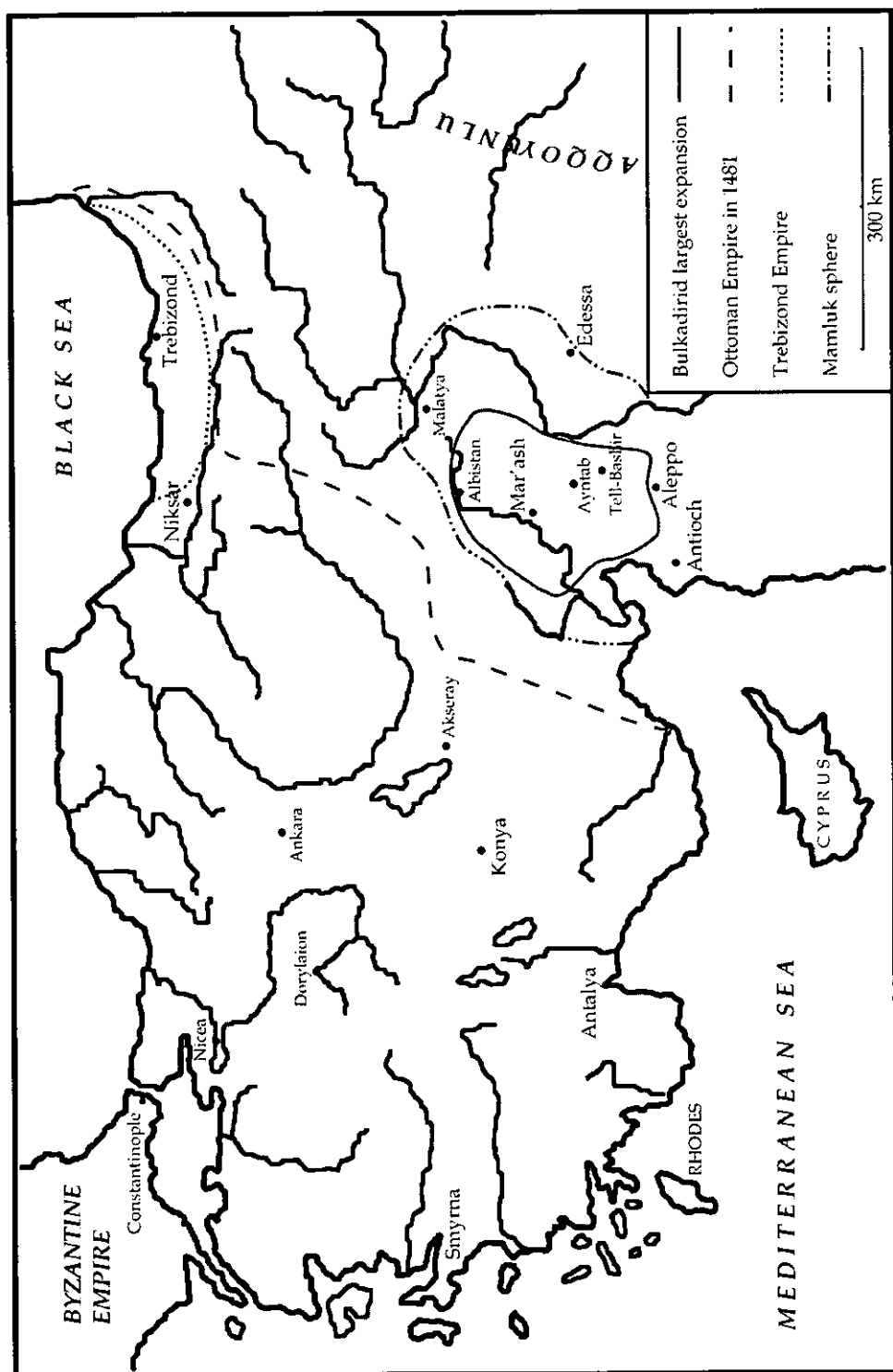
⁴⁰ Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-Khillān*, I, 198, 327. The sources are filled with expression such as “gathering the Turkmen”, and “Turkmen vanguards”, especially in Northern Syria.

This reflects on the importance of the Turkmen in the area, and how they became part of the fabric of the Turkish Mamluk army. It seems that the political identity of the Turkmen developed faster than their religious identity. O. Turan and D. Morgan have both stated that all the Turkmen elements in the Middle East down to the end of the fifteenth century were half-Shamanistic followers, and Islam did not touch them yet. We find, for instance, that the Āq Qoyūnlū after 1490 still believed in Mongol Yasa and strongly opposed the implementation of the Muslim *sharia*. Although as mentioned earlier, they claimed for the protection of Mecca and Medina as true Muslims.⁴¹ It is expected that the Dulkadirids were not the exceptions.

In conclusion, one of the main failures shared by the Turkmen dynasties, including the Dulkadirids in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was the absence of *Pacta Turkmana* like the Turkmen Saljuqs in eleventh–thirteenth centuries, or as H. Inalcik has indicated, the Ottoman Turkmen principality had united most of Anatolia during the fourteenth century under its control, developing it later into an empire.⁴² That was the exception departing from a tribal identity into a state one.

⁴¹ Morgan, *Medieval Persia*, 106. Turan, "Anatolia in the period of the Seljuks," 251.

⁴² Inalcik, "The emergence of the Ottomans," 263, 275.



Trieste au XVIII^e siècle : porte méditerranéenne du Royaume de Hongrie ?

LAJOS KÖVÉR



Après le traité de paix d'Utrecht (1714), une période importante commence dans l'histoire de la monarchie autrichienne. C'est l'époque du règne de Charles VI,¹ de Marie-Thérèse et de Joseph II, l'ère de la grande reconstitution de la monarchie des Habsbourgs. Au cours de la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle, un changement décisif s'est également opéré dans la politique européenne : le chancelier Kaunitz et Choiseul ont réalisé l'alliance austro-française. Tout ceci a entraîné une modification de la politique hongroise de la France aussi. A la fin du XVII^e et au début du XVIII^e siècles, la politique de Thököly et de Rákóczi s'opposant aux tentatives centralisatrices de la cour viennoise avait encore été soutenue par Louis XIV.² La « révolution diplomatique », donc l'alliance des Habsbourgs et des Bourbons a créé une situation tout à fait nouvelle. La lutte des Hongrois contre les Habsbourgs a donc perdu tout intérêt pour Versailles.³

¹ Nous l'appellerons Charles VI, pour nous conformer à l'usage adopté l'histoire générale de l'Europe ; mais comme roi de Hongrie, on devrait l'appeler Charles III. (Charles I^{er} étant le fondateur de la dynastie d'Anjou, et Charles de Durazzo ayant été couronné sous le nom de Charles II.)

² La lutte antihabsbourgeoise du prince François II Rákóczi (1703–1711) a obtenu presque automatiquement (et surtout dans la première période) l'aide militaire et financière de Louis XIV, auquel la guerre en Hongrie préoccupant de nombreuses unités autrichiennes a assuré certaines chances dans la guerre de succession d'Espagne jusqu'à la bataille de Höchstädt (1704). (La défaite subie dans cette bataille a rendu impossible l'encerclement de l'Autriche.) Après la défaite hongroise (1711), plusieurs chefs et soldats de la guerre d'indépendance (même le prince Rákóczi pour une courte période) ont trouvé refuge en France, parfois à la Cour même.

³ La France a fait preuve, dès le XVI^e siècle, et à peu près jusqu'à la mort du Roi Soleil, d'une attention distinguée à l'égard de la Hongrie : non seulement en raison des guerres contre le Turc, mais aussi à cause des insurrections anti-habsbourgeoises. Les « di-

En même temps, vu les rapports des diplomates français sur la Hongrie pendant la deuxième moitié du XVIII^e siècle, une nouvelle image du pays semble émerger. Cette représentation de type nouveau rompt avec l'image traditionnelle du Hongrois barbare, prenant les armes afin de lutter pour la liberté contre Vienne. A partir de la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle, l'image de la Hongrie véhiculée par la diplomatie française est devenue plus nuancée et plus analytique. Cette thèse est prouvée à merveille par le projet intitulé *Description de l'étendue du Littoral de l'Impératrice sur la Mer Adriatique, des abus qui existent depuis longtemps et de ceux qui se sont introduits dans l'administration de son commerce, des moyens d'y remédier à peu de frais, de l'utilité dont l'Impératrice jouiroit en pareil cas, et des avantages considérables que la France pourroit en retirer*, né vers 1760.⁴ Son auteur est sans nul doute le consul français de Trieste, de la Vergne. Ce rapport, écrit en plein conflit franco-anglais, dans le contexte de la Guerre de Sept Ans, montre un bel exemple des tentatives de la diplomatie française : elle cherche les points faibles du commerce britannique. Le sous-titre du projet en dit long : *La destruction totale des Anglois pourroit être la suite d'un traité de commerce bien entendu entre les Cours de France et de Vienne*.

versions » hongroises face à Vienne se présentèrent comme autant d'alliés naturels pour la politique étrangère de la France, dont l'objectif plus ou moins avoué était l'hégémonie continentale. Pourtant, la situation a changé après la mort de Louis XIV : dans le contexte des rapports de force européens en plein changement, la France n'était plus la « super-puissance » du continent, mais seulement une des grandes puissances. Ayant reconnu ces faits, le prince Etienne-François de Choiseul, ministre des affaires étrangères de Louis XV, a apporté des modifications aux orientations traditionnelles de la politique extérieure de la France. Son objectif était, à côté de garantir la stabilité d'une alliance de fond dans le cadre de la coopération entre Bourbons et Habsbourgs, de renforcer, dans l'esprit du *Pacte de famille* (il a par exemple soutenu la confédération polonaise et a oeuvré avec succès pour provoquer une guerre entre la Russie et l'Empire ottoman), l'expansion maritime, à exécuter à l'insu de l'Angleterre. Tout cela explique la « passivité européenne » des dernières vingt-cinq années de l'Ancien Régime. Voir G. Chaussinand-Nogaret, *Choiseul (1719-1788) : naissance de la gauche*, Paris, 1998, 55-75.

⁴ « Description de l'étendue du Littoral de l' Impératrice sur la Mer Adriatique, des abus qui existent depuis longtemps et de ceux qui se sont introduits dans l'administration de son commerce, des moyens d'y remédier à peu de frais, de l'utilité dont l'Impératrice jouiroit en pareil cas, et des avantages considérables que la France pourroit en retirer, » publié par K. Kecskeméti, *Notes et rapports français sur la Hongrie au XVIII^{ème} siècle. Recueil des documents, avec une introduction*. Bruxelles 1963. La *Description...* avait été rédigée après l'ordonnance de la Cour de Vienne sur le commerce de bois de janvier 1758, et avant le décret « urbarial » du 23 janvier 1767, car l'auteur autrement très précis, « fignoleur, » minutieux n'en dit pas un mot. De la Vergne a été nommé consul français à Trieste le 12 mars 1759. Cf. A. Mézin, *Les consuls de France au siècle des lumières (1715-1792)*. Paris 1998, 384, 737-738. Sur les conceptions autrichiennes ou françaises relatives à Trieste et au Littoral au milieu du XVIII^e siècle, voir E. Faber, *Litorale Austriaco. Das österreichische und kroatische Küstenland 1700-1780*. Trondheim-Graz 1995, 96-148.

Selon l'auteur, les seules possessions qui peuvent engager l'Impératrice à songer à un commerce maritime « se trouvent situées le long de la Mer Adriatique, et si le Conseil de cette Souveraine s'appliquoit à connoître tous ses avantages; il lui seroit aisé en très peu de temps, sans autre effort que celui d'une bonne administration, de réduire les Vénitiens aux titres imaginaires des Roys de l'Adriatique, et de priver cette République des fruits d'une Royauté dont elle a toujours été redevable à la négligence de ses voisins, et qui doivent lui échapper incessamment, sauf à elle conserver par honneur titre trop idéal pour mériter alors l'attention de l'Europe ».⁵

La relation établie par cet auteur français mérite notre attention au moins pour deux aspects. Elle souligne d'une part que, dans les rapports de force de cette période, la France et la monarchie habsbourgeoise sont des alliées, et que les conséquences de cette alliance sont non seulement d'ordre diplomatique mais aussi d'ordre économique. D'autre part, dans le contexte donné, la côte adriatique doit être plus valorisée ; elle acquiert une véritable importance dans la mesure où l'économie de la Hongrie peut se permettre de s'intégrer dans la Méditerranée, car « l'étendue du littoral de l'Impératrice, sans la communication avec la Hongrie, ne présente pas des objets aussi vastes ».⁶

Tout en critiquant l'édit de commerce promulgué en 1758 par Vienne dont, faute de place, nous ne traiterons pas ici, le rapport passe en revue les monopoles par lesquels la Hongrie peut affirmer sa présence dans le commerce mondial. Il souligne ainsi l'importance de la potasse, en signalant que « la beauté et la perfection de la potasse hongroise sont présentement trop connues; pour qu'on puisse douter de la supériorité qu'elle auroit prise sur toutes les autres, sans même excepter celle de la Moscovie, de Dantzic, Königsberg, Hambourg et Brémén, qui ne surpassent certainement en rien les potasses blanches du Rhin, constamment réputées pour les meilleures ».⁷ La potasse hongroise n'est pas seulement de bonne qualité, mais aussi d'un prix fort réduit ; sa production peut être facilement maintenue à cause de l'abondance des forêts et du bas prix du bois. Par conséquent, les sujets de l'Impératrice pourraient acquérir sans difficultés la réglementation du prix de la potasse à l'échelon mondial.⁸

Le rapport critique durement la vision économique basée sur les privilèges et, en examinant les chances du fer styrien sur le marché mondial, il déclare que l'on ne doit pas avoir peur de la pratique du libre commerce.⁹ L'auteur du rapport français voit donc la clé du développement du littoral adriatique dans la liberté

⁵ *Description*, 56.

⁶ *Description*, 57.

⁷ *Description*, 64.

⁸ « Le prix de ce bois est raisonnable, pour ne pas dire médiocre et entièrement convenable à l'exportation des potasses, que les sujets de l'Impératrice auroient pu avoir en telle quantité qu'ils auroient été les arbitres d'en hausser ou d'en diminuer l'appréciation conformément à l'exigence des circonstances du commerce et de leurs intérêts sans crainte qu'aucune autre nation pût leur porter le moindre préjudice. » (*Description*, 65.)

⁹ *Description*, 69–70.

du commerce ; par cette proposition, son programme donne une interprétation physiocrate du développement économique de la monarchie habsbourgeoise.

En parlant de la Hongrie au sens plus étroit du terme, l'auteur français anonyme souligne que la Hongrie et ses pays annexes (y compris surtout le littoral adriatique) comptent en tout presque huit millions d'âmes et que la terre ne donne pas suffisamment de travail à la population entière, bien que dans certaines régions elle produise parfois sans même être cultivée. Le futur commerce avec la Hongrie doit se concentrer, entre autres, sur les articles suivants: céréales, avoine, viande salée, bois pour la construction des navires, chanvre, laine, fer, cuivre, plomb, tôle, alun, potasse, tabac, miel, cire, toile bise. Cette liste pourra être encore complétée par nombre d'éléments, étant donné qu'en Hongrie on peut produire encore toute une série de marchandises, sauf les épices, le sucre, le café et les parfums. Ces derniers font pourtant l'objet d'une forte consommation, ainsi que la morue, qu'on ne pêche pas sur l'Adriatique. Il serait souhaitable à long terme que la France pourvoie de ces articles le marché hongrois, qui totalise plus de huit millions de consommateurs.¹⁰

Du point de vue français, le blé hongrois est particulièrement mis en valeur dans une future guerre commerciale contre les Anglais. Ces derniers vendent beaucoup de blé dans la Méditerranée, la principale raison de ce fait étant le manque d'adversaires. Pourtant, le prix du blé hongrois vendu sur les bords du Danube, de la Tisza et de la Save jusqu'à Semlin ne dépasse qu'à peine le tiers du prix du blé provenant d'Angleterre ; mais le prix du transfert du blé hongrois de Semlin jusqu'aux ports de l'Adriatique est très élevé à cause des différents privilèges. Un changement pourrait venir de l'optimisation des routes fluviales de Semlin à Brod et de la réparation des routes terrestres de Brod à Fiume ; ainsi les chevaux de bât pourraient-ils être remplacés par des attelages de boeufs légers et capables de transporter des charges plus lourdes.¹¹

L'essentiel du projet français visant à ébranler les positions anglaises dans la Méditerranée est ainsi le suivant : les gouvernements français et autrichien signeraient un traité de commerce préférentiel. On achèterait surtout les produits de l'autre pays signataire, tandis que les tarifs de douane seraient soit diminués pour ces deux pays, soit élevés pour les tiers. Grâce à cela, la France deviendrait indépendante du commerce anglais, et comme elle serait capable de fournir à la monarchie autrichienne les articles dont celle-ci a besoin, elle pourrait causer de lourdes pertes aux Britanniques.

La France s'engagerait à reprendre le surplus hongrois en blé, salaison et bois de construction et, en outre, d'autres articles. De même, l'Impératrice s'engagerait à s'approvisionner de France en sucre, en café, en épices et en arômes. En ce qui concerne les produits industriels, il est jugé suffisant de conclure un traité de douane exclusif.¹²

¹⁰ *Description*, 77.

¹¹ *Description*, 79-88.

¹² *Description*, 89-93.

La réorganisation de l'administration du littoral est l'une des conditions de base de la réalisation de ce projet, car Trieste est encore trop cher : même le droit de cuire du pain est concédé en bail, et « on n'a pas encore parlé du fontico ... On se persuaderait encore moins que pour le soutien de ce fontico, on vient tout récemment de faire construire un moulin au profit de la Souveraine, de manière qu'on a augmenté tout récemment le profit du fontico de 30% de grain sur la farine en suse et au delà de ce que la Souveraine gagnoit sur ce bléd. ».¹³

La conclusion du mémorandum français mérite également notre attention. Elle comporte l'avertissement selon lequel l'Impératrice, vu les temps de guerre, devrait impérativement saisir la possibilité d'un accord commercial qui, à long terme, rapporterait bien plus que l'occupation de certaines provinces. La coopération économique que l'on vient d'esquisser, aurait pu être, aussi bien pour la France que pour la monarchie habsbourgeoise, la clé de l'hégémonie en Europe.¹⁴

Le projet présenté ci-dessus est sans doute un des produits du processus de restructuration européenne du XVIII^e siècle. Il formule la conception d'une coopération austro-française ou Bourbon-Habsbourg à long terme.¹⁵ Nous devons noter que, dans ce contexte, l'accent est surtout mis sur les possibilités de la Hongrie dans la Méditerranée et, par conséquent, dans l'économie mondiale. Certaines considérations de l'auteur français prêtent à réflexion : telle la conclusion qui, dans le cadre d'une coopération franco-habsbourgeoise, offre une place importante aux possibilités de l'économie hongroise pour mettre fin à la domination économique anglaise.

Dans le but de réaliser celles-ci, de la Vergne a même élaboré des propositions concrètes, ajoutées à son rapport en appendice. En vertu de ces propositions, les gouvernements français et autrichiens devraient conclure un traité de commerce bilatéral. L'essentiel de ce traité porterait sur l'achat prioritaire par les deux parties signataires des produits de l'autre. La conditions indispensable d'un tel procédé serait évidemment la baisse mutuelle des tarifs de douane, ainsi que l'augmentation de ces tarifs à l'égard des pays tiers. Par ce moyen, la France pourrait acquérir une grande autonomie par rapport au commerce anglais, tout en obtenant l'immense marché unifié de la monarchie habsbourgeoise. En contrepartie, la France achèterait le blé de Hongrie, alors que son partenaire autrichien s'approvisionnerait de France en sucre, en café, en épices et en produits de luxe. Dans la pratique, cela signifierait le développement du Littoral (adriatique) en zone de libre-échange. La clé de ce projet serait naturellement – tout en tenant compte des réalités – la ville de Trieste. Ces mesures pourraient constituer la première étape d'un processus visant pour la France et la monarchie habsbourgeoise à établir une hégémonie économique européenne. Les Français seraient d'autant plus les partisans enthousiastes d'une telle perspective, que celle-ci pourrait nuire considérablement à l'hégémonie commerciale des Anglais.¹⁶

¹³ *Description*, 94.

¹⁴ *Description*, 95.

¹⁵ M. Andreson, *L'Europe au XVIII^e siècle*. Paris 1968, 155–169.

¹⁶ *Description*, 96.

Il n'est pas difficile de découvrir derrière ce rapport la foi et l'optimisme des thèses physiocratiques dans les possibilités du marché libre. L'une des curiosités du projet tient au fait qu'il considère la Hongrie parmi les premiers facteurs possibles et importants du commerce européen.

On doit surtout prendre en compte le constat établi par le diplomate français, selon lequel « Si l'Impératrice, par vue de pareil intérêt qui ne seroit pas moins sérieux et moins étendu pour elle, trouvoit dans ce temps de guerre, car ce sont précisément ceux-là qu'il faut saisir, et qui seront à coup sûr les plus propices, toute convenance à se lier par un commerce sur lequel l'exclusif vis à vis des autres nations vaudroit bien la conquête des provinces, et leur remettroit entre les mains la prépondérance sur l'Europe entière, exclusif facile à acquérir par une intelligence bien cimentée et conduite par les mêmes principes d'intérêts et d'administration ». ¹⁷

Nous en concluons pour finir que, dans ce contexte, l'accent est surtout mis sur les possibilités de la Hongrie dans la Méditerranée et, par conséquent, dans l'économie mondiale. Retenons aussi la conclusion du rapport, qui voit dans l'économie hongroise le moyen de ruiner l'hégémonie économique anglaise et tend à intégrer la Hongrie dans le commerce méditerranéen comme dans l'économie mondiale.

¹⁷ *Description*, 97.

From Honoured Mound of Bones to Neglected Mound of Refuse

The Mass Burial Site of Anti-Mongol Loyalists in Yuqiao Village,
Jiangsu Province, China

DAVID CURTIS WRIGHT*



I. Locating the Mound

In late February of 2003 I travelled to Jiangsu province in China with a group of Canadian university students bound for a semester-long study abroad programme at Nanjing University. After a few days of helping them get settled in, I travelled on a free day in search of a historical burial mound in Changzhou, a large city approximately a hundred kilometres southeast of Nanjing. I had been doing research on the Mongol conquest of Southern Song China (1127–1279) south of the Yangzi (Yangtze) River in the mid 1270s, and I had read about a particularly gruesome massacre of several hundred thousand people perpetrated against the citizens of Changzhou by Mongol forces in 1275. A massive and well-written four-volume history of the Mongol conquest of China by Li Tianming, a retired military officer in The Republic of China on Taiwan, gives the wrenching details about a mound in which a good portion of the city's massacred dead were buried:

Changzhou¹ in Song times is now Wujin County [Xian]. During the early years of the Chinese Republic,² there was within the county walls a place called Eighteen Family Village [Shibajia Cun]. The tradition from the elders

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¹ That is, Changzhou in its broader sense as both a city and the prefecture of which it was the capital.

² The Republic of China (Nationalist China) was on mainland China from 1911 to 1949 and since that time has been on the Chinese island of Taiwan, although in recent years its existence has been endangered by two threats: proponents of Taiwanese independence and communists in mainland China who are eager to crush it and impose their rule over the island.

was that it was inhabited by the descendants of people who fled for their lives and managed to escape slaughter by the Yuan armies. Inside the eastern gate was an earthen mound approximately two *zhang*³ in height and with a surface area of around three *mou*.⁴ Dry bones could often be dug out of it. This was the scene created when the Yuan armies of the time piled up the bodies after they had put the city to the sword.⁵



I wanted to see if any sort of sign, stele, fence, or temple still marked the site of this mound; if any did, I wanted a photograph of it for the book on the Mongol conquest of Southern Song China I am writing.⁶ The very helpful and enthusiastic people at the Changzhou Historical Society (*Changzhou Wenhui Guan*) took me on a tour of the city's ancient relics and historical sites, including the well-known "Historical Village" (*Gucun*), a portion of which is still in remarkably good shape. When I asked them about the mound of bones, they called it the "Myriad People

³ That is, around 6.3 metres.

⁴ That is, about 2/10 of a hectare or about half an acre.

⁵ T. Li, *Song-Yuan Zhan Shi*. 4 vols. Taipei 1988, 2: 1244.

⁶ Currently published accounts of the Mongol conquest of Southern Song China (none of them comprehensive or book-length) include portions of R. L. Davis, *Wind Against the Mountain: The Crisis of Politics and Culture in Thirteenth-century China*. Cambridge, Mass. 1996; M. Rossabi, "The Reign of Khubilai Khan." in H. Franke and D. Twitchett, *The Cambridge history of China, Volume 6: Alien Regimes and Border States, 907-1368*. Cambridge 1994, 414-489.

Burial Pit" (*Wanrenkeng*) and told me that it no longer exists; the site of the mound, which was indeed by the city's former eastern gate, has been completely levelled and obliterated, and on it now stands Changzhou's main office of the Bank of Construction and Commerce (*Gongshang Yinhang*). They assured me, however, that "every household" in Changzhou knew well the tragic story of the massacre of the city's population in 1275.

The Mongol massacre of Changzhou was unusual for its brutality; indeed, the Mongol general Bayan's policy for most cities he attacked was to allow them to surrender peacefully and without general slaughter, even if they had previously resisted the Mongol onslaught militarily. (Khubilai Khan had ordered Bayan⁷ to make the conquest of Southern Song China as bloodless as possible.) Changzhou, however, had made the critical mistake of surrendering to the Mongols earlier in 1275 and later reverting to Southern Song jurisdiction. Such inconstant perfidy the Mongols could not tolerate, and the annihilation of the city's population was punishment and warning.⁸

One of the two men from the Changzhou Historical Society had heard of a smaller burial mound of bones, also dating from 1275 and the Mongol invasion of Jiangsu, that existed somewhere out in the countryside of southern Jiangsu. I expressed interest in seeing it, and so the two men from the Historical Society, an indulging retired Nanjing University professor of Song history named Deng Rui, and a Nanjing University driver took me out on a long drive through the countryside of southern Jiangsu in search of the mound. We searched for most of the day, but late in the afternoon an obliging and helpful local cadre eventually guided us directly to the site.

The bone mound is located in a rural area of southern Jiangsu province, specifically half a kilometre or so east of the centre of Yuqiao Village, Loyang Township, Wujin District, Changzhou Municipality. A crumbling and neglected stele erected atop the mound in 1990 reads (in translation) as follows:

During the first year of the Deyou reign period⁹ of the Southern Song emperor Gongdi, Bayan, commander of the Yuan¹⁰ armies, led several tens of thousands of invading troops towards Changzhou. The military situation was perilous, and [the village of] Yuqiao's Upright Volunteers¹¹ Zhou De, Zhou Qi, and the five Yan brothers¹² went to Pingjiang (modern Suzhou)

⁷ On Bayan see F. W. Cleaves, "The Biography of Bayan the Bârin in the *Yüan-shih*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 19 (1956), 185–303.; Ch. Hsiao, "Bayan (1237–1295)," in I. de Rachewiltz, et al. *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yuan Period*. Wiesbaden 1993, 584–607. 1993, and D. C. Wright, "The Mongol General Bayan and the Massacre of Changzhou, 1275," *Altaica* 7 (2002), 108–121.

⁸ On the Mongol massacre of Changzhou, which was nearly total, see Wright, "The Mongol General Bayan."

⁹ AD 1275.

¹⁰ I. e., the Mongols and the Chinese defectors who supported them.

¹¹ *Yimin*.

¹² Yan Xun, Yan Ji, Yan Yi, Yan Zhu, and Yan Shao.

and reported the urgent news to Wen Tianxiang. Yin Yu and Ma Shilong, generals in the Jiangxi Army, were dispatched with three thousand troops to hasten by night to offer aid, and in the Yuqiao area they joined [with Yuan forces] in fierce combat. Because they were hopelessly outnumbered, Ma Shilong and the five Yan brothers heroically gave their lives. [Meanwhile] Yin Yu and the two sons of the Zhou family led the remaining troops and took the battle to Wumu, where they all died for their country. Afterwards the villagers took the remains of the officers and men who met with death and buried them en masse here, [which place] they therefore named the Mound of Bones.¹³ In Yuqiao they also built the Temple to Generals Ma and Yin to mark their commemoration.

In order to propagate nationalistic spirit, this stele is now erected. [May it] widely disseminate [this story] to future generations.

Tomb Sweeping Day,¹⁴ 1990¹⁵

II. The story behind the mound

The major city of Changzhou fell to the Mongols in the spring of 1275, but the Song loyalist generals Yao Shan (from Szechwan/Sichuan province) and Chen Zhao (from Wuxi in Jiangsu province) raised a volunteer army and succeeded in recovering Changzhou a few months later. The Southern Song court rewarded Yao Shan by making him Prefect of Changzhou and made Chen Zhao its Controller-general.

When the Mongol commander Bayan learned that Changzhou had been recaptured for Song, he took several tens of thousands of troops and surrounded and besieged the city. Yao Shan and his forces managed to hold the city, but the situation was dire because their forces were weak and few. Yao Shan ordered his son Yao Rang, two brothers surnamed Zhou, and five brothers surnamed Yan from among the Yuqiao volunteers, along with others, to break through the Mongol encirclement at night and proceed to Pingjiang (modern Suzhou) to report to Wen Tianxiang (Wen T'ien-hsiang)¹⁶ and beg him to send reinforcements.

¹³ *Guchengdun*, literally "bones-become-mound" or "bones-into-mound."

¹⁴ *Qingming*, one of the twenty-four solar periods. Corresponding with 5 or 6 April, it is an occasion when the Chinese have traditionally visited and cared for the tombs of their ancestors.

¹⁵ The stele has front and back sides. The front side reads (in translation): "Bone Mound Commemorative Stele respectfully erected by the Chinese Communist Party Committee, Loyang Township and the People's Government, Loyang Township. Tomb Sweeping Day 1990."

¹⁶ Wen Tianxiang (1236–1283), the most famous Song loyalist, was the last Song prime minister to actively resist the Mongols. He was eventually captured by the Mongols, offered a high position in the Yuan government by Khubilai khan himself (Wen refused it), and eventually executed by the Mongols at his own behest. On Wen Tianxiang see W. A. Brown, *Wen T'ien-hsiang: A Biographical Study of a Sung Patriot*. San Francisco 1986, Davis, *Wind Against the Mountain*; H. Franke, *Sung Biographies*. 2 vols.

Wen Tianxiang responded to the report by sending Generals Yin Yu and Ma Shilong (from Jiangxi province) with three thousand troops, along with Generals Zhu Hua (from Guangdong province) and General Zhang Quan with two thousand troops, and sent them hastening day and night to relieve the beleaguered Changzhou. When they met up with Yuan forces near the village of Yuqiao, the battle went well for the Song loyalists at first, and they actually succeeded in capturing two Mongol generals.

After their initial victories the Song loyalist forces encamped at Yuqiao village, and about a kilometre east of the village they made an earthen mound their headquarters for viewing and directing the battle. Bayan was distressed and angered upon hearing that he had lost two of his generals, but he was unsure of Song loyalist strength and chose not to attack recklessly into the region around Yuqiao. Instead he sent one Wang Liangchen, a former Song official who had defected to the Mongols, to Yuqiao to urge the Song loyalists to surrender and also to learn what he could of their strength. When Yao Rang learned of the arrival of Wang Liangchen, a man he considered a traitor to the Chinese people, he told General Ma Shilong of his former perfidy. Ma Shilong responded by putting Wang Liangchen into a great vat of hot oil and frying him to death! These were the just desserts of Wang Liangchen the "traitor," a modern popular narrative history of Changzhou concludes.¹⁷

Bayan flew into a towering rage upon learning of the gruesome death of Wang Liangchen and personally led tens of thousands of troops on a rampage through the Yuqiao area, killing every living thing he encountered, not sparing even chickens or dogs. General Zhang Quan fled the battle along with his forces, leaving Ma Shilong to lead his few thousand troops into battle with enemy forces that outnumbered them ten to one. In the face of these overwhelming odds Ma perished in battle, as also did the five Yan brothers and the remainder of his forces. Soon after this Wen Tianxiang sent Yin Yu along with General Zhang Quan from Anhui province and General Zhu Hua from Guangdong province to resist the Mongol invaders, and they met in battle at Wumu. (General Yin Yu, a native of Ningdu in Jiangxi province, had come to the notice of the Southern Song government due to his proficiency in capturing bandits and was subsequently promoted to the Military Inspectorate¹⁸ in Ganzhou, Jiangxi. He was involved in the Southern Song loyalist cause with Wen Tianxiang.) Most of the Song armies and troops at Wumu retreated or were defeated, and the Cantonese general Zhu Hua was killed. Eventually only five hundred surviving troops under Yin Yu fought to the death against the Yuan forces, and he himself killed several dozen Yuan troops with his own hands. (Indeed, Song historical materials

Wiesbaden 1976, 2: 1187–1201, H. Huber, *Wen T'ien-hsiang (1236–1283): Vorstufen zum Verständnis seines Lebens*. München 1983, and J. Jay, *A Change in Dynasties: Loyatism in Thirteenth-century China*. Bellingham, Washington 1991, 93–136 and *passim*.

¹⁷ S. B. Changzhou, *Changzhou Gujin* v. 1 (Neibu Ziliao). Changzhou 1979, 83.

¹⁸ *Xunjian*; cf. Ch. O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford 1985, 2724.1.

claim that enemy arrows bristling from his helmet made him look like a hedgehog.) At length the Zhou brothers were all killed, Yin Yu's reinforcements ran out, and he was captured. Yuan troops pinned down his neck with four long spears and beat him to death with clubs. His surviving troops fought for the rest of the night, and the corpses of men and horses covered the fields. Not one of his troops surrendered, but at noon the next day four of them returned alive. Yin Yu was posthumously named a Military Training Commissioner,¹⁹ and his two sons were made government officials. Thirty acres of field land were given to benefit his family.²⁰ Yuan forces then proceeded to Changzhou and butchered the city.

After it was all over, the survivors of the village of Yuqiao took the bodies of everyone who had died in battle and buried them in the earthen mound that had been the Song loyalist headquarters. (This satisfied a Confucian funerary tradition which held that bodies ought to be buried, as opposed to being cremated or exposed.²¹) They renamed the mound the "Mound of Bones" (*Guchengdun*). Centuries later, after the Manchu conquest of China in 1644, the mound was again renamed, this time as "Outer Wall Mound" (*Guochengdun*), likely as a concession to the Manchus who of course would have found the entire story of heroic Chinese resistance against cruel barbarian invaders distasteful and subversive. The mound itself was and remains today a very crude place of burial and does not seem to correspond to any of the categories of Song burial sites Dieter Kuhn gives in his careful study of Song tomb burials.²²

A. Temples and shrines

During the early Ming dynasty (1368–1644), which succeeded the Mongols' Yuan dynasty (1279–1368), the people of Yuqiao built in their village the Temple to Generals Ma and Yin (*Ma Yin Jiangjun Miao*) and burned incense there in memory of the two heroic generals. After many years the temple collapsed, but the local people took the idols of the two generals and stored them in a government building.

During the first century and a half of the Manchu Qing dynasty (1644–1912) there was no temple to the heroic generals and other Song loyalist martyrs of the area. In 1787, however, local people Xu Quan, Wu Jizhan, and others built a shrine with three buildings in which incense offerings could continue, and they added wooden tablets commemorating the five Yan brothers who perished in the

¹⁹ *Tuanlianshi*; Hucker, *Dictionary*, 7387.2.

²⁰ SS 450.13253; Changzhou, *Changzhou Gujin*, 83–85.

²¹ S. F. E. von Eschenbach, "Public Graveyards of the Song Dynasty." in D. Kuhn, ed. *Burial in Song China*. Heidelberg 1994, 250.

²² The mound cannot be considered a "pit grave" described in D. Kuhn, *A Place for the Dead: An Archaeological Documentary on Graves and Tombs of the Song Dynasty (960–1279)*. Heidelberg 1996, 126–131, but it might be designated a "public graveyard," as in von Eschenbach, "Public Graveyards." Among the many types of public or charitable graveyards von Eschenbach describes are instances of Chinese soldiers massacred by Jin (Jurchen) troops being buried in mass graves.

fight against the Mongols and placed them alongside the idols of Generals Ma and Yin. In an apparent effort to placate the Manchus (the “barbarian” cousins of the Mongols) and make the shrine seem less hostile to Manchu rule, they also added two niches for idols of two notably filial sons from the area. Thus, the shrine commemorated filial piety as well as loyalty and military heroism, and the Manchus could hardly object. For good measure the name of the shrine complex was changed from “Temple to the Generals” to “Shrine to Loyalty and Filial Piety” (*Zhongxiao Ci*). But that the reconstruction of the site was intended primarily as a memorial to Generals Ma and Yin was still unmistakable; a stele written by Zhuang Zhi (a local low-ranking member of the gentry) and erected for the occasion was entitled “Stele Inscription for the Reconstruction of the Temple to the Two Generals Ma and Yin.”

In the early years of the Chinese republic (1912–1949) the Shrine to Loyalty and Filial Piety was used as a place for levying and collecting agricultural taxes. During the Japanese invasion and occupation of China (1937–1945), this was the site of the Yuqiao village administration offices. The shrine was torn down in 1976, the last of China’s “ten years of turmoil” (*shinian dongluan*), the Cultural Revolution.

Prior to the fall of mainland China to the Chinese communists in 1949, there was a Temple to the Courageous Generals (*Mengjiang Miao*) atop the mound itself. When it was first built is unclear, but we do know that it was rebuilt in 1870. Atop the mound was also a Pavilion to the Goddess of Mercy (*Guanyin Ge*)²³, built in 1877, which included over twenty structures. Annual temple fairs were held here on the fifteenth day of the third lunar month, and on the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month plays about the courageous generals were performed. According to the local government’s internal informational materials (*neibu ziliao*), the temple and the pavilion were torn down sometime “after Liberation” (i. e., likely during the chaos of the Cultural Revolution, 1966–1976), and local peasants erected in its place a nursery for plants.

III. Making Sense of the Bone Mound Today

Today only a dilapidated shed and the already-crumbling commemorative stele erected in 1990 remain atop the mound. The entire site is in very sorry shape and is badly neglected. During the construction of a senior citizens activity centre several years ago, a significant portion of the mound (perhaps ten percent of it) was actually dug away to make room for the structure, and part of the mound is held in shape by a retaining wall. (Local peasants pointed out to us some white streaks in the soil of the still-bare escarpment and speculated that they were the calcified remnants of human bone.) Several unauthorised and illegal graves dug in recent years mar the surface of the mound. Huge piles of garbage are found around much of its base; the site is essentially a garbage dump today. And perhaps most startlingly of all, many of the villagers are in the habit of using the

²³ *Guanyin* or *Guanshiyin*, “Hearer of the Voices of the World,” is the feminine form of the Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva venerated in China in devotional varieties of Buddhism.

mound as a makeshift outbuilding; they actually empty their bowels on it.²⁴ (The people from the Changzhou Historical Society, apparently on instructions from the local cadre, politely steered me away from taking too close a look at the large open-air cesspit near the top of the mound.) The effluvium on top of the mound on a warm summer day must be overpowering.

How and why did the mound come to its current neglect and sorry state of repair? First of all, it is necessary to point out that the reason the mound has survived at all to the present is because it is not in the middle of a busy major city. If it had been located in Changzhou itself, it would long ago have been sacrificed without hesitation to the Juggernaut of China's current economic development.

Having accounted for its survival in the first place, it is now of course tempting, and perhaps too easy, to trace or follow its fate through the centuries as parallel and epiphenomenal to China's national political and ideological history. The Chinese during the Mongol Yuan dynasty could not very well openly commemorate national heroes who had died resisting the Mongol invasion of China. (Or could they? The Mongols were sometimes surprisingly tolerant of anti-Mongol expression, as long as this did not translate into direct rebellion or refusal to pay taxes.) The subsequent native Chinese dynasty of Ming obviously promoted anti-Mongolian nationalism and would have approved of the construction of the Temple to Generals Ma and Yin. The Qing dynasty of the Manchus, imperial China's last dynasty and also its longest-lasting dynasty of conquest by a minority people, frowned on overt displays of anti-Manchu sentiment. (Indeed, the Manchus were much more prickly and sensitive about their image and legitimacy in the eyes of the Chinese than the Mongols had been.) This explains why the populace around Yuqiao in the late eighteenth century had to proceed prudently in constructing a temple commemorating loyalty and filial piety. The use of the temple as a tax collection centre by various post-Qing Chinese governments is a bit difficult to explain but might have been due to the poverty and desperation of the era. The Japanese, who invaded and occupied parts of China from 1931 through 1945, could obviously not tolerate a temple to resisters of alien rule, so they transformed it into an administrative and governmental facility. And lastly, the Chinese communists, especially during the madness of the Cultural Revolution of the mid 1960s through the mid 1970s, saw the temple as "backward" and "feudal," and as with so many other old structures and historical sites in China, it was destroyed by bands of Red Guard hooligan vandals.

²⁴ A few well-meaning friends and colleagues have argued earnestly that this may not be as bad as it seems; bodily functions and the disposition of human waste, they maintain, are often not as distasteful and symbolically opprobrious in China as they are elsewhere. While this may well be true, especially in rural China, even semi-literate Chinese peasants know that one really should not dump refuse, human or otherwise, on truly important historical sites. The local cadre in Yuqiao understood this well and told me, with a discernible mixture of regret and hope, that the bone mound would likely not be better treated until someone outside China made it famous.

After Mao's death in 1976, China quickly came to its senses, and by the mid 1980s the overwhelming majority of China's population began rejecting the Marxist-Leninist drivel the Chinese communists had been pedalling for several decades. The last remaining vestiges of ideological legitimacy the Chinese communists had with the Chinese people were wiped out in wee hours of 4 June 4 1989 when units of soldiers in the "People's Liberation Army" murdered hundreds if not thousands of unarmed students and protestors on the streets of Beijing in the vicinity of Tiananmen Square. The culturally appropriate time to mourn the murdered students and protestors would have been Tomb Sweeping Day in April 1990. The ideologically and politically bankrupt Chinese communists, having lost much legitimacy in the eyes of the Chinese people just as Zhao Ziyang had predicted they would,²⁵ sought a way to appropriate Tomb Sweeping Day (a holiday or festival formerly condemned as "feudal" or "superstitious") and change the people being mourned or remembered while simultaneously appealing to an important alternative source of legitimacy for communist rule: nationalism. This might help explain, at least in Jiangsu, the Chinese communists' sudden decision to commemorate the dead buried at the Yuqiao bone mound on Tomb Sweeping Day the year after the Tiananmen Massacre, the Rape of Beijing.

There are political and ideological reasons for the current state of the bone mound of Yuqiao. At issue is, of course, how the mound and all of its attendant dimensions, especially the political ones, are understood. "... in certain respects the past is up for grabs. It is really the *meaning* of the past that is of issue."²⁶ Making ideologically correct sense of the meanings of the mound and how they should best be remembered has preoccupied intellectuals in imperial, republican /Nationalist, and now communist (and post-Marxian?) times. In China and elsewhere, the political dimensions of historical relics and historical memory were and still are vital considerations for anyone involved in politics or participating in political struggle. "Memory is actually a very important factor in struggle ... If one controls memory, one controls their dynamism... It is vital to have possession of this memory, to control it, administer it, tell it what it must contain."²⁷ Thus, the cultural topography of historical relics, memory, and meaning is perilous terrain politically because "political authority ... requires a cultural framework in which to define itself and advance its claims, and so does opposition to it."²⁸ In Jiangsu and elsewhere in China, astute provincial and local officials and party members take their time traversing this topography and do so carefully and

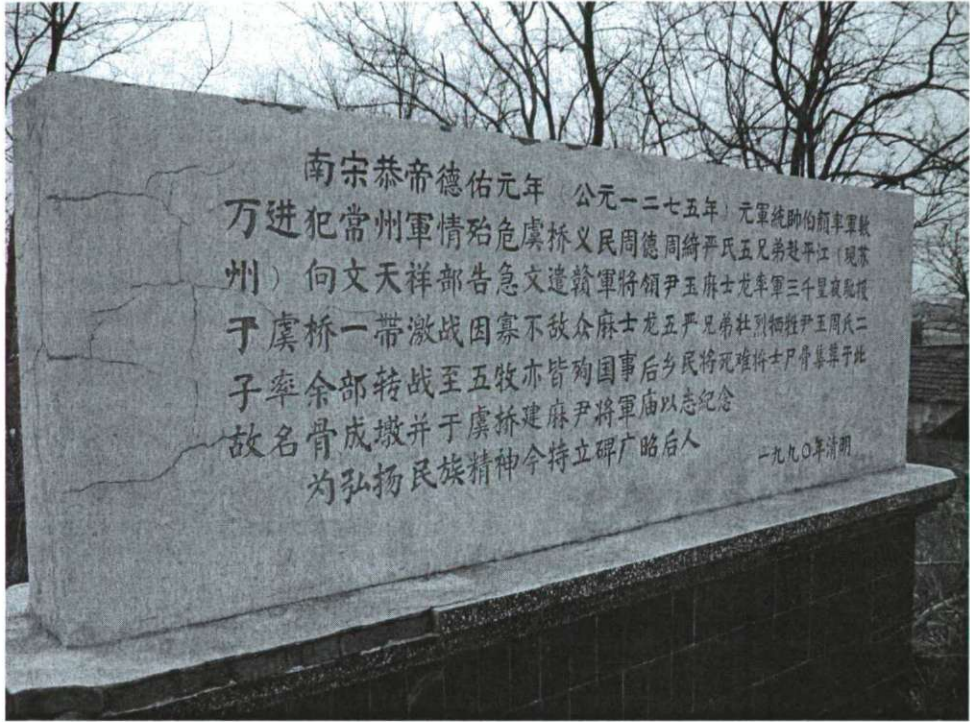
²⁵ In May 1989 Zhao Ziyang opposed Deng Xiaoping's plan to use military force to curtail the protests at Tiananmen Square and its environs. For this Zhao was stripped of all his positions and placed under house arrest for the rest of his life. He died in January 2005 still under official condemnation, but his posthumous reputation will of course eventually be rehabilitated.

²⁶ M. G. Kenny, "A Place for Memory: The Interface Between Individual and Collective History." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41:3 (1999), 437.

²⁷ Foucault, quoted in W. Cohen, "Symbols of Power: Statues in Nineteenth-century Provincial France." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31:3 (July 1989), 494.

²⁸ Geertz, quoted in Cohen, "Symbols of Power," 496.

tentatively. Unless they receive direction from higher levels of the government and Party, they hesitate both to remove old structures associated with the bone mound and to add new ones.²⁹ Meanwhile, the mound itself lapses into desuetude and neglect.



Today the mound of Yuqiao has been marked synchronically but is not remembered diachronically. It has been designated at a point in space with a monumental stele, but the dead buried there who give it meaning are not commemorated across time. The erection of what is essentially a substantial sign and nothing more can ever take the place of a meaningful and satisfying cycle of annual civic ritual of dramas and commemorations that encourages, even craves, communal participation. The continuous incense offerings and the annual temple fairs and dramatic performances of former times have not been replaced with even pale modern counterparts or roughly equivalent analogues. The deeds of the heroic dead buried there are recalled in writing but not enlivened in performance. Merely remembering them in writing, even monumental writing, is not

²⁹ This is because they understand, as did people in nineteenth-century France, that "Tearing down and erecting monuments were ways of taking vengeance on the past and shaping a new understanding of it. In revolutionary times the imprint of royalism had to be obliterated. When the monarchy returned in power, the emphasis was on destroying the symbols of the Revolution and celebrating its victims." (Cohen, "Symbols of Power," 493-494)

enough because "even in a literate society, we find that people are essentially visually oriented."³⁰ The lack of visual performances on stage and in writing, of "body and brush" commemorations, is telling.

Thus, in the area around Yuqiao, where the avowed purpose of placing the monument on the mound was to encourage nationalism, nationalism has not been well served by an integration of the new monument with a new (or at least rejuvenated) and supplementary programme of commemoration. In nineteenth-century Switzerland, on the other hand, nationalism was effectively fostered through coherent association of festival occasions (based in part on former traditional practices) with new monumental structures:

Existing customary traditional practices – folksong, physical contests, marksmanship – were modified, ritualized, and institutionalized for the new national purposes ... A powerful ritual complex formed round these occasions: festival pavilions, structures for the display of flags, temples for offerings, processions, bell-ringing, tableaux, gun-salutes, government delegations in honour of the festival, dinners, toasts, and oratory.³¹

It is perhaps too easy to fault the Chinese communists of the Yuqiao region for their failure to attain to the Swiss example. They must, after all, act with the approbation of their superiors in the government and the Party, and the blame for the failure might well lie farther up the political and Party hierarchy, perhaps all the way to Beijing. Creating new monuments locally and regionally, while already perilous enough politically, might pale in comparison to the question of how, in a state and society that until very recently denigrated much of the past as backward and irrelevant, they are to decide which of the many old rituals and customs they seek to renovate are useful and which must be relegated to the junkyard of history or reinvented entirely.

If the Party and the government themselves are not clear about such questions, what are the villagers of Yuqiao to think? What are they to make of the massive burial mound in their midst? To them the meaning of Yuqiao's mound of bones today seems ambiguous. To a significant extent it is still thought of as a relic of "old" or "feudal" (i. e., pre-communist) China, and the feeble and half-hearted attempt in 1990 to reverse some of this and imbue the mound with meaning by transforming it into a symbolic focus for "propagating nationalistic spirit" seems to have failed. Perhaps China's steady economic development and its government's ongoing cynical appeal to nationalism as an alternative source of political legitimacy will some day create the wealth and political will necessary to transform the mound of Yuqiao into something more significant. But for now the citizens of Yuqiao and surrounding areas are clearly indifferent to the mound, and they are quite literally dumping and defecating on it. What used to be a sacred and monumental place for honoured dead is now largely a forgotten and neglected heap of refuse and waste.

³⁰ Cohen, "Symbols of Power," 492.

³¹ E. Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge 1983, 6.

Против “советского рая” *

Заметки венгерских солдат о целях войны и сталинском
Советском Союзе¹

JUDIT PINURIK



После Трианонского договора 1920 года² в качестве противников в Венгрии рассматривали в первую очередь соседние народы, к которым отошли по нему бывшие венгерские территории, а главной внешнеполитической задачей являлось осуществление мирной территориальной ревизии. По отношению к Советскому Союзу у Венгрии не было претензий, соотношение сил и количества войск также исключало возможность причисления СССР к потенциальному противнику, тем не менее он считался таковым по идеологическим основаниям.³ Это подкреплялось воспоминаниями о решающей роли России в разгроме венгерской революции и освободительной борьбы 1848–1849 годов, а также тем, что эти страны были противниками в Первой мировой войне. Однако, благодаря проводимой премьер-министром Иштваном Бетленом (Bethlen István)⁴ политике консолидации положение не только стабилизировалось, что дипломатические круги при поддержке премьер-министра, поставив экономические и внешнеполитические интересы

* A tanulmány az OTKA T 042763 számú pályázatának támogatásával készült. Исследование проведено при поддержке гранта OTKA № T 042763.

¹ В источниках это выражение используется в обобщенном ироническом смысле.

² К концу Первой мировой войны распалась Австро-Венгерская монархия и на большую часть территории многонациональной исторической Венгрии, которая составляла ее часть, претендовали вновь образовавшиеся на этом месте государства – Австрия, Чехословакия, Королевство Сербии, Хорватии и Словении, а также Румыния. В 1920 году Венгрия потеряла 57 % своей территории и две трети населения.

³ С 21 марта по 1 августа 1919 в послевоенной политической и экономической обстановке произошла попытка установления в Венгрии советской республики. В установившемся после падения этой республики режиме, который сам себя называл контрреволюционным, был глубоко укоренен антибольшевизм.

⁴ 1921–1931.

страны выше идеологических аспектов, инициировали установление отношений с Советским Союзом, в результате чего осенью 1924 года между двумя странами были заключены дипломатическое и торговое соглашение. Советский Союз мог стать важным торговым партнером для самостоятельно вышедшей после 1920 года на мировой рынок Венгрии, при этом Венгрия надеялась получить от не признавшей заключенных после Первой мировой войны мирных договоров великой державы поддержку в своих внешнеполитических устремлениях. Но в связи с тем, что в Венгрии вновь усилились антисоветские тенденции, и правитель Миклош Хорти (1920–1944) был против ратификации соглашений, они так и не вступили в силу. Только десятью годами позднее, в 1934 году были установлены дипломатические отношения, уже при поддержке главы государства. В начале 1939 года отношения между двумя странами испортились из-за направленности венгерской политики на проведение территориальной ревизии⁵, присоединении ее к антикоминтерновскому пакту и выходу из Лиги Наций. Однако в 1940 году, после того, как обе страны предъявили территориальные претензии к Румынии, между ними были вновь налажены отношения и сделаны жесты навстречу друг другу⁶. Опасения Венгрии относительно Советского Союза, конечно, остались неизменными, но не занимали общественное мнение так, как враждебные настроения по отношению к соседним государствам, поскольку стране не угрожала опасность леворадикального переворота и воспоминания о временах Венгерской Советской республики уже притупились. Однако, после удачного возвращения Венгрией территорий в изменившейся военной обстановке летом 1941 года факт вступления в войну против Советского Союза был довольно легко принят общественным мнением.⁷

⁵ В 1938 и 1941 году при поддержке Германии и Италии Венгрия вернула часть утраченных территорий.

⁶ Венгерское правительство разрешило находящимся в тюрьмах коммунистам вернуться в Советский Союз, а из СССР в Венгрию были возвращены знамена, захваченные при подавлении освободительной борьбы в 1849 году.

⁷ Премьер-министр Ласло Бардоши (Bárdossy László) объявил о том, что Венгрия находится в состоянии войны с Советским Союзом. Причиной войны он назвал бомбардировку Кошице, которая по его предположению была проведена советскими самолетами. В 1941 году в наступательных операциях приняла участие 90-тысячная Карпатская группа, а с весны 1942 Вторая венгерская армия в составе 207 тысяч человек. Венгерское военное руководство рассчитывало на затяжную войну, но не сомневалось в победе немцев. Согласно сводке октября 1941 года военный крах Советского Союза в ближайшем будущем не ожидался: «В заключении можно констатировать, что большевизм как политический фактор может быть полностью устранен только в том случае, если в дополнение к уничтожению Красной армии вся территория Советского Союза будет оккупирована и советское правительство будет вынуждено потерять власть. Пока это не представляется возможным.» Сводка политического и военного положения Советского Союза в конце октября 1941 года. Военно-исторический архив, 1 президентский отдел Начальника генерального штаба (В дальнейшем: HL VKF eln. 1. oszt.) 6687.

Еще до войны в Венгрии появлялось множество изданий, критически освещающих большевистский режим. Наряду с публикациями о жестокостях сталинизма, начиная с конца 1941 года стали появляться отчеты о впечатлениях вернувшихся с фронта, пресса также все больше внимания уделяла освещению военных событий. Характерно, что пропаганда переплеталась с антисемитской политикой внутри страны, в публикациях все чаще встречалась уже известная мысль о том, что за все злоупотребления сталинского режима несут ответственность евреи, а сам большевизм был ими же изобретен и построен.

Для оправдания участия Венгрии в войне в пропагандистских изданиях предлагается два основных аргумента: во-первых осуждение советского строя, а во вторых, положение о том, что немецкое нападение лишь предупредило готовящееся нападение Советского Союза на Европу⁸. Тот факт, что прежде чем 22 июня 1941 года без объявления войны напасть на Советский Союз Германия, начиная с 1939 года, также без объявления войны напала на несколько не коммунистических стран, авторами игнорировался. По отношению к этим странам приводимые аргументы не имели силы, но побежденные страны просто не упоминались, и таким образом противоречие замалчивалось. Роль Германии в войне подавалась чаще всего так, будто она при поддержке всех европейских народов вместе с союзниками ведет борьбу с единственным врагом – Советским Союзом. Авторы редко упоминают о военных событиях 1939–41 годов, о нападении на Польшу, нейтральные государства, Францию, бомбардировках Англии, действиях против Югославии. Интересы великой Германии не подвергаются сомнению, авторы замечают злоупотребления лишь одного бесчеловечного режима. Венгерское население пыталось убедить в том, что подвергнувшаяся нападению сторона является агрессором, в потоке аргументов неясно, какова же тогда причина нападения на другие государства во имя антидемократической, бесчеловечной идеологии.

Фронтовые дневники и некоторые воспоминания⁹ дают возможность получить более дифференцированную картину, которая не во всем совпадает с тенденциозно отобранными опубликованными материалами. На театре военных действий было запрещено вести дневники, но, несмотря на это, до

⁸ Несколько примеров: Faragho Gábor: Szovjetország (Советская Россия). h. n., é. n. До апреля 1941 года Фараго служил военным атташе в Москве, книгу написал вернувшись на родину. Reviczky Sándor: A vörös hadi készség és a tömeg élete (Боевая готовность Красной армии и жизнь масс). Фронтовые впечатления автора в 1941 году вместе с другими сходными записками были опубликованы в книге Honvédeink Vörösországról (Наши воины в Красной стране). Ред.: dr. Marjai Frigyes. Budapest 1942. 171–176. Rásy Barna: Három év háború 1939–1942 (Три года войны 1939–1942). Budapest 1943.

⁹ Ценность дневников как источников выше, чем воспоминаний, но и последние при достаточно критическом подходе могут дать ценный материал.

нас дошло значительное количество рукописей¹⁰, большинство написано офицерами. Важно отметить, что большинство авторов являются офицерами запаса, что и понятно, так как из запаса набиралось две трети офицерского и 80 % рядового состава.¹¹ Дневники кадровых офицеров, за некоторыми исключениями, содержат немного личных замечаний, а большей частью посвящены описаниям боевых действий, в то время, как офицеры запаса и рядовые сохранили для нас описание фронтовых будней. Эти источники точно отражают перемену взглядов и настроений солдат и офицеров на фронте. По мере накопления опыта у авторов записей появляется все больше сомнений, хотя советский режим большинство из них поразил. На основании дневников можно видеть, как венгерские солдаты относились к войне и своей роли в ней, каким видели Советский Союз. Эти источники подтверждают, что большинство солдат в 1942 году отправлялись на фронт в надежде на быструю легкую победу в убеждении, что их целью является предупредить советское нападение и уничтожить большевизм, они уверены, что население встретит и как освободителей и война скоро кончится, а осенью они смогут вернуться домой¹². Со временем для них становилось все яснее, что они имеют дело не с побежденным и мечтающим сдаться противником, а встречают на 200-километровой линии фронта упорное сопротивление.

¹⁰ Значительный объем рукописей находится с Собрании исследований Военно-исторического архива (в дальнейшем HL TGY), но и в семьях могло сохраниться много записок. Публикуется все больше дневников и мемуаров.

¹¹ В соответствии с трианонским договором, страна могла иметь армию до 35 тысяч человек. Развитие этой армии началось в тридцатые годы, таким образом к началу войны венгерские вооруженные силы не отвечали требованиям ни по количеству личного состава, ни по подготовке, ни по оснащенности.

¹² Венгерское военное руководство не рассчитывало на то, что война завершится в 1942 году. Осенью обстановка оценивалась следующим образом: «Общая боеспособность советских войск все еще высока и после призыва Сталина в результате усиления террора пока стала только выше. – Они упрямо и упорно сражаются в нападении, а в обороне лучше, чем в прошлом году. Признаки разложения наблюдаются лишь местами и только в отдельных ситуациях.» После подробного описания положения делается вывод: «В итоге можно заключить, что сопротивление Красной армии еще не сломлено.» После августовских потерь из 9-миллионной советской армии на европейском театре действовало предположительно 4,5 миллиона человек, и имеющийся в распоряжении резерв составлял 2,5 миллиона человек, таким образом для Советского Союза возмещение людских потерь также не вызывало трудностей. Боеспособность отдельных частей не считалась одинаковой. Однако, согласно общей сводке положения в 1943 году ожидалось изменение ситуации: «Советский Союз не может рассчитывать на эффективную помощь со стороны союзников.» Из-за этого и из-за внутренних трудностей в 1943 году ожидалось ослабление Красной армии. A Szovjetunió politikai és katonai helyzete 1942. szeptember 1-én (Политическое и военное состояние Советского Союза 1 сентября 1942 года). HL VKF eln. 1. oszt. 5581.

Чрезвычайно интересно сравнить описания, изданные с пропагандистскими целями, и частные записи. Точки зрения современников тех событий явно противоречат друг другу: бросается в глаза разница между работами, которые концентрируются лишь на жестокостях советского режима, иногда удивительно прозорливы, но часто построены на предвзятых с одной стороны, и освещающих ситуацию с разных сторон неизданными дневниками с другой стороны.

В июне 1941 года Гитлер ссылаясь на угрожающее выдвижение советских дивизий и назвал Германию миротворцем, а Советский Союз агрессором. Многие венгерские издания практически дословно приводят его основные аргументы, венгерская пропаганда переняла немецкую точку зрения по вопросу превентивной войны. Поначалу эти взгляды встречаются и в дневниках, но по мере продвижения по оккупированным территориям, видя нищету и разрушения военного времени, солдаты все реже останавливаются в своих заметках на большевистской угрозе, в большинстве случаев стереотипы сменяются выражением сомнения, разочарования и безысходности. Большевизм по-прежнему осуждается, но картина войны становится более дифференцированной. Все меньше находилось солдат, которые верят, что задачей Венгрии должно быть уничтожение сталинского строя, а под влиянием фронтовых испытаний тезис о том, что на Дону солдаты защищают венгерские границы, окончательно потерял смысл. Разумеется, в отличие от фронтовых дневников, пропаганда внутри страны не отражала эти настроения неуверенности.

Сначала мы приведем примеры записей, повторяющих аргументы официальной пропаганды. Прапорщик запаса Иштван Шимон (Simon István) в своем дневнике¹³ 24 июня 1941 года описал состояние войны на основании речи Гитлера. Он утверждает, что «симпатии всей Европы направлены против коммунистов», и пишет так, как будто Германия не вела войну почти против «всей Европы», а не только против Советского Союза. В связи с этим он также повторяет немецкие доводы: Гитлеру «необходимо было обеспечить оборону тыла, прежде чем направиться против русских». Он не замечает противоречия, ведь если вся Европа поддерживает Германию, зачем ей нужно обеспечивать оборону тыла? Характерный для личных источников факт: тот же автор для себя и для Венгрии 1 августа в связи с полевой мессой формулирует цели войны по-другому: «Нас вдохновляет сознание того, что мы боремся за воздвижение креста, вынос его на свет».¹⁴

¹³ Simon István: Katonai szolgálatom története (История моей военной службы). HL TGY 3208. (В дальнейшем: Simon.) Автор являлся прапорщиком запаса, в 1941, а затем в 1942–43 году воевал на советском фронте.

¹⁴ Для многих венгерских солдат важным фактором была их вера в то, что они возвращают русскому народу (это название употребляли по отношению ко всем живущим в Советском Союзе народам) возможность вести религиозную практику. Во многих дневниках есть описания того, как солдаты с радостью встречали участие местных жителей в полевых мессах.

Золтан Ароксзálлáши (Árokszállási Zoltán)¹⁵ дает поэтическое описание того, как венгерские войны отправляются в русскую пустыню на защиту своих домов, своего будущего, своих потомков. Для его работы характерно то, что он ищет доказательства для заранее принятых аргументов, когда таким образом описывает русских военнопленных: «Какие дикие, грубые лица, сколько дикости, животной жестокости таится в этих глазах. Это тоже визитная карточка России, сталинского режима. Настало время стереть его с лица земли.»¹⁶ Предвзятость против большевизма не позволяет ему сформировать реальное представление о русском народе, его культуре и традициях. С благоговением пишет автор о жертвующих жизнью за свою родину и всю Европу немцах, видя могилы он замечает: «Сколько крови и страданий для того, чтобы осуществить мечту о мировом господстве кучки ослепленных евреев коммунистов.»¹⁷ Таким образом он однозначно принимает цель войны: «Для этой огромной части земли необходимы оккупанты, которые наведут порядок. Здесь найдется достаточно земли не только для русского народа, но и для всей Европы и стремление Сталина к мировому господству можно объяснить только его низкой жаждой власти. Если на этой земле будет наведен порядок, а он будет наведен, потому что должен быть наведен, каким Ханааном, текущим млеком и медом, каким раем, какой житницей станет она для новой Европы.»¹⁸ Ароксзálлáши не видит настоящего лица нацизма и Гитлера, он не думает, какой была бы созданная им новая Европа.

Находились и те, кто не принимал такие доводы. Кадровый офицер Денеш Барани (Bárány Dénes)¹⁹ уже 9 августа 1942 года приводит критическую, реальную картину: «Люди не принимают бои на Дону с тем воодушевлением, каким они бы вошли и воевали в Трансильвании. Они не чувствуют, что родину надо защищать здесь. ... Наши солдаты были бы наверняка на высоте положения в боях за Карпаты, но не здесь, против фанатичного и упорного врага.» 19 сентября у него вырываются следующие горькие слова: «Так эти люди действительно преданы политикой? Разве можно в 1942 году отправлять нормальных, здоровых людей в бой с орудиями 5/8 в то время, когда вокруг них разезжают танки Т-34? Однажды Маньо выстрелил в та-

¹⁵ Úttalan utakon. Egy gépkocsizó vonatcsoporthoz élete Oroszországban a szovjet elleni hadjáratban. 1942. V. 26–1943. IV. 25-ig. A csoportparancsnokság megbízásából írta és összeállította dr. Árokszállási Zoltán karpaszományos őrmester (По дорогам бездорожья. Жизнь моторизированной обозной группы. 26. V. 1942–25. IV. 1943. По поручению командования группы написал и составил вольноопределяющийся фельдфебель д-р Золтан Ароксзálлáши). HL TGY 3034. В дальнейшем: Árokszállási.

¹⁶ Árokszállási 13.

¹⁷ Árokszállási 19–21.

¹⁸ Árokszállási 26.

¹⁹ Bárány Dénes tüzérszázados háborús naplója. 1942. Doni hadjárat (Военный дневник артиллерийского капитана Денеша Барань. 1942. Операция на Дону). HL TGY 3430. В дальнейшем: Bárány.

кой танк и к тому же они попали в ходовую часть, но в танке к счастью этого даже не заметили, к счастью, потому что иначе вдавили бы их в землю также, как находившееся рядом с ними зенитное орудие! Это все равно, что идти на охоту с игрушечным ружьем!» По мнению Барани советские силы не слабее, чем в 1941, более того: «... они себя чувствуют весело, хорошо держаться, страна огромна и природные запасы ее неисчерпаемы. А терпеть лишения они научились в ходе своей истории.»²⁰

Согласно воспоминаниям Ласло Эсени (Eszenyi László)²¹ многие офицеры принимали цели войны: „Война против Советского Союза воспринималась как крестовый поход против большевизма. Это было естественное поведение, вытекающие из наших детских воспоминаний и воспитания.»²²

В мемуарах лейтенанта Шебештьена Коппани (Koppányi Sebestyén)²³ высказывается отличное от мнения Ласло Эсени мнение. Ему кажется, что для венгерских офицеров было характерно другое: «Но дух времени, общественное воспитание иногда заставляли этих хорошо подготовленных людей делать такие заявления, которые затруднили бы для современного читателя понимание их духа и настроения, так как большая часть этих солдат верила в бессмыслицу, которую говорила.»²⁴ По его мнению для всей армии были характерны неосведомленность, самоуверенность, которая часто приводила к тяжелым последствиям, искаженное понимание ситуации, ее не соответствующая обстоятельствам оценка.

В 1942 году после 800–1000-километрового пешего перехода, который им пришлось сделать после доставки по железной дороге, составляющие большую часть Второй венгерской армии пехотные части столкнулись с фронтовой реальностью и могли сопоставить собственный опыт с услышанным во время подготовки и пропагандистскими материалами. С этого момента определяющим элементом дневников становится описание непосредственных впечатлений, а не сформулированные кем-то другим теории. Яркой иллюстрацией этой перемены может служить дневник капрала Петера Пала Кечкеш (Kecskés Péter Pál)²⁵. Кечкеш был призван из запаса в апреле 1942 года, 26 июня его часть отправилась по железной дороге и 1 июля прибыла в Решицу, откуда отправилась дальше пешком и после тысячекилометрового перехода 14 августа прибыла на фронт в район Дона. Оттуда часть немед-

²⁰ Bárányi 1942. szeptember 30 (30 сентября 1942).

²¹ Eszenyi László magyar királyi vezérkari százados emlékirata (Воспоминания капитана венгерского королевского генерального штаба Ласло Эсени). HL TGY 3092. В дальнейшем: Eszenyi.

²² Eszenyi 377.

²³ Koppányi Sebestyén: Visszaemlékezéseim... A 4. honvéd gyalogezred harctérre vonulása és tragédiája (Мои воспоминания... Вступление в бой и трагедия 4-го армейского пехотного полка). HL TGY 3115. В дальнейшем: Koppányi.

²⁴ Koppányi 3.

²⁵ Kecskés Péter Pál: Honvédnapló a keleti frontról. 1942. június 26–október 19 (Дневник бойца с восточного фронта. 26 июня–19 октября 1942 года). Szeged 2002. В дальнейшем: Kecskés.

ленно, без отдыха была брошена в бой. В течение почти четырех месяцев, с 26 июня по 19 октября 1942 года Кечкеш каждый день записывал происходящие события, свои мнения и впечатления.²⁶ До нас дошло немного рукописей, содержащих столь полную и подробную информацию, сохранивших настроения и впечатления рядового состава. На основании записей капрала можно проследить, как по мере приближения к фронту первоначальное воодушевление сменяется апатией, а затем и разочарованием. 30 июня автор записей увидел первые солдатские могилы. В связи с этим он замечает, что павшие были первопроходцы-мученики нового мира, которые «погибли в борьбе за лучшее будущее».²⁷ Тогда сомнений еще не было, Кечкеш искренне верит, что задачей венгерской армии является участие в разгроме большевизма и вдали от дома они защищает родину. 6 августа, после 770 километров перехода, в дневнике 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.»²⁸ Местами в повседневные записи вкраплены потрясающие сообщения, как, например, 12 августа: «Мы на марше, курить запрещено. Один солдат в колонне, Антал Й. застрелился. В 4 часа утра светает, разрешают курить.»²⁹ Очевидно, что речь идет не о бесчувственности, кажущаяся безучастность может быть следствием усталости и разочарования. При таких обстоятельствах солдаты прибыли на фронт, где их немедленно отправили в бой. С 15 августа часть Кечкеша в течение пяти дней была на передовой в районе Коротояка, в начале сентября принимала участие в боях за переправу у Урыва. 13 сентября он описывает обстановку следующим образом: «Мы начинаем выдыхаться, днем и ночью усиленное наблюдение и огонь, а к тому же голод постепенно нас истощают. Один день в бою можно считать за два, потому что надо бодрствовать и ночью, ночью даже больше работы чем днем, потому что ничего не видно. ... Ждем вечера, а с ним еду и воду. Воду надо достать любым путем, потому что дальше так выдержать невозможно. В настоящий момент установилось затишье, собираем силы для дальнейшей борьбы. Невозможно высунуть голову, сразу начинают стрелять. ... Нашего товарища Йожефа Сорат (Szóráth József), который немного высунул голову, тут же застрелили, он умер на месте.»³⁰ А 19 сентября капрал подводит горький итог своего опыта: «Эта война разрушение, уничтожение жизни и добра.»³¹

²⁶ В октябре 1942 был в отпуске и оставил рукопись дома. Вернувшись на фронт, в январе 1943 погиб при Острогоске, вероятно при прорыве из города.

²⁷ Kecsés 26.

²⁸ Там же 50.

²⁹ Там же 53.

³⁰ Там же 84.

³¹ Там же 88.

После боев за переправу в августе-сентябре 1942 года³² у многих сложилось то же мнение. Для Иштвана Шимона (Simon István)³³ настоящей травмой стало 18 августа: «На поле боя трупы валяются горами. Оценить по-настоящему потери может только тот, кто видел это своими глазами. Конечно, в военных сводках об этом не говорится и дома люди понятия не имеют о том, каких жертв требует эта война, гораздо более кровавых, чем в прошлом году.» 13 сентября он записывает мысль, которая встречается во многих подобных источниках: «Только тот знает, что это такое, кто находится здесь. Мы не едим в обед и в ужин, уже неделю я не мылся.» Днем позже: «Хочу только спать и спать.» 18 сентября он объясняет падение венгерского боевого духа тем, что война идет далеко от дома. Сходного мнения придерживался и подполковник Бела Вечеи (Vécsey Béla),³⁴ который 6 сентября 1942 года делает следующую запись: «В этих подавленных солдатах не узнать венгров мировой войны. Может быть не хватает психологической подготовки, но трудно объяснить простым людям, что здесь они защищают границы Венгрии. Они видят только, что сражаются за немецкие интересы, и эта видимость оставляет глубокий след в их душах.» Из дневников видно, что тогда, в сентябре 1942 года, солдаты начали понимать, что их не будут сменять. Они начали оборудовать зимние позиции, запастись горючими материалами и продовольствием, так как уже ясно видели трудности их поставок.

Из рукописей исследователь может также получить информацию о том, как венгерские солдаты представляли образ врага. Некоторые разделяли народ и представителей власти, большевиков. Многие писали о жителях оккупированных территорий с глубокой симпатией, но были и такие, кто пользовался грубыми стереотипами. Причиной этому служило отсутствие знаний, а также сложившиеся под влиянием указанных во введении факторов предрассудки. Авторы большей частью не знали или игнорировали проблемы советского-российского общества, они рисовали однозначно негативную картину не только советской системы, но и народа и армии. Однако интересно отметить, что осуждающие большевистский режим авторы не понимают, почему население не встречает их с распростертыми объятиями, при этом не задумываясь о том, какой освободитель может быть из нацистской Германии.

Фронтовые заметки Бела Шаада (Saád Béla) в 1942 году вышли отдельной книгой. В ней он описывает историю встречи с русскими крестьянами, кото-

³² С начала августа 1942 года на Дону идут так называемые «бои за переправу». Зажатые на восточном берегу советские войска перешли в успешное контрнаступление для захвата главных позиций на западном берегу. Основные бои на венгерском участке фронта велись в районе населенных пунктов Коротояк, Урыв, Сторожеево.

³³ См. прим. 13.

³⁴ Vécsey Béla alezredes második világháborús naplói. 1941–1944 (Дневники Второй мировой войны подполковника Бела Вечеи. 1941–1944). HL TGY 2622. (В дальнейшем: Vécsey) В то время был командиром 1 батальона 35-го пехотного полка.

рая кажется достоверной, и высказывает мысль, которую разделяли и другие солдаты. Особенно из-за их крестьянских корней их поражало одно и то же впечатление: «Посреди плодороднейшей в мире земли стоит русский. Смотрит на нее и при этом действительно жестоко голодает. Это все равно, что умереть от голода за накрытым столом. Мы попробовали спросить у них, почему они не обрабатывают землю, почему перебиваются без дела все лето и вступают в длинную зиму без еды. – Большевик – говорят они и показывают, что у них все забрали.» Шаад не понимает, как может быть, чтобы крестьянин не мог спрятать немного картошки. Ответ на его вопрос: „Большевик, – сказал и повторил свой жест русский старик вместе со своей женой, и в их движениях было приятное успокоение в том, что у них все забрали, таким образом у них есть вполне уважительная причина голодать в нищете и не работать.» Автор признает, что возможно ошибается, но ему кажется, что огромные пространства неиспользованной или едва обработанной плодородной земли подтверждает его мысль.³⁵

Образ врага в записях, сделанных на полях сражений, не одинаков. Кишш Миклош Немешкери (Nemeskéri Kiss Miklós)³⁶ заносит свои впечатления в дневник со своеобразным цинизмом: «Наполовину сгоревшие трупы издают жуткое зловоние. Я и не знал до сих пор, что поджаренное в больших количествах человеческое мясо так воняет. Но может быть только русское! Во всяком случае мне разонравилось человеческое мясо!»³⁷ 7 июля после авианалета: «Снова проходили мимо обстрелянного «штуками» леса смерти. Огромное число русских раненых стонало, захлебываясь в крови, они лежали вперемежку с трупами. Конечно, они брошены на произвол судьбы, в такую войну нет ни времени, ни людей ими заниматься. Однако зрелище было ужасное. Весь сегодняшний день идем среди чудовищного зловония. Типичный кислый советский запах вперемешку с дымом, запахом пороха и трупным запахом составляет жуткую вонючую смесь, от которой я не могу избавиться несколько дней. К этому я не могу привыкнуть многие дни. Поэтому что привыкнуть к виду разорванных на куски, со распоротыми животами, вздутых трупов, или топтать в крови и грязи можно, глаз становится полностью бесчувственным, но к запаху привыкнуть невозможно.» 8 июля в связи с описанием реактивного миномета «Небельверфер»³⁸ он замечает:

³⁵ Saád Béla: A Dunától a Donig 1942 nyarán (От Дуная до Дона летом 1942 года). Budapest 1942. 84. См. также: Kecskés 34. és Galánffy György ezredes: Pillanatfelvétel szovjetről (Моментальный снимок СССР). Marjai 143–144.

³⁶ Nemeskéri Kiss Miklós tartalékos zászlós: Napló az orosz harctérről 1942 (Прапорщик запаса Кишш Миклош Немешкери: Дневник с русского театра военных действий). I–II. HL 2. hadsereg iratai 30. fasc. (Документы второй армии, папка 30) В дальнейшем: Nemeskéri.

³⁷ Nemeskéri 1942. július 4.

³⁸ Назывался также „Stuka zu Fuss” («Пехотная «штука»»), реактивный миномет залпового огня, называли также «флейтой Гитлера». С 27 июня до 7 июля 1942 года Немешкери был командирован офицером для связи к командованию 16-ой немецкой моторизованной дивизии в Новоселовскую. По его наблюдениям здесь

«Действие было ужасным. Рядом валялись сотни людей и лошадей с вывалившимися глазами, лошади так, как были запряжены в орудия или телеги, по четыре и по шесть. Листья и трава полностью опалены. Страшное было зрелище. При этом вонь, которую испускают тысячи трупов – тоже не очень приятно. По моей оценке за один раз погибло пять-шесть тысяч русских. Ни один не остался в живых!»

В противоположность не содержащим никакого сочувствия словам Немешкери приведем отрывки из записей Иштвана Шимона (Simon István)³⁹, который писал о русских по-другому, восхищался тем, что несмотря на огромные потери они оказывали сопротивление. При этом он тоже был поражен увиденным, 17 июля 1942 года он пишет: «Здесь в России человека окружает гигантская тишина. Но это тишина не отдыхающей жизни, а жизни еще не начавшейся. ... Жизнь перед жизнью. Еще не поднявшиеся до человеческого уровня начальные существа, среди которых, однако, присутствует техника с организацией и средствами, превосходящими воображение современного мира. Самое острое проявление противоречий. До сих пор этот народ не имел запросов, в них жил только страх. И мы пронеслись здесь, не обращая внимания ни на что, потому что это не наше. А население смотрит пустым равнодушным взглядом. Что у них в душе? При этом в домах можно видеть иконы и кресты.» Месяцем позже 17 августа он запечатлевает ужасы фронта: «Нет более жуткого зрелища, чем поле битвы. Кругом разрушение и смерть. Этот город тоже выглядит как разлагающийся труп. В полях полно не захороненных трупов. Ими никто не занимается, потому что нет времени. Равнодушно и безучастно проходим мимо. ... Самым страшным в этой войне является сознание того, что нет снисхождения и милосердия. Мы когда-то слышали о благородстве в бою. Сейчас это только мечты.» Неоднократно он подчеркивает, что бои лета 1942 года гораздо кровопролитнее, чем это было в 1941 году. 20 декабря видя трупы четырех русских солдат он с уважением пишет о них: «Даже если они и враги, они сделали то, что смогли, самое большее. Хотя эта война идет не под знаком взаимного уважения, а в самой дикой ненависти.»

Часто противоречащие друг другу приведенные выше отрывки дневников хорошо отражают крайние точки разброса мнений. Вспоминая переговоры 20–22 января 1942 года⁴⁰ Кейтель (Keitel) утверждал, что премьер-министр Венгрии Ласло Бардоши (Bárdossy László) в связи с усилением учас-

из миномета стреляли снарядами со сжатым азотом. Это запрещенное женевскими соглашениями оружие убивает все живое в радиусе 100 метров, так как связывает кислород из воздуха.

³⁹ См. прим. 11.

⁴⁰ В январе 1942 г. Венгрию впервые посетил министр иностранных дел Германии Иоахим Риббентроп с требованием отправить на фронт все военные силы Венгрии. В переговорах с генерал-фельдмаршалом Вильгельмом Кейтелем венгерскому руководству удалось получить согласие немцев на то, чтобы на советский театр военных действий была отправлена только вторая венгерская армия.

тия в войне называл среди основных сложностей пропагандистскую неподготовленность венгерского народа⁴¹. Здесь мы, напротив, видим, что влияние антисоветской пропаганды ясно прослеживается как в опубликованных после 1941 года работах, так и в неопубликованных дневниках. Представления солдат о Советском Союзе складывались под влиянием многих факторов. На них могли повлиять рассказы побывавших на русском фронте, а может быть и русском плену во время Первой мировой войны, затем проявлялась военная подготовка и пропаганда, наконец, личный фронтовой опыт. Роль Венгрии во Второй мировой войне осталась после 1945 года не обсужденной, так как в сложившейся после войны политической обстановке эти переживания не могли должным образом выкристаллизоваться. Однако дневники сохранили для нас личные впечатления, которые ранее не могли стать известны, не могли превратиться в часть коллективной памяти.

⁴¹ Keitel vezértábornagy visszaemlékezései (Воспоминания генерал-фельдмаршала Кейтеля). Budapest 1997, 127.

Die Gestalt des heiligen Stephan und des heiligen Ladislaus in Ungarn entstandenen, lateinischen, mittelalterlichen liturgischen Gesängen

THERESIA DÉR



In der vorliegenden Arbeit wurde untersucht, welches Königsbild die zu Ehren des hl. Stephan und des hl. Ladislaus geschriebenen mittelalterlichen Hymnen, Sequentien, Offizium-Antiphonen und Offizium-Responsorien beinhalten. Grundlage der Arbeit waren die bisherigen ungarischen und ausländischen Forschungsergebnisse in diesem Bereich. Diese Forschungsergebnisse konnten an mehreren Stellen bekräftigt und mit weiteren neuen Argumenten untermauert werden. An einigen weiteren Stellen wurde versucht, die Aufmerksamkeit auf neue Gesichtspunkte zu lenken.

Die Forschung analysiert die zu Ehren des hl. Stephan und des hl. Ladislaus entstandenen Gesänge unter liturgischen, literaturwissenschaftlichen und musikgeschichtlichen Aspekten. Die Editionen der von der Verfasserin untersuchten Texte sind Zoltán Falvy und László Mezey, Guido Maria Dreves und Clemens Blume, József Dankó, Károly Kniewald, József Török und Béla Holl zu verdanken. Bei der Entdeckung der Texte erwies sich die Rolle von Polikárp Radó als sehr bedeutend. Die musikgeschichtlichen Analysen können mit den Namen von Zoltán Falvy, László Dobszay, Benjamin Rajeczky und Janka Szendrey verbunden werden. Bei der Betrachtung der kulturgeschichtlichen und ideengeschichtlichen Aspekten sowie der liturgischen Rolle dieser Werke sind die Arbeiten von Béla Csanád, Károly Kniewald, László Mezey und József Török als wegweisend zu erwähnen. Einige Aspekte der liturgischen Gesänge wurden auch in den Arbeiten ungarischer Mittelalterhistoriker behandelt. An dieser Stelle sollen als Beispiele nur die Namen von Zoltán Tóth, Jenő Szűcs und László Veszprémy genannt werden.

In der Analyse der Texte wurden literarische, stilistische, geschichtliche und ideengeschichtliche Aspekte berücksichtigt. Im Schwerpunkt der Untersuchung lagen die sprachliche Verwirklichung und der Inhalt der Texte, es wurden aber auch Forschungsergebnisse aus dem Bereich der Musikgeschichte eingebracht, vor allem dann, wenn sie bei der Bestimmung der Entstehungszeit eines bestimmten Gesangs eine entscheidende Rolle gespielt haben.

Die einzelnen Werke wurden – entsprechend ihrer Art – weitgehend als literarische Werke betrachtet und in die Reihe ähnlicher Arbeiten des damaligen Europa eingeordnet. Diejenigen liturgischen und andere literarischen Werke, die das Vorbild oder sogar die Grundlage zur Entstehung der untersuchten Werke bedeutet haben, wurden ebenfalls berücksichtigt.

Darüber hinaus wurde die Frage thematisiert, welche Eigenschaften des gefeierten Helden in diesen Gesängen hervorgehoben werden, welchen Tugenden in ihnen Priorität eingeräumt wird und in welcher Weise die dargestellte Person in ihnen als charakteristische Gestalt ihrer Zeit dargestellt wird.

Es wurde gezeigt, inwiefern dieses Portrait der Auffassung der Geschichtswissenschaft entspricht oder inwieweit es davon abweicht. Letztere Frage hat zur Thematisierung dessen übergeleitet, inwiefern das betreffende Werk die zu seiner Entstehungszeit herrschenden politischen und ideologischen Bemühungen widerspiegelt. Diese Fragestellung gehört zum anderen wichtigen Bereich dieser Untersuchung, wobei auch ermittelt wurde, auf wen und in welchem Sinne ein solches Werk – neben der Erfüllung seiner primär liturgischen Funktion – wirken wollte und in welchem Maße und mit welchen Beschränkungen es als historische Quelle angesehen werden kann.

In der Einleitung wurde – auf den Ergebnissen der Fachliteratur aufbauend – ein Überblick über die wichtigsten Stationen der Entstehung der mittelalterlichen lateinischen Liturgie und über den Stellenwert des Gesangs in diesem Ritus gegeben.

Um terminologische Klarheit zu schaffen, wurde die Genrefrage der religiösen Gesänge behandelt und dabei zwischen den zwei grundlegenden Bedeutungen des „Hymnus“-Begriffs unterschieden. Im weitesten Sinne können alle religiösen Gesänge als Hymnen betrachtet werden, im engeren Sinne ist aber nur der während des Offiziums ertönende Gesang mit erhabenem Inhalt als Hymnus zu bezeichnen. Zunächst wurde in chronologischer Reihenfolge die Tätigkeit der wichtigsten Vertreter der lateinischen liturgischen Gesänge skizziert. Dann wurde dargestellt, wie das ungarische Volk zur Aufnahme der abendländischen christlichen Religion gekommen ist und wie die lateinische Liturgie – und damit auch der liturgische Gesang – sowie das Streben nach ihrer Verbreitung und Vervollkommnung in Folge dessen auch bei uns Eingang gefunden hat.

Im ersten großen Teil der Arbeit (*Die Gestalt des hl. Stephan in den liturgischen Gesängen*) wurde das Portrait des hl. Stephan in liturgischen Gesängen auf Grund der zu Ehren des ungarischen *protorex* geschriebenen drei Offizien, drei Hymnen und zwei Sequentien untersucht. Dabei wurde auch der im Druck noch nicht erschienene Gesang mit der Anfangszeile *Exultet gens celestis jucunditate* erwähnt. Dieser ist der älteste uns überlieferte Hymnus auf den hl. Stephan. Er ist nur in

einem einzigen Kodex vom Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts überliefert, der in der Batthyány Bibliothek in Gyulafehérvár aufbewahrt wird. Kilián Szigeti hat die Aufmerksamkeit der Forscher auf diesen Gesang gelenkt. Eine baldige Veröffentlichung dieses Werkes wäre wünschenswert.

Während der Untersuchung der Offizien konnten die Feststellungen der Forschung untermauert werden, nach denen das zum Anlass der Heiligsprechung im Jahre 1083 entstandene Offizium – das nur wenige proprium-Teile enthält – den ersten ungarischen König als Bekehrer seines Volkes und als Beseitiger des Heidentums feiert.

Aufgrund der durchgeführten Analysen konnte gezeigt werden, dass die Darstellungsweisen in der dritten Antiphon (mit der Anfangszeile *Gloriosus cultor dei*) und die in der kleineren Stephanslegende große Ähnlichkeiten aufweisen. Daraus wurden aber im Hinblick auf die Beziehung dieser beiden Werke zueinander keine Folgerungen gezogen, weil an den untersuchten Stellen beide Texte von biblischer Inspiration zeugen. Der Grund, weswegen dieser Gesang nur in einer einzigen Quelle aufzufinden ist, ist wohl in der strengen Darstellung des hl. Stephan zu sehen.

Betreffend der Quelle für die Proprium-Teile wurde die These aufgestellt, dass diese auch zu jenem Zeitpunkt entstanden sein konnten, als zur Ehre von König Stephan noch keine komplette Legende zur Verfügung stand. Zum Herrscherbild, das in ihnen erscheint, können – im inhaltlichen Bereich – diejenigen zeitgenössischen oder fast zeitgenössischen ausländischen Beschreibungen eine Grundlage geliefert haben, die in letzter Zeit (2001) von Gyula Kristó zusammengetragen wurden.

Als weitere Vorlage kann die zur Zeit der Kanonisation schon vorliegende Legende über Szórád und Benedek betrachtet werden, in welcher Stephan kurz, aber sehr anerkennend beschrieben wird.

Im Hinblick auf die Form konnten natürlich die zum Ehren anderer Heiliger entstandenen Gesänge den Orientierungspunkt darstellen.

Das herausragendste von den drei Offizien ist das Reimoffizium aus dem späten 13. Jahrhundert, als dessen Zusammensteller László Mezey den Augustiner-Domherrn Nikolaus identifiziert hat. Im Gegensatz zu Mezey ist Dobszay der Meinung, dass dieses Offizium mit dem Namen von Raimundus, einem weltlichen Kleriker verbunden werden kann.

Dieses Werk ist das Spiegelbild und zugleich auch ein Instrument jener politischen und ideologischen Auseinandersetzung, die die kirchliche Parteien unter Führung von Lodomer, dem Bischof von Gran, gegen König László IV. und seine Anhänger geführt hatten. Der junge Herrscher hatte – vermutlich nach 1284 – die von ihm erwartete Königsrolle endgültig verweigert, mit den Normen des Christentums gebrochen und verbündete sich mit den Kumanen, die mit ihm mütterlicherseits verwandt waren.

Im Offizium ist auch die Reaktion auf die zu Zeiten von László „dem Kumanen“ entstandene „hunnische Ideologie“ und den Attila-Kult präsent. Dieses Werk überliefert das im ersten Offizium dargestellte Bild und bereichert es um

weitere Aspekte. Als großes Verdienst des Reimoffiziums kann die Tatsache gelten, dass es auch die Tapferkeit und die Heldenhaftigkeit der Nation darstellt.

In Zusammenhang mit dem dritten Offizium – das nach Wissen des Verfassers in keiner modernen Edition veröffentlicht wurde, dessen Text aber in der Doktorarbeit (1950) von Béla Csanád gefunden werden kann – sind nur die wichtigsten Feststellungen der Forschung hervorgehoben worden. Das Werk zeigt im Vergleich zum Reimoffizium vom Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts ein schematischeres, weniger deutliches Stephan-Portrait.

Durch die Analyse der Hymnen (*Gaude mater Ungaria, Gaudet celi nova luce, Jam lucis ordo sidere*) und Sequentien (*Corde voce mente pura, Novum genus melodiae*), die den ungarischen *protorex* feiern, konnten die Feststellungen der Forschung untermauert werden, wonach diese Gesänge jene Tugenden überliefern, die bereits im ersten und zweiten Offizium formuliert wurden, sich vor allem auf die Hartvik-Legende stützen und von biblischen Motiven inspiriert sind.

Bei der Analyse der einzelnen Werke wurden ihre sprachlichen und stilistischen Eigenheiten gezeigt und es wurde an mehreren Stellen versucht, jene gedanklichen und sprachlichen Einflüsse hervorzuheben, die die frühere Forschung nicht beachtet hat.

Im nächsten großen Teil der Arbeit (*Die Gestalt des hl. Ladislaus in den liturgischen Gesängen*) wurde das Portrait von König Ladislaus I. aufgrund seines Offiziums, seines Hymnus und seiner Sequenz untersucht. Es wurde darauf hingewiesen, dass die Forschung von einem weiteren Ladislaus-Hymnus weiß, der noch nicht im Druck erschienen ist. Die Veröffentlichung dieses Gesangs mit der Anfangszeile *Vergente mundi vespera* wäre, ähnlich wie in dem Falle des nicht herausgegebenen König Stephan-Hymnus wünschenswert.

Aufgrund des komplexen Überblicks über den Inhalt des Offiziums, welches um die Zeit der von Béla III. initiierten Heiligsprechung entstanden ist, wurde – der Einschätzung von László Mezey zustimmend – festgestellt, dass das Werk das Portrait eines heiligen Ritterkönigs darstellt, wobei der Frage der Herrscherfähigkeit (*idoneitas*) eine wichtige Rolle zukommt.

Vergleicht man das Offizium auf Ladislaus mit dem Reimoffizium auf König Stephan I., so fällt es auf, dass das Offizium auf Ladislaus viel mehr Teile enthält, die allgemein formuliert und unpersönlich sind. Bestimmte Elemente der Darstellungsweise des Offiziums drücken jedoch trotzdem die wichtigen politischen Themen seiner Entstehungszeit aus. Béla III. war der erste König, der vorhatte, einen Kreuzzug zu führen. Dieses Ziel könnte auch ein Grund dafür sein, dass ausgerechnet er die Heiligsprechung von König Ladislaus initiiert hatte, der gegen die heidnischen Stämme die Ungarn angegriffen hatten, ebenfalls Kämpfe auf Leben und Tod geführt hatte.

Die Frage nach ihrer Herrschaftsfähigkeit und die problematische Art ihrer Krönung setzen die beiden Könige ebenfalls in Beziehung zueinander.

Es ist bekannt, dass ähnlich wie im Falle von Ladislaus auch die Krönung von Béla III. nicht ohne Schwierigkeiten verlief. Dabei stimmt der Verfasser der Forschungsmeinung zu, dass nicht nur Béla III., sondern – im Gegensatz zur Überlie-

ferung in den Chroniken und Legenden – auch Ladislaus I. zum König gekrönt wurde, er also kein *rex electus* blieb.

In den Gedankenkreis des Offiziums lassen sich sowohl der Hymnus als auch die Sequenz einordnen, die ebenfalls um die Zeit der Heiligsprechung geschrieben wurden. Der Hymnus mit der Anfangszeile *Regis regum civis ave* ist ein hervorragendes Werk. Zu diesem Werk ist es wichtig anzumerken, dass sein Verfasser – wie schon László Mezey erkannte – nicht die in der Hymnendichtung üblichen Formen, sondern die sog. Viktoriner Sequenz-Strophe verwendet hatte. In diesem Werk ist auch die Ehrenbezeichnung *athleta patriae* enthalten, die im Laufe der Jahrhunderte zur allgemeinen Bezeichnung für Ladislaus geworden ist. Die Sequenz mit der Anfangszeile *Nove laudis extollamus* ist im Hinblick auf ihr Niveau bescheidener, aber sie weist mehrere Anknüpfungspunkte sowohl zum Hymnus als auch zum Offizium auf.

Aufgrund der Untersuchungen konnte festgestellt werden, dass die Bewertung von Béla Holl, nach welchem dieses Werk von einem des Lateinischen wenig mächtigen Dichter in Eile verfasst wurde, zu streng ist. Die Strophen und Halbstrophen liefern ein anschauliches Bild über die Taten Königs Ladislaus I. und gestalten den als Vorlage dienenden Text treffend um. In der Person des Königs wird der Fortsetzer des Lebenswerks von Stephan I. gesehen, seine Funktion als Beschützer des Volkes wird betont.

Zusammenfassend konnte festgestellt werden, dass die analysierten Werke zwar in unterschiedlichem Maße aber dennoch eindeutig die ideologischen, politischen und religiösen Bemühungen ihrer Entstehungszeit widerspiegeln. Dies gilt besonders für die Offizien, die breiter gefasste Werke sind, dadurch können sich die Absichten des jeweiligen Verfassers bei ihrer Zusammenstellung konsequenter und planvoller durchsetzen.

Eines der herausragenden Stücke des Genres ist das König Stephan-Offizium aus dem späten 13. Jahrhundert. Zu seiner Tendenziösität gesellt sich ein ausgezeichneter Sinn für Form und Proportionen.

Auf den ersten Blick ist die politische Tendenz der Gesänge, die König Ladislaus feiern, weniger auffällig, jedoch erweisen sich auch diese nach gründlicherer Untersuchung als grundsätzlich treue Quellen der Entstehungszeit.

Es besteht also kein Zweifel, dass die liturgischen Gesänge einen wichtigen Teil unserer historischen Tradition darstellen. Mit der nötigen Vorsicht betrachtet sind sie auch als Quellen wertvoll. Ihre Untersuchung trägt dazu bei, dass wir unsere mittelalterliche Kultur, unsere Geschichte, unsere Tradition und unsere intellektuellen Schätze besser kennen lernen.

Angers au XIII^e siècle

Développement urbain, structures économiques et sociales*

LÁSZLÓ GÁLFFY



Le but principal de cette thèse est de fournir un tableau du développement de la ville d'Angers lors de la période de transition que représente le XIII^e siècle. Les événements politiques qui donnent – dans un certain sens – les cadres du développement urbain, font de cette époque une période intéressante par ses nombreux changements dynastiques. Après une longue période de stabilité marquée par le règne des comtes Ingelgériens et Plantagenêts, dynasties indigènes, au début du XIII^e siècle, l'Anjou se détacha de l'empire Plantagenêt – ensemble politique tourné vers l'Atlantique – et devint partie intégrante du domaine des Capétiens. Quelques décennies plus tard (en 1246) l'Anjou fut attribué à Charles, frère du roi de France, en apanage. La politique ambitieuse de ce prince donna bientôt naissance à un ensemble d'Etat axé, cette fois, autour de la Méditerranée. Son centre de gravité se situait en dehors du royaume de France, à savoir en Provence et en Italie. Rappelons aussi qu'à la fin du XIII^e siècle, en 1290, au moment où le trône de Hongrie entra parmi les objectifs des Angevins de Naples, à l'autre bout de l'Europe, l'Anjou quitta cette construction politique et dynastique. A la suite du mariage de Charles de Valois et de Marguerite, fille de Charles II et petite-fille du roi de Hongrie Etienne V, l'Anjou [qu'elle avait reçue en dot] passa au frère de Philippe le Bel. Cette époque annonce déjà l'intégration de l'Anjou dans le domaine royal, dont il sortira à nouveau au milieu du XIV^e siècle.

Voilà donc une époque mouvementée à propos de laquelle on peut se poser de nombreuses questions. Comme nous venons de rappeler, la période « stable » de l'époque des comtes d'Anjou du XI^e et du XII^e siècle s'était accompagnée, au moins à partir du règne des Plantagenêts, d'un éloignement du prince et de sa cour de la ville d'Angers. Pendant le XIII^e siècle ces tendances sont encore plus accentuées : à cette époque, Angers vit à peine ses princes, que ce soit le roi de France ou un prince apanagé. La première contradiction réside dans le fait que

* Thèse préparée en co-tutelle à l'Université d'Angers et à l'Université de Szeged.

ceci ne traduit point un affaiblissement du pouvoir comtal dans la ville, bien au contraire.

Après avoir dressé dans ma thèse un état de lieux du développement antérieur de la ville et des événements historiques du XIII^e siècle, j'ai tenté de dépeindre l'équilibre des pouvoirs dans l'espace urbaine. En premier lieu, on constate que les initiatives du pouvoir laïc (roi-comte) sont nombreuses, à partir des travaux de fortifications (comme le château et l'enceinte urbaine), il fut bien présent et s'imposa tout en jetant les bases de la topographie pour plusieurs siècles. Il faut aussi insister sur le fait que le comte et son administration n'hésitaient guère, à partir de la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle, à s'opposer au pouvoir de l'évêque d'Angers, provoquant ainsi une série de conflits. Dans le même temps, le comte affermit ses positions économiques avec la création des Halles, la reprise du contrôle des Ponts-de-Cé (point de passage sur la Loire, près d'Angers) et avec une politique qui visait à accaparer des rentes dans l'espace urbain sur les points économiquement importants. En étudiant les revenus du comte, on s'aperçoit de ce que la part de la ville est loin d'être négligeable. Concernant la concurrence des pouvoirs, il faut y ajouter l'emprise des établissements religieux. Ce fait remonte évidemment à une période bien antérieure, voire au Haut Moyen Âge. A Angers, on ne peut pas parler d'une dualité de pouvoir, en réduisant la question à une opposition du comte et de l'évêque d'Angers, car l'emprise foncière de l'Eglise était morcelée, de nombreux établissements disposaient de fiefs importants dans la ville. Les bases de cette mosaïque de fiefs furent jetées avant le XIII^e siècle mais des changements – souvent moins spectaculaires bien qu'importants – se sont produits à l'époque considérée. Certaines grandes abbayes, telle Saint-Aubin, perdirent de leur influence dans la ville. L'importance des chapitres séculiers s'accrut par l'urbanisation des terrains proches des remparts de la ville, où ils étaient richement possessionnés. Ajoutons le cas particulier du chapitre Saint-Laud, dépendant directement du comte d'Anjou, qui subit un transfert suite à la reconstruction du château. Il fut contraint de quitter le secteur intra muros, et fut dédommagé par de nouveaux terrains dans la zone périurbaine.

On peut dire de manière générale que les nouvelles fondations religieuses ne modifièrent pas considérablement l'équilibre des propriétés foncières dans l'espace urbain. J'ai cependant insisté sur le rôle d'un établissement charitable, l'hôpital Saint-Jean, qui édifia surtout son temporel au cours du XIII^e siècle. L'intégration urbaine de l'hôpital marque le dernier grand changement dans l'équilibre foncier de la ville.

Les initiatives du comte et de divers établissements ecclésiastiques tendant à acquérir ou conserver des terrains ne constituaient que l'un des moyens par lesquels ils affirmaient leur pouvoir. Les nombreuses entreprises de construction ou de reconstruction (qui transformaient parfois la ville en un immense chantier) reflètent à la fois une renaissance architecturale de la ville et le maintien de symboles aussi importants que le château ou la cathédrale.

A propos de la vie économique de la ville, j'ai d'abord essayé de présenter un état de lieux des conditions du ravitaillement urbain, ainsi que de donner la géographie agraire du paysage qui entoure la ville en indiquant les prix de certains

produits. Il faut toutefois préciser qu'il est inenvisageable d'établir des courbes représentant les fluctuations des prix et montrant ainsi les périodes de crise ou de conjoncture favorable. Les informations sont ponctuelles, en effet, et elles ne se prêtent pas à une démarche comparative. Malgré ces obstacles documentaires, quelques périodes de difficultés apparaissent clairement, au tout début du XIII^e siècle puis au milieu des années 1230.

Les sources permettent malgré tout de porter une attention particulière aux changements des pôles économiques dans la ville, je résumerai mes observations en trois points. La part des zones extérieures – intra muros ou en dehors de l'enceinte urbaine – devient de plus en plus important. Elle tient à la création des Halles vers le milieu du XIII^e siècle ainsi qu'au rôle du vieux marché situé au pied du château de saint Louis. En deuxième lieu, il faut souligner le regain d'importance du pont et de ses proches alentours, qui ne subit pas de pertes considérables. Troisième constatation : l'expansion des quartiers des artisans dans la Douvre et dans certains faubourgs comme l'Evière ou Bressigny. La vie économique angevine devint ainsi véritablement multipolaire, en conséquence de l'essor du XIII^e siècle.

Dans mon travail, j'ai mis un accent particulier sur la présence des marchands étrangers. Malheureusement, les sources locales sont très lacunaires à ce sujet. On voit bien cependant que les marchands anglais continuèrent de commercer avec Angers au début du XIII^e siècle, et qu'ils restèrent présents jusqu'à la fin des années 1240. Les marchands italiens apparaissent dès la fin des années 1260, mais nous n'en savons pas plus sur eux dès le début des années 1280 ; ce qui prouve que leur apparition servait plutôt la politique de Charles I^{er} d'Anjou et ne peut donc être considérée comme résultant des liens dynastiques entre l'Anjou et les provinces méditerranéennes.

S'agissant de la pratique du crédit, on ne saurait sous-estimer le rôle des juifs, présents en Anjou. Des doutes subsistent cependant quant à leur concentration à Angers. Le crédit fut réservé exclusivement aux marchands italiens à partir des années 1260. L'importance des établissements ecclésiastiques urbains dans ce domaine était par ailleurs considérable ; ils cachaient très souvent les opérations de crédit derrière des contrats immobiliers. La contribution des juifs aux revenus du comte restait malgré tout élevée. Mais ils furent expulsés d'Anjou en 1289, en compagnie des Lombards et des soi-disant Cahorsins, ce qui priva le comte d'une partie de ses rentrées régulières et priva le marché local d'agents moteurs dans la vie économique.

D'autres observations concernent la question de la monnaie. Angers disposait d'un atelier monétaire autonome, et fut dominée par le denier tournois à partir du début du XIII^e siècle. L'atelier frappant des deniers angevins cessa de fonctionner vers 1208–1210. Il faut signaler que Charles d'Anjou reprit la frappe du denier d'Angers mais la prépondérance du tournois demeura inentamée. Certes, les résultats des fouilles archéologiques témoignent d'une variété plus grande de deniers sur le marché angevin que celle qu'indiquent les sources écrites. En ce qui concerne les pièces non françaises, et particulièrement l'or venu d'Italie, on ob-

serve qu'elle entrèrent difficilement dans les échanges angevins. L'or continua d'être thésaurisé par les nobles de la région.

J'ai complété l'analyse des fonctions économiques de la ville par la présentation des moulins d'Angers et des environs. Il est important de bien comprendre le rôle considérable de l'aménagement du système hydraulique sur la Maine, appelé la chaussée des Treilles. Cet ensemble récent connut des transformations importantes durant le premier tiers du XIII^e siècle, mais son état se dégrada progressivement par la suite. Au début du XIV^e siècle, pour rendre les moulins plus rentables, un système de location fut instauré, qui permit à certains bourgeois de participer à leur exploitation.

Cela nous amène à l'autre sujet majeur de la thèse : l'étude de la société angevine. Le développement de la société angevine est attesté dans de nombreux domaines par les sources, mais à un rythme inégal. La part du clergé se confirme au cours du XIII^e siècle. L'importance des ecclésiastiques dépassait largement leur poids numérique. Ils se partageaient en grande partie la possession du sol, par leurs fiefs urbains. Suite à l'apparition de nombre d'établissements et d'associations religieuses, le monde ecclésiastique urbain se diversifia d'une manière visible. Retenons ensuite l'apparition massive des clercs gradués durant ce siècle. On peut identifier leurs domicile et leur goût pour les investissements, de même que leur concentration, particulièrement nette dans les zones extérieures. Moins chères, elles étaient en plein développement. Telles étaient la Doutre, l'Evière ou le faubourg de Bressigny.

Outre le statut social des gradués, on a de plus des informations sur les écoles d'Angers et sur les étudiants. Le déplacement des étudiants et des maîtres anglais à Angers lors de la grève de l'université de Paris (1229-1231) contribua certainement au rayonnement intellectuel d'Angers. J'ai insisté sur le rôle du droit dans la formation, et sur la multiplicité des écoles. Il faut souligner également que le rôle des étudiants dans la vie urbaine ne fut pas aussi néfaste qu'on ne le pense parfois. En l'absence d'institutions municipales et de corporations professionnelles, ils furent les premiers à réclamer au comte Charles d'Anjou une réglementation du commerce de l'alimentation dans la ville.

Si la naissance de l'Université fut plus tardive, la croissance des écoles et la part importante des « intellectuels » aussi bien dans l'administration que dans la vie quotidienne témoigne d'un réseau d'enseignement important. Cela représenta une base solide lors de la fondation de l'Université au cours de la seconde moitié du XIV^e siècle.

Contrairement aux ecclésiastiques, la noblesse ne représente pas un élément important à Angers. Du fait de ses domaines ruraux et de ses liens avec les campagnes sa participation à la vie urbaine fut de plus en plus faible. Les nobles sont attestés par les mentions rares de fiefs et d'autres possessions urbaines. Les obligations de service dues à l'évêque ou au comte d'Anjou conduisaient éventuellement les nobles dans la ville. Leurs résidences urbaines se trouvent souvent sur le fief du comte et sont liées à l'accomplissement régulier du service de garde. Les donations pieuses faites aux établissements ecclésiastiques par les nobles angevins sont bien repérables mais représentent une valeur médiocre. Il est également

révélateur que peu choisissaient une église angevine comme lieu d'enterrement. Notons toutefois les quelques exceptions fournies par l'hôpital Saint-Jean. Le choix de la famille de Craon d'être enterrée à l'église des cordeliers dès la fin du XIII^e siècle marque également l'attachement de certaines familles à la capitale angevine.

La faible participation de la noblesse à la vie urbaine contribue à la pénurie des informations sur les élites laïques avant la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle. Cependant, la ville avait bien suivi la noblesse de la province dans ses rares initiatives politiques. Ce fut le cas au début du XIII^e siècle lors de la mainmise capétienne, et à la fin du siècle quand les Angevins furent prêts à s'opposer, aux côtés de la noblesse, à Charles de Valois.

L'importance de la bourgeoisie dans la vie urbaine se confirme de manière sensible à partir du début du XIII^e siècle. Cependant, les témoignages sont encore en grande partie d'ordre économique. Nos sources fournissent des preuves d'une expansion foncière dans la zone périurbaine. L'accès plus facile des bourgeois à l'acquisition de biens immobiliers et à des crédits assignés sur diverses possessions résultait d'un marché immobilier en plein essor. Il faut savoir qu'une partie importante de la bourgeoisie avait une certaine capacité d'investissement, mais dans des proportions très inégales.

Les donations pieuses faites aux églises angevines ainsi que les fondations de messes d'anniversaires ou de chapellenies montrent également la croissance des fortunes bourgeoises. Au XIII^e siècle, les établissements ecclésiastiques s'enrichissent principalement de ces donations. Au contraire, les libéralités des princes ou des nobles sont rares.

On constate l'apparition d'une élite bourgeoise à partir de la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle. Si les lignages nous échappent encore, nous avons beaucoup d'informations sur les possessions et les biens meubles des bourgeois. L'exemple des Lanier montre bien que certains bourgeois aisés appartenaient aux notables de la ville et avaient des relations privilégiées avec le comte et l'évêque d'Angers. D'autres disposaient de biens importants non seulement à Angers et aux alentours, mais aussi parfois dans des villes comme Tours ou Le Mans. On peut voir également que certains bourgeois avaient noué des liens matrimoniaux avec la noblesse de la province.

Malgré les témoignages en faveur d'une croissance, soulignons que la bourgeoisie urbaine ne parvint à faire entendre sa voix collectivement qu'à partir du dernier quart du XIII^e siècle. Les règlements du comte d'Anjou concernant le commerce en sont les premières preuves. Les Angevins agirent à nouveau collectivement quand ils s'opposèrent aux exigences fiscales de Charles de Valois à la fin du XIII^e et au début du XIV^e siècle. Le fait que l'affaire ne prit fin qu'en 1310 témoigne de la ferme détermination des bourgeois.

L'analyse tente également d'apporter sa contribution à l'étude de la topographie socio-professionnelle, concernant surtout les artisans et les artisans-boutiquiers. Des secteurs comme la Porte Angevine, la rue Baudrière, le pont, ou la Tannerie, la Folie et la rue Saint-Nicolas dans la Doutre ont déjà au cours du XIII^e siècle des caractères spécifiques. Rappelons la concentration des intellectuels

dans l'Evière et en général dans la paroisse Saint-Germain. Parallèlement, la Cité se transformait progressivement en un enclos ecclésiastique.

Quant à la vie associative des bourgeois, on relève indiscutablement un certain retard dans la formation des métiers. Les premiers statuts datent du dernier tiers du XIII^e siècle et ne concernent que les métiers alimentaires. L'élargissement de ce cercle restreint, les ajouts à ces textes et leur confirmation ultérieure continuaient de dépendre du pouvoir comtal. Ajoutons que, dans le domaine des institutions urbaines, nous faisons face à une pénurie documentaire encore plus grave. L'ère Plantagenêt n'avait transmis ni commune ni franchises importantes. C'est d'autant plus intéressant que de nombreuses villes des Plantagenêts, en Normandie ou dans le Poitou et dans les Charentes, en bénéficièrent à un moment décisif de leur développement. Les zones centrales du domaine, telle Angers, ne connurent pas de libéralités comparables de la part du prince. Le XIII^e siècle ne fit que prolonger cette situation. Sans doute trouvera-t-on ce fait normal, puisqu'il s'agit d'une période de caractère moins « révolutionnaire » ; notons tout de même le cas de Tours où les émeutes sont loin d'être rares au cours du XIII^e siècle, et de Chartres (ville appartenant également à Charles de Valois), qui bénéficia d'une charte de franchises, aussi réduite soit-elle, à la fin de ce XIII^e siècle.

Le développement urbain suscita malgré tout la naissance des associations d'entraide mutuelle et la constitution d'un réseau caritatif qui témoigne d'une responsabilité croissante de l'élite urbaine. La confrérie Saint-Nicolas était déjà solidement implantée dans quartier de l'Evière à la fin du XIII^e siècle.

A Angers, le réseau des aumôneries comprenait de petits noyaux d'assistance et un établissement particulièrement important, l'hôpital Saint-Jean. Son rayonnement à Angers ne cessa de se confirmer au long du XIII^e siècle. C'est d'autant plus remarquable qu'il s'agit d'une institution qui fut pratiquement la dernière du Moyen Âge à être capable d'acquérir des propriétés considérables dans la ville. L'hôpital devint de ce fait par son temporel un élément essentiel de la vie urbaine. Il avait des positions importantes dans la Doutre, sur le pont, dans la rue Baudrière, et aux alentours du vieux-marché, dans l'Evière. Tous sont des secteurs déterminants dans l'économie urbaine. Les moulins de l'aumônerie, sur la chaussée des Treilles, représentaient une capacité meunière importante à l'intérieur de la ville.

Sa fondation royale assurait à l'hôpital un prestige incontestable. Au début du XIII^e siècle, l'hôpital Saint-Jean s'enorgueillit d'un complexe architectural extraordinaire et unique dans son degré de perfectionnement comme dans sa capacité d'accueil. Au cours du XIII^e siècle, ce sont pourtant les donations faites par les bourgeois qui assuraient en grande partie le fonctionnement et la prospérité de l'établissement. A notre avis, l'impact de l'hôpital Saint-Jean contribua à l'absence de nouvelles initiatives charitables tout au long du XIII^e siècle. A partir du début du XIV^e siècle, l'essor des quartiers nouveaux et par conséquent le besoin d'autres institutions de charité réduisirent finalement la domination de l'hôpital Saint-Jean.

Pour conclure, nous devons constater que l'époque choisie représente une période décisive dans le développement urbain. A partir de l'héritage romain, le

tissu urbain se forma par étapes successives, comme celle de la formation des sanctuaires au cours du Haut Moyen Age, puis la naissance des « bourgs », entre le X^e et le XII^e siècle. Le XIII^e siècle vit s'édifier une structure durable pour le paysage urbain. L'un des symboles de cette transformation est l'enceinte urbaine. Certes, les remparts furent rapidement dépassés par les habitations populaires, mais ils redevinrent une réalité concrète matérialisant les confins de l'espace et de la sécurité urbaine à partir du milieu du XIV^e siècle. Parallèlement, la Cité, legs précieux de l'époque romaine, se transforma en un enclos, et s'isola d'une certaine façon, en plein cœur du tissu urbain.

Si à Angers, le XIII^e siècle commença par une phase d'instabilité politique, notre période se caractérise par une croissance urbaine équilibrée. Son héritage architectural est remarquable. Dans ces cadres, la société angevine vit non seulement s'affirmer l'essor économique mais témoignait aussi d'une plus grande conscience de ses responsabilités. Grâce à cet acquis du XIII^e siècle, la population réussit à affronter les rudes épreuves qui la frappèrent à partir du milieu du siècle suivant.

Contribution à l'étude de l'imaginaire dans les lettres francophones du Maghreb : transformations mythiques et contextuelles

Approche pluridisciplinaire

SZONJA HOLLÓSI



La délimitation de l'objet de mes recherches ayant pour but la rédaction de ma thèse (soutenue en décembre 2004) s'est effectuée par une ouverture. L'analyse imagologique des romans et nouvelles francophones maghrébins et beurs était un travail qui a exigé des études transdisciplinaires. C'est la définition de l'*objet paradoxal, vagabond* (donné par Gilles Deleuze) qui a permis de cadrer les observations supplémentaires de certains termes techniques. Telles celles sur la *maghrébinité*, la *francité*, l'imaginaire *culturel* et bien d'autres encore qui ont surgi à travers les imaginaires observés dans des textes littéraires.

Le sujet de ma thèse est l'étude des transformations de l'imaginaire dans des romans et nouvelles d'auteurs comme Driss Chraïbi, Fouad Laroui, Albert Memmi ou Nina Bouraoui. Les transformations contextuelles n'ont pas été examinées par des documents d'archives. L'Histoire entre dans le champ de mes observations au moment où les mouvements de l'imaginaire nécessitent une mise en place historique, autrement dit, une authentification.

Ainsi, dans le but de reconstruire un imaginaire postcolonial, c'est-à-dire supposé porter les marques du passé récent des trois Etats du Maghreb, nous avons choisi des œuvres artistiques. A. J. Toynbee a dit qu'une civilisation existe tant que sa minorité créatrice crée. Ce groupe serait donc la société d'écrivains francophones maghrébins (et beurs). L'imaginaire développé dans leurs œuvres d'entre 1954 et 2002 sera donc considéré comme le lieu par excellence de l'expression de faits culturels.

La méthode d'analyse était l'imagologie. Ses démarches ont été définies par Daniel-Henri Pageaux, Pierre Brunel et Yves Chevrel (p. ex. : dans *Précis de littéra-*

ture comparée, 1989 ou *La Littérature générale et comparée*, 1994). Elles s'enracinent dans l'école durandienne de la mythocritique, dont j'ai retenu les règles des mouvements mythiques et l'universalité des régimes diurne et nocturne. Une série de thèses de disciplines variées ont nuancé aussi bien la méthode que l'interprétation des transformations de l'image de l'Autre dans le corpus.

Il a semblé intéressant d'examiner la dynamique de la perception de l'Autre dans les textes. Ce afin de voir si les « portraits » d'Albert Memmi présentés dans son *Portrait du Colonisé précédé du Portrait du colonisateur* (1957) ressemblaient à l'époque à leurs représentations littéraires. Ensuite, au fil des ans, et donc de l'Histoire, j'ai suivi les modifications qu'a subies l'image de l'Autre, la notion de l'Autre jusqu'aux premières années du XXI^e siècle.

Comprendre en quoi le Français était Autre a été le deuxième objectif de mes recherches. J'ai cherché dans des textes de Mohammed Dib ou d'Albert Memmi les axes perceptibles de l'altérité par des outils de l'imagologie. Les frontières des mondes imaginaires oriental et occidental ont semblé dès les années 1950 une véritable *Ligne Mince* qui partage le protagoniste du roman emblématique, *Le Passé simple* de Driss Chraïbi (1954). Le Maghreb étant l'Occident de ce qui est Orient pour le lecteur français, des changements identifiables dans la perception de l'Autre se trouvaient garantis dans mon entreprise.

Cette formation palpable de l'imaginaire dans les textes étudiés de la production littéraire des décennies suivantes avait besoin d'authentification. Une fois le contexte historique et des réalités sociales identifiés, il me restait à suivre les logiques temporelle et spatiale des représentations mentales des faits du contact de cultures. En effet, j'ai souhaité montrer si dynamique de l'imaginaire rimait avec dynamique sociale.

La première étape de l'analyse imagologique consiste à retenir les mots clés et mots fantasmes renvoyant à l'Autre. Par le biais de cette méthode, il devient possible d'identifier des *thèmes obsédants*, récurrents dans les textes. À travers ces thèmes, les critères de l'altérité étaient susceptibles de dessiner des cultures *a priori* antagonistes. Ensuite, j'ai effectué une étude sur des *scénarii* répétitifs qui constituaient les *mythes littéraires* nouveaux. Ces mythes littéraires, comme leurs plus petites unités composantes, les images, étaient eux aussi susceptibles de subir des transformations dans le champ de l'imaginaire.

Par le biais de réflexions terminologiques, j'avais l'intention de remettre en question le rapport d'analogie entre Imaginaire et Histoire. Aussi tentais-je d'obtenir une réponse à la question : faut-il souligner la différence entre les imaginaires algérien, marocain, tunisien et beur ?

À partir du moment où les textes d'Abdelhak Serhane, de Fadela Sebti, de Fouad Laroui, d'Azouz Begag, de Driss Chraïbi ou de Tahar Ben Jelloun ont dessiné les contours des *mythes de la révolte, du fils prodigue, de l'androgynie ou du sacré*, je me suis intéressé à leurs transformations structurelles.

Trouver les réponses à ces questions et justifier ou réfuter ces hypothèses de travail étaient donc les défis à relever dans mon travail. Lors de la présentation des résultats des analyses imagologiques des textes du corpus, j'ai cité le plus souvent *Le Passé simple* (1954) de l'écrivain marocain Driss Chraïbi et *Méfiez-vous*

des parachutistes (1999) du jeune écrivain Fouad Laroui qui est, lui aussi, d'origine marocaine. Je me suis également soucié de déterminer le genre des textes à étudier (romans et nouvelles), de suivre un parcours d'écrivain (celui de Driss Chraïbi). En revanche, je n'ai pas trié les œuvres par thème ou selon d'autres critères supplémentaires.

*Etude de réception, question de langue d'expression
et histoire littéraire décomposée*

La définition de l'*horizon d'attente* que donne Hans Robert Jauss dans *Pour une esthétique de la réception* permet de délimiter la société (ou culture) qui partage les imaginaires des auteurs étudiés. Le lectorat qui nous intéresse est aussi spécifié. Selon les trois niveaux de lecture que j'ai empruntés à Michel Picard (*La lecture comme jeu*, 1986) et Vincent Jouve (*La lecture*, 1993), j'ai démontré que la critique littéraire restait enfermée dans certaines observations. Un exemple en est la distinction systématique des littératures maghrébines de celles des beurs. Cette idée coexiste de manière paradoxale avec le souci d'ores et déjà unanime d'émanciper ces littératures par rapport au centre indéniablement parisien. Le thème récurrent de la langue d'expression témoigne de l'intériorisation de la scission culturelle : une non-appartenance linguistique allant de pair avec l'exclusion sociale.

Afin d'obtenir une image des critères de canonisation des œuvres littéraires francophones maghrébines, j'ai proposé une histoire littéraire décomposée. J'ai révisé les débuts de la littérature algérienne de langue française, car à mon sens, ils prédisaient les images de l'oppression et la confusion du colonisé à la veille des indépendances. Les travaux de Christiane Achour, de Jean Déjeux ou de Ferenc Hardi ont contribué à la reconsidération des œuvres canoniques des littératures maghrébines de langue française.

De l'imagologie à la transdisciplinarité

Les principes du fonctionnement des préjugés ont été formulés par Gordon W. Allport (1954) et Elliot Aronson (1972), entre autres. Ruth Amossy, dans *Les idées reçues* (1999) nuance le mécanisme de l'imagerie stéréotypée. Elle introduit le champ de recherche par excellence, celui de la colonisation. A ces thèses s'ajoutent les archétypes durandiens, tels qu'ils sont définis dans *Structures anthropologiques de l'imaginaire* (1969). Ainsi, la première démarche de la méthode d'analyse imagologique (que je présente à partir de son premier article portant sur ce sujet : « De l'imagerie culturelle à l'imaginaire », publié en 1989) est appliquée à des extraits de Driss Chraïbi et de Fouad Laroui.

L'analyse des textes de Nina Bouraoui, de Tahar Ben Jelloun et d'Abdelwahab Meddeb permet de reconnaître la relation entre psychocritique et mythocritique. En simplifiant le principe de cette relation, j'ai constaté que l'imaginaire personnel que décrit Charles Mauron dans *Des Métaphores obsédantes au mythe personnel. Introduction à la psychocritique* (1962) conclut sur l'imaginaire de l'auteur. Etant donné que je me suis intéressé aux groupes d'hommes partageant cet imaginaire personnel et les images obsédantes, j'ai accepté le mécanisme d'une troisième ap-

proche, celle de la sociocritique. Cette dernière tient compte du lectorat et le désigne, comme je le précise dès la première partie de la thèse, comme étant la condition de base pour la survie d'une œuvre. Ainsi, la mythocritique est appréhendée comme un moyen de compréhension des faits culturels par le biais de la littérature.

Le premier roman de Chraïbi, mentionné plus haut est désigné par la critique comme le prototype du scénario de l'aliénation. Il semble que cette hypothèse se base sur l'Affaire du *Passé simple*, un exemple illustre de la réception de ces nouvelles littératures. Au lieu de mettre en question le fait de désigner des pères aux littératures maghrébines de langue française, je me suis proposé d'étudier cette « affaire » et j'accepte la force créatrice de mythes de ce texte très riche en images d'inspiration interculturelle. J'ai cité les travaux d'Isaac Yetiv, d'Abdelkébir Khattibi, sociologue, critique littéraire et écrivain marocain, les études de Mustapha Bencheikh Latmani et d'autres encore, dans le but de mettre en perspective l'imagerie chraïbienne.

Culture, civilisation ou société derrière le mythe de la révolte ?

Les trois phases de la vie du mythe littéraire

Les « abus » épistémologiques concernant l'usage des termes *culture*, *civilisation* ou *société* sont nuancés par les idées d'Abdallah Mdarhri-Alaoui (« Le roman marocain », 1997) et de Miléna Horváth (*Entre voix, écrits et images : Modalités de l'entre-deux littéraire dans la seconde partie de l'œuvre d'Assia Djebar*, thèse de doctorat, 2002). L'étude imagologique des textes francophones maghrébins montre les limites de la méthode d'analyse elle-même : comment serait-il possible de séparer deux cultures, celle du soi et celle de l'Autre, lorsque l'on n'est pas en mesure de déterminer les groupes d'hommes par des critères vides de sens ? Désormais, le champ de l'entre-deux est appréhendé comme étant composé d'éléments complémentaires et non pas antagonistes. L'*imaginaire interculturel* doit son sentiment de déracinement à la contrainte poignante de l'appartenance. L'analyse des textes de Nina Bouraoui et de Rachid O. a permis de reconnaître que même les textes les plus récents font surgir des images du déchirement culturel subi dans les années 1950.

L'aliénation est un composant nécessaire de l'image de l'Autre. En effet, l'Autre est à la fois à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur par rapport à soi. L'Autre y est désigné par aliénation. Afin de placer ces idées d'ordre philosophique et psychanalytique dans le contexte de mes études, j'ai cité les œuvres et synthétisé les idées de Jean-Paul Sartre, de Frantz Fanon et d'Albert Memmi. Le premier étant, pendant les années de la guerre d'Algérie (1954–1962), un militant de la libération du pays, plaide dans ses écrits comme « Le colonialisme est un système » (paru en 1964 dans *Situations V*) pour la reconnaissance de la déshumanisation des colonisés sous le prétexte de leur « civilisation ». Frantz Fanon aborde ces mêmes phénomènes d'une position particulière : d'origine antillaise et installé en France pour ses études de psychiatrie, il vit cette déshumanisation à deux reprises. Il choisit l'Algérie et se considère comme algérien. Les résultats de ses consultations menées avec les torturés algériens de la guerre de libération sont comparés avec

la théorie memmienne de l'aliénation dans le contexte colonial maghrébin. L'écrivain et essayiste tunisien publie en 1957 *Les Portraits du Colonisé*, où le schéma de la formation des personnages coloniaux ouvre la voie vers la compréhension de la face humaine de la colonisation. Ainsi, malgré l'hostilité d'Albert Memmi envers les idées de Frantz Fanon, *Les Damnés de la terre* de ce dernier est un texte qui peut aisément être mis en parallèle avec les principes de la transformation de l'Autre et de soi expliqués par Memmi.

En effet, l'écrivain tunisien avait distingué trois phases dans l'aliénation. Dans un premier temps, le rapport du colonisé au colonisateur se caractérise par l'adoration. A cette phase succède celle de la haine pour aboutir à la fin à une reconnaissance mutuelle. Dans la théorie imagologique, Daniel-Henri Pageaux a défini lui aussi trois types de relation avec l'Autre : la manie, la phobie et la philie. Cette classification rime avec les stades décrits par Memmi.

J'ai examiné le devenir du scénario mythique identifié dans le *Passé simple*. Il revient le plus remarquablement dans *La Répudiation* de Rachid Boudjedra. Ce même mythe subit des transformations aussi bien au niveau de son décor que dans sa structure même. Dans les images présentant le fils maghrébin de retour au pays, nous voyons déjà une révolte détournée, un changement de position du héros maghrébin qui juge sa culture d'origine à travers les yeux de l'ancien colonisateur. Ce parcours mythique n'est pas clos au début du XXI^e siècle. Il se montre cyclique et s'enrichit de *mythèmes* nouveaux dans les textes d'Abdelwahab Meddeb, Nina Bouraoui ou Fadela Sebti.

Imaginaire interculturel, décolonisation. L'école comme lieu du savoir autre

Les résultats de l'examen imagologique des scénarii mythiques rappellent que ceux-ci ne sont intelligibles que dans l'entre-deux, dans le champ de l'interculturel. Différentes orientations de l'imaginaire sont perceptibles à travers les nouvelles de Malek Alloula, de Mohammed Dib ou de Fouad Laroui (« Mes enfances exotiques », 1997 ; « Rencontres », 1997 ; « Le jour où le nain cessa de parler », 2001).

D'un point de vue historique, l'œuvre de la « minorité créatrice » est une réponse logique à la multiplicité des voix et visions des années 1950, riches en *mythèmes* nouveaux. Les travaux de László J. Nagy (*A Maghreb országok felszabadulása* (1919–1956), 1995) ou de Péter Ákos Ferwagner (*Francia politikai pártok a gyarmati Algériában* (1945–1954), thèse de doctorat, 2002) sont complétés par des observations faites par des historiens « locaux » : Abdallah Laroui (*La crise des intellectuels arabes. Traditionalisme ou historicisme*, 1974), Mohammed Aziz Lahbabi (sa série d'article parue dans *Démocratie* : « Le destin de la culture française en Afrique du Nord, Point de vue d'un Musulman », 1957), André Nouschi (*L'Algérie amère 1914–1994*, 1995) ou Jean-François Guillaume (*Les Mythes fondateurs de l'Algérie française*, 1992). Ce dernier dévoile le « mythe fondateur de l'Algérie française ». Les thèmes obsédants (couleur de la peau, religion, statut de la femme, droit à l'usage de la langue française) identifiés par cet historien sont les mêmes que ceux que les textes littéraires font surgir.

L'un des scénarii mythiques les plus emblématiques est celui de *l'école*. Que ce soit l'école française d'Algérie coloniale où celle de la banlieue lyonnaise, le sujet déshumanisé se reconnaît pratiquement inchangé au fil des décennies. *La Grande maison* (1952) de Mohammed Dib ou *Le Gone du Chaâba* (1986) d'Azouz Begag, écrivain beur, montrent des mouvements de descente, des complexes d'infériorité et une altérité reconnue, admis mais toujours mal vécus. D'autres textes soutiennent également l'universalité de la configuration de Maître *vs* Valet. C'est le décor mythique qui change, mais les positions des deux figures de base du mythe éternisent la tension entre le soi et l'Autre.

Les images du Sacré et de l'Androgyne

Ces deux figures mythiques identifiés dans les textes des années 1980 et 1990 et notamment dans les romans de Tahar Djaout, d'Abdelwahab Meddeb, de Nina Bouraoui et de Rachid Boudjedra attirent l'attention sur de nouveaux doutes de nature épistémologique. Les limites du *Sacré*, ainsi que le rôle des sexes, voire le sexe lui-même, appellent une révision.

J'ai comparé le concept du *Sacré* présenté par Mircea Eliade dans *Le Sacré et le Profane* (1957) avec l'image du sacré de l'imaginaire interculturel, appréhendée dans l'entre-deux. Il s'est révélé que la place de l'élément sacré dans un mythe ne reste jamais vide. Il est donc nécessaire de reconnaître les différents visages du *Sacré* et du *Profane*. Ce dernier ne peut pas remplacer le premier. Tous les deux semblent bien plus des *qualités* de mythe. Le roman posthume de Tahar Djaout (*Le Dernier été de la raison*, 1999) montre la sacralisation des Frères Vigilants. Ces images peuvent être mises en parallèle avec celles du premier roman de Chraïbi. Là, le Père Blot, symbole de l'Eglise catholique, occupe la même place dans la structure du *mythe du sacré* que les « F. V. » dans l'autre roman. La relation à la figure du sacré est, dans les deux cas, la *phobie*.

L'Enfant de sable (1985) et *La Nuit sacrée* de Tahar Ben Jelloun sont les premières œuvres qui proposent de la manière la plus transgressive la démolition des images de la féminité et de la masculinité. La figure de la fille (Zahra) élevé en garçon (Ahmed) donne la possibilité à l'écrivain de rester sur la frontière des figures traditionnelles de l'homme et de la femme. Les épithètes, verbes et noms (*mots-clés* et *mots fantasmes*) renvoient à la fois aux deux, en dépassant les images de l'homosexualité par exemple, ce qui dans les œuvres de Boudjedra, Bouraoui, Rachid O. ou Chraïbi restent parties intégrantes du *mythe de la révolte*. Il s'agit ici d'une tendance littéraire universelle, mais Ben Jelloun rend en même temps possible la révision du rôle de la femme en terre d'Islam également.

Ainsi, les questions posées et les hypothèses formulées au départ ont trouvé chacune des réponses ou explications. Il s'est révélé que la reconnaissance de l'Autre, son identification et sa description ne seraient possibles dans le cadre donné des recherches imagologiques. Tant qu'il n'existe pas de définition pour délimiter des aires culturelles, c'est la conception de l'*entre-deux* qui permet de situer les transformations de l'imaginaire dit maghrébin ou beur. Les « portraits » de Memmi qu'il a publiés au lendemain de l'indépendance de la Tunisie et du

Maroc ont montré déjà le dépassement des images stéréotypées du Colonisé et du Colonisateur. En effet, ce jeu de miroir entre le soi et l'Autre est en mouvement perpétuel. L'axe de l'altérité est en déplacement et, dans le cas du mythe de la révolte que j'ai examiné de manière approfondie, il suit un parcours cyclique.

La figure du colonisé, celle de la femme ou de la foi religieuse, se transforme au fil des textes, mais les changements concernent avant tout les relations. Elles se transforment de *manie* en *phobie* et rarement en *philie* car le respect et la compréhension de certaines qualités de l'Autre sont rarement producteurs de *mots-clés* ou *mots fantasmes* chargés d'émotion. La frontière entre l'Occident et l'Orient n'est donc pas marquée sur la carte de l'ère postcoloniale. L'axe de l'altérité se déplace, mais cela n'est pas vrai pour la perception de la différence qui s'effectue à travers des thèmes archétypaux.

La dernière étape de l'analyse imagologique est la mise dans le contexte historique des images. Les transformations suivent la succession des événements historiques. Mais elles peuvent aussi anticiper ou évaluer ultérieurement ceux-ci. Les principes de ces décalages seraient un nouveau terrain de recherche.

La révolte, la migration vers l'ancienne mère patrie (accompagnée de mouvements diurnes, d'élévation vers le ciel), l'arrivée qui ressemble à une chute sont des éléments d'un parcours mythique. Celui-là se termine par une ouverture : la rentrée de l'immigré restructure et redémarre le mythe littéraire. Dans la poursuite de mes recherches, il serait utile d'étudier si cette cyclicité est aussi le propre des autres mythes littéraires (tels ceux de l'androgynie et du sacré).

Les changements des mythes littéraires examinés permettent de comprendre l'imaginaire que j'ai continué d'appeler maghrébin et/ou beur. Or, il s'est révélé qu'il ne s'agissait en effet que de groupes d'hommes partageant le même *horizon d'attente*. Dans le sens traditionnel des termes comme *culture*, *société* ou *civilisation* (que proposent les dictionnaires), il n'est pas positif d'affirmer avoir connu la *culture maghrébine*.

La suite de ce travail devra rester inscrite dans l'*entre-deux*, dans l'*interculturel*. Une comparaison des imaginaires développés dans des textes arabophones et berbérophones pourrait éclaircir davantage l'imagerie de la minorité créatrice du Maghreb. La dynamique des mythes littéraires dans les textes d'auteurs francophones du Maghreb et de l'émigration donne des réponses et désigne des directions de recherches transdisciplinaires.

Hospitallers in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary

ZSOLT HUNYADI



The choice of topic and the relevance of the research project

The primary goal of this dissertation is to reveal the major characteristics of the history of the Hospital of St. John in Hungary from its appearance in the mid-twelfth century up to the end of Angevin rule (1387). The starting point of the research is obvious, but the choice of the end date was suggested by the fundamental changes which took place from the last decade of the fourteenth century. These changes concerned not only the Order of the Hospital as an ecclesiastical body but also the structure of Hungarian society as a whole at the beginning of the reign of King Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437).

Present-day scholarly needs spring from the enormous hiatus in research on (medieval) church history after the Second World War because scholars of the period adopted a different agenda. This dearth of research affected particularly studies on the military-religious orders and this situation is demonstrated by the fact that the last scholarly Hungarian monograph on the Templars was published in 1912 (by Ferenc Patek) and on the Hospitallers in 1925–1928 (by Ede Reiszig). A few articles and some popular works have come out since then, but these were backed by no new research on primary sources. Croatian scholars, primarily Lelja Dobronić, made several attempts in the 1980s to correct the arrears of many decades of work, but in the end she failed in several respects. Besides various misunderstandings originating either from Reiszig or lying with herself, she drew a one-sided picture on the Order. She studied the activity of the Order in the region of present-day Croatia, which is only one half of the former Hungarian-Slavonian priory of the Hospital (which covered present-day Hungary, Croatia, Romania, and part of Slovenia). Undoubtedly, the territorial distribution of the preceptories indicates a certain preference for Slavonia from the fourteenth century onwards, but it is still ahistorical to approach this issue according to the borders of modern states. Similar research problems arose in the case of other religious orders and it turned out that only detailed, critical research can resolve funda-

mental questions such as the actual numbers of houses of religious orders in medieval Hungary.

One problem with the early monographs (from Georgius Pray to Ede Reiszig) is that they do not meet modern scholarly standards, although many scholarly works (especially source editions) have stood the test of time. Re-thinking the questions about the Hospitallers is motivated by the fact that the exploitation of new sources and using new methods may yield more exact and reliable results, which will eventually channel students of the field towards contemporary international standards. Accordingly, a thorough revision of Ede Reiszig's work on the Hospitallers in Hungary is not justified by the eight decades that have elapsed so far. The historiography of the Hospitallers has also been burdened with a serious conceptual problem for a long time. In contrast to the Western European context, Hungarian – and many Central European – (Latin) written sources often use the term *crucifer* instead of the appropriate *frater hospitalis*, *miles Templi*, conceivably with reference to the cross depicted on their habits. This led to confusion, as many scholars treated the houses and the landed properties of other orders of similar status (e. g., the Order of St. Anthony, the Order of the Holy Spirit, and so on) as belonging to the Hospital, and vice versa. On the basis of this perception and by a close reading of primary sources as well as by the clarification of the notions and denominations applied in the primary sources, Karl-Georg Boroviczeny, a German hematologist of Hungarian origin discovered or, in fact, singled out (in the late 1960s), a formerly unknown religious institution, the Order of Hospitaller Canons Regular of St. Stephen, founded by the Hungarian King Géza II around the mid-twelfth century. The members of this order were also called *cruciferi* in contemporary sources – they even used this expression in the inscriptions of their own charters – but they had nothing in common with either the crusaders or with the Hospital of St. John. Mainstream Hungarian scholarship accepted Boroviczeny's ideas but failed to draw the necessary conclusions, namely, that the history (settling down, presence, activity, role) of the Hospitallers in the Hungarian kingdom should be fundamentally reconsidered.

Partly on the initiative of Karl-Georg Boroviczeny, I began my own research on the Hospitallers settled in this part of Latin Christendom. The basis of my doctoral research is a database of primary sources which is the outcome of a survey of thousands of published and unpublished charters. Besides the source editions, I consulted the medieval holdings of the National Archives of Hungary and I also collected relevant materials from the archives and libraries in Sopron, Zagreb, Zadar, Paris, Poitiers, and London. In addition, one of the most important phases of the collecting procedure was research conducted in the central archives of the Hospital, presently kept in Malta. I managed to research both its microfilm copy in the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library (Collegeville, USA) and the original collection which is deposited in the National Library of Malta (Valletta). In terms of numbers: 1,200 charters were utilized in some way during the analysis, out of which some 950 documents pertain directly or indirectly to the history of the Hospital.

This dissertation is rather positivist in nature, but the premises demanded the rigorous observance of the old imperative: *ad fontes*. As a conscious methodologi-

cal decision, I trust that only a work grounded in positivism can establish a solid basis for further discussion of various problems/questions raised by modern scholarship. That is, the clear determination of the corpus of primary sources had to be the first step toward providing a satisfactory basis for re-constructing the history of the Hospital in medieval Hungary. It should be emphasized that the sources at my disposal are inadequate for an entire reconstruction. Moreover, begrudging the situation of Western scholars of the field, I have to acknowledge that on the basis of the primary sources at my disposal numerous areas of the life of the Priory cannot be subjected to investigation. Thus, the choice of topics in the dissertation at times does not reflect current historiographical trends but has been done under duress. The reader has to settle for the mere possibility of raising questions or applying analogies instead of reconstructing intensive contours. One has to be careful with the application of analogies, since, in the absence of a solid and palpable basis, the analogies easily can mislead us by muting regional characteristics or deviances. For instance, most of the written sources produced by the kingdom's central governmental organs vanished during the 150 years of Turkish occupation. The extent of the destruction of the sources will never be fully known to scholars and it is difficult for Western researchers to understand its gravity. This loss of records concerns not only the number of the sources, but the fact that almost entire types of documents were lost, such as official or private letters sent to the Hungarian kings, many drafts of legal documents, accounts of the *magister tawarnicorum* or, later, of the Master of the Treasury.

In addition to this, I am fully aware (and have tried to act accordingly) that there are different themes in the (re)writing of the history of the Hospitaller Hungarian-Slavonian Priory. As a direct consequence of this state of research, the core of this dissertation aims at reconstructing the history of the Hungarian-Slavonian Priory. Nonetheless, while analyzing and evaluating the facts and train of events, I also endeavored to reflect upon both the overall history of the Hospital and on several aspects of Hungarian society from the twelfth through the fourteenth century. This approach was a prerequisite for exploiting recent achievements of mainstream contemporary scholarship focusing on the history of the Order as well as new fields of interest concerning Hungarian social history. As for the former, it is important to emphasize that the last three decades have seen an enormous advance in research projects launched on the history of the Hospitallers. Hungarian scholarship, however, still seems to overlook the new trends and results in that field (admittedly, tribute should be paid to the exceptions). This can be explained by the language barrier and the often irksome difficulties in accessing recent publications. This dissertation attempts to correct arrears in research partly by briefly surveying relevant mainstream ideas as well by pointing out the links between the Hungarian Priory and the Order as a network of priories and preceptories. In addition, an attempt was made to present and evaluate all the specific activities of the Order as well as the local characteristics of the Priory.

As for Hungarian historiography, it is noteworthy that manifest progress can be seen in the perception of Hungarian history in general as well as various fields of social history during the last quarter of the twentieth century. Fundamental

changes can be observed in regard to the interpretation of the turn of the thirteenth century and the Angevin period as a whole. This change concerns not only social but also economic history and the history of religious ideas, which altogether requires a different approach in many respects. The renaissance of institutional history should also be noted, in the first instance, research projects focusing on a particular Hungarian legal entity – the place of authentication (*locus credibilis*). In the case of all possible points of intersection, I created a background of mainstream scholarly thoughts against which the activity/role of the Hospitallers can be more accurately judged. The present thesis, however, does not undertake the burden of terminating scholarly debates lying outside the central topic of the Hospitallers, even though it attempts to contribute to the resolution of unsettled problems. Nor had I presumed to conduct missing basic research in several areas, but I tried to point out the fields which still await extensive unearthing of primary sources.

The structure of the dissertation

The elaboration of the dissertation aims at reflecting the research situation described above. The thesis targets a three-fold objective: (1) a critical confrontation of the research issues in the international scholarship and Hungarian research, including the situation with the sources; (2) to establish the “backbone” of the history of the Order including the reconstruction of the network of the administrative units; (3) to present several topics which show important characteristics of the Hospitallers when the sources at our disposal allow us to perform the discussion in adequate depth. In addition, these are the themes which can be regarded as indicators of regional characteristics, thus making them suitable for comparative research with international scholarship.

Accordingly, CHAPTER I presents the historiography of both international and regional studies on the Hospital. Besides it being a mandatory element of such a genre, it has particular significance in this case since Western and Eastern readers rarely have appropriate information concerning publications of the “far side”. A similar statement can be formulated concerning the short presentation of the overall history of the Order in CHAPTER II. It is not only an indispensable element of such a reconstruction, but it also provides an opportunity for readers to grasp basic, reliable information about the Order with special emphasis to its structure. Experts may skip this part of the dissertation, but it is useful for those who have hitherto relied upon a picture of the Hospital deduced from outdated and often awkward summaries. The overall approach of the dissertation embraces a three-fold correlation of the general and regional history of the Order with the political, social, and ecclesiastical history of medieval Hungary.

CHAPTERS III and IV constitute the historical “backbone” of the history of the Hungarian-Slavonian Priory from the mid-twelfth century up to the 1380s. These chapters embrace the questions of the settling of the brethren, the spread and distribution of the preceptories through time (illustrated on maps), the aftermath of the dissolution of the Templars, and the local characteristics of the order.

CHAPTER V is prosopographical in nature and the most international unit of the dissertation. Thus, it expresses the international and centralized nature of the Order and sheds some light on the mobility of the major officials of the Order. Continuing down this path, CHAPTER VI is a repertory aiming at an institutional reconstruction of the preceptories primarily through a survey of their personnel. Its basic form is a catalogue with microhistories of the preceptories of the Priory.

Due to their significance, two circles of questions are discussed in separate chapters. Since one of the original and long-lasting purposes of the administrative units of the Order was their fund-raising activity, the estate management of the Priory is presented separately (CHAPTER VII). Similarly, the unique activity of the Hospitallers in medieval Hungary in some of their preceptories serving as places of authentication (*loca credibilia*) in the administration of private legal affairs, along with the use of seals in the priory, rendered in a separate chapter (CHAPTER VIII).

The dissertation closes with conclusions and a bibliography of the works cited in the thesis. To facilitate the explication of my ideas and results I have attached various appendices to the main corpus of the dissertation. The first is the list of the primary sources (archive number/signature, date, issuer, form of existence, place of publication and/or calendar). The table contains a reduced amount of information since it aims to facilitate the access/retrieval of the documents and not present the full *apparatus criticus* of the sources. For the same purpose, a *Diplomatarium* is to be found in the APPENDIX. It is chiefly a selection of unpublished primary sources. In addition, there are also charters which have already been edited but contain serious mistakes or extensive omissions. In some cases I have incorporated important texts which were edited in publications not easily accessible for potential readers. There are also a few documents to which I made many references in the text of the dissertation, therefore I found useful to put the whole text at the reader's disposal. For the time being, the *Diplomatarium* has a rather illustrative function as I inserted into the text of the dissertation all those passages which required (extensive) literal citation.

An integral part of CHAPTER VIII is a catalogue of the seals used by the Hungarian Priory in the period under query and even beyond. There are also some comparative visual materials included in APPENDIX C; while APPENDICES D and E contain additional tables and figures referring to and elucidating different parts of the dissertation. The opus concludes with a gazetteer which lists the toponyms cited throughout the dissertation in alphabetical order.

The objective of this dissertation is (1) to produce a basic work on the Hospitallers in medieval Hungary based on the most comprehensive source base possible; (2) to survey the correlations among the overall and regional history of the Hospital along with relevant segments of the history of the Hungarian kingdom. Last but not least, I present conclusions on the role played by the Hospitallers in Hungary and on their perceptible interaction with the social environment of medieval Hungary in the period under query.

The Hungarian Passage of the Ġayhānī-tradition

ISTVÁN ZIMONYI



The most detailed description of the Hungarian tribal confederation in the second half of the ninth century is preserved in the Ġayhānī-tradition among the Muslim sources. In contrast with the other basic source on the Hungarian early history, the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De administrando imperio*, the geographical work of al-Ġayhānī was lost; the text can only be reconstructed from the descriptions of later authors, who copied the compendium of al-Ġayhānī.

The first and decisive step in the study of the Ġayhānī-tradition was taken by Géza Kuun, who published the passages of the authors belonging to this tradition in Arabic and Persian with Hungarian translation and comments in the sources of the Hungarian conquest (*A magyar honfoglalás kútfői* [*The written sources of the Hungarian Conquest*]) in 1900. Since then the Hungarian historians and orientalists have achieved outstanding results in studying the Muslim sources on the Hungarians and their nomadic neighbours on an international level. First, Mihály Kmoskó is worth mentioning, who planned to revise and supplement the edition of Géza Kuun. During his studies he realized that the formation and early history of the Hungarians was an integral part of the early medieval history of the Eurasian steppe. So Kmoskó gathered, translated into Hungarian and made commentary on the Muslim and Syriac passages on nomadic peoples of medieval Eurasia till his death in 1931. The publication process of his literary works comprising six volumes has started recently. I published the first two volumes on the Muslim geographical literature in 1997 and 2000.

The other prominent orientalist in the field was Károly Czeglédy. He gave a detailed description of the literary works of Kmoskó, but its publication was politically impossible. Czeglédy published several articles on the Muslim sources on the nomads and the early Hungarians. He translated the passages of the authors belonging to the Ġayhānī-tradition into Hungarian in the classical source-book on the early Hungarians (*A magyarok elődeiről és a honfoglalásról* [*On the ancestors of the*

Hungarians and the Conquest) edited by György Györffy in 1958. A new and partly revised translation of this tradition with detailed comments on the texts has been published recently in another source-book edited by Gyula Kristó in 1995 (*A honfoglaláskor írott forrásai* [*The written sources of the Conquest period*]).

These antecedents provided firm fundament to prepare the new critical edition of the Ġayhānī-tradition. Beside the critical editions of the relevant authors I took the manuscripts into consideration. As a supplement I have collected the copies of the manuscripts of the following authors: Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, al-Marwazī, ʿAufī and Šukrallah. I made corrections on the Arabic, Persian and Turkic texts on the basis of the critical editions and the manuscripts and translated into Hungarian. During the translation all the former translations and interpretations have been taken into consideration. The parallel passages of the Ġayhānī-tradition were divided into separate themes and these were explained in detail including philological and historical comments. It makes up two thirds of the monograph.

The results of three fields have been integrated in the study. The Muslim civilization created its own special world-view. Its knowledge is indispensable to interpret the Muslim sources and to detect those cultural features and stereotypes which made an effect on the authors' point of view. For example, the description of the nomadic way of life in the Arabic texts of the tradition reflects the Bedouin nomadism and not steppe nomadism, which differed in many respects from it and had several different characteristics. The second field is the civilization of the Eurasian steppe-belt. As the Hungarian tribal confederation was a part of that civilization, the study of the economic, social and cultural life of the medieval nomads provides analogies and background. Finally, the results of classical and other philology, linguistics, archeology and ethnography on the early Hungarian history must be taken into consideration in studying the Muslim sources.

Though al-Ġayhānī's geographical compendium has been lost, it can be reconstructed from Arabic, Persian and Turkic works. The following authors wrote their books in Arabic: Ibn Rusta who composed his work in the tenth century; the Andalusian al-Bakrī of the eleventh century, the court physician of the Saljukid Malik Shah (1072–1092) and his descendants i. e. al-Marwazī; and Abū-l-Fidā' who lived in Syria between 1273 and 1331. The latter copied the book of al-Bakrī. The Persian version of the Ġayhānī-tradition is represented in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* by an unknown author. It was composed in 982 and the work of Gardīzī written in 1052. The latter has preserved the most detailed description of the Hungarians.

The reconstruction of the original passage is based on the texts of al-Marwazī, Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī. It can be supplemented by the parallel description of al-Bakrī in the first half of the Hungarian chapter and the slightly rephrased version of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*. Al-Marwazī's compendium was popular because it was translated into Persian in the thirteenth century by ʿAufī. It was copied in the fifteenth century by Šukrallah and the latter was put to Turkish. The late Turkish authors used this version as their source.

During the study I used the latest critical editions of the parallel texts of the Ġayhānī-tradition, and moreover I took the manuscripts into consideration apart from the works of al-Bakrī, Abū-l-Fidā, Muḥammad Kātib and Ḥaġġī Ḥalifa.

The study of the manuscripts yielded several new results. Instead of the widely accepted reconstruction of the Hungarian designation *m.ġġ.r* (*maġġar/maġġir*), the forms *m.ġf.r/m.ḥf.r* can be found in the manuscripts. These terms are typical popular etymologies of the Arabic authors. The form *m.ḥf.r* derived from the Arabic verb *ḥafara* 'to dig'. It can be connected with the legend of the country dug into the ground and its inhabitants. The combination of the different elements could be attributed to al-Ġayhānī.

Minorsky, commenting the Hungarian chapter of the *Hudūd al-Ġalam*, quoted the corresponding part from one manuscript of 'Aufī. He interpreted the motive of the war between the Slavs and Hungarians as a religious difference (*dar dīn*). The parallel manuscripts of 'Aufī and other authors made it possible to correct the reading of the manuscript, which is *wa rūṣ*. It means that the Hungarians waged war against the Slavs and Rus'.

Beside the critical edition of the parallel texts of the Ġayhānī-tradition, the philological and historical comments can be regarded as new results. Czeglédy emphasized that the text of the Ġayhānī-tradition is homogeneous and it was recorded in the 880s. Earlier Kmoskó pointed out that the version of Ibn Rusta can be divided into two chronological layers: the beginning and end of the text are by a ninth-century author, but the central parts (Paragraphs 8, 12, 13, 14) are the interpolations of al-Ġayhānī.

Firstly the original text must be reconstructed from the parallel works. Comparing the texts it became evident that the basic text had two versions. The shorter one was supplemented with some information and it was the longer version of the basic text. I use normal characters to denote the shorter basic text and italics for the supplements of the longer version. The basic text was reformed at least two times. These interpolations can be divided into three types: 1) There are sentences in the Hungarian chapters which were copied from other chapters of the Ġayhānī-tradition. They were marked by underlining. 2) There are interpolations, the origin of which can be identified on the basis of philological, geographical and historical reasons: these pieces of information were gathered by the Muslim merchants, who visited the Hungarians before 895, the conquest of the Carpathian Basin. These parts were denoted with underlined italics. 3) There are unidentified interpolations, which are indicated by bold font face.

The structure of the text can be reconstructed as follows:

1. *M.ġf.r/M.ḥf.r*
2. **Between the country of the Pechenegs and the 'sk.l who belong to the Bulghars, lies the first border from among the borders of the Hungarians.**
3. The Hungarians are a Turkic people.
4. Their chieftain rides at the head of 20,000 horsemen.
5. The name of their chieftain is k.nd.h. This name is the title of their king, while the name of the man, who practices the royal power over them, is

- ġ.l.h. *Every Hungarian does what the chieftain, called ġ.l.h, commands them in making war, repelling invasions/defence and the like.*
6. They are tent-dwelling people. They migrate following the herbage and vegetation.
 7. Their country is wide; its size is a hundred parasangs by a hundred parasangs.
 8. One border of their country reaches the Sea of Rūm. Two rivers flow into this sea. One of them is bigger than the Ġayhūn (Oxus). The habitations of the Hungarians lie between these two rivers. *When the days of the winter come, all of them set up his camp on the river, which of the two rivers lies nearer to them. They stay there during the winter catching fish from the river. It is the most appropriate winter quarters for them.*
(Al-Bakrī: One border of their country reaches the country of Rūm)
 24. their other border, on the desert side, is a mountain inhabited by the people called Aīn. They possess horses, livestock and sown fields. The people called Uġūna dwell under this mountain, on the sea-coast. They are Christian and adjacent to the Muslim territories bordering on the region of Tiflis, this is the first border/beginning frontier of Armenia. This mountain continues down to the territory of al-Bāb wa-l-Abwāb, and reaches the Khazar country. (HA, 458)
 9. As for the Ġayhūn (river), which is to the left of them towards the Saqlāb, there are a people belonging to the Rūm, all of whom are Christians. They are called N.nd.r. They are more numerous than the Hungarians, but they are weaker.
 10. The names of the two rivers are Dūnā and Atil. When the Hungarians are on the banks of the river (Danube), they saw these N.nd.r.
 11. There is a great mountain above the N.nd.r along the bank of the river. The stream emerges alongside that mountain. Beyond the mountain there are a people belonging to the Christians. They are called M.rwāt. Between them and the N.nd.r is a ten-day journey. They are a numerous people. Their clothing resembles that of the Arabs, consisting of a turban, shirt, and waistcoat. They have sown fields and vines for their waters run over the ground. They have no underground channels. It is said that their number is greater than the Rūm (Byzantines). They are two separate communities. The greater part of their commerce is with the Arabs (*West).
 12. The country of the Hungarians abounds in trees. Its ground is damp.
 13. They have sown fields.
 14. They overcome those of the ṣaqāliba and rūṣ who are their neighbours, taking captives from them; they carry the captives to Rūm, and sell them there.
 14. They overcome all the ṣaqāliba who are their neighbours imposing harsh provisions/victuals upon them, and treat them as their slaves.
 15. The Hungarians are fire-worshippers.
 - 16a. They raid the ṣaqāliba, and they take the captives along the sea-coast till they reach a harbour of Rūm, which is called K.r.h.

17. It is said that the Khazars entrenched themselves some times ago against the Hungarians and other peoples bordering their country. (HA, 459)
- 16b. When the Hungarians take the captives to K.r.h, the Rūm (Byzantines) go out to them, and they trade there. They buy Byzantine (rūmī) brocade, woollen carpets and other Byzantine goods for the slaves.
18. The Hungarians are handsome and pleasant looking, their bodies are bulky.
20. They have wealth and visible property on account of their commerce.
19. Their clothes are brocade and their weapons are plated with silver and embedded with pearl.
21. They continually go to plunder the Saqlābs.
22. From the Hungarians to the Saqlābs is a ten-day journey. In the nearest part of the Saqlābs is a town which is called Wāntit.
23. They have the custom in asking for a wife that when they ask for a wife they take a bride-price in accordance with her wealth consisting of more or less horses. And when they mount up to take the bride-price, the girl's father takes the groom's father to his house and whatever he has by way of sable, ermine, grey squirrel, weasel, and underbellies of fox he brings together with a needles and brocade to the amount of ten fur-coats. He wraps (these) in a bed roll and ties (it) on the groom's father's horse and he sends it off toward his home. Then, whatever is necessary by way of the girl's bride-price consisting of cattle and moveable chattels and household furnishing, which have been deemed appropriate, is sent to him (the bride's father) and only then is the girl brought to the (groom's) house.
25. In the winter the Hungarians raid them (sc. the Slavs).

During the reconstruction of the text, the manuscript of Ibn Rusta's work is of crucial importance, as the author used special hyphen to divide his text into different sections. Such hyphens are to be found in Paragraph 5 between the name of the Hungarian chief, called Gyula and the description of his function, before Paragraphs 15 and 17.

As a general rule, the beginning and the end of the chapters have been rewritten. The first sentence of the original text is also debated. The text of Paragraph 2 by Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī and al-Bakrī, i.e. the first border of the Hungarians east of the Volga River does not fit into the historical geography of the late ninth century. The peoples along the Volga, the Khazars, Burtas and Volga Bulgars separated the Hungarians living east of the Volga with those on the northern Black Sea. I suppose that the beginning of the text was the first sentence in the works of al-Marwazī and Abū-l-Fidā, i.e. the Hungarians are Turkic people. It is Paragraph 3 by Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī following the sentence on the Hungarian border between the Volga Bulgars and the Pechenegs. The Hungarians were determined as Turks in the *Ḥudūd al-Ālam*, as the anonymous author gave the description of the Hungarians together with the other Turkic peoples living east of the Volga and not in the section devoted to the peoples of Eastern Europe.

Paragraphs 2 and 3 can be connected with one another context, as the first border of the Hungarians east of the Volga is the consequence of their Turkic origin. Moreover al-Ġayhānī the Hungarian self-designation derived from the Arabic etymology of the people living in the dug ground, which can be located between the Ural Mountain and the Middle Volga. These notions seem to have motivated the interpolation. Its historical background was the existence of a minor Hungarian group east of the Volga attested from the beginning of the tenth century. The first Hungarian border east of the Volga was regarded as the remembrance of an ancient habitat of the Hungarians, but on the contrary it can be a contemporary i.e. late ninth- or later tenth-century interpolation.

The beginning of the Hungarian passage in the Ġayhānī-tradition must be reconstructed from al-Marwazī. Then he described the extent of the Hungarian country, which is found in the parallel texts of Ibn Rusta, Gardizī, *Hudūd al-Ālam* and al-Bakrī under Paragraph 7. It can be concluded that al-Marwazī took this sentence from its original place and changed the original order. It is corroborated by the fact that Paragraph 6 is followed by Paragraph 8 in his work according to our reconstruction.

The idolatry of the Hungarians was recorded by al-Bakrī in the same position, whereas its later parallel sentence of Abū-l-Fidā preserved the original record on the fire-worshipping of the Hungarians. Ibn Rusta and Gardizī mentioned it under Paragraph 15, but it is an interpolation there, which does not fit into the context. It is hard to settle the question if the original version included this information and if so where it was. It is more than possible that it was taken from the chapter on the Slavs which contains the same description.

The second sentence of the original passage must be Paragraph 4 on the 20,000 horsemen of the Hungarian king preserved by Ibn Rusta, Gardizī, *Hudūd al-Ālam* and al-Marwazī. It was followed by Paragraph 5 concerning the rulers of the Hungarian tribal confederacy.

There are several versions of the report. Only one of the rulers is mentioned in the incomplete versions represented by al-Marwazī and al-Bakrī mentioning only the title *künde* on the one hand and by the *Hudūd al-Ālam* on the other hand, which refers the other Hungarian chieftain called *gyula*. The original version with the titles of the two Hungarian rulers has been preserved by the first part of Paragraph 5 by Ibn Rusta and Gardizī. It was supplemented by some information on the political institutions represented by Ibn Rusta and Gardizī. As it was mentioned above, Ibn Rusta used a special hyphen here to separate the shorter version from the supplemented one.

Paragraph 6 refers to the felt-tents and nomadic way of life of the Hungarians, who followed the grass. Ibn Rusta and al-Marwazī used the same expressions, while al-Bakrī adapted it to the Beduin nomadism and transformed the text accordingly. Gardizī did not mention the tents, he knew only a plain covered with grass. The author of the *Hudūd al-Ālam* omitted this part of the passage.

Paragraph 7 contains the data on the extension of the Hungarian homeland. Its size is hundred parasangs by hundred parasangs. Ibn Rusta emphasized the great extension of the country but he omitted the numerical data from the origi-

nal version. Al-Bakrī and the *Hudūd al-Ġālam* preserved only the numerals. The author of the latter source increased arbitrarily one of the diameters from hundred parasangs to hundred and fifty. The longer version is represented in the works of Gardīzī and al-Marwazī, but al-Marwazī removed its original place and inserted it as the second sentence into his text.

Paragraph 8 also comprises a short and long version. Al-Marwazī's text is the representative of the short version mentioning the Sea of Rūm as one of the borders of the Hungarians, the two great rivers which fall into that sea and one of them bigger than the river Ġayhūn, and finally the habitats of the Hungarians which were along these two rivers. Only the first data was recorded by al-Bakrī, who replaced the word sea by country meaning the Byzantine Empire (country of Rūm). Then he finished the passage on the Hungarians but he added a description of the Caucasus from the Khazar passage to the Hungarian chapter (Paragraph 24). Al-Bakrī finished the description of the Hungarians with an interpolation.

Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī in parallel with al-Marwazī quoted the original text first, then they both supplemented the information. It is the long version of the paragraph including the reference to winter quarters of the Hungarians on the banks of the great rivers and their fishing as a means of sustenance in winter. The second part of the long version was recorded in the *Hudūd al-Ġālam* with the revision of some details. The mentioning of the Rus' in it is without doubt a later interpolation.

Paragraph 10 was the next sentence in the original text as reflected in the book of al-Marwazī. He quoted the short version of Paragraph 8 and then he gave the names of the above mentioned rivers according to the context. As Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī preserved the long version of Paragraph 8, the designations of the rivers were omitted by Ibn Rusta or were put in another place. Gardīzī supplemented Paragraph 8. First he described the people N.nd.r, i.e. Danube Bulgars in connection with one of the great rivers. Gardīzī mentioned the names of the great rivers in Paragraph 10 and then another addition on the people called M.rwāt i.e. Moravians – under Paragraph 11.

Gardīzī's Paragraphs 9 and 11, i.e. the chapters on the Danube Bulgars and the Moravians have their parallel descriptions as separate passages in the *Hudūd al-Ġālam*. Consequently Gardīzī inserted these passages into the original text subsequently. However, the source and date of information can be determined. The ethnic names N.nd.r and M.rwāt reflect the Hungarian pronunciation. The ten-day journey between the Danubian Bulgars and the Moravians was relevant before 895, as the Hungarians conquered the Carpathian Basin in the end of the ninth century separating the two peoples from each other.

Paragraph 12 followed the names of the two great rivers in the original text. Al-Marwazī mentioned only the abundance of trees in their country, the *Hudūd al-Ġālam* added to it that the country possesses running waters. The parallel description of Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī coincides with it, but they supplemented the datum with another information: their ground is damp. It is hard to decide whether the latter was in the original text or it was the part of the long version.

The term designating damp was applied in the description of the Rus' country too.

The next sentence of the original text is Paragraph 13. It is about the sown fields of the Hungarians which was quoted only by Ibn Rusta and al-Marwazī.

Paragraphs 14 and 16 are about the Hungarian-Slavic relation. Al-Marwazī's paragraph is identical with Gardizī's Paragraph 16. It is regarded as the original version, including the attack on the Slavs and Rus', taking captives from among them, carrying them to Byzantine territory and their selling to the Byzantines. Ibn Rusta and Gardizī took the Paragraphs 14 and 15 from the same source, whose first sentence almost the same of that of al-Marwazī's text. The name Rus' was omitted by Ibn Rusta and Gardizī, who then supplemented the text with the remarks on the imposing of provisions upon the Slavs and their slave status. The latter addition may have been part of the long version. Paragraph 15 i.e. the fire-worshipping of the Hungarians was a change in topic, as Ibn Rusta put the sign of hyphen in front of the paragraph. The sentence of Paragraph 15 can be read in the Slavic chapter too. Then Ibn Rusta returned again to the Hungarian-Slavic relation supplementing the original version with the name of the Byzantine sea-port which the Hungarians visited with their slaves (Paragraph 16a). Ibn Rusta inserted a sentence from another source on the entrenching of the Khazars against the Hungarians (Paragraph 17). It is an interpolation as the introduction 'it is said' and the context corroborate it. Finally Ibn Rusta continued his description on the Byzantine sea-port, where the Hungarians sold the slaves for Byzantine brocade, woollen carpets and other goods (Paragraph 16b). It was the closing sentence of the Hungarian chapter by Ibn Rusta. Gardizī and Ibn Rusta used a common source for Paragraphs 14 and 15, but Gardizī quoted the original version of al-Marwazī (Paragraph 14) after Paragraph 15. The Hungarian raids against the neighbouring peoples were recorded in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*. It was put at the end of the chapter.

Paragraph 18 contains remarks on the physical appearance of the Hungarians. Gardizī and al-Marwazī used two expressions about their appearance, then al-Marwazī emphasized the bulkiness their bodies. The author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* mentioned only one expression about their appearance which is corresponding to the data of Gardizī and al-Marwazī, then he described them as awe-inspiring.

The closing sentence of the Hungarian chapter was Paragraph 20 in the original version, concerning the wealth of the Hungarians. It was described by al-Marwazī along with their commerce. Their wealth was compared with their base in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*. Gardizī did not mention their wealth, but described their brocade clothes and decorated arms in Paragraph 19. It means that they are rich in other words.

Gardizī did not finish the Hungarian chapter here, but he rephrased the first sentence of Paragraphs 14 and 16 and returned to the topic on the Hungarian Slavic relation. Paragraph 21 is an internal borrowing or interpolation from the same chapter.

Paragraph 22 is about the distance between the Hungarians and Slavs, which was taken from the Slavic passage of the Ġayhānī-tradition, Gardizī replaced the name of the Pechenegs with that of the Hungarians.

Gardizī described the bride price by marriage in Paragraph 23 in detail. It is regarded as the closing part of the Hungarian chapter by Gardizī, but it has been debated whether the Hungarians or the Slavs were meant in the description.

Paragraph 25 is not in the Hungarian chapter, but it is in the passage on the Slavs preserved by Gardizī and al-Marwazī. The Slavs built fortresses and moved there in winter, when the Hungarians raided them. It must have been the part of the original text.

Analysing the internal structure of the Hungarian chapter, it can be concluded that the first version of the Ġayhānī-tradition had a short and long variants. The difference between the two was significant in philological and contextual point of view, both were recorded in the decades before 895, when the Hungarians moved to the Carpathian Basin. These basic variants were reformed at least two times. The manuscripts of the authors using the Ġayhānī-tradition can be regarded as the later copies of those variants.

The interpolations can be identified. The data on the N.nd.r and M.rwāt people (Paragraphs 9 and 11) were gathered from Hungarians, as the names reflect Hungarian pronunciations (nándor, marót) and it can be dated before 895, since the Hungarians did not divide these two peoples from each other in the Carpathian Basin. Three paragraphs (21, 22, 24) were copied from the same or another chapter of the Ġayhānī-tradition. There are interpolations, whose origins are uncertain. This category includes the following paragraphs: 2, 14 and 15 of Ibn Rusta and Gardizī; 16a-b and 17 of Ibn Rusta and 19, 23 of Gardizī.

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The Hungarian tribal confederation can be characterized by the following features in the second half of the ninth century on the basis of the original information of the Ġayhānī-tradition:

1. The Muslim author thought that the Hungarians on the northern shore of the Black Sea migrated there from the East. This is based on three elements: a) The popular etymology of the Hungarian ethnonym which connected it with the legendary story of the country dug into the ground; b) The reference to the Hungarian habitat between the Volga Bulgars and the Pechenegs which is based on information of a Hungarian group on the middle Volga region from the tenth century; c) The Hungarians were regarded as belonging to the Turkic peoples. According to the Muslim geographical settings the Turkic peoples lived east of the Volga River, so the Hungarians should have migrated from there to the west.

2. The way of life of the Hungarians was portrayed as a complex one. The Hungarians of the steppe-belt were described as tent-dwelling typical nomads, migrating along rivers and supplying their provisions with fishing in the critical winter season. Meanwhile the Hungarians living in the forest-steppe and forest zone practiced high-quality tillage farming. The Hungarians took part in commerce between the peoples of the forest and Byzantium. They raided the peoples

north of them to take captives and to sell them in the Byzantine province of the Crimea. The wealth of the Hungarians was due to this lucrative trade. The luxury goods coming from Byzantium were recorded by the Muslim merchants visiting the Hungarians.

3. The geographical description of the country is an integral part of the passage. The habitat of the Hungarian tribal confederation extends one hundred by one hundred parasangs. Its size is about six hundred square kilometres which approximately corresponds to the size of Scythia described by Herodotus or that of the country of the Danube Bulgars. It is smaller than the country of the Pechenegs, but bigger than the land of the Burtas.

The southern border of the Hungarian land is the northern shore of the Black Sea called Sea of Rûm. One of the two great rivers mentioned in the Ġayhâni-tradition can be identified with the Danube. The other called 't.l (Turkic *Ätil* > Hungarian: *Etel*) was the name of the Volga in Turkic languages and as a common word (*ätil* 'river, great stream') was borrowed by the Hungarian language and it was applied to one of the great rivers flowing into the Sea of Azov or Black Sea.

The country of the Hungarians is told to be abundant in trees and the ground to be damp. It is characteristic of the forest and forest steppe zone, so most of the Hungarians lived in that belt, but the steppe south of it also belonged to them.

4. According to the original text of the Ġayhâni-tradition, the Hungarian political structure was dual kingship. The ruler called Künde had only formal power, while the leader, Gyula governed and lead the army. The title Künde was the third position in the hierarchy of the Khazar Empire, so the Hungarian ruler had significant influence in the Khazar court, but he was a subordinate of the Khazar ruler. The increasing power of the Gyula who represented the interest of the Hungarian confederation can be explained by the loosening of the tight control of the Khazar king over the Hungarians. The Hungarian tribal confederation could confront the Khazars for shorter periods, as the interpolation about the Khazar entrenching against the Hungarians, but it remained the part of the Khazar Empire till the conquest of the Carpathian Basin in 895.

The military force of the Hungarians was twenty thousand warriors, i.e. two *tümens*. It was a strong and effective army which could be mobilized by a tribal confederation consisting of seven to ten tribes of other nomadic peoples. This army was able to conquer the Carpathian Basin and to stabilize its power there. The Hungarians were able to terrorize the West and Byzantium with their raids. This made it possible to lay the foundation of the Hungarian kingdom in Christian Europe and for it to remain a significant power during the Middle Ages.

Armed Nomads, Nomadic Arms



The volume of collected essays entitled *Armed Nomads, Nomadic Arms* (*Fegyveres nomádok, nomád fegyverek*, 2004, Szeged) contains the proceedings of the 3rd Conference on the History of the Steppe held in 2002 at Szeged. The book has been edited by László Balogh and László Keller as Vol. 21 of the series *Library of Hungarian Prehistory* (*Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár*). The 16 articles concentrate on the arms and tactics of the nomadic peoples of Eurasia based on written and archeological sources, as well as on the available linguistic data.

The volume is introduced by the conference's opening lecture presented by András Róna-Tas, the founder of Turkic studies at the University of Szeged. He pointed out the importance of the conferences on medieval nomads in Szeged and emphasized that there still are a number of questions in connection with the nomadic tactics.

The article *Eulogy to Arms* (*Himnusz a fegyverekhez – Rgveda VI, 75*) by Gyula Wojtilla analyzes the last hymn of Book VI of *Rgveda*. The author collected useful pieces of information from Book VI about the arms and tactics of the Indo-Aryan speaking ethnic groups that conquered India in the second millenium BC. The strength of this military elite laid in its chariots. The main improvement of these chariots proved to be their use of an advanced wheel design (using an increased number of spokes). These chariots could be disassembled and were carried to the location of the battle on vehicles designed especially for this purpose. Cavalry had no function in this army, as basic saddlery (e.g. bridle-bit) was unknown. Based on the hymn, it is possible to ascertain that their main armor consisted of bow and arrow. They used two different types of arrows: long-range arrows with metal arrowheads and short-range arrows with poised bone arrowheads. Gyula Wojtilla concludes that the pieces of information available in this source partially correspond with the data available through the early literature of Indo-European peoples. However, in order to get a complete picture of the tactics of this ethnic group, complex research has to be carried out, incorporating the results of linguistics and archeology.

Tibor Schäfer calls the attention in his article entitled *Nomadic Influence on Eastern German Peoples* [*Lovasnomád hatás a keleti germán népekre*] to a neglected topic: the various influences on the way of life of the Germanic tribes reaching the South-Russian steppes from the end of the second century onwards. The author emphasizes mainly on the basis of the work of Iordanes that the steppe environ-

ment proved to be a major influence on their economy (e. g. they had a large stock of animals; the cultivation of land is less characteristic). Besides, he mentions the main types of armor used by the Germanic tribes: bow, arrow, lance and long sword. Schäfer concluded that further data can be gained about the interaction between the peoples of the steppe and the Eastern Germanic tribes from the results and methods of archeology, history of art and linguistics.

Johannes Gießauf analyzes the distinctive features of nomadic tactics based on the available written sources in his paper *Nomadic Arms and Tactics in Enemies' Accounts* [*A lovasnomád fegyverzet és harcmodor az ellenfelek beszámolóinak tükrében*]. He establishes that the authors stressed mainly the importance of the reflex bow in their books from the times of the Schyrians to the Mongolic Period. Furthermore, a number of sources emphasized the importance of horses in the life of the nomads. Another characteristic element of the sources is the description of the horse-mounted archer: a countless number of authors from different ages and backgrounds described the tactics of feigned retreat in connection with the nomadic peoples. These tactics impressed and threatened them at the same time. Besides, the fact-finding of the authors provides introspection into how they tried to show these peoples as negatively as possible, connecting the myth of the fierce savage to the figure of the nomadic fighter, leading to numerous further myths.

The article by Mihály Dobrovits focuses on the identification of the nomadic leader who formed alliance with the Byzantine emperor, Heracleius during his campaign against the Persians. His paper is built upon the data of Theophanes, the contemporary Chinese sources and Moses Kalankatvac'i. The accounts refer to the same person, i.e. *Ziebel* of the Greek source, *yaybu* of the Khazars is identical with the "King of North presiding over Northern Country" mentioned by the Armenian source, and the kaghan *T'ung sō-hu* recorded in the Chinese sources. According to Dobrovits, the leader who formed an alliance with Heracleius was *T'ung sō-hu* himself.

László Keller describes the warfare, fighters and their weapons of the Türk Khaganate in his paper. He examines the data from the Turkic runic scripts, comparing them with those of the Chinese and Byzantine authors. He mentions that internal sources provide evidence for the existence of infantry in the army of Turks, in contrast to the Chinese and Byzantine sources. However, Keller also attributes more important role to the cavalry in the nomadic army. The data of the Turkic runic scripts is in accordance with the information of external sources about the Turkic soldier's use of bow, arrow, sword, protective armor and lance. The most often mentioned weapon in the scripts is the lance. Keller emphasizes that the soldier of the scripts does not completely fit that pictured by Chinese and Byzantines sources. However, it is reflected all the more in the representations surviving on the cliffs of Central Asia. Finally, he underlines the importance of the internal sources as they described the picture of the nomadic fighter more clearly than external sources.

Hansgerd Göckenjan analyzes the importance of flags and drums in the culture of the nomads (*Flags and Drums by the Altaic Peoples* [*Zászlók és dobok az altaji népeknél*]), on the basis of sources on the Mongols, but he also takes into consid-

eration data on the Hsiung-nu, Türks, Pečenegs, Seljuks and Ottomans. Göckenjan points out that flags and drums had an important role in the representation of ranks and in religious life beside their basic significance in warfare.

Szabolcs Felföldi's paper calls attention to a special problem of the nomadic tactics: the crossing of rivers (*A nomád hadviselés egyik jellegzetes problémája: a folyón való átkelés*). According to the widely-accepted notion the nomads swam across on horseback and made use of their leather hose. This is oversimplified and schematic. The author, collecting the data of the sources from the age of the Huns to the Mongolian period, concludes that they carried out this task using thorough espionage and scouting (the establishment of the places of fords and bridges), or they chose suitable timing for the campaign (mainly in winter, waiting for the rivers to freeze). Or, they acted in alliance with sedentary peoples, using the fleet of the Byzantines or other peoples, or gained the help of foreign masters in building bridges.

Szabolcs Polgár examines the trade of weapons recorded in the sources in Eastern Europe during the period from the ninth to the twelfth century (*Kora középkori [9–12. századi] kelet-európai fegyverkereskedelemre utaló feljegyzések az írott forrásokban*). He concludes that mainly swords of Frankish and Scandinavian origin and arrows, helmets and armor represented the commercial goods carried East by Radanite, Rus and possibly Hvarezmian or Volga-Bulgarian traders in the ninth–tenth centuries. The amount of Frankish weapons carried to Eastern Europe decreased from the end of the tenth century and the route of commerce changed by the twelfth century, as Muslim weapons were brought to Eastern Europe.

István Zimonyi examines the number of soldiers in the army of the conquering Hungarian (*A honfoglaló magyar haderő létszáma*). The most important data about it are provided by the Ġayhānī-tradition. It mentioned an army of 20,000 horsemen in connection with the Hungarian. Zimonyi collects the available data in Muslim and other sources about the size of the army of the Khazar Empire including its other subdued tribal confederacies (Burtas, Volga-Bulgar, Sarīr, Alan, Bašgirt), as well as other nomadic and sedentary peoples (e. g. Avar, Turk, Mongolian, as well as Chinese and Byzantine). He believes that in the development and evolution of the structure of the conquering Hungarian, mainly the influence of the steppe peoples is decisive. The army structure of Turkish and Mongolian peoples was based on the decimal system, and the Turkish name for a regiment of ten thousand is *tümen*. Ibn Rusta counts the army of the Khazar, Burtas and Hungarian in *tümen*, which is two *tümen*s in case of the Hungarian. Zimonyi claims that a *tümen* does not always exactly mean 10,000 soldiers, so the two *tümen* of the conquering Hungarian does not necessarily equal 20,000 soldiers.

The article by László Balogh is an analysis of the passage recorded in 839 in *Annales Bertiniani* (*Az Annales Bertiniani 839. évi bejegyzése és a magyarok*). The source contains the history of the delegation by the Byzantine emperor to the Frankish ruler Louis the Pious. It is mentioned that the *Rhos* were sent as delegates to Byzantium by their ruler, the *Chaganus*. These delegates intended to return home through the Frank Empire, as the route they used was endangered by

Barbarian attacks. It cannot be proven that the title of Kagan was already held by the Rus ruler at the beginning of the ninth century, therefore it is more probable that it refers to the Khazar kagan. So the Rus delegates in Byzantium were subjects of the Khazar kagan. Balogh considers that the Rhos delegates could have been members of the Khazar delegation – ascribed most recently by Treadgold to the years 838–839 – that asked the Byzantine Emperor for help in building of the castle of Sarkel.

János B. Szabó in his paper *Remarks on the Hungarian Warfare of the ninth–tenth Centuries* [*Gondolatok a 9–10. század magyar hadviseléséről*] shows the parallel features between the warfare of the conquering Hungarians and the Tatars of the Crimea. He considers his approach valid supposing that before the conquering of the Carpathian Basin the Hungarian people might have lived among similar geographical conditions as the peoples of the Crimean Khanate in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries. Comparing the military activities of the two peoples, he states that both of them carried out raids without the intention of expansion, solely for plundering; both of them participated in European power struggles during their raids. He thinks the analogy of the Crimean Tartar to be especially important for military history of the ninth–tenth-century Hungarian people, as there are vernacular sources about their warfare.

Szilvia Kovács studies the missionary and frontier-guarding activity of the Teutonic Order of Knights settled in 1211 in Burzenland (expelled in 1225), based on charters. She claims that the members of the order did not carry out missionary activity. Their main duty was to guard the borders and to conquer new territories.

Mária Ivanics's article is a critical survey of Trepavlov's book, *The History of the Nogaj Horde* (*Istorija Nogajskoj Ordj*, Moskva, 2001). She gives an outline of the history of the Mangit who established the Nogaj Horde, considerably influenced by the history of the Golden Horde. Their first leader of importance was Edige who held the title of *begler-bey* by Toktamis. After the death of Toktamis, the descendants of Edige became *begler-beys* of the successor states of the disintegrated Golden Horde. At this time they started to use the expression Nogaj as a distinctive title, the name of the first *begler-bey* of the Golden Horde. Their aspirations for independence started in 1480, from this time on they started to call them Nogaj in a uniform fashion. The necessary component for legitimate power was still Genghisid descent. In order to counterbalance the lack of it, they devised Muslim descent. The Nogaj Horde became a de facto independent nomadic empire by 1520. The organization of the state shows the classical nomadic partition (center, left wing and right wing), but new titles can also be observed (*nogaj biy*, *nuredin*, *kekavat*). The breaking apart of the Nogaj Horde was the consequence of aggressive expanding Russia and the conflicts between the two Nogaj wings. It completely disintegrated in the seventeenth century. Mária Ivanics considers the history of the Nogaj Horde exemplary, as an extraordinary wealth of sources is available, and it is possible to view the complete "life-span" of a nomadic empire: the establishment, the stabilization, the decline and the disappearance.

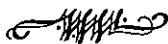
Gábor Szöllősy tries to prove in his paper that the Hungarian bow is not a descendant of the Avar bow, although both of them belong to the group of complex reflex bows. He examines the problem on the basis of archeological finds of Hungary, comparing them with Eastern parallels (the bow of Moshchevaya Balka, the Gogops-bow), as well as of bow-making experiences. As a result of the comparison, he establishes that the Hungarian bows' degree of grip is much narrower than that of the Avar ones (180°), and while the folding back of the Avar bows is caused solely by the stiff arms of the bow, in case of the Hungarian ones the bending towards each other of the flexible arms of the bow also supports this movement, considerably intensifying the energy conserving capability of the bow. Szöllősy thinks that the closest relatives of the Hungarian bows are the bows of the Khazars and the Pečeneg.

Mária Magdolna Tatár examines the etymology of three words from the Transdanubian dialect: *csomak*, *csomasz*, *csokmány* (carving axe). In her opinion both of the two basic forms (*csomak*, *csomasz*; and *csokmány*) can be traced back to the Turkic *čom* and the verb *čok*. The words *čomak* (stick, fighting stick) and *čommar* (weapon for hitting) can be found both in Chagatai and in Kipchak Turkic dialects. She establishes that both forms can be found in Hungary before the period of Ottoman-Turkish occupation (sixteenth century) in the form of place names and proper names. Tatár based on territorial aspects categorizes these words and their forms as place names and proper names belonging to the middle layer of Turkic loanwords in Hungarian.

The sixteen articles published in the volume provide a good insight into the military history, the military structure and weapons of various nomadic peoples. At the same time, the inevitable and necessary complexity provided by the comparison of different sources (written, linguistic and archeological) can be clearly observed. The book is useful for historians and those interested in nomadism.

KATALIN NAGY

Die Geschichte des Erzbistums von Kalocsa



In der Erforschung der ungarischen Kirchengeschichte spielen das Erzbistum von Kalocsa und die damit zusammenhängenden Fragen eine wichtige Rolle. Diese Fragen erscheinen schon ganz früh und sind bis heute ein wichtiges Thema für die ungarische Forschung. Zum Thema sind in der Geschichtsschreibung der letzten Jahren beispielsweise die folgende Werke erschienen: J. Udvardy, *A kalocsai érsekek életrajza (1000–1526)*. [Die Biographie die Erzbischöfe von Kalocsa] Köln 1991; K. Dóka, *Magyarországi egyházi levéltárak térképei XIII–XIV. A kalocsai érseki tartomány térképeinek katalógusa*. [Die Karten der Ungarischen kirchlichen Archiven XIII–XIV. Katalog des Karten von dem Komitat des Kalocsaer Erzbistums.] Bd. 1–2. Budapest, 1990; J. Török, *A Kalocsai Érsekség évezrede*. [Jahrtausend des Kalocsaer Erzbistums] Budapest 1999. usw.

Vorgestellt wird das Werk von István Katona, das vor 200 Jahren in lateinischer Sprache geschrieben wurde. Der Verfasser betrachtet in diesem Werk die mit dem Erzbistum von Kalocsa zusammenhängenden Fragen, wie zum Beispiel die Umsetzung des Erzbistums von Kalocsa nach Bács, die leitenden Personen des Erzbistums und die Umstände seiner Gründung.

Gábor Thoroczkay, der Herausgeber der ungarischen Übersetzung von Katonas Werk, hat es durch die neuesten Forschungsergebnissen ergänzt.

Die Einleitung des Werks fasst die bereits vorliegenden Forschungsergebnisse zusammen, um dem Leser einen brauchbaren Überblick über den Stand der Forschung und der Wissenschaftsgeschichte zu diesem Thema zu geben. (Thoroczkay geht hier ähnlich vor wie 1994, als er in der Zeitschrift *Fons* einen Beitrag über Anonymus veröffentlichte.)

Ein wichtiger Teil der Einführung beschäftigt sich mit der Biographie und der Priester- und Forscherlaufbahn Katonas: Katona wurde 1732 geboren. Nach dem Gymnasium studierte er Theologie an der Universität in Nagyszombat. Nachdem er Priester wurde, unterrichtete er in Nagyszombat. Als Pensionär lebte er in Esztergom. Sein erster selbständiger Werk erschien im Jahr 1768. Einer seiner wichtigsten Werke war die *Historia metropolitanae Colocensis ecclesiae*, das von József Takács ins Ungarische übersetzt wurde. Der Lektor der Übersetzung dieses Werkes war Gábor Thoroczkay, die Notizen und das Vorwort zum Werk hingefügt hat. Nach der Behandlung des Lebenslaufs von Katona fasst die Einführung

die über die Geschichte von Kalocsa schreibende Fachliteratur zusammen. In dem Vorwort bemerkt Thoroczkay, dass die Übersetzung des Werks von hoher historiographischer Wichtigkeit ist. Es dient mit der die Geschichte einer seit 800 Jahren in Ungarn existierenden kirchlichen Institution, die vor 200 Jahren zu Papier gebracht worden ist.

Eine der wichtigsten Fragen die mit dem Erzbistum von Kalocsa in Zusammenhang stehen, ist die Frage nach dem Zeitpunkt, den Gründen und Umständen der Gründung. Das ist vielleicht die am wenigsten geklärte Frage. Wir wissen, dass der heilige Stefan bei der Organisation der Kirche in Ungarn Esztergom den Vorzug gab. In 1001 bekam Esztergom auf der Synode von Ravenna den Rang *mater et caput* zugesprochen. So wurde Esztergom zur Basis der Kirchenorganisation. Dabei berief sich Stefan auch auf die Pseudoisidorischen Dekretalen, nach welchen jeder katholische Staat auch einem Erzbistum entsprechen sollte. Dagegen existierten aber in Ungarn schon sehr früh zwei Erzbistümer. Deshalb stellt sich die Frage: Warum wurde ein paar Jahre nach Esztergom auch Kalocsa zum Erzbistum erhoben? Es gibt mehrere Erklärungsansätze: Einerseits war Kalocsa vielleicht das Zentrum der Arpadendynastie, andererseits vermutet Gyula Kristó einen Zusammenhang zwischen der Gründung des Kalocsaer Erzbistums und den schwarzen Ungaren. Ein mögliches Gründungsdatum könnte das Jahr 1009 sein.

Einer Legende zufolge wurde ein gewisser Aszrik/Anasztaz statt des erkrankten designierten Kandidaten Erzbischof von Esztergom. Als aber der ursprünglich für das Amt Designierte genesen war, blieb Aszrik/Anasztaz im Amt eines Erzbischofs und wurde der Leiter des Kalocsaer Kirchenkomitats. Wahrscheinlicher ist es jedoch, dass Stefan Kalocsa zu Missionierungszwecken gründete. Nach László Koszta trennte sich Kalocsa erst im 12. Jh. endgültig von Esztergom (L. Koszta, „Az esztergomi és a kalocsai érsekség viszonya a 13. század elején.“ [Die Kontakte des Esztergomer Erzbistums mit dem Kalocsaer Erzbistum am Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts] *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok* [Notizen der Kirchengeschichte von Ungarn] [1991], 73–89.).

Die zweite wichtige Frage ist, wann Kalocsa zum Zentrum des Kirchenkomitats Bács wurde. Nach Meinung der Forscher geschah dies zur Zeit Ladislaus des Heiligen. Ein Dokument erwähnt Fabian als Bács-er Erzbischof erst im Jahr 1134. Spätere Quellen verwenden die Benennungen unterschiedlich. Eine Quelle von 1266 berichtet, dass der Papst die Kirche von Bács und Kalocsa vereinigte. Gyula Kristó zufolge hat Ladislaus der Heilige das Zentrum gewechselt, so wie er es zuvor bereits beim Kirchenkomitat von Bihar getan hatte (Gy. Kristó, *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon*. [Die Ausbildung der Burgkomitats in Ungarn.] Budapest 1988.).

Ferenc Makk führt jedoch als Gründungsmotivation an, dass die von William fliehenden englischen Ritter, die an der unteren Donau Siedlungen gründeten, keine griechischen Priester für ihre Seelsorge haben wollten. Um den Kontakt zwischen „Neu-England“ und der Kirche aufrecht erhalten zu können, setzte Ladislaus der Heilige das Zentrum um (F. Makk, *Ungarischen Außenpolitik*. [896–1196.] T. Schafer Verlag, Herne 1999. [Studien zur Geschichte Ungarns])

Der zweite Teil des Buchs ist dem Werk von István Katona selbst gewidmet. Er beschreibt aus der Perspektive des 19. Jh. die Geschichte von Kalocsa im Mittelalter. Dieser Teil enthält nicht nur demografische Daten über das Kirchenvermögen des Komitats im Mittelalter, sondern auch über jenes des 18. Jh.

Hier wird auch darüber berichtet, dass das Gebiet von Kalocsa schon vor der Landnahme der Ungarn bewohnt war, und die Geschichte der früher dort lebenden Völker umrissen. Das Werk wird durch ein Kapitel, in dem die Geschichte der Bischöfe von Kalocsa thematisiert wird, beendet.

Das Werk von István Katona zeigt also den Kenntnisstand, der in der Erforschung der Geschichte Kalocsas vor 200 Jahren erreicht wurde. Jedes Kapitel des Werks ist reich an Quellen, die den heutigen Forschern geläufig sind und oft benutzt werden. Die ungarische Edition des Werks ist nicht nur historiographisch, sondern auch für Forscher der Kirchengeschichte wichtig.

CSILLA HORVÁTH

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